

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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In the summer of 1406, ZHANG YUCHU, forty-third successor to the hereditary office of Heavenly Master, received an imperial prescript asking him to edit a complete collection of Taoist scriptures and to present them to the throne.¹ Zhang, then forty-five years old, was not only the most eminent among the Taoists of his time, but also a recognized scholar and calligrapher.² Zhu Di 朱棣 (1360–1424), who issued the prescript for this collection, had only recently become emperor. From the beginning of his reign (1403), he had ordered all the existing literature of his day to be collected and copied out, in order that it might be preserved as the Great Compendium of the Yongle Period (*Yongle dadian* 永樂大典). His desire to have a complete collection of Taoist books may well have been inspired by this preoccupation.

Similar *Daozang* 道藏 (Repositories of the Tao) had been compiled by earlier Chinese dynasties, always under the authority of the Son of Heaven himself. As such, these successive collections served not only to preserve the spiritual inheritance of Taoism, but also to define and sanction the place that Taoism occupied within the context of Chinese civilization. That the West referred to these repositories with the term *canon* is, therefore, well justified. Today, only the above-mentioned Ming *Daozang* has survived. All the earlier canons have fallen victim to the vicissitudes of Chinese history.

As soon as ZHANG YUCHU received the Yongle emperor's request, he started to collect the works he deemed fit to be included. He may have found many of these works in the library of his own temple on the Longhu shan 龍虎山 in Jiangxi.³ Some works may have come from the imperial library, as, for instance, the imperial commentaries of the *Daode jing* 道德經 (The Book of the Way and Its Power). The *Yongle dadian* also contained a great number of Taoist texts. The editing work took place in the palace. The works were presented to the throne, examined by the appointed officials,

1. 1462 *Huang Ming enming shilu* 3.4a–b and 1232 *Daomen shigui* 2a.

2. See Zhang's biography by Sun Kekuan 孫克寬, "Mingchu tianshi Zhang Yuchu ji qi *Xianquan ji* 明初天師張宇初及其峴泉集," in *Hanyuan daolun*, 313–47. On Zhang's activity with respect to the *Daozang*, see below.

3. The Longhu shan Shangqing zhengyi gong 上清正一宮 temple was rebuilt in 1299, and a revolving library for the *Daozang* was installed in it. According to the *Longhu shan Daozang bei* 龍虎山道藏碑 (Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 967) by Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348), this collection was much larger than the old one, the latter being, in all likelihood, the *Zhenghe daozaang* 政和道藏, destroyed in 1281.

and then either authorized to “enter into the canon” (*ruzang* 入藏) or discarded. It took almost forty years, until 1445, for the canon to be completed. By that time, the Yongle emperor had died and it was his successor, the Zhengtong emperor, who had the collection printed in 1447. The canon, which bore the official name Repository of Taoist Scriptures of the Great Ming (*Da Ming daoze jing* 大明道藏經), was thereupon distributed to major Taoist centers, as the emperor’s gift.⁴

The Ming *Daoze* remains the last. The Qing dynasty (1644–1912) did not undertake any endeavor of this kind. Instead, it sought to reduce the status of Taoism in Chinese culture. The repressive measures instigated by the Manchu rulers and continued by their successors were so effective that in the 1920s only two or three copies of the Ming canon remained extant. From these copies it was luckily reprinted in 1926 by photolithographic facsimile process, allowing it to be preserved and making it available for the first time to a wider public.

The Ming canon comprises some 1,500 different works.⁵ These works vary from only a few pages to several hundreds of scrolls (*juan* 卷) in length.⁶ The texts vary not only in size, but also in form and subject matter. The Ming canon contains many different categories of writings. One would expect these categories to cover mostly mystical or scholastic works, but in fact these writings are in the minority. Although the philosophical texts of Laozi 老子, Zhuangzi 莊子, and others, together with their numerous commentaries, figure prominently in the *Daoze*, they do not amount to more than some 200 titles. Other subjects that readily come to mind when one thinks of Taoism, such as alchemy and Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) practices, including medicine and dietetics, are also represented by many hundreds of texts. Yet these texts also do not constitute the most important part of the canon, and neither do the works on cosmology and hagiography. The place of preeminence, in terms of ranking and volume, is given to liturgy. This vast category comprises the scriptures to be ritually recited, the hymns to be chanted, the memorials to be read, as well as the instructions for meditation and visualization to be performed within the framework of the Retreat (*zhai* 齋) and Offering (*jiao* 醮) services. All in all, these works account for some 800 texts, more than half of the Ming canon. As to volume, these texts take up not less than

4. See VDL 38, 46, 58.

5. The exact number of texts depends on the method of separating certain works. In this study we have 1,487, but this figure is open to revision. Some texts have separate numbers for the table of contents and for the main text. These texts should normally be assigned a single number. Others are in fact collections (*congshu* 叢書) and should have multiple numbering. See also below.

6. On the more or less standard length of the *juan*, see VDL 60–61. A *juan* in the Ming canon averages approximately 7,000 Chinese characters.

3,000 juan, out of a total of 4,551. Ritual is as central to the canon as it is to Taoism itself. A strong link ties scriptures to ritual in Taoist history, and this relationship has influenced the way Taoism thinks about texts, as well as about writing in general.

Scriptures are essential to the transmission of the Tao, as shown in the founding myth of Laozi, the keeper of the books, who on his departure from this world transmitted the *Daode jing* to the guardian of the Pass. This revelation marks, for Taoism, a beginning or a renewal, a new covenant with the Tao and with all beings. The *Daode jing*, like many other Taoist texts that were to follow, does not contain any personal names, place names, or dates that would allow it to be reduced to a temporal context. The message of these writings is meant to be universal, yet it is considered accessible only to those apt to receive it. As the *Daode jing* (chapter 41) states so forcefully: when inferior people laugh at the Tao, they prove thereby its very value; only superior people can understand it and put it into practice.

That the transmission of the Tao is a matter of initiation is clearly perceptible in the *Zhuangzi*. A great many of its stories concern the passage of the true Tao from master to disciple. These roles are played by a great variety of historical, semihistorical, mythical, and allegorical persons.⁷ These stories of transmission make important distinctions, between those who are apt to be initiated and those who are not,⁸ between Taoism and shamanism,⁹ between Zhou sacrificial religion and the initiates of the search for Long Life,¹⁰ between those bound by the outer values of human society and those who have chosen freedom by realizing that the entire universe is within themselves.¹¹ As a fundamental paradox, that which holds “those who love the Tao” together and founds their institutions is each person’s individual relationship to the Tao.¹²

In the hagiography of the immortals that developed along with their worship in the late Warring States (475–221 B.C.) and early Han periods (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), initiation is again a central theme. There is also growing evidence that the places of worship of a given immortal saint became organized in regional or even national networks.¹³

7. One of the main themes of the *Zhuangzi* is the conversion of Confucius by Taoist sages, and the conversion by Confucius of his own disciples.

8. See, for instance, the story of Nüyu 女偶 and Nanbo Zikui 南伯子葵 in chapter 6.

9. This is one of the meanings expressed in the story of Liezi 列子, his master Huzi 壺子, and the shaman in chapter 7.

10. This is a recurrent theme in stories about animals that would rather not be used for sacrifice and about ancient trees that survive because they are useless.

11. See, for instance, the dialogue between Jianwu 肩吾 and Madman Jieyu 狂接輿 in chapter 7.

12. See Schipper, “Dao yu wu 道與吾,” in *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道教文化研究 15 (1999): 399–403.

13. On the worship of Tang Gongfang, see Schipper, “Le culte de l’immortel Tang Gong

There is no evidence, as yet, that the adhesion to these communities entailed specific rites of passage. Future discoveries, especially through archaeology, may yet contribute to our knowledge in this field. After all, most of what we know from the religious associations of the ancient Mediterranean world comes from dedicatory inscriptions and tesserae.¹⁴

In the institutionalized Taoism of medieval times, adepts were initiated and ordained through the ritual of the transmission of scriptures. As we shall see, the very way in which the Taoist canon became organized bears witness to this fact. Its later division into seven parts, called the Three Caverns and the Four Supplements (*sandong sifu* 三洞四輔), was originally conceived to correspond to the successive stages on the way to the ultimate union with the Tao or, to put it otherwise, to establish the grades of the Taoist hierarchy. We will return to this question later. The vast majority of the books in the *Daozang* are those that in principle should be transmitted only within the framework of initiation and ordination. This method of transmission is a typically Taoist institution called *ke* 科 (literally, “classification”), and the liturgical tradition through which it is enacted is the *keyi* 科儀 (literally, “the ritual of classification”). The texts that are transmitted in this way can be found only in the Taoist canon or, mostly in manuscript form, in the private possession of Taoist masters who, as a rule, do not transmit them to outsiders. Before the commercial reproduction of the Ming canon of 1926, these texts were normally not available in general libraries.¹⁵ Not all works contained in the canon were, however, subject to ritually prescribed transmission. Most writings by philosophers, doctors, historians, and the like, were intended for everybody and thus circulated freely. These texts can therefore also be found outside the canon.

The distinction between books in general circulation and those whose distribution was ritually restricted is of great importance for the study of Taoist literature. In the present work these books have therefore been separated into different categories. The bibliographical problems for the two categories are not at all the same. Research on ancient catalogues and early editions, which constitute the main tools of sinological bibliography, is feasible only for those books in the Taoist canon that were in general circulation. This traditional approach based on external criteria is of little help for the identification and dating of scriptures in restricted circulation. For these texts, we developed a methodology that corresponds to what may be called “internal textual criticism.” This method traces quotations and identical text passages and searches for

fang,” in *Cultes populaires et sociétés asiatiques*, ed. Alain Forest, Yoshiaki Ishizawa, and Léon Vandermeersch (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1991) 59–72.

14. See, for instance, J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par les dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l’époque romaine* (Beirut: Institut français d’archéologie de Beyrouth, 1972).

15. This fact is strikingly illustrated by the VDL bibliography.

datable elements such as specific names and terms and—with due precautions—the use of stylistic and linguistic criteria. These internal criteria can be used to construct relative chronologies consisting of dates *terminus ante quem* and *terminus post quem*, which then, whenever they can be linked to some clearly datable source, may be transformed into a fairly accurate absolute chronology.

Between the two categories of texts, there is some inevitable overlap: the *Daode jing*, always a book in general circulation, became subject to ritual transmission in the early medieval Taoist ecclesia. The *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, although no doubt originally intended as a text for initiates, became a work in general circulation. These instances of overlap, however, remain limited, and we may say that, by and large, the two categories are mutually exclusive. A work in general circulation normally does not even quote a work in restricted distribution, and vice versa.

The distinction between these two categories of texts is important not only for bibliographical reasons but also because of the particular nature of the works in limited circulation. It is the liturgical institution of the *keyi* that has regulated the transmission of Taoist writings and that has been the primary factor in setting them apart from the mainstream of Chinese literature and creating a separate canon for them. Other historical developments, such as the “parting of the Way” between Confucianism and Taoism in early imperial China, as well as the influence of Buddhism, have been equally instrumental. Many of these factors have yet to be studied in detail, and a number of questions that could be raised in this respect remain, for the time being, unanswered. Yet the enduring presence and virtually uninterrupted development of an independent Taoist canon is a fact of such magnitude and importance within the general context of Chinese culture that we have to make an attempt to explain how this canon came about, even if the account we can give here is necessarily tentative and incomplete.

THE HISTORY OF THE TAOIST CANON BEFORE THE MING DYNASTY

Many questions related to the origins of what we now call Taoism—the search for personal salvation and the lore of the transcendent *xian* 仙 (immortals); the exact nature of the Huang-Lao 黃老 (Huangdi and Laozi) persuasion of the Warring States; the *fangshi* 方士 religion of the early imperial period—remain basically unanswered. For all we know, these forms of thought and practice, which evoke the mystery religions of ancient Greece and the Hellenistic world, did not originally constitute a separate entity within Chinese society, although the ritual practice of adepts may well have been distinct from the public religion of the Zhou dynasty and its blood sacrifices. In the “Tianxia 天下” chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, which presumably dates from the late Warring States period and contains a survey of different schools, the term *daoshu* 道

術 (the arts of the Tao) is used not just for the thought of Laozi, but for all schools. The teachings of Lao Dan 老聃 (Old Long Ears) and his disciple Yin Xi 尹喜, the guardian of the Pass, are singled out as representing the most mystical of all ways of thought and are listed alongside other teachings, including those of the Confucians (Rujia 儒家).

The term *Daojia* 道家 itself does not occur in pre-imperial times for any school of thought then current, like Mojia 墨家, Fajia 法家, and so on. We encounter it only at the time of Han Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.). Its appearance coincides with the emergence of the new syncretistic Confucianism as the imperial orthodoxy. It should be noted that the term *Huang-Lao*, which until then was generally used in the context of the mysteries of Laozi and the worship of the immortals, tends to disappear at about the same time that the term *Daojia* appears, and it may be that the latter was intended to replace the former. In Taoist literature from the Han period until the Tang (618–907), however, the term *Huang-Lao* continues to occur frequently in all kinds of contexts. More research needs to be done on this question.

Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 B.C.) uses the term *Daojia* in his biography of Laozi.¹⁶ He stresses the mystical and esoteric nature of the teachings of the Old Master but does not give any information on any institutions of the “school” (literally, “family”) of the Tao. As for Liu Xin’s 劉歆 *Qilue* 七略, the earliest bibliography in Chinese history (6 B.C.), it also lists the *Daojia* philosophical works alongside those of other schools as a part of the literature of the time, without giving to Taoist texts any special status.

Many misunderstandings persist concerning the term *Daojia*, and this may be a good place to attempt a clarification. It has become a sinological dogma to distinguish between the so-called Taoist school (*Daojia* 道家), said to have produced the classical mystical texts (although the term, as we have seen, occurs only later), and the so-called Taoist religion (*Daojiao* 道教), often said to have begun in the Later Han period. The successive *Daozang* never made this distinction. When we look at the way the terms *Daojia* and *Daojiao* occur in the texts preserved in the Ming canon, we see that they are practically synonymous and interchangeable. There are instances when philosophical texts are considered part of *Daojiao* and when religious movements—for example, the ecclesia of the Heavenly Master (Tianshi dao 天師道) of the Later Han period—call themselves *Daojia*. The distinction between *Daojia* and *Daojiao* that we find today in sinological literature did not originate within Taoism itself and cannot be related to the difference between texts in general and texts in restricted circulation. The distinction originated with outsiders¹⁷ and is flawed by the erroneous assumption that *jia*

16. *Shiji* 63. The mythological antecedents of Sima Qian’s narrative are clear.

17. The theory was propagated by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). See his “Lun daojiao 論道教,” *Zhuzi yulei* 125.3005.

necessarily means “philosophy” and *jiao*, “religion.” The distinction has no taxonomic value and serves no other purpose than to divide Taoism into an acceptable and a disdained form—to fundamentalist Confucians. It is therefore tainted by prejudice. Every religion has the right to define itself without outside interference, and Taoism should be no exception. As long as Taoism itself does not distinguish between the Daojia and Daojiao, and moreover considers that its mystical thought and its liturgical practice belong together, we should follow suit. That Taoism did evolve in time and that new forms did appear is only natural. It is to this historical dimension that we now return.

Wang Chong's *Daozang*

According to our present state of knowledge, it does not seem that in ancient China the teachings of Lao Dan and the tenets of the Huang-Lao persuasion were in some way marginalized and their followers given a place apart in society. Only in the Later Han period do we find forms of polarization and separation, which appear in the context of the emergence of syncretistic Confucianism as the dominating orthodoxy. Later Han Confucianism successfully absorbed and integrated all other ways of thought—such as that of the Mohists, the Legalists, and the Cosmologists—with the exception of Taoism. That the new imperial orthodoxy borrowed much from Taoism is well known, yet the Confucian search for universal legitimacy is one of the major factors in its own hostile stand toward, and therefore gradual estrangement from, the living religion of its times.

This growing Confucian partisanship is noticeable in the *Lunheng* 論衡 of Wang Chong 王充 (27–ca. 100). Much of the argumentation of the *Lunheng* centers on the questions whether the supernatural existed and whether the beliefs current at the time had any value. Wang Chong's aim is to distinguish Confucianism from the beliefs and practices of the *fangshi* 方士 and *daoren* 道人, which he assimilates explicitly with Daojia. Nowhere is this assimilation clearer than in chapter 24 of the *Lunheng*, on “The Spuriousness of the Tao” (*daoxu* 道虛). Wang begins by quoting “the works of the literati” (*rushu* 儒書) that contain stories about Long Life and immortality that are completely irrational and do not agree with the tenets of Confucianism but belong to the teachings of Taoism. He criticizes the search for salvation through physical practices and alchemy and declares that the Way of Lao Dan for transcending the world is unworthy of credence.¹⁸ Wang Chong wishes to remove everything related to Daojia from the true Confucian tradition as he understands it, which suggests that at the time the two traditions were still intimately intertwined and that Wang Chong wanted them separated.

18. *Lunheng* 7.313–38.

That is not to say, however, that Wang Chong wished to do away with Taoism altogether and exclude it from the culture of scholars. During the Later Han period, the palace library was situated in a building called the Eastern Belvedere (Dongguan 東觀). Tradition had it that this building once housed Laozi, when he was keeper of the archives (*zhuxia shi* 柱下史) under the Zhou. Hence the place was sometimes called “Mr. Lao’s library” or “The Mount Penglai [i.e., paradise] of the Daojia.”¹⁹ Wang Chong concurs by saying that although the post of librarian was a minor one, this library was nevertheless a state-sponsored Taoist repository (*dianguo Daozang* 典國道藏) and was useful to allow superior scholars (*tongren* 通人) to acquaint themselves with it.²⁰ Here we have, to my knowledge, the first occurrence of the term *Daozang* in Chinese literature. Moreover, the definition given here to the expression resembles that of the *Daozang* of later times: a repository of books that, while part of Chinese culture as a whole and placed under the aegis of the state, nevertheless belonged to a special domain and formed a separate body of literature.

Ge Hong’s Catalogue of Taoist Books

The *Baopu zi neipian* 抱樸子內篇 of GE HONG (283–343), and its ardent plea that the search for immortality of the Daojia be taken seriously, must be seen in the context of the above-mentioned Confucian and Taoist controversy. Ge describes his work as “speaking of things like divine immortals and their drugs, demonic beings and their tricks, Tending Life and longevity, expelling evil and averting calamities; it [therefore] belongs to Daojia.”²¹ Although Ge’s treatise postdates the institutionalization of the Tianshi dao, it is based on a form of Taoism that is in fact more ancient.²² When he wrote it in the years around 310, the Tianshi dao had not yet penetrated, it seems, to southern China where Ge lived. The practices Ge describes in such great detail are in fact closer to the Han Taoism criticized by Wang Chong, whose *Lunheng* Ge had read.²³ GE HONG’s arguments in favor of the Taoist search for immortality mainly through alchemy are very much directed at countering skeptics like Wang and his followers.

GE HONG devotes a whole chapter (19) of his book to the bibliography of Taoism as he knew it. As for the books listed in his catalogue, Ge claims that his master, ZHENG YIN, had originally obtained them from Ge’s own ancestor GE XUAN (traditional dates, 164–244). The bibliography lists approximately 300 different works

19. See Schipper, “Le monachisme taoïste.”

20. *Lunheng* 13.604–5.

21. 1187 *Baopu zi waipian* 50.3a.

22. This point has been made by Strickmann in “The Mao Shan revelations,” 135.

23. See 1187 *Baopu zi waipian* 43.4b.

amounting to some 670 juan. In addition to these works, Ge lists some fifty-five talismans or collections of talismans. How many of these he had actually copied or knew only by title remains uncertain.

GE HONG's list is the first extant catalogue exclusively devoted to Taoist books. Yet it would seem that it did not result from the wish to create a canon but proceeded from the opposition between Taoism and Confucianism. Ge's other work, the *Baopu zi waipian* 抱朴子外篇, is entirely devoted to Confucianism. As regards the ritual transmission of the Taoist texts, Ge gives us some important details. Apart from emphasizing time and again that they should be given only to those who are worthy, Ge tells us, for instance, that his master ZHENG YIN said to him:

Among the Taoist books, none are more important than the Inner Writs of the Three Sovereigns and the Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Peaks.²⁴ The immortal officials and superior persons of old treasured their methods; those who did not have their names inscribed among the immortals were unable to obtain them. They can be transmitted only once in forty years, and at the moment of the transmission, after having daubed one's lips with [sacrificial] blood, an oath [of secrecy] should be sworn and pledges given for the covenant.²⁵

There are a number of similar passages in the *Baopu zi neipian*, some giving concrete information about the kind of pledges to be offered, the oaths to be proffered, and so on. They constitute the first references we have of what may have been a much older ritual tradition of initiation.²⁶ However, while publishing a catalogue of Taoist books, GE HONG did not yet make distinctions among these texts as to which were "canonical" and which were not. In fact, concerning the many handbooks and methods for meditation, GE HONG writes that there were thousands of different kinds, "yet all have their efficacy!"²⁷

The Canon of the Early Taoist Ecclesia (*Zhengyi fawen* 正一法文)

In the preceding paragraphs, we have seen that it was the Han Confucian rejection of Taoism that provoked the separation between the two traditions. Taoism did, however, also have a natural tendency to exclusiveness owing to the esoteric nature of its initiation, and this tendency certainly was reinforced by its relationship to Confucianism. One of the cornerstones of the Tianshi dao is the rejection of the worship of the

24. On these texts, see Schipper, "Gogaku shinkei zu."

25. BPZ 19.308.

26. On the ritual for transmission of these texts, see Dunhuang manuscripts Stein 3750 and Pelliot 2559 and 1281 *Wuyue zhenxing xulun*.

27. BPZ 18.297.

Six Heavens (*liutian* 六天), a term that, in Han Confucianism, denoted the pantheon of saints and gods of the state religion. These figures were branded as abominable demons, filthy and treacherous powers, whose reign had come to an end with the new covenant that Lord Lao 老君 had made with his vicar on earth, Zhang Daoling 張道陵, in A.D. 142.²⁸ The proscription of Confucian divination text and their related practices is documented in the early set of precepts for libationers, the *Taishang Laojun yibai bashi jie* 太上老君一百八十戒.²⁹ Also within Taoist literature, certain distinctions appear between books that adepts should read and those they should not. The Rules Governing the Family of the Tao (*Dadao jialing jie* 大道家令戒, in 789 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing*, a document that can be dated A.D. 255), has the Heavenly Master say to his followers:

None of you, who should apply yourselves entirely to what is good, accept the words of the scriptures. Instead you transmit to one another what is heterodox; you are familiar with falsehoods and reject the truth. I formerly made a list of unprincipled and heterodox writings, and ordered them all to be destroyed. But the libationers lacked [moral] strength, and hid these writings in secret places, so that they continue to exist until the present day. The students of these latter days revel in superficial words; they point to the false and call it true. All this contravenes the interdictions of Heaven. Those who do this shall suffer and never obtain grace.³⁰

The scriptures that were transmitted within the Tianshi dao were, as far as we know, the *Daode jing* and the *Taiping jing* 太平經. The ecclesia also had its own writings. These writings appear to have been, for the most part, purely ritual in nature and linked to the initiation of the members of the communities, at different stages in their life.³¹ These writings consisted mainly of cosmic diagrams and signs (*tu* 圖, *fu* 符) symbolizing divine powers.³² The graphic representations were accompanied by texts that identified the transcendent powers, giving their names and sometimes their appearance, in order to guide the adept in invoking them mentally. These documents were called registers (*lu* 籙), and the sacred texts thus transmitted were called *tulu* 圖籙 or *fulu* 符籙. To these texts could be added the ritual for transmission, the rules to be observed by the adepts who received the text, the story of its origins, its transmission, and its efficacy. Other materials, such as instructions for meditation, rules to be observed, and models for the petitions (*zhang* 章) to be presented to the divine agents,

28. See the introduction to part I.B.1.

29. Preserved in 786 *Taishang laojun jinglü* (third century?).

30. *Dadao jialing jie* 17a.

31. See Schipper, "Taoist ordination ranks."

32. Such as the above-mentioned *Wuyue zhenxing tu*.

could also be added. So, from the core of the cosmic diagrams or the revealed text whole scriptures developed, which, for the Taoists, retained the sacred quality of a *lu*. As mentioned, the Tianshi dao used and transmitted not only its own holy writings of the One and Orthodox Covenant with the Powers (*zhengyi mengwei* 正一盟威), but also the *Daode jing*. This fundamental book of Taoism had been made into the Text in Five Thousand Characters, giving it the status of a cosmic writing expanded from the symbolic number five.

The early Heavenly Master ecclesia united its own texts under the title of *Zhengyi fawen* 正一法文 (Statutory Texts of the One and Orthodox [Ecclesia]). When exactly this unification took place we do not know, but it is certain that this Heavenly Master canon existed in the Six Dynasties period, because a text from the *Zhengyi fawen* is quoted in the *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 (ca. 563).³³ It is thought that the *Zhengyi fawen* at one time counted no less than 100 different texts. As shown by the status given to the Zhengyi Statutory Texts in the later *Daozang*, this collection represents the core liturgical tradition of Taoism.

The Books of the Three Caverns (*Sandong jing* 三洞經)

Many of the prominent families that fled from the north to South China following the invasions of the nomadic Central Asian peoples in the early fourth century belonged to the ecclesia of the Heavenly Master.³⁴ These families spread the new form of liturgical Taoism also in the south, where, as we have seen, it was still unknown to GE HONG a few decades earlier. That this endeavor was successful is borne out by the fact that the aristocratic Xu 許 family of Jiankang 建康 (Nanjing), the main recipient of the revelation of the Shangqing 上清 scriptures by YANG XI, around 360 adhered to the Tianshi dao. As to the legendary matriarch who was at the origin of the Shangqing revelation, WEI HUACUN, she was reputed to have been a libationer (*jijiu* 祭酒) of the Heavenly Master ecclesia. Moreover, the liturgical Lingbao scriptures that were revealed a quarter of a century later to GE HONG's grandnephew GE CHAOFU contain many elements from the rituals of the Way of the Heavenly Master.³⁵ As for LU XIUJING (406–477), who made the first inventory of the canonical scriptures of the Three Caverns (see below), we know from his writings that he belonged to the Tianshi dao.³⁶

At the same time, these scions of aristocratic families in the south were heirs to the

33. WSBY 46.16b–18a.

34. See Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan*, 34ff.

35. Such as the rites for the consecration of the incense burner and the presentation of memorials, etc.

36. See 1127 *Lu xiansheng daomen keliu*.

no doubt older and perhaps more refined Taoism of the “arts of immortality” transmitted by GE HONG. It may well be that this *xian* Taoism was at first rejected by the new masters who came from the north.³⁷ If that is so, this old form of Taoism may have experienced some kind of rehabilitation through the new revelations.

Best known are the texts of the *Shangqing jing* 上清經 revealed to YANG XI in the years 364–370.³⁸ They amount to some forty complete books and many fragments that were collected into such famous compilations as the *Zhen'gao* 真誥. Also important and most influential are the texts of the *Lingbao jing* 靈寶經, received by GE HONG's grandnephew GE CHAOFU around 400.³⁹ Soon YANG XI and GE CHAOFU found many epigones who added similar works to those they had received, thus greatly increasing the stock of newly revealed texts. It is in this corpus that the hypothesis of the “rehabilitation” of southern Taoism is most easily verified. It has been shown that many Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures were inspired by books that were mentioned by GE HONG.⁴⁰ Most of these scriptures, especially the Shangqing, were beautifully written, in contrast to the texts of the *Zhengyi fawen*. As a result, they have exerted a great influence on Six Dynasties and Tang literature. They were also given a prominent place in the Taoist canon.

The wave of revelations was by no means limited to these famous works. Other works of a different kind but certainly no less important had appeared at the turn of the century in the Jiangnan area. These works were, in the first place, the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* 洞淵神咒經⁴¹ and the similarly influential but now partly lost *Shengxuan neijiao jing* 昇玄內教經. The *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* is a vast apocalyptic prophecy anchored solidly in the Heavenly Master tradition. Here the charisma of the newly revealed books is expressed most explicitly. The newly revealed books are called the Scriptures of the Three Caverns (*Sandong jing* 三洞經), or often simply The Three Caverns. These texts, the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* says, “circulate from now on; all true adepts receive them” (2.4b), in the Middle Kingdom (7.1a). These texts were to be kept and recited in the dioceses (*zhi* 治) so that the people could be healed and protected against the onslaught of the demon armies that would come to exterminate evil persons in this world. The Scriptures of the Three Caverns comprise the Shangqing, the Lingbao, and the Sanmei 三昧 (i.e., *samādhi*) scriptures, the latter being a different name for the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* itself (see 5.4a and 8b).

37. See Strickman, “The Mao Shan revelations,” 131–39.

38. See the introduction to part 1.B.2.

39. See the introduction to part 1.B.3.

40. See Bokenkamp, “Sources of the Ling-pao scriptures,” and Schipper, introduction to *Concordance du Houang-t'ing king*.

41. At least the original ten juan. See Mollier, *Une apocalypse taoïste*.

From the term *Sanmei*, as well as from many other textual elements, both in the Lingbao and in the Dongyuan texts, Buddhist influences are manifest.⁴² Ōfuchi has rightly pointed out that the period of the revelation of these new scriptures coincides with that of the massive introduction and translation of Buddhist texts in North China, notably by such scholars as Kumārajīva (350–409).⁴³ Like the Buddhist sūtra, the Sandong scriptures were supposed to come “from the West.” At that time, many Chinese considered Buddhism to be a foreign form of Taoism, and there was a belief that the Buddhist texts introduced by the *śramana* had been originally written by Laozi after his departure for the West.⁴⁴ When these texts were instead found to be quite different and not Taoist at all, and were claimed by the Buddhists as their own, a “nativist” reaction ensued, resulting in the creation of a comparable Taoist literature of true scriptures (*zhenjing* 真經). As for the methods by which this was effected, we know that trance techniques played an important role.

Ōfuchi has also shown that, contrary to a commonly held view, the term *sandong* 三洞 (Three Caverns) did not derive from the Buddhist *Tripitaka* (three receptacles), but had quite a different signification. The concept was in the first place cosmological. One of the most important and influential definitions of *sandong* occurs in an early Lingbao text.⁴⁵ It starts out by describing the cosmic eras that preceded our present world and that were governed in succession by the Three Treasures: Tianbao 天寶, Lingbao 靈寶, and Shenbao 神寶. These treasures represented the Three Primordial *qi* (pneumata). They originated in the Three Caverns and the Three Pure Ones (*sangqing* 三清). From this fundamental triad, the whole universe (the ten thousand beings) was created.⁴⁶ Here, then, we see that the Three Caverns correspond to the primordial chaos that engendered the three original pneumata.⁴⁷ The idea that writing appeared spontaneously with the creation of the universe as the beginning of all phenomena is a traditional Taoist belief. It was further elaborated in the Lingbao scriptures. These primordial characters were considered to be the True Writs (*zhenwen* 真文), and their manifestation at the beginning of time is recalled until today, each time a Taoist ritual area is installed:

42. See Zürcher, “Buddhist influence on early Taoism.” Buddhist influence is remarkably absent in the *Shangqing jing*.

43. Ōfuchi Ninji, “The formation of the Taoist canon,” 253–57.

44. We cannot enter into the important issue of the “conversion of the barbarians” (*huahu* 化胡) controversy here. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, 288–320.

45. 318 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* 1a.

46. Ōfuchi’s conclusion that the Three Caverns were assimilated with the Three Vehicles of Buddhism is based on sources of a later date (see below).

47. On this cosmogony, see the introduction to part I.B.I.

The True Writings,
 Heavenly treasures in vermilion writing on jade tablets,
 Were born before the Original Beginning,
 In the middle of the Void Caverns.
 The universe had not yet taken root,
 Sun and moon did not yet shed their radiance.
 Obscure! Dark!
 No originator!
 No lineage!
 When the marvelous writings appeared, they gathered and mingled,
 Now present, now absent.
 Yin and yang nurtured them into distinctness,
 The great yang assisted them in obtaining brightness.⁴⁸

The appearance of all these new texts during the fourth and fifth centuries was a major turning point in the history of Taoism. The nature of the writings is complex. On the one hand, the fact that they are all, or nearly all, of mediumistic origin may reduce their importance in our eyes. However, once we study them carefully, we see that they combine different and sometimes contradictory elements: the old Taoism of the south with the liturgical institutions of the Tianshi dao from the north; the doctrines of Buddhism that conquered China during that time and the most traditional and ancient cosmology of China proper. In elaborating this multiple synthesis, the books of the Three Caverns recentered Taoism and at the same time created the conditions for the development of its canon.

Lu Xiuqing and the Canon of the Three Caverns

LU XIUJING served as Taoist master at the court of the Liu-Song dynasty (420–479). In 437 he presented, at the request of the emperor, a list of “genuine” Taoist scriptures.⁴⁹ Indeed, since the appearance of the new texts, not only the true heirs to the legacy of GE HONG had “received” holy texts, but many others as well. Hence the necessity that someone knowledgeable and of undisputed religious authority establish an inventory of scriptures to be considered as canonical. This Catalogue of the Scriptures of the Three Caverns (*Sandong jing mulu* 三洞經目錄) comprised, apart from the above-mentioned Shangqing and Lingbao texts, also a book, or more probably a set of talismans, called the Writ of the Three Sovereigns (*Sanhuang wen* 三皇文). This document, originally the pride of the library of GE HONG (see above), had been

48. Lingbao ritual for the consecration of the altar. See Schipper, *The Taoist body*, 87ff.

49. This is the date of the preface to the Catalogue of Lingbao Scriptures (*Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目序), preserved in YJQQ 4.4a–6a.

“rediscovered” by BAO JING (260–330?) during the Yuankang era (291–299) of the Jin dynasty in a cave on the Song shan 嵩山. BAO JING was the governor of Nanhai 南海 (modern Canton), as well as GE HONG’s father-in-law.⁵⁰ He was also the master of the famous hermit XU MAI, the elder brother of XU MI, the main recipient of the *Shangqing jing*. Thus, BAO JING’s “discovery” of a “new” version of the *Sanhuang wen* may in several respects be considered the forerunner of the wave of “revealed” rewriting of ancient texts that produced the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures. This is the reason LU XIUJING attributed one of the divisions of his Catalogue of the Three Caverns to BAO JING’s scripture. The catalogue therefore looked like this:

1. Dongzhen 洞真 (the Cavern [Penetrating] Truth),⁵¹ containing the texts of the *Shangqing jing*.
2. Dongxuan 洞玄 (the Cavern [Penetrating] Mystery), containing the texts of the *Lingbao jing*.
3. Dongshen 洞神 (the Cavern [Penetrating] Divinity), containing the texts of the *Sanhuang wen*.

How many works were listed in each category is not entirely clear. According to the extant fragments of Lu’s catalogue, the Dongzhen division comprised thirty-four works totaling forty-one juan, and the Dongxuan division twenty-seven works, possibly with later additions by Lu’s disciple and successor SONG WENMING (ca. 550).⁵² As for the Dongshen division, it appears to have been quite small, comprising only four scrolls (juan) of what must have been essentially talismans and invocations.

More important, however, is the fact that in LU XIUJING’s scheme, each of the primordial caverns is associated with the revelation not just of cosmic writings but of a particular group of texts. Each of these groups, moreover, had not only, as we have seen, its particular history, but also its own characteristics.

The Shangqing texts concern almost exclusively Tending Life techniques, including meditation, visualization, and (spiritual) alchemy. The practices they contain were intended to be performed by the individual adept, as the highest and purest form of self-cultivation, in the search of immortality.

The Lingbao texts were meant to be recited in a liturgical context. They are linked to the Retreat (*zhai* 齋) and Offering (*jiao* 醮) rituals and contain many instructions for the performance of these essentially collective religious services.

50. See the introduction to part 1.B.4. This story is independent from the tradition represented by GE HONG, so there is no reason to suppose that the *Sanhuang jing* mentioned by him (see above) is the same text as that “discovered” by BAO JING.

51. In Taoist scholarship, the concept of *dong*, cavern, is defined as *tong* 通, “to penetrate.” See *Daomen dalun* 道門大論 in YJQQ 6.1a.

52. See Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” and Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 222ff.

The Dongshen writings were used for “calling upon the gods of Heaven and Earth and making them obey one’s orders. Their efficacy is fathomless; hence they were given the name of *shen* (god, divine).”⁵³

In other words, the first division is concerned with the individual’s search for the ultimate truth (*zhen* 眞), the second with the mystery (*xuan* 玄) of Taoist liturgy, and the third is dedicated to intercourse with the gods (*shen* 神) as practiced by groups united in the worship of a particular deity. The texts that compose this part of the canon bear this out. They contain not only talismans and spells, but also divination techniques for predicting the future, at all times an important aspect of these cults. Indeed, the Three Sovereigns, to whom the third (or Dongshen) division was devoted, were the most important deities of ancient China, and their veneration was widespread even in the imperial period. As such they stand here for all these forms of veneration, such as, for instance, the worship of the Five Sacred Peaks (*wuyue* 五嶽).

LU XIUJING’s categorization goes much beyond a mere bibliographical classification. It aims at bringing together in one coherent structure the three main aspects of any religious tradition: (1) the individual mystical search for transcendence, (2) the liturgical celebration of the mystery, and (3) the worship of the deities, saints, and ancestors. LU XIUJING’s categorization provides a scriptural legitimization for each of these. If we compare this canon with those of other great religious traditions, we readily see that few of them have accomplished such a perfect integration. LU XIUJING’s three-tiered canon is a work of genius that allowed Taoism to develop and remain a single tradition. Its multiple forms of practice did not result in any schisms. Its great flexibility enabled it to survive many persecutions.

Yet LU XIUJING did not include all the newly revealed scriptures of his time. As we have seen, he left out the apocalypse of the *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* and other major texts. A reason for these omissions is suggested by the fact that all the works he did include were in some way or another linked to the texts of GE HONG’s bibliography. In this way, through the filiation with this undisputed patriarch of southern Taoism, Lu established the canonicity of the new revelations.

Other texts not included in LU XIUJING’s catalogue are those of the Heavenly Master ecclesia. These texts were not excluded because Lu considered them uncanonical, but, on the contrary, because the Tianshi dao, to which Lu himself belonged, already had its *Zhengyi fawen*.⁵⁴ Later, when the successors of LU XIUJING compiled a new canon, including not only the newly revealed texts classified according to the Three Caverns system but also the older groups of texts, they gave the Zhengyi scrip-

53. Preface to the Three Caverns, in YJQQ 6.1b: 洞神者召敕鬼神, 其功不測, 故得名神.

54. Compare Ōfuchi Ninji, “The formation of the Taoist canon,” 265.

tures of the Heavenly Masters the seventh division. As the last, and uneven, division, it served as the single and universal foundation of the entire structure.

The Seven Parts

In the course of several centuries during the early middle ages, North and South China underwent quite separate developments. As we have seen, only in the fourth century did the Tianshi dao penetrate to the south. As for the newly revealed scriptures of the Three Caverns, there is no evidence that they became known in North China before the sixth century. Yet, in an ironical shift in ideology, the north, which had been forcibly converted to state Buddhism in the early phase of the period of division (fourth century), turned to Taoism in the middle of the fifth century, right at the time LU XIUJING compiled his *Sandong jing mulu*.⁵⁵ Thereafter, in the south it was Buddhism that in turn established itself among the higher strata of society, which led to the first official persecution of Taoism, during the Liang dynasty (502–557).

In the later half of the sixth century, the Northern Zhou dynasty (561–580) began its drive for the unification of the empire. Searching for a faith that would assist him in this ambition, Emperor Wu ultimately chose a form of state Taoism. Around 574, against a background of anti-Buddhist measures, the emperor founded an academy, named Tongdao guan 通道觀, purportedly for the study of the Three Religions (*sanjiao* 三教) in order to show the fundamental unity of all doctrines, old and new. For the first time, the equality of the Three Religions became official policy.⁵⁶ Such a policy agreed with Taoism.⁵⁷ The daoshi of the Tongdao guan, under the direction of WANG YAN (d. 604), were asked to make a critical appraisal of all Taoist texts. At the same time, a vast *summa theologicae* of Taoism was compiled with the title of *Wushang biyao* in one hundred juan.⁵⁸ It mainly consists of citations taken from the Sandong scriptures as codified by LU XIUJING. It also refers to the *Daode jing*, the Zhengyi canon, and the *Shengxuan neijiao jing*. There are four degrees of initiation and transmission: (1) the *Daode jing*, (2) the *Sanhuang jing*, (3) the *Lingbao jing*, and (4) the *Shangqing jing*, the last three stages being those of the Three Caverns of LU XIUJING. The Zhengyi ordination degrees are notably absent from this scheme, probably, as

55. This is related to the famous patriarch KOU QIANZHI (365–448). See 785 *Laojun yinsong jiejing*.

56. See Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 10–13. There is much confusion surrounding this episode in Chinese history, making it difficult to give a more circumstantial account here.

57. Taoism formerly maintained that Confucius was Laozi's disciple, and the Buddha the latter's avatar. Hence the Three Religions had a common origin in Laozi.

58. The WSBY and the history of its compilation are studied in detail in Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*.

Lagerwey has pointed out, for political reasons.⁵⁹ There is as yet no trace of any other ordination degree or classification system.

The work of collecting and collating the texts continued after the fall of the Zhou under the Sui dynasty. The name of the Tongdao guan was changed into Xuandu guan 玄都觀. A manuscript of the *Laozi bianhua jing* 老子變化經 discovered at Dunhuang has a colophon indicating that it was copied in 612 under the supervision of a master of the Xuandu guan, in order to be included in the imperial library.⁶⁰ This work must have been part of the general editorial effort undertaken at the Xuandu guan. Moreover, this evidence shows that the work by WANG YAN and his colleagues was no longer limited to the scriptures of the Three Caverns and the Zhengyi canon, but had been extended to encompass such works as this popular text from the Later Han period. The editors treated the primitive messianic text with much respect, as all ancient and corrupt characters were copied verbatim.

According to the Buddhist polemical work *Xiaodao lun* 笑道論, by Zhen Luan 甄鸞, which was presented to the court in 570, the Taoists of the Xuandu guan produced a catalogue of the texts they had copied and edited. The entire collection amounted to 2,040 juan made from 40,000 sheets of paper.⁶¹

We have seen that WANG YAN and his colleagues pursued their work under the Northern Zhou in an imperial foundation called the Tongdao guan 通道觀 and that this foundation was perpetuated by the Sui dynasty after the fall of the Northern Zhou (in 581), when the Tongdao guan was renamed Xuandu guan. At some time, perhaps during the Sui, Wang produced a new catalogue of the collection he had assembled, called *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊, in seven juan.⁶² This catalogue is reputed to have listed all Taoist works and books by the classical philosophers, but we do not know how many juan it comprised.⁶³

We may speculate on the possibility that WANG YAN's catalogue was divided into seven parts because it had seven juan, but there is no proof of this. The first time we find reliable evidence of the way the enlarged canon was organized is in a work named The Order of Succession of The Taoist Scriptural Legacy (1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu*), written by the patriarch PAN SHIZHENG around 680. After having

59. See Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 32 and passim.

60. See Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao Tseu*, 59–60, and Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Moku-rokuhen*, 325.

61. *Xiaodao lun* in *Guang hongming ji* 9. See also the discussion in CGF 108–9.

62. Now lost. To be distinguished from the encyclopedia SDZN.

63. See CGF 108. Chen's reconstruction, stating that the entire collection amounted to 8,030 juan, is confusing, and more so because titles of scriptures "not yet revealed" (*weichu* 未出) but still hidden in the Three Caverns were included in the catalogues.

introduced the cosmogony and the spontaneous birth of the primordial scriptures, he says:

The first, the Cavern [Penetrating] Truth, is the Great Vehicle; the second, the Cavern [Penetrating] Mystery, is the Middle Vehicle; the third, the Cavern [Penetrating] Divinity, is the Lesser Vehicle. From all of the Three Caverns came the Seven Parts: as Dongzhen, Dongxuan, and Dongshen [are the Three Caverns], so Taixuan 太玄, Taiping 太平, and Taiqing 太清 contain the auxiliary scriptures (*fujing* 輔經). Taixuan is auxiliary to Dongzhen, Taiping to Dongxuan, and Taiqing to Dongshen. The Three Auxiliaries together with [the Three Caverns] form the Thirty-six Divisions (*sanshiliu bu* 三十六部).⁶⁴ The Zhengyi [One and Orthodox] Covenant with the Powers (*mengwei* 盟威) is pertinent to all [the canon]. Together, [all these divisions] form the Seven Parts.⁶⁵

Thus, at some time during the Sui or the beginning of the Tang, the two canons, the *Zhengyi fawen* of the Tianshi dao and the *Sandong jing* of LU XIUJING, were brought together. All the surviving ancient texts were also brought into the *Daozang*, and these were given the status of “auxiliary scriptures.” This expression should be qualified. The word *fu* 輔 literally means “support pole,” but the expression “four supports” has the special meaning of the four ministers of state who surround the supreme ruler.⁶⁶

The contents of these “auxiliaries” were as follows:

- the *Taixuan bu* 太玄部, being the highest class, contained the *Daode jing*, its commentaries, and the works of later Taoist philosophers
- the *Taiping bu* 太平部 was made up by the only recently “rediscovered” *Taiping jing* in 170 juan)
- the *Taiqing bu* 太清部 preserved all the old literature on alchemy, physical exercises, and other Tending Life techniques, these being considered the Lesser Vehicle of Taoism
- the seventh division of the *Zhengyi bu* 正一部 contained the *Zhengyi fawen*, (Statutory Texts of the One and Orthodox [Ecclesia]). These, during the Tang, amounted to 100 juan. The texts of the Heavenly Master ecclesia, “founded on the *Daode [jing]*, supportive of the Three Caverns, and encompassing the Three Vehicles,”⁶⁷ were considered to be relevant (*tongguan* 通貫) to the teachings of the six other divisions.

64. On the Thirty-six Divisions, see Chen Guofu (CGF 252–57).

65. 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 1.1b–2a.

66. This meaning also has a precedent in Taoism, where the Three Officials are supported by Four Ministers. See 1016 *Zhen'gao* 19.12b: *Sanguan sifu* 三官四輔.

67. *Zhengyi jingtu kejie pin* 正一經圖科戒品, in 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 2. 11a–b.

The evidence that these seven divisions had the contents mentioned here can still be deduced from the arrangement of 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* (q.v.).

Much information about the initial composition of the Seven Parts, and especially, the Four Supplements can be obtained from a cluster of related handbooks, called either *Daomen dalun* 道門大論,⁶⁸ *Xuanmen [da] lun* 玄門[大]論,⁶⁹ [*Dongxuan lingbao*] *Xuanmen dayi* [洞玄靈寶] 玄門大義,⁷⁰ or *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞.⁷¹ All of these texts are interrelated and date from the early Tang, around 700. All quote, or are attributed to, a certain Master Meng (Meng *fashi* 孟法師), who, in one instance, is identified as MENG ANPAI, a well-known court Taoist from the time of the empress Wu Zetian (r. 684–704). One of these texts, the *Daojiao yishu*, twice quotes a catalogue of Taoist works titled *Yuwei qibu jing shumu* 玉緯七部經書目, attributed to the same Meng *fashi*.

There have been many discussions about the identity of MENG ANPAI, author of the *Daojiao yishu* and the above-named catalogue. He has erroneously been taken for a daoshi of the Liang dynasty (502–557).⁷² This error has in turn induced many authors to date the introduction of the seven-part classification system of the Taoist canon to that same period, that is, about two centuries before it actually came into existence. As a result, the history of the Taoist canon has been rendered so confused as to make it almost unintelligible.

From the title of MENG ANPAI's catalogue we can see that it was organized according to the seven parts system. Not much else is known about this catalogue, but the above set of texts give detailed information about the composition of each part and its place within the structure of the entire canon. Interestingly, the texts in question continuously quote the Zhengyi scriptures, or *Zhengyi fawen*, as the authority on which this classification system was based. In some cases the complete title of the text concerned is given as "The Chapter on Ordination Rites and Precepts Related to [the Transmission] of Scriptures and Diagrams of the Statutory Texts of the One and Orthodox [Ecclesia]" (*Zhengyi fawen jingtu kejie pin* 正一法文經圖科戒品).⁷³

68. This text is partially preserved in YJQQ 6.

69. Quoted in the encyclopedia SDZN 7.23a.

70. 1124 *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi*.

71. 1129 *Daojiao yishu*; according to its preface, derived from the original version of 1124 *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi*.

72. The error derives from a faulty reference by DU GUANGTING in his preface to his 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* as to the identity of "Da Meng." This mistake has been taken over by Chen Guofu (CGF 1–4).

73. See 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 2.11b.

The Twelve Categories and the Thirty-Six Divisions

Patriarch PAN SHIZHENG, in the above-quoted text, mentions not only the organization of the canon into seven parts, but also the Thirty-six Divisions (*sanshiliu bu* 三十六部).⁷⁴ Here he refers to a further and more elaborate classification of the books in the *Daozang*. That such an additional subdivision was necessary is evident when we think of the bulk of different texts that now make up the Taoist canon. Indeed, above-mentioned treatises such as the *Daomen dalun*, the *Xuanmen dayi*, and the *Daojiao yishu* all give the additional classification system of the Twelve Categories of texts (*shier lei* 十二類), also called the Twelve Sections (*shier bu* 十二部). When applied to each of the Three Caverns, the Twelve Categories result in a total of thirty-six subdivisions (whether this was actually the system PAN SHIZHENG had in mind remains to be seen; we will return to this question later).

The Twelve Categories as defined by the *Daojiao yishu* and countless other sources are as follows:

1. Fundamental Scriptures, *Benwen* 本文
2. Sacred Symbols, *Shenfu* 神符
3. Exegeses, *Yujue* 玉訣
4. Diagrams, *Lingtu* 靈圖
5. Annals, *Pulu* 譜錄
6. Precepts, *Jieli* 戒律
7. Solemn Rites, *Weiyi* 威儀
8. Techniques, *Fangfa* 方法
9. Miscellaneous Arts, *Zhongshu* 衆術
10. Hagiography, *Jizhuan* 記傳
11. Hymns, *Zansong* 讚頌
12. Memorials, *Biaozou* 表奏

Many titles speak for themselves. The “Fundamental Scriptures” are the original revelations of the Tao. “Symbols” are the kind of cosmic writings that often constitute the core revelation of a scripture. These writings can be used in ritual and as talismans. Category 3 holds the commentaries on the scriptures, and “Diagrams” contains the graphic representations of divine and cosmic forces such as the Eight Trigrams. These representations are also the basis of the registers. The “Miscellaneous Arts” cover the whole group of alchemical, Tending Life, medical, and other manuals, and also texts used for prognostication.

We have found a few indications that this system may indeed have been applied.

74. On the Thirty-six Divisions, see Chen Guofu (CGF 252–57).

1. The “Rites of Girding with the True Writ of the Imperial Lord of Supreme Trinity” by LU XIUJING refers to the “thirty-first juan of the fourth section of the Dongzhen [division] (*Dongzhen disi bu di sanshiyi juan* 洞真部第四部第三十一卷).”⁷⁵ This small work concerns the method of using a register, and the “fourth section,” that of “Diagrams,” corresponds indeed to this kind of text.

2. An ancient commentary to LU XIUJING’s famous Pacing the Void stanzas refers to the “eighth juan of the third section of the Lingbao texts of the Dongxuan [division] (*Dongxuan disan bu, Lingbao diba juan* 洞玄第三部靈寶第八卷).”⁷⁶ Here also, the evidence is conclusive, as the third category is devoted to exegeses.

3. The Dunhuang manuscript Stein 4226, which contains the table of contents of the *Taiping jing*,⁷⁷ refers to the “second juan of the Taiping division” (*Taiping bu dier juan* 太平部第二卷), which would indicate that, as in the later Ming canon, only the texts of Three Caverns, not those of the Four Supplements, were subdivided into twelve categories.

4. This last point is also borne out by the “Record of Truthful Transmission of the Divine Flying Powder,” transmitted by Qi Tui 齊推 and dated 812.⁷⁸ This text is also found in YJQQ 74. The recipe for Lingfei powder is there stated to have been transcribed “from juan 153 of the Taiping division.”

The taxonomy of the Twelve Categories certainly deserves further study. As to the matter of the Thirty-six Divisions, it is further complicated by the fact that at about the same time the twelve-categories system came into being, several other texts speak of an organization of the canon into thirty-six divisions of an entirely different nature. Here we find not a bibliographical classification, but a list of thirty-six titles of texts, some known, others entirely new, which were seen as an ideal canon of cosmic dimensions, integrating all currents and schools. This “Sanshiliu bu zunjing 三十六部尊經” became an important theological concept, without ever, so it seems, having actually been realized.⁷⁹

The Liturgical Organization of the Tang

The aim of Taoist scholars of the early Tang period (618–907) was clearly to integrate all schools and traditions within the canon according to a hierarchical order.

75. 1293 *Shangqing taiwei dijun jiedai zhenwen fa* 1a.

76. 614 *Dongxuan lingbao shengxuan buxu zhang xushu* 1b.

77. See the article on 1101 *Taiping jing*.

78. 943 *Lingfei san chuanxin lu*.

79. For more information, see 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing*, 337 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shihao gongde yinyuan miaojing* and 8 *Taishang sanshiliu bu zunjing*. The problem of the Thirty-six Divisions is discussed by Chen Guofu (CGF 252–58).

These scholars included not only the major scriptural bodies that made up the Seven Parts, but also lesser groups and sects. Thus the followers of the millenarian prophecies of the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing*, who had formed an independent sect since the early Six Dynasties period, were now recognized and given a place as a subsidiary group within the Dongshen division.⁸⁰ Each group of scriptures was subject to a special transmission and ordination ritual. A Taoist adept could thus follow his or her individual path to union with the Tao by going through the successive stages as laid down in the canon and institutionalized in the liturgical organization of the religion. At each stage, the adept had to accept certain precepts and rules of conduct. These sets of rules, progressively more numerous and detailed, were attached to the scriptures to be transmitted at each level. To each stage corresponded also a particular ordination title, as well as corresponding ritual vestments (*fafu* 法服), liturgical empowerment, and so on. Also, for each initiation and ordination, offerings of various kinds had to be presented as tokens of the disciple's sincerity (*xinwu* 信物). In some cases, such as for the attainment of the highest rank of transmission of the Shangqing scriptures, the *xinwu* consisted of precious objects of silver and gold.

A number of Tang sources give detailed descriptions of the system and how it worked.⁸¹ It was well unified, despite a number of minor discrepancies. In general, the aim of creating a unity between the religious organization (the body of the ecclesia) and the scriptural corpus (the body of writings) was fully accomplished. This was a remarkable achievement. The different textual traditions no longer represented different schools (as may have previously been the case) but had become integrated into an overall system in which the adept could make his or her way from the first religious instruction during childhood to the highest levels in the divine office. None has better captured the spirit of this process than WU YUN (d. 778):

Although for [obtaining] the Tao there is no recipe, its study has to proceed gradually. Thus one begins with the Zhengyi; then follow the Dongshen; one gets established in the Lingbao (i.e. the Dongxuan), and finally rests in the Dongzhen. Ultimate peace is the foundation, perfect concentration is the means, through the observance of abstinence and precepts we work at it; compassionate benevolence is the most advanced stage.⁸²

The four mental conditions match the four stages of learning. WU YUN does not mention the Taixuan stage for the transmission of the *Daode jing* and related texts, but this may be, as we can see from the Dunhuang manuscripts, because it was closely

80. See ZHANG WANFU, 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li*.

81. See the introduction to part 2.B, "The general liturgical system of the Tang."

82. See 1052 *Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun* 9b.

linked to the Zhengyi stage. “One gets established in the Lingbao” probably refers to the fact that the previous grades were also for laymen, but the transmission of the Sandong initiation conferred the qualifications of a master. The idea that one “rests in the Dongzhen” may be related to the fact that in Tang times the highest stages of the Shangqing initiation corresponded to the final stages of one’s life.⁸³

Many members of the Tang establishment were initiated and ordained. The solemn ordination of one of the imperial princesses, first in the intermediate grade corresponding to the *Dongxuan bu* 洞玄部 and then in the highest grade of the *Shangqing jing* in the year 711, has been described.⁸⁴ Evidence yielded by the manuscript sources found in Dunhuang allow us to understand how all the ordination system was applied on a far lower level. It is evident, if not from actual scriptures then from lists of texts pertaining to each division, that all degrees of the Tang Taoist ecclesia were present at Dunhuang. Indeed, in a remote place like Dunhuang, the adepts did not always, when acceding to a certain rank, receive all the texts they were entitled to own. Sometimes they received only the lists that came as part of their ordination documents. These lists may have enabled adepts, whenever they came to a center where the texts were available, to prove that they were entitled to read and perhaps copy the works in question.⁸⁵

The Canon of the Kaiyuan Era

We have seen that at the Tongdao guan of the Northern Zhou dynasty, Taoist texts were transcribed in order to be included in the imperial library, which implies that the texts were not destined to be united into a separate Taoist canon. Only special catalogues were made, such as the *Yuwei jingmu* 玉緯經目 by YIN WENCAO (d. 688).⁸⁶ Under the Tang, Taoism was officially considered equal if not superior to Buddhism, and Taoist texts continued to be collected for inclusion into the imperial library. At the same time, a variety of encyclopedias and handbooks were published, some of which have survived.⁸⁷ The work of redaction and study culminated in the period of Tang

83. See Schipper, “L’építaphe pour une grue (*Yiheming*) et son auteur,” in *A Festschrift in honour of Professor Jao Tsung-i on the occasion of his seventy-fifth anniversary* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1993), 409–21.

84. ZHANG WANFU, 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 2.18a ff.

85. See Schipper, “Taoist ordination ranks in the Tunhuang manuscripts.” ZHANG WANFU, in his 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 4b, also states that the ordinants received the catalogue of the books they were entitled to read and copy (in this case those related to the *Daode jing*).

86. Now lost. It should have listed Taoist texts of a total volume of 7,300 juan, again including, no doubt, many still unrevealed scriptures.

87. See part 2.A.8 on handbooks and encyclopedias.

Xuanzong (712–756), especially in the later part of this celebrated epoch. During the Kaiyuan period, the emperor ordered the most eminent Taoists of the capital to collect and edit all the texts with a view to publishing a *Daozang*.

A similar undertaking was launched with respect to the Buddhist canon. The Buddhist catalogue was compiled by Zhisheng 智升. It bore the title *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 and was presented in 730. It contained all existing works. Editions and translations of the same text were listed chronologically. The listed scriptures amounted 5,048 juan. This catalogue laid the groundwork of all subsequent editions of the Buddhist *Tripitaka*. The same can be said for the *Daozang*. The Taoists presented their catalogue probably somewhat later. It was called the *Sandong qionggang* 三洞瓊綱, and the volume of the entered books amounted to 3,477 juan.⁸⁸ In the seventh year of the Tianbao era (748), Xuanzong ordered that an unknown number of copies of the texts listed in the catalogue be made, and that the collections of scriptures thus compiled be distributed to all major Taoist centers. This, then, was the first true Taoist canon.⁸⁹

The Kaiyuan *Daozang* was to be the model for all subsequent *Daozang* until the Yuan dynasty. Although not a scrap of it survives, we know not only how it was organized, but also something about its contents. Not only ancient canonical texts, but also new, even contemporary, scriptures were included, for instance, the anti-Buddhist “Scripture of the Jade Purity of the Great Tao of the Most High (1312 *Taishang dadao yuqing jing*)⁹⁰ or the notorious *Huahu jing* 化胡經 by Wang Fu 王浮, written around 300 and no longer extant. The inclusion of such works paved the way for later controversies. It also demonstrates the rapprochement between Taoism and Confucianism in Xuanzong’s times. For the same reason, the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 became popular under Xuanzong, and we may suppose that it was incorporated into the *Daozang*, probably in the section *Taiqing bu*.⁹¹

The *Dongxuan bu* certainly had become an important part of the canon. Since the early Tang, many new Lingbao scriptures had been written, some having a regular length of ten juan, others being shorter or even very short, aiming at expressing the essential wisdom of the Tao in one or two pages (*daoyao* 道要). Although in later periods the bulk of these scriptures would no longer enjoy the popularity they held during the Tang, they continued to be transmitted and are still prominent in the Ming canon.

88. Different numbers have been advanced. Here we follow the *Sanchao guoshi* 三朝國史 (see VDL 5).

89. While in fact the *Daozang* was propagated in the Tianbao era, Xuanzong’s canon is known as that of the Kaiyuan era.

90. A Dunhuang manuscript of this scripture (Pelliot 2257) carries a colophon showing that it was copied for the emperor himself in 753.

91. This can be deduced from the place given to this work in 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu*.

Among other important developments of this era we must mention the trend toward a historical institutionalization of Taoism through the establishment of genealogies for its major traditions. Thus the Shangqing, Lingbao, and Zhengyi traditions were endowed with contrived genealogies of patriarchs linked to holy mountain sites. The Shangqing tradition became identified with the Maoshan 茅山 in Jiangsu; the Lingbao register with the Gezao shan 閤皂山, and the Zhengyi tradition with the Longhu shan 龍虎山, both in Jiangxi. These identifications were to have far-reaching consequences.

In its manuscript form, the Kaiyuan canon was vulnerable. The revolt of An Lushan 安祿山 (755–757) and Shi Siming 史思明 (755–763) resulted in the destruction of the two capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, and in the loss of the copies of the *Daozang* that were kept there. Suzong (r. 756–762), the successor of Xuanzong, immediately set out to have the Taoist scriptures recopied. Nonetheless, the terrible civil war following the rebellion of Huang Chao 黃巢 (874–884) that provoked the end of the Tang dynasty also destroyed most of the religious centers, and with them their manuscript libraries. During the following Five Dynasties period (907–960), several attempts were made to restore at least part of the canon. The best-known example is the effort of DU GUANGTING (850–933), a court Taoist who became the spiritual leader of the Shu kingdom in Sichuan.⁹² Du is especially known for his work as editor of the Taoist classics, as well as for his outstanding expertise in Lingbao liturgy. In later periods, his authority would always be invoked whenever important questions related to ritual surfaced. In the present context, it is important to note that Du was the first to have the works he edited printed, in order to give Taoist texts a wider distribution and therefore a greater chance of survival.⁹³

The Song and Yuan Canons

It is well known that the Song tried in many ways to restore the glory of the Tang and to follow their example. They, too, extended imperial patronage to Taoism and set out, at an early date, to recollect lost Taoist texts and to rebuild the *Daozang*. Under Emperor Zhenzong (r. 998–1022), the task of collecting the texts and making a new catalogue was entrusted to the most powerful official of the empire, the military commissioner WANG QINRUO (962–1025). Wang, who had also had a hand in editing the new imperial Taoist liturgy, the *Luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮,⁹⁴ suggested that the traditional organization of the *Daozang* be abandoned and that, instead of beginning

92. See Verellen, *Du Guangting (850–933)*.

93. One of the works we know Du had printed was his complete edition of 335 *Dongyuan shenzhou jing*.

94. See Wang's 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan*.

with the Shangqing scriptures, the canon ought to open with Laozi's *Daode jing*.⁹⁵ This suggests that, at least for Wang, the traditional transmission and ordination grid was no longer valid. WANG QINRUO presented his catalogue of the *Dongzhen bu* in 1015, but it was not accepted. Two years later, he presented a new catalogue, this time of the entire canon, entitled *Baowen tonglu* 寶文統錄, which was prefaced by the emperor himself.⁹⁶ The *Sanchao guoshi* 三朝國史 gives the contents of the catalogue in numbers of juan (here to be understood as chapters):

Dongzhen bu 洞真部: 620

Dongxuan bu 洞玄部: 1,013

Dongshen bu 洞神部: 172

Taixuan bu 太玄部: 1,407

Taiping bu 太平部: 192

Taiqing bu 太清部: 576

Zhengyi bu 正一部: 370

It is noteworthy that the 4,350 juan listed here retained the sevenfold structure of the canon, and that the philosophical *Taixuan bu* had grown considerably, relative to the other sections.⁹⁷

Again, as under the Tang, the listed texts were hand-copied for distribution to Taoist centers, unlike the Buddhist canon, which had been printed under imperial auspices and with government money, in 983.⁹⁸ The copying of the Taoist texts was done in accordance with the catalogue of WANG QINRUO. But it seems that after Wang's death in 1025 some changes were introduced, perhaps while copies were prepared in regional centers. The *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志, a monograph of the Taoist temples on Dadi shan 大滌山 (Jiangsu, near Hangzhou), reports that one of the copies made under the auspices of Emperor Zhenzong was bestowed on this center. From that set, after revision by an eminent Taoist scholar named Feng Dezhi 馮德之, new sets were made under the title "The Bookcase of the Clouds with the Seven Labels" (*Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤).⁹⁹ This title is of special interest because *Yunji qiqian* is now the title not of one of the versions of Zhenzong's canon, but of the famous Taoist anthology by

95. 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 9. See CGF 81. Chen's criticism is unjustified.

96. It was listed in the imperial library of the Southern Song under the title *Sandong sifu bu jingmu* 三洞四輔部經目 (VDL 34–35).

97. The *Sanchao guoshi* lists 4,359 juan, a figure that has been adopted by most scholars. See VDL 5 and n. 16.

98. See Demiéville, "Notes additionnelles sur les éditions imprimées du Canon bouddhique," in Pelliot, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie en Chine*, 223–40.

99. Local copies of the imperial *Daozang* were also made in Sichuan. See VDL 36–37.

ZHANG JUNFANG (fl. 1008–1025). In his preface, Zhang claims to have been one of the compilers of the Song canon (which he refers to as the *Da Song tiangong baozang* 大宋天宮寶藏) under WANG QINRUO and to have played an important role in the editorial work. His compilation, he says, was a condensed version of the canon, intended for the bedside table of the emperor. As Piet van der Loon has observed, ZHANG JUNFANG's account is full of inconsistencies and errors, and therefore not trustworthy.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the title *Yunji qiqian*, referring explicitly to the sevenfold division of the canon, was a fitting name for a *Daozang*, whereas Zhang's anthology did not follow that arrangement and completely omitted many divisions of Taoist literature, especially liturgy. A possible explanation may be that the *Dongxiao tuzhi* account is accurate, that the imperial *Daozang* was indeed copied in Hangzhou and then distributed under the title *Yunji qiqian*. ZHANG JUNFANG, or possibly someone else borrowing his name, would then have compiled the anthology using the same title.

The Song canon was revised and considerably enlarged under Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125). Moreover, for the first time, the *Daozang* was printed. The cutting of the printing blocks was to be done in Fuzhou, where previously the Buddhist canon had also been reprinted. All the manuscripts were transported there and lodged in a special library in the Tianning wanshou gong 天寧萬壽宮 temple. The name given to the library was *Zhenghe wanshou daozaang* 政和萬壽道藏. Work on the blocks began in 1119 and took a long time to complete. By the time the blocks were ready and transported to the capital, the end of the dynasty was near, and it is unclear how many printed copies of the *Zhenghe wanshou daozaang* were made and distributed.

After careful study, Piet van der Loon arrives at the conclusion that the total volume of Huizong's canon amounted to 5,387 juan.¹⁰¹ This was an increase of more than one thousand juan, or 20 percent, compared to Zhenzong's canon of a century earlier. What new materials were added? Huizong's reign was one of the most fervent Taoist periods in Chinese history. The emperor himself, as Lord of the Tao (Daojun 道君), extended his patronage to many Taoist establishments and undertakings. The period also witnessed, at court and elsewhere, the birth of a number of new Taoist schools. It is, however, difficult to assess how many of the works produced by these new schools were included in the *Daozang*.¹⁰²

During the Southern Song dynasty, the manuscript copy of Huizong's canon

100. VDL 30–32.

101. Against the number of 5,481 juan given by CGF 135.

102. See, for instance, the case of the 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*, a *Tianxin zhengfa* 天心正法 manual that appears to have been composed especially for inclusion in the canon.

was still kept at Fuzhou. Several new copies were made of this set and distributed to temples in South China. The printing blocks of the *Zhenghe wanshou daoze* had entered into the possession of the new rulers of northern China, the Jin dynasty. In 1188, these blocks, previously kept in Kaifeng, were transported to the Middle Capital (Zhongdu 中都, modern Peking). There they were completed and printed into a yet larger edition (6,455 juan), titled *Da Jin Xuandu baoze* 大金玄都寶藏. Here again, we have no clear indication as to the kind of new materials that were added, perhaps in connection with the many new schools that developed in the twelfth century.

One of these new schools, which was to become the major movement of renewal in the modern history of religions in China, was the Quanzhen 全真. It was founded around 1170 by WANG ZHE (1113–1170) in Shandong. The rapidly growing movement, after initial difficulties, obtained recognition by the Jin state in 1197. In 1208, the emperor presented a complete set of his *Xuandu baoze* to the Taixu guan 太虛觀 in Shandong in honor of QIU CHUJI, *hao* Changchun (1148–1227), one of the main artisans of the Quanzhen institution as a monastic order. After the conquest of northern China by the Mongols and the destructions it wrought, the Jin *Daoze* was almost totally lost. Under the direction of SONG DEFANG (1183–1247) and his disciple Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188–1244), the Quanzhen order reedited the *Daoze* on the basis of the sole surviving copy of the Jin canon.¹⁰³ To all appearances, the contents of this new *Daoze*, which was completed in 1244, were the same as those of the Jin *Xuandu baoze*. Only four new texts, related to the history of the Quanzhen movement, had been added at the end.¹⁰⁴

The Destruction of the Old Canon

During the early stage of the Mongol period (1206–1368), the Quanzhen order enjoyed great official support, enabling it to establish itself durably as one of the major components of modern China's religious system. This success also stoked the fires of the ancient rivalry with Buddhism. Other factors must have contributed to the ensuing conflicts, but the fact that the *Daoze*, since Tang Xuanzong's times, contained many anti-Buddhist texts and could be considered slanderous with regard to that religion became the focus of the controversy. A debate conducted at court in 1258 before the future emperor Kublai resulted in defeat for the Taoist side. A purge of some forty contentious works in the *Daoze* was ordered.¹⁰⁵ The texts in question were publicly burned. Twenty-three years later, in December 1281, the official ban on Taoist books

103. See VDL 51–52.

104. See 1430 *Daoze quejing mulu* and VDL 52, n. 3.

105. The list is given in the *Bianwei lu* 2 (see Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, 224).

was suddenly extended to all works with the exception of the *Daode jing*.¹⁰⁶ Not only all copies of the *Daozang* but all holdings of temples and monasteries and even the books in the possession of individual daoshi were to be destroyed. The extent of the damage can be assessed thanks to *1430 Daozang quejing mulu*, a catalogue of missing books based on a comparison of the contents of the *Xuandu baozang* with those of the Ming canon:¹⁰⁷ the catalogue lists some 800 works as lost. However, according to the Gazetteer of Longxi xian in Fujian of 1762, a complete manuscript copy of the *Zhenghe daozaog* 政和道藏 survived at the Xuanmiao guan 玄妙觀 (formerly Tianqing guan 天慶觀) of Zhangzhou 漳州.¹⁰⁸ Even though not all Taoist books were lost, the proscription of 1281 stands as one of the worst assaults on China's spiritual heritage by tyrants of various descriptions.¹⁰⁹

The holocaust did give Taoism a chance for renewal. As we have seen, before the burning of the books, premodern China continued to live with a scriptural canon belonging to the middle ages. Once again, the Quanzhen canon of 1244 was in all likelihood virtually identical with the Jin canon, itself a reedition of Huizong's *Zhenghe wanshou daozaog*, while the latter probably did not differ much from Zhenzong's manuscript canon of the early eleventh century. The compilers of this collection, after the innovative proposals of WANG QINRUO had been discarded, returned to the model of the Tang *Daozang* of the Kaiyuan era. Even if books had been added, the organizational principles had remained the same. But while 500 years had passed without any fundamental change to the structure of the canon, Taoism itself had evolved in significant ways.

Since the late Tang and the Five Dynasties periods, with the economic and cultural development of the Jiangnan area and the rise of its merchant cities, the local temple organizations had seen a great revival. New scriptural and ritual traditions sprang up from these centers. The influence of Song Buddhism, not only through its Chan and

106. That is, after the conquest of southern China and the reversal of the military fortunes of the Mongols with their attempt to invade Japan. The reasons for Kublai's extraordinary decision to ban Taoist books are unclear. The defeat of his fleet may have been one of them.

107. The authors of the *Daozang quejing mulu* evidently made use of this catalogue. It is possible that theirs was an incomplete copy, as VDL 62 seems to suggest.

108. *Longxi xianzhi* 龍溪縣志 II.34b.

109. In his inscription to the memory of Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248–1322), patriarch of the so-called Xuanjiao 玄教 order of the Yuan dynasty, ZHAO MENGFU (1254–1322) records that around 1295 the newly enthroned Emperor Chengzong reassured the patriarch of his sympathy to Taoism (see Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 912). The work of the Xuanjiao order in support of Taoism in the later part of the Yuan remains to be studied.

Pure Land schools but especially through its Tantric traditions, was pervasive. This influence is clearly perceptible in Taoist texts.

None of these new developments were easily reconcilable with the traditional framework of the canon, which, as we have seen, corresponded to the hierarchy of the clergy of the medieval ecclesia. The ancient Way of the Heavenly Master, with its elaborate liturgical organization, had gradually ceased to exist in the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods—or perhaps, as future research may demonstrate, its communal structure had transformed itself into that of the modern temple association (*hui* 會). The very lineage of the Heavenly Masters, which had continued since the Han dynasty with its seat at the Yangping zhi 陽平治 diocese in the Guanzhong region in southwestern Shaanxi, was replaced with a new institution, the hereditary Zhengyi patriarchy of Longhu shan in Jiangxi. The claim that this institution hailed from the founder of the Tianshi lineage has never been substantiated. Indeed all the available historical evidence points to the contrary. The transformation may have been a result of the Tang official recognition of the Longhu shan Heavenly Master temple as the seat of the lineage (see above). In any case, the modern Zhengyi order of the Longhu shan bears no resemblance whatsoever with the religion of the *Zhengyi fawen*. This order is a perfect example of the transformation Taoism underwent at the end of the middle ages. It is also a remarkable testimony of Taoism's adaptability.

The inevitable problems brought about by the discrepancy between the canon and the living Taoist religion of the Song were not easily resolved. In his great liturgical handbook *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, JIN YUNZHONG (fl. 1225) expressed the difficulties he experienced in matching the ritual practice of his times with the orthodoxy of the canon. In order to accommodate the living *Tianxin zhengfa* 天心正法 school, he decided to regard it as representing the true Heavenly Master tradition, while rejecting the ancient Zhengyi rites. To legitimate the powerful school of the Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道 promoted by the temple of Saint Xu Jingyang 許旌陽 of Mount Xishan 西山 at Nanchang (Jiangsu), Jin Yunzong associated it with the ancient Lingbao division. In fact, it can be induced from his protracted arguments regarding canonicity that none of the new schools occupying most of the space of part 3.B in the present study had been integrated into the old canon at that time. Indeed, if any of the works produced by schools like the Shenxiao fa 神霄法, the Wulei fa 五雷法, the Tianxin zhengfa, the Jingming zhongxiao dao, the Qingwei fa 清微法—and many other works as well, such as the scriptures written in honor of popular saints—had been included, at least one or two of them would have fallen victim to the great holocaust and presumably listed as such in 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu*. The fact that no work of the kind can be found in that catalogue suggests that they either had never been admitted or had subsequently been expurgated.

From this perspective, it may be surmised that had the ancient canon not been destroyed, the ultimate outcome might have been even worse: sclerosis followed by radical reformation. Since the traditional *Daozang* had ceased to exist, the way was now open for a renewal.

THE MING CANON AND ITS SUPPLEMENT

The Compilation of the *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏

We now return to the collection that is the subject of the present study, the *Da Ming daoze jing* 大明道藏經. The fact that the Heavenly Master was asked to submit the new canon indicates that since the political eclipse of the Quanzhen order during the reign of Kublai, the patriarch of the Longhu shan had obtained virtual leadership over all of Taoism. His headquarters in Jiangxi had become an important Taoist ordination center with a large library. However, as stated earlier, the editorial work was to take almost forty years. It must have advanced well during Zhang's lifetime. He himself had moved to Peking in order to supervise the editing. But after his death in 1410, and the subsequent demise of the Yongle emperor in 1424, things may have come to a standstill. Zhu Di's successor, the Xuande 宣德 emperor (1426–1436), was not interested in the enterprise. During the Zhengtong 正統 reign, beginning in 1436, the work was finally continued and completed. We do not have much information about the editors, except that the registrar (*daolu si* 道錄司) Shao Yizheng 邵以正 was entrusted with the final revision in 1444.¹¹⁰ It was probably he who included ZHANG YUCHU's collected writings, the *Xianquan ji* 峴泉集, into the Ming canon, and the place of its insertion probably marks the point at which Shao introduced his additions to the work of the former Heavenly Master. The following entries, numbered 1312 to 1428, correspond to a mass of texts from the Six Dynasties and the Tang period, especially Shangqing scriptures that had not been previously included. Most of these texts have characters altered in deference to Song taboos, suggesting that they originally came from a Song canon. Had it not been for this kind of afterthought on the part of the editors, much of our information about the great Shangqing tradition would have been ruefully incomplete.

The editors could have done much more. We know, as mentioned above, that at the time the Ming canon was compiled, a copy of the *Zhenghe wanshou daoze* still existed in the Xuanmiao guan at Zhangzhou. Many other, perhaps incomplete, copies existed elsewhere, for instance in Fuzhou itself. Why did ZHANG YUCHU not reprint their contents? We can even ask more precisely: why was the catalogue of the

110. On Shao Yizheng, see Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen."

Quanzhen *Xuandu baozang*, which most evidently was used by the editors of the Ming canon to make 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu*, not included? This omission is all the more strange since the editors themselves showed, in that same catalogue of missing works, that catalogues of earlier editions had been reproduced in previous canons. What exactly did the editors imply by marking all those books that were evidently still extant in Fujian at the time as “missing” (*que* 闕)? That they were literally unable to find them or that, after ZHANG YUCHU had edited a *Daozang* according to his own ideas, it was no longer feasible or desirable to include them? To do so would have resulted in adding at least 2,000 jian to the 4,000 that had already been collected by the former Heavenly Master.

That the Heavenly Master wished to make a *new* canon can be seen from the fact that the great majority of the works he selected were modern, that is, dated from the Southern Song or later.¹¹¹ We can gain some insight into his ideas from his *Daomen shigui* 道門十規 (Ten Guidelines for Taoism), a pastoral directive probably written shortly after Zhang received, in 1406, the imperial request to present a new *Daozang*. He presents the history and the role of Taoism as they were understood in his times. His historical perception begins with Laozi as grand astrologer and archivist, founder of the Huang-Lao school. Taoism was subsequently dominated by different currents and sects. This situation resulted ultimately in the separation between his own Zhengyi order, with its mainly secular clergy, and the Quanzhen order, with its monastic institutions. He credits his own ancestor, the First Heavenly Master, with having founded the Zhengyi order; GE XUAN with creating the Lingbao school; Xu Jingyang with the Jingming zhongxiao dao; and the elder Mao brother with the Shangqing tradition. Each of these orders, schools, or traditions had in ZHANG YUCHU's time become a sect (*pai* 派) with its own holy mountain, temples, clergy, titles, and registers.

Beside these sects there were the methods (*daofa* 道法) of the Qingwei, the Shenxiao, and so on. The practice of such *fa*, Zhang says, required strict discipline and great purity, lest the performers became indistinguishable from “back-alley shamans.” This caveat gives Zhang the opportunity to dismiss the use of spirit writing as a medium unfit for orthodox Taoists. A special paragraph is devoted to those in charge of temples, who can be laymen, but in that case should be senior citizens of impeccable conduct.

In all these precepts there is no trace of the ancient canonical framework of graded initiations and ordinations. Although Zhang clearly saw himself as the supreme leader of the Taoists, he derived this standing from the imperial request to compile the *Daozang*, and not from any empowerment given to him, either by the body of

111. See VDL 61 and n. 43.

Taoist masters, or by decree of the gods or ancestors. It is obvious that the ecclesia of the middle ages had no contemporary meaning, and that Zhang decided to create a *Daozang* for his time, in accordance with the Taoism of his time. It is likely that he was aware of the catastrophe that had befallen Taoism because of the contents of the *Xuandu baozang* and that he wished to avert similar mishaps.

Outlining the scriptural legacy of Taoism, Zhang defines the Three Caverns as containing the revelations made by the Three Pure Ones, that is, the Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, the Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊, and the Daode tianzun 道德天尊. Therefore, he says, the *Lingbao duren jing* 靈寶度人經, since it was “spoken” by the Yuanshi tianzun, should be at the head of the canon,¹¹² and that is indeed where it is now found. He also tells us that the most important texts revealed by the Lingbao tianzun were not the Lingbao scriptures, but the *Dingguan* 定觀 and the *Neiguan* 內觀.¹¹³ As for the texts of the Daode tianzun, these were the *Daode jing* and the *Riyong* 日用.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, Zhang makes a distinction between scriptures meant for personal cultivation (*nei er xiu ji* 內而修己) and those meant for saving the world (*wai er ji shi* 外而濟世). Scriptures such as the *Beidou jing* 北斗經 and *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 belonged to the second category.

As a result of these principles, the organization of the *Daozang* became radically altered. Among the most conspicuous departures from the traditional seven-parts classification is the placement of the *Daode jing* and the other ancient philosophical texts and their commentaries not in the *Dongxuan bu*, as had formerly been the case, but in the *Dongshen bu*. This placement occurred under the aegis of Daode tianzun, who, in modern Taoism, is considered to be the deified Laozi (Taishang laojun 太上老君). Other momentous, but perhaps at first sight less visible changes are the transformation of the *Dongzhen bu* into a collection of modern *daofa* of the Qingwei, Yutang, and Thunder Magic schools, headed by the sixty-chapter Shenxiao version of the *Lingbao duren jing*. The *Shangqing jing*, which used to occupy this place in the first of the Three Caverns, is eliminated. As we have seen, we owe it to the insight, or the afterthought, of Shao Yizheng that, in extremis, the ancient Shangqing scriptural corpus was saved and added at the end of the *Daozang*.

Needless to say, the attempts by ZHANG YUCHU to pour new wine into old bottles

112. 1232 *Daomen shigui* 5a.

113. These titles correspond, respectively, to 400 *Dongxuan lingbao dingguan jing zhu* and 641 *Taishang laojun neiguan jing*, both early Tang texts. But while the *Dingguan* is indeed placed in the *Dongxuan bu*, the *Neiguan*, as revealed by Laojun, is in the *Dongshen bu*.

114. Corresponding to 645 and 646 *Taishang laojun [nei, wai] riyong jing*. These short treatises are probably from the Song or Yuan periods.

rendered the organization of the canon obscure, especially to outsiders. The classification not only of the Three Caverns but also, within each of these, of the Twelve Categories was radically changed. In the Ming canon what used to be a very clear classification system results in total disorder. Thus the Fangfa division of the *Dongzhen bu* is a mixed collection of Qingwei rites, Inner Alchemy handbooks, some ancient Shangqing texts, and so on.

The Twelve Categories were defined in the Tang period on the basis of Taoist literature as it existed at that time. More than seven centuries later, these categories were totally inappropriate. All kinds of new books had appeared in the meantime, such as the texts of Inner Alchemy, the *yulu* 語錄 (*logia*) of the Quanzhen masters, the monographs of sacred sites, and so on, none of which fitted the old system. While ZHANG YUCHU was very much a man of his times and well versed in all the different schools that existed then, he decided to use the old seven-parts system, the rationale of which had become obsolete. The addition of the Twelve Categories did not help to render the classification of the texts any clearer and, in some instances, resulted in an even greater confusion. Hence it is difficult to find one's way in the Ming canon. (See table 1 for a summary of the distribution of texts of the Ming canon.)

Other factors may have played a role in making the organization of the canon so confused. We have seen ZHANG YUCHU's explicit condemnation of spirit writing. Yet there are a great many texts in the canon that state just as explicitly that they were produced in this way. Pride of place as one of the very first books of the Fundamental Scriptures of the *Dongzhen bu* belongs to 5 *Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing*, which was revealed by a "descent into the brush" (*jiangbi* 降筆) in the year 1168 in Wenchang temple in Zitong 梓桐 (Sichuan), as mentioned repeatedly in the prefaces to that work. Another instance is the 317 *Lingbao tianzun shuo Hongen lingji zhenjun miaoqing*. This happens to be the very first book in the next Cavern, the *Dongxuan bu*, and equally a product of the planchette, wielded this time in the temple of the immortal Xu brothers 徐仙 at Jin'ao feng 金鰲峰 in Fuzhou. The scripture has a preface by Emperor Yongle himself, dated 1420.¹¹⁵ It is evident that this new work was included while the editorial work on the *Daozang* was already under way; it was placed at this prominent position because of its august patronage. Many other examples could be quoted of books that must have been admitted into the canon because the temple organization that produced them was rich or powerful.

Nevertheless, the worship of local saints does not stand out as prominently in the Zhengtong canon as it would later in the supplement. Remarkable, on the contrary,

115. See the rich documentation on the cult in part 3.B.12, "The Hongen lingji zhenjun Cult."

TABLE I. *Distribution of texts of the Ming canon of the Zhentong era*

For each category we give the number of juan followed, between parentheses, by the number of texts.

TWELVE CATEGORIES	THREE CAVERNS			FOUR SUPPLEMENTS				Total
	Dongzhen 洞真	Dongxuan 洞玄	Dongshen 洞神	Taixuan 太玄	Taiping 太平	Taiqing 太清	Zhengyi 正一	
<i>Benwen</i> 本文	160 (77)	84 (71)	40 (51)					
<i>Shenfu</i> 神符	8 (9)	10 (8)	8 (5)					
<i>Yujue</i> 玉訣	111 (60)	36 (33)	707 (88)					
<i>Lingtu</i> 靈圖	27 (17)	11 (13)	51 (6)					
<i>Pulu</i> 譜錄	21 (13)	18 (12)	42 (14)					
<i>Jieli</i> 戒律	12 (12)	27 (11)	9 (7)					
<i>Weiyi</i> 威儀	31 (30)	420 (81)	27 (26)					
<i>Fangfa</i> 方法	230 (51)	76 (24)	60 (63)					
<i>Zhongshu</i> 衆術	19 (20)	20 (20)	104 (74)					
<i>Jizhuan</i> 記傳	124 (19)	35 (17)	37 (20)					
<i>Zansong</i> 讚頌	10 (6)	8 (8)	6 (7)					
<i>Biaozou</i> 表奏	9 (2)	29 (5)	6 (3)					
Total	762 (316)	774 (303)	1,097 (364)	553 (117)	410 (66)	179 (25)	776 (240)	4,551 (1,431)

NOTE: The 1607 supplement of 56 texts raises the total number of texts in the Ming canon to 1,487.

is the place the canon gives to Confucianism, exemplified by the inclusion of the complete works of SHAO YONG (1012–1077). Numerous works by Confucian scholars on cosmology and Inner Alchemy are also noteworthy, such as Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) commentary on the *Zhouyi cantong qi*. Here again, public relations and the promotion of the ideology of the Three Religions must have played a role.

The Supplement of 1607

In 1585, 140 years after the completion of the *Zhengtong daoze*, Zhu Yijun 朱翊鈞, the Wanli 萬曆 emperor, asked the then Heavenly Master Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, the fiftieth successor to the holy office, to compile a supplement to the canon. Again, the patriarch repaired to Peking to start his work. Again it took him a long time to accomplish the task. Twenty-two years later, Zhang Guoxiang presented the results of his labors. His choice had fallen on just fifty-six books, with a combined volume of no more than 180 juan. Why did it take so long? Why so few books? And above all, why did the emperor all of a sudden express the wish for a supplement? Once again, we have little to go on to reconstitute the history of the compilation. Almost all information has to be distilled from the supplement itself.

It is well known that the last two great rulers of the Ming, the Jiajing and Wanli emperors, favored Taoism. Since we have no clear indication as to what motivated the request for a supplement, we can only presume that an update in keeping with the religious policy of the times was deemed necessary. The borderlines of Taoism, with respect to those of the other two great doctrines (Buddhism and Confucianism), had to be redrawn. Perhaps the growing importance of sectarian movements made it expedient that the position of Taoism be strengthened.

When we look at the kind of books that were selected for the supplement, any of these reasons could be advanced. The selection is indeed surprising. The supplement starts out with a flurry of scriptures related to popular sects and saints. The very first text, 1432 *Taishang zhonggdao miaofa lianhua jing*, is a pastiche of the Buddhist Lotus Sūtra, produced by an unidentified sectarian movement by means of planchette writing. The ninth entry, 1440 *Huangjing jizhu*, is an annotated edition of the 10 *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing*. This was the work of Luo Hongxian 羅洪先, *zi* Nianan 念庵 (1504–1567?). Luo was the distinguished *zhuangyuan* 狀元-laureate of 1529, who as a result of a difference of opinion with the Jiajing emperor was dismissed from public office in 1541. He was an ardent admirer of Wang Shouren 王守仁, *zi* Yangming 陽明 (1472–1529), and a friend of Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩 (1517–1598), the founder of the Sanyi jiao 三一教. *Huangjing jizhu* also contains a “preface to the original edition” by Luo himself proclaiming that, lacking the means of publishing his work, he presented it to the Heavenly Master for inclusion in the *Daoze*. This preface is also dated 1585. By that time Luo is thought to have died, so the possibility of some sleight of hand by

the editor cannot be excluded. The commentary itself, however, is manifestly written by a scholar familiar with the thought of Wang Yangming. A special feature is that the editor of this work is a certain Zhou Xuanzhen 周玄貞, a Quanzhen master from Shandong, who also served as compiler of this very supplement of the Taoist canon (Zhou's complete title is given in the work as *Da Ming jiang daojing xiu xuanzang si Quanzhen dizi* 大明講道經修玄藏嗣全真弟子).¹¹⁶

There are many other links between the supplement of 1607 and eminent scholars of the late Ming. The two last works to be included are 1486 *Laozi yi* and 1487 *Zhuangzi yi* by Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541–1620). Jiao Hong was still alive at the time his works were included, and it must be assumed that he gave his assent to this. The 1483 *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* by Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378–1448), seventeenth son of the founder of the dynasty, deserves also to be mentioned. But most astonishing is the inclusion of a work by Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602), a study of the *Yijing* with a distinct Chan 禪 approach titled 1473 *Yiyin Shangxia jing*. At the time of publication, Li had been dead for five years. His demise, possibly by suicide, had not allayed a raging controversy surrounding his personality and actions. The scholar-rebel, pursuing his Buddhist vocation while remaining the most prominent liberal thinker and writer of his time, had been the victim of furious attacks by the Confucian orthodox establishment, both during his lifetime and after. The inclusion of his work in the supplement of the *Daozang* was politically significant. It amounted not only to a rehabilitation, but to an act of defiance towards the Donglin Party 東林黨 and their allies.

Here we should stress once more the presence of a great number of scriptures and hagiographies related to popular saints in the supplement, in contrast with the main canon of the Zhengtong era. Many deities, such as Bixia yuanjun 碧霞元君, had never obtained official recognition in the form of a canonization title (*fenghao* 封號), in spite of great popularity, especially in the capital. The inclusion of their scriptures amounted to such a sanction. We must conclude that there existed a political will behind this move. The *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (juan 183, second month of Wanli 15) reports that candidates in the imperial examinations were wont to refer to texts in the *Daozang* rather than to cite the Confucian classics and orthodox commentaries. This raises the question of what kind of Taoism the supplement sought to foster and define. It was evidently something far more popular and unconventional than had previously been the case. The legitimization of the cult (*xianghuo* 香火) of popular saints, of Wang

116. The work identifies yet another collaborator to the supplement. In a third, short preface dated 1588 Wang Jingcui 王靜粹 identifies himself as responsible for copying texts to be included in the Wanli supplement. He must have also had a hand in arranging the texts that went into the present edition.

Yangming's thought, of Lin Zhaoen's teaching, and of Li Zhi's criticisms could be interpreted as an attempt to create an opposition movement to the Confucian orthodoxy of the times and, by the same token, to muster popular support for the Wanli throne. This hypothesis is strengthened by other evidence, notably from the stele inscriptions of the same period in Peking's popular temples, where a similar spirit of opposition to the reactionary orthodoxy prevails.

However futile such attempts to provide a platform for opposition to the Confucian orthodoxy may have been and however miserably they failed in later periods does not diminish the importance of the undertaking. The late Ming stands out in the history of Chinese culture as a moment of freedom and creativity.

Destruction and Rebirth

A few words, finally, about the gradual repression of Taoism during the Qing. The political bias undoubtedly goes back to the days when the kingdom of Hou Jin 後金 (1616–1644) was a sanctuary for fundamentalist Confucians opposed to the liberal culture of the late Ming. The sectarian uprisings that caused the demise of the Ming comforted the future rulers in their opposition to popular religion. As early as 1663, the Kangxi 康熙 emperor assimilated daoshi with shamans (*wushi* 巫師) and mediums (*tiaoshen* 跳神), prohibiting their exorcistic rites on pain of death. The foremost persecutor, however, was Qianlong 乾隆. In the fourth year of his reign (1739), he prohibited the recruitment of disciples by the Heavenly Masters. The next year he assented to the following petition by the chief minister of the Court of State Ceremonial (Honglu si qing 鴻廬寺卿), Mei Gucheng 梅穀成 (d. 1763): "Taoists are vile. It is improper that they pollute the court with their filth." Thus after 1740 the Heavenly Master was no longer admitted to the palace. In 1742, Taoists were dismissed from their role in the state rituals and Taoist music was barred from state ceremonials. In 1752, the Heavenly Master was demoted from his dignity as a mandarin of the second degree to the fifth. He was also barred from presenting proposals for the canonization of saints. Although some time later he was reinstated in the third degree and permitted to come to court once every five years, the Taoists' situation remained unfavorable and altogether different from what it had been during the Ming. It was to degrade continuously thereafter. Finally, in 1821, the first year of the reign of the Daoguang emperor, the Heavenly Master was barred not only from court, but from the capital.

Another eloquent example of the Qing government's ostracism is found in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. Unlike the Yongle emperor, who gave a large place in his *Yongle dadian* to Taoist works, the Qianlong emperor banned virtually all of them. At a time when the Ming canon was by no means rare and was readily available in the capital, the old Manchu managed to reduce the presence of Taoist books in this "universal

library” to some forty titles, virtually all of them commentaries of the *Daode jing* or the *Zhuangzi*. The *Daozang*, which in Qing times was constantly pilfered because it contained so many rare ancient texts,¹¹⁷ was severely criticized precisely for containing these works! This and similar partisan arguments abound in the review that the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* devotes not to the *Daozang* itself, but to an annotated catalogue of the same, the *Daozang mulu xiangzhu* 道藏目錄詳註 by Bo Yunji 白雲霽 (dated 1626).¹¹⁸ Thus Taoist literature was placed outside the purview of Confucian learning and condemned to oblivion.

The hostility of the literati, encouraged by the Qing policy toward Taoism, became a factor in their programs for national renewal. It was one of the driving forces behind the proposals made by Kang Youwei 康有爲 (1858–1927) during the Hundred Day Reform (Wuxu bianfa 戊戌變法) period. For Kang, the religious fervor of the Chinese was “the shame of the nation.” The decree issued by the young Guangxu emperor in 1898 to “do away with temples to open schools (*feimiao banxue* 廢廟辦學)” opened the door for the gratuitous confiscation of temple property and the destruction of their valuable patrimony. The immediate consequence was to destabilize the entire country, one of the causes for the so-called Boxer Rebellion of 1900. In the course of these tragic events, when the allied troops entered Peking, their gunfire destroyed the Da guangming dian 大光明殿 temple in the western part of the city, where the printing blocks of the Ming canon were kept. They were all destroyed.

The initiative by President Xu Shichang 徐世昌 (1855–1939) to reprint the Ming canon came in the wake of the May Fifth Movement in 1919. He financed the enterprise and instructed his minister of education, Fu Yuanshu 傅沅叔 (1872–1939), to supervise the task. The work itself was entrusted to the Hanfen lou 涵芬樓 bibliophile association in cooperation with the Commercial Press in Shanghai. A committee of scholars endorsed the publication in a preface in which some of the main facts related to the history of the *Daozang* were recalled. Among the signatories we find the reformers Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao 梁啟超.

The canon was reprinted in 1926 in reduced format facsimile, and the original 4,551 juan bound into 1,120 fascicles. The reprint is virtually complete. Minor lacunae must have existed in the original copy. Five hundred sets were made which were sold to sinological libraries all over the world. The study of the treasure house of Taoism could at last begin.

117. It is in the *Daozang* that many important philosophical texts—such as parts of the *Mozi*, the *Gongsun Longzi*, and the works of SHAO YONG—as well as mythological texts such as the *Shanhai jing* have been preserved. Qing literati edited and published these texts on a large scale but rarely acknowledged their origin.

118. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 146 (end).

THE TAO-TSANG PROJECT

Daozang Studies after 1926

It did not take long before scholars delved into the reprinted *Daozang* and began publishing their findings. This task was by no means easy as there was little to go on. Virtually no study had been made hitherto of the canon and its contents. As mentioned, scholars of the Qing period had mined the Ming canon for ancient texts they deemed of interest, without, however, asking why the Taoists had preserved these texts, and without giving them credit for having done so. In consequence no Qing scholar had ever studied the *Daozang* in its entirety, with the self-proclaimed exception, at a late stage, of Liu Shiwei 劉師培 (1884–1919). Liu had spent the winter months of 1910 in the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 temple in Peking reading ten juan a day and had made a critical study of the whole collection.¹¹⁹

Another claim to having read through the entire canon before it was reprinted was made by Father Léon Wieger, S.J. In 1911, he published his catalogue of the Ming *Daozang*.¹²⁰ It is doubtful whether the reverend father ever saw, let alone read, the canon. His “catalogue” is an adapted translation of the above-mentioned catalogue by Bo Yunji.¹²¹ On the basis of this catalogue, Wieger made his own classification of the texts according to a rather haphazard selection of fifty-six categories. Nevertheless, in the absence of any better work, Wieger’s catalogue was used for many years. His classification of texts was even reprinted in the *Daozang* index of the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series.¹²²

The general situation scholars found themselves in when tackling the *Daozang* after it became available has been aptly described by Maspero. After stating that the repository had until recently been nearly inaccessible, he says:

And the collection is vast, over a thousand volumes containing nearly 1,500 different works, many of them very lengthy; so that the exploration, which will be long and difficult, has scarcely begun. . . . One of the chief difficulties of research relating to the history of Taoism arises from the fact that the ancient Taoist books are undated:

119. A simple calculation shows that at this rate Liu would have needed a year and a half to complete the task. His “Reading notes on the *Daozang*” (*Du daozeang ji* 讀道藏記) show the limits of both his labors and his understanding. His initiative did, however, set an example and received much attention. Its slender results were published in the *Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報 75–77 (1911) and again in his collected works in 1934 (*Du Daozeang ji* in *Liu Shenshu xianshen yishu* 63).

120. L. Wieger, *Taoïsme*, vol. 1, *Bibliographie générale* (Hsien-hsien, 1911).

121. See the remarks by Liu Ts’un-yan, “The compilation and historical value of the Tao-tsang.”

122. Weng Dujian, *Daozeang zimu yinde*, xiii–xx.

their authors are unknown, we do not know what period they belong to, and there is almost never either a preface or a prefatory or final note giving an author's name or a chronological indication. For some of them, we can waver between Han and Ming—that is between dates differing by some fifteen centuries.¹²³

Maspero's first attempt at dating some of the texts in the *Daozang* is important, not so much for the results, which are now largely obsolete, but for its methodology. Maspero first found a few “well established reference points.” Using these as points of departure, he examined to what extent he could find these reference materials quoted in other works. Thus he established sets of cognate texts. Without any previous knowledge of the history of Taoist literature, Maspero managed to identify what have since become known as the Shangqing and Lingbao corpuses,¹²⁴ demonstrating the efficiency of what we have since named “internal textual criticism.”

It is beyond the scope of the present introduction to give a full account of the progress of *Daozang* studies since the reprint of 1926.¹²⁵ Some major contributions that have been instrumental in the development of the field should, however, not go unmentioned.

Chen Guofu 陳國符 (1914–2000) issued from a Taoist family in Changshu 常熟 (Jiangsu) and studied chemistry in China and in Germany. During his university years he was attracted to the history of Chinese science and collaborated with Tenney Davis on a study of the *Baopu zi neipian*.¹²⁶ He returned to China in 1942 and joined the Southwest Union University in Kunming. There he began to work seriously on the history of the *Daozang* under the guidance of the great linguist Luo Changpei 羅常培 (1899–1958). After the war, Chen traveled extensively in search of materials

123. “An essay on Taoism in the first centuries A.D.,” 313–14. This “Bibliographical introduction” must date from around 1936 (see *ibid.* 313, note 3).

124. *Ibid.*, 314–19.

125. There are several reports on the development of Taoist studies in China, Japan, and the West: see Noguchi Tetsuro 野口鐵郎 and Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 in *Dōkyō* 道教 3:218 ff., edited by Fukui Kōjun 福井康順 et al.; Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 4:479 ff.; Anna Seidel, “Chronicle of Taoist studies in the West 1950–1990,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1990): 223–347; K. M. Schipper, “The history of Taoist studies in Europe,” in *Europe Studies China*, 476–91, edited by Ming Wilson and John Cayley (London: Han-Shan Tang Books, 1995); F. Verellen, “Taoism,” in Dan Overmyer ed., “Chinese religions: the state of the field (part 2),” *Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (1995): 322–46. Our introduction here does not highlight the contributions of Chinese scholars such as Xu Dishan 許地山 (1893–1941) and others, as their work did not primarily concern the *Daozang* and its sources.

126. Tenney Davis and Chen Kuo-fu, “The inner Chapters of the *Pao Phu Tzu*,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1941): 74, 297.

and evidence. The result was his *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考, a pioneer study of the history of the canon and many related topics. It was first published in 1949 and immediately exerted great influence on the then still nascent field. In 1963, a new enlarged edition was published, which comprised, in addition to the original study, a number of important essays, notably on the early Tianshi dao, on Taoist music, and on the history of Chinese alchemy. Chen's work, all the more because he was not a professional sinologist, commands deep admiration. It has been used by generations of students but never superseded. Yet it has one serious drawback. Chen's work admirably reconstructs the development of the old canon, from the Three Caverns of LU XIUJING to the last *Xuandu baozang* of the Quanzhen masters. But it does not devote any in-depth study to the sole *Daozang* that has come down to us, that of the Ming. Chen considered the classification system of the *Zhengtong Daozang* chaotic, and its editors inept.¹²⁷ Be that as it may, his work offers little help to those needing to find their way about the canon. In the end, despite its wealth of materials, Chen's historical study promises more than it delivers, by not taking into account the vast majority of modern texts contained in the Ming *Daozang*. In 1983 Chen published a sequel titled *Daozang yuanliu xukao* 道藏源流續考, but it is solely devoted to alchemy.¹²⁸

Daozang studies in Japan truly commenced with the work of Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, whose *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* 道教の基礎研究 (Fundamental research in religious Taoism, 1952) broke new ground and opened up the field. Chen Guofu's work exerted great influence in Japan, as can be seen from Yoshioka Yoshitoyo's 吉岡義豐 *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* 道教經典史論 (Treatise on the history of Taoist scriptures, 1956). Following in Chen's footsteps, Yoshioka added many new materials, notably from Buddhist sources and the Dunhuang manuscripts. Most useful for the new field of *Daozang* studies were the indexes of book titles occurring in Taoist handbooks and encyclopedias that Yoshioka appended to his study. These permitted tracing quotations and thus advancing the study of Taoist bibliography. Yoshioka continued in this way through a large number of groundbreaking publications. He further collaborated with young scholars from France and made their work known in Japan. Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾 also contributed immensely to the study of the Taoist canon. Besides reconstructing such scriptural monuments as the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* and the ancient *Lingbao jing*, he collected and edited all of the Dunhuang manuscripts related to Taoism. He also made an important contribution to the study of Taoist ritual.

It was thanks to the works of these last three scholars that, at the time I studied the *Han Wudi neizhuan* 漢武帝內傳 as the subject of my dissertation, I was able to identify it as a literary work related to the Shangqing scriptures and to explain its

127. CGF 177.

128. Published by Mingwen shuju in Taipei, 1983.

narrative in terms of a ritual for the transmission of sacred texts.¹²⁹ This dissertation induced me to delve into the vast source material on liturgy in the *Daozang*, only to find it virtually incomprehensible. No guidance was available, whether from books or from field materials. Chavannes's groundbreaking study of the Lingbao ritual Casting of Dragons (*tou longjian* 投龍簡),¹³⁰ then the only study on the subject of Taoist ritual available, showed that he also had been at a loss as to the meaning of many aspects of the liturgy.

A few years later, in 1964, I was privileged to study with Taoist masters in Tainan (Taiwan) and for the first time to witness *zhai* 齋 and *jiao* 醮 services. The Lingbao Qingwei 靈寶清微 liturgy is relatively well preserved in southern Taiwan.¹³¹ The manuscripts handed down from generation to generation contain scriptures and rituals that in many cases are also found, in identical or cognate versions, in the Ming canon.

The study of the living tradition thus opened up a field that hitherto had remained inaccessible, and at the same time allowed us to progress in our understanding of the most important component of the canon. In order to facilitate the identification of manuscript sources and the exploration of the *Daozang*, I compiled a number of research aids. One of these was a concordance to the titles of the Ming canon, which was useful for identifying pertinent terms within the often long-winded and obscure titles of Taoist texts.¹³²

Thus, during my years in Taiwan (1962–1970), I began laying the groundwork for an overall study of the Ming *Daozang*. This enterprise, the dimensions of which I did not truly fathom initially, appeared timely as more and more case studies on specific scriptures and movements began appearing. However, these early, topical researches were often difficult to contextualize. Moreover, under the influence of Japanese scholarship, research on Taoism tended to focus increasingly on the Six Dynasties period. Later developments, with the exception of Quanzhen Taoism, remained virtually untouched. The discovery of the living traditions now made it possible, and necessary, to include these in our study as well.¹³³

129. See *L'empereur Wou des Han*.

130. Chavannes, "Le jet des dragons."

131. The rituals have been published by Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei*.

132. First published as *Concordance du Tao-tsang* and again as a companion volume to the Yiwen yinshu guan reprint of the *Zhengtong Daozang* (Taiwan 1976), and, more recently, in a revised version published with Chen Yaoting 陳耀庭 as *Daozang suoyin* 道藏索引 by the Shanghai shudian in 1996. I made my own inventory of the contents. This resulted in a slightly different numbering of the texts. On the *Yunji qiqian* index, see below.

133. The dangers of introducing medieval data in the study of the contemporary field has

The Beginning of the Tao-tsang Project

At the European Conference of Chinese Studies in Paris in September 1976, I proposed to create a research program for the study of the *Daozang*. The aim was to provide the first comprehensive, systematic, and analytical bibliography of the Ming canon. All texts were to be investigated for their date, authorship, and significance, as well as abstracted. Indexes were to be made of all hard data the texts might contain. Finally the contents of the canon would be reorganized so as to contextualize each text by giving it a meaningful place in terms of modern scholarship. This reorganization would throw light on the historical evolution of Taoism and give the canon a transparency it had hitherto lacked.

The proposal obtained the sponsorship of the European Association of Chinese Studies, and work began right away. The headquarters of the project were established at the Center for Documentation and Research on Taoism of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE) in Paris. John Lagerwey undertook his study on the *Wushang biyao*, an important compendium in the history of medieval Taoism.

In 1978, the Tao-tsang Project was recognized by the European Science Foundation (ESF) as an "Additional Activity" of the Council for Humanities. The duration of that activity was set at four years (1979–1983). The ESF installed a steering committee for the project composed of Professors Wolfgang Bauer (Munich), Piet van der Loon (Oxford), Maxime Kaltenmark (EPHE, Paris), Hans Steininger (Würzburg), Erik Zürcher (Leiden), and myself. Three working groups were created, one in Paris, one in Würzburg, and at a later stage, one in Rome. The Paris working group consisted of Catherine Despeux, Caroline Gyss-Vermande, Marc Kalinowski, Pauline Koffler, Kwong Hing Foon, John Lagerwey, Christine Mollier and Isabelle Robinet. Four outside members, Poul Andersen from Copenhagen, Adrianus Dudink from Leiden, Denis Allistone from Zürich, and Franciscus Verellen from Oxford, were also integrated into the Paris working group.

The Würzburg working group included Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, Florian Reiter, and Hans-Hermann Schmidt. The Rome group comprised Lydia Bonomi, Alfredo Cadonna, Giovanna Fulvi, Alessandra Lavagnino, Ritsuko Mazzei, Fabrizio Pregadio, and Giovanni Vitiello.

In addition to the subsidies provided by the European Science Foundation, several research organizations contributed to the undertaking. The Würzburg working group, under the direction of Hans Steininger, received two full and two part-time temporary research posts from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Ph.D. scholarships were provided by the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, the Dutch Organization for

been aptly described by Strickmann, "History, anthropology, and Chinese religion," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 40 (1980): 201–48.

Scientific Research, and the Swiss National Fund. The French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) recognized and subsidized the project through the creation of a special cooperative research scheme, RCP no. 625 "Bibliographie taoïste." The participants held positions at the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, the Universities of Paris III and of Aix-Marseille. Several junior members were in due time appointed as researchers at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Pauline Koffler participated on a voluntary basis. The Rome group, under the guidance of Professor Giuliano Bertuccioli, received support from the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente but provided no research posts or scholarships for its members.

The work was organized so as to progress in stages. First a number of training sessions and workshops were arranged in order to provide the participants with indispensable specialist skills. Professors Nathan Sivin (Pennsylvania), Michel Strickmann (UC Berkeley), Erik Zürcher, Piet van der Loon, and I conducted training sessions. Workshops took place in Würzburg, Paris, and Oxford. At a later stage, Professor Piet van der Loon invited individual participants to training sessions at his home in Oxford. Professor Jao Tsung-i (Hong Kong) was often consulted. Master Chen Yung-sheng (Tainan) was also called upon to share his immense knowledge of the liturgical tradition with the participants.

On the basis of provisional lists of works, classified according to period and groups of texts (subject or school), the participants were invited to choose the books they wished to study. They were encouraged not to restrict themselves to one particular group of texts, but to extend their acquaintance to a variety of different traditions and aspects of Taoism. As can be seen from the present work, this recommendation was only partly carried out. In spite of the precise guidelines elaborated by the steering committee in order to ensure consistency in the writing of the articles, the contributions of the participants reflected in many cases their individual approach. The editors have tried to respect this aspect of the articles as much as possible.

At the start, all texts needed to be indexed. All hard data such as book titles, names of persons, places, and temples, dates, deities, rites, and so on, were collected according to an established protocol. These data were then entered into a filing system. Soon, Professor Erik Zürcher convinced us to use a computer to establish an electronic data bank. This, in 1979 Europe, was still a pioneer undertaking. The data were entered in the mainframe computer of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique at Orsay. That outfit had been designed for computation, not for what was soon to become, in the eyes of its engineers, a space-devouring monster occupying several megabytes! Each time the Tao-tsang Project needed to sort its data, the entire computer facility was blocked for part of the day. First the results were compiled on printouts that soon invaded all the available space of our small working room. Later they were

processed on microfiches. The data were entered in *pinyin* transcription, as Chinese character codes were not available at the time. Mrs. Irène Schaeffer, the secretary of the Paris working group, did much for the organization and the advancement of the work. Thanks to her efforts, most of the texts had been indexed and processed after two years. The data bank, with its inevitable shortcomings, proved a workable and efficient tool for the “internal textual criticism” that had become our fundamental methodology.

Other important research aids were produced in the meantime. Thanks to the labors of Kwong Hing Foon, the *Yunji qiqian* index that I had begun in Taiwan was finally completed and copied out in her impeccable calligraphy for offset reproduction. John Lagerwey contributed a most useful study on the sources of the great encyclopedia. The first volume of the *Index du Yunji qiqian* appeared in 1981 and the second in 1982 at the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. Professor Piet van der Loon prepared a critical bibliography of all Taoist works listed in the catalogues of the Song period. He added a study of his sources and of the history of the Song and Yuan canons. His *Taoist books in the libraries of the Song* constituted not only a great contribution to the Tao-tsang Project but also a model for all future bibliographical undertakings of this kind.

As a guideline for the writing of the articles it was recommended that authors concentrate on the date, the author, the nature and the historical context of the work. Although full evidence of bibliographical and historical findings were to be included, the articles were to be as succinct as possible, normally not more than one type-written page. A description of the contents was also to be included, but, again, limited: no “tables of contents”! We kept fast to the idea that we should aim to say the first word about a given text, not the last. Regular meetings took place within the working groups where the contributions were discussed and, as necessary, amended.

The Tao-tsang Project also maintained contacts with researchers in the Far East. In 1979 I visited the Institute of World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and made a presentation of the project. The next year, Mrs. Wu Shouju 吳受琚 of that institute came to Paris, thanks to a scholarship of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She participated in the working groups and workshops and was given full access to the research materials of the project available at that time. Mrs. Wu's experience, as well as the materials, proved to be useful for the work on the *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 that started in 1981 at the Institute of World Religions, under the direction of Professor Ren Jiyu 任繼愈.

Contact was also maintained with the Japanese Taoist scholars, especially with professor Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 of Waseda University. Thanks to his untiring support, two workshops were organized, one in Paris and one in Japan. The topics of the workshops were not directly related to the Tao-tsang Project, but at each occasion

reports on the work in progress were presented and discussed. By the time the “Additional Activity” of the European Science Foundation and support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft came to an end in 1983, the project had advanced remarkably well. The data bank covered the most relevant portions of the canon, several important studies and working tools had been published, and, last but not least, almost 1,000 articles had been written. Nevertheless, the work was far from finished. Many articles had been revised and corrected, but many others remained first drafts. Moreover, they were written in four different languages: French, German, English, and Italian. In order to produce a scholarly publication with adequate indexes, these articles had to be translated into a single language. At the final sessions of the steering committee, it was decided that the work should be presented in English. I was entrusted with completing the work and editing it for publication. An initial deadline was set for 1993. Many more years proved necessary.

The Final Stage

Although much had been accomplished, still more work remained to be done. Fortunately, many collaborators agreed to translate their own contributions. Several hundred texts in the canon, however, had found no takers, and it fell mostly to myself to study and write about them.

The editing also presented a daunting challenge. In the spring of 1991, I was most fortunate to find Franciscus Verellen willing to join me in the task of editor. His contribution to the final stages of the writing, correcting, and editing of the manuscript has been immense. Working most of the time at different places and at different tasks, we had to find time in holidays and in our respective family surroundings to work together. This changed when, in 1995–1996, we obtained fellowships at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS) at Wassenaar. During this time we regularly worked together. The entire manuscript was revised and great advances were made in the reorganization of the materials.

Indeed, one of the main priorities of the project had always been to classify all the texts into appropriate categories. In order to open up the sources of Taoism, a new arrangement of the materials was an absolute necessity. Whatever value the classification into Three Caverns, Four Supplements, and Twelve Categories may have had historically, it was abundantly clear that this system had outlived its usefulness by the time it came to be applied to the contents of the Ming *Daozang*. Other criteria, such as the distinction between Daojia and Daojiao, were also not viable. An innovative approach was needed.

An overall organization based on historical principles, while at the same time incorporating a scheme of typological classification, emerged as the most meaningful. For the chronological framework, three broad periods were distinguished:

1. From the Eastern Zhou to the Six Dynasties
2. Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties
3. The Song, Yuan, and Ming

This division proved significant and operable with respect to the long-term evolution of Taoist textual traditions. Within the periodic divisions, we introduced a scheme of typological classification that produced, to the extent that this was historically justifiable, a consistent pattern of categories across periods.

For each period, a first distinction was made between (A) “Texts in general circulation” and (B) “Texts in restricted circulation.” Although Taoist institutions as well as the diffusion of texts changed in the course of time, the ritual tradition of initiation and ordination was always maintained. Even today, Taoist scriptures continue to be copied by hand and transmitted confidentially from master to disciple. When a given work could be classified on both sides of this distinction, cross-references were supplied.

To the chronological and typological divisions we added a third level of distinction, that of the individual groups of texts in each major subdivision. Choosing these groups and sorting the texts into each of them involved a long period of trial and error. We were not guided by any dogmatic conception but aimed to approach the problem empirically and to let the texts speak for themselves. It became clear that within the category of texts in general circulation, a classification according to subject was the most appropriate, whereas for those in restricted circulation, the different traditions, movements, schools, and orders to which the texts belonged offered the most suitable framework. Eventually, appropriate slots for almost all texts were found. The groups were arranged as systematically as possible, facilitating the survey of a given branch of Taoist literature from one period to another. For most of the final groupings, short introductions have been added, explaining their rationale and composition.

The majority of choices, whether with regard to conceptual categories or to the placement of specific texts within them, should be unproblematic. Yet some will undoubtedly cause surprise or raise objections. I can say only that certain decisions, such as classifying the *Zhouyi cantong qi* as a Tang work or the *Zhenyuan* 真元 texts as Ming, have not been taken lightly. In the case of hybrid texts that contain old material together with later additions and alterations, a form of arbitration had to be adopted. When the additions and modifications significantly affected the nature of the text, the later date was chosen. In cases where the subsequent changes could be considered minor (taboo characters, secondary glosses), the earlier date was maintained. These decisions involved much time and deliberation.

During the final stage, the editors were joined by a number of new contributors: Dr. Vincent Goossaert (CNRS), Dr. Jan De Meyer (Leiden), and Dr. Yuan Bingling 袁冰凌 (Leiden and Fuzhou) wrote articles and introductions. On the editorial level,

Mrs. Shum Wing Fong 岑詠芳, Mrs. Fang Ling 方玲, and Mr. Pierre Marsone contributed greatly to the work of correcting the manuscript and completing the bibliography and biographical notices. Special mention must be made of the contribution of Feng Congde 封從德, who wrote a computer program for the conversion of the Wade-Giles romanization system into Pinyin and supervised the electronic entry of the Chinese characters.

The preparation of the final manuscript was entirely coordinated by Franciscus Verellen. He also resolved the problem of formatting the text and directed the revisions of the drafts and the compilation of the bibliographic and biographical sections.

New Perspectives

In the meantime, work continued in other places. Dr. Judith Magee Boltz set out in 1981 to study the Taoist canon, paying special attention to post-Tang literature. This focus led her to read and analyze some 300 Song, Yuan, and Ming texts and collections. Her remarkable study *A survey of Taoist literature, tenth to seventeenth centuries* presents and discusses much of the historical, hagiographic, and literary materials from these periods and places them in their cultural context. Other young scholars in the United States also have turned to Taoist studies, setting a new trend in the American sinological environment.

Scholarly progress also continued in Japan. Thanks to the pioneering work of the great Japanese scholars, interest in Taoism grew rapidly, especially after World War II. The Dōkyō Gakkai 道教學會 became one of the prominent learned societies in the field of Chinese and Japanese studies. Its journal, the *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教, has published many important contributions to the field. Excellent monographs, especially on Six Dynasties Taoism, have been produced in the research center of Kyoto, together with valuable research aides, such as the Concordance on the *Zhen'gao*, *Shinkō sakuin* 真誥索引, by Professor Mugitani Kunio 麥谷邦夫. Great efforts were also made to introduce Taoist studies to a wider public. These efforts resulted in the successful three-volume encyclopedic work *Dōkyō*, which presented the state of the art to nonspecialists and included for the first time, next to historical studies, reports on the living liturgical tradition. This work was soon translated into Chinese and has exerted a considerable influence.

In China, the recent progress in Taoist studies has been great. The *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 appeared in 1991. It was the work of young Taoist scholars of the Institute of Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Apart from the above-mentioned Wu Shouju, these scholars included Chen Bing 陳兵, Wang Ka 王卡, Zhu Yueli 朱越利, and others, under the guidance of Professors Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬. Taking into account the difficult conditions and the tight schedule for the writing of this work, it is a great accomplishment.

This research on the contents of the canon proved to be a powerful incentive for further initiatives. The *Daozang* was reprinted, this time not from the 1926 Hanfen lou reproduction, but from the original Ming copies preserved in China.¹³⁴ The new reprint proved to be a great success. In its wake, Professor Chen Yaoting 陳耀庭 of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences published two series of Taoist texts that had not previously been part of the canon, under the title of *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書.¹³⁵ Other important texts were published in modern typeset editions. Taoist dictionaries and studies, too many to be enumerated here also appeared. The Taoist Association of China (Zhongguo Daojiao xiehui 中國道教協會) has undertaken the compilation of a new Taoist canon, to be called *Zhonghua daozaang* 中華道藏.

Meanwhile, at Peking University, Professor Tang Yijie 湯一介 created the Center for Research on Taoism (Daojiao yanjiu shi 道教研究室). This development was followed by Professor Chen Guying 陳鼓應, who stimulated research on the classical Taoist texts with his new editions and commentaries and with the publication of the scholarly journal *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究.

The other important center of Taoist studies in China is Chengdu. There, at Sichuan University as well as the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, many scholars work under the guidance of Professor Qing Xitai 卿希泰. After a number of provisional publications, his complete History of Chinese Taoism (*Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中國道教史) in four volumes has recently been completed. Here, too, we may say that, as a first complete historical study, it is a true achievement. The Sichuan center publishes the journal *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* 宗教學研究.

In Taiwan, Professor Li Fengmao 李豐楙 of the Academia Sinica has launched an ambitious program for the digitalization of the entire Ming canon. Not only the texts will be entered on computer file, but also all diagrams, talismans, and illustrations. Much research is being done to overcome the technical challenges of this vast project.

* * *

One century ago, Taoism was threatened with death. The society in which it lived and that it informed to a far greater degree than has been generally assumed was rapidly disintegrating. It had, indeed, for the greater part, ceased to exist. Its temples and monasteries had been expropriated or destroyed, its scriptural legacy was on the brink of being irrevocably lost. One hundred years ago, no scholar had yet undertaken any serious study of Taoism's history and literature. Today, Taoism revives. Although still

134. Jointly published by the Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, the Shanghai shudian 上海書店, and the Tianjin guji chubanshe 天津古籍出版社.

135. Compiled by Hu Daojing 胡道靜 et al.

far from its former glory, it is not likely that it will encounter in the near future the kind of crises it has weathered in the past. We may expect with some confidence that Taoism will regain a new lease of vitality, purified and strengthened by its ordeals.

In this renaissance, the work of scholars has its modest place. We have always felt it to be a great privilege to study these important materials and explore their meaning for the history of the human spirit. To be sure, the results of our labors are far from perfect and will invite many corrections. We hope that these may be forthcoming, and that other studies will soon improve on the work presented in these volumes.

道藏通考

The Taoist Canon

A Historical Companion

to the *Daozang*

VOLUME I

Antiquity through
the Middle Ages

Edited by

Kristofer Schipper and
Franciscus Verellen

The University of Chicago Press

Chicago & London

Part 1

Eastern Zhou to Six Dynasties

1.A Texts in General Circulation

This section contains the works of ancient Taoist philosophers or those who were assigned to this school by tradition. Foremost among these works is the *Laozi* or *Daode jing*, which was canonized as a classic (*jing* 經) probably in the early Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220).

Later, the *Daode jing*, also known as the Text in Five Thousand Characters (*Wuqian wen* 五千文), became the fundamental scripture of Heavenly Master Taoism which transmitted it alongside with the Xiang'er 想爾 commentary. The transmission of the Text in Five Thousand Characters constituted a distinct degree in the hierarchy of ordination grades as officially established during the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581) (see 1138 *Wushang biyao* 37 for the corresponding transmission ritual). Later, with the division into Seven Parts (*qibu* 七部) by WANG YAN, the *Daode jing* and its canonical commentaries constituted the *Taixuan bu* (see 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* for the ordination ritual corresponding to the ranks of disciple of the Golden Button [*jinniu dizi* 金鈕弟子] and of master of the Rites of Divine High Mystery [*taishang gaoxuan fashi* 太上高玄法師]). In the Ming canon, the *Daode jing* and other philosophical scriptures made up the core of the *Dongshen bu* (see general introduction).

The incorporation of philosophical works of the preimperial period into the Taoist canon has been a controversial issue. The *Zhuangzi*, although not a *jing* before the eighth century A.D., was very influential in Han Taoism and later, and thus its inclusion can be justified. The same obtains for the *Liezi* 列子 and such later Taoist philosophical texts as the *Wenzi* 文子, the *Huainan zi* 淮南子, and so on. However, the Ming canon also contains the *Mozi* 墨子, the *Han Fei zi* 韓非子, the *Gongsun Long zi* 公孫龍子, and others. There is evidence that the *Mozi* goes back to a copy in the Song canon (see Wu Yujiang, *Mozi jiaozhu*).

In incorporating these texts, the compilers of the Ming canon continued a well-established tradition that goes back to the above-mentioned WANG YAN. His *Xuandu jingmu* catalogue was presented to the throne in 570, and it contained a great number of philosophical texts (*zhuzi lun* 諸子論). In his *Xiaodao lun* (9.153b), Zhen Luan criticizes the fact that the canon contained the *Han Fei zi*, the *Huainan zi*, the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經, the *Yilin* 易林, and the *Huangdi jingui* 黃帝金匱, all works still present in the Ming canon. Among the works now lost but cited by Zhen Luan as incorporated into the Northern Zhou canon are the oracle manuals *Lianshan* 連山 and *Guizang* 歸藏. Interestingly enough, even the *Mengzi* 孟子 was considered to be a Taoist

canon (see CGF 108). The collection of Taoist books under the Northern Zhou was undertaken against the background of the Buddhist and Taoist controversies of the time. It would appear from the above-mentioned evidence that the compilers aimed at defining Taoism as the way of thought and ritual in ancient China, representing all those traditions of Chinese thought that were not explicitly Confucian (the *Mengzi* became recognized as a fundamental Confucian scripture only in Song times).

Later, the editors of the *Siku quanshu* echoed Zhen Luan's indignation, when discussing the contents of the Ming canon in their article concerning the *Daozang mulu xiangzhu* by Bo Yunji. What they and many Qing scholars with them failed to acknowledge, was that without the *Daozang* many precious philosophical texts (such as the *Mozi*, the *Gongsun Long zi*, and others) would have been irretrievably lost.

The Ming canon contains a number of philosophical texts in plain, un-annotated versions, presented as Fundamental Scriptures (*benwen* 本文). These are the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi*. Other ancient philosophic texts, such as the *Wenzi*, are represented by annotated versions of a later date only. These works are discussed under the period when their commentaries were written. In this chapter they are only listed, with the indication as to where the relevant article can be found.

1.A.1 Philosophy

1.A.1.a Texts

Daode zhenjing 道德真經

2 juan

Attributed to Laozi 老子 (traditional date sixth century B.C.); Warring States (475–221 B.C.)

664 (fasc. 346)

“The True Scripture of the Way and Its Virtue.” This is the book of Laozi as Fundamental Scripture (*benwen* 本文), without commentary. Sima Qian, in his biography of Laozi, speaks already of Laozi's book “in two parts, expounding the meaning of the Way and Its Virtue, in some five thousand words 著書上下篇, 言道德之意, 五千餘言” (*Shiji* 63.2141). Thanks to the manuscripts found at Mawang dui (see 665 *Daode jing guben pian*), we know that the present division into two parts and the title of The Book of the Way and its Virtue was already current at the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). The present version is, moreover, divided in *zhangju* 章

句 chapters amounting to the symbolic number of eighty-one, an arrangement that probably dates from the Later Han period (A.D. 25–220). The titles of these chapters correspond to those of the HESHANG GONG commentary (see 682 *Daode zhenjing zhu*). The word *zhen* (true) in the title of the present version became current in Tang times (618–907). Part of the original text (1.8b–10b) has been lost, and the missing passages have been replaced with the corresponding ones of 665 *Daode jing guben pian*.

Recent research places the date of Laozi's book in the fourth century B.C., during the Warring States period, but some parts of the text may well be older, considering the vocabulary and the rhymes used. The Mawang dui versions show already displaced and corrupt passages. The division of the book into two parts, on Tao and De, on ontology and strategy, is not clearly evident in the respective contents, while the division into eighty-one chapters makes the text appear as a series of separate axiomatic statements. Doing away with this division, and reading the text as a continuous discourse, allows one to determine a few instances where formerly separated parts might be linked. The book as a whole, however, does not read as a systematically developed argument. It must have been from the beginning a collection of short axiomatically paradoxical texts, compiled without particular order. The original number of these texts is difficult to assess. There may have been fifty-five (see 1177 *Han Fei zi*) or seventy-two (see 693 *Daode zhenjing zhigui*, preface, 4b) before the present division into eighty-one.

Although the exact place of Laozi's book in Taoist tradition has been, and will continue to be, a much debated issue, its dominant position since antiquity is clear. Indeed, the book deals with the major topics of Taoism with a depth and insight that have earned it the place of the religion's foremost scripture.

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Kristofer Schipper

Daode jing guben pian 道德經古本篇

2 juan

Edited by Fu Yi 傅奕 (555–639)

665 (fasc. 346)

"Ancient Recension of the Book of the Way and Its Virtue." This is the plain text of the *Laozi*, without commentary, based on a manuscript discovered in A.D. 574 at

Pengcheng 彭城 (Xuzhou, Jiangsu), in the tomb of a concubine of Xiang Yu 項羽 (233–202 B.C.). See 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 3.20a. The date as well as the stylistic characteristics of the present text establish a relationship with the manuscripts of the *Laozi* found in 1973 in Han tomb no. 3 at Mawang dui near Changsha (Hunan). The division into a *Daopian* 道篇 and a *Depian* 德篇 may therefore well correspond to the original arrangement of the text, while the arrangement into eighty-one chapters, according to the so-called *Heshang gong zhangju*, as well as the indications on the number of characters in each chapter are probably of Fu Yi's own devising.

The present text contains 5,556 characters, almost 300 more than the HESHANG GONG commentary version of 682 *Daode zhenjing zhu*, which has 5,274. None of these numbers correspond to the indications supposedly given by Fu Yi on the versions he examined in his time: 5,722 characters for the manuscript found at Pengcheng, 5,683 or 5,610 for the WANG BI commentary version, and 5,555 or 5,590 for the HESHANG GONG commentary version (770 *Hunyuan shengji* 3.20a). The present text, however, shows greater affinities to the extant WANG BI edition than to that attributed to HESHANG GONG.

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Kristofer Schipper

Nanhua zhenjing 南華真經

5 juan

Attributed to Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (second half of the fourth century B.C.) and his followers

670 (fasc. 349–351)

"True Canon of the Southern Florescence." This is an unannotated edition of the *Zhuangzi*, under the canonical title bestowed on it by Emperor Xuanzong in 742. This edition is part of a series, comprising also the *Guanyin zi* (667 *Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing*), the *Liezi* (668 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing*), and the *Gengsang zi* (669 *Dongling zhenjing*). Each of these editions has a preface and a portrait of the sage in question. The origin of this small collection of the four Taoist authors canonized by Xuanzong is unknown. Sparse indications in the different prefaces make it appear later than the Song period. The preface of the present *Nanhua zhenjing* is mostly abstracted from Zhuang Zhou's biography in the *Shiji*. The division into five juan does not respect the arrangement into inner, outer, and miscellaneous chapters.

Zhuang Zhou was a southerner, that is, he came from the region south of the Yellow River. His native place, according to the sparse information we have from the

Shiji and a few other records, appears to have been the township of Meng, a place near the present town of Shangqiu in Henan province, in a region at the intersection of Shandong, Jiangsu, and Anhui provinces. It was part of the ancient state of Song, and Zhuang Zhou is often referred to as a man of Song. After the fall of Song in 286 B.C., the region fell into the hands of other principalities, including Chu. As a result, Zhuang Zhou is also known as a native of Chu.

The dates of Zhuang Zhou are tentative, but most scholars agree with the affirmation in the *Shiji* that he lived during the times of King Hui 惠 of Wei 魏 (r. ca. 369–325). He was also invited to the court of King Wei 威 of Chu 楚 (r. ca. 339–328). The exact dates of these King s are still under discussion, but *grosso modo* this means that Zhuang Zhou was active during the second half of the fourth century. Liu Xiaogan gives his dates tentatively as 369–286 B.C. (Liu, *Classifying the Zhuangzi chapters*, 41) which would make Zhuang Zhou a contemporary of Mengzi 孟子 (tentative dates 372–289).

According to the *Shiji*, the book of Zhuangzi amounted to more than 100,000 characters. The *Han shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 30.1730 lists the *Zhuangzi* as having fifty-two chapters (*pian* 篇), comprising seven inner, twenty-eight outer, fourteen miscellaneous, and three additional chapters with “explanations” (*jieshuo* 解說). The present edition of the *Zhuangzi* has only 70,000 characters, and the outer and miscellaneous chapters number, respectively, fifteen and eleven; no trace remains of the “explanations.” The *Shiji* mentions explicitly the chapters “Youfu,” “Daozhi,” and “Quqie,” which occupy today the position of chapters 31, 29 (miscellaneous chapters, *zapiian* 雜篇) and 10 (outer chapters, *waipian* 外篇).

GUO XIANG (d. 312) is generally regarded as the editor of today’s version in thirty-three chapters. According to his preface (see Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*), he considered sizeable parts of the work spurious or superfluous and therefore discarded them. Problematically, virtually none of the discarded texts have survived elsewhere.

There is a general consensus for ascribing the seven so-called inner chapters (*neipian* 內篇) to the author. These stand apart from the others in language, style, and vocabulary. They also have distinct three-character titles, enunciating what may be considered to be their main themes (e.g., “Xiaoyao you,” Free and easy wandering), whereas the other chapters (with the exception of chapters 28 to 31) are simply named after their opening words. The distinctiveness and comparatively earlier date for the inner chapters have been demonstrated by Liu Xiaogan. Liu’s arguments are based on the vocabulary of the inner chapters and on the more circumstantial, but evident, fact that much of the text in the other chapters consists of explanations and developments of writings contained in the inner chapters.

The dating of the outer and miscellaneous chapters is far more problematic. The

general opinion, notably voiced by Graham, is that they come from different periods, the latest, such as the “Tianxia” chapter (33) being early Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). Some sets of chapters, such as the above-mentioned series of 28 to 31, are distinguished by thematic, two-character titles. Graham thinks these chapters come from a different school of thought, that of the hedonist Yang Zhu 楊朱. Liu Xiaogan considers such an assumption unnecessary. The book of Zhuangzi is quoted extensively in the *Liushi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (compiled ca. 239 B.C.), in such a way that suggests it had found its definitive shape by that time.

In spite of the long period during which the text of the book was written (roughly between 340 B.C. and A.D. 240), there is a great coherence and unity of thought in the entire work, even if the influence of other schools of thought is very much in evidence in the later chapters. These chapters do, however, refer time and again to passages in the inner chapters, which does convey the impression that parts of the outer and miscellaneous chapters are equally old (this cross-referencing has inspired Graham to supplement the text of the inner chapters with excerpts from the others).

We may conclude that the *Zhuangzi* is the recipient of the writings of a single tradition, that it was constitutive of the way of thought that later came to be called Taoist and that the older and the newer parts together are representative of the evolution of this thought during the century that preceded the hegemony of Legalism and the united empire (third century B.C.).

Taking this into consideration, we may say that the *Zhuangzi* displays a marked absence of political thought, at least in the inner chapters. This absence contrasts with all contemporary schools, with the exception of the Logicians (*mingjia* 名家). The relationship with the latter school is evident, but also of a controversial nature. The *Zhuangzi* is truly philosophical inasmuch as its object of investigation is human knowledge and its relationship to cognition in all its forms. Zhuang Zhou’s epistemology goes farther than most observers have noted. Most striking is his treatment of mythology and religion. The mythical fish and bird (the iconography of both is present on Warring States bronzes) are compared with ordinary animals and found lacking: too cumbersome! When Laozi sits in meditation with unfastened hair, this is not in conformity with a ritual prescription, but “because he had just bathed” and needed to let his hair dry. Through bodily exercises of the “nurturing life” kind, old Pengzu 彭祖 lived only 800 years: what a pity! Humor is Zhuang Zhou’s foremost maieutic tool.

The treatment the *Zhuangzi* gives to logic is most remarkable: in the famous “Discussion on the Equality of Things,” the discourse of logic is used to surpass causality and open the way to total understanding, which can be reached through intuition or through dream and trance states. Here Zhuang Zhou proceeds from the

background of what may be called Chinese shamanism toward universal mysticism. Mystical truth (*zhen* 眞) is innate, familiar yet unknowable. The opposition between this inward knowledge of the Taoist and the outward projected knowledge of the shaman—portrayed respectively as Master Gourd and as Wuxian the great shaman of antiquity, in the seventh chapter, “Rejoining the Supreme Ruler”—illustrates this mystical approach to knowledge. Although the very disciple of Master Gourd finds the two “ways” difficult to distinguish, the Master confounds the shaman, because the latter is limited to the phenomenal world, whereas the Gourd incapacitates the original chaos. Here the message of the *Zhuangzi* is truly Taoist.

The *Zhuangzi* is no doubt one of the most penetrating and beautiful books written in Chinese and also one of the masterworks of world literature. Its influence on Chinese culture—and on Far Eastern culture in general—has been profound, not only on Taoism but on Confucianism and Buddhism as well. Having been canonized as a “classic” only in the eighth century, the *Zhuangzi* did not suffer from undue exegetical scholasticism: every reader could approach its message unencumbered by considerations of orthodoxy, hence the vast array of different commentaries. The *Daozang* of the Ming features more than ten editions of these.

The *Zhuangzi*’s influence on every part of Taoism has been considerable. We find allusions to and quotations from the *Zhuangzi* in early works of Tending Life practices, in the poems of the 1016 *Zhen’gao*, and in the hymns of the Lingbao canon.

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Kristofer Schipper

Tongxuan zhenjing 通玄眞經

12 juan

746 (fasc. 520–522)

“True Scripture of Communion with Mystery.” This text corresponds to the Taoist philosophical work *Wenzi*. It is present in the *Daozang* with the commentary by Xu Lingfu 徐靈府 (ca. 809–815), and the article is therefore listed in part 2.A.1.a.

Chongxu zhide zhenjing 冲虚至德真经

3 juan

Attributed to Lie Yukou 列禦寇 (early fourth century)

668 (fasc. 348)

“True Scripture of the Void and Supreme Virtue.” The philosophical work *Liezi* 列子 has been known under this title since 1007. It had previously been granted the title *Chongxu zhenjing* in 742 (*Jiu Tang shu* 24.926; *Songchao da zhaoling ji* 135.1a).

列子



FIGURE 1. Liezi (668 1a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/663)

According to Graham's study, the work's textual history is as follows: A *Liezi* in eight *pian* 篇, first mentioned in the bibliographic chapters of the *Han shu* 30.1730, was listed as lost at an early date. Liu Xiang's 劉向 (ca. 77–76 B.C.) memorial presenting the collated text, however, is preserved. In the first half of the fourth century, a *Liezi*, the contents of which fit Liu Xiang's description, was written, probably by the grandfather or father of Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 370). Zhang Zhan was the first to write a commentary on this text. In the preface to his commentary, Zhang describes the transmission of the work (cf. 732 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie*; for a summary and analysis of this preface, see Graham, “Date and composition,” 144 ff.).

The present edition contains interspersed phonetic annotations and is preceded by an illustrated brief biography of Liezi (fig. 1; from 163 *Xuanyuan shizi tu*).

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yin Wen zi 尹文子

2 juan

Attributed to Yin Wen 尹文 (second half of the fifth century B.C.)

1173 (fasc. 840)

“Book of the Philosopher Yin Wen.” This book is mentioned, as comprising one chapter, in the section on logicians (*mingjia* 名家) of the bibliographical treatise in *Han shu* 30.1736. Yin Wen is said to have lived and taught at the famous Jixia academy at Qi during the reign of Duke Huan (455–405 B.C.) and to have known Gongsun

Long zi 公孫龍子. The *Daozang* edition has a preface by a certain Mr. Zhongchang 仲長氏 of Shanyang 山陽 (in modern Shandong), who states that he obtained the text at Luoyang during the Huangchu era (A.D. 220–226) and edited it in two juan. Several scholars have pointed out that this must be Zhongchang Tong 仲長統, a scholar of the late Han who came from Shanyang. The latter figure, however, died in A.D. 220.

The authors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* classified the work under “Eclectics” (*zajia* 雜家) and identified its contents as a mixture of Huang-Lao Taoism and *fajia* 法家 legalism. They did not express serious doubts as to its authenticity. Modern scholarship has been less generous. Not only is the history of the transmission of the text full of contradictions, but the text itself is shallow and facile and manifestly draws on later works, such as certain passages from the *Zhuangzi*. By general consensus, the present text is a late forgery.

Kristofer Schipper

Mozi 墨子

15 juan

By Mo Di 墨翟 (active late fifth century B.C.) and his followers

1176 (fasc. 843–845)

The *Daozang* edition of the *Mozi* comprises seventy-one chapters. Eighteen have been lost. This is nevertheless the most complete version of the writings of Mo Di and his school that has come down to us. All modern editions are based on it.

Bi Yuan has remarked (*Mozi zhu* 1.1a) that the *Daozang* edition observes the taboo on the character *kuang* 匡 in the personal name of Song emperor Taizu. The present edition therefore appears to be based on a Song version and may have originally formed part of the *Tiangong baozang*.

The text has no annotation. It is divided into chapters as follows: juan 1, chapters 1 to 7, contains short sayings by Mozi and dialogues on a great variety of topics; juan 2 to 9 contain the thirty-nine famous Essays, each topic being covered by three successive chapters; juan 10 and 11 contain the chapters on Mohist logic (40–45; chapter 46 is found at the end of juan 11 but belongs to the next category); juan 12 and 13 contain the dialogues, in *Lunyu* style, between Mo Di and his disciples, comprising chapters 46 (in juan 11) to 51; juan 14 and 15 contain the so-called military chapters.

A discussion as to the authenticity and dating of the Mohist canon falls outside the scope of the present bibliography. The question that should be raised here is why the *Mozi* was included in the Taoist canon at all. Specific reasons have been studied by S. Durrant. Durrant quotes the hagiography of Mozi in the *Shenxian zhuan* (given in *Taiping guangji* 5 and authenticated by a citation in 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 16.3a), and also draws attention to the important place given to Mozi's Taoist arts in BPZ and elsewhere in the *Shenxian zhuan*. Mozi is also mentioned as an immortal in 1016

Zhen'gao 5.12a. All this would suggest that Mozi was the object of a popular cult in early medieval China and had become a Taoist saint.

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Kristofer Schipper

Han Fei zi 韓非子

20 juan

Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233 B.C.)

1177 (fasc. 846–849)

"Book of Master Han Fei." The book itself is preceded by Liu Xiang's 劉向 (ca. 77–76 B.C.) presentation of it by way of a preface. The text found in the *Daozang* belongs to the group of editions in fifty-three *pian*. Its source is probably the same as that of the edition printed by *He Fan* 何夬 (1267), which was based on the copy of the imperial library. He Fan removed the annotations that are preserved in the *Daozang* version as well as in the 1165 edition of Huang sanba lang 黃三八郎. Reproduced in the encyclopedias of the beginning of the Song (960–1279) period (TPYL, YJQQ, etc.), these notes probably date from the Tang dynasty (618–907). They may be Li Zan's 李贄 (see He Fan's preface, *Han Fei zi yuping* 韓非子迂評).

The present version in the *Daozang* does not correspond to the quotations made by Gu Guangqi in his *Han Fei zi shiwu*, published in 1816.

An extract of the *Zhu dao* 主道 is quoted in YJQQ 1.6b (1.14a–15a) between two commentaries on the *Laozi*. Here, the notes are presented in an abbreviated form. This synthesis of the notion of true power contains *Jielao* 解老, which may be the earliest extant commentary on the *Daode jing*.

Jean Lévi

Huangshi gong sushu 黃石公素書

21 fols.

Preface and commentary by ZHANG SHANGYING 張尚英, *zi* Tianjue 天覺

(1043–1121)

1179 (fasc. 849)

"Book of Simplicity by the Duke of the Yellow Stone." Huangshi gong is the legendary figure said to have given Zhang Liang 張良 the Art of War by Taigong (*Taigong bingfa* 太公兵法; *Shiji* 55.2034–35). The existence of a *Sushu* attributed to him is attested only in the early twelfth century (VDL 145–46). Zhang's exegesis is the

oldest preserved commentary to this work. The *Tongzhi* 68.7a lists commentaries by LÜ HUIQING (1032–1111) that are otherwise unknown, except that the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.361 names Lü as the author of a *Sanlie sushu jie* 三略素書解 in one juan.

Zhang writes in his preface that the *Sushu* is the very text that Zhang Liang received from Huangshi gong. During the Jin dynasty (265–420), robbers broke into Zhang Liang's tomb and found the book in his jade headrest. According to Zhang, the text comprised 1,336 words.

In reality, the present main text has 1,257 characters. It is identical with the version in *Shuofu* 90.14b–17a. A *Sushu* citation in 1017 *Daoshu* 20.4a also derives from this version of the text (19b).

Doubts about the authenticity of the *Sushu* were expressed at an early date (*Junzhai dushu zhi* 11.486–87; *Yuhai* 140.19b), and since Ming times an increasing number of voices name ZHANG SHANGYING as the author of the text (e.g., *Tingyu jitan* 21b–22a). Such an attribution can be neither proved nor excluded today. But considering the period of its emergence and the “textual history” as told by Zhang, it is not unlikely that Zhang really was the author.

The text, divided into six sections, gives general recommendations for ethical conduct (1–4) and advice for political and military governance (5–6), often exemplified in the commentary by historical events. A number of passages (1a–3a; 14b; 20b) come from the *Huangshi gong sanlie*.

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Huainan honglie jie 淮南鴻烈解

28 juan

Commentary attributed to Xu Shen 許慎 (d. A.D. 124)

1184 (fasc. 863–867)

“Explanations on the *Great Achievements* by [the Prince of] Huainan.” The philosophical work *Huainan zi* was written at the court of Liu An 劉安, prince of Huainan (179–122 B.C.), and was presented to the emperor Wu in 139 B.C. (see *Han shu* 44.2145, where it is called “*neishu* 內書,” in twenty-one *pian* 篇).

In his preface, Gao You 高誘 provides information about the life of Liu An and the work *Huainan zi*, which he, Gao, had received from Lu 盧 [Zhi 植] (d. A.D. 192). In 205, Gao began to write his commentary. Later on, eight chapters of this commentary were lost, and Gao made up the deficiency only in A.D. 212. Earlier, toward the end of the first century, Xu Shen had written explanations on the *Huainan zi*. Although only Xu Shen is named as the author of the commentary in the present edition, it was

in fact a composite work: the commentaries on juan 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 27, and 28 are by Xu Shen, all the others are by Gao You.

As an independent work, Gao's commentary in twenty-one juan was lost by the early eighth century, Xu's (also in twenty-one juan) by the late tenth century. Versions in which both commentaries were merged did, however, already exist in the seventh century, and by the eleventh century only this composite kind of *Huainan zi* commentary was available, with the entire commentary attributed solely to either Xu or Gao.

By subdividing seven juan into *shang* 上 and *xia* 下, the *Daozang* edition arrives at a total number of twenty-eight juan. Of all extant versions, this is closest to the Northern Song edition reproduced in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊.

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Guigu zi 鬼谷子

3 juan

Attributed to Guigu zi 鬼谷子; fourth century B.C.

1025 (fasc. 671)

“Master of the Ghost Vale.” Tradition considers the Master of the Ghost Vale to have been the teacher of Su Qin 蘇秦 (d. 317 B.C.) and Zhang Yi 張儀 (d. 309 B.C.) and thus declares him the ancestor of the school of diplomats (Zongheng jia 縱橫家) of the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.). The legendary philosopher is supposed to have styled himself after the location of his retreat.

The questions of the authorship and origin of the work transmitted under this name and the presence of many parallels with the *Guanzi* 管子 (*Guanzi tongjie* 2: 197–202 corresponds to our text 2.33b–39a) and especially throughout the *Dengxi zi* 鄧析子 have up to now remained unresolved.

Although *Shuoyuan* 11.1a–b contains a quotation of *Guigu zi* that cannot be traced, a book of this title was described neither by Liu Xiang nor by his son, nor is it listed in the *Han shu*, “Yiwen zhi.” In its table of contents, the *Qilu* 七錄 lists two texts, together totaling five juan, under the category “Zongheng” (*Guang hongming ji* 3.110c). With reference to a statement in the Yue Yi 樂壹 commentary that Su Qin wrote under the pseudonym Guigu zi, the *Qilu* presumably attributed the authorship of *Guigu zi* to Su Qin (*Shiji*, *Zhengyi* commentary in *Yuhai* 53.21b–22a). Su Qin's works, listed in *Han shu* 30.1739 as comprising thirty-one *pian* 篇, were in part retrieved in Mawang dui in 1973 (see Mawang dui hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu, *Zhanguo zongheng jia shu*), but no conclusions about *Guigu zi* can be drawn from them.

The *Guigu zi* really enters history only after Yue Yi (of whom we merely know

that he came from Lu commandery 魯郡 and probably lived in the fourth century) and presumably Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–282) annotated the book. According to *Sui shu* 29.1005, both versions comprised three juan. Quotations in *Song shu* 18.496, in the *Zichao* 子鈔 by Yu Zhongrong 庾仲容 (476–549)—as preserved in 1262 *Yilin* 2.15b–16b), based on Yue Yi’s redaction—and in the *Beitang shuchao* (passim) indicate the existence of a text in the fifth to early seventh centuries resembling the extant *Guigu zi*, although it included material that is now lost.

Huangfu Mi’s commentary, said to have existed in Japan until the ninth century (*Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 25a), seems to be wholly lost today. Some passages from Yue Yi’s explanations, however, which still existed in their entirety during Tang times, are preserved. From one passage we can conclude that already at the time of Huangfu the text contained a section titled *Yinfu qishu* 陰符七術 (Zhang Yantian, *Shiji zhengyi yiwen jijiao*, 225).

In the received text, under the heading “Benjing yinfu qipian 本經陰符七篇,” we find concepts apparently connected with individual Taoist practices that are not generally believed to have existed before the third or fourth century. For Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819) the *Yinfu qipian* was an even later addition to what he already considered to be a forgery (“Bian Guigu zi 辯鬼谷子,” *Liu Zongyuan ji* 4). The additional fact that *Yinfu qipian* contains passages borrowed from *Dengxi zi* could also indicate that the two texts might be contemporary.

In Tang times, apart from the Yue Yi version and one in two juan without commentary, a commentary by Yin Zhizhang 尹知章 (d. 718) is listed (*Jiu Tang shu* 27.2032). In addition, a contemporary of Liu Zongyuan, Yuan Ji 元冀, had written an abstract of the essential ideas (*zhiyao* 指要) of *Guigu zi* (see Liu’s “Bian Guigu zi” cited above). Since both of these works are lost, it is not clear to which edition the citations in TPYL refer. However, they give evidence of a text that differed from the present version in length, in the use of section titles, and in the commentary. The reproduction of a long passage from the *Guigu zi* in Zhao Rui’s 趙蕤 *Changduan jing* 長短經 (716) 3 shows, moreover, that at that time the work had a section titled *Quqie pian* 祛箴篇, which was borrowed from *Zhuangzi* (Guo Qingfan ed., *Zhuangzi jishi* 4.2.342–57). The number of subsections, including this section, in the first two juan of the *Guigu zi* would have been thirteen, in keeping with the information provided in a preface attributed to Yin Zhizhang (“Bian Guigu zi,” commentary of Han Chun 韓醇, ca. 1177).

By the twelfth century, there apparently existed only one complete, commentated version of the *Guigu zi* in three juan. According to the *Zhongxing guange shumu* (in *Yuhai* 53.22a) this version was the work of TAO HONGJING, of the Eastern Jin period (317–420). Curiously, this connection is not mentioned in earlier records. The description, including the erroneous dating of TAO HONGJING (456–536), corresponds to information provided by a copy of a Song manuscript from the collection of Qian

Zeng 錢曾 (1629–1701). The latter is essentially the same as the present *Daozang* edition, though apparently more complete.

The present edition comprises only twelve sections in its first two juan (cf. *Zhongxiang guange shumu*). The *Junzhai dushu zhi* 11.502–6 lists thirteen sections. Both catalogues seem to refer here to the still existing preface attributed to Yin Zhizhang, of which, however, according to *Han yiwen zhi kaozheng* 1418, two different versions were in circulation. The text records, moreover, the loss of two other *pian*, titled *Zhuanwan* 轉丸 and *Quluan* 祛亂. The commentator remarks that in some versions the chapter *Quqie* 祛篋 from the *Zhuangzi* was inserted in place of the two missing *pian*. This insertion, however, he dismisses as incompatible with the spirit of the *Guigu zi*. According to other interpretations, he adds, the lost sections *Zhuanwan* and *Quluan* were in reality identical with the sections *Benjing* 本經 and *Zhongjing* 中經 of the third juan (see the *Guigu zi*, 3.12b and 3.24b). The fact that our commentator obviously resorts (2.34b) to the Tang annotations from a corresponding passage in *Guanzi* 18.2b–3a by no means proves Yin Zhizhang to be the author of the present commentary. On the other hand, it does rule TAO HONGJING out as the commentator, a hypothesis not supported by either the style or the contents of the work.

Thus the commentary was presumably written before the redactions known during the Tang were lost. Material for comparison that was still available to the author included Yue Yi's version (cf. our text 2.9a, 2.12a, or 3.1a with Zhang Yantian, *Shiji zhengyi yiwen jijiao*, 225–26).

In 1805, Qin Enfu 秦恩復 compared the *Daozang* version with the above mentioned manuscript from Qian Zeng's collection and subsequently compiled a revised and completed edition of this commentary to *Guigu zi*.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Gongsun Long zi 公孫龍子

3 juan

By Gongsun Long 公孫龍 (b. 498 B.C.); commentary by Xie Jiang 謝絳; *zi*

Xishen 希深 (995–1039)

1172 (fasc. 840)

This is the work of the logician Gongsun Long, in six chapters (*pian* 篇). The *Han shu*, “*Yiwen zhi*,” 30.1736 lists this work as comprising fourteen chapters; the *Sui shu*, “*Jingji zhi*,” 34.1002, while placing it among Taoist books, lists it as *Shoubai lun* 守白

論. However, Pang Pu has argued convincingly (*Gongsun Long zi yanjiu*, 51–71) that the present text corresponds to the complete original, despite a certain number of errors and interpolations (such as the opening phrases of the first chapter).

Xie's commentary endeavors to stress the Confucian values of the text and remains very much at the surface. The present *Daozang* text forms the basis of all modern editions.

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Kristofer Schipper

Yuzi 鬻子

2 juan

Attributed to Yu Xiong 鬻熊 (legendary date: eleventh century B.C.);

commentary by Feng Xinggui 逢行珪 (presentation dated 653)

1171 (fasc. 840)

“Book of Master Yu.” This work is supposed to have been written in pre-Han times. The *Han shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” gives a *Yuzi* in 22 chapters (*pian* 篇) in the section on “Daojia” (30.1729), and another in nineteen chapters under “Xiaoshuo jia.” Legend makes Master Yu a councillor of King Wen of the Zhou dynasty (r. 1099–1050 B.C.), who enfeoffed Yu in Chu. He is cited in the *Liezi* and in Jia Yi's *Xin shu* 9.15b–16a.

The authenticity of the text as a pre-Han work is much debated. The present version is very short and is not divided into different *pian*. Although the text must, therefore, be incomplete, there is no obvious trace of falsification. Its contents are close to the subject matter of the *Liushi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 and could well be the work of a later writer of the Huang-Lao school.

The commentary is by an otherwise unknown scholar of the early Tang who presented it to the throne in 653, claiming the work had been transmitted in his family for many generations. This annotated edition is attested since the Tang (see VDL 168). All extant editions derive from the present *Daozang* version.

Kristofer Schipper

Sunzi zhujie 孫子註解

13 juan

Late eleventh or early twelfth century

1180 (fasc. 850–854)

“Commentaries to the *Sunzi*.” This work is a collection of eleven different commentaries to “Sunzi's Art of War” in thirteen sections. The commentators are Cao Cao 曹操 (155–200); a certain Mr. Meng 孟氏 (Liang dynasty; cf. *Sui shu* 34.1012); the Tang commentators Li Quan 李荃 (fl. 750), Du You 杜佑 (735–812), Du Mu 杜

牧 (803–852), Chen Hao 陳皞, and Jia Lin 賈林; as well as the Song commentators Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002–1060), Wang Xi 王皙 (fl. 1082), He Yanxi 何延錫, and Zhang Yu 張預.

The present edition does not state when or by whom the collection was compiled. Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 is of the opinion (see the preface to *Sunzi shijia zhu* 孫子十家注) that this work is the same as the *Shijia Sunzi huizhu* 十家孫子會注, in fifteen juan, compiled by Ji Tianbao 吉天保, which is listed in the bibliographic chapters of the *Song shi* 207.5183. The *Suichu tang shumu* 29b lists a *Shiyi jia zhu Sunzi* 十一家註孫子, but without naming a compiler. Different figures of ten and eleven commentaries are due to the fact that Du You's annotations did not exist as an independent work, but were assembled from juan 148–162 of his *Tongdian* (cf. Yu Jiayi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 11.595–96) and thus cannot be considered as a separate commentary.

The *Sunzi shijia zhu* in thirteen juan revised by Sun Xingyan is based on the *Daozang* and another Ming edition. In many instances it has been supplemented by passages from the *Tongdian* and TPYL, resulting in considerable textual variants. In contrast, the text of a recent typeset edition, *Shiyi jia zhu Sunzi*, which is based on a Song print in three juan dating from the reign of Ningzong (1195–1225), hardly differs from this *Daozang* edition.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Baopu zi neipian 抱朴子內篇

20 juan

By GE HONG 葛洪, *hao* Baopu zi 抱樸子 (283–343)

1185 (fasc. 868–870)

“Book of the Master Who Keeps to Simplicity, Inner Chapters.” Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818), in his preface to his critical edition in the *Pingjin guan congshu* 平津館叢書, demonstrates that this is a work altogether different from the 1187 *Baopu zi waipian*, although the two are placed together in the *Daozang* edition. The work is recorded in the *Sui shu*, “Jingji zhi,” as comprising twenty-one juan and is classified among the texts of Taoism (34.1002). It is further documented in all major bibliographies and appears to be complete. The present *Daozang* version is at the origin of most modern editions, including the one by Sun Xingyan quoted above.

The reasons that prompted GE HONG to write this famous treatise on the search for immortality are given by the author himself, especially his autobiography “Zixu 自序,” which occupies juan 50 of the 1187 *Baopu zi waipian*. There the author retraces his youth (he was born in Jurong 句容, Danyang 丹陽, near present-day Nanking) and early career as a military official during the Jin dynasty. He notes that by the time of the disastrous Jianwu era (317), when the north fell into the hands of the Tuoba and

Luoyang was destroyed, he had already written most of his literary works, including the present one. This work he characterizes as concerning matters pertaining to “the drugs and recipes for becoming immortal, the marvels and feats caused by demons and spirits, the lengthening of years through nurturing life, the [methods] for averting evil and warding off calamities belonging to the Taoist school (Daojia 道家).” Written in the most accomplished parallel (*pian ti wen* 駢體文) style, it is undoubtedly thanks to its literary value that this work has been preserved.

Elsewhere in the book, GE HONG reveals that his knowledge of Taoism was transmitted to him by his teacher ZHENG YIN, a scholar who taught the esoteric arts of Taoism. Juan 19 gives a vivid account of GE HONG’s studies under Zheng’s guidance, as well as a list of the more than 200 books and sixty talismans he saw in Zheng’s library, some of which he had been able to copy himself. ZHENG YIN was the student of the famous magician at the Wu court, GE XUAN, who was GE HONG’s granduncle, according to GE HONG’s own claims.

The book was written before the influx of refugees from the north was to profoundly change the culture and religion of the Jiangnan region where GE HONG lived. Indeed, the *Baopu zi neipian* shows no acquaintance with the Way of the Heavenly Master (Tianshi dao 天師道), to which many of the aristocrats who immigrated from the north and founded the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420) belonged. This implies that the present work bears testimony to the traditions of the Taoism of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) as they survived in the south before the fall of Luoyang.

The value of the *Baopu zi neipian* as a source for our knowledge of early Taoism cannot be overestimated. Despite the marked partiality of the author for laboratory alchemy as the sole true method of obtaining immortality, all systems and methods of early Taoism are presented and discussed in detail.

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Kristofer Schipper

Baopu zi waipian 抱朴子外篇

50 juan

By GE HONG 葛洪, *hao* *Baopu zi* 抱樸子 (283–343)

1187 (fasc. 871–873)

“Book of the Master Who Keeps to Simplicity, Outer Chapters.” While the inner chapters (1185 *Baopu zi neipian*) provide a wealth of important information for the study of Taoism, as a work of philosophy the present outer chapters are certainly

superior; they also reflect more faithfully the genius of their author, who was in the first place a Confucian scholar. Although some fragments have been found that may have originally been part of the book but no longer feature in it, the authenticity of the present text is beyond doubt.

Living at a time when Confucian learning was in decline and many traditions of ritual and moral attitudes were being abandoned, GE HONG maintained the high scholarly standards and the rigorous critical thinking that developed in the Later Han period (A.D. 25–220) and was maintained until the middle of the third century. GE HONG's Confucianism put great emphasis on personal cultivation, on the role of study and literature, and on the ideal of an ordered society. In this context, these outer chapters recognize the validity of inner cultivation according to Taoist principles and therefore have their place in the Taoist canon alongside the *neipian* 內篇.

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Kristofer Schipper

1.A.1.b Commentaries

Daode zhenjing zhu 道德真經註

4 juan

Attributed to HESHANG GONG 河上公; Later Han (A.D. 25–220)

682 (fasc. 363)

“Commentary to the True Scripture of the Way and Its Power by the Old Man on the River Bank.” The date and authenticity of this commentary, which in Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 (215–282) *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 is titled *Laozi zhangju* 老子章句, have long been the object of debate. The most radical view was put forth by the Tang historian Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721), who simply denied the existence of the book (see Liu Zhiji's biographies in *Jiu Tang shu* 102 and *Xin Tang shu* 132). The dating of the present commentary has been hampered by the identification of HESHANG GONG with Heshang zhangren 河上丈人, who is supposed to have lived near the end of the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.). A date for the commentary is also complicated by the lore surrounding HESHANG GONG in GE HONG's *Shenxian zhuan* and in the apocryphal “Laozi Daode jing xujue 老子道德經序訣,” attributed to the shadowy GE XUAN (traditional dates, 164–244). In this lore, HESHANG GONG is considered to be a contemporary of the Han emperor Wendi (r. 179–157 B.C.).

Adding to the confusion, the bibliographical treatises in *Jiu Tang shu* 47.2026 and *Xin Tang shu* 59.1514–15 mention a work with the title *Laozi zhangju* in two juan, not

authored by HESHANG GONG but by Anqiu Wangzhi 安丘望之. The latter apparently lived at the time of the Han emperor Chengdi (r. 32–7 B.C.). Both of the Tang histories also mention, apart from Anqiu Wangzhi's work, HESHANG GONG's commentary to the *Daode jing* in two juan. *Sui shu* 34.1000 mentions a HESHANG GONG commentary of the early Han (200 B.C.—A.D. 220), while noting that under the Liang (502–557) there was a *Laozi jing* commentary in two juan written by Heshang zhangren of the Warring States period.

Heshang zhangren, or the Elder from the Banks of the [Yellow] River, is first mentioned in Sima Qian's biography of Yue Yi 樂毅 (*Shiji* 80.2436) as the teacher of An Qisheng 安期生 and as the originator of a line of thought that eventually influenced Cao Can 曹參, a prime minister under Emperor Gaozu of the Han (r. 206–195 B.C.). Cao Can was noted for his sympathy for the Huang-Lao doctrine. Contrary to Huangfu Mi's *Gaoshi zhuan* (quoted in TPYL 507), however, the *Shiji* makes no mention of a *Daode jing* commentary by Heshang zhangren.

Given the confusion surrounding the identity of Heshang zhangren and of HESHANG GONG and the role played by Anqiu Wangzhi, it remains uncertain whether the work now known as the HESHANG GONG commentary dates back to the late Warring States period or to the early Han, as stated by GE HONG. There are sufficient reasons, however, to conclude that the present work dates at least from the middle or the end of the Later Han (25–220 A.D.). This date would imply that the HESHANG GONG commentary is one of the oldest *Daode jing* commentaries now in existence. Rao Zongyi, in his critical edition of the Xiang'er commentary 想爾注 to the *Daode jing* (*Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng*), has found indications that the Xiang'er commentary quotes the commentary by HESHANG GONG (on this issue, see also the following article). It is thus no coincidence that in the Tang dynasty transmission rite of the *Daode jing* to the so-called students of the Eminent Mystery (*gaoxuan dizi* 高玄弟子), the HESHANG GONG commentary was second only to the *Daode jing* itself, preceding the *Xiang'er zhu* and four other texts dealing with protocol and hagiography (see Benn, *The Cavern-mystery transmission*, 84).

Formally, the title of the present commentary as mentioned by Huangfu Mi, *Laozi zhangju*, is an indication of the Later Han as a probable time of composition. The Later Han was the heyday of the *zhangju* 章句 (chapters and phrases) style of commentary. The reaction against the *zhangju* style came in the third century, with the rise of the so-called Neo-Taoism of WANG BI (226–249) and others. As can be expected, the HESHANG GONG commentary is entirely free of the metaphysical elements omnipresent in Neo-Taoism.

Conversely, Huang-Lao thought, one of the dominant Han dynasty schools, looms large in this commentary. It has been noted that in the course of the Han dynasty, Huang-Lao thought witnessed a shift in emphasis from politics and society

to longevity. The HESHANG GONG commentary bears witness to this evolution. The expression *zhishen zhiguo* 治身治國, referring to the equal sustenance of country and body, is ubiquitous in this work. In the commentary to *Daode jing* chapter 59, the equality of country and body is explicitly stipulated (*Guo shen tong ye* 國身同也). Despite HESHANG GONG's insistence upon the equal sustenance of country and body, a preference for the latter is noticeable. Thus, the constant Tao (*changdao* 常道) in *Daode jing* 1 is explained as "the Way to spontaneously attain longevity." And in the commentary to *Daode jing* 64, it is said that "[ordinary] people study the administration of the country, whereas the sage studies the management of the body." Frequent reference is made to longevity techniques, such as in the commentary to *Daode jing* 6, where the Mysterious Female (*xuanpin* 玄牝) is for the first time likened to the human nose and mouth.

Another noteworthy element in HESHANG GONG's ideology is that although certain Confucian values are treated as inferior, others are given a high status. Thus, in the commentary to *Daode jing* 18, it is stated that when the Great Tao was active (i.e., before the appearance of humanity and righteousness, which are regarded as pernicious in both the *Daode jing* and the HESHANG GONG commentary), filial piety and loyalty were to be found everywhere. Similarly, in the commentary to *Daode jing* 27, it is said that the sage saves the people by constantly educating them in loyalty and filial piety.

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Jan A. M. De Meyer

Laozi Xiang'er zhu 老子想爾注

Dunhuang manuscript Stein 6825

Later Han (A.D. 25–220)

"Xiang'er Commentary to the *Laozi*." This is one of the earliest glosses on the *Daode jing*, and many sources mention this work, probably of the Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), as once having been included in the *Daozang*. 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 1.6b lists the *Xiang'er zhu Laozi daode jing* 想爾注老子道德經, in two juan, as lost. Its partial recovery among the Dunhuang manuscripts is, therefore, fortunate. Rao Zongyi has published the text in a critical edition. It has also been reproduced and studied by Ōfuchi Ninji.

The Dunhuang manuscript fragment contains only the text of the first juan of the *Daode jing*, the so-called *Daojing* 道經, and the first two chapters are missing. The text begins with the phrases of the third chapter: "By not seeing things that can be desired, the heart will not be troubled" (*bu jian ke yu ze xin bu luan* 不見可欲, 則心不亂) and

ends with the thirty-seventh chapter and the title the Book of the Tao by Laozi, First Part, Xiang'er (*Laozi Daojing, shang. Xiang'er* 老子道經, 上, 想爾). The manuscript, 26.7 cm high and 9 m long, has 585 columns with an irregular number of characters written in neat clerical script. Remarkably, the commentary following each sentence is written in exactly the same way as the main text, without any punctuation or other mark to separate the two. This style is archaic. The manuscript is not dated. Given the style and the paper, it might date from the Six Dynasties (220–589), and it probably came from North China (see Rao Zongyi, *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng*, 5).

It is not known who Xiang'er was. The earliest mention of the name occurs in 789 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing*, which contains a collection of some of the oldest texts of the Way of the Heavenly Master, dating from the Three Kingdoms period (220–265). The second text (12a–19b), titled Rules Governing the Family of the Tao (*Dadao jialing jie* 大道家令戒) and dating to about 255, is a short treatise on the religious policy of the ecclesia. It refers on page 14b to *Xiang'er* as a book that the faithful should heed. However, as the passage is obviously corrupt (four characters are missing), it is impossible to decide whether it refers to the commentary of the *Daode jing* or to the commandments of Xiang'er (*Daode jing Xiang'er jie* 道德經想爾戒) that had to be obeyed by those who received this scripture (see 786 *Taishang laojun jinglü* 1a–b). In any case, the two, commentary and commandments, are closely related. The name *Xiang'er* here refers to an important doctrinal work that, together with two other fundamental texts (the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 and the now lost *Miaozhen jing* 妙真經), deserved special respect. Indeed, whereas the Way of the Heavenly Master apparently did not itself produce any major doctrinal work, it did transmit and use a number of ancient doctrinal texts, such as the *Daode jing*, the *Taiping jing* 太平經, and the *Huangting jing*.

In later times, the Xiang'er commentary came to be considered the work of Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the founder of the Way of the Heavenly Master, or of his grandson Zhang Lu 張魯 (d. 216). In his prefatory treatise (*xulu* 序錄) to his *Jingdian shiwen*, Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627) mentions Xiang'er (the printed edition mistakenly writes “*xiangyu* 想余”; see Rao Zongyi, *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng*, 4) and states: “it is not clear who he is; some say Zhang Lu, some say Liu Biao 劉表.” Liu Biao (d. 218) refers to the famous military commander at the end of the Han dynasty. The latter attribution is so improbable as to suggest that by the time of Lu Deming the identity of Xiang'er was completely lost to oblivion.

In the liturgical organization of the Tang, the transmission of the *Daode jing* and its commentaries formed a separate stage of initiation and ordination. The corresponding ordination ritual of the early Tang has been preserved in 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue*. The author of this ritual discusses the ranking of texts and says that the Xiang'er commentary should come third, after the plain text of the *Daode jing* (the

so-called “great character text,” *Dazi ben* 大字本) and the HESHANG GONG commentary (682 *Daode zhenjing zhu*). According to this author, the commentary deserves this rank because it was written by Zhang Lu, the Successor of the Master (*xishi* 系師), who assumed the name of Xiang’er and wrote the work in order to instruct the uncouth and primitive inhabitants of Sichuan. Still later in the Tang period, Xiang’er became identified with Zhang Daoling himself. In the prefatory chapter of the second commentary he wrote to the *Laozi* classic, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) lists the Xiang’er commentary in second place (before HESHANG GONG) and notes: “this commentary was made by Zhang Daoling, the Ritual Master of the Three Heavens” (see 679 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu*, Waizhuan 1b). This text is taken over by DU GUANGTING, in his 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* (preface, 2b). It is clear, therefore, that the identification of Xiang’er with either Zhang Lu or Zhang Daoling occurred at a rather late stage and that the place of the commentary in the order of glosses on the *Daode jing* was subject to discussion.

These issues have been debated by modern scholarship, but without conclusive results. The hypothesis that the Xiang’er commentary was written by the early Heavenly Masters raises the immediate problem of content and style. The cosmology and theology of the early Heavenly Masters as expounded in 789 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing* and many other texts is well known and bears little resemblance to the system of the Xiang’er commentary. Another difficulty is that if the Xiang’er commentary really were the work of the founders of the Heavenly Master ecclesia, then why do none of the numerous texts that have come down to us from this ecclesia mention or even imply such a relationship?

The Xiang’er commentary explains the thought of the *Daode jing* in terms of Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) practices in often highly contrived glosses with little or no relationship with what appears to be the original meaning of the *Laozi* text. Among other tenets, the commentary explains that the Tao is present in the human body but cannot be seen, and adepts should not attempt to visualize the Tao or, for that matter, the deities of the body, such as the spirits of the Five Viscera and so on. The Tao is personified in Taishang laojun 太上老君, and he is therefore also the author of the *Laozi*. Each time the word *I* occurs in the text, the commentary reminds us that we have to understand this as the voice of the Tao (“*wu*, *Dao ye* 吾, 道也”). The commentary addresses itself to a community of believers (*xin Dao* 信道) who are enjoined to respect the commandments of the Tao (*Daojie* 道誡). They should worship (*gongyang* 供養) the Tao but not offer sacrifices (*ji* 祭), nor pray at ancestral shrines (*daoci* 禱祠). This is one of the most stringent interdictions. Great importance is attached to sexuality. Sexual desires should be banned, sexual energy carefully preserved. Males should learn to behave like women, to curb their aggressiveness and ambition. There is a heavenly bureaucracy (*tiancao* 天曹) that keeps records of human sins. Some, but

not all, of these tenets are also found in the ecclesia of the Heavenly Master, yet the style, the tone, and the theology are quite different. For all appearances, the Xiang'er commentary represents an earlier stage of community Taoism than the ecclesia of the Heavenly Master.

This brings us to the problem of dating. First there is the main text of the *Daode jing* as it features in the Xiang'er commentary. As we have seen, we do not find the division into chapters that are present in the HESHANG GONG and WANG BI versions. In other respects, the text is much the same. In two instances, however, the Xiang'er text omits a sentence: the words “*wei wuwei* 爲無爲” in chapter 3, and “*dajun zhi hou, bi you xiong nian* 大軍之後必有凶年” in chapter 30. It is important to note that in both versions of the *Daode jing* discovered in 1973 in Han tomb no. 3 at Mawang dui near Changsha (Hunan), which date from the second century B.C. or earlier, these sentences are also lacking. Other minor evidence also suggests that the Xiang'er text is closer to the Mawang dui versions than to any other of the early *Laozi* versions. Even the special way the numeral 30 is written, which has been considered a typical indication that the version was made by Zhang Lu (see Rao Zongyi, *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng*, 4), can be found in the Mawang dui manuscripts.

Could the Xiang'er commentary be older than the HESHANG GONG commentary? Rao Zongyi has reached the opposite conclusion, pointing to many instances where the two commentaries are similar and assuming that Zhang Daoling was the author of the Xiang'er commentary. Other scholars have followed suit, without offering significant new evidence. Yet the question cannot be said to have been settled conclusively. Within the limits of the present article, we can observe only that in all the instances where the two commentaries are manifestly similar, it is impossible to establish which copies the other or whether both draw on a common exegetical tradition. In conclusion, the Xiang'er commentary could, therefore, date from the Later Han period, possibly from as early as the first century A.D.

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Kristofer Schipper

Daode zhenjing zhu 道德真經註

4 juan

By WANG BI 王弼, *zi Fusi* 輔嗣 (226–249)

690 (fasc. 373)

“Commentary to the *Laozi*.” The present version of WANG BI’s commentary is followed by two colophons, one by Chao Yuezhi 晁說之, dated 1115, and another by

Xiong Ke 熊克, dated 1170. This text shows a number of variants with respect to other received versions (cf. “Laozi Daode jing zhu 老子道德經注,” in Lou Yulie, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*). The taboo for the character *xuan* 玄 is not observed. The text is divided into four juan, and there is no division into two parts. The numbers and the headings for the different chapters are also missing.

As Rudolph Wagner’s exhaustive study (*The craft of a Chinese commentator*) of WANG BI’s commentarial technique has shown, one of the main original features of the present work is WANG BI’s emphasis on the epistemological value of the *Laozi*’s language. The original text stresses the ineffability of the Tao and the incapacity of language to express ultimate truths. According to WANG BI, the structure of the work’s textual composition (*wen* 文), in particular its complex patterns of parallelism, termed “interlocking parallel style” by Wagner, was a key to establishing its unambiguous meaning. WANG BI himself adopted what he understood to be Laozi’s rhetorical technique for his own analytic and argumentative purposes. Intricate parallel prose became a hallmark of Dark Learning (*xuanxue* 玄學) discourse, of which WANG BI was a leading exponent.

Wang Bi considered the *Daode jing* to be the coherent work of a single author, the historical sage Laozi. After several centuries of rival claims with respect to the relative status of Laozi and Confucius as sages, and with vacillating Han patronage now in favor of Confucian learning, now in favor of the new cult of Lord Lao, WANG BI and his intellectual circle regarded Confucius as the supreme sage, followed directly by Laozi. In this scheme, the *Daode jing* together with the Analects and the Book of Changes constituted a set of fundamental classics encapsulating the metaphysical teaching of the ancients, embodied most perfectly by Confucius.

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Laozi weizhi lilüe 老子微旨例略

8 fols.

By WANG BI 王弼, *zi* Fusi 輔嗣 (226–249)

1255 (fasc. 998)

“Some Examples of Laozi Hermeneutics.” Many Song bibliographers have identified WANG BI, the great commentator of the *Daode jing* (see 690 *Daode zhenjing zhu*), as the author of this text. The work has been listed under different titles since Lu Deming’s 陸德明 (556–627) *Jingdian shiwen*.

Wang argues in this short essay that the gist of Laozi’s thinking is in his emphasis

on essentials and disregard for the marginal (*chongben ximo* 崇本息末). The other key is that “there is no obscure [mystery] that cannot be known” (*wuyou bushi* 無幽不識).

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Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

1.A.2 Divination

This section opens with the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經, a classic of Taoist and Confucian divination modeled on the Book of Changes that has recently been the subject of exhaustive studies by Michael Nylan and Nathan Sivin. The following text, the “Forest of Changes” (*Yilin* 易林), is an oracle book again based on a systematic elaboration of the sixty-four hexagrams in the Book of Changes. Despite the complicated history of its transmission, it has been widely accepted as a work of the Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). The “Book of Sublime Tokens” (*Lingqi jing* 靈棋經) is traditionally also attributed to various Han masters, but its historical transmission can be traced only to Six Dynasties (220–589) times. As the title indicates, its subject is divination by casting tokens like dice.

The last three works are closely related treatises on the *liuren* 六壬 system, an astro-calendric method using the ancient divination board (*shi* 式). Placed traditionally under the patronage of the Dark Maiden (Xuannü 玄女), these works were said to have been first revealed to the Yellow Emperor and transmitted to the world by him. The method was used, among other things, for determining calendrical correspondences and divining auspicious and ill-fated marriages. Despite their fragmentary state of preservation and partial fusion with later commentaries, these texts constitute early Six Dynasties writings, reflecting Han theory and methods.

Jizhu taixuan jing 集註太玄經

6 juan

By Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.–A.D. 18); commentary by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086)

1183 (fasc. 860–862)

“Collected Commentaries on the Book of Supreme Mystery.” Literary sources of the Han period leave no doubt about the authenticity of the Book of Supreme Mystery, nor about its attribution to Yang Xiong. It is also mentioned in the *Han shu*,

“Yiwen zhi,” 30.1727. Between its diffusion during its author’s own lifetime and the Northern Song period (960–1127), about fifteen commentaries were written.

The work was conceived by Yang Xiong on the model of the Book of Changes. It comprises two parts: the first part itemizes the eighty-one symbolic figures of the Supreme Mystery (*xuanshou* 玄首) accompanied by explanatory formulas; the second part comprises the eleven appendixes that offer an initiation—theoretical as well as practical—into the manipulation of the figures described in the first part.

In this respect, the present edition in six juan is incomplete, for it comprises only the first part of the original work. This edition was nevertheless conceived as a whole, since the absence of the appendix corresponds to the original intention of Sima Guang, editor of the text and author of the “Collected Commentaries.” The *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 205.5172 mentions the present text and specifies a version in six juan.

The Ming edition in ten juan, which was included in the *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要, is identical to the *Daozang* version as regards the first part of the work (juan 1–6). In this Ming edition we find slight variants in the content of the commentary: sometimes the text is abridged by a few phrases; sometimes, on the contrary, the text is enlarged with passages that do not occur in the *Daozang* version. The part containing the eleven appendixes (juan 7–10) is accompanied by the commentary of Xu Han 許翰 (eleventh/twelfth century).

In his preface dated 1082 (*xu* 1a–b), Sima Guang gives the list of the seven commentaries he used. The only still extant commentary is that of Fan Wang 范望 (end of third century). It appears in the excellent Northern Song printed edition by a certain Zhang Shi 張實 (cf. *Siku quanshu zongmu* 108.4a), which is reproduced in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊.

A good bibliographical study of the Book of Supreme Mystery is found in *Sui shu jingji zhi kaozheng* by Yao Zhenzong, 4:407–10.

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Marc Kalinowski

Yilin shangxia jing 易林上下經 (焦氏易林)

10 juan

Jiao Gan 焦贛 (end of the first century A.D.)

1475 (fasc. 1101–1104)

“Forest of Changes.” This text consists essentially of a list of 4,096 (64 times 64) derived hexagrams (*biangua* 變卦) obtained from the sixty-four original hexagrams of the Book of Changes and consequently claims to be its logical and natural devel-

opment. To each of the derived hexagrams corresponds an oracular formula in four-character verse. The same formula may be associated with several hexagrams at the same time.

The ten *juan* of the work are divided into two equal parts, *shangjing* 上經 and *xiajing* 下經, each numbered one to five. This type of division is unique. After the Ming, all editions of the work adopt a four-*juan* pattern. The other two Ming editions now extant (see below) comprise sixteen *juan*, which corresponds to the number of *juan* given by the earliest recension of the “Forest of Changes,” in the bibliographical catalogue of the *Sui shu* (34.1033).

Although the attribution of the work to Jiao Gan has often been questioned, none of the serious suggestions propose a date of composition beyond the Later Han period (25–220). See the preface and postfaces of Ding Yan 丁晏 (mid-nineteenth century) to this work in *Yilin shiwen* 易林釋文, *Nanjing shuyuan congshu* 南菁書院叢書 3; see also Yu Jiayi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 733–49, for a discussion of this question. The first traceable quotation of the “Forest of Changes” (*xiajing* 4.4b) is found in *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 (see *Siku quanshu zongmu* 109.924). Similar instances multiply from the Six Dynasties period (220–589) on. The earliest extant preface was written in 846 by Wang Yu 王俞. It does not appear in the present *Daozang* edition.

Our text contains four colophons:

1. The colophon of Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, dated 1241. It is less complete than the version in *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.28a–b, but richer in concrete details.
2. The colophon of Peng Hua 彭華, dated 1473. Its main interest lies in the indication that its edition came from the libraries of the Imperial Cabinet.
3. The colophon of Jiang Enshu 姜恩書, dated 1525. Jiang relates the circumstances that led him to publish the Forest of Changes on the basis of a specimen he obtained from Kang Hai 康海 (1475–1541).
4. The colophon of Ma Lin 馬麟, written nine years later (1534), only describes the reprinted edition quoted in the former colophon.

The present *Daozang* edition can be identified with near certainty as Jiang Enshu’s. It forms, together with the editions of Mao Jin 毛晉 (*Jindai bishu* 津逮祕書), and He Yunzhong 何允中 (*Guang Han-Wei congshu* 廣漢魏叢書), the three Ming editions known today.

As regards the earlier history of the text, there is a Song (960–1279) edition that, however, seems to have undergone considerable modifications in the course of its transmission up to the version we now possess (*Shili ju congshu* 士禮居叢書, dated 1808), as well as an edition of the Yuan period (1279–1368). The latter is, properly speaking, the oldest extant version (*Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊) and the only one to

include a major commentary, of unknown origin. One should finally note the excellent critical edition of Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬 (1805), established on the basis of the Song version and the three Ming editions mentioned above.

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Lingqi benzhang zhengjing 靈棋本章正經

2 juan

Commentary by Yan Youming 顏幼明 (Jin [265–420]) and He Chengtian 何成天 (370–447)

1041 (fasc. 719)

“Original Stanzas of the Venerable Book of the Sublime Tokens.” This is a treatise on a divination technique carried out by throwing a set of twelve two-sided tokens. Besides the two juan of the main text, the work includes a number of prefaces (*xu* 序 1a–8a), a table of contents (*mulu* 目錄 1a–7a), and two colophons (2.54a–56b). The text appears for the first time in the bibliographical catalogue *Sui shu*, “Jingji zhi,” 34.1034 under the slightly different title *Shier lingqi bujing* 十二靈棋卜經. In the bibliographical catalogue of the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 206.5241 and 5242 it is mentioned under its more common title of *Lingqi jing*. The existence of the work during the Six Dynasties period (220–589) is attested by the *Nan shi* (36.950), which quotes an excerpt of the text (corresponding to 2.4a in the present work).

The present text does not mention any author’s name. The prefaces contain imaginary attributions to one or another of the Han authorities on divinatory matters. The earliest extant version, the manuscript of the Yonezawa 米澤 Library in Japan, attributes the transmission of the text to the monk Fa Wei 法味 of the Jin dynasty (265–420). The preface, probably from the Tang period (618–907), dates this event to the years 280–289. The same preface is reproduced in the present work (preface 3), where the name of the recipient of the book, however, becomes Chang Fahe 常法和. An identical account of the transmission of the work is found in the *Yiyuan* 異苑 (fifth century) 5.7b, which gives the same name for the recipient but a later date (373–375) than the Yonezawa manuscript. Yu Jiayi examines this question in detail, using the edition described in the *Jingji fangshu zhi* 經藉訪書志 (*Siku tiyao bianzheng* 13.730–33).

The work has three commentaries:

1. Yan Youming of the Jin period (265–420). An attempt to identify this person is made by Yu Jiayi. The date of the commentary is confirmed by the fragment of our *Lingqi jing* discovered at Dunhuang (Stein 557). In this fragment, one finds some passages attributed to Yan Yuan 顏淵 or simply to Yan.

2. He Chengtian of the Liu Song dynasty (420–479). The three combinations (*ke* 課) preserved in Stein 557 (100, 101, 102, corresponding to 2.41a–42b in the present text) come with two commentaries. One is explicitly attributed to Yan [Yuan], the

other is simply preceded by the term *zhu* 注 (commentary). This fragment is nevertheless close to the commentary by He Chengtian. It should be noted that this commentary, which precedes Yan's, was probably considered at the time to be chronologically anterior to Yan's. This is not the case in the present version where Yan's commentary (of the Jin period) precedes He's (of the Liu Song period).

3. The third commentary is simply introduced by the word *jie* 解 (gloss). All the editions, from Ming times on, agree on attributing this commentary to Liu Ji 劉基 (1311–1375). The original edition of this commentary, as presented in *Deyue yi congshu chuke* 得月籙叢書初刻, considers only the first part of the entire gloss (as it is found in the other editions, including the present *Daozang* version). This preliminary part is always separated from the remainder from the commentary by the term *ci* 此 (“this means . . .”).

The various prefaces and postfaces are organized as follows:

A. Tang period (618–907)

1. Preface 1 (*xu* 1a–2a) by Li Yuan 李遠, dated, incongruously, Huichang 會昌 9 (849?) and reproduced in all the extant editions except the Yonezawa manuscript.

2. Preface 3 (*xu* 3b–5b), not signed. It does not mention Li Yuan's preface. Numerous factual elements related to the Six Dynasties period are given. One finds in particular the name of Wang Yin 王胤 of the Liu Song dynasty, to whom the Yonezawa manuscript attributes the invention of the one hundred and twenty-five combinations that form the body of the work. This preface is the one found in the Yonezawa manuscript.

3. Colophon 1 (2.54a–55b) by Han Yun 韓運. Internal evidence dates it to the Tang period (see 2.54a). It also appears as a colophon in the Yonezawa manuscript with a variant in the author's name, there given as Han Yunxiu 韓運休.

B. Song period (960–1279)

1. Colophon 2 (2.55b–56b) by Zhang Shi 張拭 (1133–1180).

2. Preface 2 (*xu* 2b–3a), unsigned. The author refers to the Song through the term *benchao* 本朝 “the present dynasty.”

C. Yuan period (1279–1368)

Preface to the gloss (*xu* 5b–6b). This preface is unsigned in the present work but unanimously attributed to Liu Ji by all the editions since Ming times. One of them gives the year 1361 (*Shugu congchao* 述古叢鈔).

Although the presence of the gloss—if one considers it to be authentically written by Liu Ji himself, around the end of the Yuan period—does not permit assigning a date earlier than 1361 to this edition of the *Lingqi jing*, it is nonetheless distinct from all the other editions derived from Ming versions. The latter, with their general presentation and supplementary elements such as the commentary of Chen Shikai 陳師凱

of the Yuan dynasty and the 125 *qijue* 七絕 poems, derive from the same source. The Dunhuang manuscripts (Stein 557 and 9766, Pelliot chinois 3782, 4048, and 4984), the Yonezawa manuscript, and the *Daozang* edition may all be considered as the antecedents of this version. On the other hand, only Li Yuan's classical preface and the preface of Liu Ji's gloss are found in the typical Ming editions of the *Lingqi jing*. Preface 3 and colophon 1 are those of the Yonezawa manuscript. Preface 2 and colophon 2 come from a Song edition. They do not seem to appear elsewhere. In this respect, the present *Lingqi jing* edition represents an essential document for the systematic study of the formation of the *Lingqi jing* and its transmission from the Six Dynasties on.

Besides the editions quoted above, one should also note the editions of the *Wenxuan lou congshu* 文選樓叢書 (for the quality of its prefaces) and the edition of the *Mohai jinhu* 墨海金壺, which was used as a model for the Qing editions.

Articles dedicated to the *Lingqi jing* are found in all Chinese bibliographical works from the Song until the present day.

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Huangdi longshou jing 黃帝龍首經

2 juan

Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220)

283 (fasc. 135)

“Book of the Dragon's Head, Transmitted by the Yellow Emperor.” The preface (2b) explains that when the Yellow Emperor was about to leave the world and ascend to Heaven on a dragon, he transmitted this book (which he himself had received from Xuannü 玄女) to his descendants. Upon his departure, the dragon's head was the last thing to be seen, hence the title.

This is the first of a series of three treatises in the *Daozang* that deal with the astrocalendrical divination known as *liuren* 六壬. Until Song times (960–1279), this method was practiced with the aid of a divination board (*shi* 式), which we know to have existed since Han times (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), and to which the present text refers (see the expression “to turn the board” [*tuishi* 推式] on 2.18a).

The earliest references to the *Longshou jing* are in BPZ 19.307, *Wuxing dayi* 2.12a, and *Yanshi jiaxun* 19.520–21. The *Sui shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 34.1029 gives the present title and number of juan.

Hong Yixuan 洪頤暄, in the preface to his edition (dated 1805) of the *Longshou jing* (in the *Pingjin guan congshu* 平津館叢書), shows the multiple relationships between this book and Han society. It must be noted, however, that the present text has undergone modifications, as a number of quotations, especially those given in the *Wuxing dayi*, can no longer be found here.

The text is divided into seventy-two paragraphs and is provided with an extensive commentary that quotes a great number of ancient sources. In several places, the main text refers to these same sources (1.13a, 17a, 21b, and 2.21b). It is therefore likely that in the course of copying, text and commentary have become intermingled.

The commentary (1.3a) gives a list of correspondences between the twelve equatorial constellations (*xiu* 宿) and the civil calendar. The series is identical with that found on the most ancient model of *liuren* boards, dated 173 B.C. (see *Wenwu* 文物 no. 8 [1978]: 12–31). This is all the more remarkable, since none of the Han astronomical treatises that have come down to us mention it, nor do any of the other *liuren* manuals, with the exception of 284 *Huangdi jingui yuheng jing*.

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Huangdi jingui yuheng jing 黃帝金匱玉衡經

23 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

284 (fasc. 135)

“Book of the Jade Scales and Golden Casket, Transmitted by Huangdi.” The term *jingui* (Golden Casket) points up the esoteric dimension of the work (22a). *Yuheng* (Jade Scales) here refers to the constellation of the Northern Dipper (1a).

The book has a short introduction (1a–2a) where magical and ritual aspects of the mantic method—described in the text itself—are emphasized. The work is composed of two parts: *Jingui zhang* (2a–14b) and *Yuheng zhang* (14b–23a). Each *zhang* 章 comprises ten headings, numbered one to ten.

Like 283 *Huangdi longshou jing*, the present text is a treatise of divination by the *liuren* 六壬 method. The basic theory is assumed to be known to the reader. The work limits itself to taking an inventory of a set of typical examples. In most cases, a single example corresponds to each heading. The ten headings of *Jingui zhang* are organized in such way that the examples follow each other according to the increasing complexity of the method.

The *Huangdi jingui yuheng jing* does not appear in the ancient bibliographical catalogues. However, it contains some elements that point with near certainty to a date of composition in the Six Dynasties period (220–589).

The term *liuren* used by Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591) is accompanied by a reference to the *Jingui yuling* (*Yanshi jiaxun*, “Zayi 雜藝”).

Except for the variant (the introduction to the present *Jingui yuheng jing*, 1b, uses the title of the work in a slightly modified form; here too, the modification concerns the same character as the one in the list of *Yanshi jiaxun*: *Jingui yufang* 房), we can infer that the *Jingui yuheng jing* occupied a choice position among the *liuren* treatises as

early as the Six Dynasties. On an other hand, Yan Zhitui introduces the term *longshou* 龍首 before the mention of *Jingui yuling*. In the *Daozang*, *Jingui yuheng jing* is also preceded by 283 *Huangdi longshou jing*.

The *Wuyue chungiu* 吳越春秋 quotes, on four occasions, the first or the second part that composed the *Jingui yuheng jing* (*yuheng* appears there also in a modified form: *yumen* 門; 5.57b; 7.17b and 22a; 10.65a; *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊). The *Wuyue chungiu* mentions the number of the heading to which each example it uses is related. Therefore, it may be assumed that the author used, if not the work incorporated in the present *Daozang*, then a similar treatise written according to the same classifying criteria (cf. Kalinowski, “Les instruments astro-calendériques”). The first elaboration of the present text should be either contemporary or anterior to the composition of the *Wuyue chungiu* (second to fourth century; cf. Zhang Xinzheng, *Wei shu tongkao*, 661–63).

Finally, one should note the occurrence (17a) of the same set of twelve equatorial constellations as the one mentioned in the commentary of 284 *Huangdi longshou jing*. But while in this last work the set is presented as a simple annex to the computation technique described by the text, in the *Jingui yuheng jing* it forms the actual substance of the work. It is unlikely that the *Jingui yuheng jing* was written much earlier than the *Wuyue chungiu*. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the *Jingui yuheng jing* is in part devoted to the application of *shi* 式 techniques of the Han period.

A good critical edition of the text, based on the *Daozang* version, by Sun Xingyan 孫星衍, is found in *Pingjin guan congshu* 平津館叢書.

Marc Kalinowski

Huangdi shou sanzǐ xuannü jing 黃帝授三子玄女經

4 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

285 (fasc.136)

“Book of the Dark Maiden, Transmitted by Huangdi to His Three Disciples.” This is a short treatise on divination by the *liuren* 六壬 method.

The presentation and style of the work are comparable to 284 *Huangdi jingui yuheng jing*. A few rare commentaries come with the text. All the prognostications are aimed at determining the lucky or ill-fated character of matrimonial unions. From the fragmentary nature of this opuscle, one can suppose that the present text is an extract from a larger work devoted to the *liuren* method, such as the *Xuannü shijing* 玄女式經.

The technical formula stated in the first lines of page 1a of the text is also found in an inscription that appears on a divinatory table *shi* 式 dating from the end of the Six Dynasties (220–589; cf. *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 文物參考資料 no. 7 [1958]: 20–23). It also

appears in the *Wuxing dayi* 5.2b, which considers it to come from a *Liuren shijing*. *Siku tiyao* III.947c establishes a connection between the present text and the *Xuannü shijing yaofa* 要法 mentioned in the *Sui shu* (34.1029). Before the Tang period (618–907), the existence of *liuren* treatises placed under the patronage of the Dark Maiden is attested by the *Wuxing dayi* 5.4b. Part of the description of this *liuren* method by the *Wuxing dayi* is based on extracts from a *Xuannü shijing*. The quoted passages are not found in the present version.

Other editions are found in the *Jindai bishu* 津逮祕書 and *Pingjin guan congshu* 平津館叢書.

Marc Kalinowski

1.A.3 Medicine and Pharmacology

Medical works entered into the Taoist canon with the catalogue of the Xuandu guan 玄都觀 by WANG YAN and his collaborators (see the general introduction). Medicine and drugs have been part of Taoist practice since early times. In the Heavenly Masters ecclesia, spiritual exercises were to replace medicine for the curing of illness, but soon, as for instance in the case of the sectarians of 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*, the masters used acupuncture to alleviate the sufferings of the faithful. Medicine, especially herbal drugs, also figures prominently in the Shangqing scriptures, and their editor TAO HONGJING was also an important scholar of Chinese medical science.

Ancient medical texts have been reassembled and reedited time and again throughout history. As a result, many important old texts figure in the Ming canon in later versions. The reader is therefore advised to consult also part 2.A.3 and part 3.A.3. The present section presents only the Yellow Emperor Classics and TAO HONGJING's *Zhouhou beiji fang*.

The scholarly literature on ancient Chinese medicine is abundant and easily accessible to students of the discipline. It has therefore seemed sufficient to the editors to limit the present section to the discussion of the actual editions as preserved in the *Daozang*.

Huangdi suwen lingshu jizhu 黃帝素問靈樞集註

23 juan

Edited by Shi Song 史崧; preface dated 1155

1020 (fasc. 661–663)

“Combined Commentaries on the Basic Questions and the Divine Pivot of the Yellow Emperor.” The classic Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi neijing* 黃

帝內經) is traditionally considered to be composed of two parts, the Basic Questions and the Divine Pivot, each in nine juan. Although the *Huangdi neijing* may have been elaborated during the Former Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 9) or even earlier, there is still much discussion about the formation of the text as we have it today.

The preface of Shi Song states that in his time the text of the *Suwen* was current and well established, whereas *Lingshu* editions were quite deficient. On the basis both of a number of ancient manuscripts that his family had handed down and of other old versions, he edited the *Lingshu* text. He divided the text into twenty-four juan and eighty-one chapters, adding phonological glosses (the last juan containing the glosses). He does not mention any commentary, and the present edition does not contain any. The title of the present version of Shi Song's work is therefore erroneous: it contains neither the text of the *Suwen*, nor the commentaries. The text as edited here has only twenty-three juan, as the phonological glosses have been distributed inside the main text.

The *Lingshu* as edited by Shi is mainly concerned with acupuncture. Therefore it has also been called the Needle Classic (*zhenjing* 針經). Its authenticity has been much debated, the authorship being ascribed to Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐, and even to WANG BING. Much of the material it contains is certainly ancient.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Huangdi neijing suwen buzhu shiwen 黃帝內經素問補註釋文

50 juan

Commentary by WANG BING, *hao* Qixuan zi 啓玄子 (762), corrected by Lin Yi 林億 (1058–1064) and others, and again by Sun Zhao 孫兆 1018 (fasc. 649–660)

“Questions on Initial Life, from the Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor, Text and Annotations.” The title of *Huangdi neijing*, not mentioned in the *Shiji*, does figure in the bibliographic chapters of the *Han shu*, which lists it as comprising eighteen juan, according to the *Qilue* 七略 catalogue by Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23 B.C.). This title therefore existed some time before the beginning of our era. Its attribution to the Yellow Emperor was already questioned by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–282) in his preface to the *Jiayi jing* 甲乙經. Huangdi's early association with medicine, however, can also be seen, for instance, in the Biography of Canggong (*Shiji* 105).

The title *Suwen*, not mentioned in the biographical chapters of the *Han shu*, appears in the third century in the *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論, in the *Maijing* 脈經, and in the preface of Huangfu Mi to the *Jiayi jing*, where it is said: “At the present time there exists a *Zhenjing* 針經 in nine juan and the *Suwen* 素問 in nine juan. These two works form the *Neijing* 內經 in eighteen juan.”

WANG BING adopts this viewpoint, but places the *Suwen* first (preface, 1a). Thus, the title *Suwen* appears around the second and third centuries. According to Yu Jiayi,

this title may well have existed at the time of Liu Xin, who may have only mentioned two encyclopedic works in his catalogue, the *Huangdi neijing* in eighteen juan and the *waijing* in eighteen juan, without giving the titles of the component works (*Siku tiyao bianzheng* 12.624).

For Quan Yuanqi 全元起, the first commentator of the *Suwen* (early sixth century), the term *su* 素 designates the foundation of life. According to the *Qianzuo du* 乾鑿度, *su* means Taisu 太素, “the beginning of the manifestation of the qi, of matter” (1.1a).

Prior to the commentary by WANG BING, there existed two other commentaries on the *Suwen*, on which Wang based himself. The first of these is that of Quan Yuanqi, of whom we know nothing except that his friend Wang Sengru 王僧儒 died in 503 (*Nan shi* 59.4459). His commentary, originally in nine juan, is mentioned as comprising eight juan in the bibliographical chapter of the *Sui shu* (34.1043, based on the catalogue of the Liang), in the *Jiu Tang shu* (47.2046), and in the bibliographical chapters of the *Song shi* (207.5303). The *Xin Tang shu* (59.1565) and the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” list the nine-juan version. The second commentary, by Yang Shangshan 楊上善, titled *Huangdi neijing taisu* 黃帝內經太素, is in thirty juan. This is a classification of the text of the *Suwen* by themes, accompanied by commentaries. The author is said to have been an imperial physician during the Daye era (605–618) of the Sui dynasty.

WANG BING, whose *hao* was Qixuan zi, thus based his commentary on the two texts mentioned above, which he had obtained from his master Xuanzhu zi 玄珠子 (see 1023 *Suwen liuqi xuanzhu miyu*, preface, 1a). He also made use of the manuscript of an earlier master named Zhang, which he discovered in the library of a certain Mr. Guo (preface, 3a). He not only commented on the text, but also modified the number (and order) of the juan to twenty-four and of the chapters to eighty-one. In order to make the text more explicit, he sometimes added characters in red ink, to set them off from the original text (preface, 5a). His commentary is essentially based on certain chapters of the *Suwen* and the *Lingshu*, the quotations of which are occasionally introduced under the title *Zhenjing*. Wang also wrote a preface dated 762 that is placed at the head of the book.

Lin Yi and his group revised the text and the commentary on imperial orders received in 1057. Sun Zhao proceeded to make a new revision. The work was presented to the emperor before being published. The *Daozang* edition begins with a memorial (*biao* 表) presented by Lin Yi and his collaborators on that occasion. In his revision notes, always signaled by the phrase “*xin jiaozheng yun* 新校正云,” Lin Yi often quotes the *Jiayi jing* and the commentaries on the *Suwen* by Quan Yuanqi and by Yang Shangshan. Moreover on several occasions, he indicates variants from an unidentified “separate manuscript” (*bieben* 別本). These notes are the result of a painstaking study comparing the redundancies of the different chapters and the commentaries to these passages by WANG BING. The notes also mention the changes in the titles and the

order of the chapters that WANG BING made with respect to the edition annotated by Quan Yuanqi (see the comparative tables in Okanishi Tameto, *Song yiqian yiji kao*, 1:11–14; Ma Jixing, *Zhongyi wenxian xue*, 68–109).

The *Suwen* presents itself as a dialogue between Huangdi and his minister and teacher Qibo 歧伯, with the exception of the last seven chapters (juan 49–50, chapters 75–81), where Huangdi transmits his knowledge to his minister Leigong. Huangfu Mi writes in his preface to the *Jiayi jing*: “The marvelous treatise [of the Yellow Emperor] was received by Leigong, who transmitted it to posterity.”

This book is of a composite nature; it does not date from a single period, nor does it represent a single school (see the studies by Yamada and Keegan). At present, only seventy-nine chapters survive: chapters 72 and 73 were already lost when WANG BING wrote his commentary. Of the remaining seventy-nine chapters, the authenticity of seven (66–71, 74) has been questioned by Lin Yi, who attributes them to WANG BING himself (preface). These chapters develop the theory of the five revolutions and the six qi (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣). Besides these chapters, there are three others (4, 8, and 15) that are never mentioned in the *Jiayi jing* and that are therefore probably of later date; chapter 8, moreover, mentions official titles that came into being only after 265. The other chapters date from the end of the Warring States period at the earliest, and from the end of the Later Han (A.D. 25–220) at the latest. The chapters that speak only of yinyang without mentioning the Five Agents are from the late Warring States period, like the manuscripts found at Mawang dui. Some chapters only use cyclical characters to designate the time of day; these are of the early Han period (e.g., chapter 3), whereas the chapters that use cyclical characters where the first month of the year corresponds to the sign *yin* 寅 are later than 104 B.C. (cf. chapter 49).

The *Suwen*, which expounds medical theory, diagnostics, major diseases, and acupuncture, represents an already elaborate synthesis of medical knowledge that circulated among physicians who referred themselves to Huangdi and among the *fangshi* 方士. Certain principles (chapter 26) are close to the current theories in Han astronomy and divination by wind (*fengzhan* 風占).

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Catherine Despeux

Ge xianweng zhouhou beiji fang 葛仙翁肘後備急方

8 juan

By GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343), TAO HONGJING 陶弘景 (456–536), and Yang Yongdao 楊用道 (preface dated 1144); edited by Duan Chengyi 段成已, *hao* Juxuan xiansheng 菊軒先生 (1276)

1306 (fasc. 1013–1015)

“Vade Mecum with Prescriptions for All Emergencies, by Old Immortal Ge.” This famous handbook of herbal medicine was originally compiled by GE HONG, with the title *Zhouhou jiuzu fang* 肘後救卒方 (Vade Mecum for Extreme Urgencies), which must have comprised three juan, totalling 86 rubrics. About two centuries later TAO HONGJING made a revised edition, sometimes condensing Ge’s prescriptions, and sometimes adding his own, arriving at a total of 101 rubrics. This number had a symbolic meaning, because it corresponded to the number of diseases, which, in Buddhist texts, are related to each of the Four Elements (earth, water, fire, and wind). The rubrics were classified into internal diseases, external diseases, and illnesses caused by animals or by exterior agents.

In the twelfth century, Yang Yongdao again revised Tao’s work. He had obtained an edition of the Qiantong era (1101–1110). Yang added at the end of each rubric prescriptions copied from another handbook called *Zhenglei bencao* 證類本草 (Classified *Materia Medica*), by Tang Shenwei 唐慎微 (fl. 1082).

According to Chen Jiru 陳繼儒, who edited the present handbook during the Wanli period (1573–1620), the work was included in the Ming *Daozang* at the request of ZHAO YIZHEN. Zhao was himself the editor of another medical handbook also included in the canon, 1165 *Xianchuan waike bifang*.

The present edition has five prefaces: (1) by GE HONG; (2) by TAO HONGJING; (3) a continuation of this “old preface” written at Luming shan 鹿鳴山; (4) by Yang Yongdao, who called his expanded edition the *Fuguang zhouhou fang* 附廣肘後方; (5) by Duan Chengyi, who found a copy while on an inspection tour in Henan and had it printed. Duan, a *jinsbi* of the Zhengda era (1224–1231), was a famous man of letters, close to the Quanzhen school of which his cousin Duan Keji 段克己 was an adept (cf. *Ermiao ji* 9a).

In addition to recipes of herbal medicine, the present handbook sometimes prescribes acupuncture and moxibustion, as well as certain “shamanistic” practices, especially in cases of possession (1.12a–b). Incantations are prescribed in juan 3 (5b). The handbook also has some veterinary prescriptions.

Catherine Despeux

1.A.4 Yangsheng

The contents of the present section do not adequately represent the wealth of early textual material preserved in the Taoist canon concerning the arts of Tending Life. Indeed, here we find only those works that we can surmise correspond to pre-Sui (581–618) versions. Many more texts, however, survive in later collections of the Tang dynasty (618–907), and the reader is therefore invited to consult also part 2.A.4. Moreover, many ancient *yangsheng* 養生 practices were transmitted as part of the Shangqing revelations. Hence they were rewritten and also more or less altered; nevertheless the ancient forms remain very much apparent. In one famous case, that of the Book of the Yellow Court (*Huangting jing* 黃庭經), we happen to have the two complete versions: the ancient text (332 *Taishang huangting waijing yujing*) as well as the Shangqing version (331 *Taishang huangting neijing yujing*), which is listed among the texts in part 1.B.2. Critical studies of this kind of Shangqing material may yet yield many new insights into the early history of Tending Life practices.

The few texts assembled here are, nevertheless, important. Both the original version of the above-mentioned *Huangting jing* and the newly identified *Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經 (1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing*) are highly significant works. Equally essential is the 818 *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*, which can be linked to the well-known Mawangdui manuscripts. The hitherto unstudied 132 *Taiqing zhenren luoming jue* is also a remarkable source for the vision of the body and its transcendent dimensions.

Taishang laojun zhongjing 太上老君中經

2 juan

Later Han (25–220)?

1168 (fasc. 839)

“The Most High Lord Lao’s Book of the Center.” This work is one of the earliest manuals of Taoist cosmology to have come down to us. An identical version has been preserved in YJQQ 18–19, under the title *Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經 (Laozi’s Book of the Center), also named *Zhugong yuli* 珠宮玉曆 (Jade Calendar of the Pearly Palace). The commentary by Liangqiu zi 梁丘子 in 402 *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 2.5b quotes a passage of chapter 17 of the present text under the title of *Yuli jing* 玉曆經, and again at 2.23a a passage of chapter 11. The work 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1.18b–19b and 21a quotes different passage from chapters 34, 35, and 22 of our work, without indentifying them.

The work is composed of fifty-five chapters, numbered in sequence and followed by the mention of divine immortals (*shenxian* 神仙). The significance of this term

here is unclear, unless we assume that it was originally followed by the word *xuantu* 玄圖 (mysterious picture). Indeed, the final chapter gives a book title that may well have been that of the present work: Jade Calendar of the Sun [and the Moon?], with Mysterious Pictures of the Divine Immortals, in Fifty-Five Chapters (*Shenxian xuantu ri [yue?] yuli wushiwu zhang* 神仙玄圖日[月?]玉曆五十五章). It is therefore possible that formerly each chapter was accompanied by illustrations depicting the deities described. When these illustrations no longer existed, the editors removed the reference “mysterious picture,” leaving before each chapter the truncated enumeration of *diyi shenxian*, *dier shenxian*, and so on.

Chen Guofu (CGF 80) identifies the present work with a *Laojun yuli zhenjing* 老君玉曆真經 in the library of GE HONG (BPZ 19.305). 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.7a, however, lists a *Yuli jing* (in one juan) as well as a *Laozi zhongjing* (in one juan) as two different works to be transmitted at the ordination of a Gaoxuan fashi 高玄法師 priest. However this may be, it seems certain that the present work antedates GE HONG (283–343). The final chapter mentions the titles of several talismans named the *Zhutai* 珠胎, *Qiji* 七機, *Huagai* 華蓋, and *Qingguan* 清觀. The bibliographical chapter of the *Baopu zi* mentions the talismans called *Zhutai* and *Qiji* (BPZ 19.307), titles not found in any other Taoist text known today. Moreover, our text finishes with the following words spoken by Laozi: “I enjoin you to search diligently for a master. I have taught eighty-one disciples, who have all become immortals. Ten of them have dispersed among the people. They are grain immortals (*guxian* 穀仙), who roam everywhere, looking for adepts. I have traversed the times of Qin 秦 [221–207 B.C.] and Xiang 項 [i.e., Xiang Yu 項羽, 233–202 B.C.] without manifesting myself. Now I shall appear for the Han, in accordance with the Yellow Era. Those who will see me shall know great happiness!” This coming of a new “yellow” era recalls not only the cosmological speculations of Wang Mang’s (r. A.D. 9–25) times, but especially the Yellow Turban Revolt of 184. The term *guxian* is also given in 818 *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 6b, where it is applied to Pengzu 彭祖. This is undoubtedly an ancient work that may date to the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420).

The work describes in detail all the gods of the universe and of the human body, giving the exact correspondences between the two, from the greatest and highest to the smallest and lowest. Farther on, the text places these gods in a liturgical calendar that takes into account the phases of the moon, the sexagesimal cycle of days, and the twelve hours of the day. The meditation on the gods of the body is accompanied by visualization, massage, and invocations. Sexual exercises also appear to have been used, as women and men practice together (chapters 13 and 24), while the latter are instructed to retain their semen (chapter 21).

The Jade Calendar concerns not only these exercises, but also the cosmic cycles,

short and long, that separate the recurring periods of crisis. The book foretells (chapter 52) the imminent end of a major cycle, when only immortals and Taoists will be saved from the wholesale destruction of the present world.

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Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing zhenren luoming jue 太清真人絡命訣

9 fols.

Third or fourth century

132 (fasc. 59)

"Methods for a Lasting Life of the True Persons of Greatest Purity." This is an ancient manual for Tending Life techniques, quoted under the present title in Song catalogues (see VDL 92). It quotes (on page 2a) a *Shenxian tu* 神仙圖 (Illustrations of Divine Immortals). This is the ancient title of *1168 Taishang laojun zhongjing*, where the quoted passage can be found in section 12 (1.7b). The names given here on pages 3b–4b to the different spirits of the body are also similar to those in *Taishang laojun zhongjing*, section 26 (1.21b; e.g., "Dandan 旦旦" for the spirit of the stomach, "Bibi 俾俾" for the spirit of the spleen, etc.).

The manual draws on a variety of sources. It begins (1a–2b) with a few theoretical explanations by Huang-Lao, the foremost saint of early Han (206 B.C.–A.D.220) Taoism.

These explanations are followed by instructions for "serving the Tao" (*shidao* 事道) given by a master (*shi* 師). First the adepts, male as well as female, should atone for their sins and obtain pardon from the heavenly administration. Then they should visualize the spirits of the body by means of the techniques of Visualizing of the Five Beasts (*cun wushou* 存五獸) and Traveling through the Viscera (*lizang* 歷臟).

The final part (5a–9b) is spoken by deity (*shen* 神). He says: "Can I constantly remain separated from mankind? If I am to dwell with mankind, it behooves to think of me. Humans are neglecting themselves and do not take loving care of their bodies. They reject me, they lose me, they shame me, they hurt me, they injure me through their married life, they tire me out with their sex, . . . they do not meditate on me according to the Tao." Thereupon, a Taoist (*dao* 道) asks the deity about the ways of preserving the vital energies. These ways are then expounded in terms that are close to *1168 Taishang laojun zhongjing* (compare the description of the Cinnabar Field [*dantian* 丹田] here on page 8b with *1168 Laojun zhongjing*, section 17, 1.13a–13b), the main innovation in the present text being that, in addition to the *dantian* in the lower part of the body, there is also one each in the median and upper parts (*zhongbu dantian* 中部

丹田 and *shangbu dantian* 上部丹田). This is a development also found in Shangqing Taoism. In the absence, however, of other references to this tradition, we may conclude that the present text belongs to an earlier stratum.

Kristofer Schipper

Xiandao jing 顯道經

14 fols.

Third century?

862 (fasc. 578)

“Exposition of the Tao.” This is an ancient manual of Tending Life practices that emphasizes practical methods, especially for reducing starches (“abstaining from cereals,” *duangu* 斷穀) and slimming, as well as for meditation. The practice of the Tao is defined here as “entering the room of the Tao” (*ru dao shi* 入道室). After an introduction into general and theoretical topics, a subtitle, “Explanations of the Simple Tao” (*Su dao jie* 素道解), aptly characterizes the contents. Few sources are given, but similar instructions can be found in Tang works such as 830 *Fuqi jingyi lun* by SIMA CHENGZHEN. At the end, the text refers to a *Shenxian tu* 神仙圖. This title could well refer to 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing* (q.v.), and quotations here show many similarities with that text; for instance: “If you constantly think of the Tao, the Tao will also think of you. In sadness, think of the Tao; in illness think of the Tao; in poverty think of the Tao; in need and distress think of the Tao; when rich and noble, think of the Tao; when eating and drinking, think of the Tao. . . . The Tao is I, and I with you shall together practice the arts of Long Life.” 132 *Taiqing zhenren luoming jue* also gives a citation from the *Shenxian tu* that in many respects is similar. Also, the particular names for the spirits of the Five Viscera (e.g., Bibi 俾俾 for the spleen; see page 106) are common to the three texts. The present work should be of a contemporary, pre-Eastern Jin (317–420) date.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing 太清導引養生經

19 fols.

Fourth century?

818 (fasc. 568)

“Treatise of Great Purity on Gymnastics and Nurturing Vitality.” This work is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qieshu mu* (1145) under the title of *Daoyin yangsheng jing* 導引養生經, in one juan (VDL 150). The text is later than 1427 *Taiqing Daolin shesheng lun*, to which it refers, and 824 *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing*, which it cites. It probably dates in its present form to a period after the mid-eighth century. However, the *Zhubing yuanhou lun* (dated 610) and 836 *Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu* already

cite much the same material from traditional sources. On the basis of these citations, the majority of the exercises described here can be dated to the late sixth century. A relationship between the present text and the lost *Yangsheng yaoji* 養生要集 (fourth century; see Barrett, “Transmission”) can only be surmised.

The partial edition of the work in YJQQ 34.1a–13b corresponds, with variants, to the section 1a–13a of the present text. Another abridged version is found in juan 28 of 1017 *Daoshu*.

The work consists of a collection of gymnastics and breathing techniques, including those of Daolin 道林 (i.e., Zhi Dun 支遁, 314–366), representing the schools of various immortals of antiquity (Chisong zi 赤松子, Ning Feng zi 寧封子, Pengzu 彭祖, Wangzi Qiao 王子喬). Several of the latter’s biographies in 294 *Liexian zhuan* are cited. The breathing techniques and animal-like movements placed under the patronage of Ning Feng zi continue an ancient tradition.

Remnants of this tradition dating from the Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) have been unearthed in recent decades by archaeologists: the Gymnastics Chart (*Daoyin tu* 導引圖) in Mawangdui, depicting movements and exercises; and a set of commentaries on these illustrations, inscribed on bamboo slips discovered separately in Jiangling, Hunan (see the references in Despeux).

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Jean Lévi and Franciscus Verellen

Taishang huangting waijing yujing 太上黃庭外景玉經

3 juan

Before A.D. 255

332 (fasc. 167)

“Precious Book of the Exterior Landscape of the Yellow Court.” This is the original *Huantang jing*, a didactic poem spoken by Lord Lao and describing the interior world. The epithet *waijing* was later added by the Shangqing tradition, in order to distinguish this ancient text from their own 331 *Taishang huangting neijing yujing* (see, for instance, 1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing* 1.15b: 黃庭內外[景經]).

The oldest copy of the present text is by Wang Xizi 王羲之 (303–379). Written in 337, it has been reproduced on a stele, from which a number of rubbings have been preserved. These rubbings have been studied and critically edited by Nakata Yūjirō (*Chūgoku shoron shū*, 83–142).

The *Huangting jing* is, however, older than that. Its prosody and rhymes correspond to Later Han (25–220) or Three Kingdoms (220–265) usage (see Maspero, “Methods,” 489). 294 *Liexian zhuan* 2.21a (biography of Zhu Huang 朱璜) mentions

the *Laojun Huangting jing* and the practice of its multiple recitations. It is, moreover, mentioned in 789 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing* 16a (dated 255) as an important work for the instruction of adepts. Its specific vocabulary is also used in 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* 19b–20b. The work was part of GE HONG's library (1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 19.5a).

In the present edition, the text is divided into three short juan, which correspond to the version in the annotated edition of 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 58–60.

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Kristofer Schipper

Taishang mingjian zhenjing 太上明鑑真經

11 fols.

1207 (fasc. 876)

“The Most High True Scripture of the Clear Mirror.” The territorial units listed in our text (6a) are *zhou*, *jun*, *xian*, and so on. The same text in *Laojun mingzhao fa xushi* 老君明照法敘事 (in YJQQ 48.7b), in the oath of transmission (*shifa* 誓法), omits *jun* 郡 from this list. The *jun* commandery was abolished as a formal territorial unit during the early Tang (618–907). YJQQ 48.7a also shows traces of another revision of our text (5a) in the substitution of *li* 理 for *zhi* 治, the taboo name of Tang Gaozong. We may therefore conclude that the present text dates from the Six Dynasties period (220–589).

The work is an assortment of instructions and charms devoted to the pursuit of immortality. It comprises two parts, of which only the first deals with mirrors, the second part concerns a medicinal plant and the three poisonous worms (*sanchong* 三蟲).

Part 1 (1a–6b) presents various methods of meditation that make use of the powers of water and metal intrinsic to Chinese mirrors. From resolute self-visualization in one or several mirrors, the adept progresses to the technique of the four discs. These discs are implanted at cardinal points by the four emblematic animals, each bearing a looking glass. In this way the adept may perceive his personal gods as well as the nine transformations of Laozi according to the hours of the day. For the highest degree of meditation the text counsels the use of a single mirror. It gives details (but no drawing) of a charm, the *tianyuan fu* 天圓符 attributed to Zuo Yuanfang 左元放, the master of GE HONG. Placed on the back of a small mirror to be worn by the adept, this charm assures him protection against all evil. A formula of transmission for these instructions ends the first part of this text.

Part 2 (7a–9b) consists of moral injunctions addressed to a Huangting zhenren



FIGURE 2. The Three Deities guarding against the Three Afflictions of lust, greed, and ambition (1207 10b–11a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1191)

daoshi 黃庭真人道士 concerning *jiuheng* 就衡 (manna), used by Emperor Yao to nourish victims of the Deluge. This food is made from a nine-knotted, thirty-six leaved plant gathered by a Huangting yunü 黃庭玉女. It is associated with four charms of the cardinal points; the charms are shown in drawings and identified in the text accompanied by their propitious dates, regulated to the calendrical system *jianchu* 建除.

The final instructions are aimed at fighting the three poisonous worms by means of three charms. Two of these charms, the text states, derive from the *Laozi sanshijiu zhen fu* 老子三十九真符. There are no illustrations of these charms, but auspicious days for entering the mountains to prepare the remedies are given. Our text closes with the illustrations of three gods complete in details of dress and identity, who, when invoked, will help the adept to fulfill the instructions provided (fig. 2).

Reference concerning the four discs *sigui* 四規 (2a) is found in BPZ 19, which lists among lost works a book of Four Discs (*Sigui jing* 四規經) and a Book of the Clear Mirror (*Mingjing jing* 明鏡經). BPZ 19 further lists a Charm of the Forty-nine True Mirrors (*Sishijiu zhenjing fu* 四十九真經符), which may well be related to the Charm of the Thirty-nine True Mirrors (*Sanshijiu zhenjing fu* 三十九真經符) mentioned in the present text (9b).

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Pauline Bentley Koffler

Taiqing jing duangu fa 太清經斷穀法

12 fols.

846 (fasc. 573)

“Methods of the Great Purity Canon for Abstaining from Cereals.” This text comprises elements of a tradition that can be traced at least to the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). Among the patron saints of this tradition is Cui Yezi 崔野子, whose biography in LZTT 7.13b probably derives from the late Six Dynasties (220–589) *Dongxian zhuan* 洞仙傳. The present work probably dates to the end of the Six Dynasties period at the earliest.

All of the six recipes for which a source is indicated (see 2a–b, 5b, 6a, 6b, and 9b) are said to derive from the *Wufu jing* 五符經. Four of these resemble recipes found in 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 2.21a–b, 2.30b–31a, 2.35a, and 2.36a, except for details concerning measures and quantities. The recipes are also abridged. The two remaining recipes attributed to the *Wufu jing* (2.a–b, 6a) are related only remotely to those found there: perhaps 2.12a for the *fuling* 茯苓 (*pachyma cocos*) recipe and 2.21a–b for *huangjing* 黃精 (*poligonatum giganteum*).

The present work (7a–b) contains a citation of the *Baopu zi* that is not found in extant editions.

The book consists of a selection of exclusively plant-based recipes for preparing substitute foods. Some of the foods are themselves based on cereals, but in fermented form. All of the preparations are extremely simple and require only a few common ingredients. The recipes refer to only five plants: *fuling* 茯苓, *huangjing* 黃精, *zhu* 朮, *jusheng* 巨勝, and *tianmen dong* 天門冬.

Jean Lévi

1.A.5 Alchemy

As with other technical texts (medicine, *yangsheng* 養生), the early materials related to alchemy have been preserved in a great variety of sources and in many different compilations. Here again, later editions brought together in part 2.A.5 should be consulted alongside the present ones. Many alchemical recipes and techniques have also been transmitted within the Shangqing scriptures (see part 1.B.2).

The works assembled here are of a varied nature. Some are highly technical (930 *Sanshiliu shuifa*), while others relate to mythology (see, for instance, the “method” of the five transcendental “mushrooms” planted by the divine Mao brothers on Maoshan 茅山 [889 *Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue*]). Some works, such as the ancient

alchemical manual 880 *Taiqing jinyi shendan jing*, have sections on ritual. Throughout this section the role played by GE HONG in the elaboration of alchemical lore is apparent. As can be seen from many titles in this section and in part 2.A.5, the compilers of the Xuandu guan 玄都觀 catalogue and subsequent bibliographers classified these alchemical texts in the Taiqing division.

For the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and related texts, the reader is invited to consult the introduction to part 2.A.5. Although the notion of Inner Alchemy was in a way already present in later Han times (see 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing* 38), to all evidence the work that is now called *Zhouyi cantong qi* belongs to a later development in Taoist thought and practice.

Shenxian fuer danshi xingyao fa 神仙服餌丹石行藥法

26 fols.

Attributed to Jingli xiansheng 京里先生; Six Dynasties (220–589)

420 (fasc. 192)

“Methods of the Divine Immortals for Ingesting Cinnabar and Other Minerals, and for Making Medicines Edible.” This text includes a collection of alchemical recipes and a section dealing with the general principles of the treatment of mineral and vegetal substances. Apart from two references to cinnabar as coming from Yue 越 (in modern Zhejiang; 7a) and Ba 巴 (in modern Sichuan; 9a), which suggest that the text dates at least partially from before the Tang (618–907), there is no definite evidence on the date of this compilation. The name of its legendary author, who is also credited with 836 *Shenxian Shiqi jingui miaolu*, appears as Jingli 景里 xiansheng in *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.36b, where the title of the work is given as *Shenxian fushi ershi bing xingyao fa* 神仙服食餌石并行藥法 (Methods of the Divine Immortals for Ingesting Minerals in Pills, and for Making Medicines Edible; cf. VDL 130).

The contents of the work may be divided into three parts. The first part (1a–11a) includes twenty-one methods for making cinnabar edible. There follow similar recipes for realgar (11a–17b) and other substances (25a–26a). A third section (17b–25a, entitled *Shenxian fushi ershi* 神仙服食餌石, a name close to the variant title mentioned above) discusses the value and use of common minerals and plants for obtaining immortality, as well as the general principles underlying their treatment and ingestion. The methods described in this work seem to be related to traditions reflected in the early hagiographical sources, where the ingestion of minerals and plants is often mentioned as part of dietary regimes. Several recipes here are in fact associated with names of legendary immortals of antiquity.

Sanshiliu shuifa 三十六水法

12 fols.

930 (fasc. 597)

“Thirty-six Methods for Liquefying [Solids].” This work describes ways of turning metals and minerals into aqueous solutions. A *Sanshiliu shuijing* 三十六水經, without attribution, is mentioned by GE HONG (283–343) in 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 19.4b. Some of these methods were known to GE HONG since he speaks of “transforming instantly the thirty-six minerals (or stones) into water 三十六石, 立化爲水” (1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 3.1b) and further describes two methods for making aqueous solutions of realgar and cinnabar (1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 16.9b–10a). These two methods correspond, with some variants, to 2a–2b of the present text. The book is entitled *Lian sanshiliu shui shi fa* 鍊三十六水石法 in the *Chongwen zongmu* (VDL 163).

According to one tradition, the authorship of the work is ascribed to Liu An 劉安 (179–122 B.C.). His biography in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 states that he was given an alchemical book in thirty-six juan 丹經三十六卷 by his Eight Masters (Bagong 八公). An excerpt from the same work in YJQQ 109.24a adds: “Alchemical scriptures along with thirty-six recipes for mercury, etc. [丹經及三十六水丹等方” or: diverse recipes of which thirty-six concern solvents and silver].

Supplementary information can be found in 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 8.1a–2a, according to which Liu An not only received the *Sanshiliu shuifa* from the Bagong, but also a *Wuling shendan shangjing* 五靈神丹上經. That source also includes the line of transmission of these texts (8.2b) and states that Liu An transmitted them to Zuo Wu 左吳 before ascending into Heaven. According to Gao You 高誘, however, Zuo Wu himself was one of the Bagong (cf. 1184 *Huainan honglie jie*, preface 2a).

Another tradition ascribes the authorship to TAO HONGJING. His bibliography in the *Huayang yinju xiansheng benqi lu* (YJQQ 107.10a), by his nephew Tao Yi 陶翊 (ca. 502), includes the title *Fuyunmu zhu shiyao xiaohua sanshiliu shuifang* 服雲母諸石藥消化三十六水方 in one juan. TAO HONGJING himself, however, notes in his commentary to the *Bencao* 本草: “The methods of transformation [*xiao* 消] of nitre can be found in the *Sanshiliu shuifang*” (*Shennong bencao jing jizhu* 23, and 769 *Tujing yanyi bencao* 1.28a). The sentence is also quoted, although incorrectly, in 885 *Shendan jingjue* 19.2a. There are indeed several procedures for dissolving nitre in our text (4a–b); the third of these also figures in 885 *Shendan jingjue* 19.2a.

Despite the title, the *Sanshiliu shuifa* comprises more than thirty-six methods. The text must have acquired its present form during the Northern Song (960–1127), if not already during the Tang: the 885 *Shendan jingjue* includes a “*rongyan shuifa* 戎鹽水法” excerpted from the *Sanshiliu shuifa* which figures after the thirty-six methods in our text.

The procedures themselves are short; nitre (*xiaoshi* 硝石) is generally used as solvent to obtain various solutions (alum, gold, realgar, cinnabar, lacquer, etc.). Instruction on the ritual used for the transmission of the text, attributed to a certain Gao Qi 高起, along with an incomplete list of days forbidden for the making of drugs is found at the end of the text (11b–12b; compare this list with that of 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jing* 1.2a; 880 *Taiqing jinyi shendan jingjue* 1.7a; and 908 *Shangqing jiuzhen zhongjing neijue* 2b).

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shangqing jiuzhen zhongjing neijue 上清九真中經內訣

6 fols.

Attributed to Chisong zi 赤松子; early Six Dynasties (220–589)

908 (fasc. 589)

“Secret Instructions on the Central Book of the Nine Authentic [Lords] of High Purity.” This text is attributed to Chisong zi, who appears here under the appellation Taiji zhenren 太極真人 (Zhenren of the Great Ultimate). No exact details are available about the origin and date of this short text, but its title and attribution suggest that it may have been transmitted as part of the Shangqing corpus. Taiji zhenren is also associated with 889 *Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue* and 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing*, two other works related to this corpus and entirely or partially devoted to alchemical methods.

The text includes three methods for the ingestion of cinnabar (1a–2b), followed by the description of an Offering (*jiao Taiyi fa* 醮太一法; 2b–5b) to be performed before the preparation of the elixir.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue 太極真人九轉還丹經要訣

8 fols.

Early Six Dynasties (220–589)

889 (fasc. 586)

“Essential Instructions on the Book of the Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir of the Zhenren of the Great Ultimate.” This work includes the recipe for an elixir (1a–5b), two methods for compounding minor drugs (5b–6b), and an account of five *zhi* 芝 (substances of a transcendental nature that only divinities can confer upon adepts) said to have been planted by Mao Ying 茅盈 and his brothers on Maoshan 茅山 (6b–8a).

The text, which is listed for the first time as *Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing* in *Sui shu* 34.1049, is presented here as revealed by Xicheng Wangjun 西城王君, one of the Shangqing immortals.

Several quotations in TPYL from the biography of Mao Ying confirm that the materials found in the present text were once part of the Shangqing scriptural corpus. These quotations are derived from both the first recipe (e.g., passages in 1a and 3b are quoted in TPYL 942.4b, 811.7a, and 812.7a; cf. also TPYL 671.1a and 1016 *Zhen'gao* 5.4a) and the account of the *zhi* (passages in 6b and 7a–b are quoted in TPYL 718.7b and 986.3b). It is likely that these recipes were already transmitted before YANG XI's revelations of 364–370, and that they entered Mao Ying's biography from different sources, being later separated from it to form the present text. The earlier origin of the section on the *zhi*, said to have been appended (*fu* 附) to the elixir recipe, is attested by 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 11.6b and 11.7b.

Part of the first recipe (summarized in Strickmann, “On the alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching,” 146–150) is quoted as *jiuzhuan fa* 九轉法 (Method of the Nine Cycles) in 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* (passages in 3b and 5a are found there in 20.16b–17a and 20.1b; the latter is also in 930 *Sanshiliu shuifa* 11b). The recipes of the two corollary drugs are reproduced in YJQQ 77.10b–11b. The account of the *zhi* was later incorporated in 304 *Maoshan zhi* 19.11a–b, and in 1353 *Shangqing daobao jing* 4.9b. It is quoted in WSBY 78.3a–4a as coming from the now lost *Daoji jing* 道跡經.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

Taiqing jing tianshi koujue 太清經天師口訣

15 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

883 (fasc. 583)

“Oral Instructions of the Heavenly Master on the Books of the Great Purity.” This work includes a short introduction (1a–b) and two different texts: the *Taiqing shendan jingjue* 太清神丹經訣 (Instructions on the Book of the Divine Elixir of the Great Purity; 1b–4b) and the *Chisong zi zhouhou yaojue* 赤松子肘後藥訣 (Instructions on the Medicines by Chisong zi to Keep at Hand; 4b–15b). The first text comments on some passages of the *Taiqing jing*, a lost early alchemical scripture repeatedly quoted here as *benjing* 本經 (original canon). The second text gives the recipes of the Three Powders (*sansan* 三散) and the Five Salves (*wugao* 五膏), revealed by Chisong zi after a dialogue with Yunyang zi 雲陽子.

The introduction, on the pledges necessary to receive the first text and the conse-

quences of its illicit transmission, is also found in 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 3.4a–b. The passages in the first text on the acetic bath (*huachi* 華池; 1b) and the crucible (*tufu* 土釜; 3a–b) are also found in 885 *Shendan jingjue* 17.5a and 7.6a–b, respectively. In the second text, the method for making pellets for driving away demons (*zuo quegui wanyao fa* 作卻鬼丸藥法; 14a) is almost identical to a recipe given in 885 *Shendan jingjue* 5.10b, which also includes an identically named talisman, and in SUN SIMO's *Taiqing danjing yaojue* 太清丹經要訣 (YJQQ 71.27a). The first recipe of the Five Salves also includes the so-called methods of the eight refinements (*balian* 八鍊; 7a–8b), said to belong to a corpus of early alchemical texts and methods in 954 *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 7b. All the passages quoted in 885 *Shendan jingjue* mention (with some variants) the title of the present text, showing that the introduction and the two other sections were part of a single work already by the middle of the seventh century.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Taiqing jinyi shendan jing 太清金液神丹經

3 juan

Juan 1 attributed to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (second century A.D.); juan 2 attributed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (first century A.D.); juan 3 by GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343)

880 (fasc. 582)

“Book of the Divine Elixir [Made from] Liquid Gold, from [the Canon of] Greatest Purity.” This is a collection of diverse texts, some alchemical, others indirectly or not at all related to alchemy. The title is mentioned, without the prefix *Taiqing*, in the *Chongwen congmu* (VDL 118). The composite nature of the work is already manifest from the different attributions given at the headings of each juan. The structure of the text itself does not in fact correspond to this tripartite division. The compilation, possibly undertaken by GE HONG, seems to draw on various sources related to the alchemy of Yin Changsheng and his followers.

Juan 65 of the YJQQ, in the section on alchemy (“Jindan jue” 金丹訣) of that encyclopedia, is entirely devoted to excerpts of the present text and provides some clues as to its structure.

The book begins with a preface by Zhang Daoling, who speaks of himself as Daoling (3a7) and refers to his disciples Zhao Sheng 趙昇 and Wang Chang 王長. This preface, written in a philosophical vein and an obvious forgery, may explain the attribution of the whole juan to the first Heavenly Master. The YJQQ version has a commentary to this preface, which, in the present version, is added at the end (3b–7a).

Following this commentary, our text 7b–13a has a ritual of fasting and sacrifice in preparation for the alchemical work, to be performed before producing the *liuyi ni* 六一泥 sealing paste necessary for the hermetical closing of the alchemical vessel. The

famous talisman of the True Form of the Five Sacred Peaks (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖; see 1281 *Wuyue zhenxing xulun*) plays an important role in these rites. This part is omitted in the YJQQ version, which gives only the final didactic poem (13a–14b). The poem, in seven-character verse, is identified in a following note as the core of the *Taiqing jinyi shendan jing*. It was originally written in unintelligible “ancient script,” but transcribed into Han-time characters (Hanzi 漢字) by Yin Changsheng. The biography of Yin Changsheng in YJQQ 106.21b (“Yin zhenjun zhuan” 陰真君傳) states that the (recipe) for the divine elixir made from Liquid Gold (*Taiqing jinyi shendan* 太清金液神丹) was bestowed on Yin by his master Ma Mingsheng 馬鳴生. The biography is followed by an autobiography (*zixu* 自敘) by Yin where he announces his departure from this world in A.D. 122.

Chen Guofu has examined the rhymes of the poem and dated it to the Later Han period (25–220). Other features, such as place names, confirm this date (Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 289–92). These place names figure in the remainder of the first juan, which contains a recipe for making *liuyi ni*, a detailed explanation on the making of the elixir, and the ritual to be performed before taking it. These texts are consistent throughout. Chen concludes, therefore, that the entire first juan is of an ancient, possibly Han, date, and that the two remaining juan are later additions.

The first part of the second juan (1a–5b) is also preserved in YJQQ 65. It contains explanations and elaborations on the themes of the above-mentioned poem. The last paragraph quotes “Lord Zheng,” that is, ZHENG YIN, GE HONG’s master, who pronounces a eulogy of Yin Changsheng and his master Ma Mingsheng.

The text continues (11a) with a story by GE HONG about his father-in-law BAO JING, who met Yin Changsheng in the first year of the Taixing era (A.D. 318). On this meeting, see also *Jin shu* 95.2482. The story as it is told here is similar, for the first part, to that of the *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳 quoted in TPYL 663. Here Yin Changsheng prophesies about the future of the Jin dynasty (265–420), and GE HONG concludes (page 9b) that the events of 324 and 328 bore out the words of the immortal.

The last juan is attributed to GE HONG. It contains a description of foreign countries, especially of the south and the west. In a long preamble, GE HONG laments the lack of information about foreign regions and tells about his study of them and their products, especially those of use in alchemy. He ends by saying: “I now have written a record of those states that produce cinnabar, in order to increase the knowledge of foreign countries and enlighten ignorant minds, and have added it at the end of the [Book of] Divine Gold.” We have no proof that this text is by GE HONG’s hand, but neither is there conclusive evidence to the contrary. It would not seem likely that a forger of GE HONG’s Taoist work would have selected this subject. In any event, this work would appear to date to the Six Dynasties period (220–589), if not earlier.

***Baopu zi shenxian jinzhuo jing* 抱朴子神仙金鈞經**

3 juan

Attributed to GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343); includes texts dating from the Han to the Six Dynasties (206 B.C.–A.D. 589)

917 (fasc. 593)

“Book of the Golden Liquor of the Divine Immortals.” This work includes texts of different date, all related to GE HONG and his 1185 *Baopu zi neipian*. The title is mentioned for the first time as *Shenxian jinzhuo jing* in *Chongwen zongmu* (VDL 130).

The first juan describes a method for the preparation of the Golden Liquor, called *jinzhuo* in the title and *jinshui* 金水 (Golden Water) throughout the text. This description corresponds in several details to the short and often unclear summary given by GE HONG in 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 4.16a–17b (cf. Pregadio, “The Book of the Nine Elixirs,” 574–78). The recipe is divided into thirty short passages, each followed by a commentary. Two references to the change in the weight system between the Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) and the Jin (265–420) dynasties (commentary, 1.1b and 1.8a; cf. 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 4.18a) suggest a Han date for the text. On the evidence of the place names mentioned, the commentary dates from the sixth century.

The second and third juan reproduce 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 4.1a–7a and 4.7a–22a, respectively. Among the most significant variants are the reference to the method of the divine elixir of the Great Purity (*taiqing shendan* 太清神丹) as coming from the *Taiqing shangjing* 太清上經 (3.2b), and a method attributed to Bo xiansheng 白先生 (3.7b), not found in GE HONG’s work.

As described in this text, the main ingredients of the Golden Liquor are gold and mercury. The final product can be ingested, or it can be used to cast eating and drinking utensils, or to obtain a cyclically transformed elixir (*huandan* 還丹). The commentary refers to the *Jiudan jing* 九丹經 (1.4b) for a “test preparation of gold and silver” (*shizuo jinyin fa* 試作金銀法); the corresponding method is found in 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 1.5a.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

1.A.6 Sacred History and Geography

1.A.6.a Cosmogony and the Pantheon

The “Register of Primordial Beginning” (166 *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji*) is a description of the pantheon that includes an account of the Taoist creation myth, a regular feature in subsequent Laozi annals (see part 2.A.6.a and part 3.A.6.a; an early specimen of the genre has come down via the Dunhuang manuscript *Laozi bianhua jing* 老子變化經; see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō* and Su Jinren, “Dunhuang yishu *Laozi bianhua jing*). It is followed here by the “Scripture on the Creation of the World” (1437 *Taishang laojun kaitian jing*) a work likewise devoted to cosmogony and the history of Laozi manifestations. Further accounts of the pantheon include TAO HONGJING’s “Table of the Ranks and Functions in the Pantheon” (167 *Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu*), which presents the Shangqing pantheon in the form of an organizational chart of officials presiding over the underworld and the terrestrial and celestial spheres.

Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji 元始上真衆仙記

9 fols.

Attributed to GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343); Six Dynasties (220–589)

166 (fasc. 73)

“Register of [the Heavenly Prince of] Primordial Beginning, the Superior Zhenren, and Hosts of Immortals.” This work comprises elements of two shorter versions listed in Song catalogues (cf. VDL 82). The present edition adds both the alternative title “Inside a Pillow” and the reputed author’s name as a subheading (“Ge Hong *Zhenzhong shu* 葛洪枕中書”). Yu Jiayi has demonstrated, however, that the work is later than GE HONG, since it mentions (7a) the apotheosis of Xu Mu 許穆 (i.e., XU MI 謚, d. 373; see Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao chan*, 124 ff.) and Xu Yufu 玉斧 (i.e., XU HUI 翺, d. ca. 370; see Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao chan*, 156 ff.), who both survived Ge.

The work has been transmitted, with its traditional attribution, under both the present title and as *Zhenzhong shu*. Another version is contained in 446 *Shangqing zhongjing zhu zhensheng bi* 5, and several later editions may be consulted in *congshu* 叢書 of the Ming period (1368–1644). In addition, Yu Jiayi pointed to parallels between the *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* and 1016 *Zhen’gao* 16, as well as to similarities with LÜQIU FANGYUAN’s edition of TAO HONGJING’s 167 *Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu*.

The present text purports to be a revelation to GE HONG (1a–2a). Despite its uncertain origin, it constitutes an important source on the Taoist creation myth. The

work includes a brief cosmogony, beginning with Pan Gu 盤古, the Heavenly Prince of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王), a genealogy of primordial deities, and accounts of the “hosts of immortals,” with their titles and residences.

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Franciscus Verellen

Taishang laojun kaitian jing 太上老君開天經

7 fols.

Attributed to Zhang Pan 張泮; Six Dynasties (220–589)

1437 (fasc. 1059)

“Scripture on the Creation of the World, by the Most High Lord Lao.” The *Guang hongming ji* 12.174c, compiled by Daoxuan (596–667), claims that the *Kaitian jing* was the fabrication of a certain Zhang Pan. In *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 23.624c, Daoxuan states that under the reign of the Northern Wei emperor Xiaoming (516–528), the Taoist Jiang Bin 姜斌 cited the *Laozi kaitian jing* in a debate. It is likely to be a work of the Six Dynasties period. Another edition is found in YJQQ 2.9a–14b.

The scripture’s ostensible subject, cosmogony, relates the work to the Taoist genesis tradition (see, e.g., 166 *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji*). At the same time, and perhaps more importantly, it provides a chronicle for the pre-Zhou period to precede the Laozi legend as assembled by Sima Qian in *Shiji* 63, emphasizing the sage’s role as instructor of rulers (*dishi* 帝師) and revealer of scriptures. In this sense, the “Creation of the World” also belongs to the Laozi annals tradition in the *Daozang* (e.g., 770 *Hunyuan shengji*). The present litany of Laozi’s credentials suggests that the work, like Laozi chronicles in general, served a polemical purpose. Daoxuan’s reference to its use in religious debate at court seems to bear this out.

The scripture postulates that Lord Lao is at the origin of creation, the process through which the undifferentiated One of nonbeing first divided into Heaven and Earth and then brought forth the myriad beings, each endowed with countless attributes. At the Great Beginning (*taichu* 太初), the first of a series of cosmic phases, Lord Lao orally pronounced (*koutu* 口吐) the *Kaitian jing* scripture. The “Creation of the World” incorporates several traditional creation myths (3a–b; cf. Rao Zongyi, “Lun daojiao chuangshi ji,” 37), including the legend of the two sons of Chaos (Hundun 混沌), named Hu Chen 胡臣 and Hu Ling 胡靈, whose spirits after death became the gods of the mountains (*shanyue shen* 山嶽神) and the rivers (*shuishen* 水神), respectively. Having first enlightened Hundun, Laozi subsequently reveals other scriptures and instructs every one of the culture heroes and mythical rulers from Fu Xi 伏羲, Zhu

Rong 祝融, the Three Sovereigns 三皇, and Huangdi 黃帝 down to the legendary kings of the Shang dynasty. The narrative ends with Lord Lao's renewed manifestation as teacher (*shi* 師) under the Zhou.

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Franciscus Verellen

Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖

29 fols.

Originally compiled by TAO HONGJING 陶弘景 (ca. 500); revised by LÜQIU FANGYUAN 闞丘方遠 (before 893)

167 (fasc. 73)

"Table of the Ranks and Functions in the Pantheon." The title of this work by TAO HONGJING, preserved here in a revised edition by LÜQIU FANGYUAN, is not mentioned in contemporary or early sources, probably due to the fact that this text originally formed part of 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* (q.v.). 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 2.16a, for example, mentions a *Zhenling weiye jing* as a subsection of the *Dengzhen yinjue* and provides a comprehensive quotation. Also the references to 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* in 446 *Shangqing zhongjing zhu zhensheng bi* 7.13b–14a and 8.9b–10b seem to refer to a section in that work similar in content to this "Table of Ranks."

The present *Zhenling weiye tu* reflects TAO HONGJING's attempt to provide an exhaustive survey of names, ranks, and administrative responsibilities of the inhabitants of the spiritual realms of the universe, structured in seven levels. In his annotations he apparently provided additional details about the provenance and career of the deities. Tao based himself on the Shangqing literature, but for former historical persons, he also used non-Taoist sources for comparison. A major part of the work—the description of the offices in the mountain caves and in the terrestrial and underworldly realms—obviously taken directly from 1016 *Zhen'gao* 12–16, supplemented by investigations Tao himself conducted there.

Although no source is named, juan 83 and 84 of the WSBY are certainly based on Tao's *Zhenling weiye tu*. There we find, in an ascending order, entries on the officials of the underworld (*guiguan* 鬼官), the terrestrial level (*dixian* 地仙, *dizhen* 地真), and the so-called nine palaces (*jiugong* 九宮), as well as those of the heavenly spheres of Taiqing 太清 and Taiji 太極, with frequent additional remarks, brief yet typical for TAO HONGJING (see also the Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot 3141, Pelliot 3773, and Stein 5751, in Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 343–44; *Zurokuhen*, 772–75). The following sections on the Shangqing 上清 and Yuqing 玉清 Heavens were

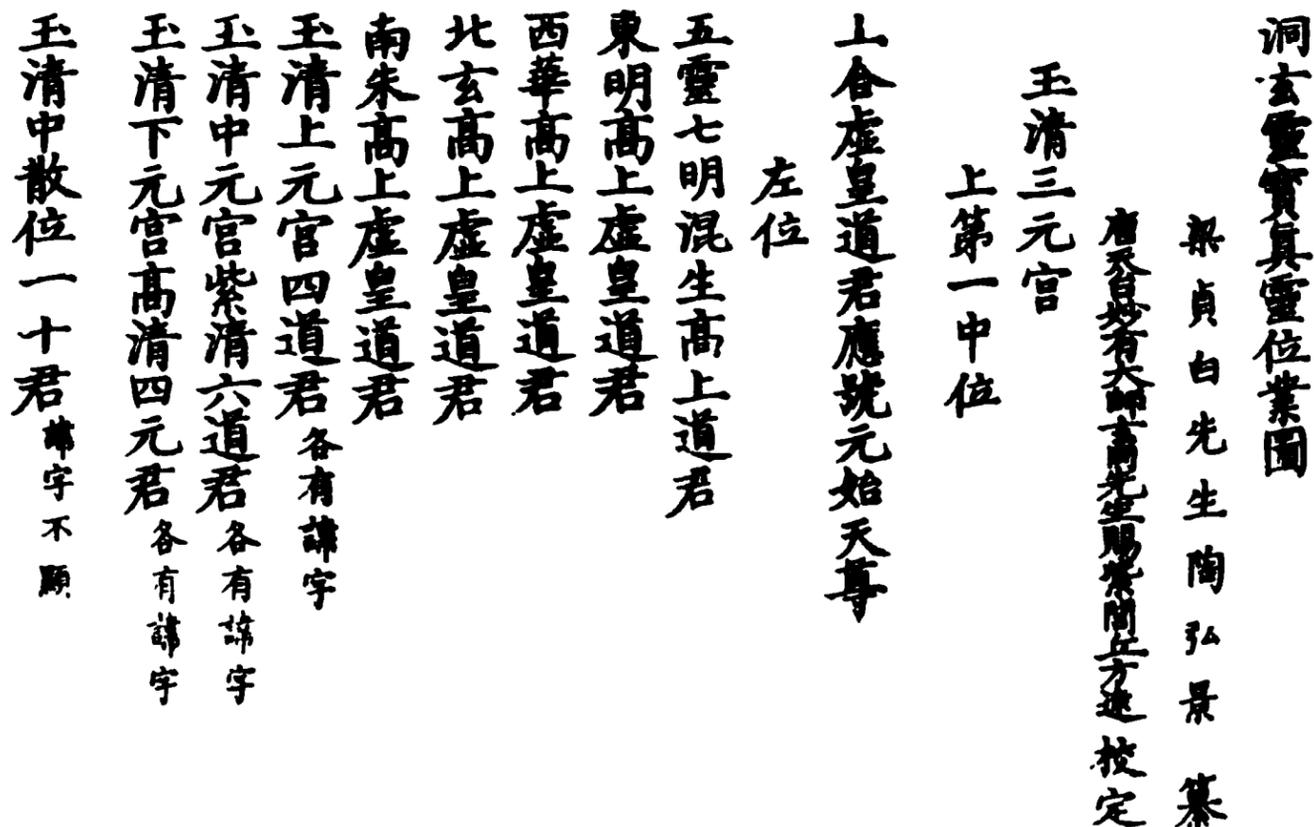


FIGURE 3. The Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning and his court, the register of deities at the highest echelon of the pantheon, according to Lüqiu's recension (167 1a–b).

presumably distributed over juan 85–86 of the WSBY (cf. the table of contents of the WSBY preserved in Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2861, in Ōfuchi, *Zurokuhen*, 751; and Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 69). Yet these sections are at least partly covered by the citation in 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu*. There the supreme deities of the pantheon are listed in a descending order, only a few passages of the commentary are quoted, and possibly some additions are already worked into the final part (2.18b–20a). But since there can be no doubt about the main source of both, this citation and those in the WSBY taken together provide ample material for comparison with the present revised edition made by LÜQIU FANGYUAN (see fig. 3) during his time in the Tiantai 天台 Mountains (he moved to the Dadi Grotto Heaven 大滌洞天 near Hangzhou in 893). The comparison reveals considerable shortcomings in his work. Possibly Lüqiu had relied on copies of TAO HONGJING's original version but failed to reproduce the various interrelations that had been indicated graphically in the *Zhenling weiye tu* of the *Dengzhen yinjue*. His arrangement of the gods into a continuous, linear sequence is presumably based on an understanding of their spatial groupings on the right, left, and in the center of the diagram as a hierarchical classification. Thus, for example, [Yuqing] zixu gaoshang yuanhuang daojun [玉清] 紫虛高上元皇道君, the supreme deity in the pantheon, is given place eleven, right rank, in this rendering, probably because that name had originally been placed in the right (i.e., the beginning) on the diagram (cf. 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 2.16a with our text 1b). Frequently Lüqiu misinterprets brief lines of summarizing commentary and lists them as independent entries (compare, e.g., 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiancheng cixu* 2.16b3,

2.16b10, and 2.17a7 with our text 1b3–5). Sometimes both misunderstandings occur at the same time, resulting in a completely unintelligible disarray (compare, e.g., WSBY 84.12a7–9 with our text 11a9–11b4). In other instances Lüqiu found himself compelled, because of the confusing order, to alter lines of commentary (compare, e.g., WSBY 84.2a–b with our text 15a–b).

Since it is, finally, unlikely that TAO HONGJING wrote a separate preface for a subsection of his *Dengzhen yinjue* (1050 *Huayang Tao yinju ji* does not contain such a preface), we can only assume that LÜQIU FANGYUAN used Tao's general introductory remarks and placed them, reworked into a preface and signed with Tao's name, at the beginning of his new edition.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

1.A.6.b Mythology and Hagiography

This section assembles six classics of Taoist hagiography and mythical geography that stand as models for their respective genres and have exerted major influences on the development of Chinese imaginative literature and narrative fiction. The work 1031 *Shanhai jing* is an early comprehensive description of the natural world and its inhabitants, extending outward from the actual realm to increasingly fantastic lands. Composed nearly a thousand years later, 598 *Shizhou ji* is concerned with projections of the "true [i.e., esoteric] form" of the realms of the immortals.

The work 294 *Liexian zhuan*, probably of Later Han (25–220) date, can be regarded as the prototype of an extensive body of collected lives of immortals. In one way or another, all later works of this sort look back upon the *Liexian zhuan* as their ancestor and authentic nucleus. The remaining three works, dealing with the spiritual aspirations of rulers, form a genre of their own. Like the 1031 *Shanhai jing*, the 291 *Mu tianzi zhuan* is thought to have originated in the fourth century B.C. Describing the shamanistic journeys of King Mu of the Zhou (r. 1023–983 B.C.), it is similarly concerned with the exploration of mythical geography. Both works engaged the interest of the Jin scholar and author Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324), whose commentaries survive.

The spiritual quest of King Mu, however, also relates this work to the historical romance about the Han emperor Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.), 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*, which in time is closer to the *Shizhou ji* (ca. sixth century A.D.). A central feature of the adventures of both rulers is their respective encounter with the goddess Xi wang mu 西王母, who appears in more archaic form also in the *Shanhai jing*. The work 293 *Han Wudi waizhuan*, finally, continues the themes of divine revelations obtained by Wudi

and the fervent quest for immortality that was associated with his reign. It belongs to a larger tradition of legends about the emperor and his court, widely transmitted outside the Taoist canon, that enjoyed great popularity in medieval China.

Shanhai jing 山海經

18 juan (juan 14–15 are missing)

Probably fourth century B.C., with later additions; commentary by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324)

1031 (fasc. 675–676)

“Book of Mountains and Seas.” This is a mythical geography of the ancient world, written as a systematic repertoire of regions, landmarks, mythical animals and peoples, prophylactics, drugs, and other cures for the various ills that befall this world. The first five chapters relate to the Chinese world of the times and refer, at least partially, to actual places and their names. The following chapters, grouped in series of four, concern increasingly remote and mythical regions and their inhabitants. A final chapter (18) appears to be a later addition.

The systematic nature of the compilation and the importance given, for each place mentioned, to the drug that can be found there and the divination practices related to it suggest that this work originated as a handbook of shamanistic medicine.

The *Shanhai jing* is mentioned by Sima Qian at the end of his treatise “Dayuan zhuan 大宛傳” (*Shiji* 123.3179), where he judges that its contents “cannot be believed.” It is probable that he refers to the present work. The *Han shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” lists the work in thirteen *pian* 篇 and classifies it under *xingfa* 形法 (30.1774–75), which suggests that it was used for divination.

The present and many other editions of the text are accompanied by a presentation by Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23 B.C.), stating that he edited the text in eighteen *pian*. This number is at variance with the above-mentioned reference in the *Han shu*, “Yiwen zhi.” For this reason as well as for matters of style, the presentation must be considered spurious. Many elements in it, such as the attribution of the *Shanhai jing* to Bo Yi 伯益, who assisted Yu the Great in subduing the Flood, have nevertheless long been given credence.

The commentary by Guo Pu, on the other hand, is well authenticated. It is mentioned in Guo’s biography in the *Jin shu* as well as in the bibliographical treatises of the *Sui shu* and *Tang shu* 唐書. The present edition, moreover, incorporates Guo’s *Shanhai jing tuzan* 山海經圖讚, eulogies written as captions for the illustrations of the work as they existed already in his time. Here they are given at the end of each chapter.

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***Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳**

6 juan

Probably early fourth century B.C.; discovered in A.D. 281; commentary by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324)

291 (fasc. 137)

“The Story of Son of Heaven Mu.” The epic narrative of the life of King Mu of the Zhou (r. 1023–983 B.C.), his travels through the world and his meeting with the Queen Mother of the West (Xi wang mu 西王母; juan 1–5), as well as of the death and burial of Lady Sheng Ji 盛姬 (juan 6). According to the undated preface by Xun Xu 荀勗, the manuscript on bamboo slips was discovered by robbers in Taikang 2 (A.D. 281) in the tomb of King Xiang of Wei (r. 318–296 B.C.), together with many other texts. It was edited by Xun and other scholars. Apparently juan 1–4 are of a piece and correspond to the original state in which they were found, whereas juan 5 was reconstructed by Xun and his colleagues from other remains. Juan 6 corresponds to a fragment from another work, the *Zhou Muwang meiren Sheng Ji sishi* 周穆王美人盛姬死事, which was also found in the tomb.

The *Daozang* edition is based on a printed edition of the Yuan period (1279–1368). According to the preface (dated 1350) by Wang Jian 王漸, *zi* Xuanhan 玄翰, this eccentric scholar obtained a rare copy from the imperial censor Liu Zhen 劉貞 (1289–1361) and had it reprinted. The original Yuan edition has not been preserved. The present *Daozang* reprint is therefore the oldest extant edition. The Tianyi ge reprint, from which all later editions derive, is probably based on it.

The *Mu tianzi zhuan* is cited in Taoist works as a source related to the search of immortality. Central to this interpretation is the episode of the meeting between the Son of Heaven and Xi wang mu. This theme has been adopted in many later hagiographies, the most famous being 212 *Han Wudi neizhuan*.

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Liexian zhuan 列仙傳

2 juan

Attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 B.C.)

294 (fasc. 138)

“Biographies of Famous Immortals.” The present work is not mentioned in the *Han shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” whereas the Biographies of Famous Women (*Lienü zhuan* 列女傳) by the same author is given. According to the *Sui shu*, “Jingji zhi,” 33.979, Liu Xiang, while editing the classics, started to write the Biographies of Famous Immortals, Famous Men, and Famous Women. The same source (19b) gives two editions of the *Liexian zhuan*, one in three juan, with eulogies (*zan* 讚) added by Sun Chuo 孫綽 (314–371), and another in two juan, with eulogies added by the Jin poet Guo Yuanzu 郭元祖. This latter version corresponds to the present work.

Yang Shoujing (1839–1915) in *Riben fangshu zhi* 6.30b–31b and Yu Jiayi (1883–1955) in *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 19.1197–1205 have pointed out that for reasons of style, place names, book titles, and so on, the present work must have been written in later Han times (A.D. 25–220), in imitation of Liu Xiang’s *Lienü zhuan*. The author even wrote a preface that is lacking in the present edition but that has been preserved in a manuscript version of the *Shuofu*, which was reproduced by Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908) in his *Zhayi* 11.22a. The last two sentences are missing in this preface but appear to have been preserved in Falin 法林 (572–640), *Paxie lun* 破邪論 (in *Guang hongming ji* 11.21a), and give a fictitious date of 18 B.C. In the text itself, there are some intentional anachronisms. For instance, the biography of Mao nü 毛女 (7b–8a) is dated to 35 B.C. (170 years after the fall of the Qin).

The oldest citations of the *Liexian zhuan*, in Wang Yi’s (second century A.D.) commentary to the *Chuci* 楚辭 (3.13b) and in Ying Shao’s (d. 195?) commentary to the *Han shu* 25A.1204 and 57B.2599, are no longer found in the present text. Also, Ying Shao’s commentary is said to have comprised seventy-two biographies (see *1016 Zhen’gao* 17.17a), whereas our present version has only seventy. In spite of these defects, the present version corresponds to the version included in the Song canon *Da Song tiangong baozang* 大宋天宮寶藏 of 1019, as it is similar to the abbreviated version of YJQQ 108. In the YJQQ, the sequence of the biographies is identical. Twenty-seven biographies have been omitted, and there is one additional one (Ruan Qiu 阮丘, YJQQ 108.14b).

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Shizhou ji 十洲記

13 fols.

Probably sixth century

598 (fasc. 330)

“Record of the Ten Islands.” A description of the ten paradisiacal regions in the Eastern Sea where the immortals have their abode, with a further description of the holy mountain Kunlun in the west, together with that of three additional islands: Fangzhang, Fusang, and Pengqiu. Although these four additional regions are not part of the ten islands and are not mentioned at the beginning of the text, the description does not vary notably from the preceding ones and there is no reason to suppose that they are later additions.

The opening sentences and evidence from 1281 *Wuyue zhenxing xulun* and other sources suggest that the present text was originally part of a longer work that included 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan* and 293 *Han Wudi waizhuan* (see 1281). The division into separate parts must, however, have occurred at an early date, as the *Sui shu*, “Jingji zhi,” and later bibliographies quote it as an independent work. Variant titles are *Haiwai shizhou ji* 海外十洲記 and *Shizhou sandao ji* 十洲三島記.

Whereas 212 *Han Wudi neizhuan* is a narrative constructed around the transmission of the ancient talisman called the Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖) and the later revealed texts of the Shangqing canon, the present sequel is concerned with an analogous Image of the True Form of the Ten Islands (*Shizhou zhenxing tu* 十州真形圖), also mentioned in 212 *Han Wudi neizhuan*. Since the narrative here assumes the persona of Wudi’s courtier Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (154–93 B.C.), the text is traditionally ascribed to him. It is also included as an independent text in YJQQ 26.

The description of the lands of the immortals is colorful and picturesque. The text has exerted widespread influence, notably on Tang poetry.

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Han Wudi neizhuan 漢武帝內傳

31 fols.

Probably sixth century

292 (fasc. 137)

“The Inner Story of Emperor Wu of the Han.” This is a short novel in the classical style that tells the legend of the visit of the goddess Xi wang mu 西王母 to Emperor Wu (reign 140–87 B.C.). A famous text of medieval Taoism, it is often quoted in the

literature of the end of the Six Dynasties (220–598) and Tang (618–907) periods. The earliest direct citation of our text appears to be that in the preface (2b) of the *Yutai xinyong* 玉台新詠 by Xu Ling 徐陵 (507–583). On the other hand, the work should be later than the revelations to YANG XI (364–375), as the greatest part of the text is an adaptation of the now lost biography of Mao Ying 茅盈, one of the most important saints of the *Shangqing jing* (see Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han*, 11–19).

In fact, this work is not a primary Taoist source but a literary production composed from a number of different sources, combining excerpts from the dynastic histories with legendary accounts and Taoist hagiography. It may have served an apologetic purpose, inasmuch as the story sets out to prove the superiority of the new texts of the *Shangqing jing* over those of ancient Taoism, here represented by the Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖), a talisman that existed already in Han times (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). Therefore, in the story, the miraculous appearance of the classical goddess Xi wang mu is followed by that of the Shangqing female deity Shangyuan furen 上元夫人, whose revelations supersede that of her predecessor. At first, Shangyuan furen refuses to transmit the most holy scriptures and talismans to the emperor, but after a resounding quarrel with Xi wang mu and endless entreaties by a kneeling and kowtowing emperor, she at last gives in and parts with the scriptures. Later, the emperor shows himself unworthy of this holy revelation, and the sanctuary where the sacred texts are kept goes up in flames.

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Han Wudi waizhuan 漢武帝外傳

19 fols.

293 (fasc. 137)

“Extraneous Stories on Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty.” This is a collection of anecdotes and legendary biographies that are presented as a sequel to 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*. Early bibliographic sources tend to confound both texts. The *Chuxue ji* 5.103, for instance, cites the source of the story of Li Shaojun 李少君 of the present collection (10b) as coming from the *Han Wudi neizhuan*, and the *Yiwen leiju* (94.1626) does the same for the story on Feng Junda 封君達 (6b). Moreover, no ancient catalogue quotes the title *Han Wudi waizhuan*. For this reason, the scholar Qian Xizuo 錢熙祚, in his colophon to his critical edition of the present work in *Shoushan ge congshu* 守山閣叢書, suggests that this *waizhuan* originally corresponded to the second juan of 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*. Indeed, the *Xin Tang shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 59.1519 notes that this work was composed of two juan, whereas at present it has only one (see also 292).

In its present version, the text can be subdivided into three distinct parts. The first part relates to the legend of Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 and seems to come from the preface to 598 *Shizhou ji*, another work closely related to 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*.

The second part consists of six biographies, comprising those of the King of Huainan, the alchemist Li Shaoweng 李少翁, and so on. It may be that these stories were originally added to 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan* by the daoshi Wang Youyan 王游岩 in 746. Chao Zaizhi 晁載之, in his *Xu tanzhu* 續談助 4.76 (*Congshu jicheng* 叢書集成 ed.; see also *Zhongxing guange shumu*, quoted in *Yuhai* 58.9a), quotes a colophon by Wang in which he states that he made this addition. The addition aimed at illustrating the transmission of the alchemical secrets handed down by the eight scholars (*bagong* 八公) who worked at the court of the king of Huainan. However, in this part, the stories on Lady Quan 拳夫人 and the dwarf Juling 巨靈 appear to have been borrowed from the *Han Wudi gushi* 漢武帝故事, yet another collection of stories surrounding the great emperor. The present part must therefore have been remodeled.

The third and last part comprises eight biographies, beginning with that of Lu Nüsheng 魯女生, that all concern the transmission of the holy scriptures that were given to the emperor by the goddesses who visited him. They therefore relate directly to 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan* and form a sequel to the latter's narrative. The biographies are rather close to those found in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳. A similar transmission is also given in 1281 *Wuyue zhenxing xulun*.

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Shimomi Takao, "Sō Shi-son no denki."

Kristofer Schipper

1.A.7 Collected Works

Huayang Tao yinju ji 華陽陶隱居集

2 juan

By TAO HONGJING 陶弘景 (456–536), compiled by Fu Xiao 傅霄, *hao* Zhaotai dizi 昭臺弟子 (d. 1159), collated by Chen Jue 陳桷, *hao* Dadong dizi 大洞弟子 (fl. 1131–1162)

1050 (fasc. 726)

"Literary Works of Tao [Hongjing], the Hermit from Huayang." Fu Xiao, the editor of the present version, was a well-known Taoist at Maoshan. He was temporarily appointed by Song Gaozong (r. 1127–1162) to the Taiyi gong 太一宮 temple in the capital, and he is named as one of the authors of a monograph on Maoshan, the *Maoshan*

ji 茅山記 of 1150, now lost (see 304 *Maoshan zhi*, “Xulu,” 1a, 16.7a–b). Some information on his contemporary Chen Jue is also provided in 304 *Maoshan zhi* 16.8a–b.

If we accept the information given in *Sui shu* 35.1077, which already lists a *Liang Yinju xiansheng Tao Hongjing ji* 梁隱居先生陶弘景集 in thirty juan and a *Tao Hongjing neiji* 陶弘景內集 in fifteen juan, Fu Xiao’s compilation contains merely a small part of the contents of earlier collections. The present version still includes a preface by Jiang Zong 江總 (1.1a–b), who, as stated elsewhere (1.3b, commentary), was the first to compile TAO HONGJING’S literary oeuvre, by official order, in 588. Already by that time Jiang deplored earlier losses. Nevertheless, all clear references in 300 *Huayang Tao yinju neizhuan* (presumably dating from the Tang [618–907]) to specific writings in a contemporary *wenji* can be found in the present version.

Our collection contains poetic writings, letters, and inscriptions from Tao’s hand, as well as the prefaces to 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*; *Yao zongjue* 藥總訣; *Zhouhou baiyi fang* 肘後百一方 (more detailed than the version in 1306 *Ge xianweng zhouhou beiji fang*, “xu,” 3b–7b); *Bencao* 本草 (1.19b–24b); and *Xiangjing* 相經 (2.12b).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

1.A.8 Compendiums and Encyclopedias

Wushang biyao 無上祕要

100 juan (juan 1–2, 10–14, 36, 58–64, 67–73, 75, 77, 79–82, 85–86, 89–90 are missing)

Late sixth century

1138 (fasc. 768–779)

“The Essence of the Supreme Secrets.” According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 2.463a, this work was compiled at the request of Emperor Wu of the Zhou after his victory over the state of Qi in 577 (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 1). Only two-thirds of the original 100 juan are extant, but the complete, annotated table of contents of the original anthology survives in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2861. From this list of contents it can be concluded that the work was intended as a general survey of Taoist cosmology and practice in the form of a collection of quotations (for the translation of the complete table of contents, see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 49–71). The Dunhuang manuscript dates from 718, but Lagerwey suggests that the original *mulu* 目錄 dates to the same period as the anthology. The care taken in the compilation of the *Wushang biyao* seems to indicate that Emperor Wu wished to use this work as an ideological instrument to prepare and justify the political unification of China, which at that time he was trying to accomplish by military force.

In its present form the *Wushang biyao* includes quotations from about 120 texts, 69 of which are still extant in the *Daozang* (Lagerwey, 268). The great majority of the quoted texts come from the Dongzhen and Dongxuan canons. We may also note the importance of the liturgical texts contained in this anthology: not only are they among the most ancient complete texts of Taoist rituals, the fact that they are attributed to the emperor himself (Lagerwey, 125) shows that already at that time the institution of Taoism as a state religion presupposed the realization of an orthodox liturgy.

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John Lagerwey

1.B Texts in Internal Circulation

1.B.1 The Way of the Heavenly Master

The texts presented here are nearly all that remain of the scriptural legacy of early Heavenly Master Taoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道). Much has been lost (see 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 2.6b–9a). A certain number of important works current in the Six Dynasties period (220–589) have been preserved in Tang (618–907) versions. Among these are “The Petition Almanac of Chisong zi” 615 *Chisong zi zhangli*) and the corresponding ritual 1288 *Yuanchen zhangjiao licheng li*. These works were nevertheless written almost entirely in the Six Dynasties period and are most representative of the Taoism of that time. They are therefore included in this chapter.

The present group of texts contains a wealth of information on the original organization, liturgy, and doctrines of Heavenly Master Taoism. Among the most important liturgical texts are 790 *Nüqing guilü* and the unique 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*. The doctrinal works comprise such famous texts as 789 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing*, 1195 *Laojun bianhua wuji jing*, 785 *Laojun yinsong jiejing*, and 1205 *Santian neijie jing*. Other early doctrinal works, such as 658 *Taishang miaoshi jing*, have only recently been identified. Some texts preserve the prefix *Zhengyi fawen (jing)* 正一法文 (經) from the time they were incorporated into the *Zhengyi* canon, compiled, as far as we know, by MENG ANPAI (fl. 699; see YJQQ 6.18a).

The only overall study to date of these materials is Chen Guofu, “Nanbei chao Tianshi dao kao changpian 南北朝天師道考長篇,” in CGF 308–69. See also the historical study by Fukui Kōjun, *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū*, 2–61.

1.B.1.a Didactic and Doctrinal Treatises

Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing 正一法文天師教戒科經

23 fols.

Wei dynasty, ca. 255

789 (fasc. 563)

“Commandments of the Heavenly Master from the One and Orthodox Canon.” A collection of five texts concerning the religious doctrines of the Heavenly Master. The

second text, dated about 255, indicates that this collection contains the most ancient documents known on the Way of the Heavenly Master.

The first text (1a–12a) is a general discourse on the rules to observe in religious life and presents Five Commandments (*jiaojie* 教戒). It discusses the foundations of moral order in the universe, based on the principle of cosmic harmony (*chonghe* 沖和). Classical in tone and subject matter, the treatise exerted considerable influence on medieval Taoism, reflected in the fact that it was rewritten as 1120 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhonghe jing*, a pseudo-Lingbao text, and reworked again into 1122 *Taishang lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing zhonghe pin shuyi shu*.

The Rules Governing the Family of the Tao (*Dadao jialing jie* 大道家令戒; 12a–19b) is a short treatise on the theological foundations of Heavenly Master Taoism. It recalls first the creation of the universe out of the Three Qi or Pneumata (*sanqi* 三氣): the Mysterious, Original, and Incipient (*xuan* 玄, *yuan* 元, *shi* 始). These primordial energies were black, white, and yellow and became the Triad of Heaven, Earth, and the Tao as the Original Being. This Tao appeared throughout the ages as Laozi, the sage counselor of kings. Under the Zhou (1050–221 B.C.), he bestowed the Way of Taiping (*Taiping dao* 太平道) on Gan Ji 干吉. Later, Yin Xi 尹喜 obtained the *Daode jing*, and the Tao went to the Western Regions in order to convert the barbarians. Thus the True Way (*zhendao* 真道) developed and flourished. In China, Laozi “newly appeared” (*xinchu Laojun* 新出老君) and revealed the teaching of the One and Orthodox Covenant with the Powers (*Zhengyi mengwei zhi dao* 正一盟威之道) to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 in A.D. 142. But because of both the turmoil created by Zhang Jue 張角 (the leader of the Yellow Turban Revolt in A.D. 184) and the immoral behavior of the adepts, the institutions of the Way degenerated. Today, in A.D. 255, under the Wei dynasty, says the treatise, everyone should again obey the ancient rules.

This important document, which appears to be corrupt in some places, refers on page 14b to the Xiang'er 想爾 commentary of the *Daode jing* (see *Laozi Xiang'er zhu*, Stein 6825), on 16a to the Book of the Yellow Court (*Huangting sanling qiyan* 黃庭三靈七言; see 332 *Taishang huangting waijing yujing*), and on 17a to the practice of addressing memorials to the Three Officials (*Sanguan wenshu* 三官文書). A translation can be consulted in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist scriptures*, 149–85.

The “Teachings of the Heavenly Master” (*Tianshi jiao* 天師教; 19b–20a) is a didactic hymn in seven-character verse (*qiyan* 七言), recommending to the adepts the practice of confession and meditation, and recalling that salvation can be obtained through religious merit.

The text entitled “The Diocese of Yangping” (*Yangping zhi* 陽平治; 20a–21b) is an epistle of an unknown Heavenly Master to the libationers (*jijiu* 祭酒) of all the

dioceses exhorting them to adopt a worthy and correct behavior in accordance with the traditions of the Way. The Yangping Diocese was the Heavenly Master's own headquarters, and the epistle must have originated there, hence the title.

The collection ends with a song in eleven couplets, in the pattern of what appears to be a counting rhyme called Drawing Three (*Qiansan shi* 牽三詩).

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Kristofer Schipper

Laojun bianhua wuji jing 老君變化無極經

9 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1195 (fasc. 875)

"Scripture of the Limitless Transformations of Lord Lao." Such is a possible translation of the title of this long poem of 369 seven-character verses. More likely, however, the title derives from the opening verse of the present poem: "Lord Lao transformed himself in the Wuji period." *Wuji* (Limitless) is a celestial era (*tianshang nianhao* 天上年號) corresponding to the time of King You 幽, when Laozi left China for the west. The present work belongs to the early texts of the Way of the Heavenly Master, as may be deduced from the explicit mention of the Twenty-four Dioceses (*zhi* 治) and assemblies (*hui* 會) at the Heavenly Master's diocese of Yangping 陽平 (6b). This poem is remarkably similar in vocabulary and expression to parts of 615 *Chisong zi zhangli*, as well as to the One Hundred and Eighty Rules of Laojun (*Laojun yibai bashi jie*, in 786 *Taishang laojun jingliu*) and to the didactic poem in juan five of 790 *Nüqing guiliu*. Our text twice mentions (2a and 5a) a now lost *Yinyang zhongjing* 陰陽中經, which may have been related to the rites of sexual union of 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*.

The poem consists of two parts. The first part (112 verses) describes the successive transformations of Laozi in each of the five directions: (1) his departure to the West and the conversion of the barbarians; (2) his return to China as Li Hong 李弘 (written *mu zi gong kou* 木子弓口) and the investiture of Zhang Daoling 張道陵 as Heavenly Master; and his appearances (3) in the Eastern Sea, (4) the northern Dark River, and (5) among the southern barbarians (Zhang Lu 張魯).

In the second part (231 verses), the author begins by describing his flight from the north to the south around the time of the fall of the Western Jin (ca. A.D. 310). He continues with a complaint about the present situation, namely, the decay of both the civil government and the Heavenly Master organization (ca. 360). They will be restored by the True Lord of Great Peace (*Taiping zhenjun* 太平真君), whose coming

is expected apparently in the west (Sichuan), as the author intends to go there or has just arrived there.

At nearly every stage, and usually indicated by a change of rhyme, the narrative of both parts is interrupted by other narratives (such as the transmission of the *Daode jing* to the author, after the description of Laozi's departure to the west), by hymns on the Way, or by descriptions of methods and rites (such as the rites of sexual union, *guodu* 過度) by which men and women can escape present and future disasters and obtain the status of Seed People (*zhongmin* 種民).

The poem concludes with a coda (twenty-six verses) that recommends retirement from office, retreat into mountainous regions, ingestion of elixirs, and abstention from cereals.

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Adrianus Dudink

Taishang miaoshi jing 太上妙始經

7 fols.

Fifth century?

658 (fasc. 344)

"The Scripture of the Marvelous Beginning." This is a short but interesting text, which, on the basis of its contents and style, must date to the Six Dynasties period, perhaps as early as the fourth century. The version of the Conversion of the Barbarians story, which resembles that of *1205 Santian neijie jing*, antedates the sixth century, while the reference to the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) implies a date after 350.

The book gives an account of the creation of the universe, the birth of the gods, the mythical geography of the earth, the reproduction of human beings and finally the manifestation of Laozi in this world, his conversion of the barbarians and the transmission of the *Zhengyi mengwei zhi dao* 正一盟威之道 to Zhang Zhennan 張鎮南, that is Zhang Lu 張魯. This scripture is not mentioned elsewhere.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue 正一天師告趙昇口訣

5 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1273 (fasc. 1003)

"Oral (Secret) Instructions to Zhao Sheng, by the One and Orthodox Heavenly Master." According to the *Shenxian zhuan* (YJQQ 109.19a–21a), Zhao Sheng 趙昇 (also written 升) and Wang Chang 王長 were Zhang Daoling's 張道陵 foremost

disciples, whom he chose as his successors on Yuntai shan 雲臺山 (corresponding to the diocese of the same name, in Sichuan). The present work takes up this lead and reveals the apocalyptic prophecies that were spoken before the master left this world (Zhang died on Yuntai shan in 157; see 774 *Youlong zhuan* 5.5a–b).

The present text, although in many respects close to other works of Six Dynasties apocalyptic literature, mentions a number of texts and talismans that are not encountered elsewhere. The beginning of the apocalypse is predicted (2a) for the first year of the sexagesimal cycle (*jiazi* 甲子) in the reign of the Golden Horse, *jinma* 金馬, a circumlocution for the Sima 司馬 family of the Jin 晉 dynasty, who ruled by the Virtue of Metal (this date would correspond to A. D. 364). The suffering would end and the reign of the messiah would begin at the end of the Golden Horse period (3a; compare, for similar prophecies, 322 *Taishang lingbao tiandi yundu ziran miaojing* 5a). Zhang first recalls his investiture by Lord Lao, who made him Chief of All Spirits (*baigui zhuzhe* 百鬼主者; 1b) and directed him to establish the Twenty-four Dioceses “in order to convert those who belonged to the heterodox and vulgar (cults),” while, on the other hand, bestowing upon him a Red Register of Huang-Lao (*Huang-Lao chilu* 黃老赤籙) for the attainment of Long Life. Finally, Lord Lao tells Zhang that the present times are coming to an end and that before Lord Li 李 (Hong 弘) comes to shepherd the people, great sufferings are to befall the world. At first, 240,000 people will be saved as Seed People (*zhongmin* 種民; 1b). Their names are written in the Purple Book of Great Mystery (*Taixuan zibu* 太玄紫簿; 2a). Another 140,000 will be selected at that time on the basis of their merits. They will be chosen from among those who have obtained diocesan ordination (*zhilu* 職籙) and will receive the *Huang-Lao chilu* as a token of their status as the elect (2a). In the year *jiashen* 甲申, there will be a great flood that will wash away the impurities of the world, including bad Taoists.

The Heavenly Master then reveals a Life-Giving Talisman of Myriad (Divine) Names, of the Nine Lights of the Great Mystery (*Taixuan jiuguang wancheng shengfu* 太玄九光萬稱生符; 3a), by which the chosen ones will be recognized on the day of the coming of the True Lord of Great Peace (Taiping shengjun 太平聖君). At that time, the dead will rise from their graves and shall be judged. Only those who have this fu and are Taoist initiates shall escape punishment.

Kristofer Schipper

Santian neijie jing 三天內解經

2 juan

By Xushi 徐氏, *hao* Santian dizi 三天弟子 (fl. 421–478)

1205 (fasc. 876)

“Explanations of the Essentials of the Three Heavens.” The author of this work, a certain Mr. Xu, Disciple of the Three Heavens, cannot be identified with certainty. The

work, however, was written during the Liu Song dynasty, praised here as successor to the Han ruling house by mandate of the Tao. Particular mention is made of the official measures to extinguish cults in A.D. 421 (1.9a–b; cf. *Song shu* 17.488).

The scripture explains political and social changes as the results of an ongoing cosmic revolution in which the correct emanations of the Three Heavens embodied in Laozi alternate with the stale emanations of the Six Heavens (*liutian guqi* 六天故氣). Each of Laozi's manifestations in the world, from the mythical age of Fuxi through the Zhou and Han periods up to the blessed rule of the Liu Song, marked a renewal of the cosmic order based on the Three Teachings, which Laozi, as Counselor of the State (*guoshi* 國師), instituted at different times, in different places, and in response to different needs. These Three Teachings were: (1) the Great Way of Nonacting (*wuwei dadao* 無爲大道); (2) Buddhism (*fodao* 佛道) for disciplining the barbarians; and (3) the Great Way of the Pure Covenant (*qingyue dadao* 清約大道), which corresponds to the Heavenly Masters religion.

The times of decay are, on the other hand, characterized by the mixing of the original Three Teachings (e.g., the introduction of Buddhism into China); their abuse (e.g., unauthorized transmission within the liturgical tradition); the formation of sects such as the Way of the Pure Water (*qingshui dao* 清水道; 1.7b); and, above all, the spreading of illegitimate, popular cults.

The warning against decadence is primarily directed at the libationers (*jiju* 祭酒) of the period. They are called upon to conform to the principles of the *Daode jing* and to return to purity and simplicity in their liturgical offices (juan 2).

Both in its description of the foundations of the Heavenly Master tradition and in its criticism of deviations, this text resembles the roughly contemporary work 1127 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelie*.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Laojun yinsong jiejing 老君音誦誡經

22 fols.

By KOU QIANZHI 寇謙之 (365–448)

785 (fasc. 562)

“Book of the Hymnal Rules of Lord Lao.” This text gives instructions for a liturgical reform linked to hymns and music. It is generally acknowledged that the present work corresponds to the New Liturgical Rules of the Hymns from amid the Clouds (*Yunzhong yinsong xinke zhi jie* 雲中音誦新科之誡), which was revealed, according to *Wei shu* 114.3051 and *Sui shu* 35.1093, to KOU QIANZHI in 415. These sources indicate,

however, that the text comprised twenty juan, whereas our present work occupies only one. It is divided into thirty-seven sections, which all end with the injunction: “Observe and practice this (rule) carefully, in accordance with the law” (*mingshen fengxing ru liu ling* 明慎奉行如律令).

Notwithstanding the fact that it contains only a fraction of the original, the present work gives ample and precise information about the reforms introduced by Kou. Among the most prominent reforms are simplification of the rules (see, for instance, 1a), recitation of the holy scriptures with psalmody and hymns (1a); abolition of the rites of sexual union (*huangchi fangzhong zhi shu* 黃赤房中之術; 2a–b; 18b); and new rules for the communal banquets (*chu* 廚; 7b–8a), mortuary rites (15a–b), and healing (16a–b). Moreover, the supremacy of the linear descendants of Zhang Daoling 張道陵 is abolished (20b). The real Heavenly Master is Lord Lao himself (2b), and his first vicar on Earth was Zhang Daoling, now succeeded by Kou (3a). The account given here of the revelation received by Kou (2b–3a) accords with that given in the official histories *Wei shu* and *Sui shu* cited above.

With a view to establishing Taoism as a state religion, Kou puts forward a certain number of measures to curb the independence of the communities and end the power of the hereditary libationers (2b; 6b–7a). This privilege was conferred through an Iron Contract (*tiequan* 鐵券; compare 1205 *Santian neijie jing* 1.6a). The Twenty-four Dioceses (*ershisi zhi* 二十四治) are also abolished, and the libationers should no longer claim affiliation with these localities in Sichuan but instead with the heavenly dioceses of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions (*ershiba xiu* 二十八宿), which replace the former dioceses (19a–20b). Messianic beliefs are severely criticized. The text mentions the great Li Hong 李弘 (compare 790 *Nüqing guiliu* 5.3a and 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 1.10b) and the lesser known messiah Liu Ju 劉舉 (4b).

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Kristofer Schipper

Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe 陸先生道門科略

9 fols.

By LU XIUJING 陸修靜 (406–477)

1127 (fasc. 761)

“Master Lu’s Summary of Taoist Liturgy.” This is a small treatise, the text of which, in its present version, appears to be truncated at the end. A commentary, in small characters, seems at times to have incorporated parts of the main text (6b.1–2).

The liturgical manuals of the early Tang period (618–907) quote instructions by LU XIUJING concerning the liturgical organization of Heavenly Master Taoism (see

1211 *Zhengyi fawen chuan dugong ban yi* 1b). This organization, as it is described in the present work, corresponds by and large to that presented in 1205 *Santian neijie jing*.

A reference to the Ritual of the Three Caverns (*Sandong guifan* 三洞軌範; 5a) and a quotation of the words of Taiji zhenren 太極真人 (5b; this citation has not been identified; compare 425 *Shangqing taiji yinzhu yujing baojue*) recall Lu's involvement with the Lingbao liturgy.

Having first discussed the origins of the liturgical tradition and the establishment of the Covenant of Purity (*qingyue* 清約; 1b) by the Way of the Heavenly Master, the text then outlines the structure of the religious organization (1b–3a). A second part (3a–5b) is devoted to the liturgy of the layman: the domestic registers (*zhailu* 宅籙), the communal banquets (*chu* 廚), the contributions to be made to the dioceses (*xin* 信), the domestic sanctuaries called *jing* 靖 or *jingshi* 靜室, the ritual vestments (*fafu* 法服), and the recitation of scriptures (*songjing* 誦經).

The final part (5b–9b) discusses initiation and ordination degrees, as well as the interdiction of shamanistic (*yaomu* 祓巫) and divination practices.

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Kristofer Schipper

1.B.1.b Rituals and Rules

Nüqing guilü 女青鬼律

6 juan

Third century?

790 (fasc. 563)

"Code of Nüqing for [Controlling] Demons." This is the abbreviated title of the Code of the Demons of the Nüqing Mysterious Capital (*Nüqing xuandu gui lüling* 女青玄都鬼律令; 3.1a). The exact meaning of the name *Nüqing* remains unclear (cf. 2.5b and 5.4a). The code belongs to early Heavenly Master Taoism. According to the text itself (1.1a), it was revealed by the Great Way to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 in A.D. 143. "The second year" mentioned here should be that of the Han'an era (A.D. 142–143; see *Zhang tianshi ershisi zhi tu* 張天師二十四治圖 in SDZN 7.6a–b).

The present version in six juan (together some 700 columns of text) must be incomplete, as it speaks of a code in eight juan (see 1.1a and 4.4b). Juan 2 and 4 seem to occupy their original place (see 2.1a and 4.4b). The *Chongwen zongmu* lists a version of our text in ten juan (VDL 79).

The oldest extant quotations of this work are found in 1201 *Daoyao lingqi shengui pin jing* (early Tang?). These quotations show so many variants that one can hardly attribute them all to scribal errors. At several points, the present text can be corrected

by comparing it with the quotations in 1201 *Shengui pin jing* and its Dunhuang manuscript versions Pelliot 2395, 2432, 2753, and Stein 986. A quotation from the *Nüqing guilü* in 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* 2.5a is no longer found in the present version.

The *Nüqing guilü* was still widely available in modern times, which is evident from the fact that a *Nüqing lü* quoted in 220 *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa* 13.2a (after 1158) corresponds to 2.5b and that the text following this quotation in 220 *Yutang dafa* is an approximate rendering of 6.2a–5b in our text (in a similar way, 220 *Yutang dafa* 5.7a–11b corresponds to 1.1b–7b, and 5.10b–11b to 2.1a–5a and 6.6b). In addition to these passages, 220 *Yutang dafa* may well contain material from the lost part of the original *Nüqing guilü*. The quotation of this work in DENG YOUGONG's preface to 461 *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü* (first half of the twelfth century) can no longer be found.

The present text reveals to the adept the existence of 36,000 demons that can be warded off by knowing their names. About 320 demons are identified, and in some instances, details of surname, appearance, dress, and so on are given. The demons are divided into groups. Juan 1 lists 100 demons related to the heavens, the sexagesimal cycle, the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions, the Six Jia periods, the winds, and the Dipper stars. Juan 2 gives the names of the demons of mountains and seas, trees and animals. Juan 4 concerns the evil spirits of wind and water that dwell in ruined tombs or are released by sorcerers and heterodox Taoists. This juan gives more information than the others on demons and ways to ward them off. Juan 6 lists 110 plague demons, as well as those of death and of the grave. All these forces are roused through immoral behavior. Juan 3 therefore provides rules of conduct (*daolü jinji* 道律禁忌) for the adept. Each rule is followed by a number of years (counted in *suan* 算), which will be subtracted from one's lifespan in case of infringement.

More rules can be found in juan 5, which also includes an important didactic poem on the theme of the apocalypse. The poem contains explicit references to the rites of sexual union (*heqi* 合氣; 1a) by which the adept can enter into the company of the Seed People (*zhongmin* 種民; 2a), the chosen ones who will escape the destruction of the apocalypse, foreseen for the thirty-seventh (*gengzi* 庚子) year of the sexagesimal cycle. The Seed People will see the time of the Great Peace (*taiping* 太平; 2a) and meet the savior Li Hong 李弘, whose name here is written *mu zi san tai* 木子三台, a rebus to be understood only by the initiates.

The rites of sexual union are also mentioned elsewhere in the text (1.8a and 5.4a). Those who have accomplished these initiation rites receive the Mandate of the Yellow Book (*huangshu qiling* 黃書契令; 3.4b; compare 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* 23b, and 1343 *Dongzhen huangshu* 12b). Some rules concerning the proper behavior to be adopted during these rites are given on 3.3a–b. They forbid the adepts to divulge the

names of the Father and Mother of the Tao (*dao fumu* 道父母; compare 1294 *Guodu yi* 6b–7a and 1343 *Dongzhen huangshu* 11b–12a).

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Adrianus Dudink

Dongzhen huangshu 洞真黃書

16 fols.

Third century?

1343 (fasc. 1031)

“Yellow Book of the Dongzhen [Canon].” A fragment of the important Yellow Book manual containing instructions and commandments concerning sexual intercourse. This text is a companion to 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* inasmuch as most of the diagrams and formulas it contains provide the theoretical framework for accomplishing the above-named ritual. Maspero has shown that the present work corresponds to the Yellow Book of sexual techniques mentioned and criticized by Buddhist polemicists (Maspero, “Methods,” 536; see fig. 4).

According to our text (2a), the Yellow Book originally had eight juan and was revealed in the year 142 by Laozi to Zhang Daoling 張道陵. Elsewhere in our text (7b) it is specified that this revelation happened at noon on the tenth day of the first moon. On 12b the same (or another?) revelation is said to have occurred on the seventh day of the seventh moon of 142. Here, the text first refers to “Zhang Ling 張陵” and on the next line using his epithet, “Daoling 道陵.” The following year (143), we are told, Zhang Ling transmitted the text(s) to his disciples Zhao Sheng 趙升 (also written 昇), Wang Chang 王長, Wang Zhi 王稚, and Wang Ying 王英 (2a, and again 12b). This, according to the second passage, enabled them to practice the Mandate of the Yellow Book, *Huangshu qiling* 黃書契令, a term frequently mentioned in other Six Dynasties works. Afterward, the disciples gave the instructions of the

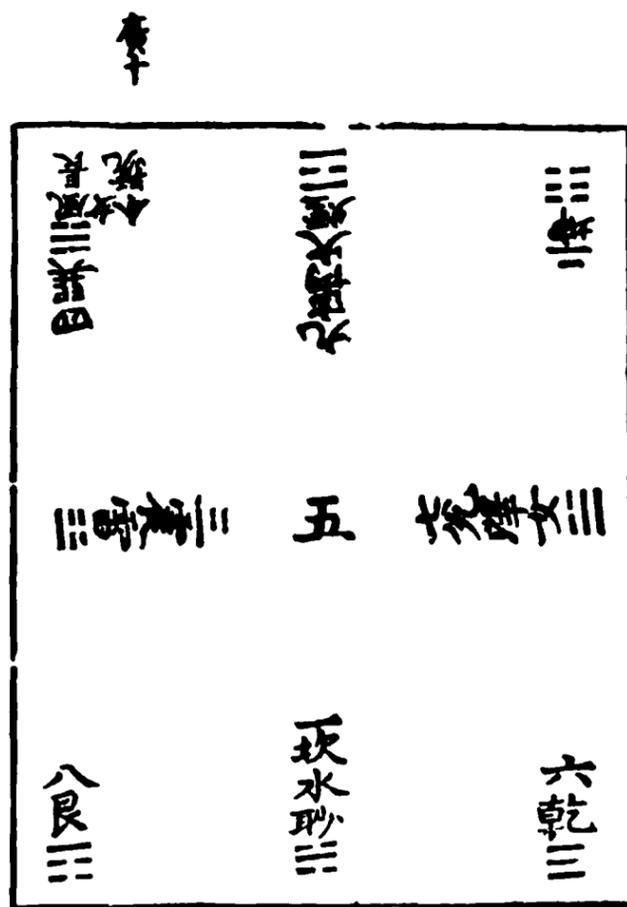


FIGURE 4. Diagram showing the order of the Nine Palaces (1343 8b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1324)

Yellow Book to the Three Ladies (*san furen* 三夫人) at the diocese of Beiwang 北望治 on Zhuangshan 莊山 (the present region of Rongjing 榮經 in Sichuan). The name of this diocese is not among the original twenty-four *zhi* 治. Everything points to a similar date for this work and 1299 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*, and like the latter it was preserved as part of the Maoshan legacy.

The final fragment deals mainly with the auspicious and prescribed days for sexual intercourse, for the most part calculated on the basis of the sexagesimal cycle. At the end there is a register (*lu* 錄) that may correspond to the above-named *Huangshu qiling*.

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Shangqing huangshu guodu yi 上清黃書過度儀

24 fols.

Third century?

1294 (fasc. 1009)

“Ritual of Passage of the Yellow Book.” This work contains the rites of sexual union (*heqi* 合氣) that confer on the disciples of the Heavenly Master the privilege to join the Seed People (*zhongmin* 種民; 4a, 24b) by attaining the Mandate of the Yellow Book (*Huangshu qiling* 黃書契令; 23b). This document is also called the Yellow Book with Red Linings (*Huangshu chijie* 黃書赤界), the colors being those of the male and female, yellow and red *qi* (*huangqi* 黃氣, *chiqi* 赤氣), the union of which is accomplished through this ritual (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 9.9a).

According to Taoist as well as Buddhist sources, the Yellow Book and its mandate were issued by Zhang Daoling 張道陵 to his disciples (see 1343 *Dongzhen huangshu*). It is certain that the present ritual belongs to the most ancient documents of the Way of the Heavenly Master, as is affirmed in 790 *Nüqing guilü* 3.4b–5a. 1016 *Zhen’gao* 2.1a–b contains evidence of the widespread practice of the ritual, as well as of the Shangqing reaction to it (see Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan*, 181–87). The Buddhists condemned the ritual, as can be seen from Xuanguang’s *Bianhuo lun* (*Hongming ji* 8.48b), which contains a verbatim quotation of the present text. However, this ritual was practiced as late as the tenth century (1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 3b). It is listed in the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5199 (without the epithet *Shangqing*; see VDL 148). The present text may well have been transmitted, together with the *Dongzhen huangshu*, as part of the bulk of Shangqing texts preserved in this section of the Ming canon.

The ritual is divided into three distinct parts. The first part (1a–8b) concerns the preliminary rites of meditation and invocation. The second and main part (8b–22a)

contains the rites of union, while the last part gives the texts of the memorials to be presented at the end as the Announcement of Merit (*yangong* 言功) earned by the adepts.

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Kristofer Schipper

Taishang laojun jinglü 太上老君經律

12 fols.

Third century?

786 (fasc. 562)

"Canonical Rules of the Most High Lord Lao." This collection originally contained four different codes, of which only the first two remain. No trace survives, either here or elsewhere, of the *Taiqing yinjie* 太清陰戒 or the *Nüqing lüjie* 女青律戒, which both appear, according to the table of contents, to have been intended especially for women (*nüguan* 女官). The relationship between the *Nüqing lüjie* and 790 *Nüqing guili* is difficult to ascertain.

The first remaining code is called the Commandments of the *Daode jing* (*Daode zunjing jie* 道德尊經戒; 1a–2a). It consists of two parts: the Nine Rules of Conduct (*Jiuxing* 九行) or Commandments of Xiang'er (*Xiang'er jie* 想爾戒), and the Twenty-seven Commandments of the Venerable Book of the Tao and Its Power. Virtually the same texts can be found in 787 *Taishang jingjie* 17b–19a as well as in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 5.4b and in YJQQ 38.18a–19a.

The other remaining code, One Hundred and Eighty Rules of Lord Lao (*Laojun yibai bashi jie* 老君一百八十戒; 2a–12b), is an important document for the history of early Taoism. Especially intended for the male adept (*nanguan* 男官), it is mentioned in 532 *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 17a and should therefore antedate the revelation of the Lingbao canon at the end of the fourth century.

According to the preface to our present version (2a–4a), this code is linked to the transmission of the *Taiping jing* 太平經 in 170 juan and ten parts (*jiayi shibu* 甲乙十部). The preface says that during the reign of King Nan 赧 of the Zhou 周 (315–256 B.C.), Lord Lao transmitted the *Taiping jing* to Gan Ji 干吉 at Langye 瑯琊. When Lord Lao later returned, during the reign of King You 幽 (of Chu 楚; 238–228 B.C.), after converting the barbarians in the West, he found that the religion he had established at Langye, with its male and female libationers, had greatly degenerated. Therefore he gave the present code to Gan Ji.

The same text is found in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 5.14a–19a, with an abridged pref-

ace, which specifies that these commandments were spoken by Lord Lao for initiates of the Alliance with the Powers (*Mengwei* 盟威). This specification would indicate that the present code was adopted by Heavenly Master Taoism. The code, with the unaltered preface, is also given in YJQQ 39.1a–14b.

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Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi fawen taishang wailu yi 正一法文太上外籙儀

30 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1243 (fasc. 991)

“Compendium of the Exterior Registers of the Zhengyi Canon.” These *wailu* are the ordination registers of the ordinary people, as opposed to those of the masters, that is, the heads of the communities (see 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 10.5b–6a). The Register of the Delegated Mandate (*gengling* 更令) is given to children at the age of seven *sui*; from this initial stage onward, at intervals of five, four, and three years, the young people receive, respectively, the registers of One, Ten, and Seventy-five Generals. Two years later, at the age of twenty-one *sui*, the adepts form couples and receive together the Register of One Hundred and Fifty Generals. At that moment, the ritual of the Passage (*guodu yi* 過度儀) is practiced (see the memorial on 20b–22a, and 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* 22b). This last register marks the highest level of the Exterior Registers and qualifies the adept for the functions of master (*shi* 師). Those who wish to pursue such a goal have to undergo training as scribes (*shuli* 書吏) at one of the dioceses (17b–18a).

There are moral and ritual rules that determine the conferral of the Exterior Registers, especially for the different categories of women (1a–4a), for those of inferior social status, for foreigners (4a–5a), and for those who, for some reason, have lost their registers and must consequently renew their ordinations (23b and 24b). The latter have to begin again with the Register of the Renewed Order (*gengling* 更令; 22a–30a; in this case, the word *geng* is pronounced with the third tone, *qusheng* 去聲, as indicated in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 10.5b).

There are at least two quotations from a *Taiping jing* 太平經 on 4a. One quotation does not occur verbatim in the parts of the *Taiping jing* that have come down to us, but it is similar in style and enumerates six classes of superior beings (sages, immortals, etc.), which are also found, in reversed order, in 71.8a of the present *Taiping jing*. A second, longer quotation in 13b–14a of the present text shows affinities with *Taiping*

jing 42.1a–b, and it may therefore be assumed that the *jing* 經 mentioned on 14b.3 corresponds to the *Taiping jing*, albeit in a version different from 1101a.

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Zhengyi fawen jing zhangguan pin 正一法文經章官品

4 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1218 (fasc. 880)

“Chapter on Petitions and Officials of the Zhengyi Canon.” The title indicates that this text was originally not a separate work but part of the Zhengyi canon (*Zhengyi fawen* 正一法文). The present text derives from the old Protocol of the Twelve Hundred Officials (*Qianerbai guan yi* 千二百官儀), which goes back to the foundation period (second to third centuries) of the Way of the Heavenly Masters in Hanzhong, in the border region between modern Sichuan and Shaanxi (see 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 3.23a, commentary). This manual, now lost, listed the celestial officials (*guan* 官) together with their residences (*gong* 宮), competences (*zhu* 主), and subordinates (*libing* 吏兵). Some fragments of the original work have been preserved in the third juan of 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*. As can be seen from numerous repetitions in the text, different manuscripts of uncertain date and of varying quality were used for the present version. Two of the officials, Chitian shiqi jun 赤天食氣君 and Shoushen tuming jun 收神土明君, were, according to TAO HONGJING, revealed only to WEI HUACUN, the ancestress of the Shangqing tradition (compare 1.1a in the present text with 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 3.22a–b). But the text contains traces of a much later revision consisting in the observance of the name taboos of the Song founding emperor Taizu 太祖 (Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤, r. 960–976) on 1.21b and his father Xuanzu 宣祖 (Zhao Hongyin 趙弘殷; cf. *Song shi* 1.1–2; hence the substitution of *yin* 引 for *hong* 弘 on 7b and 4.5b).

The work 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 7 contains a number of models for memorials said to be quoted from a *Qianerbai guanzhang jing* 千二百官章經, which Lord Lao gave to the First Heavenly Master. Indeed, in several of these memorials, the names of the celestial officials are the same as those given in the present work (compare 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 7.22a with 1.11b here).

The present text provides the names, attributes, and functions of the celestial officials addressed in seventy memorials (*zhang* 章), without giving the text of these memorials. The titles, among other things, indicate that the memorials concerned above all the different kinds of diseases and everyday ills of rural society. Thus reference is made to many aspects of peasant life in early medieval China. Elements that can be connected to the life of the gentry or literati are notably absent.

The practitioners, men and women, are given the title of libationer (*jijiu* 祭酒). The celestial officials are invoked in order that they may come and dominate (*zhu* 主) the agents of disorder, or again to control and heal (*zhi* 治) diseases or contain (*shou* 收) bad influences. From a comparison of the titles of the memorials as they are listed in the table of contents with those given in the text itself, it appears that these titles are largely interchangeable.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Chisong zi zhangli 赤松子章曆

6 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589) with some later additions

615 (fasc. 335–336)

“The Petition Almanac of Chisong zi.” A calender by the same immortal is quoted in the introduction (1.1a) as being at the origin of the present manual (compare 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 10.8a ff.). Another important source is the Protocol of the Twelve Hundred Officials (*Qianerbai guan yi* 千二百官儀), which is quoted frequently (1.1a, 1.18a, 3.11a, 3.28a, 5.31b, and passim). A long passage entitled Invitation of the Officials (*qingguan* 請官; 2.18b–22a) is also found in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 3.14b–23a, where it is said to have originally come from this same *Qianerbai guan yi*, whereas the present text gives the *Taizhen ke* 太真科 as its source. It can therefore be assumed that the ritual of the Way of the Heavenly Master—the rites that 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* (3.13a) calls the Ancient Ritual from Hanzhong (*Hanzhong jiufa* 漢中舊法)—forms the basis of our work.

At the beginning of the protocol (1.2a–17b) is a list of the pledges (*zhangxin* 章信) that must be provided when presenting the different petitions. This list is at the same time an index of the texts of the petitions given in juan 3 to 6. Originally, there were 134 different petitions, but, as indicated by the list itself, 68 of them have been lost.

The petitions correspond to a wide range of preoccupations: droughts, locusts, tigers, diseases, possession, witchcraft, birth, death, liturgical festivals, and others. In the case of illness and possession, divination is mentioned as a means for diagnosing the origin of the affliction (see, for example, 3.8b, 15a). In some cases, human effigies made of metal (*jinren* 金人, 4.5a; or *yinren daixing* 銀人代形, 1.11b) are offered as substitutes for a sick person or as a messenger to the other world.

All petitions are presented by a master on behalf of a follower. A long ordination title, corresponding to the highest initiation grade of the Heavenly Masters liturgical organization, is given in 2.22b. There is also a vivid description of the meditation that

accompanies the presentation of the petitions to the Heavenly administration (*cunsi* 存思; 2.23b–24a).

The present edition is probably not earlier than the latter part of the Tang dynasty (618–907), since it mentions (4.22b) the Registers of the Immortal King of the Way of Filial Piety (*Xiaodao xianwang* 孝道仙王; see 449 *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan*). The text of the petition where this reference occurs may have been added at a later stage to the manual, which no doubt was actually used by daoshi over a long period of time.

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Yuanchen zhangjiao licheng li 元辰章醮立成曆

2 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1288 (fasc. 1008)

“Practical Almanac for the Offering of the Memorial of the Original Star.” This is a complete ritual of the Zhengyi tradition for the cult of a person’s life-star, which presides over one’s destiny. The second juan contains different tables for the calculation of a person’s destiny, and prayers for averting the evil elements that form part of one’s fate. Such prayers are incorporated in the service described in juan one. The cult of the life-star here aims at averting danger for the entire family (*jia* 家). The patrons of the Offering are named “male and female officers” (*nannü guan* 男女官), following the precepts of the ancient Way of the Heavenly Master. The ritual shows traces of Lingbao influence. For instance, the invocations (*zhou* 咒) of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝) on pages 5a–6b come from the Lingbao scriptures (see 330 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing* 6a–7a). But the pantheon, the indications concerning the altar, and the offerings are similar to those given in 615 *Chisong zi zhangli*. The present ritual should be about contemporary with the latter.

The beginning of juan 1 gives detailed instructions about the establishment of the altar, and contains a rare illustration of how it was laid out (fig. 5). There were seats for the Five Emperors at each of the four sides and the center of the altar, and votive lamps for the stars of the Dipper and the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions. Outside the main altar, three subsidiary altars were established for the family ancestors, the domestic gods, such as the Stove God, and the Earth God. Among the sacrificial offerings to prove the sincerity of the adept’s faith (*zhangxin* 章信), we find money, rice, silk, divination stalks, oil, and silk threads, as well as a substitute body in metal (*jinren yi xing* 金人一形) and two gold rings. Paper, brushes, ink, a correction knife, and incense were also laid out. At the end of the Offering service (*jiaofa* 醮法) wine, dried meat, and other foods were presented, as well as pieces of silk in five colors. As a

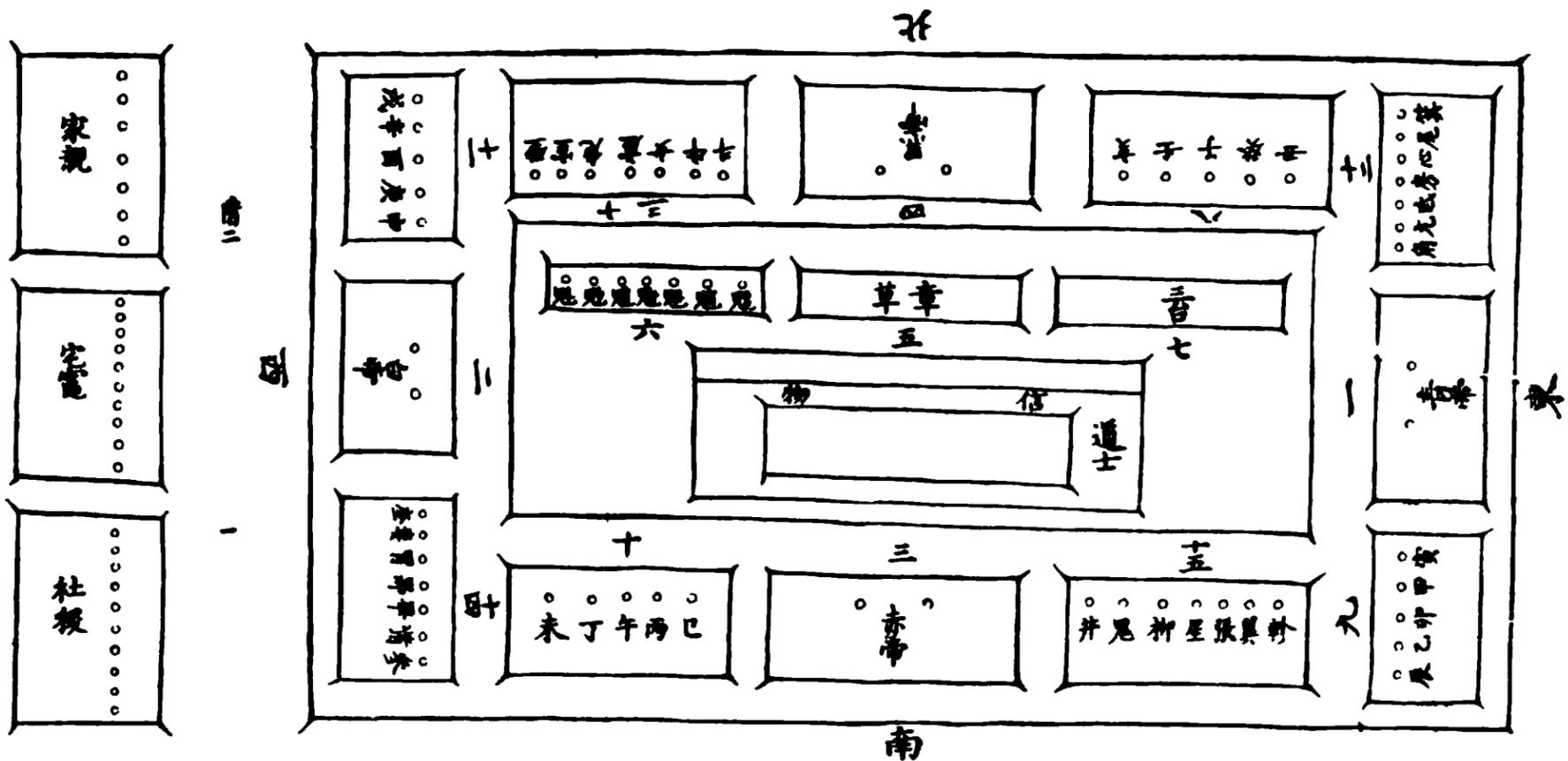


FIGURE 5. Diagram of the altar with indications for the placement of the incense burners and other items. On the West side, three small altars are dedicated to the ancestors, the Stove God, and the Earth God of the home (1288 1.1a–2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1270)

supplement to the present ritual, 1289 *Liushi jiazi benming yuanchen li* allows the adepts to determine which deity governs his or her destiny.

Kristofer Schipper

Liushi jiazi benming yuanchen li 六十甲子本命元辰曆

7 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1289 (fasc. 1008)

“Sexagesimal Almanac of Fundamental Destiny and the Original Stars.” The binomials of the sexagesimal cycle corresponding to a person’s year of birth are considered to denote his or her Fundamental Destiny (*benming* 本命). Each binomial is related to another one, called the “original star,” or “prime chronogram,” which varies according to the sex of the individual concerned. The method for determining these binomials is given in 283 *Huangdi longshou jing* 1.16a.

This is a simple concordance between the two kinds of binomials. To each of these corresponds a deity, whose name and surname is given (for example, the *jiazi* binomial is called Wang Wenqing 王文卿), and each deity disposes of a retinue (*congguan* 從官). The correspondence that exists between the fundamental destiny as determined by a person’s birth date and the stars of the Dipper is also given.

It is clear that the present text is an appendix to the preceding 1288 *Yuanchen zhang-*

jiao licheng li. There, in 2.4a–6b, we find the same list of the sixty gods of fundamental destiny as well as the method for calculating the number of their retinue.

Similar lists of the deities of the sexagesimal cycle are given in 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* 3.18b–19a and 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* 4b–7a; some of the personal names for the deities of the sexagesimal cycle also occur in 1209 *Taishang zhengyi mengwei falu yibu* 5.4a–5.

Yao Zhenzong (1843–1903) identifies (*Sui shu jingji zhi kaozheng*, 560) the present work with a *Yuanchen benshu jing* 元辰本屬經 mentioned in the *Sui shu*, “Jingji zhi.”

Marc Kalinowski

1.B.2 Shangqing

The turbulent century during which the Eastern Jin dynasty survived south of the Yangzi (317–420) witnessed a profound religious renewal. Among the most important legacies of that period are the scriptures revealed, during a period of six years (364–370), to the mystic and visionary YANG XI. The transmission, diffusion, and canonization of these scriptures, the sequels that were written to them, and even the forgeries that almost immediately proliferated have been the subject of much interest and study since early times (see Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan*, 1–81).

The Shangqing scriptures have come down to us in varying states of preservation. Some of them have been preserved intact, while others survive only in fragmentary form. A number have come down in multiple versions under different titles. Attempts have been made to reconstruct the original corpus revealed to YANG XI from the mass of Shangqing scriptures and thus to separate the authentic works from the apocrypha. The following articles are based on this research, without sharing, however, its aim of reconstructing the corpus. Our classification, therefore, does not attempt to isolate YANG XI’s texts from their near-contemporary sequels or forgeries, but follows the example of Isabelle Robinet’s *La révélation du Shangqing* in considering as fundamental for our purposes the group of canonical works as defined by the Shangqing scriptural tradition itself.

The basis for this classification is the Catalogue of Shangqing Scriptures (*Shangqing jingmu* 上清經目), the first part of the *Sandong jing shumù* 三洞經書目, which LU XIUJING presented in 471 to Emperor Mingdi of the Liu Song dynasty. This part of Lu’s original catalogue is now lost. The earliest version we have of the catalogue of

the canonical Shangqing scriptures is given in 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.1a–1b. It is called *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu* 上清大洞真經目 and lists thirty-four works totaling forty-one juan. This list corresponds to the scriptures received on ordination into the highest grades of the Taoist priestly office. The source of the list is not given; however, it is preceded in the above-named 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* (4.8a–9b) by a similar list of Lingbao scriptures, and, as shown by Ōfuchi Ninji (“On Ku Ling Pao Ching”), this Lingbao catalogue corresponds to the *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目, the second part of the *Sandong jing shumu* of LU XIUJING, revised and enlarged by SONG WENMING. It is therefore likely that the list of Shangqing scriptures we have here was also originally based on Lu’s catalogue.

The *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu* contains not only the titles of original Shangqing scriptures, but of a number of apocrypha as well. At the same time it fails to list a number of authentic works. The present group is therefore divided into four subdivisions: (a) the canonical Shangqing scriptures, containing the articles on the texts mentioned in the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*; (b) other early Shangqing scriptures, containing those texts that, although original (or early apocryphal), were not included in the corpus of canonical texts; (c) Shangqing hagiographies; (d) manuals and anthologies compiled during the period under review.

The sequence in which the scriptures are presented here in the first subdivision (1.B.2.a) follows that of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*. More than half of the texts mentioned in this list have survived in their original or near-original form. As stated earlier, some texts have come down to us in several versions, while of others only fragments remain. At the end of each article, or group of articles, the relevant information concerning the relationship of the work(s) to the original corpus is given.

The most important scripture, the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*, is present in the *Daozang* in several editions, all of which date from the Song (960–1279) or later. For this reason, these editions will be discussed in part 3 below, while here we present only a few short texts which were part of the original version. These texts are related to what Isabelle Robinet has termed the “Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing*” (*Dongjue* 洞訣, or *Dadong koujue* 大洞口訣, or *Dadong koujue yinshu* 大洞口訣隱書; see Robinet, “Le *Ta-tung chen-ching*,” 412–13).

1.B.2.a The Canonical Shangqing Scriptures

Shangqing jiutian shangdi zhu baishen neiming jing

上清九天上帝祝百神內明經

9 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1360 (fasc. 1039)

“Scripture on the Esoteric Names of the Hundred Gods.” This work contains fragments of original Shangqing texts, divided into four parts: (1) The hymns of the Esoteric Names of the Hundred Gods (*baishen neiming*; 1a–3a), mentioned in the title. They belong to the “Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing*.” The esoteric names are those of the heavens, as given at the end of each section in 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*. (2) A song to expel demons (3a–7b), also found in 1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing* 1.6a–10b. (3) A method for the absorption of the mysterious root (*xuangen* 玄根). This is an exercise in visual meditation, linked to the practice of the *Dadong zhenjing*. It is reproduced in YJQQ 23.10a–11a. (4) Hymns sung by one of the gods who appeared to YANG XI. These hymns are given, at least partially, in 1016 *Zhen’gao* 10b–11a, as well as in 608 *Shangqing zhuzhen zhangsong* 10b–11b and in 1374 *Shangqing zhu zhenren shoujing shi song jinzhen zhang* 1a–b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taishang yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing

上清太上玉清隱書滅魔神慧高玄真經

42 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1355 (fasc. 1038)

“Scripture of the Divine Wisdom That Annihilates Demons.” This is one of the Secret Scriptures of the Yuqing Heaven of the Shangqing school, closely associated with the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經. The present work contains hymns as well as talismanic writings.

The hymns can be divided into three groups: First, a song (1a–3a) that CHEN JINGYUAN quotes in 104 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* as belonging to the *Dadong zhenjing*. Chen notes a number of variants of the “Maoshan version”; these variants correspond to the present text.

A second group (4b–8b) is also found in the introduction to the *Dadong zhenjing* (6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 1.9a–10b and 7 *Dadong yujing* 大洞玉經 1.4a–5b). The hymns of the *Dadong zhenjing* (with the exception of those called *Dadong yujing*) make up the final group.

The revealed commentary of the *Dadong jing* (in YJQQ 8.1a–18b) includes these hymns together with the others of this scripture (see YJQQ 8.1b and 2a commentary on certain expressions that are found in our text on 8b). The same text is again found in YJQQ 42. Our present version must be later than the WSBY, as that work is mentioned in the commentary on 36b.

The talismanic characters of our text correspond to the *Ziwen danzhang* 紫文丹章 (see 1335 *Dongzhen taishang ziwen danzhang*), a Shangqing text that is linked to the practices of the *Dadong zhenjing*.

A colophon states that a god transmitted our text to Youyang jun 幼陽君, a saint of the Shangqing tradition. Finally there are a few phonetic glosses.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing gaosheng taishang dadao jun dongzhen jinyuan bajing yulu

上清高聖太上大道君洞真金元八景玉錄

17 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1389 (fasc. 1045)

“Hagiography of Taishang Dadao Jun.” This text begins with a long poem on the search for immortality and on the different ways to attain it. There follows a description of the travels of the god in the eight directions on his chariot of effulgence (*jing* 景) and on *su* 素. *Su* is the Yin counterpart of *jing*; the travels are related to the Eight Gates of the Mysterious Mother (*Xuanmu bamen* 玄母八門; see 1323 *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing fushi riyue huanghua jue* 17a–end). This rite is closely related to the *Dadong zhenjing*.

It should be noted that our text is never quoted under its present title but often as *Dadong zhenjing*. Thus it would appear that it was one of the texts which accompanied the practices of the *Dadong zhenjing*.

There is a colophon recording the transmission by the Ziwei furen 紫微夫人 to YANG XI in A.D. 355 of texts amounting to 20,230 characters and of the *Dadong zhenjing* in 10,000 characters.

This text and the two preceding ones correspond to number 1 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

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Robinet, “Le *Ta-tung chen-ching*,” 415–16.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing jinzhen yuguang bajing feijing 上清金真玉光八景飛經

25 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1378 (fasc. 1042)

“The Scripture of the Eight Effulgences [*bajing*, here referring to heavenly gods] of Jade Brilliance and Golden Truth.” This is an apocryphal Shangqing text that has adopted as its title the name of one of the fu from the original works it imitates. It states that it was revealed by a Shangqing deity, and it has a colophon (24b–25a) of the kind written by XU RONGDI (d. 435; see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 19.13a–b and Strickmann, “The Mao Shan revelations,” 49). It should therefore date to the beginning of the fifth century.

This scripture has been incorporated into the Shangqing corpus and is quoted by numerous anthologies of the school. Its present version seems incomplete, as a number of quotations in other works can no longer be found here. However, quotations in the encyclopedias of the sixth and seventh centuries (WSBY and SDZN) agree with the words of our text.

This work borrows material and exercises of visual meditation from the original texts of the Shangqing. We find a meditation exercise called *badao biyan* 八道秘言 (6a–14a), which is a variant of a similar exercise in 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 1.11b–15b. The names given here to the Eight Effulgences are the same as those found in 1359 *Shangqing danjing daoqing yindi bashu jing*.

Next we find another series of the fu called *Huoluo qi yuan* 豁落七元 (19a–end). There is a sequence of five fu of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝; 14b–22b), with an accompanying song (14a–b). This song has since been included in a Shangqing ritual for the transmission of the present scripture (1324 *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing dengtan fuzha miaojue* 3b–4a).

The present text corresponds to number 2 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*. Other versions are the Dunhuang manuscripts DX 1962, Pelliot 2728 and 2848, and Stein 238 (dated 692). An abbreviated version is included in YJQQ 53.1a–8b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing 上清太上八素真經

28 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

426 (fasc. 194)

“True Scripture of the Eight Purities.” The Eight Purities (*basu*) are female celestial deities (see 1323 *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing fushi riyue huanghua jue*). This *Basu jing* is a Shangqing scripture, the present version of which includes passages quoted in WSBY and SDZN, but it is incomplete. In fact, this text should have been incorporated into the above mentioned 1323 *Huanghua jue*. The stanzas named *Yangge*

jiuzhang 陽歌九章 (see 13b) that can be found in WSBY 20.4b–6b (quotation partly corresponding to 303 *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* 17a–18a) must also be added, as they were once part of this work.

Our text can be divided into three parts: the first part (4a–9b) presents a hierarchical list of Shangqing texts, indicating to which celestial eminences and heavens their practice gives access (this list is also found in YJQQ 6.6b–8a and in 428 *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing* 2b–4a).

The next part (9b–26b) contains meditation exercises on the Five Planets and their deities, to be carried out as a form of penitence on the Five Universal Days (*wutong* 五通). This rite is complementary to the form of penitence called Return to the Origin (*huiyuan* 迴元; see 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 10b). This part is reproduced in 637 *Taishang feibu wuxing jing* 4b–8b and 10b, as well as in 1385 *Shangqing dongzhen tianbao dadong sanjing baolu* 1.34a–41a and in YJQQ 25.21a–31a.

The text ends with three formulas aimed at setting one's *hun* 魂 souls at rest and expelling the Three Corpses (*sanshi* 三尸; 26b–end). These formulas are also included in 1319 *Dongzhen xi wang mu baoshen qiju jing* 16b–18a and in 637 *Taishang feibu wuxing jing* 9a–10a.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing fushi riyue huanghua jue

洞真太上八素真經服食日月皇華訣

26 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1323 (fasc. 1028)

“Absorption of Solar and Lunar Essences.” This text constitutes the part of the *Basu jing* dealing with the absorption of these essences. It was probably joined to 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing*, as only the present work contains the part concerning the Eight Purities (*basu*), the celestial female deities for whom 426 *Basu zhenjing* is named. Quotations from both works in WSBY and SDZN are indiscriminately ascribed to the *Basu jing*. The present text must therefore belong to the original Shangqing revelation.

The text begins with a description of the practice of the absorption of solar and lunar essences by means of consecrated water that has been previously exposed to the light of the stars (1a–8b). This practice is similar to that described in other Shangqing texts (e.g., 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinqe dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing*, part 1; 33 *Shangqing huangqi yangjing sandao shunxing jing*, parts 1 and 2; 1315 *Dongzhen shangqing qingyao zishu jin'gen zhongjing*, parts 1 and 2). There are charms used for the

absorption of lunar and solar essences (8b–17a): two for Yin and Yang, two for the sun and moon, eight for the *basu*.

The second part of the text deals with the ritual of the Eight Gates of the Mysterious Mother (*Xuanmu bamen* 玄母八門); the Mysterious Mother is a hypostasis of the Original Yin. This ritual consists in writing votive tablets, which are then arranged according to the eight directions (the Eight Gates) and intended for the deities they invoke. The ritual is completed by the visualization of the Ladies of the Eight Purities (Basu yuanjun 八素元君) at the time of the Eight Calendar Nodes (*bajie* 八節). The entire ritual is linked to the recitation of the *Dadong zhenjing* (one finds the same names for the gods in 1389 *Shangqing gaoshang taishang dadao jun dongzhen jinyuan bajing yulu* and 1358 *Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu jing*, and the same vows in 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* 22a–23a).

The liturgy of the Song period (960–1279) has borrowed several invocations from the present text (for example 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 37.7b and 67.33a–b correspond to 3b, 35.8a, and 60.8b in the present text, and 20b corresponds to 4b). The description of the sun and moon on 3b–4a of our text is also found in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 76.14a.

This text and the preceding one correspond to number 3 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen shangqing taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing
洞真上清太微帝君步天綱飛地紀金簡玉字上經

29 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1316 (fasc. 1027)

“Superior Scripture in Jade Characters on Golden Tablets for Pacing the Celestial Mainstay and Flying on the Terrestrial Filaments of the Sovereign Lord of the Great Tenuity, of the Dongzhen Shangqing Canon.” This text deals principally with the practice of flying paces (*feibu* 飛步) for pacing the Dipper (the Celestial Mainstay; see Schafer, *Pacing the void*, 238–42). This is an ancient practice (see BPZ 19.306 and the Heavenly Master texts 795 *Zhengyi chuguan zhangyi* 5b and 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* 14b). Another version of this method is said to have been taught by Master Zhang of Handan 邯鄲張先生, who transmitted it to Liu Jing 劉京 (first century B.C.). According to our text (28b–29a), a version of this method was once presented to Wang Mang (r. A.D. 9–25), but it was not, unlike the present text, the authentic Shangqing version.

The authenticity of our text is nevertheless doubtful from the Shangqing perspec-

tive: the beginning is altered, and no quotation is found in the WSBY. 1338 *Dongzhen taishang taisu yulu* 4b contains a colophon by XU RONGDI that was perhaps originally attached to this work, according to which the text was transmitted to Xu Yuanyou 許遠遊 in A.D. 345. In that case it would be apocryphal. A few passages of the text, however, agree with quotations in 1016 *Zhen'gao* (for example 9.1a4 corresponds to 17b1 in the present text).

The beginning of the text (1a–7a) is composed of incoherent fragments of Shangqing texts (cf. 140 *Shangqing wozhong jue* and 876 *Taishang wuxing qi yuan kongchang jue*). The following part (7a–23a) presents the highly elaborated practice of pacing the Dipper, to be executed in four phases. This presentation is followed by a passage on the history of the practice from the time of Huangdi 黃帝 on. Then come various minor prescriptions (20a–23a). The work ends (23a–end) with a postface by Lord Wang of the Western City, Xicheng Wangjun 西城王君, master of Mao Jun 茅君, written for an unidentified text entitled *Taishang zishu* 太上紫書.

The present work is one of the oldest to describe in detail the practice of pacing the Dipper. Some fragments are included in rituals (for example, 1015 *Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 1.1a–2b and 15.14a, corresponding to a passage on page 8a in our text).

Other versions of the text are: 428 *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing* 25b–34a, corresponding to 1385 *Shangqing dongzhen tianbao dadong sanjing baolu* 1.20a–25a. The latter is a parallel version of 11a–17b of the present text (with some variants). This text corresponds to number 4 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing 上清太上帝君九真中經

2 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1376 (fasc. 1042)

“Central Scripture of the Nine True Ones.” This title refers to one of the practices of the Shangqing tradition. The meditation on the Nine True Ones is attributed to Chisong zi 赤松子, an immortal of ancient times who was adopted by the Shangqing tradition. It is closely linked to 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue*.

The present text is a patchwork of other Shangqing texts, sometimes assembled from incoherent fragments that are either originals or ancient apocrypha. They correspond to quotations found in other Shangqing texts, or in WSBY and SDZN.

The work can be divided into five parts, beginning with the practice of the Nine True Ones (*jiuzhen fa* 九真法; 1.2b–11b). This practice consists in evoking the nine “souls of the Lord Emperor”—which, in 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* (3.6b–end and 4.1a–7a), are the spirits of the vital organs of the body—and then having them take up

residence in each of these organs. In the end, they are all united in the Heavenly Palace of the Brain (*niwan* 泥丸). The aim of this exercise is to regenerate the body. The same method is found in 1382 *Shangqing jiudan shanghua taijing zhongji jing* 16b–26a. It is reproduced, in an abbreviated form, in YJQQ 30.5b–9b and 52.1a–4a. Another version can be found in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2751, lines 200–365.

Next (1.11b–15b) there is a Discourse on the Essentials of the Eight Ways (*Badao biyan* 八道秘言; i.e., the eight directions). The practice described here, attributed to Huang-Lao jun 黃老君, is closely related to the *jiuzhen fa*. It consists in visualizing at given periods deities traveling in their chariots. Descriptions of the practice have been copied and developed in several apocrypha of the school. They have been incorporated into YJQQ 51.4a–6b and 430 *Shangqing badao biyan tu* 1a–9a. Third, there is a fragment of the practice of the five spirits (*wushen fa* 五神法 1.15b–16b; see 405 *Shangqing zijing jun huangchu ziling daojun dongfang shangjing*, where this method is given in its complete form).

The second juan begins (2.1a–8b) with a practice to invoke the Emperors of the Sun (called Yuyi 鬱儀) and the Ladies of the Moon (Jielin 結璘). This exercise culminates in the ascension of the practitioner to Heaven in the chariots of these gods. There is a fragment of the *wushen fa* in 2b–3a. The present protocol was revealed to Lord Pei 裴君, patron of the Shangqing revelation; it is probably one of the most ancient practices involving the sun and the moon. It is also found in 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 15b–21b and is reproduced in numerous other texts. A great number of its elements have been incorporated in liturgy.

Finally, there is a series of alchemical recipes attributed to Zhang Daoling 張道陵. These recipes are considered apocryphal (Strickmann, “On the Alchemy of T’ao Hung-ching,” 171–72), but they are closely linked to the ancient Shangqing corpus. The first of these recipes can also be found in YJQQ 68.1a–9b and 77.7b–10b; it is similar to the one in 255 *Taiwei lingshu ziwu langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing*. There is also a distinct relationship between this part and the above-mentioned 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue*, since the title of this work corresponds to the first of the alchemical recipes found here.

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Robinet, “Introduction à l’étude du Kieou-tchen tchong-king.”

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue

上清太上九真中經絳生神丹訣

22 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1377 (fasc. 1042)

“Instructions on the Divine Elixir of Life and the Central Scripture of the Nine True Ones.” This scripture is closely related to the preceding 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* and to the following 405 *Shangqing zijing jun huangchu ziling daojun dongfang shangjing*. Its title refers to two distinct practices: that of the Nine True Ones (*jiuzhen*) and that of the divine elixir (*shendan*). These practices are absent from the present text but are found in 1376 *Jiuzhen zhongjing*. Like the latter, our text is composed of several parts, all belonging to the original Shangqing revelation (364–370).

The first part is devoted to the *Futong zhi dao* 拂童之道, also called the practice of the twenty-four spirits (*ershisi shen fa* 二十四神法), or again the practice of the bright mirror (*mingjing fa* 明鏡法; 1a–2a): the practice of washing the eyes (read *tong* 瞳 for *tong* 童) with a solution of pure cinnabar, as described in many other places, e.g., *Zhen'gao* 5.13a. Another part discusses a precious formula of the Jade Scripture (*Yujing baojue* 玉經寶訣; 2a–4b), which corresponds to the practice of the Five Planets (*wuchen fa* 五晨法). A third practice that receives attention is that of the Return to the Origin (*huiyuan fa*; 4b–11a). These same three practices are recorded in a more complete form in 405 *Shangqing zijing jun huangchu ziling daojun dongfang shangjing*.

The second half of the present work is devoted to the Scripture of the Nine Yin of the Lord Emperor (*Dijun jiuyin jing* 帝君九陰經; 11a–15b) and to the *Yuyi jielin* 鬱儀結璘 practice (15b–end). The scripture contains instructions for meditation on the secret spouses of the Great Yin 太陰, who reside in the stars of the Dipper and in the Mingtang 明堂 (a palace of the brain). These deities confer salvation; their names refer to the powers of invisibility and transformation. The same text occurs in 1367 *Shangqing hetu neixuan jing* 2.14–end, and in YJQQ 31.10a–end. For the *Yuyi jielin* practice in 15b–end, see the preceding 1376 *Jiuzhen zhongjing*.

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Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing zijing jun huangchu ziling daojun dongfang shangjing

上清紫精君黃初紫靈道君洞房上經

19 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

405 (fasc. 191)

“Superior Scripture on the Dongfang Palace of the Brain.” The title refers to one of the palaces of the brain (*dongfang*), as well as to two Shangqing deities (compare 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*, paragraphs 9 and 17). The present text is totally different from two others also called *Dongfang jing* (133 *Taishang dongfang neijing zhu* and 879 *Shangqing jinshu yuzi shangjing*).

The title bears little or no relationship to its contents. The text contains a few exercises that may have originally been interrelated, but the present version represents a later compilation. The contents of the work do not appear to be quoted elsewhere under the present title. The practices expounded are also to be found in many other scriptures, too numerous to be listed here (see, in particular, 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* and 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue*, as well as Robinet, “Kieou-tchen tchong-king”). The text under discussion contains the best version of this set of practices, four of which may be of earlier origin than the Shangqing revelation (364–370), as follows.

First, the practice of the five spirits (*wushen fa* 五神法; 1a–3b). The five spirits—those of the eyes, the hands, and the lungs—are divided into three groups, related to exercises to be performed in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. Here only the spirits of the hands belong to the Shangqing pantheon. The exercise consists in reciting a poem and in visualizing qi, which transform themselves into dragons. The adept mounts these dragons in order to rise up to the sky.

The second practice is called the practice of the twenty-four spirits (*ershisi shen fa* 二十四神法; 3b–10a). The practice begins with an enumeration of the twenty-four spirits of the body (in three groups of Eight Effulgences [*jing* 景], with the specific names these spirits bear in the Shangqing tradition. There follows a visualization of the same spirits (9a–10a). They appear in two mirrors, which the adept forms out of white qi. What we have here is an adaptation, by the Shangqing tradition, of an ancient magical practice with mirrors, comparable to that described in BPZ 15.69.

The third practice is the practice of the Five Planets (*wuchen fa* 五晨法; 10a–12a). This is a visualization practice of the planets linked to particular points on the face (the names of these points are not found elsewhere), as well as a visualization of the sun and the moon, situated in the temples on each side of the head.

The final practice involves a table of the names of the stars and gods of the Dipper. These names correspond to those found in other Shangqing texts. This list is followed by a description of the practice of the Return to the Origin, or Revolving Principles

(*huiyuan* 迴元). This is a text for doing penitence that is complementary to the exercise of the *wutong* 五通 days (426 *Shangqing taishang taishang basu zhenjing*, where the spirits of the planets also intervene).

This text and the two preceding ones correspond to number 5 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

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Robinet, "Introduction à l'étude du Kieou-tchen tchong-king."

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing huangqi yangjing sandao shunxing jing

上清黃氣陽精三道順行經

29 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

33 (fasc. 27)

"Shangqing Scripture on Following the Three Trajectories and [Absorbing] the Yellow Qi and Yang Essence." The yellow qi is the energy of the moon, the yang essence that of the sun. The exercises contained in this work explain how the adept can absorb these energies. The Three Ways (*sandao*) are the trajectories of the three luminaries: sun, moon, and Dipper. The adept follows their course (*shunxing* 順行).

The title of the present scripture is mentioned among those revealed to YANG XI (between 364 and 370). It is closely linked to the other Shangqing texts dealing with the same subject, such as 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinqie dijun lingshu ziwu shangjing*, 426 *Taiqing taishang basu zhenjing*, and 1315 *Dongzhen shangqing qingyao zishu jin'gen zhongjing*. A final colophon mentions the transmission of the scripture to Lady WEI HUACUN, patron of the Shangqing. Quotations in ancient anthologies (WSBY, SDZN, etc.) correspond to the present text. Pages 3b, 4, and 5 (corresponding to blocks 3 and 4 in the original edition) are lost.

The work contains two main parts. One is dedicated to the sun and the moon, the other to the Dipper. Among the practices related to the sun (1b–12a), we find first of all a description of the sun and the different stages of its course across the sky. The exercises consist mainly in mentally ascending to the palaces through which the sun passes during the first day of each season, and there meeting the Lord of each palace, as well as purifying oneself in the waters of life and eating the fruit of a tree of immortality. The practices related to the moon (12b–33a) are similar. They are performed during the solstices and equinoxes.

The practices related to the Dipper (25a–27b) are as follows: the adept must lie on top of the seven stars of the Dipper, which are inhabited by seven holy lads who inun-

date the adept with the radiance of the seven jewels. A number of figures of antiquity and some immortals are mentioned as having practiced these methods.

Complete parts and long extracts of this text are quoted in YJQQ 9.12b–13a, 23.1a–2a, 11a–12b, 14a–b, and in 1353 *Shangqing daobao jing* 2.3b, 4a, 5a, 5b, 8b. This work bears out the continuity between the Shangqing texts and the Chinese mythological tradition. The names given to the stations of the sun and the lunar lodges here also occur in the Lingbao texts and in liturgies. This text corresponds to number 8 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen 上清外國放品青童內文

2 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1373 (fasc. 1041)

“Esoteric Text of the Green Lad on the Goods Deposited in Foreign Countries.” This work describes the lands of the other world, the fields of the cardinal points, the heavens and subterranean regions, and the marvelous goods they possess; the text gives their talismanic names, which are heavenly sounds. The Green Lad (*qingtong* 青童) is a Shangqing god.

The present work is mentioned in 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.1a as one of the Shangqing texts. However, none of the original Shangqing writings, revealed between 364 and 370, mention this work or even allude to it. Other aspects—such as certain elements of its terminology (Buddhist terms, or expressions originating in the Lingbao scriptures), as well as the fact that the work incorporates fragments from 598 *Shizhou ji* (compare our text 3b–4a with 598 *Shizhou ji* 2.31a–b, 32b, 30a–b)—indicate that we are dealing here with an apocryphal work. The quotations in WSBY agree with the present text. The two juan appear to have been originally separate works. Each of them has an introduction, certain passages of which are identical, as well as a conclusion. Moreover, both juan introduce the Thirty-six Foreign Countries, giving them distinct names.

The text of the first juan, in which the number six dominates, presents qi-writings termed *ming* 銘 (inscriptions) with indications of their pronunciation (*yin* 音). The names of the furthestmost regions of the four horizons, the center, and the zenith are also given. The second juan adopts a system based on the number nine and contains the names of the Thirty-six Heavens, divided into nine groups. Each of these groups is introduced by one of the Nine Shangqing Heavens. The same text then gives the names of the Thirty-six Terrestrial Regions, divided into nine layers.

This cosmology constitutes a form of compromise between different Chinese traditions concerning the islands of immortals, the stations of the sun, and the lands

of the barbarians. Its exotic, outlandish presentation of names imitates transcribed Sanskrit. The entire work is meant to be recited and to furnish the practitioner with the means—the names and descriptions—to visualize the regions of the nether world and to receive the *fu* that facilitate penetration into the Sacred Mountains and the Remotest (*ji* 極) Countries, as well as with the means to rise up to the Heavens.

Juan 22 of the YJQQ is made up entirely of extracts of the present work. The names of the lands and rulers given in our text have been adopted in certain rituals, such as 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 4.1b–2b and 515 *Dongxuan lingbao hetu yangxie sanshiliu tian zhaiyi* 1.6b3–4 (compare 2.5a9–10 in the present text). This text corresponds to number 9 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwén shangjing

皇天上清金闕帝君靈書紫文上經

13 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

639 (fasc. 342)

“Marvelous Scripture in Purple Characters of the Lord Emperor of the Gold Portal.” This is one of the texts that most surely belongs to the original Shangqing revelation (364–370). Some of TAO HONGJING’s glosses to 1016 *Zhen’gao* and to 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* confirm this. Quotations in WSBY and SDZN also correspond to the present text. This scripture is closely related to 255 *Taiwei lingshu ziwén langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing*, 179 *Taiwei lingshu ziwén xianji zhenji shangjing*, and 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji*. All these texts probably formed originally one single work, for they appear to complement each other, and in the quotations made from these texts they are often confused with one another.

The text contains three main parts. The first part (4a–8b) describes the absorption of solar and lunar essences. The core of this practice comprises two spells (*zhou* 咒), one formed by the names of the Emperors of the Sun, the other by the names of the Ladies of the Moon. These spells are accompanied by the visualization of the astral essences that should be absorbed by the adept.

The second part (8b–11a) evokes the mastery of the three *hun* 魂 and seven *po* 魄 souls by means of a spell and the visualization of colored qi. The description of this mastery is followed by an imaginary self-cremation for the *hun* souls and by the adept’s vision of himself surrounded by the emblematic animals of the four directions for the *po* souls.

The third and last part (11b–end) contains a spell of the Three Original Principles (*sanyuan* 三元), which are the Three Ones (*sanyi* 三一), the three spirits of the Cinnabar Fields (*dantian* 丹田). A spell of the God of the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄

關) completes this exercise. The rite of the Mysterious Pass, that is the Palace of Life or the Gate of Destiny (*mingmen* 命門), here located in the navel, constitutes a kind of interiorization of sexual practices. This interiorization is said, by the text itself, to replace such practices and to be superior to them (13a–b).

The present work is a fundamental text of Taoism. Each practice we find here is an elaboration by the Shangqing movement of more ancient rites, traces of which can be found either in 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* (absorption of astral essences, spirits of the Cinnabar Fields), or in the tradition of the Heavenly Masters (the God of the Mysterious Pass). The names attributed to the spirits of the Cinnabar Fields are the same as those of the Taiqing tradition (see YJQQ 49.8b). The *Lingshu ziwén* is the basic reference for the invocation of the sun and the moon. These invocations are repeated not only in various Shangqing texts, but also in numerous rituals whose aim is to achieve mastery over the *hun* and *po* souls (the names of these souls found here are similar to those used in many other texts) as well as in the rite of the *xuanguan*.

Another version of the text is found in the Dunhuang manuscripts Stein 4314 and 6193, and Pelliot 2751 (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 183–84).

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Isabelle Robinet

Taiwei lingshu ziwén langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing

太微靈書紫文琅玕華丹神真上經

8 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

255 (fasc. 120)

“Scripture of the Langgan Elixir.” Langgan is the name of a mythical tree on Mount Kunlun 崑崙. This text is linked to the *Lingshu ziwén* group (see the preceding article and the following two articles). Our text probably formed a single work with this group. The rules of transmission given in 7b–8a apply to all of these texts. They derive from the original Shangqing revelation.

The elixir recipe contains fourteen ingredients commonly used in Taoist recipes, such as cinnabar, orpiment, and so on. Their esoteric names correspond (with a single exception) to those used in another Shangqing recipe, in 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 2.9b–11b.

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Isabelle Robinet

Taiwei lingshu ziwēn xiānji zhēnji shāngjīng 太微靈書紫文仙忌真記上經

4 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

179 (fasc. 77)

“True Record of Interdictions [to Be Observed by] the Immortals.” This is a fragment of the *Lingshu ziwēn* and one of the rare scriptures among the original Shangqing revelations devoted to the formulation of the rules of ritual.

A gloss indicates that it was transmitted by the Green Lad (*qingtong* 青童) to Gong Zhongyang 龔仲陽 (here written 楊) and to his brother Youyang 幼陽 (two Shangqing immortals). The same indications are already found in the biography of Ziyang zhenren 紫陽真人 (YJQQ 106.13b and *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 quoted in TPYL 660).

The text presents an enumeration of the ritual prescriptions and interdictions against lust, drinking, and eating the meat of animals (corresponding to that of one’s own Fundamental Destiny [*benming* 本命] or to that of one’s parents); taboos concerning the north; and so on. To infringe these prescriptions and interdictions means to damage the marks or signs of immortality (*xianxiang* 仙相), as given in 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji*.

Other versions of the present text exist in 427 *Shangqing xiuxing jingjue* 22b–25a and in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2751 (*Ziwēn xingshi jue* 紫文行事訣), lines 182–95.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing housheng daojun lieji 上清後聖道君列紀

13 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

442 (fasc. 198)

“Annals of the Latter-Day Saint.” This work is part of the textual group of the *Lingshu ziwēn* (see the articles on 639 *Huangtian shangqing jingjue dijun lingshu ziwēn shāngjīng* and following) and constitutes an important part of the original Shangqing revelation. It is authenticated through quotations in 1016 *Zhen’gao*, SDZN, and elsewhere. According to tradition, the present text was transmitted by the Lord Green Lad 青童君 to Wang Yuanyou 王遠遊, one of the legendary immortals of the Shangqing corpus.

The Latter-Day Saint is Li Hongyuan 李弘元 (Li Hong being the traditional name of Laozi as messiah; see Seidel, “The image of the perfect ruler,” 236–47). He is the Lord of the Golden Portal and a divine intermediary. This work starts with a biography of the saint, who practices Shangqing methods in order to attain apotheosis.

The saint is then pictured as the judge at the end of time (3b–4a) and as a mediator (7b–8a) who sends twenty-four teachers into the world under the guidance of Wang Yuanyou, whose task it is to transmit the Shangqing scriptures (enumerated in 8a). The Latter-Day Saint also descends to reign over the world.

The main purpose of the text is to establish a hierarchy among the elect who are to be saved when the world comes to an end. From 9b on, our work describes the different marks or signs of physical immortality (*xianxiang* 仙相), which differ according to the palace in Heaven where the name of the elected has been inscribed. These palaces correspond to those given in 1379 *Shangqing yudi qisheng xuanji huitian jiuxiao jing* 17b–29b. This text and the three preceding ones correspond to number 10 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

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Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang zidu yanguang shenyuan bian jing

洞真太上紫度炎光神元變經

33 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1332 (fasc. 1030)

“Rules on Purple [Tablets], Book of Blazing Light, [Created by] Transformation from the Divine Mystery [for *yuan* read *xuan* 玄].” This scripture materialized through the condensation of light and divine vital qi.

TAO HONGJING in 1016 *Zhen'gao* 9.5a–b and in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 3.2b seems to indicate that the present text is one of the Shangqing apocrypha. Its context, however, agrees perfectly with that of the other works of this school; quotations made by WSBY and SDZN accord. This text could therefore date from the beginning of the fifth century. It is incomplete (see the following article on 1368 *Shangqing huishen feixiao dengkong zhao wuxing shangfa jing*).

The present work deals with light and its horizontal expansion. It teaches long distance vision and the evocation, mastery, and absorption of the luminous forces of the Five Directions.

After an introduction of a few pages, the text presents an exercise for the evocation of emptiness (*zhaomu* 招無; 2b–7a). This exercise is found, in more succinct (perhaps its original) form, in 1016 *Zhen'gao*, 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*, and 1319 *Dongzhen xi wang mu baoshen qiju jing*. It consists in visualizing the limits of the Five Directions (east, south, west, north, and zenith) and summoning the Immortal Officials of these places, until general enlightenment is obtained. The work then presents the Bell of Fire and

Flowing Gold (*liujin huoling* 流金火鈴; 7a–17a), from the name of an important Shangqing charm. This part of the work also contains five other charms and four formulas of invocation. Next comes a ritual for the Emperors of the Five Directions (17a–23b). It consists of lighting lamps decorated with charms. Other practices include an alchemical recipe (23b–27b) for the purpose of summoning the Officials of the Five Peaks, and a visualization and absorption of the spiritual forces of the Five Directions (27b–33a). These forces appear in the form of Divine Lads bearing plants and beverages of long life, of Jade Maidens associated with the shoots (*ya* 芽) of the Five Directions, and of colored halos that are absorbed through the mouth and swallowed together with saliva. Instructions relating to the practice of 1317 *Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing* are also given.

A substantial part of our text (9a–17a) is found in 1337 *Dongzhen taiwei jinhu zhenfu* (7a–end).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing huishen feixiao dengkong zhao wuxing shangfa jing

上清迴神飛霄登空招五星上法經

5 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1368 (fasc. 1040)

“Scripture of the Superior Method for Returning to the Divine, Flying up to High Heavens, Rising into Space, and Calling upon the Five Planets.” The first part of this scripture is linked to 1332 *Dongzhen taishang zidu yanguang shenyuan bian jing*, because this part is quoted by 446 *Shangqing zhongjing zhu zhensheng bi* and by WSBY 97.1a–12b under that title. Moreover, the contents of this part correspond to that of 1332 *Shenyuan bian jing*: a method of visualizing the different gods of the Five Directions as well as the sun and the moon.

The second part is an appendix of sorts, introducing the evocation of the gods of the Book of the Yellow Court (*Huangting jing* 黃庭經) and of 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 4, 5, and 6. This second part is mentioned as an apocryphal work by TAO HONGJING in 421 *Dongzhen yinjue* 3.2b.

This text and the preceding one correspond to number 11 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen shangqing qingyao zishu jin'gen zhongjing

洞真上清青腰紫書金根衆經

2 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1315 (fasc. 1026–1027)

“Purple Book [of the Celestial Emperor] of Qingyao, [Containing] the Combined Scriptures of Gathering the Golden Root.” *Qingyao* (green waist) in ancient mythology designates either a celestial maiden or a sacred mountain, while *jin'gen* (golden root) refers to solar energies. This Shangqing scripture was at least partially revealed to YANG XI in 365 (see 1016 *Zhen'gao* 2.7a). According to one source (596 *Xianyuan bianzhu* 3.15a), this text was revealed in the second century A.D. The present version corresponds to the citations found in WSBY and SDZN but is perhaps incomplete since the remarks concerning it in 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji* 8a do not correspond to its present contents.

The book as a whole is attributed to the Great Minister Lord Green Lad (Shangxiang qingtong jun 上相青童君), but each juan starts with the biography of the god under whose aegis it has been placed.

Juan 1 deals with practices of absorbing solar and lunar energies (closely resembling those found in 1323 *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing fushi riyue huanghua jue*, 639 *Huangtian shangqing jingque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing*, and 33 *Shangqing huangqi yangjing sandao shunxing jing*). It also contains charms which enable one to escape the catastrophe of the apocalypse and methods to purify oneself of the pollution caused by the sight of a corpse.

Juan 2 deals exclusively with descriptions of the three paradises mentioned in the Shangqing scriptures as well as of the rituals that enable adepts to gain access to these paradises. This is one of the ritualistic texts of the Shangqing corpus. It contains rituals (*yige* 儀格) for the presentation of memorials written on wooden tablets (*yuzha* 玉札) and ends (18b ff.) with practices of visualization that enable the adept to cross the Three Celestial Passes (*san tianguan* 三天關). The same text is found in 1317 *Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing* 1a–b.

The present work corresponds to number 12 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*. It is quoted in several places in YJQQ. Certain ritual elements have found their way into later manuals, such as the invocation on 1.6a–b, which is given in 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 60.8a–b.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang sanjiu suyu yujing zhenjue 洞真太上三九素語玉精真訣

14 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1327 (fasc. 1029)

“Jade Essence Formulas in the Pristine Words of the Three and Nine.” The “Pristine Words” (*suyu*) of the title are those of the Nine Emperors of the Nine Heavens and of the Three Perfected (i.e., the Three Original Ones, *sanyuan* 三元; 1b). This text is a Shangqing apocryphal work. It bears the title of a text of the school (see 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 5b; 1331 *Dongzhen shangqing shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing* 27b). Indeed, quotations found elsewhere under this title do not correspond to the present work (compare 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 3.1a and the biography of Pei jun 裴君 in YJQQ 105.14b). A gloss by TAO HONGJING in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 3.1a mentions an apocryphal work bearing the title of our text. Quotations in the anthologies WSBY and SDZN accord with our text. If it is the work mentioned by TAO HONGJING, it must have appeared sometime around the end of the fourth century (Shangqing revelation) and the beginning of the fifth century.

The Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2576 (lines 1–134) corresponds to pages 5b–end of the present text. Ōfuchi Ninji’s (*Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 180) identification of this manuscript as being the *Shangqing sanzhen zhiyao yujue* 上清三真指要玉訣 is erroneous.

The work concerns the rites for addressing the deities or spirits of the five cardinal points. It begins with a *Sanjiu suyu yujing zhenjue* (1a–6a), which gives the text its title. This formula consists of a series of invocations to the Emperors of the Five Directions. The same invocations are also found in the biography of Pei jun 裴君 (YJQQ 105.10b–11b) as well as in various Shangqing texts. A visual meditation accompanies these invocations.

The invocations are followed by a ritual of presentation of memorials on the Eight Nodal Days (*bajie touci fa* 八節投刺法) to the sacred peak (*yue* 嶽) with which the adept is identified (6a–9b). This ritual consists in burying a tablet that establishes the Taoist adept’s identity. The association of the adept with a sacred peak may be influenced by the ancient Lingbao tradition.

The final part (9b–14b) of our text contains a ritual for establishing the gods (*zhen-shen* 鎮神) of the five sacred mountains. In order to perform this ritual, charms are engraved on stones and buried in places surrounding one’s residence and corresponding to the five cardinal points.

The present text corresponds to number 13 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*. The entire first part of this text is also found in YJQQ 44.18b–22a.

Shangqing sanyuan yujian sanyuan bujing 上清三元玉檢三元布經

43 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

354 (fasc. 179)

“Jade Rule of the Three Original Ones [*sanyuan yujian*] [and the] Promulgated Scripture of the Three [Female] Original Ones [*sanyuan bujing*].” The title contains a double reference, corresponding to two conflated scriptures. The first triad corresponds to the traditional division of the universe into Heaven, Earth (here: the mountains), and humans (here: the immortals). The second triad represents the Three Ladies of Purity, goddesses of the Shangqing. The text appears, therefore, to be a hybrid from perhaps a half century later than the original Shangqing revelation but is nevertheless linked to it. The quotations found in encyclopedias (WSBY, SDZN) agree with our text.

The “Jade Rule” is one of the earliest Shangqing rituals. Its text is divided into two parts, with the “Promulgated Scripture” wedged between the two. The first part (3b–26a) is composed of fu, a register (*lu* 錄), and a formulary. Some of the fu are missing. They can be recuperated thanks to 416 *Shangqing pei fuwen huangquan jue* 1b–3b. Part of our text (4a–11b) can also be found in 168 *Yuanshi gaoshang yujian dalu* 1a–2a and 8a–11b. The second part (31b–35b) expounds a ritual with offerings inviting the gods to descend.

The “Promulgated Scripture of the Three [Female] Original Ones” is a guide for recognizing different apparitions that may occur during meditation (26a–31b); this exercise is similar to that of 1393 *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao guishan xuanlu* (mentioned in our text, 31a).

At the end of the second part of the “Jade Rule” (from page 35b on) there is a description of the meditation on the three goddesses. A similar description is given in 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi taidong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* 28b–29a. The present text corresponds to number 14 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing danjing daojing yindi bashu jing 上清丹景道精隱地八術經

2 juan

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1359 (fasc. 1039)

“The Scripture of the Tao Essence of Cinnabar Effulgence [Containing] the Eight Methods for Hiding in the Earth.” This text concerns various techniques for transforming oneself and making oneself invisible. In spite of a similarity in the titles, the text is entirely different from 1348 *Dongzhen taishang danjing daojing jing*. Our work is mentioned by many of the original Shangqing texts: 426 *Shangqing taishang basu*

zhenjing 5b, 1331 *Dongzhen shangqing shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing* 28a, and 1016 *Zhen'gao* 5.2b. It may, however, go back to a period earlier than the Shangqing revelation (364–370), as it mentions (2.4a–5a) more or less legendary persons who once followed its practice. The 1016 *Zhen'gao* 12.7a–b confirms this when it says that Liu Yi 劉翊, who lived at the time of the Yellow Turbans (A.D. 184; see his biography in *Hou Han shu* III), received these *Yindi bashu*. The ancient version is said to have had eight juan (2.1a). The quotations found in the WSBY correspond to the words of the present text.

The different methods of transformation are considered as means to salvation in the concrete sense of escaping from dangers, obtaining bodily freedom, mounting up to heaven, and so on. The names given to the eight methods belong to the vocabulary of ancient Taoism and are inspired by the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi*. One of the main characteristics of this text is the relationship between the Eight Gods of Effulgence (*bajing* 八景), the Eight Trigrams (*bagua* 八卦), and the Eight Calendar Nodes (*bajie* 八節). In this respect, our work is different from other Shangqing texts in which the Eight Trigrams never occur.

The first juan enumerates the Eight Methods of Transformation, with the help of eight fu and with visual meditation on colored clouds. The latter change into mythical animals, each then being related to a specific part of the body. The *bajing* are also invoked by using their secret names (these are given on 2.5b–6a).

The second juan contains methods for escaping disasters. These correspond to different Trigrams (1a–4b). The method uses the same fu and the same secret names of the *bajing*. It is placed under the aegis of the Lord Emperor Ziqing 紫清帝君 and enables one to be transformed into a mythical animal.

The remainder of the text gives detailed information for putting these methods into practice. Almost all of the first juan is reproduced in YJQQ 53.9a–13b. This present text corresponds to number 16 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

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Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen shangqing shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing

洞真上清神州七轉七變舞天經

29 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1331 (fasc. 1030)

“Seven Recitations of the Divine Realm with Seven Transformations for Dancing in Heaven.” The title of this scripture comprises references to two distinct parts

of the text. The first part, Seven Recitations of the Divine Realm (*Shenzhou qizhuan shangjing* 上經), consists of a series of fourteen units to be recited in a prescribed order. The second part, Seven Transformations for Dancing in Heaven (*Shenzhou qibian wutian jing* 經), deals with techniques of transformation and salvation to enable the adept “to dance in Heaven.”

The text is placed under the aegis of a Shangqing deity and is mentioned in many texts of this school (for example 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 5b; 1016 *Zhen'gao* 5.3a). It is quoted in 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* (2b–3a). The quotations in WSBY, SDZN, and other anthologies correspond to our text. There are reasons to believe that the last pages (26b–end) have been added in order to justify the inclusion of this new text into the corpus of scriptures revealed to Yang Xi.

The text begins with the biography of the Shanghuang xiansheng zichen jun 上皇先生紫晨君. Next there is the series of fourteen units also found in 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* and in 1393 *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao guishan xuanlu*. These units are paraphrases of passages in the *Dadong zhenjing*.

The second part of the work expounds seven methods for transforming oneself into a cloud, a beam of light, into fire, water, or even into a dragon, in order to obtain corporeal liberation. These methods require the visualization of colored qi 氣, divine beings, and charms (23a–26b). The exercises are accompanied by invocations. The last pages of the text contain an almost complete list of the Shangqing scriptures. This text corresponds to number 17 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing

洞真太一帝君太丹隱書洞真玄經

46 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1330 (fasc. 1030)

The title of this scripture refers to its various components. It is usually cited under one or another of their names, as either “Secret Scripture of Taidan” (*Taidan yinshu* 太丹隱書), referring to the Southern Palace, a place of redemption, where the book is stored; or “Scripture of the Supreme One” (*Taiyi jing* 太一經), to whom the present work is dedicated; or again, “Mysterious Scripture of Dongzhen” (*Dongzhen xuanjing*) or “Dongxuan.” The two terms *Dongzhen* and *Dongxuan*, which later designate two distinct groups of *Daozang* texts, are found for the first time in Shangqing scriptures. A work named *Taishang yinshu* belonged to the revelations received by YANG XI (see 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 4b; 1016 *Zhen'gao* 5.3a). The present form does not correspond to the original version, although it certainly contains elements from

the original Shangqing texts. A number of passages quoted in anthologies (WSBY, SDZN) are not found in our text. The text is considerably altered and disjointed. It contains (14b, 20b) interpolations from a *Taiwei huangshu* 太微黃書 that is no longer extant (compare, for example, 1338 *Dongzhen taishang taisu yulu* 1b–2b). In some places, a commentary is included. The text is closely related to 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing*, which may be of a slightly later date.

As the title indicates, our text is the scripture of Taiyi 太一. Its themes are regeneration and fusion with Taiyi and the Lord Emperor (*dijun* 帝君). It treats of various visual meditations that aim at the amalgamation of all the deities with the adept and the inscription of the adept's name on the registers of life. The gods acting in these exercises are those who rule over the formation of the embryo and human reproduction. Among these we find the Five Spirits of the Registers, the Three Original Ones of the Cinnabar Fields, the Mysterious (*xuan* 玄) Father and Mother, and the generative spirits of the body (see 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 5). The exercises described here often provide a key for the understanding of the relevant *Dadong zhenjing* passages, the latter serving as a kind of incantatory recapitulation of the former. The exercises are expounded, one after the other, without any clear transition.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing dongzhen yuanjing wuji fu 上清洞真元經五籍符

5 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

82 (fasc. 37)

“Five Register-Charms of the Mysterious Book [for *yuan* 元 read *xuan* 玄] of the Dongzhen Canon.” This is a fragment of 1330 *Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing*. Its title here is an alternate name for this *Taidan yinshu*. The latter (30a) mentions five charms, while only one of these charms is reproduced in the text. Our present text has all five (1a–2b, 2b–4b, and 5a corresponding to 1330 *Taidan yinshu* 30b–31a, 33a, and 44a).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taiyi dijun taidan yinshu jiebao shier jiejie tujue

上清太一帝君太丹隱書解胞十二結節圖訣

16 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1384 (fasc. 1043)

“Illustrated Instructions for Untying the Twelve Embryonic Knots according to the Secret Scripture of Taidan.” This is the final part of 1330 *Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing* (38b–end). It explains, with illustrations, the method of the



FIGURE 6. Nurturing the immortal embryo by untying the strings of death (1384 2a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1365)

Taidan yinshu 太丹隱書 for “untying the Inborn Knots” (*jiejie* 解結). The concept of Inborn Knots that make the body perishable is proper to the Shangqing texts, which contain various methods for untying them (see 1382 *Shangqing jiudan shanghua taijing zhongji jing* 3b–16b and 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* 50b–53b; see also Robinet, *Méditation taoïste*, 214–19) (figs. 6–9).

The “knots” are here distributed in groups of four and located in the three main sections of the body: the head, the thorax, and the abdomen. The disciple invokes the Lord Emperor (*dijun* 帝君) and twenty-seven other gods, in three groups of nine. The knots are untied as a result of the solemn decision of this assembly.

This text and the two preceding ones correspond to number 18 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet



FIGURE 7. Deities of the Twenty-four Knots (1384 7a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1365)



FIGURE 8. Meditating when reclining (1384 13b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1365)

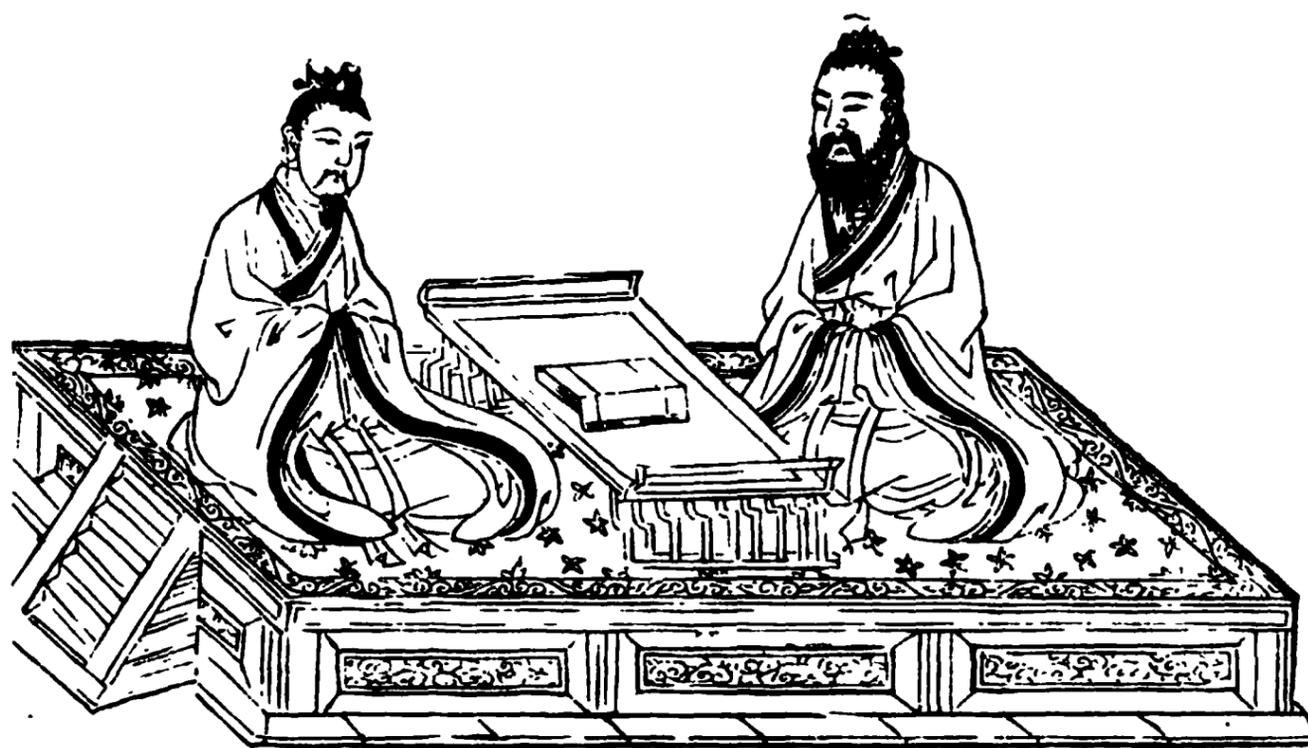


FIGURE 9. The transmission of the method (1384 14a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1365)

Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing

洞真上清開天三圖七星移度經

2 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1317 (fasc. 1027)

“Scripture on Dipper Transfer with Three Limits for Opening Heaven.” The Three Limits (*santu*) or Celestial Diagrams (*tiantu* 天圖) correspond to the Three Celestial Passes (*san tianguan* 三天關; 1.1a) that the adept must open. The seven stars (*qixing*) mentioned in the title are those of the Dipper. Their intercession enables the adept to have his or her name inscribed on the register of life. The term *yidu* (transfer) designates at the same time the rotation of the stars that transport the adept to the skies and his transfer from the register of death to the register of life.

This text is a Shangqing apocryphal work probably dating from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. It is a replica of 1366 *Shangqing tianguan santu jing*, the title by which it is ordinarily cited.

However, our work includes a first part (1a–8a) that is missing from 1366 *Santu jing* and seems to have been borrowed from 1315 *Dongzhen shangqing qingyao zishu jin-gen zhongjing* 2.18b–23b (anthologies quote this passage under the title of that text). Moreover, the *Huoluo qi yuan* 豁落七元 charms, which are missing in 1366 *Santu jing* appear here on page 3a. The division of the text into two juan, which occurs in the middle of an exercise, is awkward and contradicts the indication of the text itself that it comprises only one juan (2.18a).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing tianguan santu jing 上清天關三圖經

32 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1366 (fasc. 1040)

“Three Limits Scripture on the Passes of Heaven.” The Passes of Heaven (*tianguan*) are “the gates of life of the Nine Heavens” in the southeastern regions (see 1317 *Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing* 1.1a). There are three gates, and they are also called *tiantu* (Heavenly Diagrams or Limits), hence the expression *santu* (the Three Limits).

The present text, which is duplicated in the preceding entry, 1317 *Yidu jing*, belongs to the Shangqing legacy but is probably an ancient apocryphal work of that school. The title is listed among the original works (see, for instance, 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 5b; 1016 *Zhen'gao* 9.5b), but the quotations of the work in the *Zhen'gao* do not conform to the present text. TAO HONGJING, in a commentary to the relevant passage, states that the work has not yet “come out into the world.” The quotations in

WSBY and SDZN, however, do correspond. In consequence, the present text must date, at the latest, from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century.

Our text must have been altered, as it is disorganized and refers to two *juan* (see 9b), whereas only a single *juan* remains. The *fu* of the *Huoluo qiyuan* 豁落七元, referred to on 9b, are lacking.

The methods described are all copied from those of the original Shangqing scriptures, except perhaps the lamp ritual, which seems to be inspired by the practice of the Heavenly Masters and borrows its terminology, although the names of the gods of the planets show slightly variant readings. The type of colophon we have here, stating that the work was transmitted to the two Shangqing patrons, Lord Wang 王君 and Lady WEI [HUACUN], is also found in other apocrypha.

The scripture begins with a technique for obtaining salvation through the intercession and mediation of the gods of the stars of the Dipper (1a–10b and 12b–13b). This method “opens the Passes of Heaven” and is similar to that given in 1377 *Jiuzhen zhongjing* 4b–11a. Then follows a paragraph devoted to the names of the Courts of the Inferno. To recite these names results in the closing of the Gates of Death (10b–12b). This practice and the preceding one are complementary. The same names for these courts are given in *Zhen’gao* 15.1a–b. On pages 14a–22b there is a rite of penitence (*wuli* 五離) entailing the intercession of the planets. This rite is close to that of the *wutong* 五通 in 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 20a–25b.

The lamp ritual (22b–26a), inspired by the Heavenly Masters tradition, invokes the adept’s star of destiny (*benming* 本命), the star of the current year, and Taisui 太歲, the counterrotating invisible twin of Jupiter. Such a stellar triad is unknown in the original Shangqing texts.

Our work terminates with the Vows of Immortality (*xianyuan* 仙願, 26a–31a), inspired by the ritual of *Xuanmu bajian* 玄母八間 in 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* (17a–end). This text and the preceding correspond to number 19 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing jiudan shanghua taijing zhongji jing 上清九丹上化胎精中記經

26 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1382 (fasc. 1043)

“The Embryonic Essence From Superior Transmutation of the Ninefold Elixir.” It is achieved through the ninefold union of the *qi* of the Nine Primordial Heavens with the Embryonic Essence (*taijing*), and through their coagulation inside the Gate of Destiny (*mingmen* 命門; 2b–3a). These Nine Transmutations (*jiuzhuan* 九轉) form the human body at the time when, during nine months, the *qi* of the Nine Heavens

inspire life in the fetus. The Embryonic Essence means either the essence that unites with the qi in order to create the fetus (3a), or the qi that transform themselves first into essence, then into cinnabar, and finally into a fetus (16b).

The present text is part of the original Shangqing revelations. Its contents agree with the numerous quotations in WSBY. The entire work is devoted to the process of regeneration from the embryonic state thanks to assistance from the Primordial Nine Heavens. This scripture concerns the realization, in one's mind, of the divine origin of human life, which is the Fundamental Truth (*benzhen* 本真; see 2b, 16b).

The work begins with an introduction (1a–3b) on the general principles of the origin of human beings. The text is then divided into two main parts.

The first part (3b–16b) concerns a method “to untie the knots of the embryo” (*jie baozhong shier jie* 解胞中十二節). The theory of the knots, which are the inborn principles of death, is more or less the same as in 1330 *Dongzhen Taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing*, but the method used here is different. The untying is done by the Original Father, the Mysterious Mother, the Kings of the Nine Primordial Heavens, and the Twenty-four Effulgences (*jing* 景) of the body. Meditating on these figures must be practiced three times a day—at sunrise, noon, and sunset—for the three parts of the body: upper, middle, and lower.

The second part (16b–26b) describes a method for reconstituting the process of gestation from the Nine Heavenly Qi, and thus creating a divine body. In order to achieve this, the disciple summons the Kings of the Nine Primordial Heavens, one by one, and installs them in his own body. Then he achieves the union, in his heart (the central organ), of the Original Father and the Mysterious Mother, the former coming down from the Palace of the Brain (*niwan* 泥丸), the latter rising up from the Gate of Destiny (*mingmen* 命門). Of all early Shangqing scriptures, the present text is the one that most clearly marks the first development in the direction of Inner Alchemy.

In YJQQ 29.4a–17b, there is an abstract of the first part of the present text, while the second part is quoted in extenso. A slightly abridged version of our text is given in 408 *Shangqing taijing ji jiejie xingshi jue*. The invocations in this work have been adopted in certain rituals (for instance in 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 2.11b).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taijing ji jiejie xingshi jue 上清胎精記解結行事訣

14 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

408 (fasc. 191)

“Formula for the Practice of Untying the Knots from the Records of Embryonic Essence.” This work is similar to 1382 *Shangqing jiudan shanghua taijing zhongji jing*, of which it reproduces the essential passages (pages 1a–12b, 12b–13a, and 13b–14 in

our text correspond to pages 3a–15b, 22a–b, and 26a in 1382 *Taijing zhongji jing*). This text and the preceding one correspond to number 20 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang jiuchi banfu wudi neizhen jing 太上九赤班符五帝內真經

32 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1329 (fasc. 1029)

“The Nine Crimson Speckled Talismans of the Five Emperors’ Inward Contemplation.” The expression *jiuchi banfu* (Nine Crimson Speckled Talismans) refers to the qi of the Nine Original Ones (here: the Emperors of the Five Directions and those of the Four Seas). The second part of the title probably has a double meaning: it concerns not only the “Five Emperors who inwardly establish” (read *zhen* 鎮 for 真) the spirits in their dwellings (as they establish the nature of things), but also the “interior truth of the Five Emperors”—an allusion to the inward contemplation (*neisi* 內思) of the true form (*zhenxing* 真形) of the deities concerned (2b, 6a, 25b, etc.).

The present text belongs to the original Shangqing revelation. Its title is mentioned by a few works originating from this revelation (e.g., 1016 *Zhen’gao* 5.3a). Its contents tally with the quotations in WSBY.

The work is dedicated to the terrestrial divinities, that is, those of the Five Directions, the Five Sacred Peaks, and the Four Seas. It begins with an exercise (2b–6a) that teaches the adept how to interpret colored visions during meditation—appearances of celestial guides or demoniac emanations—and how to interpret the true form of deities. Similar exercises are found in other Shangqing texts (e.g., 354 *Shangqing sanyuan yujian sanyuan bujing* and 1393 *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao guishan xuanlu*).

The two other exercises (6a–25b and 25b–31a) are complementary. They belong to the numerous Shangqing practices for obtaining both the inscription of the adept’s name in the registers of life and its removal from the registers of death. Here, the life registers are held by the Emperors of the Five Directions and the Lords of the Sacred Peaks. They are also related to the planets and to specific organs of the body. The registers of death are held by the Emperors of the Seas. The exercises group together visual meditation, the use of talismans, and invocations.

The talismans confer on the adept the power to secure the mountains and govern the seas. However, the names of the Emperors of the Five Directions are not those that the Shangqing texts attribute to them. They are found again in a commentary to 87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 2.62a–b, citing a “Shangqing zhenren 上清真人.”

The present text corresponds to number 21 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang shenhu yinwen 洞真太上神虎隱文

7 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1334 (fasc. 1031)

“Secret Scripture of the Divine Tiger.” This text is said to have been revealed to YANG XI in A.D. 365 (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 1.12a). It is also known as the Scripture of the Wisdom That Annihilates Demons (*Zhihui xiaomo jing* 智慧消魔經 [or *miemo jing* 滅魔經]) and as the Secret Scripture of the Eight Methods (*Bashu yinwen* 八術隱文; see this title on 7b and the quotations in 412 *Shangqing pei fuwen qingquan jue* 2b and 413 *Shangqing pei fuwen boquan jue* 4b). The present text corresponds to the comments in 1016 *Zhen’gao* 3.16a–b and 17.1b.

The scripture is essentially composed of two apotropaic hymns, chanted by Shangqing deities in a jubilant celestial atmosphere. The first hymn, entitled “Huishen zhi shi 揮神之詩” (Shaking the [Divine] Spirits), is intended to drive away (evil) spirits (1a–3b). The second hymn, “Jinzhen zhi shi 金真之詩” (Song of the Golden Zhenren; 5b–7a), is a form of Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛). The first stanzas of each of these hymns are modeled on those of *Dadong zhenjing* (compare 1a–b and 6b with 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 2.12a–b, 14b and 9b). A colophon (7b) mentions a further hymn, revealed by the Celestial Maiden of the Nine Flowerings (Jiuhua Anfei 九花安妃; the same maiden who appeared to YANG XI). This song, says the text, should have been recorded in a chapter of *Taishang bashu zhihui miemo shenhu yin wen* 太上八術智慧滅魔神虎隱文, a title corresponding to 1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing*. The second juan of the latter indeed corresponds, with some additions, to the present text. The poem in question, however, is lacking.

This present text corresponds to number 22 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing

上清高上玉晨鳳臺曲素上經

23 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1372 (fasc. 1041)

“Superior Scripture on the Emanations from the Labyrinth of Phoenix Terrace.” This scripture was created out of the cosmic qi of the Phoenix Terrace (*fengtai*) of Nine Meanderings (*jiuqu* 九曲) in the Heavens, energies that pervade the eight directions of space, in correspondence with the Eight Purities (*basu* 八素; see 426

Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing). The present work is placed under the aegis of Gaoshang yuchen and is part of the original Shangqing revelations, as stated in other books of the Shangqing tradition (such as 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 5a, 1331 *Dongzhen shangqing shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing* 2.7b, 1016 *Zhen'gao* 5.3b). But the work appears to be incomplete (compare, e.g., 412 *Shangqing pei fuwen wen qingquan jue* 2b, 413 *Shangqing pei fuwen wen baiquan jue* 7a, 414 *Shangqing pei fuwen jiangquan jue* 1a, 415 *Shangqing pei fuwen wen heiquan jue* 1a and 416 *Shangqing pei fuwen wen huangquan jue* 4b).

The text is composed of hymns and fu. The hymns (2b–7b) are linked to the Five Emperors of the Five Directions. They are songs of heavenly bliss and of compassion for the sufferings of humanity. They are composed of sacred sounds that ward off the calamities of the impending apocalypse, and they use the distinctive terminology of this type of Shangqing literature.

A number of fu correspond to the Secret Fu of the Five Phases (*wuxing bifu* 五行秘符; 15b–end), which are linked to the five pairs of Heavenly Stems. This material may have originally formed a separate work (compare 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 5b and 1016 *Zhen'gao* 5.3a).

The hymns are also found in 608 *Shangqing zhuzhen zhangsong* 2b–8b. YJQQ 51.7b–11a quotes the last part of our text (15b–21b). 1457 *Gaoshang yuchen youle zhang* is formed entirely from the present work, from which it has taken all the hymns.

This scripture should not be confused with 1348 *Dongzhen taishang danjing daoqing jing*, although the latter has been quoted under the same title. One of the titles of 1348 *Daoqing jing* is *Qusu jueci* 曲素訣辭 (1a), which is very close to that of the present work.

Isabelle Robinet

***Gaoshang yuchen youle zhang* 高上玉宸憂樂章**

5 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1457 (fasc. 1064)

“Hymn of Joy and Sorrow of the Most High Yuchen.” As indicated by a colophon, these pages are an excerpt of 1372 *Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing*, and contain the hymns of the latter work.

This text and the preceding one correspond to number 23 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang feixing yujing jiuzhen shengxuan shangji

洞真太上飛行羽經九真昇玄上記

13 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1351 (fasc. 1033)

“Record on Wings for Flying on High.” This text expounds the method that enables the adept to “rise up to Mystery” thanks to the Nine True Ones, that is, the nine gods of the Dipper (Ursa Major). The subtitle, *Huiyuan jiudao* 迴元九道, refers to the same gods (the term *huiyuan* designates the Revolving Principles [see YJQQ 8.20a–b] as well as the Return to the Origin [see 3a in the present text]).

This work is quoted in WSBY, but the majority of the quotations, as well as those from other sources (such as SDZN, 1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* and others) come from 428 *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing*. The latter’s subtitle is identical with that of the present work (see 83 *Boyu heihe lingfei yufu*). All these texts appear to have originally belonged to the same work, the *Beiyu heihe feixing yujing* that corresponds to number 24 in the list of canonical Shangqing writings, the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*. However, the only early quotations of our text are found in WSBY. These quotations, moreover, concern only the rules of transmission and may well have come from another source. In other words, the present work is nowhere authenticated. The possibility that this is an apocryphal text that borrowed the title of a scripture of the Shangqing corpus can therefore not be excluded.

This “Record” describes a variant exercise of *sanyi wudou* 三一五斗 (see 60 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo xuanwei miao jing*), which consists in meditating on the three major gods of the stars in the Dipper, whom the adept invokes and induces to descend into his Three Cinnabar Fields (the names these gods receive here are unknown in the authentic Shangqing scriptures).

The text also shows evidence of interpolated glosses (1b6–2a2 comes from 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 5a and 5b–6b). It also has detailed prescriptions concerning other exercises as well as comments on other Shangqing scriptures (compare “the oral formula” of 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 11a–13a).

The entire text is incorporated into 324 *Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing* 34b–end. Some fragments are quoted in YJQQ 25.14a–15b (corresponding to 8b–9b) and 52.4b–8a (corresponding to 4a–5a, 6b–9b).

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing 太上飛行九晨玉經

34 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

428 (fasc. 195)

“Jade Scripture of the Flight to the Nine Stars.” The stars referred to in the title are those of the Dipper, plus the two invisible stars Fu 輔 and Bi 弼 (also called Kongchang 空常) on either side of the constellation. The present text is quoted in WSBY and SDZN under the title [*Huiyuan jiudao*] *Feixing yujing* [迴元九道] 飛行羽經 (compare 1351 *Dongzhen taishang feixing yujing jiuzhen shengxuan shangji*). It bears the subtitle *Jinjian neiwen* 金簡內文 (Esoteric Scripture on Golden Tablets).

Feixing yujing is a title belonging to the Shangqing corpus (cf., for example, 1016 *Zhen’gao* 5.4b and 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji* 2a). Two parts of the present text must be distinguished: the first part (up to 25b) actually represents the *Feixing yujing*. The process of pacing the Dipper, which is expounded here, begins with a dance on invisible stars surrounding the Dipper. These stars are the *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 souls inhabited by female deities. A description of the Dipper stars and of the deities who preside over them follows.

The second part (25b–end) is a shortened and slightly modified version of 1316 *Dongzhen shangqing taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing* 7b–18b (q.v.). This second part is never quoted by sixth and seventh-century anthologies under the present title. It is probably this part that the subtitle of our text refers to. Indeed, the title *Jinjian neiwen* is equivalent to *Jinjian yuzi* 金簡玉字. This last part therefore derives from 1316 *Jinjian yuzi* and was grafted onto the present text at a much later date.

The first part is linked to the Kongchang method (cf. 875 *Taishang laojun da cunsi tu zhujue* and 324 *Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing*) and to the *Longfei chisu* 龍飛尺素 formula (see 1326 *Dongzhen shangqing longfei jiudao chisu yinjue*). The entire text is quoted in YJQQ 20.

Isabelle Robinet

Boyu heihe lingfei yufu 白羽黑翮靈飛玉符

6 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

83 (fasc. 37)

“Jade Fu for the White Feathered, Black-Winged Spirits Taking Flight.” This text owes its title to the white and black phoenixes under whose aegis it is placed (2b, 6b). In later quotations, one sometimes finds *longfei* 龍飛 (dragons taking flight) instead of *lingfei*. The text dates to the Shangqing revelation (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 5.4b). One of the work’s alternative titles is *Feixing yujing shengxuan shangji* 飛行羽經昇玄上記 (see 1326 *Dongzhen shangqing longfei jiudao chisu yinjue* 6a). The latter text is connected

with 428 *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing*, a scripture that, according to tradition, was conveyed of the world by the phoenix at the same time.

Our text is quoted in 1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* (1–5b) under its present title. 414 *Shangqing pei fuwen jiangquan jue* and 415 *Shangqing pei fuwen heiquan jue*, as well as 413 *Shangqing pei fuwen boquan jue* and 416 *Shangqing pei fuwen huangquan jue*, also quote it under the title *Huiyuan jiudao feixing yujing* (see 428 *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing*). The Five Fu—one for each direction—that provide the main material for this work were used to perform the ritual of pacing the Dipper (*feibu shengxuan* 飛步昇玄), as expounded in 428 *Jiuchen yujing*.

Our text is also found in its entirety in 1326 *Dongzhen shangqing longfei jiudao chisu yinjue* 6a–fin and in 324 *Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing* 28b–34a.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen shangqing longfei jiudao chisu yinjue 洞真上清龍飛九道赤素隱訣
11 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1326 (fasc. 1028)

“Secret Formula [of Talismans] on Crimson Silk of the Nine Ways of the Dragon’s Flight.” This work owes its name to the talismans included in the text—these are to be written on strips of red silk three feet long—as well as to its connection with the method of pacing the nine stars of the Dipper (the Nine Ways) in 428 *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing*. It pertains to the Shangqing revelation.

The work comprises two parts. The first bears the title of 83 *Boyu heihe lingfei yufu* 白羽黑翮靈飛玉符. Here are invoked the Lads and Maidens of the Dipper stars, who were created through the qi (breaths) exhaled by the Ladies of the Black Stars of the Dipper (the names of their palaces correspond to those in 428 *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing*). We also find the Lads and Jade Maidens from the palaces on the planets. Their names are those given in 324 *Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing* 17b–18b, a text related to the present work. This first part is concerned with the method of pacing the stars Kongchang 空常 (2a–b; cf. 876 *Taishang wuxing qi yuan kongchang jue*). It is entirely reproduced in 324 *Yuming jing* 24a–28b. The second part has been duplicated in 83 *Lingfei yufu* (q.v.).

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang wuxing qi yuan kongchang jue 太上五星七元空常訣

23 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

876 (fasc. 581)

“Formula of the Five Stars [i.e., planets], the Seven Original Ones [i.e., the stars of the Dipper], and of the Kongchang [i.e., the invisible stars of the Dipper].” On the Kongchang, see 324 *Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing*. The text is composed of a variety of elements assembled in great disorder. Many passages are given twice, others are truncated (see 15b, where the invocation breaks off in the middle); some fragments and texts are interpolated, as in a ritual (see the gloss on 17a). All these texts concern the stars, with the exception of some passages borrowed from 1016 *Zhen’gao* 9.2a–b concerning the twenty-four spirits of the body (see 3b–4a, 8a and 19a–b).

The texts the present work draws on are 637 *Taishang feibu wuxing jing*, 405 *Shangqing zijing jun huangchu ziling daojun dongfang shangjing*, 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue*, 140 *Shangqing wozhong jue*, 1316 *Dongzhen shangqing Taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing*, and *Huiyuan jiudao feixing yujing* (WSBY 18).

An important passage is devoted to the practice of pacing the stars called Kongchang. It is, however, incomplete (compare 324 *Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing*). The diagram of the Kongchang, which is absent from the latter, is given here (fig. 10).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing

上清五常變通萬化鬱冥經

47 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

324 (fasc. 166)

“Airy and Mysterious Scripture on the Universal Metamorphosis and Ten Thousand Transformations of the Five Permanent Ones.” The term *wuchang* (Five Permanent Ones) in the title may be an error for *Kongchang* 空常, the name of the invisible stars of the Dipper that play a major role in the present text. The term *wuchang* also appears in the foreword of the text. This may, however, be an a posteriori explanation, since the prologue constitutes a later addition. 304 *Maoshan zhi* 9.4a mentions a *Wudi yuming jing* 五帝鬱冥經 where *wuchang* designates the Five Emperors of the cardinal points. As for the term *biantong wanhua* (Universal Metamorphosis and Ten Thousand Transformations), it refers to the adept’s metamorphosis, which is presided over by the stellar deities. The exercises explained in the text are related to these deities.

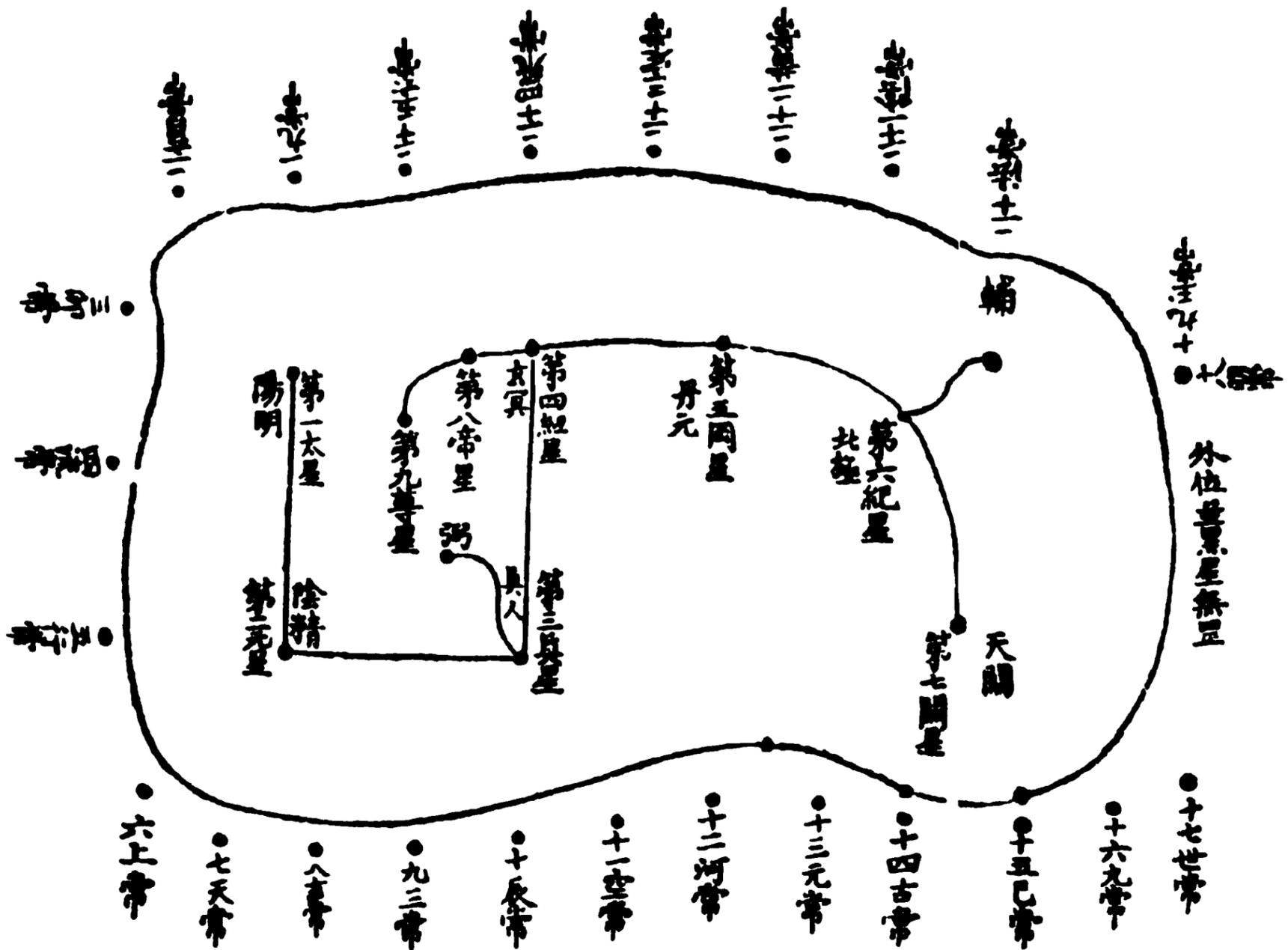


FIGURE 10. Choreography for the Dance of the Dipper Stars (876 5b–6a).

Yuming jing appears to mean “Airy and Mysterious Scripture,” but the expression may well have a technical signification.

The text is a collection of exercises, all of which involve stellar deities. The compilation is probably of a date later than the Shangqing revelation, for the foreword testifies to a more metaphysical approach than is usual for that corpus.

The Kongchang practice (2b–3a and 20b–24a) is more complete here than in 876 *Taishang wuxing qi yuan kongchang jue* 14b–15b, 17b–21b. The term *Kongchang* is formed by the contraction of the names of the spirits of the invisible stars Fu 輔 and Bi 弼 of the Dipper. These two spirits are the souls of Heaven and Earth. They gave their names to a network of twenty-five points located around the Dipper. These points are placed in correspondence, five by five, with the planets. In the method of the Kongchang stars the adept starts by pacing this network (*bugang* 步綱; p.2b) and then continues pacing the planets before arriving at the Dipper. The names of the Lords and Ladies of the Dipper are given on 13a–14a. They correspond to those found in other Shangqing texts.

Pages 19b–20b present a technique of meditation and visualization of stellar deities. These transform themselves into a child named the Impermanent (Wuchang 無常).

Pages 24a–28b contain a method entitled *Longfei jiudao chisu yinjue*, which cor-

responds to 1326 *Dongzhen shangqing longfei jiudao chisu yinjue* 1a–6a, while 28b–34a corresponds to the whole text of 83 *Boyu heihe lingfei yufu*. The end of our text corresponds to all of 1351 *Dongzhen taishang feixing yujing jiuzhen shengxuan shangji*.

This text and the five preceding ones correspond to number 24 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing qionggong lingfei liujia zuoyou shangfu

上清瓊宮靈飛六甲左右上符

23 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

84 (fasc. 37)

“Six-*Jia* Talismans for Summoning the *Lingfei* [Maidens] of the Qionggong Palace.” The maidens are in charge of the days marked with the cyclical signs beginning with *jia*. This scripture is authenticated by a quotation in 1016 *Zhen’gao* 14.15a–16a (our text 22a–23a). It corresponds — except for a few variants — to 1391 *Shangqing qionggong lingfei liujia lu*. However, neither of the two texts is complete. Some quotations referring to these titles in WSBY and TPYL cannot be traced.

Originally, the *Liujia* scripture was linked to the *Suzou danfu* 素奏丹符 (cf. *Zhengao* 5.4b and WSBY 43.14a), under which title it is sometimes quoted. *BPZ* 19.307 mentions the six *jia* talismans, and these must, therefore, have had a history before their incorporation into the Shangqing corpus (Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 1:12–13, 24–25). Tradition says that these talismans were connected to the Scripture of the True Form of the Ten Regions (*shizhou zhenxing* 十洲真形). Our text mentions some persons living under the Zhou, Han, and Wei periods to whom the talismans were purportedly transmitted. According to TAO HONGJING’s glosses on the *Zhen’gao* (13.2a and 20.7b–8a), XU MI’s brother XU MAI once received these talismans from the libationer Li Dong 李東. In reality, the talismans may well have existed in many versions, one of them belonging to the Way of the Heavenly Master (see 1210 *Zhengyi fawen shilu zhaoyi* 16b–17a). Therefore our text must be a specific Shangqing version.

玉女青衣綠裙青
紅黃裳綾朱履捧
練玉神符餘取宜

甲申太素玉女
字名瓊真
石乙



FIGURE 11. The Jade Maiden of the *jiashen* period, with a description of her attire (84 9a).

Missing from this incomplete version are the talismans and descriptions of the Five Emperors of the cardinal points in WSBY 92.19a–20b — as well as in 412 *Shangqing pei fuwen qingquan jue* and 416 *Shangqing pei fuwen huangquan jue* — titled “Suzou danfu 素奏丹符” or “Lingfei liujia jing 靈飛六甲經. These talismans and descriptions are also present in the hymns of 611 *Dongxuan lingbao liujia yunü shanggong gezhang*.

The text contains spells (2a–3b) addressed to the Jade Maidens that should be pronounced on the *jia* days before as well as after absorbing the fu (reproduced on pages 3b–20b) of the sexagesimal cycle. These talismans are classified into six groups, each linked to one of the six Celestial Palaces to which the Jade Maidens belong. Each of these groups has an image of the Jade Maiden who is in charge of the corresponding palace (see fig. 11).

The text ends with two major talismans that are the progenitors (*zong* 宗) of the sixty others.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing qionggong lingfei liujia lu 上清瓊宮靈飛六甲錄

23 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1391 (fasc. 1046)

“Six-*Jia* Register for Summoning the *Lingfei* [Maidens] of the Qionggong Palace.” This text duplicates 84 *Shangqing qionggong lingfei liujia zuoyou shangfu*. A *Lingfei liujia lu* is mentioned in 1239 *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* 18a among the registers (*lu*) of the Shangqing tradition. The title of our text is also given in the *Dongzhi yiwén lüe* (VDL 77).

Isabelle Robinet

Dongxuan lingbao liujia yunü shanggong gezhang

洞玄靈寶六甲玉女上宮歌章

4 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

611 (fasc. 334)

“Hymns of the Jade Maidens of the Six *Jia*-Periods in the Palaces on High.” The reference in the title to the Dongxuan Lingbao canon is spurious. The present work belongs to the Shangqing corpus and is linked to the fu of the *liujia* 六甲 (see 84 *Shangqing qionggong lingfei liujia zuoyou shangfu*). This link can be deduced from the fact that the six hymns correspond exactly to the fu given in 84 *Zuoyou shangfu*. The names of the Jade Maidens are also the same (compare this text 1a3, 1b4, and 3a4 with 84 *Zuoyou shangfu* 6b, 14b, etc.). Moreover, the style and terminology of the present work are purely Shangqing; there is no discernible trace of Lingbao influence.

The hymns were to be sung in the meditation room, on *jia* days, in conjunction

with the absorption of the fu. This text and the two preceding ones correspond to number 25 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang Yupei Jindang taiji jinshu shangjing 太上玉佩金璫太極金書上經
26 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

56 (fasc. 30)

“Superior Scripture Golden Writ of the Supreme Pole [in Honor] of Jade Pendant and Gold Ring.” The title features the names of Jade Pendant (Yupei) and Gold Ring (Jindang), the two main deities to whom the text is devoted. It belongs to the Shangqing scriptures, but according to 1016 *Zhen’gao* 14.a–b and 13.12a, it may have existed previously and been linked to the *Shijing jinguang fu* 石精金光符 which is at the origin of the Scripture of the Jewel-Sword (*Baojian jing* 寶劍經). The name *Yupei Jindang jing* is also linked to that of Master Zhang of Handan 邯鄲張先生, who produced the method of the Three Ones and Five Bushels (*wudou sanyi* 五斗三一; see *Zhen’gao* 10.6a–b). Our text presents itself as a preparatory practice for the absorption of astral emanations. It is typical of the Shangqing attitude to consider the ancient scriptures it adopted as inferior.

The present text, however, is an original Shangqing version that was rewritten during the revelation. Its style and terminology agree with those of the other scriptures of this school. We find, nevertheless, a certain number of physiological elements that are peculiar to this text: the Three Palaces of the median and inferior parts of the body (6b–9b) as well as the names of the deities that inhabit them do not occur in any other Shangqing text.

Except for the end of the text (beginning 23b), relating to the *Mingtang xuanzhen* 明堂玄真 practice, all the quotations of the text found in anthologies (WSBY, SDZN) agree. This *Mingtang xuanzhen* practice is peculiar to the *Yupei Jindang jing*. It belongs to the biography of Maojun 茅君 (see 424 *Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue*). This appendix might have been added later. It is never quoted under the title of *Yupei Jindang jing*.

Yupei and Jindang are the *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 souls of the Primordial Nine Heavens. They incarnate the Green Yang and the White Yin and are deities of imperial rank who dwell in the sun and the moon. The practices are expounded in two consecutive parts: one concerning Yupei, the other Jindang. The adept recites invocations, complemented by the use of charms (which represent the esoteric names of the essence of the Shangqing Primordial Nine Heavens) and the visualization of the Nine Zhenren, derived from the Three Principles (*sanyuan* 三元) and dwelling in the Nine Palaces of the body (three for each of the three parts of the body centered on the Three Cinnabar

Fields). The present text thus connects the practices of absorption of solar and lunar emanations with those of the Three Ones (the Three Original Principles). This text corresponds to number 26 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao

Guishan xuanlu 上清元始變化寶真上經九靈太妙龜山玄籙

3 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1393 (fasc. 1047–1048)

“Mount Turtle Register of the Nine Spirits Pertaining to the Superior Scripture of Transformation of Primordial Beginning.” Mount Turtle, after which the present register (*lu*) is named, is situated east of Kunlun. It is the residence of the Queen Mother of the West (Xi wang mu 西王母). She is the patron deity of the present text. Nine Spirits (*jiuling*) is the name of her palace (see YJQQ 8.14a). This is the Register of Transformations (*bianhua* 變化) of Primordial Beginning (or of Incipient Life, [*shisheng* 始生]), which is here the equivalent of the Primordial Qi [*yuanyi* 元氣]), which manifests itself through the aspects of seventy-four gods (1.9a).

The quotations in the encyclopedias WSBY and SDZN correspond to the texts of juan 1 and 3. Juan 2 is different from the others and corresponds in fact to 1394 *Shangqing gaoshang Guishan xuanlu*, which has been inserted here. The two original juan follow each other in a perfectly homogeneous way.

The text in talismanic characters (1.4a–8b) is a concretion of the purple qi that constitutes the body of Xi wang mu. This text must be copied by the adept, who then recites it while absorbing this qi, after it has been visualized, as coming down from the stars of the Dipper and surrounding the constellations of the zodiac. The Queen Mother is presented here as an astral and celestial deity.

The remainder of the text, which includes juan 3, gives a list of the seventy-four deities. Their different forms correspond to signs (*hao* 號), that is, manifestations of the Primordial Beginning. These gods adopt different forms that change with the seasons; they have human forms, animal forms, or appear as lights. These transformations are in keeping with the saying of Laozi (chapter 1): “the Tao has no permanent name.” The disciple has to learn, with the help of this register, to see these forms and to reduce them to their true form (*zhenxing* 真形).

This register gives us the most complete available list of the celestial pantheon of the seventy-four gods of the Shangqing school. They were also recorded, so it seems, in the now lost *Bianhua qishisi fangjing* 變化七十四方經, of which a part is used in the *Dadong jing* 大洞經, as well as in 1331 *Dongzhen shangqing shenzhou qijuan qibian wutian jing*.

The first part of our text (1.1a–55a) is also found in 1436 *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing* (see the following article).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing 上清元始變化寶真上經

53 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1436 (fasc. 1059)

“Superior Scripture of Transformation of Primordial Beginning.” This text is a duplicate of 1393 *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao Guishan xuanlu* 1.1a–55a. Together they correspond to number 27 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing yudi qisheng xuanji huitian jiuxiao jing

上清玉帝七聖玄紀迴天九霄經

32 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1379 (fasc. 1043)

“Scripture of the Return to the Nine Highest Heavens, Mystical Records of the Seven Saints of the Jade Emperor of Utmost Purity.” The word *ji* 紀, here translated as “records,” refers to the lists on which the disciple must inscribe his or her name in order to rise up to the heavens.

Although this scripture belongs to the original Shangqing corpus, a quotation by TAO HONGJING in 1016 *Zhen'gao* 14.19a cannot be found in the present version. The contents of the work as a whole correspond in particular to 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji*. Our text is quoted abundantly in WSBY.

After a long prologue (1a–5b) in which the formation of the scripture in the heavens is described, there is a method for visual meditation for the purpose of having one's name inscribed on the heavenly records on the days when the Five Emperors update them (5b–12b).

Next there are seven hymns in seven-character verses to the glory of the seven patrons of the scripture (12b–17b), followed by talismanic writs that open the gates of the Shangqing paradises (17b–19b).

At the end there is an enumeration of the Seven Wounds (*qishang* 七傷)—lewdness, impurity, and so on—that impair one's Marks of Immortality, the corporeal characteristics of the saints (*xianxiang* 仙相; 29b–32b).

The names of the paradises, the characteristics of the records, and the Marks of Immortality correspond exactly to the terms found in 442 *Housheng daojun lieji*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing qisheng xuanji jing 上清七聖玄紀經

3 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1361 (fasc. 1039)

“Mystical Records of the Seven Saints of the Utmost Purity.” This is a fragment from the original version of 1379 *Shangqing yudi qisheng xuanji huitian jiuxiao jing*. This text is missing from the extant version of that book. Together these two texts correspond to number 28 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*. The fragment (12b–16a) refers to the hymns in 1379 *Jiuxiao jing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taishang huangsu sishisi fang jing 上清太上黃素四十四方經

21 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1380 (fasc. 1043)

“Scripture of the Forty-four Methods on Yellow Silk.” This is a code of rules concerning the transmission and the practice of a group of texts or methods related to the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經. These practices are called the Rites of the Supreme One (*Taiyi zhi shi* 太一之事). Many of these practices are found in 1330 *Dongzhen Taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing* and in 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing*. The present work can, on the whole, be considered as belonging to a current of thought related to the “Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing*.”

Notwithstanding the fact that a work under the present title is mentioned in 1016 *Zhen'gao* 5.2a, the text under consideration either must be later than the original Shangqing revelation, or it has been modified. Terms like Ritual Master of the Three Caverns (*sandong fashi* 三洞法師) or of the Great Cavern (*dadong fashi* 大洞法師) are later than the Lingbao revelation.

The aim of this work was to incorporate 1313 *Wulao baojing* into the Shangqing scriptural corpus and to develop and systematize the ritual rules that are outlined in 1016 *Zhen'gao* and in the above-mentioned 1330 *Dongzhen xuanjing* and 1313 *Wulao baojing*, in order to devise an ecclesiastical hierarchy of sorts. This development coincided with the beginning of the ritualization and institutionalization of the Shangqing tradition, which began almost immediately after the revelation of the texts of this school. Juan 46 of YJQQ is entirely composed of excerpts from the present work, which corresponds to number 29 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Gaoshang taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jing 高上太霄琅書瓊文帝章經

29 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

55 (fasc. 30)

“Scripture of the Emperor’s Stanzas in Precious Writing, Jewel Book of the High Heavens.” This work is a Shangqing apocryphal text. It declares that it belongs to the method of the whirling wind (*huifeng* 徊風) and to 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi ciyi yujian wulao baojing*, which shows a link with the Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing*. Quotations found in the WSBY (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 225–26) confirm this link. The text is essentially composed of nine hymns and talismanic characters. Hymns are addressed to the Kings of the Nine Shangqing Primordial Heavens. They are sung on the days when the envoys of these kings perform their inspection tour on Earth. The talismanic characters are formed by the essence of the Nine Heavens. These characters should be engraved on jujube kernels (*zaoxin* 棗心; 26b) and carried to summon the officers of the Five Peaks who drive away malefic creatures.

Isabelle Robinet

Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jue 太霄琅書瓊文帝章訣

10 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

129 (fasc. 59)

“Formula of the Emperor’s Stanzas in Precious Writing, Jewel Book of the High Heavens.” This text is identical to juan five of 1352 *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu*, which contains prescriptions for the copying of sacred scriptures and rules pertaining to the gifts to be offered by the disciple at the time of the transmission of the scriptures, as well as various other ritual prescriptions. This text and the preceding one correspond to number 30 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing gaoshang miemo dongjing jinyuan yuqing yinshu jing

上清高上滅魔洞景金元玉清隱書經

11 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1357 (fasc. 1038)

“Secret Writings of the Yuqing Heaven, from the Jinxuan [read *xuan* 玄 for *yuan* 元] Palace of Profound Radiance, which Annihilates Demons.” This is an early Shangqing apocryphal text, composed of hymns that are aimed at expelling demons and healing illness. Its recitation is prescribed after practicing the Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing*, in alternation with the recitation of 1356 *Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shen-*

hui yuqing yinshu. These hymns are, in places, similar to those of 1358 *Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu jing*.

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Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shenhui yuqing yinshu

上清高上滅魔玉帝神慧玉清隱書

20 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1356 (fasc. 1038)

“Secret Writing of the Yuqing Heaven, Being the Embodiment of the Divine Wisdom of the Jade Emperor, which Annihilates Demons.” This is an apocryphal Shangqing text, associated with the Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing*.

The work’s aim is to divulge the names of demons as well as those of demon slayers (*shagui dubo li* 殺鬼都伯吏). It presents invocations and fu used to expel evil spirits. This text is recited jointly with 1357 *Shangqing gaoshang miemo dongjing jinyuan yuqing yinshu jing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu jing

上清高上金元羽章玉清隱書經

28 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1358 (fasc. 1038)

“Secret Writings of the Yuqing Heaven, Feathered Stanza from the Jinxuan [read *xuan* 玄 for *yuan* 元] Palace.” This text is closely related to 1357 *Shangqing gaoshang miemo dongjing jinyuan yuqing yinshu jing*; it contains hymns similar to those of the latter, and the quotations found in the different anthologies often confound both texts under a single reference to *Yuqing yinshu*. This text is also linked to the Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing*.

The work introduces a method that allows the adept to drive away the Demon-Kings of the Eight Directions, thanks to his or her knowledge of their names and appearances, while singing hymns to the Heavenly Lords who subdue these demons. The latter are marshalled by fu of the heavens that are governed by these Lords.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen bajing yulu chentu yinfu 洞真八景玉籙晨圖隱符

8 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1339 (fasc. 1031)

“Secret Fu from the Images of Aurora, Jade Registers of the Eight Effulgences.” This text is one of the works associated with the Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing* (see 5a and 6a, and Robinet, “*Le Ta-tung chen-ching*,” 417) and consequently is an early Shangqing apocryphal text. The title indicates that it is affiliated to 1389 *Shangqing gaosheng Taishang dadao jun dongzhen jinyuan bajing yulu*, another apocryphal work. Its contents show a connection with 1358 *Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu jing*, which features fu of the same structure (1a–5a) and corresponding to the same deities.

The meditation exercise described in 5b–6a is also linked to 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* and to exercises found in 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing*. The passage on page 7a.1–3 is found in 1389 *Shangqing gaosheng Taishang dadao jun dongzhen jinyuan bajing yulu* 13b.8–10.

The final colophon indicates that under King You 幽王 of the Zhou dynasty, a certain Wang Xuandu 王玄度, alias Jingu zi 金谷子, discovered these fu and transmitted them. This kind of colophon is often found attached to Shangqing texts that are considered apocryphal.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang ziwen danzhang 洞真太上紫文丹章

5 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1335 (fasc. 1031)

“Cinnabar Scripture in Purple Characters.” The talismanic signs of this text were written in purple (4b; or green, 3b) on red silk.

The title is mentioned in 1358 *Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu jing* 1b (a text from the Shangqing corpus) and in 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaoqing* 2.29a (an early Lingbao scripture). The entire text is found at the end of 1356 *Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shenhui yuqing yinshu* 37b–end. This places it among the texts belonging to the Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing* (see Robinet, “*Le Ta-tung chen-ching*,” 414). The present text claims to allow the adept to receive the *Yuqing yinwen* 玉清隱文 (5a). Of the one hundred and twenty characters it is said to comprise, the text gives only seventy-two.

Rules have been added to these characters, to be observed by the adept who copies the characters and carries them on his person. These rules concern the transmission of the text, incantations, and visualizations.

A final colophon mentions the transmission of the text by Shangqing deities to Lord Youyang, that is, Gong Youyang 龔幼陽, Gong Zhongyang's 龔仲陽 brother. Both are Shangqing patron saints. This text and the four preceding ones correspond to number 31 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

***Dongzhen taishang jinpian hufu zhenwen jing* 洞真太上金篇虎符真文經**

6 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1336 (fasc. 1031)

“True Writ Scripture of the Tiger Talismans.” The text contains the Metal-Tiger Fu (1a–2b), also found in 1337 *Dongzhen taiwei jinhu zhenfu* 1a–3b, as well as the Divine Tiger Fu, also found in 1333 *Dongzhen taishang shenhu yujing*. The presence of a colophon by XU RONGDI suggests that this text is apocryphal.

Isabelle Robinet

***Dongzhen taiwei jinhu zhenfu* 洞真太微金虎真符**

17 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1337 (fasc. 1031)

“True Talismans of the Metal Tiger of Greatest Subtlety, from the Dongzhen Canon.” In spite of the title, the fu and corresponding texts brought together here are probably apocryphal. Only the first pages (1a–2a) are quoted by WSBY. The work 413 *Shangqing pei fuwen boquan jue* 4b quotes page 1b as part of 1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing*.

The text itself is composed of three parts: (1) the Metal-Tiger Fu of 1336 *Dongzhen taishang jinpian hufu zhenwen jing*; (2) the *Huoluo dafu* 豁落大符, consisting of seven fu for the sun, moon, and the Five Stars (i.e., planets), and five supplementary fu that resemble those of 1392 *Shangqing qusu jueci lu*; and (3), from 7a to the end, corresponding to 1332 *Dongzhen taishang zidu yanguang shenyuan bian jing*.

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Ishii Masako, “*Kinko shinfu, Shinko gyokukyō shinfu kō*.”

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taishang huiyuan yindao chu zuiji jing

上清太上迴元隱道除罪籍經

7 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

1362 (fasc. 1039)

“Scripture of the Secret Method of the Return to the Origin [or: to the Original Ones; or: of the Turning Original Ones], for the Remission of Sins.” It contains the exercise of Return to the Origin (*huiyuan* 迴元), which belongs to the Shangqing legacy. It is also found in 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 4b–11a.

This text and the two preceding ones correspond to number 32 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang shenhu yujing 洞真太上神虎玉經

5 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1333 (fasc. 1031)

“Scripture of the Divine Tiger Talisman.” This talisman is often associated with the Metal-Tiger Fu. The text bears a colophon by XU RONGDI. It corresponds to its quotations found in WSBY.

The work consists of a talisman and instructions for its use, to which are added the “secret names of the Great Demons of the Nine Heavens, Jiutian mowang 九天魔王.” The text in its entirety is found in 1336 *Dongzhen taishang jinpian hufu zhenwen jing* and corresponds to number 33 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

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Ishii Masako, “*Kinko shinfu, Shinko gyokukyō shinfu kō*.”

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang huangting neijing yujing 太上黃庭內景玉經

12 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

331 (fasc. 167)

“Precious Book of the Interior Landscape of the Yellow Court.” It has not been established that this long, didactic song in thirty-six sections, which describes the Inner World, existed before the revelations to YANG XI, but it is firmly linked to that early development of the Shangqing tradition. A fragment of a copy of the text in

YANG XI's autograph has been handed down (see Nakata Yūjirō, *Chūgoku shoron shū*, 83–136).

The *Huangting neijing jing* is an expanded version of the original Book of the Yellow Court, afterward called the “Precious Book of the Exterior Landscape of the Yellow Court” (332 *Taishang huangting waijing yujing*).

Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) has pointed out the particular relationship between these two versions (*Jigu lu* 10.2a). A systematic comparison between the two texts is found in Schipper, *Concordance du Houang-t'ing ching*.

The 1016 *Zhen'gao* 8.4a–b shows that the text was recited by XU MI himself (see Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan*, 201). The importance of multiple recitation as an adept's first step on the road to perfection has been stressed in hagiography. The song was transmitted expressly for this purpose to Lady WEI HUACUN (see *Nanyue Wei furen zhuan*, quoted in TPYL 678.7a). It soon enjoyed a wide circulation (1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing* 1.15b).

Divine instructions for its recitation by beginners were reproduced and copiously annotated by TAO HONGJING (421 *Dongzhen yinjue* 3.1a–5b).

The text has a number of variant readings in common with the annotated version in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 55–57. The present work was included in the catalogue of Shangqing scriptures of the *Sandong jingmu* 三洞經目 (see 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.2a), where it corresponds to number 34 of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu*.

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Gong Pengcheng, “*Huangting jing lunyao*”; Schipper, *Concordance du Houang-t'ing ching*; Yang Fucheng, “*Huangting nei wai erjing kao*”; Yu Wanli, “*Huangting jing xinzheng*.”

Kristofer Schipper

1.B.2.b Other Early Shangqing Scriptures

Taishang dongfang neijing zhu 太上洞房內經注

5 + 7 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

133 (fasc. 59)

“Hymn to the Gods of the Cave-Chamber.” The Cave-Chamber (*dongfang*) is a residence in the brain. A *Dongfang xianjin jing* 洞房先進經 is mentioned in 1016 *Zhen'gao* 17.16b in connection with Ji Kang 嵇康 (223–262), which could imply that a similar text existed before the Shangqing revelations. According to the same source, Sima Jizhu 司馬季主 (fl. ca. 170 B.C.) is said to have possessed a copy. The present work undoubtedly did not belong to the original Shangqing revelation, but it was later

adopted by the school; the commentary by TAO HONGJING to the above-mentioned passage in *Zhen'gao* indicates as much. It is also mentioned in 302 *Zhoushi mingtong ji* 周氏冥通記, *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論, and elsewhere.

The preface, quoted in WSBY, is attributed to the immortal Zhou Yishan 周義山. The text borrows heavily from his biography, 303 *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan*.

The text of the hymn in the present version is shorter than that in 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* 24a–27a. A single verse in 4a, and the two final verses, are not found in 1313 *Wulao baojing*. All quotations of the hymn in encyclopedias are from 1313 *Wulao baojing*. Thus, the present version may be an abridgment.

At the end of the text, two short hymns are included from a *Zhengyi Xuandu lii* 正一玄都律 (see 7a). They can still be found in 188 *Xuandu liiwen* 4a–b.

The commentary of our text is anonymous. It is quoted in SDZN 8.20a, and it should therefore date, at the latest, to the seventh century. The commentary often cites 1313 *Wulao baojing* and 1330 *Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Dadong jinhua yujing 大洞金華玉經

12 fols. .

Six Dynasties (220–589)

254 (fasc. 120)

“Jade Scripture of the Golden Flower.” This work, named after a divine dwelling in the brain, is an illustrated collection of Shangqing texts centered on the Formula of the *Dadong zhenjing*.

A first part (1a–6b) contains various passages from 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing*. The remainder (7a–10a) illustrates, with the help of nine pictures, the method of the whirling wind (*huai Feng* 徊風), which partially matches 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 6.10a–17b (see fig. 12).

A description of the One Emperor (Diyi 帝一) follows (10b–11a). The scripture concludes with thirteen illustrations of the meditation on the Male-Female Real One (*Cixiong zhenyi* 雌雄真一; 11a–12a).

Isabelle Robinet

FIGURE 12. Stages of the *huai Feng* meditation (254 7a–b)*Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miao jing*

洞真太上素靈洞元大有妙經

68 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1314 (fasc. 1026)

Suling (Unadorned Spirituality) and *Dayou* (Vast Possessions) are the names of the room and the palace where the heavenly prototype of the *Suling jing* is kept (1b). According to a gloss in YJQQ 8.19a, the term *dongxuan* 洞玄 (for *yuan* 元) means that the present scripture “penetrates mystery.”

We find a number of texts of different origins assembled here, all related to the Shangqing school and linked to the practice of 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* and 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing*. Together with these two texts, the present work forms the Three Extraordinary Writings (*sanqi* 三奇; 44b). The texts and exercises it contains are either earlier or later than the Shangqing revelation. It seems that none of the three is much later than the beginning of the Lingbao movement (early fifth century). The names of the gods and the topology are sometimes different from those found in other Shangqing texts. A number of the methods expounded here come from a different school and are considered inferior from the Shangqing point of view.

The *Suling jing* did not have its present form at the time of the SDZN (seventh century), as that encyclopedia mentions the work as having three juan. Certain exercises given in the present version are incomplete. The text contains a number of interpolations.

The first part (5a–12b) expounds the method of the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞), that is, Heaven, Earth, and the Underworld or Abyss, and dates from the time when this expression was not yet used to designate the three divisions of Taoist scriptures (see below).

A second part (12b–24b) contains a description, famous throughout the Taoist tradition, of the Nine Palaces in the brain and their divine inhabitants. This part constitutes the real *Suling jing*. The practices expounded here are probably earlier than the Shangqing revelation. The main section in this part can be found in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 1, where these practices are given as excerpts from the biography of Su Lin 蘇林 and as fragments of a *Suling jing* “not yet revealed in this world.”

The third part (24b–41a) describes the important method of the Three Original Ones and the True One which is also linked to the biography of Su Lin. This part is in disorder and incomplete. The same method is also given in many other texts.

Next there is a digression (41a–44a) on the six invocations to the Shangqing gods who are mentioned in the biography of Lord Pei 裴君 (see YJQQ 105.10b–11b). This part is probably apocryphal. It is also found, with variants, in 1327 *Dongzhen taishang sanjiu suyu yujing zhenjue*.

Finally, there is a passage from the *Jiuzhen mingke*, also found in 1409 *Taishang jiuzhen mingke* 九真明科. This passage is, however, quoted in WSBY as coming from the present *Suling jing*, which could mean that it was already incorporated in our text before the end of the sixth century. It is in this passage (44a–b) that we find the hierarchical classification of Taoist scriptures in three degrees, where the Sanhuang texts 三黃文 occupy the lowest rung, the Lingbao the middle, and the Shangqing the top. This corresponds to the traditional classification of the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞), although the term is not used here.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing suling shangpian 上清素靈上篇

10 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1371 (fasc. 1040)

“Unadorned Spirituality, Upper Chapters.” This is an excerpt of 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing*, corresponding to pages 12b–22a of that work. There are a few variant readings, and one page (15b–16a) is missing.

Isabelle Robinet

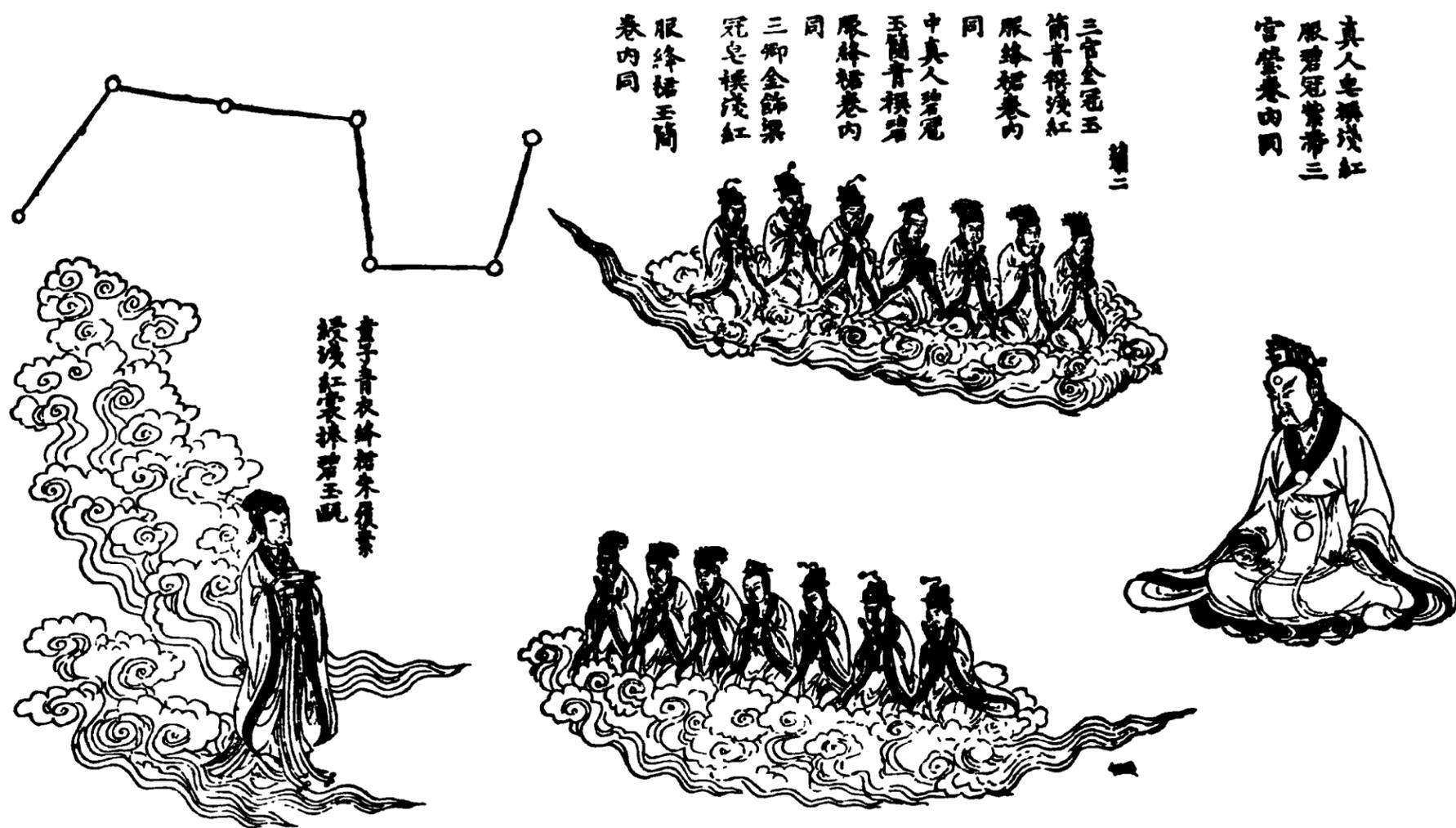


FIGURE 13. Vision of the Dipper stars in spring (765 1a–b). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/758)

Shangqing jinque dijun wudou sanyi tujue 上清金關帝君五斗三一圖訣

20 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

765 (fasc. 534)

“Illustrated Instructions on [Visualizing] the Three Ones in the Five [Phases] of the Dipper, according to the Imperial Lord of the Gold Portal.” This illustrated text derives from the hagiography of Su Lin 蘇林, one of the original Shangqing texts, which was dictated by Zhou Yishan 周義山 (*hao* Ziyang zhenren 紫陽真人; see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 10.3b; 10.6a–b; see figs. 13 and 14). The narrative part of this hagiography is reproduced, apparently in a highly condensed form, in YJQQ 104.1a–4b. The original second part of Su Lin’s hagiography, containing methods practiced and transmitted by Su, is mostly lost. Some of these methods, however, such as the visualization of the Nine Palaces (*jiugong* 九宮), can still be found in the first juan of 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*, or are, as in the present case, extant as separate works (see also 253 *Jinjue dijun sanyuan zhenyi jing*).

Other versions of this meditation method survive in fragmentary or condensed form in 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* 38a–40a and in 140 *Shangqing wozhong jue* 3.3a–5a, 3.6b–7a. A nearly identical version exists in 60 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo xuanwei miaojing* (a major omission, however, occurs on 2b of that scripture), as

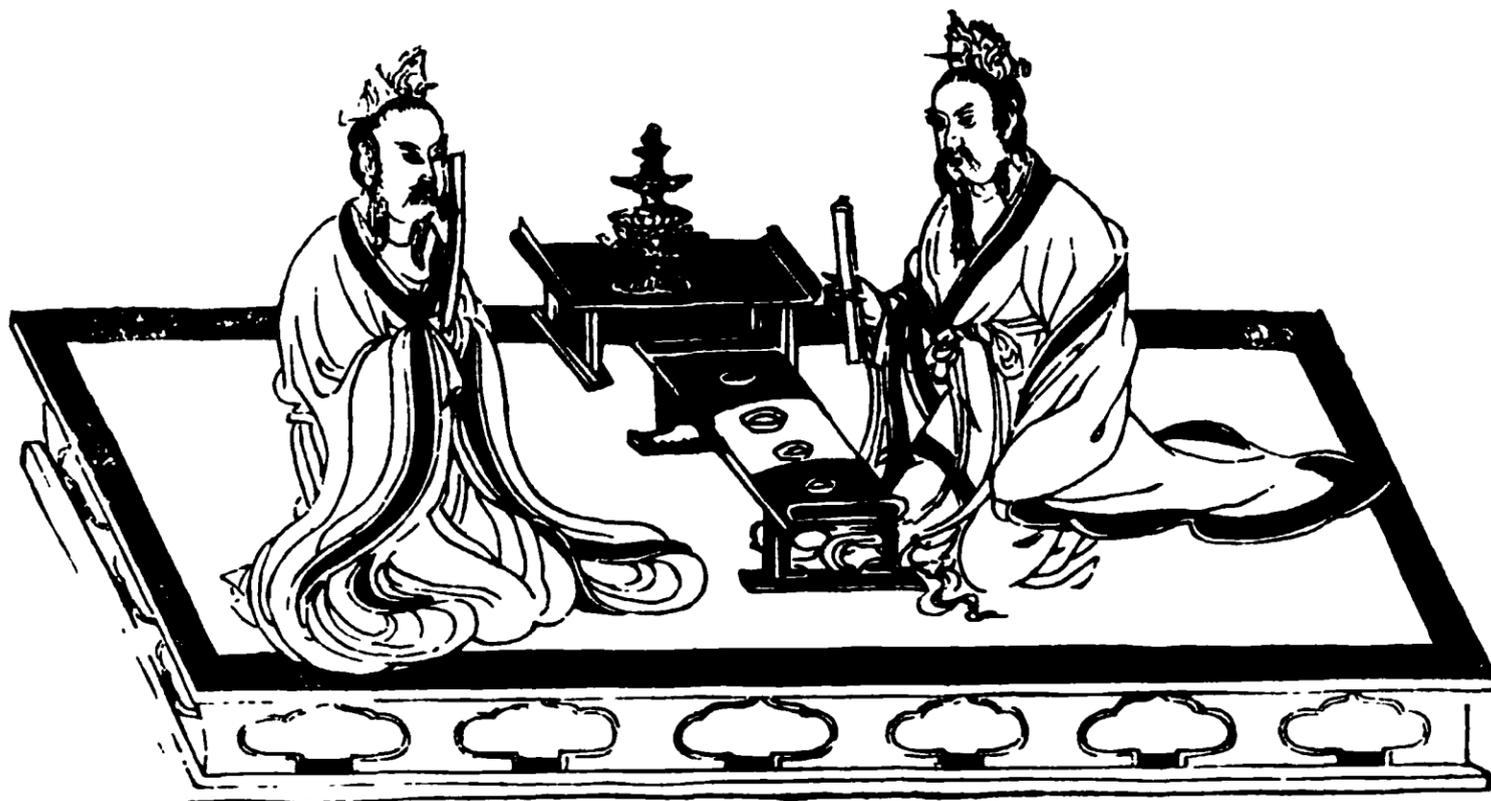


FIGURE 14. The transmission of the scriptures (765 17b). Ming reprint of 1598.
Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/758)

well as in YJQQ 49.11a–17b. No clue as to the date of the present illustrated version has been found.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Yuanshi tianzun shuo xuanwei miaojing 元始天尊說玄微妙經

7 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

60 (fasc. 31)

“Marvelous Scripture of Mysterious Subtlety.” This text contains one of several versions of the Five Bushel Stars (five stars of the Dipper) and the Three Ones method (*wudou sanyi* 五斗三一, also called *wudou neiyi* 五斗內一). This is a variant practice of Keeping the One (*shouyi* 守一). The present method was given in the biography of Su Lin 蘇林 as the Oral Formula of Lord Zhou (*Zhoujun koujue* 周君口訣; YJQQ 49.11b). This Lord Zhou is Zhou Jitong 周季通, the *zhenren* of Purple Yang (Ziyang *zhenren* 紫陽真人), the “author” of Su Lin’s biography.

This practice is said to have been known to Sima Jizhu 司馬季主 (d. ca. 170 B.C.) and other masters of antiquity, such as Master Zhang of Handan 邯鄲張先生 (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 10.6a–b).

The most complete version of the method is found in YJQQ 49.11a–17b. It is also found in 765 *Shangqing jinque dijun wudou sanyi tujue*, as well as in 140 *Shangqing wozhong jue* 2.2a–4b and 3.3a–5a.

The text can be divided into two parts: the first part (1a–2b) gives a method to rise up to the Dipper, escorted by the Three Ones, the gods of the Three Cinnabar Fields

(*dantian* 丹田). This first part is also found in 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaoqing* 38a–b and 39a–41b.

The second part (2b–7b) is devoted to different methods concerning the Three Ones coming out of the Cinnabar Fields or coming down from the Dipper, spewing colored qi. This same text is reproduced, in a much condensed form, in 1404 *Shangqing taiji zhenren shenxian jing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing jinshu yuzi shangjing 上清金書玉字上經

8 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

879 (fasc. 581)

“Golden Book with Jade Characters.” The real title is Scripture of the Cavern-Room of the Fangzhu Heaven (*Fangzhu dongfang jing* 方諸洞房經), a work attributed to the Green Lad (Qingtong dijun 青童帝君), a god from the Fangzhu paradise. That title is given here on 2b; and 1016 *Zhen’gao* (14.6a, 18.3b), 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* (1.6b and 11b), and other anthologies use it to quote the present text. The work is not mentioned in the catalogues of Shangqing texts, but, according to 1016 *Zhen’gao* 2.22a, it was revealed to YANG XI. The text itself states in 8b that it was known to persons of the Han dynasty.

The text agrees with quotations in 1016 *Zhen’gao* and 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* but must have undergone alterations. Certain glosses have been incorporated in the main text, and the latter is in disorder.

The theme of the work is a variant method of pacing the stars of the Dipper. This practice consists in “lying down” in the constellation and absorbing its effulgences, which penetrate into the Cavern-Room Palace situated in the brain.

The YJQQ gives two versions of this work (25.16b–20a and 52.8b–11a). It is widely used in liturgy.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taiwei huangshu tiandi jun shijing jinyang sujing

洞真太徽黃書天地君石景金陽素經

12 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

81 (fasc. 36)

“Pure Scripture of Golden Yang of Mineral Splendour of the Lord of Heaven and Earth, from the Yellow Book of the Taiwei Heaven.” This is a fragment of the Yellow Book of the Taiwei Heaven, comparable to 257 *Dongzhen taiwei huangshu jiutian balu zhenwen* (q.v.). The present text corresponds to juan 7 of the latter text, where it was

entitled Pure Scripture of Golden Yang of Mineral Splendor (*Shijing jinyang sujing* 石景金陽素經), a name that corresponds to the Shangqing tradition's terminology and that designates the solar essence as described in the first pages of the present text.

The work is composed of short explanations on Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息) and on the absorption of solar essence (1a–b) as well as fu. The colophon is of the kind written by XU RONGDI.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taiwei huangshu jiutian balu zhenwen

洞真太微黃書九天八籙真文

8 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

257 (fasc. 120)

“True Writs of the Eight Registers of the Nine Heavens, from the Yellow Book of the Taiwei Heaven.” This is a fragment of the Yellow Book of the Taiwei Heaven. Another fragment of this text constitutes 81 *Dongzhen taiwei huangshu tiandi jun shijing jinyang sujing*. The title of the present text corresponds to that of juan 8 of the original work, which, according to the list given in 2a–b, was called the True Writs of the Eight Registers of the Nine Heavens (*Jiutian balu zhenwen* 九天八籙真文). The *Taiwei huangshu* was originally the work of Dai Meng 戴孟, who is said to have lived during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han (r. 140–87 B.C.; see *Dongxian zhuan* 洞仙傳 in YJQQ 110.15a–b). 1016 *Zhen'gao* 14.6a–b states that Dai was still living at the time of emperor Cheng of the Jin dynasty (r. 325–342). Although the work appears to have been revised and incorporated among the Shangqing scriptures, it is certain to have existed prior to YANG XI (330–ca. 386). It was also adopted, at least partially, as an element of the Shangqing liturgy (see 1293 *Shangqing taiwei dijun jiedai zhenwen fa*, a ritual by LU XIUJING; cf. also 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.2b).

This fragment consists of an introduction (1a–2b), talismanic characters (3a–6a), and a 200-character spell to be copied on a piece of green silk and worn around the waist (7a–8a).

Isabelle Robinet

Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing 太真玉帝四極明科經

5 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

184 (fasc. 77–78)

“Sworn Code [read *ming* as *meng* 盟] of the Four Poles of the Jade Emperor.” This title is among those of many codebooks mentioned by the Shangqing scriptures. Most of these codes, however, were purely imaginary.

A *Siji mingke* is explicitly quoted by such early works as 1331 *Dongzhen shangqing shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing* (29a) and 1321 *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing xiuxi gongye miaojue* (2b), but these quotations are not found in the present text. Later sources quote the present text more closely: 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* contains an exact rendering, and the quotations in 1352 *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 2a–13b, 1203 *Taishang santian zhengfa jing* 8b–9a, and WSBY have their equivalents in the present work.

The preface contains excerpts from 1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhibui xiaomo zhenjing* 1.5a–b and a quotation from the *Taizhen ke* 太真科 (now lost), which is also found in SDZN 7.16b.

The five juan are placed under the authority of the five palaces of the Capital of Mystery (Xuandu 玄都) and under the jurisdiction of the Five Emperors of the Five Directions. Each juan comprises twenty-four articles.

The work contains the rules for transmission of the sacred scriptures, as well as for the rites to be observed by those who possess them. The majority of texts mentioned are those of the Shangqing tradition, either from the original revelation, or of a later date. Lingbao and Sandong 三洞 texts are also mentioned (4.2b, 3b).

An analysis of the contents and of the different quotations seems to indicate that this text has undergone a number of revisions, following the scriptural development of the Shangqing tradition. In its present state the work is later than 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* because it gives a more coherent synthesis of the different scriptures. It is also later than the Lingbao revelation, but earlier than 1203 *Taishang santian zhengfa jing*, which gives quotations corresponding exactly to the present version.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang danjing daojing jing 洞真太上丹景道精經

8 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1348 (fasc. 1033)

“Scripture of the Essence of the Tao and of the Effulgence of Cinnabar.” Although the title is borrowed from a Shangqing work (1359 *Shangqing danjing daojing yindi bashu jing*), the present text (1b) states that it is distinct from the latter. Therefore it is later. The subtitle, *Qusu jueci* 曲素訣辭, also comes from the Shangqing legacy (cf. 1372 *Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing*). Finally, the present work is said to have been transmitted by Guxi zi 谷希子, a patron saint of the school.

The style accords with that of the Shangqing scriptures, and the hymns are also similar, if less ornate. They are composed of four-character verses that invoke the gods of the Shangqing pantheon by name but lack the literary quality of their models. This

work should therefore be later than YANG XI (330–ca. 386) but antedates the WSBY (late sixth century), which quotes it on 33.3b.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang qingya shisheng jing 洞真太上青牙始生經

3 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1349 (fasc. 1033)

“Most High Scripture from the Dongzhen (Canon) on the Budding of the Green Shoots.” This work presumably derived from a method bearing the same name mentioned in the hagiography of the Mao brothers and originally described in its appendix (cf. the version of this hagiography in YJQQ 104.16b). A technique by the same name was also known to TAO HONGJING, but not as a separate scripture (*jing* 經; cf. 1016 *Zhen’gao* 18.11b). Such a scripture did, however, exist by the time of 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* (see 2.10b–11a) and WSBY (see 47.10b). A passage that corresponds to 1a of the present text is quoted 184 *Mingke jing*.

The method itself—meditative absorption of the elementary qi, or shoots (*ya* 牙), of the Five Directions—probably has its origin in an old exercise described in 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1.11b–14b. It later became a well-known method both within the Shangqing and Lingbao traditions (see, e.g., 424 *Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 6a–10a and 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaoqing* 2.4b–14a).

The special feature in the present variant of this method is that the visualization is to be performed simultaneously by two partners of the male and female sex aged between twelve and fifteen and sexually inexperienced. Thereby a kind of spiritual union is effected (*erren gongtun yu shen tongyi* 二人共吞与神同一).

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Dongzhen jinfang duming luzi huinian sanhua baoyao neizhen shangjing

洞真金房度命綠字迴年三華寶曜內真上經

11 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1346 (fasc. 1033)

“Superior Scripture of the Inner True Beings in the Golden House of Precious Threefold Effulgent Radiance, which Saves Life by Registering Names (in Heaven) and Rejuvenating Beings, [a Book] of the Dongzhen Canon.” This is a small but complete text for recitation and meditation, written in seven-character verse, not unlike the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經, giving a description of the Inner Landscape (the Golden House) and the True Beings who inhabit it.

The present work is quoted several times in WSBY (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 250) as well as in 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 2.IIa. According to Robinet (*La révélation du Shangqing* 2:434), the names of the deities correspond to those given in the *Dadong zhenjing* (see the introduction to part 1.B.2). This small manual should therefore date to the later Six Dynasties period. An obviously apocryphal colophon states that it was transmitted to WEI HUACUN by the Xicheng zhenren 西城真人 on Mount Yangluo 陽洛.

There is an introduction that describes the original revelation of the text and the method of recitation. For recitation the adept has to enter into a meditation room and salute the four directions, visualizing the [Donghua] Dadi jun 大帝君 in the east, the Nanji shangzhen jun 南極上真君 in the south, the Santian changsheng jun 三天長生君 in the west, and Gaoshang xuhuang jun 高上虛皇君 in the north. During the recitation, some talismans, of which the models are given, are to be ingested. At the end, a number of ritual prescriptions are given, especially for the transmission of the text, which entails the oblation of a replacement body (*daixing* 代形) made of gold (*jinren* 金人).

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing taishang yuanshi yaoguang jinhu fengwen zhang baojing

上清太上元始耀光金虎鳳文章寶經

15 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1383 (fasc. 1043)

“Precious Scripture of the Stanza of the Golden Tiger, Written in Phoenix Script, [Produced by) the Primordial Effulgence of the Most High: A Shangqing Book.” The title of the text is not mentioned in any of the bibliographical sources at our disposal for the Six Dynasties period. Its contents, however, show a close relationship with other Golden or Divine Tiger (*shenhu* 神虎) texts of the earlier Shangqing scriptures (see Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing* 2:436). The present text has a colophon stating that it was transmitted by the saint Wang Bao 王褒 (Tongbo zhenren 桐柏真人) in 365 to Xu Yuanyou 許遠遊. This colophon belongs to the kind that XU RONGDI is reputed to have added to the scriptures he possessed or forged.

The text starts with a talisman writ related to the Three Sovereigns (*Sanhuang* 三皇). These are defined here as, respectively, the Dihuang 地皇, the Renhuang 人皇, and the Gaoshang 高上. They are powerful exorcistic talismans and spells, and as such are linked to the “Scripture of Wisdom That Annihilates Demons” (1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing*.)

Kristofer Schipper

1.B.2.c Early Shangqing Hagiographies

The Shangqing revelations included not only scriptures but hagiographies. These concern the most important divine patriarchs of the movement and were written by other saints or by the patriarchs themselves. Thus, the biography of Lady WEI HUACUN was produced by Fan Miao 范邈, *hao* Zhonghou 中侯, one of the immortals who appeared to YANG XI, while the Lady herself dictated the Life of her divine preceptor Lord Wang (*Qingxu zhenren Wangjun neizhuan* 清虛真人王君內傳, YJQQ 106.1a–8a). In fact, all the hagiographies were revealed either to YANG XI himself or to other participants in the movement at its earliest stage.

These holy biographies retrace the career of the noted personages and describe in detail the manner and means by which they attained the rank of *zhenren*. Foremost among these works is 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji*, which was incorporated into the canonical Shangqing scriptures and has therefore been discussed above. Of the other hagiographies, only a few remain in their original or near original form.

Only fragments survive of the important Life of Lady Wei (*Nanyue Wei furen zhuan* 南嶽魏夫人傳), the holy matriarch of the movement. The longest synopsis is in *Tai-ping guangji* 58, which seems to be based on a revised version dating from the Tang (618–907; see Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan*, 62). This version has also been reproduced in *Gushi wenfang xiaoshuo* 顏氏文房小說.

The Life of Mao Ying 茅盈, another important divine patriarch, and the eldest of the three Mao brothers, survives partially in YJQQ 104.10b–20a (*Taiyuan zhenren dongyue shangqing siming zhenjun zhuan* 太元真人東嶽上卿司命真君傳). The same encyclopedia contains numerous excerpts of other Shangqing hagiographies as well as one apparently complete version—the Life of Lord Pei—discussed below.

The Shangqing hagiographies have been studied by Chen Guofu (CGF 8–14), Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan*, 62–64; and Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 1:51–57 and 2:365–405.

Qingling zhenren Pei jun zhuan 清靈真人裴君傳

26 fols.

Attributed to Deng Yunzi 鄭雲子; Six Dynasties (220–589)

1032 *Yunji qiqian* 105 (fasc. 677–702)

“Life of Lord Pei, Zhenren of Pure Transcendence.” Pei jun was one of the saints who appeared to YANG XI. The present hagiography is mentioned by TAO HONGJING (1016 *Zhen’gao* 2.18b; commentary). Deng Yunzi (otherwise unknown) is given as Zheng Ziyun 鄭子雲 in *Jiu Tang shu*, “Jingji zhi,” 46.2004, and as Zheng Yunqian

鄭雲千 in *Xin Tang shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 49.1519, while the Song bibliographies follow the present version (VDL 156).

Pei, *zi* Xuanren 玄仁, is said to have been born into a Buddhist family in 178 B.C. He was first initiated in the rites of contrition and the techniques of sexual continence by a Buddhist master, the *daoren* 道人 Zhi Ziyuan 支子元, before being introduced to the higher paradises and their immortals by Chisong zi 赤松子. From these teachers he also received a great number of texts that generally correspond to the canonical Shangqing scriptures.

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Ziyang zhenren neizhuan 紫陽真人內傳

19 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

303 (fasc. 152)

“The Esoteric Life of the Zhenren of Purple Yang.” Purple Yang is Zhou Yishan 周義山. According to a colophon (*Zhou Pei erzhen xu* 周裴二真序; 18a–19a) by Lord Pei (see previous article) and the zhenren Zhou himself, the present biography was written by the latter and revealed to a certain Hua Qiao 華僑, prefect of Jiangcheng 江乘 (Jurong 句容, Jiangsu), allied to the family of XU MI, YANG XI’s patron. These facts are discussed by TAO HONGJING at the very end of 1016 *Zhen’gao* (20.13b–14a), stating that Hua was an early recipient of divine revelations, but that he was indiscreet and that, therefore, the immortals stopped visiting him, turning instead to YANG XI. In any event, Tao was acquainted with the present text and its colophon.

A copyist notes (14b): “[Copy based on the] edition of the Chief of Rites Mozhao 慕召法主 (?), [itself] originally copied on sexagesimal day one, seventh of the First Moon of the third year of the Longan era of the Jin [1 March 399].” It is further noted that Lord Zhou was born in 80 B.C. (there is a slight error in the chronology here). In 65 B.C. Zhou became the disciple of Lord Su 蘇君, from whom he received the [method] of the Three Ones. According to the bibliographical indications of TAO HONGJING (Zhenbo 貞白), the text should contain 3,488 characters, whereas the present version has 3,489. The copyist states, “As I do not know which character is superfluous, I do not dare to delete any.” The present version is therefore later than Tao.

Quite similar in style to the previously examined Life of Lord Pei, the biography presents Zhou Yishan as the son of an aristocratic family who is entirely devoted to the quest of the Tao and who discovers that a poor vendor of sandals is in fact the zhenren Immortal Lord Su. Thanks to the latter’s instructions, Zhou travels to the

sacred mountains of the immortals and meets ever greater saints, including the Yellow Old Lord (Huang-Lao jun 黃老君) from whom he receives many scriptures and talismans of the Shangqing tradition. A recapitulative list of these documents is given on 15a–17a. The present text is partially reproduced in YJQQ 106.8a–15b.

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1.B.2.d Anthologies

Zhen'gao 真誥

20 juan

Compiled and annotated by TAO HONGJING 陶弘景; completed in 499
1016 (fasc. 637–640)

“Declarations of the Zhenren.” The zhenren are the gods who appeared to YANG XI during the years 364–370. The term *gao* originally referred to a sacrificial ceremony intended to convey a written proclamation to the gods. The present title confers on the Declarations the same solemn character that is associated with the teachings of the Buddha. Here, the Declarations are instructions handed down by the gods.

TAO HONGJING compiled the present collection of notes taken by YANG XI, XU MI, or his son Xu Hui 許翽 (331–ca. 370) on the instructions addressed to them by the gods, in the years after 490. The “Declarations” are doctrinally less important than the great revealed scriptures of the Shangqing. They do not convey the essential part of the divine message, but either contain the deities’ minor pronouncements, or provide supplementary explanations pertaining to the practice of the major texts. The present text includes a discussion between the gods, YANG XI, and XU MI. The latter figures were the main recipients of the declarations and also addressed questions to the gods.

Among other sources, TAO HONGJING used the *Zhenji jing* 真跡經, a similar collection, now lost, compiled by GU HUAN. There may well have been further antecedents.

The materials used for the present work are mainly autographs by YANG XI and the two Xu’s. It is sometimes overlooked that Tao was only the compiler of these texts. He himself makes a clear distinction between the revealed texts, which he quotes under the heading of *Zhen'gao*, and his own commentaries.

The present edition contains a preface by Gao Sisun 高似孫, dated 1223. All other extant editions derive from this version.

There is a certain disorder in the compilation and in the text that may be partially original and partially the result of later modifications. TAO HONGJING divided his work into seven parts, the last two parts containing his own writings and no revealed texts. Originally, the work was divided into ten juan, but as early as the SDZN (seventh century), the first few juan of the book must have been divided into two. There are traces of alterations and additional commentaries from later times. Nevertheless, the work as a whole appears to be well preserved.

The first section (juan 1–4) contains fragments of the written accounts of the nocturnal visits by the gods to YANG XI, and records the hymns and poems sung on these occasions. This first part provided the materials for collections of hymns such as 613 *Zhongxian zansong lingzhang* and 980 *Zhuzhen gesong*. It also provided the text of 1428 *Shi dichen Donghua shangzuo siming yangjun zhuanji*.

The second section (juan 5–8) concerns miscellaneous subjects. Juan 5 is composed of revelations made by Lord Pei 裴君, which are of a slightly different character from other Shangqing texts. The same part contains a list of Shangqing texts (2a–4b). Juan 6 contains a discussion of the drug Atractylis (*zhu 茺*) and a number of text fragments that are close to the Buddhist Sūtra in Forty-two Sections (*Sishier zhang jing*; 5b–12a). Juan 7 and 8 concern the tribulations of the ancestors of the Xu family in the nether world. This part is closer to the traditions of the Way of the Heavenly Master than to those of the Shangqing school.

The third section (juan 9–10) is devoted to different minor practices, such as massage, and small rites and details concerning techniques described in the revealed scriptures. Part of this section (9.6a–9a) contains 1319 *Dongzhen xi wang mu baoshen qiju jing*. Long passages have been reproduced in other works.

The fourth section (juan 11–14) is entirely devoted to the description of Mount Maoshan 茅山 and its history. The major part of this text was revealed by Lord Dinglu 定錄君, the second Mao brother. It contains an original hagiographic text, partly composed of local legends. Part of this text is composed of questions XU MI asked the gods and of the answers he received. Questions and answers are dispersed throughout the text. The section has provided the materials for juan 6 and 13 of 304 *Maoshan zhi* and for numerous hagiographic collections.

The fifth section (juan 15–16) concerns Fengdu, the world of the dead. One of its sources appears to have been a *Fengdu ji* 酆都記. The division into two juan is quite arbitrary, occurring as it does in the middle of a text on the judges of hell.

The sixth section (juan 17–18) assembles the personal archives of YANG XI and the Xus, that is, fragments of their correspondence, quotations, and accounts of dreams.

The seventh section (juan 19–20) is the only one written entirely by TAO HONGJING himself. He explains his methodology, describes the history of the texts, their alterations and falsifications, and gives the genealogy of the Xu family.

The *Zhen'gao* is a key source of information for establishing the authenticity of Shangqing scriptures and provides essential explanations for their comprehension. A great number of Taoist made use of it.

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Isabelle Robinet

Taiqing jinyi shenqi jing 太清金液神氣經

3 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

882 (fasc. 583)

“Scripture of the Taiqing Heaven of Liquified Gold and Divine Qi.” The work begins with alchemical recipes that may predate the Shangqing revelation. These recipes come from a Document of the Supreme Sovereign (*Taihuang lingce* 太皇靈策; 2a) and were transmitted by the zhenren of Pure Void (Qingxu zhenren 清虛真人) Wang Bao 王褒, WEI HUACUN’s teacher. One of the formulas is similar to a prescription found in 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 2.9a–18a.

Juan 2 contains recipes (2.4a and 6b), some of the names of which resemble those mentioned in BPZ II.186 and 15.250. On 2b there is a recipe quoted from a *Tianhuang wen* 天皇文.

The final juan is composed entirely of texts also found in 1016 *Zhen'gao*. This part is said to be the work of a disciple who, during the 430s, copied these texts in the house of Du Daoju 林道鞠.

This is the earliest anthology of fragments of the revealed texts. The remarks in the preface suggest that it was compiled around 430.

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Isabelle Robinet

Daoji lingxian ji 道跡靈仙記

18 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

597 (fasc. 330)

“Annals of Transcendent Immortals, [Abstracted] from the Traces of the Tao.” The title of this collection is inspired by that of the lost *Daoji jing* 道跡經. It is entirely composed of texts found in *1016 Zhen’gao* 14–16.

Isabelle Robinet

Dengzhen yinjue 登真隱訣

3 juan

Compiled and annotated by TAO HONGJING 陶弘景, between 492–514

421 (fasc. 193)

“Secret Instructions for the Ascent as a Zhenren.” This was originally a voluminous work divided into seven main sections (see *1016 Zhen’gao* 19.1b). TAO HONGJING began its compilation shortly after his retreat to Maoshan 茅山 in 492 (3.25a bears the date 493); and although the text must have been essentially completed by 499, Tao continued to work on it until the second decade of the sixth century. The number of juan, given as twenty-four by Tao’s nephew Tao Yi 陶翊 around 502 (see *Huayang yinju xiansheng benqi lu* 華陽隱居先生本起錄, cited in YJQQ 107.9b), was twenty-five in Song times. The *Chongwen zongmu* also lists a version in sixteen juan (VDL 143).

Tao’s sources for this compendium, of which only three juan are extant, were essentially the same as those he used for his “Declarations of the Zhenren” (*1016 Zhen’gao*), that is, the Shangqing revelations recorded in the autograph of YANG XI and the two Xus. But whereas the purpose of the “Declarations” was mainly documentary, the “Secret Instructions” provided a practical manual for the adept. To this end, TAO HONGJING compiled a series of exercises derived in part from the various revelations of the *Zhen’gao*, in part from the methods of the zhenren of the Shangqing Heaven recorded in the appendices to their biographies, and in part from the scriptures (*jing* 經) themselves. He furnished all these exercises with meticulous commentaries.

The first juan of the present fragment includes parts of a technique for visualizing the Nine Palaces in the human head. This technique was originally attached to the hagiography of Su Lin 蘇林 (the first part of which is transmitted as *Xuanzhou shangqing Sujun zhuan* 玄洲上卿蘇君傳 in YJQQ 104.1a–4b). The second juan presents a number of individual revelations orally transmitted by the various zhenren to Yang and the Xus (cf. *1016 Zhen’gao* 9, 10). The third juan contains instructions for reciting 331 *Huangting neijing* (3.1a–5b; Tao questions the authenticity of this part) and

prescriptions concerning the liturgy of the Heavenly Masters tradition, both of which formed originally part of the biography of WEI HUACUN (3.5b–27a).

The scope and richness of the original work were far greater than this fragment. Aside from the manifold meditation techniques typical of the Shangqing tradition, the *Dengzhen yinjue* also offered comprehensive guidance for making and using drugs (“Fushi pin 服食品”; cf. especially the quotations from *Dengzhen yinjue* 7 in SDZN 3 and 4.4b), as well as for the techniques of metamorphosis (*shijie* 尸解). One of the sources for the latter practice (see TPYL 665) was a scripture titled *Shijing jinguang zangjing lianxing zhenjing* 石精金光藏景鍊形真經, abbreviated *Jianjing* 劍經, to which TAO HONGJING also refers in 1016 *Zhen’gao* (e.g., 14.18b and 16.13b; a lengthy excerpt of this work is preserved in TPYL 665). One section of this work dealt with talismans and diagrams (“Futu jue 符圖訣”; see 2.15a; it constituted juan 6 of the original “Ascent as a Zhenren”). Another section concerning rules, “Zunjie xu 遵戒序,” formed juan 2 of the original work (cf. 2.14b). A Dunhuang manuscript (Stein 3750) that is undoubtedly based on another work by TAO HONGJING (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 331) refers to a juan that purportedly gave advice to hermits living in the mountains (*Xunshan dingshi juan* 巡山定室卷; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō*, 721, lines 18–20). Two further chapter headings of the original work are given in SDZN 8.5b, “Ligong pin 立功品” (merits), and in SDZN 7.15b, “Shiri quanci jue 時日詮次訣” (almanac). Other parts probably included Tao’s “Table of the Ranks and Functions in the Pantheon” (167 *Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu*), a similar diagram of the structure of the celestial regions of the universe (cf. 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 2.1a–6b), and an annotated inventory of the Shangqing scriptures (cf. 104 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* 12a–b; 304 *Maoshan zhi* 9.1a–b). Furthermore, 424 *Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* (q.v.) can be safely regarded as a former part of the *Dengzhen yinjue*. The Dunhuang manuscripts Stein 4314, Stein 6193, Pelliot 2751, and Pelliot 2732 (treated individually below) may also be considered as belonging to the same original work.

As the citations in 300 *Huayang Tao yinju neizhuan* 2.11b suggest, the final part of TAO HONGJING’s protracted work on the *Dengzhen yinjue* seems to have consisted of autobiographical notes in which the author recorded events extending up to the year 514.

A preface by Tao to this work is preserved in 1050 *Huayang Tao yinju ji* 1.19b–21a.

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Addendum

1. Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2732: This manuscript fragment is the middle part of a scroll. It has no identifying marks or indication of title. Its amply annotated text describes a number of different techniques of visualization and massage in the Shangqing tradition. These techniques are also described in juan 9 and 10 of TAO HONGJING's 1016 *Zhen'gao*. They are daily exercises for the prevention or healing of illnesses. These techniques were not yet incorporated into the framework of a comprehensive scripture (*jing* 經) but handed down in loose sequence by the immortals of the Shangqing Heaven in the form of oral transmissions.

Since this manuscript does not, as far as the sequence of text or commentary is concerned, tally completely with the corresponding passages in 1016 *Zhen'gao*—nor does it show greater overlappings with juan 2 of 421 *Dengzheng yinjue*, which is otherwise rather similar in content—Ōfuchi Ninji (*Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 185) has concluded that it must be a fragment of the *Zhenji jing* 真跡經, compiled by GU HUAN around 465, on the basis of the same recorded revelations from the Shangqing that TAO HONGJING collected later in his *Zhen'gao*.

There exists no evidence, however, that GU HUAN annotated his facsimile edition of the original manuscripts (his concern was to reproduce the autographs by tracing). Moreover, TAO HONGJING states in his appendix to the *Zhen'gao* 19.8a that GU HUAN did *not* integrate these individual transmissions into his work. Tao, by contrast, included them not only in his documentary compilation of the *Zhen'gao* but also, as evidenced by the extant juan 2, in his *Dengzhen yinjue*. There his aim was to describe these techniques once more with a detailed and, above all, practice-oriented commentary (see 1016 *Zhen'gao* 9.7b).

As Ōfuchi states, lines 1–15 of the manuscript, including the commentary, tally exactly with 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 2.20a5–20b6, the concluding section of the method for the absorption of mist (*fuwu fa* 服霧法), and the beginning of the so-called black-white technique (*xuanbai fa* 玄白法). Exactly at this point, the manuscript Pelliot 2732 shows a break by abruptly running on with a line of commentary concerning the “visualization of the image of the sun in a diseased hand” (*cun rixiang zai jishou* 存日象在疾手; cf. 1016 *Zhen'gao* 10.15a–b). Presumably due to this break, further passages were lost that had been congruent with the continuing passages in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that the present second juan of the fragmentary *Dengzhen yinjue* was originally longer. Given the completely identical passages at the beginning of the commentary, it seems, contrary to Ōfuchi's opinion, reasonable to regard manuscript Pelliot 2732 as a further fragment of the *Dengzhen yinjue* that continues the portion forming the extant juan 2 (See Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō Zurokuhen*, 395–97).

2. Dunhuang manuscripts Stein 4314, 6193, and Pelliot 2751: These three manu-

scripts together constitute a fragment of a *juan*, the beginning of which has not been preserved (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 183–84). While it lacks a title, manuscript Pelliot 2751 (the longest fragment) bears a final note: “Instructions on practicing the Purple Writ [*Ziwen* 紫文],” which in fact refers only to the first part of the text (lines 1–199). The text describes various meditative exercises from the so-called [*Lingshu*] *ziwen* [靈書] 紫文, one of the original manuscripts from the Shangqing scriptural corpus. These exercises are for absorbing the elementary energies of the sun and the moon and for controlling the *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 souls (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 5.3b, 5.4b, 9.24b, 18.5a–b). The main text in this section corresponds completely to 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* 8a–14a. On the basis of this scripture, we can infer that the missing passages at the beginning of our scroll must have been “*Tun riqi fa* 吞日氣法 (4a–6a), “*Taiwei yin riqi kaiming lingfu* 太微飲日氣開明靈符” (6a–b), and “*Tun yuejing fa* 吞月精法” (6b–8a).

The second section deals with the visualization of nine deities and their incorporation into the organs of the human body in a kind of spiritual reenactment of ontogenesis (*jiuzhen fa* 九真法, lines 200–378), as well as with the visualization of cosmic triads in the form of colored clouds (*sansu yun* 三素雲) in eight meditative steps (*badao biyan fa* 八道秘言法, lines 422–95). These two techniques belonged within the compass of another scripture from the early Shangqing revelations, the *Jiuzhen zhongjing* 九真中經 (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 5.1b–2a, 14.16b, 18.5b). In comparison to the extant version of these methods in 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 1.2a–15a, certain parts of the text from Dunhuang show a distinctly terser form as well as variants (lines 231–32 of the main text, for example, are not found in the *Daozang* version).

Lines 378–421 contain an interpolation, with calendar instructions on the *jiuzhen fa* from *Shengxuan ji* 昇玄記 (cf. TPYL 660.4b, quoting 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*; 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 5a), that has also been preserved in 1351 *Dongzhen taishang feixing yujing jiuzhen shengxuan shangji* 11a–13b.

From the subtitle, “7. Instructions on Practicing the *Jiuzhen [zhongjing]*,” in line 200 of the manuscript, Ōfuchi concluded that the fragment had originally represented a complete work in seven sections on a long scroll, of which more than five of the preceding sections were lost. However, he failed to notice the striking similarity of the commentary to TAO HONGJING’s style and approach, as exemplified by 1016 *Zhen’gao* and 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*.

The following parallel strongly supports this impression: concerning the details about the divinities of the body, Tao refers in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 2.5a to his commentary on the “practice of the twenty-four spirits” (*ershisi shen fa* 二十四神法; cf. also 1016 *Zhen’gao* 5.11a, 5.13a, 9.2a–b; a version of this practice is preserved in 405 *Shangqing zijing jun huangchu ziling daojun dongfang shangjing*), which he may have

also explained within the framework of his *Dengzhen yinjue*. Virtually the same reference in the same context appears also in the commentary of the manuscript Pelliot 2751, line 245.

Thus we may conclude that the Dunhuang manuscript does not represent an independent *Ziwen xingshi jue* 紫文行事訣 in one juan with seven sections, but rather the fragment of a juan from the *Dengzhen yinjue* that contained the subsections six (*Ziwen*) and seven (*Jiuzhen zhongjing*) within a larger chapter (on visualization, *cunxiang* 存相?) of that work. If we take into account the abbreviated rendering of some passages and, especially in the second part of the fragment, the relatively brief annotations, it is also possible that the Dunhuang copy, similar to 424 *Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* (q.v.), already represents a somewhat revised version of Tao's original text (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō Zurokuhen*, 382–94).

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***Zhoushi mingtong ji* 周氏冥通記**

4 juan

By Zhou Ziliang 周子良 (497–516); annotated and edited by TAO HONGJING 陶景弘 (517)

302 (fasc. 152)

“Mr. Zhou's Records of His Communication with the Invisible World.” This work is the written legacy of TAO HONGJING's disciple Zhou Ziliang. In his visions, Zhou had met, along with certain higher zhenren also known from 1016 *Zhen'gao*, a number of lesser immortals from the subterranean Cavern-Heavens of Maoshan. He kept a diary about these meetings.

Zhou's generally sketchy but sometimes detailed (juan 1–3) records, covering a period of sixteen months, were found by TAO HONGJING in a mountain cave at Maoshan 茅山, where Zhou had hidden them—apparently shortly before he took his own life. Tao arranged and annotated the material, which included the recipe for an elixir that possibly caused Zhou Ziliang's death (4.19a–20b). Tao wrote an introduction containing Zhou's biography (remarkable especially for the dramatic account of Zhou's suicide on 1.3b–4a), and in early 517 he presented the work, divided into four juan, to the emperor. The letter of presentation by Tao and the imperial note in reply are attached to Zhou Ziliang's biography.

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Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue 上清明堂元真經訣

10 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

424 (fasc. 194)

“Instructions for the Scripture of Xuanzhen in the Mingtang.” The title refers only to the first part (1a–6a) of the present work. It describes the visualization of a Jade Maiden named Xuanzhen 玄真 in the sun and moon and her subsequent entry into one of the palaces of the head, the Mingtang. Except for an interpolated passage on 4b–5b, taken from 1016 *Zhen’gao* 9.18a–b, the method derives from the technical appendix to the hagiography of Mao Ying 茅盈 and his brothers, a text of the original Shangqing corpus attributed to Li Zun 李遵 (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 8.2a). Only the first part of this hagiography has been preserved in YJQQ 104.10b–20a.

The second part of the present work (6a–10a) is based similarly on a meditation technique, the absorption of the Cloud Shoots of the four directions (*fu siji yunya shenxian shangfang* 服四極雲牙神仙上方), that formed originally part of the biography of Wang Bao 王褒, *hao* Qingxu zhenren 清虛真人, composed and revealed by WEI HUACUN. The narrative part of this biography, which also belongs to the oldest Shangqing scriptures (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 12.13b; 14.17b), is given in YJQQ 106.1a–8a.

Conspicuous is the continuous and sometimes detailed commentary. Its style and approach are reminiscent of TAO HONGJING’s. The critical remark (8a) about an insertion in the original manuscript written in a hand other than YANG XI’s should be viewed in light of the fact that Tao did possess the original manuscript of Wang Bao’s biography, which otherwise was entirely in YANG XI’s hand (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 20.2b). The identification of the different handwriting as *ding* 丁 corresponds to the criteria laid down by Tao in his appendix to *Zhen’gao* 19.6a.

Citations from the lost fourth juan of 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* in SDZN 10.3a and 3.20a–21a show that Tao did include the set of instructions presented in the present text. It should be noted, however, that SDZN 3.20a–21a reproduces the first sentences of the second part of our work (on the absorption of the Cloud Shroofs) with two comments by TAO HONGJING that cannot be found in our present version. This fact may be explained by a final remark (10a) in our text: “The commentary, where not absolutely related to the practice [of the present instructions], has been abridged.”

We conclude that the present text is in all likelihood a fragment of 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*.

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Shangqing mingtang xuandan zhenjing 上清明堂玄丹真經

6 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1381 (fasc. 1043)

“True Book of the Hall of Light and the Dark Cinnabar.” This is a small manual for visual meditation according to some well-known methods from the Shangqing tradition. The beginning of the text is missing but can be reconstituted from 140 *Shangqing wozhong jue* 3.1a–b3. There the relevant passage is called “Practical Recipes Transmitted by Lord Su,” which shows that the first part, which concerns the Way of the Hall of Light (*mingtang zhi dao* 明堂之道), was considered to have been revealed by Su Lin 蘇林. Parallel text excerpts can be found in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 1.8a–10a and 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* 13b–25b. The latter source has many passages in common with our text (including a reference to a now lost passage of 254 *Dadong jinhua yujing* on page 15a). Robinet’s claim (in *La révélation du Shangqing*, 420) that it entirely reproduces two sections of 1314 *Suling jing*, be it in abridged form, can, however, not be substantiated. It would seem more plausible that both versions have a common origin in an unknown, now lost, ancient scripture.

Next to the meditation on the Hall of Light (a place in the brain, residence of three deities) there is also the method of the Dark Cinnabar, which is a more advanced form of visual meditation on different places in the head.

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1.B.2.e Rituals and Rules*Taishang jiuzhen mingke* 太上九真明科

23 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1409 (fasc. 1052)

“The Sworn [*ming* here has the sense of *meng* 盟] Code of the Nine Zhenren.” The identity of these gods is not indicated. Perhaps they are those of 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing*. The present text is found in its entirety in 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* 46b–end. The WSBY quotes it under the title of *Suling jing*, which could imply that it was originally part of that scripture and was detached from it at a later date. The same text is also found in 1345 *Dongzhen taishang daojun yuandan shangjing*.

We have here a systematic presentation and elaboration of the code of rules expounded by the Shangqing scriptures and their transmission. Juan 3 of 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* is an even more expanded version of the same material. A large

number of Shangqing texts are mentioned. However, some of the more important and authentic ones, such as the *Basu jing* (see 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing*), are not found here.

The code is divided into three main parts. The first part (2b–8a) gives rules about delays to be observed between two subsequent transmissions, the time of abstinence and retreat of master and disciple, and the nature and quantity of gifts to be presented to the master.

The second part (8a–12a) enumerates various ritual faults to be avoided: failing to confess one's sins before practicing Taoist exercises, infringing the rules of purity, or omitting the preparatory observances.

The final part (12a–18b) tells how to atone for sins, whether committed by the disciple or his ancestors. Atonement consists in offerings to the rivers of the underworld and in prayers. At the end we find a number of hymns addressed to the four major gods of the Shangqing school.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang shanghuang minji dingzhen yulu

洞真太上上皇民籍定真玉籙

6 fols.

1341 (fasc. 1031)

“Precious Register on which are Fixed the [Names of] the Zhenren of the Population Record of the Most High Supreme Sovereign, a Dongzhen Scripture.” A *Shanghuang lu* 上皇籙 is mentioned among the texts received by Lord Pei (see *Qingling zhenren Peijun zhuan* 清靈真人裴君傳 in YJQQ 105.23a–b, and the separate article on 1032.105). The present text is quoted in 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 2.5a–b, in a passage devoted to the works revealed to Lord Pei. The title of our work is given in WSBY 47.10b (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 228).

The major part of the present work is occupied by a sermon pronounced by the Most High Lord Lao to the Green Lad (Qingtong jun 青童君) on the notion of repentance and the practice of confession (*cankui* 慚愧). The overall tone of the discourse is Buddhist and has no apparent relationship to the register presented at the end (4b–6a).

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Shangqing taiwei dijun jiedai zhenwen fa 上清太徽帝君結帶真文法

2 fols.

By LU XIUJING 陸修靜 (406–477)

1293 (fasc. 1009)

“Rites of Girding with the True Writ of the Imperial Lord of Supreme Tenuity.”

A subtitle tells us that this short ritual is also called the Text [to be pronounced] at the Transfer of the Girdle, and that it comes from the Scripture of the Transfer of the Girdle of the Supreme Tenuity (*Taiwei jiaodai jing* 太徽交帶經). This scripture undoubtedly corresponds to 257 *Dongzhen taiwei huangshu jiutian balu zhenwen*, the self-proclaimed eighth juan of a *Taiwei huangshu* 太徽黃書, a Shangqing text. It contains the True Writ, in talismanic writing, which is copied on a piece of striped cloth (*wen* 紋), white for men and purple for women, nine inches wide and nine feet long, to be wrapped around the waist.

A note given at the beginning of the text states that it is an authentic work by Master Lu [Xiujing] 陸先生真本 and that it belongs in the fourth section of the Dongzhen division, where it occupies the thirty-first juan. This important bibliographic indication is partially confirmed by the catalogue of Dongzhen (Shangqing) scriptures in 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.1a–2b. The latter is divided into four sections and lists the Transfer of the White Cloth and the Purple Cloth (*Shangqing baiwen jiaodai* 上清白紋交帶, *Shangqing ziwen jiaodai* 上清紫文交帶) as rites for confirmation into the highest grades of the Shangqing ordination. This information accords with the present text. The meaning of the reference to a thirty-first juan, however, is unclear.

The text of the writ and its transcription are not given here but in 257 *Taiwei huangshu*. Here are found only a few indications regarding the preparations and offerings for the ritual, and three short prayers, presumably to be pronounced at the ceremony of confirmation.

*Kristofer Schipper**Taishang qiuxian dinglu chisu zhenjue yuwen* 太上求仙定錄尺素真訣玉文

31 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

128 (fasc. 59)

“Precious Writs and True Formulas on (Prescribed) Lengths of Silk, Determining the Rank of Those Who Seek Immortality.” A collection of sacred writs from a number of ancient scriptures of the Shangqing and Lingbao canons, here collected as a document for transmission on ordination and, as such, kept by Xi wang mu 西王母, the Royal Lady, Golden Mother of the Western Fortress, as she is called in the line giving the name of the author of the text (1a).

At the beginning of the collection, we find a model certificate for the transmission. It states that the ordinand, having already obtained the investiture in the sacred liturgy of the Great Sworn Alliance (*dameng shangsheng lingke* 大盟上聖靈科; see 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lieshuo* 1.2a), is now entitled to receive the Secret Characters on the Lengths of Silk (*Chisu mizi* 尺素密字). This statement implies that the transmission of the present collection of writs corresponded to an ordination of the Shangqing level.

The hybrid nature of the collection—which includes, on 9b–10a, the Esoteric Sounds (*neiyin* 內音) of 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing*—makes it unlikely that it is a product of the Taoist institutions of the Tang; it should therefore be earlier.

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Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen 上清洞真智慧觀身大戒文

24 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1364 (fasc. 1039)

“Great Rules of Wisdom in Self-Examination.” This set of three hundred rules is the most extensive Taoist code. It is intended for those initiated and ordained into the highest levels of the Shangqing tradition. In this quality and context, it is quoted in extenso in WSBY 45.

Lagerwey (*Wu-shang pi-yao*, 272, n. 6) remarks that the present set of rules may have been created in imitation of 456 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing* so as to give the Shangqing canon its own code of precepts. Schmidt (“Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften,” 156) has shown, moreover, that both codes are expanded elaborations of the same model, the ancient One Hundred and Eighty Rules of Lord Lao, the Heavenly Master libationers’ code (see 786 *Taishang laojun jingliu*). The present set adopted no less than seventy-seven rules from the latter code. The first part of the three hundred rules contains also one hundred and eighty items, in clear imitation of the ancient set. That part corresponds here to a first grade of perfection. The next group contains only thirty-six rules, and the third and final section, eighty-four. In fact, the number of distinct rules is smaller, as many are repeated as injunctions against inciting others to commit the same fault. For instance, we find one rule that states: “He who studies the Tao should not drink wine” (rule 3). Another rule says: “He who studies the Tao should not encourage others to drink wine” (rule 4). In adopting this procedure, our text imitates 456 *Sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing*, from which it has borrowed no less than ninety-six rules.

The last part consists entirely of so-called “commemorations” (*nian* 念) prescribing

numerous topics for mental concentration. Initially, these set thoughts concerned good deeds and intentions, but later they also dealt with Taoist ritual practice. Toward the end of the text, these commemorations become mystical: “He who studies the Tao should concentrate on [*nian*] traveling to the Gold Portal of the Shangqing Heaven in order to pay homage to the Most High zhenren” (16a). These mystic practices belong to the Shangqing tradition.

In addition to the rules, we find in a second part of the text a discourse on their virtues and on their ritual recitation, for which a lamp should be installed and a special hymn should be sung when lighting it (21a–b).

As shown by Schmidt (“Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften,” 156–57), these three hundred commandments have continued to be transmitted in Taoist monastic organizations until the present day. They were adopted by the Quanzhen 全真 order, which revised them and transmitted them on ordination into the highest grades of their order. A copy of the text with its corresponding ordination certificate was collected by Hackmann in the Shangqing guan 上清觀 near Qingdao and published in 1931.

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Shangqing yuanshi pulu taizhen yujue 上清元始譜錄太真玉訣

10 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1365 (fasc. 1039)

“Precious Instructions of the Most High Zhenren on the Register of the Primordial Beginning of the Shangqing Tradition” This text contains a ritual for salvation from the Three Evils (*san’e* 三惡). The evil powers are here assimilated with the Three Corpses (*sanshi* 三尸) and the Five Sufferings (*wuku* 五苦). The subtitle, “Deliverance from the Form and Disappearance through Transformation in Flowing Light and Jade Radiance” (*Jiexing dunbian liujing yuguang* 解形遁變流景玉光), uses typical Shangqing terminology (see, for instance, 1359 *Shangqing danjing daoqing yindi bashu jing* 1.7a) as it figures in discussions of the technique of liberating oneself from the limits of corporeality (*shijie* 尸解).

The work probably existed already in the fifth century, since it served as a source for Yan Dong’s 嚴東 (fl. 485) commentary in 87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 2.40a–b; 2.43a–54a. Although it is difficult to allocate the work to one of the distinctive traditions of that time (judging from its liturgical components, it seems to be connected more closely with the Lingbao tradition), it has been reckoned among the Shangqing texts since at least Tang times (446 *Shangqing zhongjing zhu zhensheng bi* 7.1b; see also 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 28.14a–15a) and was probably related to 1387 *Shangqing yuanshi gaoshang yuhuang jiutian pulu*.

A special feature of this ritual, for which lights are installed for the Nine and the Thirty-two Heavens, is the use of a medium onto whom the physical complaints in the body of the beneficiary of the ritual are to be transferred (7b: *shengkou daixing* 生口代形). The live substitute—a passage (10a) in the text advises that one not choose ugly or inferior persons—obtains the possibility to acquire merits and to become an aspirant for a clerk's post under the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官).

A part of the text, which reveals a lacuna on 4b, is also found in YJQQ 81.1a–5a.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

1.B.3 Lingbao

Thirty years after the first Shangqing revelations, in the same town of Jurong 句容 where GE HONG had lived, and on nearby Maoshan where YANG XI had had his hermitage, GE CHAOFU, Hong's grandnephew, made a vital contribution toward the renewal of Taoism through the creation of an updated scriptural canon. Whereas the Shangqing revelations had accomplished the synthesis between the traditions of the mystery cults of the south and the Way of the Heavenly Master, the new Lingbao scriptures attempted to integrate yet another important aspect of Chinese religion of those times: Buddhism (see Zürcher, "Buddhist influence on early Taoism"). A synthesis was obtained not so much by the blending of doctrines as through integration on the liturgical level.

This integration was founded on the ritual traditions of the south: the rites for the establishment of the altar on which the gods descend to partake in the offerings and incarnate themselves in a medium for the duration of the ritual. *Lingbao* 靈寶 (originally also written 靈保) is an ancient southern term for medium and shaman (see Kaltenmark, "Ling-pao," 576–79). The staking out of the ritual area entailed the use of five talismanic writings (*wufu* 五符). Holy mountains were sacred areas par excellence, and an excursion, whether in flesh or spirit, to these dwellings of gods and ancestors necessitated the possession of the Medium's Five Talismans, *Lingbao wufu* 靈寶五符, which GE HONG valued so much. Bokenkamp ("Sources") has shown convincingly that the books left behind by GE CHAOFU's granduncle were of primary importance in elaborating the new synthesis.

Like the Shangqing revelations, the Lingbao canon also incorporates parts of the liturgical practice of the Way of the Heavenly Master, to which it considers itself superior. According to TAO HONGJING (1016 *Zhen'gao* 19.11b) and MENG ANPAI (1129 *Daojiao yishu* 2.6b), the scriptures produced by GE CHAOFU dur-

ing the Longan period of the Jin dynasty (397–402), became the foundation of the liturgical practice of Taoism. This practice, which continues to the present day, combines the great liturgical paradigm of the Retreat (*zhai* 齋), the Lingbao traditions of the south, and the protocols for the presentation of memorials of the Heavenly Masters, with the recitation of scriptures and the circular *pradakṣiṇa* dance of Buddhism.

Again, like the revelation of the Shangqing scriptures, the work of GE CHAOFU must have touched off a wave of supplementary texts and imitations. Here, too, LU XIUJING established the catalogue of canonical scriptures that were to be considered as the basis for ordination into the rank of a master entitled to conduct the Lingbao Retreat (*sandong fashi* 三洞法師). Lu's catalogue, the *Lingbao jing shumū* 靈寶經書目, has been preserved in several sources. First, we have the list in 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.8a–9a (here entitled *Lingbao zhongmeng jingmu* 靈寶中盟經目 and including a few additional works), also found in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2337 of the *Sandong fengdao kejie yifan* 三洞奉道科誠儀范. Another Dunhuang manuscript is Pelliot 2256, which Ōfuchi, who has studied both manuscripts (Ōfuchi Ninji, "On Ku Ling Pao Ching"), identifies as being part of a lost work by SONG WENMING (active 549–551) called *Tongmen* 通門 or *Tongmen lun* 通門論. Another version is found in 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 1.5a–7a. Ōfuchi and Bokenkamp ("Sources") have reconstructed the list of canonical scriptures and identified them among the texts transmitted in the Ming *Daozang* of 1445. Lu's catalogue, as completed by Song, is divided into two main parts: nineteen canonical scriptures and eight texts of instructions and commentaries, presumably of a later date. With one exception, the texts are presented here in the sequential order of their occurrence in the Liu-Song catalogue. As in the case of the Shangqing scriptures, the text of the most famous scripture, the *Lingbao duren jing* 靈寶度人經 (number 15 of the catalogue), has come down to us incorporated into a work of the Song period (960–1279). This work is 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing*, to be fully discussed in part 3.B

The most complete study of the canonical Lingbao scriptures to date is Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-pao scriptures."

1.B.3.a The Canonical Lingbao Scriptures

Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 1

20 fols.

ca. 400

1 *Lingbao duren jing* 1 (fasc. 1)

“Most Excellent and Mysterious Book of the Marvelous Jewel That Saves Innumerable Human Beings.” This Book of Salvation (*Duren jing* 度人經), as it is generally known, is the most prominent scripture of the liturgical Lingbao tradition. It occupies the preeminent place in the Taoist canon, where it stands as the opening juan of the first text, the expanded sixty-one chapter version of the Song (960–1279; see section 3.B.6).

The scripture, spoken by the Tao, is divided into three parts. It begins with a long introductory *nidāna*-narrative that gives a detailed description of the original revelation and its marvelous efficacy. It states that in the past the sacred scripture appeared in the heavenly spheres of the nascent universe and was bestowed on the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊). He then promulgated the text by reciting it ten times. The entire pantheon of gods and saints of the Ten Directions (the eight points of the compass, the zenith, and the nadir) converged at the place of recitation. Here the Yuanshi tianzun suspended a pearl, the size of a small grain, in the void and made the myriad gods enter inside. After the tenfold recitation, the Tianzun transmitted the scripture to “me” (*wo* 我), meaning here both the Tao (or Daojun 道君) and the individual adept.

The revelation restored the universe to its original sinless state. Everyone henceforth cultivated their inborn goodness and no longer killed, injured, coveted, exhibited jealousy, debauched, robbed, or hated other beings. Nor did anyone abuse language by proffering either flattering or injurious words. Everyone loved each other, and all became close as kin. Not only all the living were saved, but also all ancestors.

The first part closes with instructions for the recitation of the scripture, which should be done in an oratory (*shi* 室, meaning *jingshi* 靜室) while burning incense. The formula given for the Opening of the Incense Burner (*falü* 發爐) rite (5b) is adapted from the Heavenly Master liturgy.

The core of the scripture is the second part (6a–14b). The title of *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing* 元始無量度人上品妙經 is repeated here. This part contains the essence of the scripture by revealing the “secretly rhyming sounds of hidden names of the great gods of the Thirty-two Heavens and of all other divine beings.” The recitation of the scripture activates this entire pantheon, including the Demon Kings and other celestial guardians.

The third part contains the revelation of the Innumerable Sounds of the Secret Language of the Great Brahman [Energies] of the Heavens (“Zhutian zhong dafan yinyu wuliang yin 諸天中大梵隱語無量音”; 17a–end). Here are found the stanzas on the creation of the universe, named Marvelous Writings of the Primordial Beginning (compare 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*, q.v.). The stanzas of the Thirty-two Heavens are given here in three series: the higher, the middle, and the lower, totaling twelve hymns.

The date and authenticity of this text as an early Lingbao scripture are beyond doubt. The earliest known commentary to the *Duren jing* is that by Yan Dong 嚴東 (fl. 485) in 87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*. Ōfuchi Ninji (“On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 51) has argued that the first *nidāna*-narrative part is not annotated by Yan and that it should therefore be a later addition, but his argument is not convincing.

The *Duren jing* has been immensely important in Taoist liturgy. It borrows from Buddhism not only many elements of form, vocabulary, and style, but also its very function as a text to be recited repeatedly for salvific ends, a function taken from the practice of Indian sūtra-reading and mantra-recitation. The prescribed tenfold psalmody has provided the framework for innumerable ritual performances. The esoteric aspect of the “sacred sounds and hidden names” has, moreover, inspired a great many mystical elaborations. This text corresponds to number 15 of the Lingbao corpus.

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Kristofer Schipper

Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing

元始五老赤書玉篇真文天書經

3 juan

ca. 400

22 (fasc. 26)

“Scripture on the True Writs of the Five Ancients of the Primordial Beginning, Red Writings in Celestial Script on Jade Tablets.” This scripture is also known under a number of variant titles, for example, *Wupian zhenwen* 五篇真文 or *Dongxuan chishu jing* 洞玄赤書經. Originally divided into two juan, it is one of the basic texts of the early Lingbao canon.

The True Writs came spontaneously into being even prior to the Primordial Beginning, launched the cosmogony, and have ever since been guarantors of the cosmic order. They are called “red writings” because they were refined in the fire of the Southern Heaven (1.1b). They form the core of this scripture, which reproduces them



FIGURE 15. The True Writs of the East
(22 1.7b–8a)

fu that help to ban demons and escape cosmic catastrophes, some can again be traced back to 388 *Wufu xu* 3.12a–14a. Furthermore, the scripture states the reason for establishing the six months of fasting and the ten fast days of each month: at these times the deities gathered in the various heavenly palaces and sent emissaries to earth to examine the offenses and merits of the people. Therefore it was especially during these times that one had to fast and observe the precepts (2.17b–3.7b) (fig. 15).

The preface to the present scripture, quoted in the first half of the seventh century (1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 3.6b; 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 10.3b), is no longer extant. This text corresponds to number 1 of the Lingbao corpus.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaoqing

太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經

2 juan

ca. 400

352 (fasc. 178)

“Lingbao Scripture of the Jade Instructions on the Red Writing” This text forms part of the early Lingbao canon (Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 41–42, 46).

in “celestial script,” a kind of seal script (*zhuanwen* 篆文; 1.7b–30a). For each of the Five Directions there exists a number of characters that, divided into four groups each, are inscribed in the various celestial palaces and have a fourfold effect: they register the names of the adepts on lists of immortality, warrant the correctness of the cosmic processes, dominate the demons, and control the divinities of the water in order to prevent floods. In addition, there are magic symbols (*fu*) for the Five Directions, taken from 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.9b–11b (cf. Bokenkamp, “Sources,” 454–56). The description of the Five Ancients (1.31a–35a) corresponds also, mostly verbatim, to 388 *Wufu xu* (1.11b–14b). Of another series of

It is complementary to 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*, providing essentially explanations on how to put the heavenly revelations therein into practical use. In Ōfuchi's opinion, it originally comprised only one juan. However, the text itself (2.4b) and also 22 *Yupian zhenwen* 3.15b indicate a division into two juan.

The revelations of this scripture are addressed to a certain Wang Longci 王龍賜, exhorting him to save all people in the Ten Directions of space. The revelations begin with two series of Lingbao precepts (identical with 177 *Taishang dongzhen zhibui shangpin dajie* 1b–3a). A ritual for the redemption from sin follows. This is the *Tou sanyuan yujian* 投三元玉簡, in which the divinities of the Three Origins (Heaven, Earth, and Water) are supplicated by casting (*tou* 投) messages to them inscribed on wooden tablets (1.5a–8a). The subsequent part (1.8b–21a) is an elaboration on 22 *Yupian zhenwen* 1.7b–30a. It gives a rendering of the True Writs in terrestrial script (for textual differences, see Kobayashi Masayoshi, “Reihō sekisho gohen shinbun,” 24–28) and explains various practices for their use. The instructions that follow for swallowing the fu of the Five Emperors and making a bamboo stick, into which the fu are sealed, refer to 22 *Yupian zhenwen* 1.35a–39b. The next paragraph has also been taken from this source.

Juan 2 contains—in addition to an *avadāna* story of worthy deeds in previous existences, probably adopted from the *Longshi nü jing*, 909c–910a (see Bokenkamp, “Sources,” 474–75)—several other practices that have no direct counterpart in 22 *Yupian zhenwen*, for example, the ingestion of the Five Shoots (*shi wuya* 食五牙) in which the Five Ancients are visualized and, after they have been transmuted into the qi of the respective direction, incorporated by the adept and directed to the corresponding viscera (2.4b–14a). Not only the prologue, but also the fu with the names of the heavens and final formulas of invocation together with instructions for swallowing the qi are found—with slight variants—in 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1.11b–12a, 3.14b–16a, 3.21a–22a. The sacrifice (*jiaoji* 醮祭) to the five Lingbao emperors (2.20a–28b) is also based on 388 *Wufu xu* 3.4b–7b. Our text closes with directions for the ceremony for the transmission of the True Writs and magic symbols.

The commentary, which occasionally gives additional instructions, was probably written together with the scripture itself, since 1124 *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi* 11b already states that its date was not known with certainty.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao wulao shezhao beifeng guimo chishu yujue

洞玄靈寶五老攝召北酆鬼魔赤書玉訣

7 fols.

ca. 400

1297 (fasc. 1009)

“Jade-Instructions on the Red Writing of the Five Ancients about Summoning the Demons of [the Underworld] Beifeng.” This text corresponds to 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 1.24b–31a. The editor possessed only this fragment of the original work, since he remarks at the beginning: “Regrettably this version is incomplete (*yuan que* 原闕). A search for [the remainder] and the editing of a complete version still remain to be done.” This text and the preceding one correspond to number 2 of the Lingbao corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao kongdong lingzhang 太上洞玄靈寶空洞靈章

Six Dynasties (220–589)

Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2399

“Marvelous Stanzas of the Void Caverns.” This scripture of the canonical Lingbao corpus is missing from the Ming *Daozang*. A large part of the text has, however, been recovered from the Dunhuang manuscripts (see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 47, and Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō*, *Zurokuhen*, 2–8).

The manuscript Pelliot 2399 contains 245 lines of sixteen characters. This is approximately equivalent to twelve folios in the 1926 reprint of the Ming *Daozang* and appears to represent the entire scripture, with the exception of the opening sentences. The title of the scripture is given at the end of the manuscript and is identical to that found in the catalogue of the canonical Lingbao scriptures, the *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目.

The text opens with the description of a festive gathering and banquet at the court of the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊). There each of the sovereigns (*di* 帝) of the Thirty-two Heavens in turn sings a hymn extolling the blissful beauty and joy that reigns in their respective divine precincts, a meritorious deed that saves countless creatures. These stanzas (*zhang* 章) occupy the major part of the present scripture. The final part of the text is again in prose and describes the delights and paradise-like conditions resulting from the recitation of the scripture by gods and humans alike.

Like most other stanzas in the Lingbao scriptures, the present thirty-two hymns were incorporated in liturgy, to be sung during the rites of circumambulation. WSBY 29 contains the complete text of the hymns for this very purpose (see Bokenkamp, “Sources,” 479). The present text corresponds to number 3 of the Lingbao corpus.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao yujing shan buxu jing 洞玄靈寶玉京山步虛經

10 fols.

ca. 400

1439 (fasc. 1059)

“Lingbao Scripture on Pacing the Void at Jade-Capital Mountain.” This work belongs to the original Lingbao corpus. It is listed in the first part of the *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目 as *Shengxuan buxu zhang* 昇玄步虛章 (Stanzas on Ascending to the Mysterious and Pacing the Void). The initial part of the text, describing the celestial regions, shows in its present version distinct differences from the quotations in WSBY and 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 2b, 11a. The core of the work is made up of ten stanzas that describe the ascent to the celestial Mount Yujing (where the Lingbao scriptures are concealed) and the gathering with immortals and zhenren, during which, via the recitation of the scriptures to the accompaniment of Taishang, all suffering is eliminated. The stanzas are followed by several hymns (three of which were adapted from the Shangqing tradition; cf. Bokenkamp, “Sources,” 443–45) in praise of the Lingbao scriptures. A short biography of GE XUAN (also quoted in 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 26b) concludes our text.

The practices of visualization (3a), like those concerning the circumambulation of the altar (*gaozuo* 高座; cf. 524 *Dongxuan lingbao zhai shuo guang zhu jie fa deng zhu-yuan yi* 11b), and of the chanting of the stanzas during the Lingbao Retreat are similar to the ones prescribed in 425 *Shangqing Taiji yinzhu yujing baojue* 5b–6a, 7b, 9b. The stanzas and some of the hymns are cited—with some variations—in LU XIUJING’s ritual 528 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 38b–41a, 23b–25a in connection with the transmission of the Lingbao canon. Furthermore, hymns from the present work can also be found in two other scriptures from the ancient Lingbao corpus, 344 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* 7b–8a and 425 *Shangqing Taiji yinzhu yujing baojue* 18a–20a.

An annotated edition of the *Yujing shan jing* quoted in 1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 3.1b is no longer extant. The present text corresponds to number 4 of the Lingbao corpus.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing

洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經

15 + 2 fols.

ca. 400

318 (fasc. 165)

“Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens.” One of the most fundamental texts of the Lingbao corpus, its present version having been slightly altered as a result of later additions. The Nine Treasure Stanzas (8a–9b) appear to be a later addition (see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 47, and the next article on 165 *Lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen sanbao dayou jinshu*). The original version, that is 1a–8a and 9b–14b, is given in YJQQ 16.

The scripture can be divided into three parts. The first part (1a–4b) describes the eras that have preceded our present world and that were governed in succession by the Three Treasures: Tianbao 天寶, Lingbao 靈寶, and Shenbao 神寶. These figures represent the Three Primordial Qi or Pneumata, assimilated to the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) and the Three Pure Ones (*sangqing* 三清). They create the Ten Thousand Things. This cosmogony is similar to the development of the fetus, and, therefore, the Intendant of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian Sima 九天司馬) chants these hymns every time a child is born. By analogy, the disciple may recite them and thus assemble the entire pantheon in his or her body and consecrate it.

The second part (5a–8a) tells of the revelation of the hymns by the Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, in order to save the Seed People (*zhongmin* 種民) at the forthcoming apocalypse of the imminent sexagesimal year 21 (*jiashen* 甲申). After this *nidāna*-style introduction, the third part (8a–15a) presents the nine hymns, each one corresponding to one of the Nine Heavens, followed by poems by the Taiji zhenren 太極真人.

An appendix features the tale of a miracle that occurred at the beginning of the Song dynasty as a result of the recitation of the present scripture. There exist three commentaries to this work (396, 397, and 398).

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Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen sanbao dayou jinshu

靈寶自然九天生神三寶大有金書

9 fols.

ca. 400

165 (fasc. 73)

“Golden Writing from the Dayou [i.e., a palace in the Yuqing Heaven] of the Three Treasures [i.e., the three divinities Tianbao 天寶, Lingbao 靈寶, and Shenbao 神寶].” The text is identical with 318 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* 1a–9b, where the present title figures as a subtitle, except that the stanzas of the Nine Heavens and the two hymns of Taiji zhenren 太極真人 are not included.

In YJQQ 16.1a, *Sanbao dayou jinshu* is used as an alternative title for the whole *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing*. A Yuan commentary (398 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing zhu* 1.1b), however, applies this title only to the part of the *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* that describes the genesis and the propagation of the nine stanzas. This text and the preceding one correspond to number 5 of the Lingbao corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

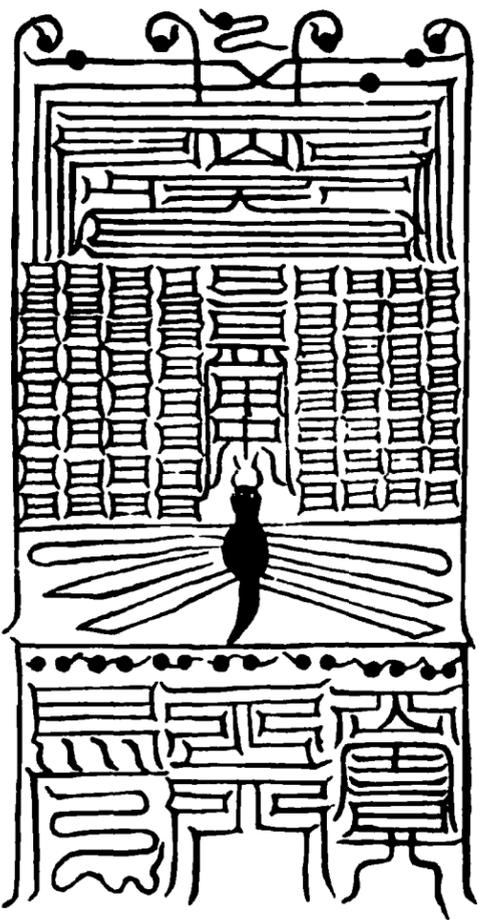


FIGURE 16. The fu of the Western direction (671 1.6b–7a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/666)

Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shangjing

太上無極大道自然真一五稱符上經

2 juan

ca. 400

671 (fasc. 352)

“Supreme Scripture of the Most High Boundless Great Tao and the Spontaneously [Created] True-and-One Symbols of the Five Correspondences.” This scripture forms part of the original Lingbao canon. It is listed in the first part of the *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目 as having one juan. Citations in WSBY and SDZN as well as in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2440 correspond to the present text but do not indicate a division into two juan. Thus the latter division was probably not introduced before the late Tang (618–907; Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 37, 47–48; *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 20–26; *Zurokuhen*, 10–22).

The core of the scripture is the revelation of the five symbols that are correlated to the Five Planets, Five Peaks, Five Viscera, and so on, and their practical application by Taoist masters and lay believers (*baixing* 百姓) for the healing of diseases (1.3a–11b; fig. 16). Juan 2 describes the practice of carving male and female figurines from the roots of the

zhangju 章拒 plant. These figurines function as helpers and establish contacts with the Eight Archivists (*bashi* 八史), who in their turn enable humans to communicate with the gods (2.1a–8a). Engraving the fu contained in this scripture onto heavy stones is recommended as a simplified method for lay believers, from the emperor down to the common people. The twenty-four Lingbao diagrams (2.11b–12b) that one is to receive after the fu come from 1407 *Dongxuan lingbao ershi sheng tujing*. The present text corresponds to number 6 of the corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi 太上靈寶諸天內音自然玉字

4 juan

ca. 400

97 (fasc. 49)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Esoteric Sounds of the Spontaneously Created Jade-Characters in the Various Heavens.” The text belongs to the early Lingbao canon and is listed in the *Lingbao jingmu* as having two juan. But probably by the sixth century it was divided into four juan. The present version is possibly incomplete (cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 37, 48).

The work reveals the names of the Thirty-two Heavens (eight in each of the four directions) and eight jade characters in celestial script that are scattered in each of the heavens (1.1b–14a). These characters, intended for the salvation of the believers and their ancestors, are in the “hidden language of the great Brahma” (*dafan yinyu* 大梵隱語). The text gives details about the celestial palaces, gates, and so on. where the characters are located, their functions, the times at which the adept is to write and ingest these characters as well as the effects of this practice (1.15a–2.18b). The second half of the text provides the “terrestrial reading” and explains both the meaning of the individual jade characters, giving for each heaven a “cavern-stanza” (*dongzhang* 洞章) into which the eight characters are interwoven, and illustrates the effect of their recitation.

The names of the Thirty-two Heavens and the 256 jade characters are identical with 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1.7b–9b, 1.16b–17b. The present text corresponds to number 7 of the Lingbao corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui zuigen shangpin dajie jing

太上洞玄靈寶智慧罪根上品大戒經

2 juan

Ca. 400

457 (fasc. 202)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Supreme Great Rules of Wisdom Concerning the Roots of Guilt.” The term *zuigen* 罪根 (roots of guilt) denotes bad deeds and offenses against the religious precepts; these transgressions lead to hell.

This scripture, considered by Ōfuchi as possibly incomplete, is part of the early Lingbao canon (see his “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 37, 42, 48). Its first juan describes the transmission of the scripture from the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning to the Most High Lord of the Tao. The Heavenly Worthy explains the gradual decline of humanity in the course of the five kalpas—from the original blissful state down to the introduction of registers of sin—and lists five series of precepts (1.4a–9b): the Ten Precepts for creating good karma, the Ten Superior Prescriptions, the Ten Evils (to be avoided), and the Twelve Rules to be observed. The latter can be also be found in 177 *Taishang dongzhen zhibui shangpin dajie* 2b–4b.

In juan 2, the Heavenly Worthy visits the worlds in the Ten Directions of space, where he sees people suffering in hell. From the different deities he learns about the causes of their suffering and by what penitence they may be reborn in a particular form after a determined period of time (cf. 455 *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo santu wuku quanjie jing*). Souls be saved from hell, especially by following the methods outlined in the *Mingzhen ke* (i.e., 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke*). The present text corresponds to number 8 of the Lingbao corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongzhen zhibui shangpin dajie 太上洞真智慧上品大戒

16 fols.

ca. 400

177 (fasc. 77)

“Great Superior Rules of Wisdom.” The classification in the Dongzhen division, as indicated by its title, must be a later alteration since in early works like *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目 and WSBY this scripture is entitled “*Dongxuan* 洞玄 [*lingbao* 靈寶].”

Often simply named *Dajie jing*, it can be regarded as one of the basic collections for rules and precepts within the Lingbao tradition. It describes the transmission of six series of rules from the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning to the Most High Lord of the Tao. These are the Ten Precepts (1b–2b) together with the Twelve Rules to be Observed (2b–4b). Anyone who accepts them obtains the grade of an Adept of Pure Faith (*qingxin dizi* 清信弟子; cf. 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie*

yingshi 4.5a; the subsequent Rules for Blocking the Six Sense Organs [6a–7a] also pertain to this grade). Then follow the Rules for Salvation of Living Beings (7a–8a), the Exhortations to the Ten Good Deeds (8a–9b), and finally seven Rules Concerning the Retribution of Merits (13b–15b).

Passages from this scripture (1a–6a) were adopted in an abbreviated form by LU XIUJING (see 524 *Dongxuan lingbao zhai shuo guang zhu jie fa deng zhuyuan yi* 8a–10b).

For Dunhuang manuscripts of this scripture, see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 29–33; *Zurokuhen*, 30–37. The present text corresponds to number 9 of the Lingbao corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao yulu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing

洞玄靈寶玉籙簡文三元威儀自然真經

10 fols.

Ca. 400

530 (fasc. 295)

“Tablets of the Jade Register, for the Ceremonial of the Three Principles.” This “True and Spontaneous Scripture” contains only the third and last part—that of the Jade Register of the Median Principle (*zhongyuan yulu* 中元玉籙)—of the original work, which is one of the fundamental texts of the Lingbao liturgy. The two other parts are the Tablet of the Golden Register of the Superior Principle (*shangyuan jinlu jianwen* 上元金籙簡文) and the Yellow Register of the Inferior Principle (*xiayuan huanglu jianwen* 下元黃籙簡文). The *Lingbao jing shumū* lists a *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jinlu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenyi jing* 太上洞玄靈寶金籙簡文三元威儀自然真一經, which should correspond to the complete scripture. Indeed, as indicated by our text (10a), the three parts (*sanbu* 三部) contained altogether 240 articles, which amounts to some 80 articles for each part. The present text contains 81 articles, whereas the numerous quotations in WSBY 34–37, 39, 42, 48, and passim (for the *Jinlu jianwen*), in WSBY 54 (for the *Huanglu jianwen*), as well as in 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 55 and 56 enable us to supplement several dozens of articles. It should, moreover, be noted that the scripture is listed in 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 1.5b simply as *Dongxuan lingbao sanyuan weiyi ziran jing* 洞玄靈寶三元威儀自然經, omitting the specification *jinlu* of the early catalogue. This omission induced Ōfuchi Ninji to reject the authenticity of the present work (“On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 49).

The first part of the scripture dealt, among other things, with the rites for establishing the altar and the protocols for entering or leaving it. The second part, which is preserved here, essentially concerns the rules that govern the relationship between master and disciple. The last part speaks of the rites of salvation through the extirpa-

tion of the roots of guilt (*badu zuigen* 拔度罪根). These are the rites of the Retreat of the Yellow Register (*Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋). WSBY 54, containing the classical ritual for this Retreat, is entirely composed of quotations from our scripture (compare also the Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot 3148, Pelliot 3663, DX 158, reproduced in Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zurokuhen*, 38–42).

The present text corresponds to number 10 of the Lingbao corpus.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke

洞玄靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科

39 fols.

ca. 400

1411 (fasc. 1052)

“Liturgy of the Sworn [reading *ming* in the sense of *meng* 盟, as does WSBY 51] Alliance with the Zhenren, Kept in the Jade Chest of the Nine Realms of Darkness, in the Department of the Long Night [the regions of death and damnation].” This scripture was revealed by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning for the salvation of all beings.

The hells described here are the twelve infernal regions, introduced in 457 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui zuigen shangping dajie jing*. Those who dwell there are judged according to the Recompenses for the Twelve Meritorious Deeds (*shi shan yinyuan* 十善因緣) and the Punishment for the Fourteen Evil Acts (*shisi zuibao* 十四罪報).

The main part of this long text (from 15b onward) is devoted to different rituals for the salvation of the dead. The first ritual is intended for the release from all forms of retribution (*zuifu yuandui badu shangpin* 罪福緣對拔度上品). This service corresponds to the Retreat of the Alliance with the zhenren, *Mengzhen zhai* 盟真齋 in WSBY 51, which the faithful should practice at home for more than eighty days a year. Addressing prayers and confessions to the gods of the ten directions, the faithful were to strike the ground with their foreheads and slap their faces (*bojia* 搏頰) some 660 times during a single service.

A second ritual (25b–37a) aims at delivering the country from all kinds of disasters. This ritual is found in WSBY 53 as the Retreat of the Golden Register (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋) and constitutes the earliest Taoist ritual to be performed for the welfare of the state. The sacred area is built around the Five True Writs (*wuzhen wen* 五真文; see 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*). The participants’ hair is disheveled and their faces are smeared with mud, as in the Retreat of Mud and Charcoal (*tutan zhai* 塗炭齋; see 1278 *Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen*).

At the end of our text there is a short presentation of the rites of Casting Dragons (*toulong* 投龍) on the occasion of the transmission of the ten scriptures of the Lingbao.

These rites have been further codified and annotated in LU XIUJING's 410 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhongjian wen*. The present text corresponds to number 11 of the Lingbao corpus.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui dingzhi tongwei jing

太上洞玄靈寶智慧定志通微經

25 fols.

ca. 400

325 (fasc. 167)

“Most High Lingbao Scripture on Wisdom, Fixing the Will and Penetrating the Sublime.” This text, with the variant title *Siwei dingzhi jing* 思微定志經, belongs to the early Lingbao canon. All quotations of the work in WSBY and *Bianzheng lun* 8.544a correspond with the present text. A quotation in Dunhuang manuscript Stein 1438 (*Daojiao yi* 道教義; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zurokuhen*, 735, line 30), which Ōfuchi claims to be missing in our text, can be reconstructed almost in its entirety from the diagram on 6a–b (fig. 17). A Dunhuang manuscript of the *Siwei dingzhi jing* (Pelliot 5563; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zurokuhen*, 53) shows only minor variants to 18b–20a of the present version.

The main issue of the text concerns the transmission of a two-part contract in the form of a cosmic diagram (*liangban lunzhuan tu* 兩半輪轉圖) and of the Ten Pre-

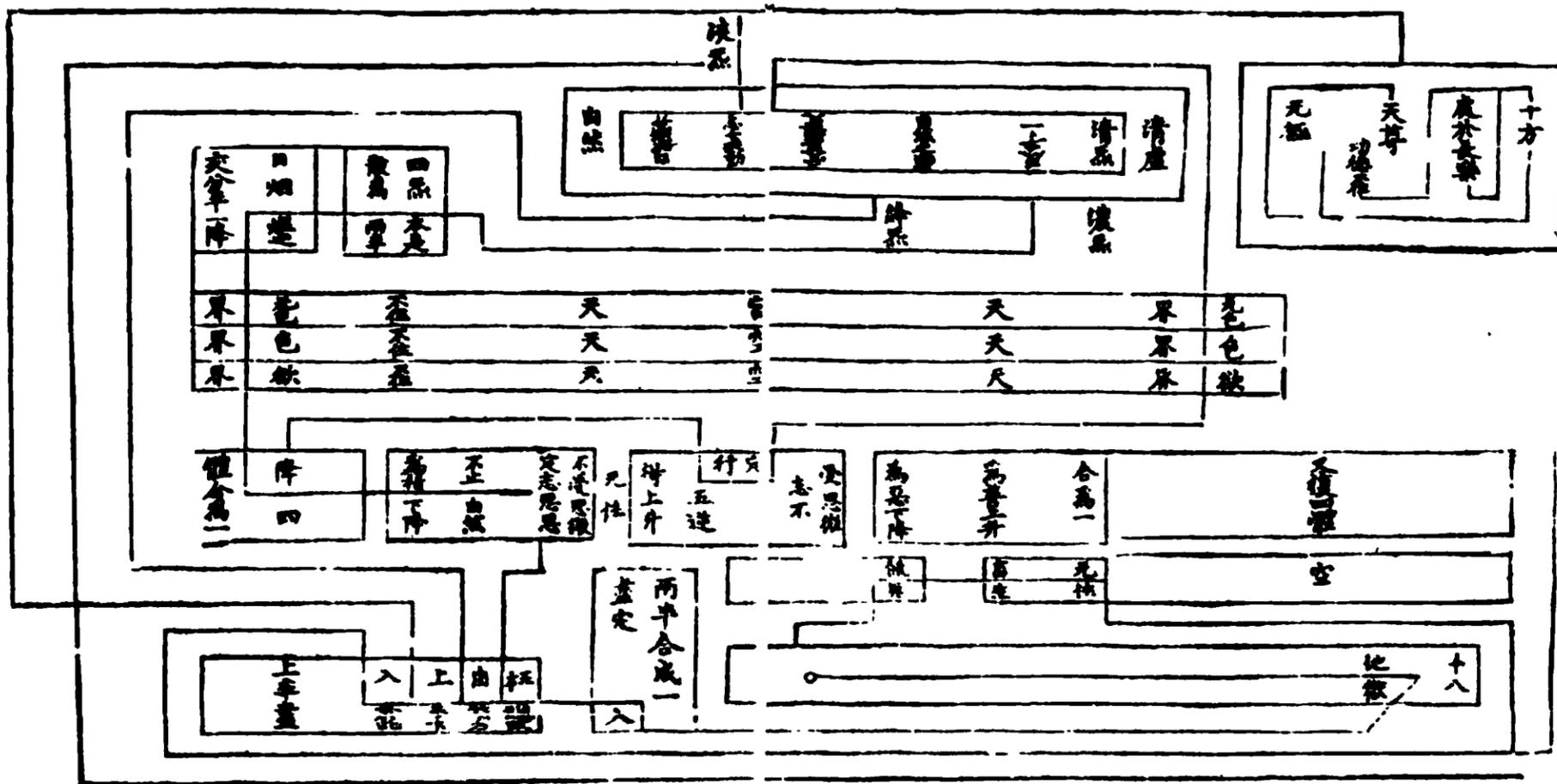


FIGURE 17. The Memory Palace for meditating on the Tao and for the practice of joining the two parts (325 6a–b).

cepts to the zhenren Zuoxuan 左玄真人 and Youxuan 右玄真人 by Lingbao tianzun. Interspersed are a number of parables patterned after the Buddhist *avadāna*, such as the account on the previous existence of the two zhenren as a charitable married couple (9a–15b), as well as various hymns. Buddhist influence is explicit in this text: the first five of the Ten Precepts correspond to the *pañca-sila*, while the tenth precept is a formulation of the Mahāyānist bodhisattva vow. Taoism and Buddhism, represented by Zuoxuan zhenren and Youxuan zhenren, are understood as being “two ways leading to one goal” (*er tu gui yi* 二塗歸一). The difference seems to be of a formal kind: as opposed to the Buddhists, who from the beginning renounce all worldly possessions, the Taoist adepts must provide pledges (*faxin* 法信) for their ordination. The present text corresponds to number 12 of the Lingbao corpus.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶真一勸誡法輪妙經

6 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

346 (fasc. 177)

“Scripture of the Wheel of the Law to Encourage [Good] and Prohibit [Evil Deeds].” The present text is the first of four fragments that belonged originally to a single work entirely devoted to karma and retribution. The other fragments are: 348 *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo quanjie falun miaojing*, 455 *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo santu wuku quanjie jing*, and 347 *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo miaotong zhuan shen ruding jing*. These last three texts are found as a single book among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Stein 1605 and Stein 1906; see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 50). The beginning of the work, which is lacking in those manuscripts, must correspond to the text we have here. The whole, therefore, can be identified as the Scripture of the Wheel of the Law [Expounding] Sins and Blessings (*Falun zuifu* 法輪罪福) in three juan, as listed in the *Lingbao jing shumu* 靈寶經書目.

The text describes the circumstances of the revelation of the Scripture of the Wheel of the Law to Taiji zuo xiangong 太極左仙公 (GE XUAN). While the saint is practicing the Tao on Mount Tiantai 天台, three zhenren of the Most High Mysterious One (*Taishang xuanyi zhenren* 太上玄一真人) visit him. They are his divine Masters of Transmission (*dushi* 度師), whereas the Taiji zhenren 太極真人 Xu Laile 徐來勒 is his guarantor (*bao* 保). Each of the three zhenren reveals one part of the practice, which forms the subject of the texts in the next three articles.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo quanjie falun miaojing

太上玄一真人說勸誠法輪妙經

7 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

348 (fasc. 177)

“Scripture of the Book of the Wheel, Spoken by the Zhenren of the Most High Mysterious One.” This text continues the preceding 346 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing*.

The revelation of the Wheel of the Law has a marvelous efficacy that enables all beings to leave the cycle of transmigration and enter nirvāṇa (*miedu* 滅度). Through their asceticism, the true hermits move the Void Sovereign, Xuhuang 虛皇, who, after innumerable kalpas, bestows on them the present scripture. Humans of all ways of life can enter into *samādhi* thanks to this revelation. Lay people, by their religious practice, may obtain Delivery of the Corpse (*shijie* 尸解). All persons, priests or lay, inspired by the teachings of the Great Vehicle (*fa dacheng zhi xin* 發大乘之心) can gain merit and salvation by lighting oil lamps, abandoning their riches, giving donations to the poor, and by sacrificing a part or the totality of their bodies. The text closes with three rhymed *gāthās* and an epilogue.

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Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo santu wuku quanjie jing

太上玄一真人說三途五苦勸誠經

11 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

455 (fasc. 202)

“Scripture of Encouragement and Prohibition, [in order to Escape from] the Three [Bad] Destinies and the Five Sufferings.” This is the second chapter of the Book of the Wheel of the Law (*Falun jing* 法輪經), revealed by the second zhenren of the Mysterious One (see the two preceding articles).

First, the Tao expounds the laws of retribution. Thereupon, He (i.e., the Tao) leaves the heavens eight times through the gates of the eight directions and discovers humans submitted to the severest tortures in hell. The *devas* who administer these regions explain to him that those beings atone for their sins. The merciful Tao announces the salvation of all, thanks to his Wheel of the Law and the teachings of Exhortations and Prohibitions. Through the eight gates opened by the Tao, all will enter into nirvāṇa. At the end, there is a short epilogue on meritorious deeds, as well as three rhymed *gāthās*.

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Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo miaotong zhuanshen ruding jing

太上玄一真人說妙通轉神入定經

9 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

347 (fasc. 177)

“Scripture of Entering *Samādhi* of Marvelous Perception and Conversion of the Spirit, Spoken by the Zhenren of the Most High Mysterious One.” This is the final chapter of the *Falun jing* 法輪經 (see the three preceding articles).

This part consists essentially in the enumeration of forty-five commemorations (*nian* 念) to guide the mind toward concentration on good deeds and universal salvation as in Mahāyāna Buddhism (see Zürcher, “Buddhist influence,” 112).

At the end of the text, we find, as usual, instructions concerning the transmission of the scripture and the necessary pledges of precious objects. Finally, there is a passage devoted to the merits of reciting the scripture, which enables the disciple to overcome all dangers and to become an immortal in the Palace of the Grand Bourne (Taiji gong 太極宮). This text and the three preceding ones correspond to number 14 of the Lingbao corpus.

*Kristofer Schipper**Taishang zhutian lingshu duming miaojing* 太上諸天靈書度命妙經

19 fols.

ca. 400

23 (fasc. 26)

“Most High Miraculous Book of Salvation in the Numinous Writing of the Numerous Heavens.” This text belongs to the original Lingbao scriptures. Citations in WSBY, SDZN, and in Buddhist works correspond to the present text, although some of them are considerably abridged or give variant readings (compare, e.g., *Xiaodao lun* 9.150b with our text, 14b–15a).

The Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning reveals this scripture in the five paradisiacal regions in order to preserve for all eternity the good fortune the inhabitants of these realms have enjoyed since the revelation of the Lingbao scriptures in the mythical Longhan 龍漢 era. Otherwise it might disappear in the periodic epochs of decline. Now, too, the peoples of remote border regions, to whom the blessings of a revelation had never before been extended, are at last included in the scheme of universal salvation. At the end of the “greater and smaller eras,” lesser teachings—such as gymnastics (*daoyin* 導引), Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) practices, and the talismans and diagrams of the Taiqing tradition and the *Taiping dao jing* 太平道經—will also perish, while the scriptures of the Three Caverns shall outlive all catastrophes. The text concludes with four stanzas addressed to the Four Heavenly Rulers (*sitian diwang* 四

天帝王) which form the core of the revelation. This text corresponds to number 16 of the Lingbao corpus.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang dongxuan lingbao miedu wulian shengshi miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶滅度五鍊生尸妙經

19 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

369 (fasc. 181)

“Scripture of Nirvāṇa [Obtained] by the Fivefold Refinement of Living Beings and Corpses.” This work contains the revelations of the sacred writs insuring the repose, purification and salvation of the dead in their tombs.

These writs, reproduced here in sacred characters (*zhenwen* 真文), correspond to the esoteric sounds of the heavens (*zhutian neiyin* 諸天內音; see 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*). The writs must be copied on five stones and buried at the edges and in the center of the tomb. Each writ is accompanied by a talismanic order (*fuming* 符命) in the name of the Law of Nüqing, the ancient Code of Alliance with the zhenren (*Mengzhen jiutian Nüqing wen* 盟真九天女青文).

The present work appears to be incomplete. Two versions have been found among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Pelliot 2865 and Stein 298) that contain an appendix. It includes a yellow memorial (*huangzhang* 黃章) to be presented at the time of the burial of the inscribed stones and a few accounts of the efficacy of this rite (see also 1292 *Huangzeng zhangfa*).

On the practice of the ritual in connection with requiem services (*qianshen yi* 遷神儀) during the Tang dynasty (618–907), see DU GUANGTING, 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 57.1b, quoting the liturgist ZHANG WANFU. The present text corresponds to number 17 of the Lingbao corpus.

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Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing

太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經

38 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

456 (fasc. 202)

“Scripture of Great and Minor Merits, and the Classified Rules of the Three Principles.” A large part of the text is quoted in WSBY 44. This quotation corresponds to the Rules of the Three Principles, which are divided into three groups of sixty interdictions, each group being placed under the aegis of one of the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官).

The first part of the work gives a detailed description of the administrative configuration. Each sphere of the universe (Heaven, Earth, and Water) contains one palace and three prefectures (*fu* 府). Each prefecture has either twelve offices (for Heaven) or fourteen (for Earth and Water), for a total of one hundred and twenty. Each office keeps records on merits and sins. The accounts are verified on the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth moons. Then the names of those who have merited long life are transcribed on a Green Register (*qingbu* 青簿) and a Jade Calendar (*yuli* 玉曆). Those who shall go into the Nine Realms of Darkness (*jiuyou* 九幽) have their names inscribed on the Black Book (*heibu* 黑簿). This entire administration is present not only in the heavens but also inside the human body.

The text often refers to the authority of Nüqing 女青, the Pole Star (*beiji* 北極), who has created the institutions of the Three Officials and the code of prohibitions. It also refers to the ritual of the Alliance with the zhenren (*Mingzhen kefa* 明真科法; see 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke*, number 11 of the corpus), as well as to the precepts of wisdom (*Zhibui shangpin* 智慧上品; see 457 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui zuigen shangpin dajie jing*, number 8 of the corpus). Finally, for the ritual of pardon of sins, our text refers to a *Sanyuan xiezui fa* 三元謝罪法, which may correspond to 417 *Taishang dadao sanyuan pinjie xiezui shangfa*. The present text corresponds to number 18 of the Lingbao corpus.

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Dongxuan lingbao ershisi sheng tujing 洞玄靈寶二十四生圖經

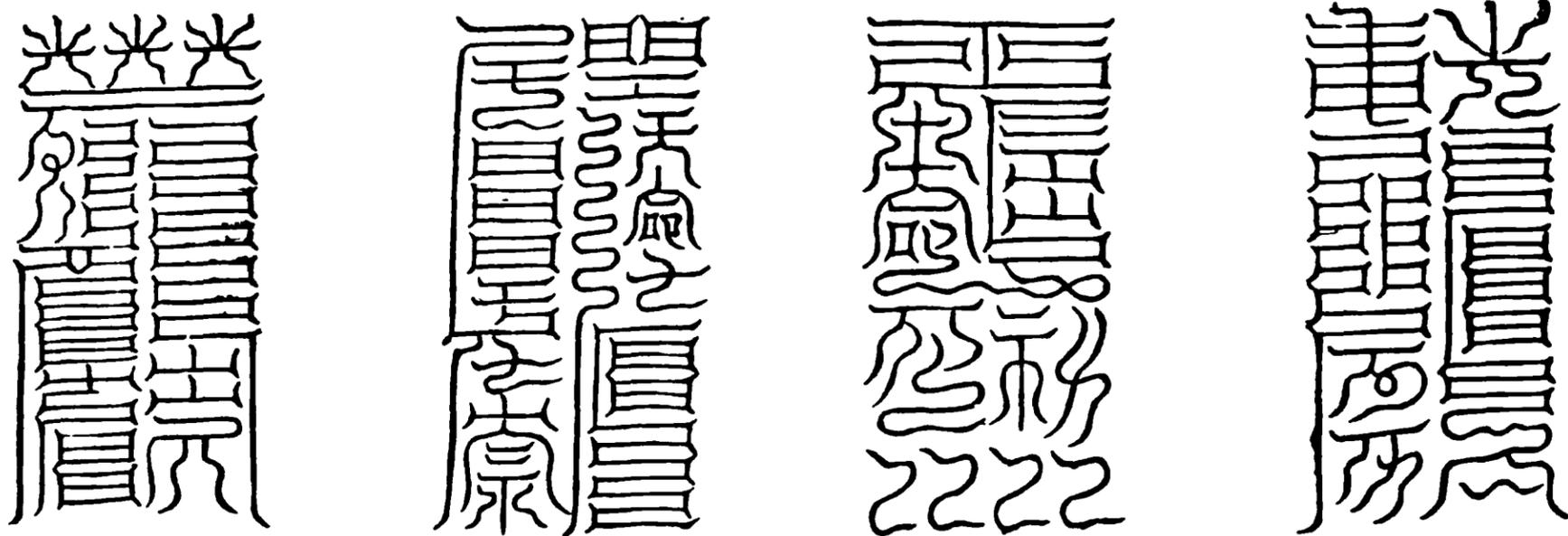
48 fols.

ca. 400

1407 (fasc. 1051)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Diagrams of the Twenty-four Vital Energies.” This scripture of the ancient Lingbao corpus is obviously modeled on earlier texts since not only its title but also the names of the twenty-four individual diagrams are given in almost identical form in the works listed in BPZ 17 and 19 (see Bokenkamp, “Sources,” 458–60).

After ingesting the talismans for introspection (*Dongxuan neiguan yufu* 洞玄內觀玉符), Housheng Lijun 后聖李君, the ruler over the saints of the future world (cf. 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji*), has a vision of the original cosmic configuration of the Twenty-four Qi or Pneumata, manifest in three superimposed divisions of Eight Effulgences. These are projections of the vital energies of his own body, and appear as sacred diagrams of characters written in the sky (fig. 18). The present text represents Lord Li’s record of his meditative experience. Set to music, the diagrams are also rendered in the form of twenty-four hymns (plus a twenty-fifth, serving as the basis for the others). Twenty-four fu are used to invoke the corresponding divinities in the



天炁部四景神	四景玉符上元洞	虛監字道童五色	上真四景白神名	神	元洞天炁部三景	色黃三景玉符上	名通衆仲字道連	上真三景皮膚神	洞天炁部二景神	玄二景玉符上元	玄父華字道銜色	上真二景髮神名	洞天炁部一景神	白一景玉符上元	覺元子字道都色	上真一景腦神名
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FIGURE 18. Four of the Eight Superior Effulgences of the vital energies (1407 6b–8b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1388)

three centers of the body. They are followed by the formula for transmission together with the secret names of the five *māras* (*mowang* 魔王) acting as guarantors during transmission, and finally by a three-part register (*lu* 錄) of all subordinate physical divinities.

The application and benefit of the twenty-four different diagrams are discussed in 671 *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shang jing* 2.11b–12b.

LU XIUJING refers to the present work as a fundamental register of the Lingbao tradition, on which he bases the rite of exteriorization of the officials (*chuguan* 出官) within the ritual of transmission he himself authorized (see 528 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi*, preface and 13b–19a). The present text corresponds to number 19 of the Lingbao corpus.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang lingbao wufu xu 太上靈寶五符序

3 juan

Eastern Jin (317–420)

388 (fasc. 183)

“The Five Fu, Powerful Treasure of the Most High.” The word *xu* in the title, normally translated “preface,” refers rather to the text as such (Kaltenmark, “Quelques

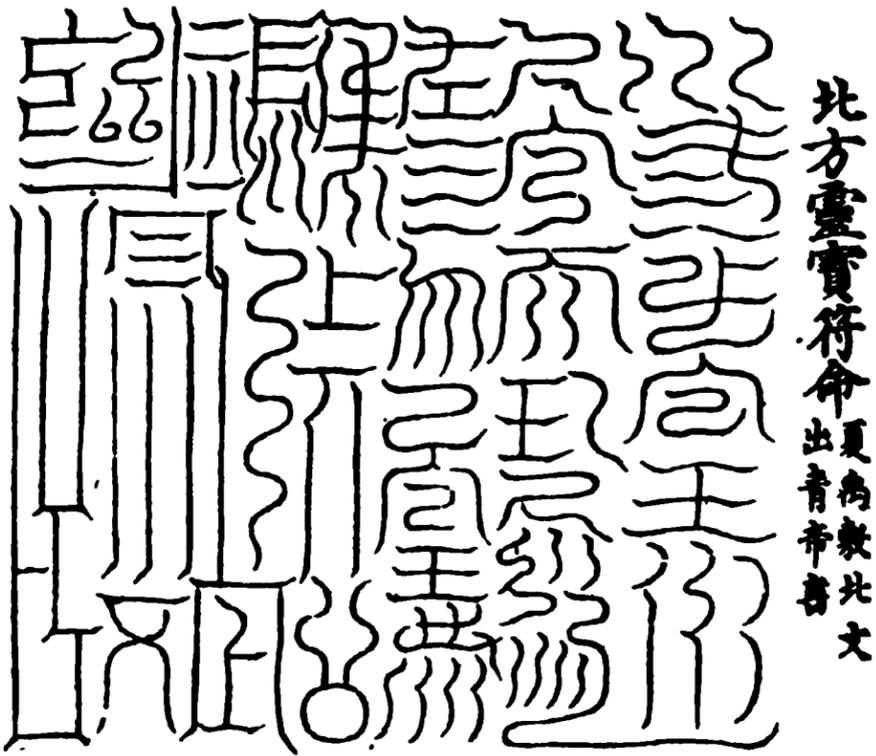


FIGURE 19. The Lingbao talisman of the north (388 3.11b).

remarques,” 5). This and other features of the text, according to Kaltenmark, betray its close relationship to the apocryphal *weishu* 緯書 commentaries of the Han. In its present form, however, it postdates GE HONG (283–343), whom it mentions (2.22b) and quotes (3.5a). The title does not correspond to the content of the extant work, for the text no longer deals exclusively with the famous Five Fu but constitutes an anthology of Taiqing Taoism—that is, Taoism of the Han dynasty and Three Kingdoms period (206 B.C.–A.D. 265).

This is the Taoism of the great myths concerning, in particular, the transmission of the Five Fu by the mythical ruler Yu 禹 (1.1a–11a, 3.1a–3a); the quest for the explanation of the Book of the True One by the Yellow Emperor (3.16b–22a); formulas (juan 2) and Lord Lao’s revelations (3.13a); the Offering, including meat and wine (3.3a–7b); the body with numerous souls, lacking system, but made in the image of nature (1.19b–25a); and the seekers of immortality, hermits who enter the mountains to collect medicinal plants (1.15b–16a). The Five Fu themselves seem to have been especially used to protect the adept in the mountains, for they are preceded by a table of auspicious days for “entering the mountain” (3.3b–9a; the same information is also found in BPZ 17) (see fig. 19).

As Isabelle Robinet has shown, the antiquity of the main parts of the *Wufu xu* is confirmed by its close connection with the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 and with such texts as 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing* (Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 1:26–34). It was only much later that the *Wufu xu* was linked to the so-called “new” Lingbao texts—no doubt in order to lend them an aura of greater prestige (Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 234). This text corresponds to number 20 of the Lingbao corpus.

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John Lagerwey

Shangqing taiji yinzhu yujing baojue 上清太極隱注玉經寶訣

20 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

425 (fasc. 194)

“Precious Instructions on the Jade Scriptures, a Secret Commentary by the [Zhenren of the] Supreme Pole.” This scripture belongs to those of the Lingbao canon transmitted to GE XUAN in eleven juan (see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 40, 53). The present text, to which LU XIUJING also refers in 528 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 38a–b (cf. 3a of the present text), has presumably not been preserved in its entirety: thirteen citations are given in WSBY, but one of them (37.1a) can no longer be found in our text.

The work deals with the ritual prescriptions for the transmission, recitation, copying, and so on, of sacred scriptures. The division of these scriptures into categories is of great interest. Thus the Dongzhen group of the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) is said to comprise the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經 and, directly related to it, the *Xiaomo zhihui jing* 消魔智慧經, as well as the *Feixing yujing* 飛行玉經. The Lingbao scriptures fall into the Dongxuan 洞玄 division, while the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 belong to the Dongshen 洞神 division. The prefix *Shangqing* 上清 is conferred on all scriptures of the Three Caverns. They fit into the higher category (*shangpin* 上品), and together they have their place of honor in the north. For the scriptures of the middle category (*zhongpin* 中品) no titles are listed, but they include all texts that do not belong to the main scriptures of the Three Caverns. Their place of honor is in the east (11a–b). The records of the personal attainments of the immortals (*xianren benye zhuan* 仙人本業傳), collected under the title Scriptures on the Traces of the Tao (*Daoji jing* 道跡經), form a final category with its place of honor in the west (13b).

The *Daode jing* 道德經 has a special status. Although its transmission is unrestricted, it is ranked with the higher category and is venerated together with the scriptures of the Sandong in the north.

The present text thus describes a division of the Taoist scriptures that gives no priority to the Maoshan tradition and does not even consider it as a separate entity. The same concept of the Three Caverns can also be found in other works belonging to the early Lingbao canon: 532 *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 12a–b, 19a–20a; and 1114 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing* 10b–11a. The present text corresponds to number 21 in the Lingbao corpus.

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Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing

太上洞玄靈寶真文要解上經

16 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

330 (fasc. 167)

“Supreme Scripture with Essential Explanations on the Most High Lingbao Writs.”

This text belongs to the early Lingbao canon, more precisely, to the eleven juan of texts purportedly transmitted to GE XUAN. It is quoted in WSBY 32.18a and Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2455, *Lingbao ziran zhaiyi* 靈寶自然齋儀 (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zurokuhen*, 146, line 32). Rather than offering a commentary on the Five True Writs of the Lingbao tradition, our text deals with the liturgical practice centering on them.

An introductory account on the genesis of the Five True Writs, which plainly relies on 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* 1a–2b, is followed by an enumeration of the twelve universal virtues of the cosmic symbols (*shier de* 十二德) and the twelve vows (*shier yuan* 十二願). The latter, as well as the subsequent invocations addressed to the protective deities of the Five Directions (*weiling shenzhou* 衛靈神咒), are basic elements of the typical Lingbao ritual (see, e.g., 528 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 10a–11b). Also basic ritual are the statements of repentance and the requests for pardon addressed to the Ten Directions (*chanxie shifang* 懺謝十方; a variant of these addresses is found, e.g., in 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* 17b–24a). The hymns, as well as directions for paying homage to Donghai qingtong jun 東海青童君 and Dadao yuchen jun 大道玉晨君 at the end of the text, are borrowed from the early Maoshan literature (see 1016 *Zhen'gao* 3.9a–b; 3.16a–b, 9.15a–b). This text corresponds to number 22 of the Lingbao corpus.

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Taishang taiji taixu shang zhenren yan taishang Lingbao weiyi dongxuan

太上太極太虛上真人演太上靈寶威儀洞玄真一自然經訣

Six Dynasties (220–589)

Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot 2356, 2403, and 2452

“Instructions Concerning the Spontaneous Scriptures of the True One, for the

Ceremonial of the Lingbao, as Expounded by the Superior Zhenren of the Great Ultimate and Void.” Among the present three manuscript fragments, presumably of the same work, only one (Pelliot 2452) gives a title at the end of the text, and that reads simply: “Instructions Concerning the Scriptures for the Ceremonial of the Lingbao, First Part” (*Lingbao weiyi jing jue shang* 靈寶威儀經訣上). Ōfuchi Ninji (*Tonkō dōkyō, Zurokuhen*, 727) identifies the manuscripts as parts of the now lost Lingbao scripture,

the long title of which is found in the *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目 preserved in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2256. An argument against this identification is the fact that the title as given in Pelliot 2452 mentions a “first part,” whereas according to the *Lingbao jingmu* the work had only a single juan (compare also 1125 *Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.8a–9a).

In all other respects the present text as partially preserved here corresponds to what we may surmise to have been the contents of the lost work. It is transmitted by the zhenren of the Great Ultimate Xu Laile 徐來勒 and deals at least partially with the ceremonies of transmission of the Lingbao scriptures. As Bokenkamp (“Sources,” 484) has remarked, the work was apparently already lost during the Tang or Northern Song dynasties, for it is not included in the list of Lingbao scriptures in the compendium of the Yellow Register rituals collected by the Southern Song Taoist LIU YONGGUANG (508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 1.5a–7a).

The manuscript Pelliot 2452 contains the longest fragment, with 104 lines. It begins with a number of hymns sung by great Taoist patriarchs (including Zhang Daoling 張道陵) extolling the extraordinary powers of the present scripture. The remainder, and also the largest part, of the text is devoted to models for written petitions (*zhang* 章) to be presented during the ceremonies for the transmission of Lingbao scriptures. These documents do not refer to the restrictions that were supposed to limit the frequency of the distribution of the Lingbao texts to once in forty years, but they do mention the sums of money and other offerings to be provided on the occasion. These amounted to not less than 24,000 coins (*jinqian* 金錢). In addition, the adept had to offer ten gold bracelets to be scattered in the ten directions, and another ten gold bracelets to his or her master.

The transmission of the Lingbao scriptures here is explicitly meant to be made not only to Taoist scholars (daoshi) or lay people, but to Buddhist *śramana* (*shamen* 沙門) as well. The text endeavors to assimilate the two faiths, declaring, for instance, that “immortal” (*xian* 仙) and “Buddha” (*fo* 佛) have exactly the same meaning, *fo* being merely a foreign word (*huyu* 胡語; see Pelliot 2356, line 4). As to the original revelation, Xu Laile gave this work to his disciple GE XUAN, who in turn transmitted it to Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 and also to the *śramana* Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (Pelliot 2452, lines 90–93). They were then given to GE HONG who divulged them to the world while he was staying on Mount Luofu 羅浮山 during the “sixth year of the Jianyuan 建元 era” (Pelliot 2452, lines 102–4). This date must be a copyist error, as the Jianyuan era lasted only two years (343–344), and because GE HONG died in 343. The present text corresponds to number 23 of the Lingbao corpus.

Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue

太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣

24 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

532 (fasc. 295)

“Instructions from All the Scriptures for the Ritual of the Lingbao Retreat, Expounded by the Zhenren of the Great Bourne.” The Great Lingbao Liturgy 靈寶大法 is performed on given days, sixty times a year, by the gods in Heaven. The Taoists of this world should reverently follow their example.

The present work contains a complete ritual of the Lingbao Retreat (1b–7b), with instructions for its performance. There are also indications for the recitation of scriptures (*zhuanjing fa* 轉經法) and the lighting of lamps (*randeng* 然燈) to be performed on various occasions and for different purposes, such as healing (7b–12a).

Among the scriptures to be recited, the first discussed here is the *Daode jing* 道德經 (12a). Next is mentioned the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經 in thirty-nine chapters, which “should not be recited in this world” (12b). But the Lingbao scriptures are the ultimate texts of Taoism (Daojia 道家), and instructions are given for their transmission along with the *Daode jing* (12b–14a).

There follow various instructions on the liturgical organization and orthodox practice. The ancient Heavenly Master practice of feasting the worthy is discussed on 14b, and shamanistic practices are criticized on 15a–16. An important passage discusses the priestly hierarchy. The fundamental ordination remains that of the Heavenly Master liturgy. All priests should be libationers (*jijiu* 祭酒) and observe the One Hundred and Eighty Rules (*baibashi jie* 百八十戒; see 786 *Taishang laojun jingliu*). Those who embrace the life of hermits and receive the scriptures are inducted into an additional ordination as master of one of the Five Peaks, according to the year in which they were born. (For example, those born in the third or fourth denary year (*yin* 寅 or *mao* 卯) have an Fundamental Destiny (*benming* 本命) related to the east and are therefore ordained as Dongyue xiansheng 東嶽先生, and so on. (17a).

The subsequent discussion on sacred books concerns not only the previously mentioned scriptures, but also the *Zhuangzi* (18b–19a). On 20b, the different offices of the participants in the Retreat ritual are defined. The head officiant is called *fashi* 法師. Next comes the head cantor (*dujiang* 都講), the Inspector of the Retreat (*jianzhai* 監齋), and the three Intendants of, respectively, the scriptures, the incense, and the lamps (*sijing* 侍經, *sixiang* 侍香, *sideng* 侍燈). Other priests, such as the libationers of the Yellow and Red and the Great One (*Huangchi taiyi jijiu* 黃赤太一祭酒; see 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*, etc.) are permitted to be present but should not actively participate. In general, all Taoists are ranked according to their diocesan ordination (*zhilu* 治籙).

Final instructions concern meditation during the Retreat and the Ten Commemorations (*shinian* 十念) for concentration on good deeds. This text corresponds to number 24 of the Lingbao corpus.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui benyuan dajie shangpin jing

太上洞玄靈寶智慧本願大戒上品經

18 fols.

Fifth century

344 (fasc. 177)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Great Superior Rules and Original Vows of Wisdom.”

This text belongs to the group of “new scriptures” revealed to GE XUAN. In the *Lingbao jingmu* it is listed as *Taishang xiaomo baoshen anzhi zhibui benyuan dajie shangpin* 太上消魔寶身安志智慧本願大戒上品; the WSBY cites it as [*Dongxuan*] *xiaomo jing* [洞玄]消魔經, *Dongxuan anzhi jing* 洞玄安志經, or *Dongxuan dingzhi jing* 洞玄定志經.

Three Dunhuang fragments (Pelliot 2468, Stein 6394, Pelliot 2400; cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 61–66; *Zurokuhen*, 77–85) of this scripture exist in which Xu Laile 徐來勒 explains to GE XUAN the concepts of karma and retribution: blessings and misfortune are determined by one’s good and evil deeds. Therefore right actions and “original vows” are indispensable. For this purpose fifty-nine vows (4a–7a), prescriptions for ten good deeds (*shishan quanjie* 十善勸戒; 9b–10b), and the ten sufferings (*shihuan* 十患; 15a–b) are set forth. In the final paragraph, GE XUAN entrusts his disciple Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN) to transmit the scriptures in accordance with the instructions provided.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taiqing wushiba yuanwen 太清五十八願文

7 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

187 (fasc. 78)

“Text of the Fifty-eight Vows from the Taiqing [Heaven].” This is not an original work but completely composed of parts from 344 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* 4a–15a.

The present text contains mainly fifty-eight vows and the Exhortation to the Ten Good Deeds (*shishan quan* 十善勸). Whereas 344 *Benyuan dajie shangpin jing* 4a–7a lists the complete series of fifty-nine vows that are to be pronounced in various situations for the salvation of all, our text incorrectly arrives at a number of fifty-eight by

fusing the first part of the thirty-fifth with the second part of the thirty-sixth vow. This text and the preceding one correspond to number 25 of the corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing 太上洞玄靈寶本行宿緣經

16 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

III4 (fasc. 758)

“Scriptures on Destiny as Determined by One’s Original Deeds.” This text belongs to the group of “new scriptures” in eleven juan revealed to GE XUAN. On the two significant terms in the title—*suyuan* (destiny) and *benxing* (original deeds)—see 1b and 9a. The work is quoted in WSBY as *Dongxuan qingwen jing* 洞玄請問經, or as *Xiangong qingwen jing* 仙公請問經, juan two. This alternative title refers to the form the book takes: (Xiangong) GE XUAN queries Xu Laile 徐來勒 about the nature of karmic causality (for full editorial details see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 31–33, 36; Wang Chengwen, “Dunhuang ben *Taiji Zuo xiangong qingwen jing*”).

The aim of the text is to encourage the individual to make a vow (*yuan* 願) to lead a religious life because, as the text abundantly demonstrates by means of both concrete examples and theoretical discussions, fate in this life (*benxing*) is determined by an individual’s actions in his previous existences (8b).

In addition to defining and defending this concept of ultimate justice, the text outlines the essence of religious life: it refers to the 180 precepts of wisdom (2b; found in 456 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing*) and furnishes the Ten Injunctions of the Most High and the Proscription of the Ten Evils (2b–4a), probably taken from 457 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui zuigen shangpin dajie jing*. Alluding to 671 *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shang jing*, our text recalls the story of the revelation of the Lingbao Retreat (*zhai* 齋) to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 and, in a Mahāyānist perspective, affirms that this is the greatest of all Retreats, because it seeks the salvation of all creatures.

The text also discusses ritual vestments and the recitation and transmission of scriptures. On (12a) is found the locus classicus of the liturgical definition of the term *sanbao* 三寶. This text corresponds to number 26 of the Lingbao corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing yinyuan jing 太上洞玄靈寶本行因緣經

8 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1115 (fasc. 758)

“Lingbao Scripture of the Karmic Factors of Causation and Deeds in Previous Existences.” This is one of the “new scriptures” revealed to GE XUAN. The *Lingbao jing shumu* 靈寶經書目 lists it under the title *Xiangong qingwen benxing yinyuan zhongsheng nan* 仙公請問本行因緣衆聖難; the WSBY 47.2b quotes it as *Dongxuan zhongsheng nan jing* 洞玄衆聖難經. However, the first part of the *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目 also lists a *Zhongsheng nan* in three juan, marked as “not yet revealed” (for hypotheses about this problem, cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 43–44). Suffice it here to recall that all Lingbao scriptures marked as “not yet revealed” by LU XIUJING did exist by A.D. 570 (cf. *Xiaodao lun* 9.151b).

In our text, GE XUAN propagates the new Mahāyānist Taoism that calls no longer for individual salvation but for saving others (1b). Merits have to be established before ascension to the Shangqing 上清 Heavens can be attained (2a). GE XUAN gives—in the style of Buddhist *avadāna* stories—a detailed account of his own former existences in order to illustrate his teaching and the importance of karmic vows (3a–5b). Finally, he reveals three important instructions to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (8a; for the terms *shangqing* and *sandong* 三洞 in the Lingbao tradition and the relation between Zhang Daoling and the Lingbao scriptures, cf. Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 24–26, n. 2).

A complete Dunhuang manuscript of this text (Pelliot 2454) shows considerable textual differences with respect to the *Daozang* version (cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 66–69). The present text corresponds to number 27 of the Lingbao corpus.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

1.B.3.b Other Early Lingbao Scriptures

Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyi wuqi zhenjing

太上洞玄靈寶三一五氣真經

7 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

985 (fasc. 618)

“True Scripture on the Three Ones and Five Qi.” This text corresponds to 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.17a–23b. It recounts the story of the Yellow Emperor who wanders to the four extremities of the world to obtain the explanation of the

Tianhuang zhenyi jing 天皇真一經. On Emei shan the Yellow Emperor finally meets the Sovereign (*huangren* 皇人), who reveals to him the secret of the Three Ones (*sanyi*)—the *nihuan* 泥丸, the *jianggong* 絳宮, and the *dantian* 丹田—and the method for subsisting on the Five Shoots (*wuya* 五牙). GE HONG tells a shorter version of this myth in BPZ 18.

John Lagerwey

Taishang lingbao tiandi yundu ziran miaojing

太上靈寶天地運度自然妙經

7 fols.

Sixth century

322 (fasc. 166)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Laws of Movement of Heaven and Earth.” This “spontaneously created” scripture is listed in the *Lingbao jingmu* under the title *Tiandi yundu*, with the mention “not yet revealed,” but it was in circulation by A.D. 570 (cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 36, 55–56). Quotations in YJQQ and SDZN correspond to the present text.

After an introduction dealing with the cosmic dimensions and the importance of leading a religious life that aims at overcoming the three miseries of age, disease, and death, the scripture stresses that he who wants to obtain the Tao must know the cosmic laws for the occurrence of catastrophes. The ten prophetic stanzas that follow constitute the essential message of the scripture. They announce the end of the *jinma* 金馬 era (presumably referring to the Sima 司馬 emperors of the Jin dynasty (265–420); compare 1273 *Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue*) and a deluge. Then at the time of the water-dragon (*shuilong shi* 水龍時), Li Hong (Gongkou Shibazi 弓口十八子) will appear. The only hope of escaping the catastrophe lies in the constant recitation of these verses and in a determined effort to penetrate their meaning. The text closes with rules for the transmission of this scripture.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao xuanyi zhenren shuo shengsi lunzhuan yinyuan jing

洞玄靈寶玄一真人說生死輪轉因緣經

8 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1119 (fasc. 759)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Karmic Causality of Transmigration, Spoken by the Zhenren of the Mysterious One.” Here Xuanyi zhenren answers the questions raised by the immortal Yundu 仙人雲度 in A.D. 260 on Mount Kunlun 崑崙. He addresses in detail kinship and family bonds, explaining that they are fixed for one life only. One’s subsequent existence depends solely on the merits previously acquired. Although family membership is only temporary, it demands filial piety and, after one’s parents’ death, the four seasonal sacrifices (*sishi cisi* 四時祠祀; 2a–b). Different forms of rebirth as the result of good and evil deeds are affirmed (3a–6b). The zhenren predicts that during the time of Jin (*Jinshi zhi shi* 金氏之世) there will be a period of Great Peace when Taoism will flourish. At the end of Jinma 金馬, in the year of the water-dragon, Lord Li (i.e., Li Hong 李弘) will appear as a savior (cf. 322 *Taishang lingbao tiandi yundu ziran miaojing* 4b–5b). To enter into his presence would be the reward for merits acquired in previous existences (7a).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao jieye benxing shangpin miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶誡業本行上品妙經

28 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

345 (fasc. 177)

“Marvelous Superior Scripture of the Rules of Conduct, from the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon of the Most High.” The subject of these Rules of Conduct is a Retreat patterned on the rituals of the Three Principles (*sanyuan* 三元) as well as of those on Mud and Charcoal (*tutan zhai* 塗炭齋, 26a; see WSBY 50, 52). The contents and subtitle given in 1a, *Yuanyi jinzhen falun jieye benxing yinyuan shangpin* 元一金真法輪誡業本行因緣上品, show that this work is closely related to some of the ancient Lingbao texts, in particular to 348 *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo quanjie falun miaojing*.

When this text was revealed by Yuan [Xuan]yi tianzun 元 [玄]一天尊 to the Lord of the Tao, the latter was given the title of *Wushang gaoshang dongming da fawang* 無上高上洞明大法王. The Tao “speaks” to expound the circumstances of this revelation (1a–2b). At the end of the work, the Tao speaks again to sum up all the salutary effects of the text since its revelation in the cosmic period Dongming 洞明 (28a–b). In its introduction, the text recalls particularly how the Tianzun, before he began the reve-

lation, invited his listeners by pointing to the ten directions of space (*yishou zhidian shifang xukong zhi zhong* 以手指點十方虛空之中; 2a). Having arrived, the listeners circumambulate the Tianzun three times while burning incense, spreading flowers, and chanting the hymn of *buxu* 步虛. After taking up their respective places, they ascend to the fields of the Wheel of the Law of the Golden True One, *deng jinzhen falun zhuchang* 登金真法輪諸場 (2b). “I set the Wheel of the Law of the Golden zhenren in motion,” the Tianzun immediately announces, “in order to transform all causes” (3a). The ritual practice that follows enables the adept to be promoted to the rank of Golden zhenren (27a). The Tianzun opens (*kai* 開) this marvelous book—that is, “begins his predication”—ten times. The first time, he transmits the Rules of Conduct. Then he “opens” Nine Fields: those of the Ten Saints (5b), of the Ten Good Deeds (8b), of the Ten Evil Deeds (10b), and so on. Each opening of a field is followed by a hymn. The origin and power of these hymns are then expounded by the Tianzun to the Lord of the Tao. The fields of the evil ways of the Ten Perversions (17a–18b) are to be considered with special care, since these are the various forms of heterodox cults (*guidao* 鬼道) from which one is liberated by the teaching.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao feixing sanjie tongwei neisi miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶飛行三界通微內思妙經

16 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

III8 (fasc. 759)

“Marvelous Scripture on Penetrating the Subtle and Visualizing the Interior for Flying in the Three Worlds.” After five years of the practices described in this text, one is able, according to the introduction, to “fly in the Three Worlds.” The phrase “penetrating the subtle and visualizing the interior” in the title summarizes these practices.

The text defines itself as the “most marvelous of the Three Caverns” (15b). It is indeed built upon the scriptures of the Three Caverns: its title indicates that it is a Lingbao scripture (note that the term *tongwei* also appears in the title of 325 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing*). The transmission pledges are the same as those for 671 *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shang jing* and 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* (16a; cf. 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 4.2b–3a), probably because our text, like these Lingbao scriptures, originally included five fu (1b–2b). The adept who uses this book bears, however, a Shangqing title—disciple of the Three Luminaries (*sanjing dizi* 三景弟子; 8a)—and the book designates itself, in the Shangqing manner, a superior way (*shangdao* 上道; 1a).

On the other hand, the practices which are described in a series of paragraphs attributed to Taiji zhenren 太極真人 (Xu Laile 徐來勒) recall those found in books of earlier date than the Lingbao and Shangqing texts. We find, in particular, many items from 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* and 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing*: 5a–b, cf. 388 *Wufu xu* 1.11b–14b; 6b–7b, cf. 388 *Wufu xu* 1.25a–26a; 10b, cf. 388 *Wufu xu* 1.19a and 1168 *Laojun zhongjing* 2.5a; 12b, cf. 1168 *Laojun zhongjing* 1.11a; 14b, cf. 1168 *Laojun zhongjing* 2.11a.

John Lagerwey

Taishang lingbao yuanyang miaoqing 太上靈寶元陽妙經

10 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

334 (fasc. 168–169)

“Marvelous Scripture of Primordial Yang.” The *yuanyang* (Primordial Yang) of the title refers to the text as such, to the world and the palace in which the text was revealed, and to the zhenren and the “youths” who use it (cf. 5.1a, 1.3b, 16b, 6.4a, 7.1a). The text defines itself as “the secret reservoir of that which the venerable scriptures in thirty-six sections do not explain” (6.24a) and as the book that “causes to be heard that which has heretofore never been heard,” not even in the “divine charts of the Seven Parts and the essential secrets of the Three Pure Ones” (9.2a, 16b).

A *Yuanyang jing* was criticized by Tao An at the end of the sixth century (*Erjiao lun* 141b). Of the five Dunhuang manuscript fragments containing the term *yuanyang* in their title, the only one that corresponds to our text is undated; it is found in juan 4, which Ōfuchi Ninji (*Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 104) rightly thinks belongs instead to 356 *Dongxuan lingbao shangshi shuo jiuhu shenming jing*.

The present text is clearly truncated (10.23a), but it nonetheless forms a coherent whole: entirely devoted to the description of the practice of those who “leave the family” (see especially 1.3a, 10.13b), it begins with religious commandments and vows and ends with “ascension to the Heaven of the Great Net.”

The ten juan, divided into seven sections, are largely given over to comparisons, parables, and dialectics in the Buddhist manner (Falun, *Bianzheng lun* 8.534b, says that the *Yuanyang jing* and other Taoist scriptures primarily plagiarize the *Fahua* 法華 (i.e., the *Miaofa lianhua jing*) and the *Wuliang shou jing*. The text uses Buddhist rhetorical techniques and vocabulary to encourage Buddhist practices: compassion, charity, preaching, and recitation of the present text (5.13b, 7.6a, 8.4b). Even the individual adept’s private chapel is given a Buddhist name, the *jingshe fangzhang shi* 精舍方丈室 (9.21a).

Clearly influenced by the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the author aims, by making use of the dialectics of double negation, to resolve all doubt and incomprehension and

achieve “permanence, joy, selfhood, and purity” (*chang le wo jing* 常樂我淨, 6.3a, 9.16b), that is, the “plenitude of words and meaning” (*youzi youyi* 有字有意, 10.18a). The adept must therefore not consider “the suffering of nonpermanence and such ideas as the nonexistence of the self and of purity as the true meaning” (10.19b). The exhortation to “abandon the idea of self” was but an expedient for “doing away with doubt” (10.20a).

The importance of Buddhist borrowings notwithstanding, Buddhist practices serve in the *Yuanyang jing* as a preliminary to practices leading to a properly Taoist form of salvation; the recitation of this text was intended simply to prepare adepts to set forth on the True Way. This goal, in any event, is what the end of the book suggests: At first, we see the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning preparing at dawn on the seventh day of the seventh month to ascend to the Heaven of the Great Net and “enter trance” (*ruding* 入定; this scene would seem to be a development based on the context of the Heavenly Worthy’s preaching in a part of the *Benji jing* 本際經; cf. 59 *Yuanshi dongzhen jueyi jing* 1b). The prospect causes panic and distress to his disciples, and all of them—monks and nuns, Men and Women of Pure Faith alike (10.1b), even the male and female officers of the Twenty-four Dioceses (10.2b: 職 replaces 治, the tabooed personal name of Tang Gaozong)—surround him and beg him to stay. There follows a marvelous description of an offering made to the Heavenly Worthy, seated on a “great throne as high as the Mountain of the Jade Capital” (10.5b), in order to retain him: “Do not abandon us!”

But the Heavenly Worthy does not accede to their pleas. He gives final instructions concerning the fullness of words and meanings and then rebukes his auditors when they beg him to stay and teach his Way: “You ought not to speak so,” he says, but then adds: “I herewith confide (*fuzhu* 付囑) the supreme, orthodox method to Lord Lao. He will make a great manual (*da zhigui* 大指歸) for you. Just as the Heavenly Worthy made for all beings a place of refuge (*zhigui chu* 指歸處), so also will Lord Lao do for you. Like a great king who governs a vast territory, when he makes a tour of inspection, confides the affairs of the nation to a chief minister, so also will the Heavenly Worthy confide all that concerns the orthodox method to Lord Lao” (10.19a).

What is this method? According to a phrase in 9.8b, “the true Way, the methods that are not karmically determined, are the practices of adepts of the Way for swallowing essences (*tunjing* 吞精) and energy (*yanqi* 咽氣), inhaling and exhaling (*tuna* 吐納), absorbing and mounting” (*fuyu* 服御).

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao shangshi shuo jiuhu shenming jing

洞玄靈寶上師說救護身命經

12 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

356 (fasc. 179)

“Salvation Scripture Spoken by the Former Master [Immortal of Purple Yang].” The Dunhuang manuscript Stein 482 (seventh century), which carries the title *Yuanyang shangjuan zhaodu ji’nan jing* 元陽上卷超度濟難經, “Pin diyi 品第一,” corresponds partially to the present text (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 100). Together with juan 4 of 334 *Taishang lingbao yuanyang miaojing*, this text was originally part of a vast work that comprised all the fragments of a *Yuanyang jing* 元陽經 found at Dunhuang. For instance, the manuscript Pelliot 2366 (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 102) contains sections 16 to 18 of a *Taishang yuanyang jing* 太上元陽經.

The term (*shangshi* 上師) in the title refers in general to all masters of previous generations, but here it refers especially to the Immortal of Purple Yang 紫陽仙 (7a) and his master, the Duke-Immortal of Primordial Yang 元陽仙公 (2a). This term is synonymous with *shizun* 師尊 (6b; see 334 *Yuanyang miaojing* 4.1a). Before rising up to heaven on the seventh day of the seventh moon of the year *renyin* 壬寅 (5b), the “senior master” (*shangshi* 上師) of the zhenren Tiaolin fajing 條林法淨真人 explains to the latter how to make use of the present scripture, which belongs to the first section of the Primordial Yang (*Yuanyang shangpin* 元陽上品 (1b), in order “to protect the persons and save the lives” of all those who, for a period of five hundred years after his departure, are victims of the *gudao* 蠱道 sorcery prevalent at those times.

In order to be saved, it suffices to recite this scripture, or, if one is unable to read, to carry it on oneself. All demons that do not listen to his words shall be judged according to the *Xuandu guilü* 玄都鬼律, says the master (2a–b). Then he gives the names of the seven zhenren [of the Dipper?] whom one may invoke in order to drive away demons. He finally promises to all those who propagate the cult of the present book that they will be reborn in the celestial abode of Wenchang 文昌 (6a).

After the master’s departure, the narrative moves to his disciple, who creates the second section of the book (7b) through the concentration of his thought (*jingsi* 精思). This act prompts a great gathering of dragon-kings who wish to learn his method, and thereupon the epiphany of the divine master of Primordial Yang himself, when Tiaolin expounds the new section. The revelation of the paradise of Primordial Yang that follows terminates with the appearance of the twenty-five disciples chosen by Tiaolin to perpetuate his work. Among the latter are Zhang Ling 張陵 and Zhang Jue

張角. Sixteen names of the disciples are linked to sections of the Book of Primordial Yang (until number 32).

Juan four of 334 *Yuanyang miaojing* completes our text. Here we see Tiaolin rise up to Heaven on the seventh day of the first moon (4.3b), and his disciple, the zhenren Jinghui dulin 淨惠度林真人, follows him on the fifth day of the tenth moon. The ascensions of the first three masters coincide with the days of the Three Principles (*sanyuan* 三元), the very days on which Lord Lao established the Twenty-four Dioceses (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 103–104). Like Tiaolin in the present work, Jinghui in the fifth juan of 334 *Yuanyang miaojing* projects in thought the vision of a paradise where eleven of his disciples dwell (variant readings of the Dunhuang manuscript attribute the sections 33 to 38 to six of these disciples). At the beginning of the juan, the revered master (*shizun* 師尊) himself creates the vision. At midnight, when he contemplates the Dipper, he sees the Wenchang Palace 文昌宮 open and Laozi appear. The latter descends, first on a green dragon, then on a green horse, introduces himself as the zhenren Li Yuan, Child of the Eastern Sea 東海小童李元真人, and declares that he has been sent by the Congregation of Heavenly Bliss (*tianqing hui* 天慶會) in order to instruct the disciples, so that they may “later on expound the books of infinite meanings” (*wuliang yi jing* 無量義經; 4.2b–3a).

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao benxiang yundu jieqi jing 洞玄靈寶本相運度劫期經

14 fols.

Sixth century

319 (fasc. 165)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Origin and the Appearance of the Cosmic Cycles and Kalpa Periods.” This text is closely related to the fragmentary work 1131 *Taishang miaofa benxiang jing* and various Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Benxiang jing*. Apart from a number of stylistic elements, these texts share a peculiar terminology, for example, *sanyuan jiue* 三元九厄 (nine difficulties of the Three Primordial [epochs], 13b; cf. 1131 *Benxiang jing* 1.10a); the Buddhist borrowing *śrāvaka* (*shengwen* 聲聞, 7b; cf. manuscript Stein 2122, line 1); or the concept of *shixian* 十仙 (ten [stages of] immortality; analogous to the Buddhist *daśabhūmi* [*shidi* 十地], 7b; cf. 1131 *Benxiang jing* 1.7a–b, 1.14a–15a, and Falin’s polemic against it in *Bianzheng lun* 8.543b). The description of the primordial paradise on Mount Dongfu 洞浮 is also similar to manuscript Stein 2122, lines 30–74 and Pelliot 3091, lines 1–10, since they share the “spontaneously created characters of the celestial environment and Great Chaos” (*tianjing dahun ziran wenzi* 天景大混自然文字; 1a–2b).

One of the two citations from chapter (*pin* 品) 20 of the *Benxiang jing* (1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 3.3a) is contained in the present text (2b). Of another citation

from the *Benxiang jing* in *Bianzheng lun* 8.543c, only the second half corresponds to a passage in our text 14b. On this admittedly scant evidence, we can surmise either that the present text presents the lacunal chapter 20 of the sixth-century *Benxiang jing*, originally in at least twenty-three *pin*, or, more likely, that it has been wrought from various parts of the old *Benxiang jing*.

The *Xiaodao lun* 9.147a–150a repeatedly quotes a *Jiku jing* 濟苦經. These passages show a striking similarity with the part of the present text that centers its cosmological explanations on Mount Kunlun 崑崙 (10b–12a).

The minor and major calamities that occur at fixed intervals and cannot be prevented (*rang* 穰) constitute another important theme of the present scripture. The sage, however, because of his knowledge of the inherent laws, is able to avoid these calamities, for example, by storing grain when a famine is about to occur (13b). In view of the approach of such times of calamity, the Heavenly Worthy of Lingbao revealed the *Shenzhou jing* 神咒經 in ten *juan* to be recited for salvation; especially important are its two *juan* “Shimo 誓魔” (see 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 1) and “Zhouxie 咒邪” (unknown). In case of emergency, it is also advised to invoke the *zhenren* Yaowang 藥王 and Yaosheng 藥盛 as well as the deities from *Yuanyang shangbu* 元陽上部 (to be found in 356 *Dongxuan lingbao shangshi shuo jiuhu shenming jing*), the *Lingbao wuliang duren pin* 靈寶無量度人品, *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經, *Wuliang shenjing* 無量神經, *Sanmei zhenjing* 三昧真經, and *Daode jiejie* 道德節解 (4b–6a).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao danshui feishu yundu xiaojie miaojing

洞玄靈寶丹水飛術運度小劫妙經

22 fols.

Sixth century

320 (fasc. 165)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Cosmic Cycles, Small Kalpas, and the Technique of Flying [after the Ingestion of] Elixir-Fluid.” This scripture was probably one of the works listed as “not yet revealed” in the *Lingbao jing shumu* 靈寶經書目, *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目 (see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 41, 55). It is cited as *Xiaojie jing* in SDZN.

Its contents show little coherence, touching upon diverse topics such as ritual vestments (*fafu* 法服; 5b–6b) and the celestial transmission of various scriptures (among others the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經 in thirty-nine chapters 大洞真經三十九章; 14b–15b). It explains how to survive the imminent fire-catastrophe of the small kalpa by studying the scriptures of the Three Caverns and practicing the Lingbao Retreat.

There are different methods for adepts who live in the world and for those who have retreated to the mountains. The latter should also absorb pneuma, swallow elixir, venerate the deities of the Pole Star (*beiji* 北極), and wear nine fu on their belt (3a–5b). The instructions for making the elixir are revealed by a Shangqing deity, the Lady Wang (*Ziwei Wang furen* 紫微王夫人).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao bawei zhaolong miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶八威召龍妙經

2 juan

Sixth century

361 (fasc. 180)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Eight Daunters and Summoning the Dragon Deities.” A *Bawei zhaolong jing* in one juan is listed in the *Lingbao jingmu* as “not yet revealed.” Thus the present text is probably one of the scriptures that are said to have existed by 570 (cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 37, 55). The earliest quotations from it are found in SDZN and 1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang*.

This scripture offers the means to survive the minor and major kalpas unharmed, to avert floods and droughts by influencing the water deities, and to render the venom-spewing Eight Daunters 八威 harmless. In order to achieve this end, one should climb a mountain on the eight seasonal days (*bajie ri* 八節日) and summon the *nāgarāja* (*longwang zhangren* 龍王丈人 of the seas [1.2a–4a], and one should on four days each year (*sishi* 四時) cast tablets of prayer into the waters (*tou shuijian* 投水簡; 1.4b–6b). During the Lingbao Retreat, tablets of the Eight Daunters (*bawei cewen* 八威策文) must be worn on the belt, in order to summon the dragon-kings and zhenren and to dispel the demons. The ritual for the transmission of this scripture concludes juan 1. Juan 2 contains mainly an exaltation of the dragon lord (*longjun* 龍君) and propagates the idea of the Mahāyāna as well as various theoretical concepts (e.g., the four ways of conduct [*sixing* 四行] and the Three Worlds [*sanjie* 三界]; 2.9b ff.). The term *bawei ce [wen]* can be found in 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.12b and 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* 2.1a–2b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yuanshi tianzun shuo bianhua kongdong miaojing

元始天尊說變化空洞妙經

17 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

37 (fasc. 28)

“Marvelous Scripture of the Transformations in the Empty Cavern.” *Kongdong* is a term for the realm of transcendence, and *bianhua* refers to the translation into immortality by rising up to Heaven (see 17a).

The text opens with a description of a heavenly audience. Dressed in full ritual garments, carrying bells at his waist and a sword on his back, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning drives his chariot to the Seven Jewel Forest in the country Xina 西那. Surrounded by Superior *zhenren*, he orders the *Wulao shangzhen* 五老上真 and *Xiandu zuogong* 仙都左公 to open the precious casket, to unroll the Five True Scriptures, and to chant the present text. When this manifestation of the Correct Way of the Three Heavens has driven away the demons of the Six Qi, the Heavenly Worthy orders the *Wulao* and *Zuogong* to reveal the Essentials of the Eight Ways of the Transformations in the Empty Cavern (3b). This revelation concerns secondary rites, by contrast with visualization rites, that represent the “superior way” (*shangdao* 上道; 12b). These secondary rites are linked to the celestial assizes that take place on the Eight Station days or Articulations (*bajie* 八節), that is, during the meteorological transformations marking the transition of the seasons. Each of these assizes lasts three days. The adept first performs an ablution; at noon, he enters his chamber; at midnight, bare-chested, facing north, he makes a confession; and, after having addressed the divinity concerned by means of prayer, he swallows a *fu*. Each of these *fu* induces one of the Eight Beams of the Celestial Chariot (*bajing yuyu* 八景玉輿; 3b) to arrive. The adept must also paint these *fu* on silk and carry them on his body. Among the days of the Eight Articulations, spring and autumn equinoxes are of particular importance because they are days when the Celestial Origin (*tianyuan* 天元) itself “judges the living and punishes the sinners.” The Celestial Origin will not accept the confession of an adept who might subsequently commit an offense. The adept is not permitted to practice these Retreats of Purification (*qingzhai* 清齋) during the days of the Eight Articulations, but, by anticipation, on the days of his own destiny (*benming* 本命) or also on the sexagesimal days 1 and 42 (*jiazi* 甲子 or *gengzi* 庚子) (17a).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan yujing xuandu daxian jing

太上洞玄靈寶三元玉京玄都大獻經

29 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

370 (fasc. 181)

“Great Offering in the Capital of Mystery on [Mount] Jade Capital for the [Days of the] Three Principles.” The version of this text discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Stein 3061; cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 80) bears a title that corresponds better to the contents of our work than that of the present edition: “Great Offering in the Capital of Mystery on Jade Capital [Mountain, for the Day] of the Median Principle [*zhongyuan* 中元].” See 1312 *Taishang dadao yuqing jing* 3.9a, where that ritual is mentioned. The present text deals with the offering performed on the day when officers of the Earth examine the accounts of the dead. Thanks to this offering “to the saints, and the Taoists who, during this day and this night, recite this book,” the hungry ghosts will be delivered (20a–b).

Everything concerning the days of the Three Principles (*sanyuan* 三元)—lines 31–32 of the Dunhuang version (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 81) as well as 26a ff. at the end of the *Daozang* edition—seems to have been added to the original text. It is likely, according to the division of the work as indicated by the commentator (5b–6a), that pages 21a–22b have also been added.

According to Xuan Yi (fl. 684–704), the author of the work was a Taoist named Liu Wudai 劉無待 (*Zhenzheng lun* 569c). Liu is said to have written this book in the seventh century in order to imitate the *Yulan pen* 盂蘭盆. Because our text is already quoted in the *Yiwen leiju* (4.80), compiled in 624, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (*Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 2:238) suggests that Liu Wudai might be the author of the “expanded” version of the *Daxian jing* in the *Daozang*. However, the quotation found in the *Yiwen leiju* is much closer to the *Daozang* version than to the Dunhuang manuscript. The expanded text and the commentary both seem to date from the sixth century. Both the first of the ten commandments found in one of the added sections (“banning the killing of living beings for the purpose of offering illicit sacrifices to the deities and demons of the Six Heavens”; 26b) and the allusion to the myth of the Conversion of the Barbarians (*huahu* 化胡), which appears in the commentary (21b–22a), belong to this period. The name of the birthplace of Lord Lao is given by the commentator as the Commandery of Chen (Chenjun 陳郡; 21b). This name was used to designate the locality only during the Liu Song and Hou Wei periods.

John Lagerwey

1.B.3.c Doctrinal and Liturgical Works

Of the eight texts presented below, four are works by the great patriarch and liturgist LU XIUJING. A fifth text (524 *Dongxuan lingbao zhai shuo guang zhu jie fa deng zhuyuan yi*), although compiled at a later date, is composed of excerpts from his works. This group of texts aptly illustrates the importance of Lu in the formation of the Taoist liturgy of the Middle Ages, which was dominated by the Lingbao Retreats he codified and propagated. Lu's greatest influence lies in this field. The *Daozang* contains only two other works by Lu, a brief Shangqing transmission ritual (1293 *Shangqing taiwei dijun jiedai zhenwen fa*) and the Heavenly Master doctrinal work 1127 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelie* for laymen.

As is already clear from the latter work, and is constantly borne out by the texts presented here, the Lingbao liturgy does not break away from the mainstream of the Way of the Heavenly Master. The officers remain first and foremost Zhengyi libationers. The initiation into the newly revealed Lingbao scriptures constitutes a higher level, demanding imposing and costly ceremonials, as described in 528 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi*. These initiations may well have been intended for members of the ruling classes.

Taishang dadao sanyuan pinjie xiezui shangfa 太上大道三元品戒謝罪上法
16 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

417 (fasc. 192)

“Superior Method for Seeking Pardon for Sins against the Classified Precepts of the Three Origins.” The present service for the confession and expiation of sins is related to 456 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing*. The latter work, one of the earliest Lingbao scriptures, mentions rites of pardon called *Sanyuan xiezui fa* 三元謝罪法 (37b); that ritual, in all likelihood, corresponded to the present text.

The text under review, which is incomplete in some places, has been reproduced in WSBY 52 under the title *Sanyuan zhai* (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 159–61).

This ritual of Retreat was performed within the Pure Room on the days of the Three Principles, that is, the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth moons. At each stage of the performance, the participants knocked their heads upon the ground and struck their faces (*koutou zibo* 叩頭自搏), more than 1,800 times in the course of a single service.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao fazhu jing 太上洞玄靈寶法燭經

10 fols.

By LU XIUJING 陸修靜 (406–477)

349 (fasc. 177)

“Scripture of the Beacon of the Law.” This is a collection of ten sermons aimed at explicating the significance of the Retreat. The sermons were given in order to prepare the adepts for the services.

Thanks to a note in 524 *Dongxuan lingbao zhai shuo guang zhu jie fa deng zhuyuan yi*, we know that the present work was written by LU XIUJING, and that these sermons were indeed read before each major performance of a service, beginning with the *sugui* 宿啓.

The sermons open with the words: “Thus speaks the Tao . . .” In reality, these are not revealed texts but “words of the Tao” as foundation of all reason, to be pronounced by the officiant as a spiritual preparation before entering the sacred area (2b).

Each sermon approaches the Retreat from a different viewpoint, but all end with a sentence from the *Daode jing* 道德經.

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Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen 洞玄靈寶五感文

8 fols.

By LU XIUJING 陸修靜 (406–477)

1278 (fasc. 1004)

“The Five Sentiments [of Gratitude].” This work contains the text of a sermon on the sentiments of gratitude that should be harbored by those who participate in the Retreat of Mud and Charcoal (*tutan zhai* 塗炭齋). The author explains that he wrote this sermon in order to bolster the spirits of his disciples, with whom he performed such a Retreat in the year 453. The ritual was rigorously executed, in ascetic circumstances, during a period of several months.

Following the sermon, the present text gives an outline of different Retreat services (*zhong zhaifa* 衆齋法). First, there are the Shangqing 上清 Retreats, which correspond to the practices of the Fast of the Heart (*xinzhai* 心齋) and the Ataraxy (*zuowang* 坐忘) described by Zhuangzi. Next come the nine kinds of Lingbao Retreats, beginning with that of the Golden Register (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋) and ending with the Teaching Retreat (*zhijiao zhai* 指教齋). This last service is to be performed by Libationers (*jijiu* 祭酒) and their students (*lusheng* 籙生). We find, in this outline, a classification analogous to that of the division of the scriptures into Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) introduced by Lu.

At the end of the outline, classified separately, we find the famous Retreat of Mud and Charcoal of the Three Origins (*sanyuan tutan zhai* 三元塗炭齋) for the expiation

of sins. The commentary stresses the great merits, proportionate to the sufferings endured by the participants, that can be obtained through its performance. The sacred area must be installed in the open air, and the officiants, their faces smeared with mud and their hair disheveled, are chained to the pillars that stake off the area. With their hands bound behind their backs, a piece of jade in their mouths, and stretched out face down on the ground, they ceaselessly beat the earth with their heads, asking for forgiveness.

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Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao zhai shuo guang zhu jie fa deng zhuyuan yi

洞玄靈寶齋說光燭戒罰燈祝願儀

18 fols.

Attributed to LU XIUJING 陸修靜 (406–477)

524 (fasc. 293)

“Observations on the Lingbao Retreat, [Especially on] Lights, Beacons, Rules, Punishments, Lamps, and Vows.” The present work on the rites of the establishment of the altar and the preparation of the Retreat is mentioned in 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 16.18a as having been written by LU XIUJING. The same source gives an abstract of the contents, which correspond, in general, to the parts of the present work dealing with the Bestowal of the Ten Rules, the Selection for Offices, and the Promulgation of Commandments and Punishments (7b–16a). But a quotation in 508 *Licheng yi* 16.18b of a work identified as our text does not resemble the present version. A note in our text (7b), states that “the present work was entirely constituted from a selection of the works by Lu Xiujing.” Thus it is due to a later compiler.

The present work, containing nothing that refers either to lamps or to vows, does not correspond to the topics mentioned in the title. The book begins with a sermon titled “Jueguang zhai waishuo 燭光齋外說” (Free Remarks to Illuminate the Retreat; 1a–5a) based on a quotation from the *Zhuangzi*. Next, there is another sermon, “Fazhu xu 法燭序” (Prologue to the Beacon of the Law), which is one of the ten sermons in 349 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao fazhu jing*. The version given here has been amended, no doubt to meet the demands of the compiler, who was reconstituting from different sources a lost work by the great liturgist.

Since at the time of the compilation of 508 *Licheng yi* the original work appears to have been extant, the present reconstitution must be rather late. We know that as early as DU GUANGTING (850–933) the rites of the first evening of the Great Retreat services were the subject of much controversy (see 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 53.1a–

4a) — hence the importance of a treatise on this subject placed under the authority of LU XIUJING.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhongjian wen 太上洞玄靈寶衆簡文

13 fols.

By LU XIUJING 陸修靜 (406–477)

410 (fasc. 191)

“The Tablets of the Precious Jewel.” Disciples, when they passed through the successive stages of initiation and ordination, made oblations of wooden tablets (here called the Tablets of the Precious Jewel) accompanied by golden dragons, in order to announce their new status to the divine powers. These rites were called the Casting of Tablets and Dragons (*tou longjian* 投龍簡).

The protocol for these rites, which LU XIUJING presents here, draws on many sources, some of which can be identified. Foremost among them is 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke*. In fact, all rituals for the Casting of Tablets and Dragons refer to one paragraph (37b–38a) of this scripture. The True Writs (*zhenwen* 真文) to be copied on the tablets, as well as the many other texts to be read during the ritual, come from 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaoqing*. The latter draws again on 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 232–33).

The rites concern the initiation into the Lingbao tradition on two successive levels. The first level is called the Median Oath (*zhongmeng* 中盟) and is confirmed by the transmission of the Covenant of Spontaneity (*ziran quan* 自然券). The second level is called the Great Oath (*dameng* 大盟; compare 528 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shou-du yi*).

The oblation for the Median Oath involves one tablet, to be addressed to the Official of Water (Shuiguan 水官). For the Great Oath, one has to present three tablets, to be deposited (“cast”) on a mountain, in water, and in the earth. This last tablet should be buried in the disciple’s house. This ritual has to be repeated at least three times.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀

2 + 53 fols.

By LU XIUJING 陸修靜 (406–477)

528 (fasc. 294)

“Ritual for the Transmission [of the Corpus] of Lingbao [Scriptures].” Through the conferral of the two registers (*lu* 籙) that represent the quintessence of all the Lingbao scriptures, the disciples are ordained (*du* 度) and receive the title of master.

In the presentation (*biao* 表) that stands at the beginning of the present work, and that LU XIUJING addresses to the Great Master of the Mystery (*xuanzhong dafa shi* 玄中大法師, the name used in the Lingbao liturgy for Laozi), Lu declares that seventeen years after his own initiation, he had collected thirty-five juan of revealed scriptures related to the Great Lingbao Liturgy (*Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法): “The ancient scriptures revealed by Yuanshi [tiansun], and those received by the Duke-immortal [*xiangong* 仙公, that is, GE XUAN], those that have appeared at the present time and that are authentic, amount altogether to thirty-five juan.” This number corresponds to that of the corpus of texts included in Lu’s catalogue, counting both the “old” and the “new” scriptures, of which the concluding remarks of the *Lingbao jing shumu* found at Dunhuang says: “The authentic texts today make up thirty-five or thirty-six juan” (see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 41, and compare Kobayashi Masayoshi, “Ryū Sō ni okeru Reihōkyō, 105–6). Lu continues by saying that there is not yet an appropriate ceremonial for the transmission of these scriptures. Lu composed the present “complete and annotated ritual” (*licheng yizhu* 立成儀注), for which he implores divine benediction, drawing on Lingbao scriptures such as the [Bamboo Slips] of the Golden and Yellow Register (cf. 530 *Dongxuan lingbao yulu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing*), the “Liturgy of the Sworn Alliance with the Zhenren” (1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke*), the “Jade Instructions on the Red Writing” (352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing*), and finally the Spontaneous Book of the Real One. The latter probably corresponds to the *Zhenyi ziran jing jue* (see the article on Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2356).

The transmission of the Lingbao corpus is symbolized by the transfer of two registers, the True Writs in Five Tablets (*Lingbao wupian zhenwen* 靈寶五篇真文; see 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*) and the Five Talismans (see 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu*). The transmission includes, moreover, the registers of the Three Times Eight Effulgences (*Sanbu bajing* 三部八景; see 1407 *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi sheng tujing*) and the Inner Sounds of All Heavens (*Zhutian neiyin* 諸天內音; see 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*). Finally, the ordinand receives the Tablets of Commandment of the Eight Authorities (*Bawei cewen* 八威策文), which he carries fastened to his belt, and the Staff of Commandment (*cezhang* 策杖). On these last two symbols, see 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 1.23a–26b.

LU XIUJING’s transmission ritual is a grandiose ceremony. In principle, it should be performed on a holy mountain. In the sacred area, precious pledges of gold and silk abound. The two main registers are unrolled and placed on a table in the open air, during the whole night of the Nocturnal Audience (*sugui* 宿啓), which is the first part of the service (4a–7b). If the wind blows the registers away, the ceremony has to be stopped and can recommence only after an interval of at least three days. If the

same thing happens three times in succession, the disciple cannot be ordained (4a). On the morning after the *sugui*, the ceremony of the Great Oath (*dameng* 大盟) takes place. The transfer of the registers is made in exchange for the precious pledges (38a). A circular Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛) dance celebrates this solemn moment. Thereupon the master of the ordination recites the Ten Precepts (41b), and the disciple pronounces the oath of secrecy (43b) and receives his ordination certificate (43b). Finally, in keeping with the liturgy of the Heavenly Master tradition, a memorial is presented to Announce the Merit (*yangong* 言功; 46a–49a). Following the Great Oath ceremony, there is the ritual of the Casting of Tablets (*toujian* 投簡; 50b–52a). A more complete version of this ritual is given by LU XIUJING in 410 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhongjian wen*.

On page 49a, there is a passage indicating the officiating master's residence. It gives, as indications to be completed, such-and-such a prefecture (*fu* 府), district (*xian* 縣), and monastery (*guan* 觀). The present text must therefore have been revised either in Tang or Song times.

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Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao shengxuan buxu zhang xushu

洞玄靈寶昇玄步虛章序疏

14 fols.

614 (fasc. 334)

"Commentary on the Stanzas for Ascending to Mystery and Pacing the Void." The antiquity of the present commentary on a part of 1439 *Dongxuan lingbao yujing shan buxu jing* can be inferred from its reference to the latter as the eighth juan of the third section of the *Lingbao jingmu* 靈寶經目 (1b). Both the title given here to that scripture, *Taishang shuo xuandu yujing shan jing* 太上說玄都玉京山經, as well as the alternative title given elsewhere in the commentary also correspond to the indications provided by the *Lingbao jingmu* (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 365).

The fact that the commentary does not concern the hymns in the second part of 1439 *Buxu jing* suggests that these hymns were not part of the original text. Indeed, the author of the present commentary criticizes the obtuseness of those who had changed the term *xuandu* 玄都 (Mysterious Capital) into *dacheng* 大乘 (Great Vehicle) at the end of the third hymn (8a). The incriminated term does indeed figure, as indicated, in 1439 *Buxu jing* (4a). The "new books," those to which the name of GE XUAN is linked, were the first to advance the Taoist doctrine of the Great Vehicle (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 22), and the second part of 1439 *Buxu jing* presents itself as belonging to

the revelation to GE XUAN. Since our commentator is opposed to the “new books,” the present text must have been written after, presumably not long after, their appearance, that is, around A.D. 430 (see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 42).

The commentary, in itself, contains little of note. It does show, however, that there existed already in the Six Dynasties (220–589) an esoteric interpretation of the Lingbao texts, relating their entire discourse and practice to the body of the adept. The first line, for example, “We bow our heads to hail the Most High,” is interpreted to mean: “One opens one’s heart and causes the fire of the wisdom of the Most High to consume the outward appearance of the body and thus purify it.” This interpretation explains why the author says earlier that “the mountain [of the Jade Capital] is the body; it is also the body of the Most High” (4b). From the beginning of these hymns the adept “embodies” the Most High, “who is like unto a human being” (2a).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao erbu chuanshou yi 太上洞玄靈寶二部傳授儀

10 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1295 (fasc. 1009)

“Ritual for the Transmission of the Two Parts of the Lingbao [Diagram].” The reference is probably to the two complementary parts of the geometrical diagram given in the Book of Penetrating Meditation through Concentration (*Siwei dingzhi liangban tuju* 思微定志兩半圖局). This diagram is given in 325 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui dingzhi tongwei jing* 6a–b, a text of the ancient Lingbao canon that WSBY 34.9a–b and 46.7a–b quotes under the title of *Siwei dingzhi jing* 思微定志經.

The text of the present ritual is similar, in places even identical, to that of 522 *Dongxuan du lingbao ziran quanyi*. The latter is well attested in early Tang (618–907) sources; it refers to the administrative division of *fu* 府, whereas our text, in a corresponding passage, has *jun* 郡, an administrative division of the Six Dynasties.

The transmission, which entails the division of the diagram (6a) and the adoption of Ten Precepts (*shijie* 十戒; 8b), corresponds to one of the degrees of the Lingbao ordination. The Ten Precepts, which are given also in 325 *Tongwei jing* 7b–8a, correspond to the Ten Precepts of the Heavenly Worthy and the Fourteen Ways of Deportment (*Tianzun shijie shisi chishen pin* 天尊十戒十四持身品, in 459 *Dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo shijie jing*). For unknown reasons, the present text gives only nine of the ten precepts, omitting the ninth (interdiction of seeking vengeance); it also amends a number of others, changing the prohibition of adultery into that of lewd thoughts and the interdiction of drunkenness into total abstinence from alcohol. The present transmission, therefore, presumably concerns the ordination of novices as monks.

The ordination ritual of our text is mentioned in 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 6a, and in a note by DU GUANGTING in 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 55.18a, quoting the daoshi Zhang Chengguang 張承光. The same note is reproduced in liturgical manuals of the Song such as 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 20.10a. These manuals maintain the “contract of the diagram” as part of the Lingbao ordination (see 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 29.12a–14b).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao toujian fuwen yaojue

太上洞玄靈寶投簡符文要訣

30 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

395 (fasc. 185)

“Elementary Instructions on the Written Symbols for the Casting of Tablets according to the Lingbao Tradition.” The first and only bibliographic mention of this text, in one juan, is found in *Chongwen zongmu* 10.6a (VDL 87). But the work, which is based exclusively on the literature of the ancient Lingbao canon, may have been compiled at a considerably earlier date.

When compared with the early texts, our version features some variant readings, such as Hengshan 衡山 (25b) for the Southern Peak, instead of Huoshan 霍山, as in the early texts. There are also several apparent transcription errors (11b3, 21b8). Pages 7b–8a offer a brief outline of the method for absorbing the five Cloud Shoots (*fu wu yunya* 服五雲牙; derived from 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 2.4b–14a). This outline is followed by the remark that this method (together with the associated written symbols, *fuwen* 符文) will be given in full in another juan. Both the *fuwen* and the instructions on the method are found in 17a–24b of the present version of the work, which at least since the eleventh century had been presented in one juan.

The contents of the present work are connected only in part with the ritual of the Casting of Tablets (*toujian*), already set forth in 352 *Chishu yujue miaojing* 1.5a–16b and then definitively formulated by LU XIUJING (410 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhongjian wen*). The symbols reproduced for this purpose are based on the cloud-seal characters in 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*.

The other themes of this text (without exception taken from 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*) fall outside the framework of this ritual but still focus on the reproduction of celestial symbols in a ritual context.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

1.B.4 Texts of the Dongshen Division

The third part of LU XIUJING's canon was called "penetrating divinity" (Dongshen 洞神). Its fundamental text was the Writ of the Three Sovereigns (*Sanhuang wen* 三皇文), now lost, a document in sacred talismanic characters, which, according to GE HONG, had once been obtained by the Yellow Emperor (see BPZ 18.296). For GE HONG this writ and its complement, the Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖), were the most powerful of all Taoist talismans. GE HONG had received them from his master ZHENG YIN, *zi* Siyuan 思遠 (d. 301), a scholar who had obtained the books that had once belonged to GE HONG's famous granduncle GE XUAN (d. 244; see BPZ 4.62 and 19.303–305). GE XUAN himself had been the disciple of Zuo Ci 左慈, *zi* Yuanfang 元方 (fl. early third century: see *Hou Han shu* 82B.2747).

Chen Guofu (CGF 72–73) identifies the *Sanhuang wen* known to GE HONG as the *Xiaoyou jing* 小有經 version, as opposed to the new so-called *Dayou jing* 大有經 version, which was revealed during GE HONG's lifetime. This new version was found in 301 in a cave on the Song shan 嵩山 by BAO JING (260–330?), governor of Nanhai 南海 (modern Canton; see YJQQ 4.10b and 6.11b; the latter passage has been identified as coming from the now lost *Xuanmen dayi* 玄門大義, a doctrinal work of the early seventh century).

BAO JING was GE HONG's father-in-law (CGF 76) and the master of the famous hermit XU MAI, the elder brother of XU MI, the main recipient of the *Shangqing jing* 上清經. Thus, BAO JING's *Dayou jing* version may in several respects be considered as the forerunner of the wave of "revealed" rewriting of ancient texts that produced the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures. This may be the reason LU XIUJING attributed one of the divisions of the Catalogue of the Three Caverns (*Sandong jing shumu* 三洞經書目) to BAO JING's scripture.

Unlike the Shangqing and Lingbao catalogues, no trace remains of Lu's list of the *Dongshen jing* 洞神經. It seems, however, that the corpus was quite small, comprising only four juan. Lu transmitted the texts to Sun Youyue 孫遊嶽, who passed them on to TAO HONGJING. Tao "analyzed the different currents to which these texts belonged and rearranged them into 11 juan," one for each of the Three Sovereigns, and one for each of the Eight Emperors (*badi* 八帝; see YJQQ 6.12). This arrangement of the Dongshen division is confirmed in WSBY 30.3a, and it is found again, enlarged to fourteen juan by the addition of three rituals, in 803 *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi*, the ritual for the transmission of the Dongshen canon. In a similar way, 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.7b indicates that in order to be ordained a master of the Dongshen division, adepts had to possess the fourteen juan of the *Dongshen*

jing. Of these, only the two juan of 640 *Dongshen badi miaojing jing* have survived. The reason for the loss may be that the *Sanhuang wen* was burned by imperial order in 646. It was replaced in the canon by the *Daode jing* 道德經 (CGF 77), as is still the case in the Ming *Daozang*.

The Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Peaks was also transmitted by TAO HONGJING along with the *Sanhuang wen* (see 1281 *Wuyue zhenxing xulun* and Dunhuang manuscripts Stein 3750 with Pelliot 2559). Another ancient text related to the *Sanhuang wen* that has been preserved is 767 *Taishang tongling bashi shengwen zhenxing tu*.

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Taishang tongling bashi shengwen zhenxing tu

太上通靈八史聖文真形圖

14 fols.

Third–fourth century A.D.

767 (fasc. 534)

“Image of the Sainly Writ and the True Form of the Eight Archivists for the Spiritual Communication with the Most High.” The Eight Archivists are the spirits of the Eight Trigrams. The interpretation of the term *shi* 史 may be deduced from the name of the trigram *kun* 坤 in the system of the present text. It is given alternately as *zhuxia* 柱下 and *zhushi* 柱史, both of which are short forms of the title *zhuxia shi* (literally, “scribe beneath the pillar”), and both of which are also used as names for Laozi, the archivist of Zhou (see *Hou Han shu* 59.1908–9 and YJQQ 3.3a). The ancient office of *zhuxia shi* is variously defined as that of a censor or archivist, and the title is used also as the name of a star in the Central Palace (possibly Draconis), said to be occupied with the “recording of offenses” (*jiguo* 記過; *Jin shu* 11.289). The practices related to the Eight Archivists are described in the present text as taking place beside a pillar at the center of the hall (*tangshu* 堂樞), where two archivists are thought to be permanently on duty (13a).

The present text describes a technique of divination based on summoning the Eight Archivists by means of fu and comprising the presentation of offerings (*ji* 祭) to the spirits. This technique was known to GE HONG, who in a discussion of the different forms of divination refers to the practice of making the Eight Archivists arrive by means of offerings (*jizhi bashi* 祭致八史; BPZ 15.248), and who in the list of the books in his master’s library includes the title, “Image of the Eight Archivists” (*Bashi tu*; BPZ 19.305). It is entirely possible that the present text is in fact the work that was

known to GE HONG. In any case, there is little doubt that a large part and perhaps all of the work is ancient, predating at least the period around A.D. 400, when the newly revealed Lingbao corpus was propagated by GE CHAOFU, the great-nephew of GE HONG. This early date appears from a comparison of the present work with one of the central texts of the Lingbao corpus, 671 *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shangjing* (see also the Dunhuang version of this text, Pelliot 2440; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zurokuhen*, 10–22).

The first juan of 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing* describes the five basic Lingbao fu, and the second juan centers on some practices related to the Eight Archivists and associated with a *Bashi zhenxing tu* 八史真形圖 (2.12a). The latter title is included in the list of the twenty-four images of the Lingbao corpus, given at the end of the second juan. The same list is found in 1407 *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi shengtu jing*, with hymns praising each image, and it is clearly related to GE HONG's catalogue (see Bokenkamp, "Sources," 459–60). In 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing* the title of the fu for communicating with the Eight Archivists is given as *Xuandong tongling fu* 玄洞通靈符 (2.12a, 11b), corresponding to the central set of fu in the present text (5b–9a), where the title of each includes the same phrase. The actual fu of the Eight Archivists are not included in 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing*, but it should be noted that the style of the version in the present text closely resembles that of the five Lingbao fu in the opening part of 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing*, a fact that becomes even more apparent when one turns to the Dunhuang manuscript version of this work. It seems that the two sets of fu together correspond to the *Bawei wusheng fu* 八威五勝符, mentioned by GE HONG (BPZ 19.7a; note that the term *wusheng fu* 五勝符 [Talismans of the Five Victories] is predominant in the Dunhuang version of 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing*, in spite of the term *wucheng* 五稱 [Five Denominations] in the title). It may be added that the thirteen *Bawei wusheng fu* are praised in the Tang dynasty 803 *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 10b–11a, in a hymn that contains the line *pianmu xuandong* 篇目玄洞 ("they belong under the heading Xuandong"). Note that GE HONG's catalogue includes a *Xuandong jing* 玄洞經 in ten juan, 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 19.5a.

The names of the Eight Archivists are the same in 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing* as in the present text, and the manner and purpose of relating to them is described in similar terms. The main differences are that in 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing* the fu of the Eight Archivists are presented as secondary in relation to the five Lingbao fu (2.1a, 11a–b), and the names of the eight spirits are combined with those of the buddhas and bodhisattvas of the Ten Directions—an arrangement that necessitates the addition of the two collective terms, *bajing* 八精 and *bashi* 八史, as the names of the two spirits of the center (2.5b–6b). These elaborations are clearly derivative with respect to the tradition of the present text, in which, furthermore, we find no indication of an influence from

the Lingbao tradition. The two instances where the term *tongling* 通靈 in the names of the above-mentioned fu is replaced by *lingbao* (8b) are of little consequence. On one hand, the term *lingbao* was in use independently of and well before the appearance of the Lingbao corpus; on the other, it might have slipped in during the later transmission of the present text. In any case, it is inconceivable that the system of the present text could have been derived from the Lingbao context as defined by 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing*. We may conclude that the present book is, if not necessarily the source of 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing*, then at least a version closely related to that source.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part (1a–5b), which has no separate title and may lack the beginning, the basic technique of divination through communication with the Eight Archivists is described. The spirits are said to be divided into couples, Zhushi 柱史 (spirit of the trigram *kun*) being the wife of Lingang 臨罡 (spirit of the trigram *qian* 乾), and so on. Each couple descends into a person's home for a period of three days, followed immediately by the descent of the next couple, and so on through a cycle of twelve days. If one wishes to consult these spirits, one must first fast for a period of 100 days, then place a set of eight fu written on wooden tablets in the eight directions (3b–4a). On the day of the descent of a couple, one must arrange offerings for the two spirits at the left door-pivot (*hushu* 戶樞) of the main hall of the house. The adept must call out the names of the spirits and may then ask them questions on any subject, including the future. Women should address the female spirit, and men the male, and the spirits will then respond by speaking to the adepts or by inspiring knowledge within their hearts. It may be noted that a particular value is ascribed to the concerted practice of man and wife, likened to the union of *qian* and *kun*, in a later part of the book (12b; cf. the early Zhengyi ritual preserved in 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*).

The second part of the book (5b–14a) is entitled “Bashi tongling fu 八史通靈符” and presents the somewhat different level of practice associated with the *Xuandong tongling fu* (see above). This part also contains many references to the protective and exorcistic functions of the Eight Archivists. The legend of the transmission of the fu is told by the Yellow Emperor, to whom all the passages of this second part of the book are attributed (in the first part only one passage (1b) opens with this attribution). The Yellow Emperor relates that he received the fu from “Lord Li, the senior master” (i.e., Laozi), who saw them in the Big Dipper, and who is also said to have brought them to the barbarians of India (*hu* 胡; 5b and 13a). The fu are referred to as stellar (*xingfu* 星符), and they are described as being governed by the stars of the Dipper (6a–9b). The Eight Archivists are found both at a pillar of the main hall in people's homes and in the Dipper, as subordinates of the Lord of the Dipper (Doujun 斗君; 13a–b) (fig. 20).

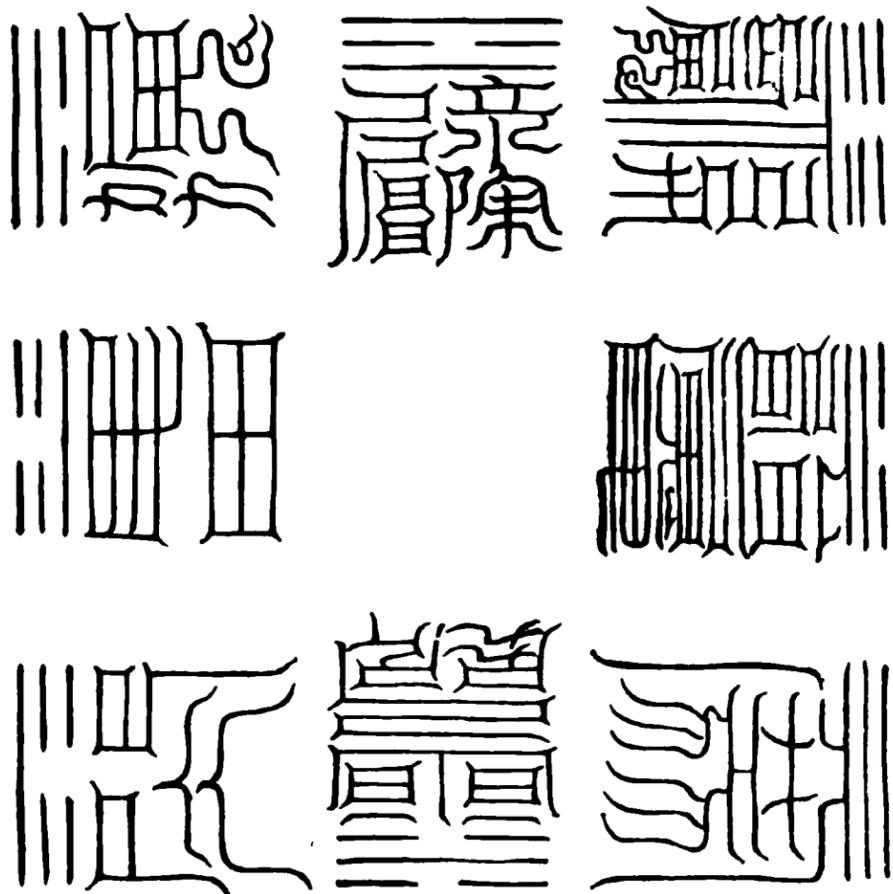


FIGURE 20. Fu of the Eight Archivists (767 3b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/760)

such tablets are functionally equivalent to statues of the gods. Offerings are presented to the fu (11a), and each of the Eight Trigrams is said to be governed by “the fu of one star” (9b). Furthermore, in the first part of the text—following the presentation of the eight fu to be displayed in the eight directions of the ritual area—an additional eight fu are presented as actual pictures of the gods. These eight fu are also divided into pairs, and it is stated that on the three days corresponding to the couple in question the fu “descend and are present in people’s homes” (4a–5a).

The two sets of eight fu in the first part of the book are found with some variations in 1202 *Dongshen badi yuanbian jing* 13b–16a. This book, which appears to belong to the second half of the Tang dynasty (618–907), is part of the Dongshen canon.

The practices related to the Eight Archivists form part of the common stock of early methods, drawn upon by all the Taoist traditions that were established in the course of the Six Dynasties. As testified by 671 *Wucheng fu shangjing*, these practices were to some extent adopted into the Lingbao corpus, and in the Zhengyi 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* we find the fu of the Eight Archivists mentioned in a list of mixed registers (*zalu* 雜錄; 4.22b). It was only during the later part of the Six Dynasties that these practices were classified as Dongshen, and in texts of the Tang dynasty this classification is unequivocal (see, e.g., 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.7b). We find no trace of such classifications in the present text. When qualified at all, the officiant is referred to merely as a daoshi, and the rules of transmission stipulate simply that the recipient should be a worthy person. However, one may not pass the fu on

When a question is addressed to them, they return to the Dipper to consult the registers of fate (10a and 12a). The same journey may be undertaken by a superior person and daoshi, whose name has already been entered in the register of immortals in the constellation. When such a person wears the fu, the spirits will attach themselves to his body, and after a period of three years he will ascend to heaven (5b–6a).

The relationship between the fu and the deities they represent is remarkably direct in this text. Each of the *Xuandong tongling fu* is referred to as the “spirit tablet” (*shenzhu* 神主) of the spirit in question. It should be noted that in present-day popular religion

indiscriminately, and in all cases one should announce their transmission to the spirits by “making offerings to the fu, while [placing oneself] under the Dipper” (*Jifu douxia* 祭符斗下; 13a–14a).

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Poul Andersen

Wuyue zhenxing xulun 五嶽真形序論

25 fols.

Late Six Dynasties (220–589)

1281 (fasc. 1005)

“Introductory Treatises to the [Image] of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains.” This work is a collection of four texts concerning the legends and rites surrounding this famous talisman. The first text (1a–18a) tells the story of the revelation of the talisman by the goddess Xi wang mu 西王母 to Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, describes the paradisiacal islands of the immortals, and tells of the later transmission of the holy image. A long quotation in 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lieshuo* 1.14b–18a shows that, in spite of its heterogeneous aspect, this text forms a single piece. In his commentary on 1016 *Zhen’gao*, TAO HONGJING refers twice to a *Wuyue xu*, once on the subject of the biography of Feng Junda 封君達 and once on that of the islands of the immortals (1016 *Zhen’gao* 10.23a and 14.20a). Both references agree with passages (on pages 16b and 8a–14b) of this first text, which probably constitutes the original version of 292 *Han wudi neizhuan* and 598 *Shizhou ji*, as well as of 293 *Han wudi waizhuan*.

The second text (18a–19b) contains two documents for the ritual of transmission of the talisman (*shoutu jiwen* 受圖祭文). These two written prayers are attributed to ZHENG YIN. They are related to the Rites of Transmission of the Image of the Five Sacred Mountains (*Shoushou Wuyue tu fa* 授受五嶽圖法) preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Stein 3750 and Pelliot 2559).

These rites are quoted in 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 5a–b as having been edited by TAO HONGJING himself (cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 331–32). They mention the fact that the ordinand should copy not only the holy image, but also the introduction (*xu* 序), and that the latter text would occupy fourteen to fifteen sheets of paper (Stein 3750, lines 25–26). This number agrees with the length of the first text of the present work, another indication that it was the original introduction.

The third text (19b–21b) is called “Instructions for Use by Mr. Bao [Jing],” and the last (21b–25b) is a preface to the Image of the Five Sacred Peaks attributed to

Dongfang Shuo 東方朔. This last text is also reproduced in 441 *Dongxuan lingbao wuyue guben zhenxing tu* 1a–4b.

The texts contained in the present work, together with an excerpt from the above-mentioned rites of transmission, are reproduced in YJQQ 79.

Kristofer Schipper

Shoushou wuyue tufa 授受五嶽圖法

Shoushou sanhuang fa 授受三皇法

Sixth century

Dunhuang manuscripts Stein 3750 and Pelliot 2559

“Rituals for the Transmission of the [Writs of the] Three Sovereigns.” These two texts are rituals for the transmission of the sacred talismans of the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 tradition. Both manuscripts are fragments of the same scroll, which must have been considerably longer. The rituals were probably written or edited by TAO HONGJING (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 331–32). A petition (Stein 3750, line 43) starts with the mention of the *Tianjian* 天監 era of the Liang dynasty (502–519)

The Stein manuscript begins with the final part of the rites of transmission for the *Xiyue gong jinshan fu* 西嶽公禁山符 and other talismans that belonged to a lesser degree of initiation (see 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.7b. Next follow the rites of transmission of the Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖). Tao’s commentary notes that these rites were transmitted by ZHENG YIN and GE HONG.

The rites for the transmission of the *Sanhuang jing* are incomplete. Tao notes at the beginning of his commentary that all versions current in his time came, in principle, from BAO JING and GE HONG but that some are of uncertain origin. He states that he grouped them all together in ten juan (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū*, 308, for a detailed discussion).

Kristofer Schipper

Dongshen badi miaojing jing 洞神八帝妙精經

32 fols.

Probably sixth century

640 (fasc. 342)

“Scripture of the Wondrous Essence of the Eight Emperors, of the Dongshen Canon.” The book is a compilation of some of the basic material of the Dongshen canon, which formed during the Six Dynasties around the original *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 in three juan (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū*, 298–317). A fourteen-juan list of the Dongshen scriptures, entitled “Dayou lutu jingmu 大有籙圖經目,” is included in 803 *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 5a–b, a Tang dynasty (618–907) text.

The format of this list corresponds to the discussion of the *Dongshen jing* found in a passage from the *Xuanmen dayi* 玄門大義, a text of the transition period between the Sui (581–618) and Tang dynasties (YJQQ 6.11a–12a; see also *Xiaoyou jing xiaji* 小有經下記, in YJQQ 9.9a). It is stated there that the *Dongshen jing* in eleven juan included one juan transmitted to each of the Three Sovereigns (i.e., the original *Sanhuang wen*) and one transmitted to each of the Eight Emperors, and that the number of fourteen juan was reached by the addition of special ritual texts. In the above-mentioned list, juan 4–11 of the *Dongshen jing* are associated with the Eight Emperors, and juan 4–6 are listed as the three parts of the *Badi miaojing jing* 八帝妙精經. The *Xuanmen dayi* attributes the arrangement of the *Dongshen jing* in eleven juan to TAO HONGJING (YJQQ 6.12a) and quotes “part six” (*diliu* 第六) of the *Dongshen jing* (SDZN 8.32a). Another quotation from this part six, apparently derived also from the *Xuanmen dayi*, is given in YJQQ 6.10b and is found verbatim in the present book (16a). It thus seems likely that the work dates at least to the late Six Dynasties.

The group of texts associated with the Eight Emperors is commonly referred to as the Eight Enquiries (*basuo* 八索; YJQQ 4.10a–b; 6.12a; 9.9a). The *Shangshu xu* 尚書序 by Kong Anguo 孔安國 defines the term *basuo* as referring to “expositions concerning the Eight Trigrams” (*Shisan jing zhushu* 114b; see also YJQQ 100.4b, 8b). It may be noted that another surviving part of the *Dongshen jing*, 1202 *Dongshen badi yuanbian jing* (corresponding to juan 7 to 9 of the list in 803 *Sanhuang yi*), centers on divinatory practices related to the Eight Archivists (*bashi* 八史) who are defined as the essences of the Eight Trigrams. However, none of these practices is included in the present book, which furthermore makes no reference to the Eight Emperors except in the title.

The text begins by presenting some basic elements of the Dongshen tradition, for instance, techniques of meditation on the Three Ones (*sanyi* 三一), the supreme deities of the human body (2b–4b), and the hymns entitled “Yangge jiuzhang 陽歌九章” (4b–6a), used in connection with ritual circumambulations (see WSBY 38.3b–4a and 1283 *Taishang dongshen xingdao shoudu yi* 4b–5b). The largest part of the text is taken up by a separate work entitled *Xicheng yaojue sanhuang tianwen nei dazi* 西城要訣三皇天文內大字 (12a–29b), which includes a series of ninety-two fu (17a–28b), divided into three parts and presented as a version of the original *Sanhuang wen* in three juan. A note under the title of this work identifies it as “the ritual practices and the established forms [*licheng* 立成] [of the *Sanhuang fu*] of the Immortal of the Western City” (i.e., Wang Yuan 王遠; 12a). And in a short passage immediately following the fu, the ritual instructions accompanying the fu are said to represent “the practices of Lord Wang” (*Wangjun shixing*; 29a). This description seems to refer to the work entitled *Xicheng shixing* 西城施行, which may well be the *Xicheng yaojue* 西城要訣 of the present text. A *Xicheng shixing* is mentioned in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2559 (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 331–32; *Zurokuhen*, 721–25). It is described there both

as a work in one juan containing “the essentials of summoning [spirits] for inspection” (by means of fu), and as an addition to the main corpus of *Sanhuang fu* in ten juan (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zurokuhen*, 724.100–1).

The note following the title says that the *Xicheng yaojue* was written down by the disciple of Wang Yuan, Bo He 帛和. In the following text, which leads up to the presentation of the fu, he relates how in 100 B.C. the master, after a three-year period of waiting, transmitted to him the “essential Way,” consisting of the *Sanhuang tianwen dazi* 三皇天文大字 and the formulas for the making of elixir of the *Taiqing zhongjing* 太清中經 (15b). The basis for this account would seem to be the biography of Bo He in *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (see, e.g., 596 *Xianyuan bianzhu* 2.17b–18b and TPYL 663.6b). The circumstances of the transmission are described in a different way in this biography, but there, too, the master is Lord Wang of Mount Xicheng, and the same texts are mentioned (with the addition of the *Wuyue tu* 五嶽圖).

A similar account, concerning, however, only the *Sanhuang wen* and the *Wuyue tu*, is found in 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 19.8a–b. It explains that those who are destined to attain the Tao may enter a holy mountain and through the practice of meditation obtain a vision of the fu, following the example of Bo He. However, at the time of the late Six Dynasties (220–589) the transmission of the *Sanhuang fu* was associated more particularly with the name of BAO JING (see also *Erjiao lun* 8.141b on the “fabrication” of the *Sanhuang jing* by BAO JING during the years 291–299). The author of the *Xuanmen dayi* speculates that perhaps GE HONG in fact received the tradition from two different sources (YJQQ 6.12a; 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 2.7a).

The problem of different lines of transmission resulting in separate versions of the tradition is reflected in the present text, which concludes with a spurious quotation from BPZ, entitled “Secret Words of Baopu zi” (29b–32a). It is not clear whether this passage originally formed part of the immediately preceding *Xicheng yaojue* or was written especially for the present text. The “secret words” refer to “the Established Forms (*licheng*) written down in this place,” that is, in the section of the *Xicheng yaojue* presenting the fu (31a). The reduced format of this version of the *Sanhuang fu* contrasts with the information derived from BAO JING that the *Tianwen sanhuang dazi* comprised 40,000 words; the passage also states that GE HONG, in addition, received the essential Way of the Three Writs (*sanwen yaodao* 三文要道; apparently a version in four juan comprising fewer than the 40,000 words mentioned) from BAO JING (31a and 32a).

It should be noted that in the above-mentioned passage of the *Xicheng yaojue*, on the ritual instructions accompanying the fu, the directions found under the first nine fu in the present text are said to be different from those found in the Inner Scripture of Lord Bao (*Baogong neijing* 鮑公內經; 29a). We may compare the material found in WSBY 25, entitled “Essential Usages of the Sanhuang Tradition” (*Sanhuang yaoyong*

三皇要用) and said to be derived in its entirety from the *Dongshen jing*. The last part of the juan (25.9b–10b) gives instructions for the nine fu that are partly identical with those in the present text (though omitting some of the indications of accompanying fasts). A widely different series of instructions for nine fu related to the same group of deities is found in a preceding part of the same juan (3b–5a). Furthermore, we find that a passage at the beginning of this juan of the WSBY (2b.1–2) corresponds to a quotation in TPYL 676.8b from a *Sanhuang xumu* 三皇序目 (which may quite likely be the same as the *Xumu* attributed to BAO JING and quoted in the *Xuanmen dayi*; see YJQQ 6.10b–11b). Note also the correspondence between the title of a section of this juan, “Zhuguan qingtai zhi fu 朱官青胎之符” in WSBY 25.7b–8a, and the title “Qingtai fu 青胎符” for a part of the main corpus said in Pelliot 2559 to be transmitted by Bao and Ge (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zurokuhen*, 724.100, 120). Thus it seems likely that the opening parts of this juan were derived from a BAO JING version of the *Dongshen jing*.

Poul Andersen

1.B.5 Other Revealed Scriptures

A certain number of important revealed scriptures of the Six Dynasties were not selected by LU XIUJING as canonical texts in his *Sandong jing shumu* 三洞經書目, perhaps for several reasons. Some texts, like the *Taiping jing* 太平經, had not yet been rewritten or adapted in Lu’s time (see part 1.B.6). Once it was adapted, it obtained canonical status as the Taiping division of the Sui and Tang *Daozang*. Other texts, like the *Shengxuan neijiao jing* 昇玄內教經 and the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* 洞淵神咒經, may have been left out because, unlike the Books of the Three Caverns and the Scripture of the Great Peace, their prototypes were not part of the library of GE HONG but belonged instead to the texts of the Way of the Heavenly Master. They were probably produced by sectarian movements. They never obtained separate divisions in the canon, even in Tang times.

Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing 太上洞淵神咒經

20 juan

Late Eastern Jin (317–420); preface by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

335 (fasc. 170–173)

“Scripture of Divine Incantations of the Abyssal Caverns.” This work is the principal apocalyptic text of medieval China. The term *shenzhou* 神咒 (divine incantations) suggests the work’s oral aspect. The scripture presents itself as revealed by the Tao to a

worthy recipient whose mission it was to transmit it in order to save mankind from the imminent end of the world. The work's confused and highly repetitive style confirms its oral, mediumistic origins. Even the book's title is not definitively stated. It presents itself as the Scripture of the Innumerable (*Wuliang jing* 無量經; 1.1a), the Marvelous Scripture of the Central Mystery of Shangqing (*Shangqing zhongxuan miaojing* 上清中玄妙經; 2.1a), the Scripture of Divine Incantations (*Shenzhou jing* 神咒經; 3.2b), the Book of Samādhi (*Sanmei jing* 三昧經) and the Scripture of Great Exorcism (*Daqu jing* 大驅經; 5.1a; 10.1a), among other titles. Although the text contains no evidence as to the identity of its medium-recipient, a few elements indicate that it was produced by a fervent religious movement, a sect active in the Jiangnan region (south of the Yangzi) at the beginning of the fifth century.

The oldest versions of the *Shenzhou jing* are found among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Pelliot and Stein collections). These versions emanate from a text that comprised ten juan (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zurokuhen*, 519–63, which gives the best reconstruction of the Dunhuang version of the *Shenzhou jing*). Two manuscripts (Pelliot 3233 and 2444)—corresponding to juan one and seven, respectively—contain colophons dated 664 that state this copy of the work was made in a metropolitan monastery (the Lingyin guan 靈應觀) by order of Emperor Gaozong for the crown prince Li Hong 李弘, the son of Wu Zetian (r. 684–704), named after the Taoist messiah. The characters *yuan* 淵, *min* 民, *shi* 世, and *zhi* 治 in these two manuscripts are substituted in deference to the names of Tang emperors. During the first half of the sixth century, the *Shenzhou jing* was known as a ten-juan scripture (see 319 *Dongxuan lingbao benxiang yundu jieqi jing* 4b–5a), and 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.6b, at the beginning of the Tang, still refers to the version in ten juan. The *Shenzhou jing* maintains this form until the end of the Tang (618–907). It appears as such in the other Dunhuang copies dating from the seventh and eighth centuries, as well as in a reference in DU GUANGTING's 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 12.9b–10a (YJQQ 119.7a–7b). Historical references found in these first ten juan allow us to date the original *Shenzhou jing* to the beginning of the fifth century. There are several allusions to Liu Yu 劉裕 (363–442), founder of the Liu Song dynasty (e.g., 1.3a, 9b), as well as typical Six Dynasties terms such as *suolu* 索虜 (2.8a), an expression used in the south to designate northern barbarians.

At the beginning of the Five Dynasties, DU GUANGTING expanded the text into twenty juan. This is the basic text of the *Shenzhou jing* found in the *Daozang* edition. It comprises the same ten juan (apart from some variations) of the Dunhuang versions, plus eight later juan from the Tang period and two additional juan (19 and 20) that are contemporary with the scripture's original ten-juan nucleus.

The *Daozang* edition opens with a preface by DU GUANGTING that refers to the wood-block printing of the work that he commissioned (preface, 3b). The title Heav-

only Master Transmitter of Truth (*chuanzhen tianshi* 傳真天師) that appears in the list of Du's titles in the note preceding his preface allows us to date Du's edition to the first decades of the tenth century. This title was bestowed on him by Wang Yan 王衍 (r. 918–926), the second ruler of the Shu 蜀 kingdom, at a ceremony of reciprocal investiture in 923 (see Verellen, *Du Guangting*, 178).

Du's preface attributes the *Shenzhou jing*'s revelation to a certain Wang Zuan 王纂, a Taoist at Mount Maji 馬跡山 (part of the Maoshan range), at the end of the Eastern Jin (before 316). Though this attribution cannot be accepted for the purpose of dating the present scripture, it may nevertheless have a certain foundation. The lineage of masters associated with the *Shenzhou jing* might have claimed Wang Zuan as their spiritual ancestor. This order's existence is attested by the beginning of the Tang (cf. 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.3b and 445 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* 3a). Du no doubt received the order's original *Shenzhou jing* as well as the related liturgical texts (penitential rituals and rituals for requesting rain) that are found in his edition. These rituals (some of which are also found as independent texts in the *Daozang*) were transmitted to the *Shenzhou jing* masters (*shenzhou shi* 神咒師; also called masters of the Law of the Great Religion of the Samādhi and of the Divine Incantations of the Abyssal Caverns [*Dongyuan shenzhou dazong sanmei fashi* 洞淵神咒大宗三昧法師]) when they were ordained (see 1125 *Kejie yingzhi* and 445 *Fangsuo wen*, mentioned above).

The “Scripture of Divine Incantations of the Abyssal Caverns” presents itself as the Book of books, the absolute, supreme scripture. It is, in fact, at the same time a prophylactic text, a liturgical manual, a repository of all the deities, a demonological repertory, a contract shared by adepts and masters of the Three Caverns (*sandong fashi* 三洞法師; the *Shenzhou jing*'s highest clerical rank), and a passport for salvation. But its fundamental *raison d'être* is the prophetic, apocalyptic message it contains. This message has its foundation in a Taoist theological setting. The *Shenzhou jing*'s ideology and liturgy are rooted in the Heavenly Masters organization.

The present text includes all the characteristics of apocalyptic drama. Its vision can be summarized as follows: The end of the world is imminent; it corresponds to the completion of a cosmic era, a Great Kalpa. The final deluge will be preceded by calamities that will occur in particular years of the sexagesimal cycle: wars; invasions; brigandage; social, political, and family dissolution; meteorological disorders; trials; imprisonments and official punishments; oppression of the people by tyrannical officials; fires; floods; bad harvests; famines; witchcraft and sorcery; and, above all, the extraordinary spread of countless diseases. All these afflictions will be brought on by gigantic armies of many kinds of demons (*gui* 鬼 and *mowang* 魔王) that are mostly the souls of the dead. Their proliferation will be the result of the people's moral corruption. Instead of conforming to the true religion (the religion of the Three Caverns,

that is, Taoism, of which the *Shenzhou jing* says it is the highest representative), the people commit sins, are swayed by heterodox cults and shamanism, and sacrifice domestic animals to offer blood to the demons that bring on disasters and adversity.

The deluge will occur in the fifty-fourth year (*jiashen* 甲申) of the sexagesimal cycle in order to purify the universe by ridding it of all these evil creatures. These apocalyptic predictions are repeated again and again throughout the first ten original juan of the work. Little place is left for expressions of hope or descriptions of a utopian life. Salvation is promised for all the faithful who have been converted to the Law and who show their full devotion to the correct way by conforming to the liturgical prescriptions and by practicing active proselytism. The elect or Seed People (*zhongmin* 種民) will constitute a new immortal race in the paradisiacal kingdom of Great Peace ruled by the Perfect Lord Li Hong. This savior will appear in a *renchen* 壬辰 year, eight years after the end of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The literature on the *Shenzhou jing* is extensive. See Mollier, *Une apocalypse taoïste*, and references there.

Christine Mollier

Taishang dongshen dongyuan shenzhou zhibing kouzhang

太上洞神洞淵神咒治病口章

36 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1290 (fasc. 1008)

“Oral Petition for the Healing of Diseases, in the Dongyuan Shenzhou Tradition, of the *Taishang Dongshen* Division.” The early chapters of 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* expressly prescribe the liturgical practice of *kouzhang* 口章, the oral petition. The present text is representative of the context of the movement that produced this scripture. There are many similarities in the lists of deities and demons, and one passage of 335 *Shenzhou jing* (10.7b–8a) gives a description of the presentation of an oral memorial for healing purposes that is close to the ritual we have here.

The ritual, which shows no direct influence of the Lingbao liturgy, is performed at the home of the patient by a master who has received the Heavenly Master ordination (4b), in conjunction with an Offering to the Five Emperors (*jiao wudi* 醮五帝; 28a–b).

The fact that this text was classified as part of the Dongshen division is also an important indication of its early inclusion into the Taoist canon (see general introduction).

Although the text mentions the characteristic cheek slapping (*bojia* 搏頰) as an expression of contrition, rites of repentance do not play the same dominant role here as in the Lingbao liturgy. Instead, a vast number of gods and demons are conjured up, and misdeeds committed by ancestors are annulled (*jie* 解).

This is an important text for the study of the Shenzhou ritual and for the history of Taoist liturgy in general.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongzhen taiji beidi ziwei shenzhou miaojing 洞真太極北帝紫微神咒妙經

12 fols.

Eastern Jin (317–420)

49 (fasc. 29)

“Marvelous Book of the Spells of the God of the Pole Star, Emperor of the North of the Supreme Ultimate, a Dongzhen Canon.” Under this rather unlikely title has been preserved a fragment of an ancient and important eschatological work that has no links with the Dongzhen (i.e., the Shangqing) scriptures but is instead close to the early parts of 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*. Like the latter, the present text refers to itself as *Sanmei jing* 三昧經 (3a; compare 335 *Shenzhou jing* 8.9a and passim). Stylistically, the short paragraphs introduced as revelations, as well as the vocabulary and phraseology, are similar. The text speaks of the current period as the Great Jin 大晉 (9b) and mentions invasions by barbarians (10a).

The text begins with a subtitle (*pin* 品) that applies to the entire juan, which implies that it is but a section of a larger work. Paragraphs 2–12 (2a–10b) contain revelations concerning the disasters to come during the ten final years of the sexagesimal cycle, from *jiayin* 甲寅 to *guihai* 癸亥. Presumably, the complete work covered the entire sixty years and was therefore composed of six juan. The *Chongwen zongmu* 10.6b lists a *Beidi shenzhou jing* 北帝神咒經 in ten juan, which may well correspond to the present work. This *Beidi shenzhou jing* is listed as lost in 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 1.14a.

The revelations are presented as spoken by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, and on page 6b the cult of the Three Heavenly Worthies is mentioned. This text may therefore be contemporary to the Lingbao scriptures, but it is not included in LU XIUJING’s list of canonical books.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao feixian shangpin miaojing 洞玄靈寶飛仙上品妙經

5 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

381 (fasc. 182)

“Marvelous Scripture on Flying Immortals.” During a heavenly meeting where the “predication on Earth” of the *Sanmei wuliang shenzhou dajing* 三昧無量神咒大經 is discussed, the audience asks the Heavenly Worthy what to do about “the superficial and inconstant world of today, where most people believe neither in Taoist methods nor in the teaching of the Three Caverns” (1b), notwithstanding the imminent cataclysm.

The words of the Tao (*daoyan* 道言) provide the answer, tracing back the history of salvation. Anyone aspiring to immortality must renew it. First one has to receive the registers, beginning with those linked to the Yellow and Red Talismans (*huangchi zifu* 黃赤紫符), belonging to the Heavenly Master tradition, then those of the Three Caverns and, finally, the Divine Formulas (*shenzhou* 神咒) that destroy demons and save people (2a). After receiving the scriptures and the corresponding registers, the adept has to observe the calendar of the fasts. These fasts must not be practiced by an adept alone but in community with others (2b). The Tao continues with a litany of fifty-one actions that enable one “to become a Flying Immortal.” Among these fifty-one actions, “the keeping of the fasts is the first” (4a).

The present scripture is then revealed. During this revelation, an altercation takes place between an immortal and a *zhenren*. The Heavenly Worthy declares the *zhenren* to be in the right and banishes the immortal to the moon, where he must “cut the cassia tree” (4b). This incident provokes a question from the immortal King of the Flying Skies concerning the hierarchy of merits. The Heavenly Worthy tells him that his answer will be an oar, a bridge of good karma, a good field of merit. All the saints, here gathered, have performed meritorious actions since the first year of the Opening of the Light (*kaiguang* 開光). Thus they have “gradually obtained access to the fruits of the Supreme Tao” (5b). In the heavenly hierarchy there are “nine grades” (*jiupin* 九品) of immortals, *zhenren*, and saints. Everyone can become a saint. The accumulation of merits is comparable to the building of a tower.

The scripture is mentioned in 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* (20.25a). The beginning of our text seems to draw inspiration from this work, which mentions the *Sanmei* texts (6.6b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhonghe jing 太上洞玄靈寶中和經

10 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1120 (fasc. 759)

“Scripture of Central Harmony.” This is a longer recension of the treatise on cosmic harmony (*chonghe* 冲和), the first part of 789 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing* (1a–12a). The entire text of this treatise is reproduced here as “spoken by the Tao” (*daoyan* 道言). Some passages are interchanged, notably the one that begins “The Tao manifests [itself] through spontaneity . . .” (*dao chu ziran* 道出自然; 8b), which in the original version constitutes the final part of the text (10a). The changes are often quite revealing with respect to the evolution of Taoist doctrines in the early middle ages.

Although the present work claims to be a Lingbao scripture, it is not mentioned among the texts of that corpus. It must, however, be anterior to the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing* (see the next article), as the latter’s seventh juan contains elements borrowed and adapted from it (see 1122 *Taishang lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing zhonghe pin shuyi shu*).

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Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing

太上洞玄靈寶昇玄內教經

Originally 10 juan

Six Dynasties (220–589)

Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot 2990 (juan 5); Pelliot 2560 (juan 6); Pelliot 3341 (juan 7); Stein 6310; Pelliot 2474; Pelliot 2326; Stein 3722 (juan 8); Pelliot 2750 and Pelliot 2430; Stein 4561 (juan 9); Stein 6241; Pelliot 2343 (juan 10); and fragments: Pelliot 2391; Pelliot 2445; DX 5177; DX 901; Stein 107; and DX 2768

“Scripture of the Esoteric Doctrine of Ascent to Mystery.” This long scripture presents itself as a superior revelation, superseding the earlier Lingbao corpus. In the beginning of juan seven (see 1122 *Taishang lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing zhonghe pin shuyi shu* 1a), Zhang Daoling 張道陵 beseeches the Most High Lord Lao to reveal the esoteric doctrine (*neijiao* 內教), whereupon the latter promises to tell him “what the Scripture of the Five Tablets has not yet conveyed.” This *Wupian jing* 五篇經 is the first and leading text of the Lingbao corpus, namely, 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*. In other parts of the present text, the Lingbao scriptures are characterized as the exoteric doctrine (*waijiao* 外教) and, as such, contrasted with the *neijiao* of the present scripture (Pelliot 2445, lines 56–58)

The esoteric doctrine is a perfect Buddho-Taoist hybrid. Juan 5 is called “The Return of the Good Conqueror” (*Shansheng huanguo pin* 善勝還國品) and presents

the revelations by a bodhisattva (*dashi* 大士) of that name on his return from the Western Regions. Other similar, and even more specific, elements from the myth of the Conversion of the Barbarians (*huahu* 化胡) are found in juan 8 (entitled “The Revelation of the True Commandments” [*Xian zhenjie pin* 顯真戒品]), as well as in many other parts of the work. The instructions are addressed to Taoists as well as Buddhists, to *daoshi* and *śramana* alike (Pelliot 2343, line 7). This is the ultimate revelation. None of the other scriptures, except the *Daode jing* 道德經, are to be considered as valid (Pelliot 2343, lines 92–95).

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Taishang lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing zhonghe pin shuyi shu

太上靈寶昇玄內教經中和品述議疏

43 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

1122 (fasc. 759)

“Annotated Edition of the Chapter on Central Harmony [*zhonghe*] in the Scripture of the Esoteric Doctrine of the Ascent to Mystery [*Shengxuan neijiao jing*].” The present text, shorn of its undated commentary, constitutes the seventh juan, the only part extant in the Ming *Daozang*, of the scripture originally comprising ten juan and quoted as such in WSBY 46.1a–3b (Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 145). The complete work, which 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* indicates as missing, still existed in Song times (960–1279; VDL 170–71). A number of juan have been retrieved among the Dunhuang manuscripts (see preceding article).

The present chapter takes its title and part of its contents from the earlier pseudo Lingbao scripture 1120 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhonghe jing*. It copies and adapts the latter’s Five Commandments (3b–4a, corresponding to 4a–b in the present text), as well as numerous other phrases and passages. The commandments are found in WSBY 46.1a–3b as *Shengxuan wujie* 昇玄五戒.

The fact that 1120 *Zhonghe jing* constitutes a rewriting of the early Heavenly Master treatise 789 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing* points to a filiation that might explain why the *Shengxuan neijiao jing* is considered a revelation to the First Heavenly Master, Zhang Daoling 張道陵.

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1.B.6 The *Taiping jing*

Taiping jing 太平經

170 juan (missing: juan 11–34, 38, 52, 56–64, 73–85, 87, 94–95, 115, 119–170)

Reedited during the late Six Dynasties (220–589)

1101a (fasc. 746–755)

“Scripture of the Great Peace.” The term *taiping* 太平 occurs from early Han times (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), characterizing the result of good government. The work expounds cosmological theories and moral precepts for the improvement of the state and of the world in general.

This text was originally divided into ten parts, numbered according to the Celestial Stems (*jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *bing* 丙, *ding* 丁, etc.). Each part comprised seventeen juan, containing an unequal number of chapters (*pian* 篇). According to a table of contents found in a Dunhuang manuscript (Stein 4226; see below), the number of *pian* of the entire scripture totaled 366.

The questions of the provenance, authorship, and transmission of the present version of the *Taiping jing* are beset with difficulties and have been the subject of much research since the 1950s (reviewed in Beck, “The date of the *Taiping jing*”). Although the text undeniably contains much ancient material (see Tang Yongtong, “Du *Taiping jing* shu suojian”; Wang Ming, “Lun *Taiping jing* chao jiabu zhi wei”; idem, *Taiping jing hejiao*; Ōfuchi Ninji, “Taihei kyō no raireki”; Kaltenmark, “Ideology of the *Taiping ching*”; and Kandel, *Taiping jing*), there is also ample proof that this version corresponds to a late Six Dynasties *rifacimento* (see Fukui Kōjun, “Taihei kyō”), its author being one Zhou Zhixiang 周智響, who presented the work to the throne in the years 569–583, most probably in 572, as this was a *renchen* 壬辰 year of great prophetic significance (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 2:130–31).

A work with the term *taiping* in its title is first mentioned in several places in the *Han shu* in connection with the events of the years 33 B.C. to A.D. 9. Called Scripture of the Great Peace and the Conservation of the Origin According to the Calendar of the Officials of Heaven (*Tianguan li baoyuan taiping jing* 天官曆包元太平經), this work was said to have been revealed by the immortal Chijing zi 赤精子 and to have contained instructions for the renewal of the heavenly mandate of the dynasty (Beck, “Date,” 155–57; Kandel, *Taiping jing*, 3–23).

The traditions surrounding the present *Taiping jing* all center, however, on a second revealed text bearing the title Book of the Great Peace with Blue-Green Headings (*Taiping qingling shu* 太平清[青]領書). It was presented to the Han throne in 166 as having been obtained from a holy man named Gan Ji 干吉 (or Yu Ji 于吉) from

Langye 琅邪 (Shandong). Fan Ye 范曄 (398–446; *Hou Han shu* 30B.1084) adds the information that Gan Ji's book comprised 170 juan and that he "obtained it at the Quyang 曲陽 springs" (probably in Shandong).

Taoist sources identify Gan Ji as a zhenren of antiquity. According to the preface to the One Hundred and Eighty Rules of Lord Lao (*Laojun yibai bashi jie* 老君一百八十戒, in 786 *Taishang laojun jinglü* 2a–4a; this text antedates A.D. 400; see Schmidt, "Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften"), the Way of the Great Peace (*Taiping zhi dao* 太平之道) and the Teachings of Great Purity (*Taiqing zhi jiao* 太清之教) were first revealed to the world during the reign of King Nan 赧 of the Zhou (315–256 B.C.). At that time, Lord Lao came to Langye and transmitted to Gan Ji the *Taiping jing* in 170 juan and ten parts. The above-mentioned 786 *Taishang laojun jinglü* reproduces the One Hundred and Eighty Rules along with the Precepts of Xiang'er (*Xiang'er jie* 想爾戒), and there is indeed a certain resemblance between the two codes of conduct. Rao Zongyi (*Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng*, 98–102, and "Xiang'er jiujie yu sanhe yi") has demonstrated the relationship of the Xiang'er precepts and the Xiang'er commentary of the *Laozi* with the *Taiping jing*. The preface to the table of contents of the *Taiping jing* in the Dunhuang manuscript quotes Xiang'er as saying that because there were so many impostors the Tao recorded the Threefold Harmony (*sanhe* 三合), in order that the truth might be discerned. This Threefold Harmony is then defined as the combination of the teachings of the *Daode jing*, the *Taiping jing*, and the Way of the Heavenly Master (manuscript Stein 4226, lines 47–50). The short account of the history of Taoism given in 1205 *Santian neijie jing* (4a–b) speaks of a *Taiping daojing* that Lord Lao bestowed on Gan Ji (as well as on a certain Li Wei 李微 from Shu 蜀) as a forerunner of the Way of the Heavenly Master.

Thus, from the third through the fifth centuries, the *Taiping jing* (like the Xiang'er texts) was transmitted by the Way of the Heavenly Master. The 1243 *Zhengyi fawen taishang wailu yi* (an early Heavenly Master text) quotes the *Taiping jing*. A first citation on page 4a does not occur verbatim in the parts of the *Taiping jing* that have come down to us, but it is similar in style and enumerates six classes of superior beings (*shenren* 神人, *zhenren* 真人, *xianren* 仙人, *daoren* 道人, *shengren* 聖人, *xianren* 賢人), which are also found, in reversed order, in juan 71.8a of the present *Taiping jing*. A second, longer quote in 1243 *Wailu yi* 13b–14a shows affinities with *Taiping jing* 42.1a–b.

About 570, Zhen Luan refers, in *Xiaodao lun* (*Guang hongming ji* 9.15a), to the *Taiping daojing* as lost. The disappearance of the *Taiping jing* at the end of the Six Dynasties (220–589) period is also documented elsewhere. The *Xuanmen dayi* 玄門大義 (YJQQ 6.15a–b, where on 6.1a it is given the variant title *Daomen dalun* 道門大論), dating from the beginning of the seventh century, speaks of two versions of the *Taiping jing* formerly in existence: the original scripture transmitted to Gan Ji, which was

entirely lost; and a version transmitted by the Way of the Heavenly Master, of which only some fragments remained. The latter version was called the Scripture of the Great Peace Pervading the Ultimate (*Taiping dongji jing* 太平洞極經) and once had 144 juan. Again according to the *Xuanmen dayi*, a new version, complete in 170 juan, had become current in recent times. This was due to the “rediscovery,” during the reign of Emperor Xuan of the Chen dynasty (569–583), of a miraculously preserved copy. It was “found” by the above-named Zhou Zhixiang, a disciple of Zang [Xuan]jing 藏 [玄]靜, the author of a commentary to the *Laozi* (see 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*, preface 3a). Zhou afterward lectured on the text in the capital and received the title of *Taiping fashi* 太平法師; “since then, the book has become widespread.”

There are other stories surrounding the “rediscovery” of the *Taiping jing* during the latter part of the Six Dynasties period. These stories show, in accordance with the preface and postface of the table of contents in the Dunhuang manuscript Stein 4226, a marked involvement with the Shangqing tradition (see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 2:7–114). GE HONG’s library contained two versions of the *Taiping jing*; one was the 170-chapter edition in ten parts. It is also known that the Shangqing tradition transmitted many texts of the Way of the Heavenly Master. Yoshioka’s conclusion is therefore that the new version mentioned by the *Xuanmen dayi* (which must correspond to that of the Dunhuang manuscript as well as our text) was obtained through the combination of the then still extant fragments of the original scripture of Gan Ji on the one hand, and of the *Taiping dongji jing* on the other (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 2:103–4). The present text of the *Taiping jing* calls itself repeatedly *Dongji jing* (see Kaltenmark, “Ideology,” 25), and the *Taiping dongji jing* is therefore a plausible source. We have virtually no information, however, about the original *Taiping jing* other than that, like the “rediscovered” version as well as the present one, it comprised 170 juan. This fact does not prove Yoshioka’s hypothesis correct but only renders the new version more suspect.

The Dunhuang manuscript with the table of contents of the new version carries the title “Second Juan of the Taiping Division” (*Taiping bu dier juan* 太平部第二卷; critical edition in Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 2:14–63), which means that it was copied from the Taiping division of the Taoist canon, probably for the purpose of an ordination ceremony (see Schipper, “Taoist ordination ranks,” 143). The manuscript does not observe the Tang taboo for *zhi* 治, which makes it unlikely that it was taken from the Taoist canon of the Tianbao (742–756) era. This leaves only the early seventh century as the date *terminus ante quem*.

Finally, there is an unsigned Tang dynasty postface of the present version of the *Taiping jing*. It is called *Taiping jing fuwen xu* 復文序, and the Ming editors placed it at the beginning of 1102 *Taiping jing shengjun bizhi*, although it exclusively concerns our text. The *fuwen* 復文 to which the title refers are the talismanic *fu* 符 writings that

occupy juan 104 to 107 and that are considered, like the similar True Writs (*zhenwen* 真文) of the Lingbao tradition, the core (*benwen* 本文) of the revealed text. This postface traces the history of the *Taiping jing* back to Zhou Zhixiang and indicates that the present version corresponds to the one he “rediscovered.”

From the foregoing it follows that Zhou most probably used whatever was left at his time of the version transmitted by the Way of the Heavenly Master, the *Taiping dongji jing*. This text he rewrote and enlarged considerably in order to make it into a 170-juan book (cf. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 2:141–46). Other, older versions did survive for a long time along with the new text (this may explain why a *Taiping jing* is marked as lost in 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu*), and thanks to a number of quotations from these older versions, it is possible to see how the new version was made. What remains from the older versions shows a concise classical style and a precise argumentation, while the corresponding passages in the present version are never fully identical; instead they are expanded, verbose rewritings, drawn out and repetitive in the extreme (compare SDZN 1.21b–23a and *1101a* 45.7b–10b, *passim*). Furthermore, the available original material appears to have been spread out thinly throughout the book, which has “chapters” of only one or two pages in length. It seems likely that the talismanic *fuwen* texts were added in order to make the *Taiping jing* correspond to the other prestigious revealed texts of medieval times, and thus to justify its place in the framework of the liturgical organization as the canon of a Taiping division (*bu* 部).

Nevertheless, the *rifacimento* does contain much old material, which, if properly handled, can yield important insights, as Kaltenmark has shown, into the ideology of the Han *Taiping jing*.

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Part 2

Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties

2.A Texts in General Circulation

2.A.1 Philosophy

2.A.1.a Commentaries on Ancient Philosophers

The Tang dynasty (618–907) witnessed a substantial production of commentaries on ancient Taoist philosophical works, with Laozi's *Daode jing* occupying the first place. By the middle of the eighth century, some thirty *Daode jing* commentaries, written after the beginning of the Tang, were in existence. This activity is hardly surprising, in view of Laozi's adoption as ancestor of the ruling Li 李 clan and the subsequent imperial reverence bestowed upon the *Daode jing*, declared in 747 the most important of all canonical texts.

The significance of this corpus of commentaries is manifold. Texts such as 677 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhu Daode zhenjing*, 678 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu*, and 679 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu*—together constituting twenty-eight juan of commentary, subcommentary, and commentary to the subcommentary on the *Daode jing*—testify to the zeal with which Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) and his circle promoted the Taoist worldview. One century and a half after Xuanzong's demise, the influence of his commentaries had not yet waned, as is evident from DU GUANGTING's (850–933) massive fifty-juan 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*.

Whereas a number of authors associated with so-called Chongxuan 重玄 or Double Mystery—the leading Taoist intellectual trend in the first half of the Tang dynasty (see the introduction to part 2.A.1.b)—presented their ideas in the form of dialogic treatises or other autonomous works, others expounded their theories in commentatorial form. This is the case with Li Rong's 李榮 722 *Daode zhenjing zhu* and CHENG XUANYING's subcommentary to GUO XIANG's *Zhuangzi* commentary, in the 745 *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu*. The influence of Chongxuan learning is also evident from Zhao Zhijian's 趙志堅 719 *Daode zhenjing shuyi* and Xuanzong's commentaries to the *Daode jing*. The *Daode jing* commentaries of Xuanzong, Li Rong, and CHENG XUANYING, together with those by HESHANG GONG and YAN ZUN, were compiled in the early tenth-century 711 *Daode zhenjing xuande zuanshu*. This compendium is also of considerable importance for the reconstruction of texts (*in casu* the commentaries by YAN ZUN and Li Rong) that had been presumed lost or were only partly transmitted.

The late Tang and Wudai (907–960) trend to synthesize Taoist and Confucian values, which found its most systematic expression in Luo Yin's 羅隱 1135 *Taiping liangtong shu*, is reflected in Lu Xisheng's 685 *Daode zhenjing zhuan*. Wang Zhen's 王真 713 *Daode jing lunbing yaoyi shu* is interesting in that it offers an interpretation of the *Daode jing* as a manual on strategy.

Daode zhenjing zhu 道德真經註

4 juan

By Li Rong 李榮; seventh century

722 (fasc. 430)

“Commentary on the *Daode jing*.” Li Rong, *hao* Renzhen zi 任真子, was a famous Taoist monk originally from Sichuan who lived in the second half of the seventh century. He played an important part in controversies between the Buddhists and the Taoists. Li was also the author of commentaries on the *Zhuangzi*, now lost, and on the *Xisheng jing* 西昇經. The latter is partially preserved in 726 *Xisheng jing jizhu*.

This commentary on the *Laozi* is incomplete, ending with chapter 36. It is possible to recuperate some of the missing text from quotations found in 711 *Daode zhenjing xuande zuanshu*. The present commentary can be classed with commentaries of the Chongxuan 重玄 (Double Mystery) school, along with those of CHENG XUANYING on the *Zhuangzi* and the *Laozi* (cf. 745 *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu*), which were strongly inspired by the Mādhyamika: The Tao of the Center is neither *you* 有 (being) nor *wu* 無 (nonbeing) (1.9b), but *you* and *wu* merged into one (2.11a); it is neither one nor triple, but one and triple (2.10a); it is mystery upon mystery, rejection upon rejection (2.10b; see also 1.4b); it is rejection of all analytical reasoning and then the rejection of that rejection—total forgetfulness. It consists of “nonattachment to either of the two components” (4.3a), that is, to either of the two opposing elements *wu* and *you*, unity and multiplicity, and so on, and even to nonattachment itself.

As the mystical search proceeds it passes through the dialectic process and then the conjunction of opposites where all thought is banished.

Isabelle Robinet

Tang Xuanzong yuzhu Daode zhenjing 唐玄宗御註道德真經

4 juan

Attributed to Emperor Xuanzong; between 732 and 735

677 (fasc. 355)

“Imperial Commentary on the *Daode jing* by Tang Xuanzong.” Xuanzong was initiated into Taoism in 721 by SIMA CHENGZHEN, himself the author of 1035 *Daoti lun*, a commentary, in its own way, on the *Daode jing*. Our text is listed as comprising two juan (see the subcommentary 679 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu* 9a and VDL

153). It is followed by a subcommentary, also by the emperor, in which he explains and elaborates his earlier commentary. Xuanzong's commentary is characterized by the division of the *Laozi* into four juan, two corresponding to the part devoted to the Tao, the other two to that of the De. For this division he was criticized (701 *Daode zhenjing kouyi*). The subcommentary does not maintain this division.

The text is distinguished by a marked tendency toward mysticism and reflects the influence of many carefully studied sources. Certain phrases of the HESHANG GONG commentary are textually repeated (*Laozi* 12, 15, 17, 22, 36, 41, et al.), but the commentary as a whole employs quite a different approach.

Here we find the mystic theme of total forgetfulness (*jianwang* 健忘), the renunciation of all material, intellectual, and social possessions, the rejection of desire and learning (1.14b and *Laozi* 23 and 27) and even of purity (1.18b). This betrays the unmistakable influence of the Chongxuan 重玄 school and comes well within the bounds of SIMA CHENGZHEN's writings, particularly of his *Daoti lun*. Also present is the notion of *fen* 分 (fate; 4.4b.6b), developed by GUO XIANG and adopted by CHENG XUANYING, which is prefigured in HESHANG GONG's *suo* 所 (place). *Fen* is here coupled with the idea of *yong* 用 (use or function): to each his proper function (*yinyong* 應用; *Laozi* 21, 23, 28). Xuanzong praises the Taoist virtues of feminine receptivity (*Laozi* 16) and of *wuwei* 無爲 (*Laozi* 38, 43), but he also defends Confucian ideals, reinterpreting *ren* 仁 (humanity) to mean "undifferentiated love." (This view was later to be strongly opposed by Zhu Xi 朱熹 [1130–1200]). The rites are understood as a beginning of the return to the Tao when conduct has become inadequate (*Laozi* 38).

On the metaphysical level the text maintains the distinction between the coarser planes of beings (*cuyou* 粗有) and the marvelous plane of nonbeing (*miaowu* 妙無), a distinction inspired by Buddhism but adopted by the commentators of the Chongxuan school. However, the text reestablishes the balance between *wu* 無 and *you* 有 (in particular in 1.12b, 16b, 24b) and between absolute and relative truth (*Laozi* 25 and 40). The "median qi" is that of Harmony and the One, which is the source of yin and yang; this is the "marvelous qi" that must be kept within oneself and by which everything exists (*Laozi* 39, 52).

This commentary is replete with quotations from and references to the classics (particularly the *Yijing*, the Spring and Autumn Annals, and the *Zhuangzi*). Because of its reliance on the classics, the work can be considered a link between the Xuanxue 玄學 and the Neo-Confucian schools. In this respect, Xuanzong's text quotes the famous phrase of Xizi, which was to become a cornerstone of Neo-Confucianism: "the metaphysical is the Tao, the physical the tools" (*xing er shang zhe weizhi dao, xing er xia zhe weizhi qi* 形而上者謂之道形而下者謂之器).

This commentary has been reproduced in several collections, in particular in 706 *Daode zhenjing jizhu*, 711 *Daode zhenjing xuande zuanshu*, and 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi*.

Xuanzong's commentary and subcommentary inspired especially a lengthy further subcommentary by DU GUANGTING, 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*.

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Isabelle Robinet

Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu 唐玄宗御製道德真經疏

10 juan

Attributed to Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756)

678 (fasc. 356–357)

"Commentary on the *Daode jing* by the Tang Emperor Xuanzong." Xuanzong's subcommentary to his own commentary 677 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhu Daode zhenjing* contains either six or eight juan, depending on the edition (cf. the subcommentary 679 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu* 3a and VDL 152). According to the *Jixian zhuji* 集賢注記 (in *Yuhai* 53.11b) this work was composed by a number of literati and Taoist masters. On the whole it simply expands and paraphrases the commentary that precedes it, indicating its many classical references.

This text also contains references to the classics, particularly the *Yijing* and the *Zhuangzi*. These quotations are glossed in turn by DU GUANGTING in 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*. The commentary is also found in 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi*.

Isabelle Robinet

Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu 唐玄宗御製道德真經疏

4 juan

Attributed to Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756)

679 (fasc. 358)

"Commentary on the *Daode jing* by the Tang Emperor Xuanzong." This commentary on Xuanzong's subcommentary on the *Daode jing* (677 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhu Daode zhenjing* and 678 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu*) has been attributed (see VDL 153) to Qiao Feng 喬諷 (950), but it is no more than an extract from DU GUANGTING's commentary on the commentary of Xuanzong (compare, for example, 1.6a–b with Du's 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 8.1a–7a).

The work is in some disorder. The preface (1a–4a) repeats part of DU GUANGTING's preface and the beginning of his commentary. The remainder of the preface to the present text repeats 725 *Guangsheng yi* 1.1b. The first sentences of the commentary (1.1a–3b) are an interpolation from CHENG XUANYING's commentary.

DU GUANGTING's text is sometimes placed in the present text under the classification "subcommentary" (*shu* 疏), "commentary" (*zhu* 注), or, as by DU GUANGTING himself, "meaning" (*yi* 義). Occasionally, as in 1.12a–b, two headings are used as if they corresponded to different works, yet they in fact both refer to DU GUANGTING's text. In this instance, a passage has been divided and the two parts transposed.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing zhuan* 道德真經傳**

4 juan

by Lu Xisheng 陸希聲 (fl. 889–904)

685 (fasc. 368)

"Commentary on the *Daode jing*." Lu Xisheng also wrote commentaries on the *Yijing* and the Spring and Autumn Annals. The preface to the present work is found in YJQQ 1.13a–16a. Another, almost identical version of this commentary exists in the *Zhihai*. Our commentary (1.5b) is cited in 695 *Daode zhenjing jijie* 1.10a–b.

It is only because Laozi was misunderstood that his work has been judged incompatible with the teachings of Confucius, states the author in his preface. He places Laozi beside the great figures of Confucianism, Fu Xi 伏羲 and Wen Wang 文王. The preface thus evokes the general orientation of the commentary.

By and large, the work constitutes a section-by-section paraphrase of the *Laozi*. sections 32, 63, and 64, are divided into two parts; sections 42 and 43 are combined; section 54 precedes 53. The result is a translation of the text into a more accessible and explicit language, by which the commentator seeks to demonstrate that the doctrines of Laozi and Confucius have much in common.

The usual themes of the mystical interpretations of Laozi are found here: the contrasting notions of principle (*li* 理) and things (*shi* 事), essence (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用) correspond to the "nameless" and the "named" (1.1b–2a) and to Tao and De (3.17a); heart-mind (*xin* 心) and traces (*ji* 跡; 2.23a) and intrinsic nature (*xing* 性) and passions (*qing* 情) correspond to beings (*you* 有) and nonbeings (*wu* 無; 1.1a–4b). These contrasting notions merge into total forgetfulness (*jian wang* 健忘; 2.23a) and the return to intrinsic nature (*fu xing* 復性), and these in turn lead to the state of great harmony (*datong* 大同; 1.3a–b).

The Spirit of the Valley and the Mysterious Female are the symbols of this fusion (1.6b), the mainspring of an endless chain of action and reaction. By means of this chain, rule by nonaction is made possible and invulnerability is assured (3.18a).

The above may explain why the commentary abounds in quotations taken from the Confucian classics, in particular from the *Yijing* and the Book of Rites and at times from the Analects, with the exclusion of the writings of other schools. Section 47 of

the *Daode jing*, “Without Going Beyond His Doors He Understands the World,” is explained by the Confucian formula of the expansion of love and knowledge from what is near to what is far through personal introspection (*Daxue* 3.12b–13b). The commentaries on section 32 (“On the Nameless”) and section 56 (“Those Who Speak Do Not Know . . .”) are each made the occasion for a discourse on the rectification of names (2.15b–16b).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing xinzhū 道德真經新註

4 juan

By Li Yue 李約 (fl. 810)

692 (fasc. 375)

“New Commentary on the *Daode jing*.” According to PENG SI (commentator on the 709 *Daode zhenjing jizhu zashuo*) and Dong Sijing 董思靖 (commentator on the 705 *Daode zhenjing jijie*), this commentary dates from the Tang dynasty (618–907; see 709 *Jizhu zashuo* 1.4b and 705 *Zhenjing jijie* third preface, 3a). The present text (4.6b) is quoted by CHEN JINGYUAN in 714 *Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei pian* 9.11a. It is mentioned in Song catalogues VDL 106. The reading Na 納 in the name Li Na, given as the author of a commentary of the *Laozi* mentioned in *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 5.1b, is probably an error for Yue 約.

The commentary is divided into chapters, thirty-seven for the *Daojing* and forty-one for the *Dejing* (chapters 43 and 44 are combined, as are chapters 48 and 49, and 68 and 69).

As the author explains in his preface (1a–b), the originality of this commentary lies primarily in the punctuation adopted in chapter 25.2.6b: Instead of “Humanity models itself on Earth, Earth on Heaven . . .,” the author reads “One who models oneself on Earth is just like Earth, one who models oneself on Heaven, is just like Heaven; this is the law of nature.” This sentence thus accords with that which speaks of the four Greats (Humanity, Earth, Heaven, and the Tao).

Interpretation in terms of cultivation of one’s person (*zhishen* 治身) takes precedence over metaphysical interpretations, as in 2.3b, 7b. The Tao is simply the void, nonbeing (*wu* 無; 3.3b). Any connotation of *wu* and *you* 有 as being and nonbeing is ignored. HESHANG GONG’s interpretation of the Dark and the Female is accepted as possible (1.4a); one also finds a vitalistic interpretation (3.9a) with a quotation from the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經. Immortality is the survival of the spirit, or spirits, beyond the body, not physical immortality (2.12a–b). Life is defined as the spirit (*shen* 神; 4.8b) that abides in the heart-mind, provided the latter is empty (4.8b).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing zhigui 道德真經指歸

7 juan

Attributed to YAN ZUN 嚴遵 (59–24 B.C.); subcommentary attributed to

Gushen zi 谷神子

693 (fasc. 376–377)

“Return to the Meaning of the Tao.” Apart from this text, originally in fourteen juan, YAN ZUN wrote a commentary on the *Laozi* in two juan, which is extant. The question of the authenticity of this *Zhigui* has been the subject of much debate (see bibliography below).

The main argument against its authenticity is based upon the fact that it is not quoted in ancient texts. All that can be said with confidence is that the present work dates at least from Tang times (618–907).

The commentary exists in two versions. One, in the edition of Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨 (1569–1644), is found in the *Bice huihan* 秘冊彙函 and in the *Jindai bishu* 津逮祕書; the other is the present text, which seems to be better preserved than the other versions, for the following reasons:

1. The fact that juan 1–6 are lost is indicated. Unlike the other version, where the chapters are numbered 1 to 6, here they are listed under their original numbers 7 to 13.
2. The present version includes an additional final chapter that is missing in the other versions.
3. This version includes the text of the *Laozi*, as noted by Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627) in *Jingdian shiwen*, by Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (12th c.; see the introduction 1b by Yan Lingfeng, “Bian Yan Zun *Daode zhigui lun fei weishu*”), and by Fan Yingyuan (13th c.) in *Laozi daode jing guben jizhu*.

The present version contains two prefaces, or one preface in two parts (the second part in smaller print). They are unsigned. The second preface also appears in Hu Zhenheng’s edition, in the *Bice huihan* (between 1573–1619), where it stands as the first part of what was considered to be the preface by the subcommentator Gushen zi, an attribution now contested.

Our version has a subcommentary that is in fact limited to a few textual glosses. Gushen zi has not been identified with certainty as its author. Some scholars believe that it could have been written by Feng Kuo 馮廓, or by PEI XING, author of a commentary mentioned in the *Tang shu*, or perhaps by Zheng Huangu 鄭還古; the last two figures were both known as Gushen zi and lived in Tang times.

The notion of the reversibility of opposites, one leading to the other, may be said to be the basis of YAN ZUN’s system of thought. Several postulates accrue from this reversibility: it implies a single source as the basis of all antithetic dualities, and it

betokens a state of perpetual flux, an eternal renewal, and a propensity toward a harmonious equilibrium. This single source, this absolute reality, can be neither grasped nor named. All phenomena are no more than vague shadows of this reality. Thus YAN ZUN commends suspended judgment and nonaction.

Furthermore, YAN ZUN draws a kind of cosmogonic picture of his metaphysical approach: the Tao is the Void of the Void; the De is the One and the Void. The One is both existence and nonexistence: as the One of the One, it gives life; as the principle of transformation it achieves the ultimate completion. Two is the Spirit and the non-existence of nonexistence (the *wu* 無 of the *wu*). Three is the Great Harmony and the *wu* from which proceed Heaven and Earth, yin and yang. After these comes the sage or, as the case may be, the pneuma, and then the form or substance (*xing* 形). In the course of his commentary, the author gives several variants of this picture but always maintains the same dramatis personae: Tao, De, Spirit, Great Harmony.

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Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing xuande zuanshu 道德真經玄德纂疏

20 juan

Compiled by Qiang Siqi 強思齊 (ninth century)

711 (fasc. 407–413)

"Compendium of Commentaries on the Mysterious Virtue of the *Daode jing*." This work is preceded by a preface bearing the signature DU GUANGTING (850–933). It should be noted that this preface is dated 964. The preface states that Qiang Siqi lived at the end of the ninth century.

The commentaries provided are those of the Emperor Xuanzong (commentary and subcommentary), HESHANG GONG, YAN ZUN, Li Rong 李榮, and CHENG XUANYING. The title of each section is accompanied by a gloss in two parts: the first part is analytic and is by CHENG XUANYING (compare the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2517, a fragment of Cheng's commentary). The second part was probably written by Qiang Siqi.

Foreign passages have slipped into the opening pages of the compendium. In 1.2b–3b, the subcommentary by Xuanzong, for instance, is followed by a short passage taken from CHENG XUANYING's introduction to his commentary (see the introduction in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2553). Similarly, the latter part of Li

Rong's commentary 1.4a–b was written by WU YUN and is in fact an extract from 1052 *Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun* 1a–b and 5b–6a.

Thanks to this compendium, texts that have been considered lost can be restored. The Xuanzong and HESHANG GONG commentaries are both extant; the missing first part of the YAN ZUN commentary is here preserved.

The same is true for the second half of the Li Rong commentary, also found here. The commentary by CHENG XUANYING has been considered lost, but by comparing his text in our compendium with the subcommentary found in 710 *Daode zhenjing zhushu*, it has been possible to attribute the latter to CHENG XUANYING.

A close examination of the existing commentaries reveals that they are contained in their entirety in our compendium, with the exception of certain textual remarks (certain variants should be noted; also, for example in 1.9a the remarks found in 722 *Daode zhenjing zhu* 1.3a are omitted; the textual observations made by CHENG XUANYING in 710 *Daode zhenjing zhushu* are also omitted in the compendium). Consequently it may now be said that the lost commentaries have been preserved here virtually intact.

The CHENG XUANYING commentary belongs to the school of Double Mystery (Chongxuan 重玄). For a study of this commentary see the bibliography below.

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Isabelle Robinet

Daode jing lunbing yaoyi shu 道德經論兵要義述

4 juan

By Wang Zhen 王真; presented in 809

713 (fasc. 417)

“The Essential Meaning of the Discussion of Things Military in the *Daode jing*.” This text is an interpretation of the *Laozi* as a guide for military action in the broadest sense. The work is preceded by three documents: a covering letter for its presentation to the court, dated 809; the imperial approval; and an explanatory introduction to the work itself. Although Wang's explanations are based on the idea that no section in the *Daode jing* is unrelated to military affairs, he does not offer a martial exegesis, but affirms that noncontending is the essential message of the *Laozi* (5a).

The text of the *Daode jing* is provided integrally only in a few instances; mostly it is paraphrased and semantically explained.

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Daode pianzhang xuansong 道德篇章玄頌

2 juan

By Song Luan 宋鸞; Tang (618–907)?

977 (fasc. 614–615)

“Hymns on the Chapters of the Way and Its Power.” The author, whose official titles as imperial censor and member of the judicial administration do not disclose precise indications as to the period in which he was active, is otherwise unknown. The present work is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku jueshu mu* (VDL 153) under the title “Leisurely Tunes to the Chapters of the Way and Its Power” (*Daode pianmu xianyin* 道德篇目閑吟).

In his undated preface, the author seeks to demonstrate the wisdom of Laozi through illustrations of the past, and he declares his intention, in writing the present poetical commentary, to follow the instructions by the reigning emperor for promoting Taoism. It is possible that the emperor in question is Tang Xuanzong. Graphic variants in the preface show that the present work observes Song taboos and thus may have been included in the Song canon.

Following the chapter headings as they appear in the edition of 677 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhu Daode zhenjing*, Song Luan presents his musings in seven-syllable verse. The poetry is interspersed with quotations from the text of the *Daode jing* and its commentaries, mainly by Tang Xuanzong and HESHANG GONG, which at times he amends rather freely. Occasionally, the author comments on his own poems by quoting historical anecdotes.

Kristofer Schipper

Daode zhenjing shuyi 道德真經疏義

3 juan

By Zhao Zhijian 趙志堅; Tang (618–907)

719 (fasc. 428)

“Commentary on the *Daode jing*.” A work of that time in three or four juan by Zhao Zhijian is mentioned in the Song bibliographies (VDL 153). DU GUANGTING, in the preface to his commentary (dated 901) to 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 3b, speaks of a Master of the Law Zhao Jian, author of a commentary in six juan. The preface to 705 *Daode zhenjing jijie* 3a, reproducing DU GUANGTING’s preface, gives the name as Zhao Zhijian. These texts therefore seem to refer to the same Zhao Zhijian commentary, dating from the eighth century at the latest. Wang Zhongmin (*Laozi kao*, 177, 267) speaks of two different commentaries.

The text under consideration here is incomplete. The entire first part (*Daojing*) in three juan is missing, as well as sixteen chapters of the second part (4.21b and 6.1a).

The content of the commentary, which is centered for the most part on medi-

tation, suggests that this is in fact the work of a Buddhist under the Tang dynasty (618–907).

The author opens each chapter of the *Laozi* with a résumé, before proceeding with a phrase-by-phrase analysis. His interpretation emphasizes the empty heart-mind (*xin* 心) as superior to the “correct” heart-mind (*zheng xin* 正心; 5.16b–17a), as well as sitting in meditation (*zuowang* 坐忘; 5.25a–b). In 5.5a–b the author develops the theme of the three degrees of contemplation, “being” (*you* 有), “nonbeing” (*wu* 無), and “correct contemplation,” which transcends the latter.

In 5.28a–29a the phrase “what stays still is easy to hold” (*Laozi* 64) is interpreted as referring to tranquility of the heart-mind, which must be maintained before thought and feeling manifest themselves.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi 道德真經廣聖義

50 juan

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭; preface dated 901

725 (fasc. 440–448)

“Explications Expanding upon the Sage’s [Commentary on the] True Scripture of the Way and Its Power.” The original work comprised only thirty juan (see the preface, 5b). A Song version, also in thirty juan, was entitled *Daode jing guangsheng yi* (see *Chongwen zongmu* 5.6b). It is not known, however, whether this discrepancy reflects a difference in substance or in arrangement.

The preface, dated 30 October 901 and undoubtedly composed by DU GUANGTING himself, begins with a legendary account of the *Daode jing*’s provenance and proceeds to list sixty-one earlier commentators of the scripture. The last entry in this catalogue is the commentary by Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) “in six juan” (cf. below); it is followed by the statement that the present text is an elaboration upon the latter (4a).

The bulk of Du’s “Explications” consists in fact of a subcommentary on the commentary (678 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu*) and on the annotations (677 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhu Daode zhenjing*) of Emperor Xuanzong, the “sage” in the work’s title. DU GUANGTING introduces this scholiastic feat with quantities of historical and theological material. The first juan analyses phrase by phrase Xuanzong’s decree of 723 announcing the imperial commentaries (1.1b–9a; for the text of the decree see also 677 *Daode zhenjing*, preface). It continues with a life of the emperor (1.10a–11a) and an outline of the scripture’s teaching in thirty-eight lessons (*jiao* 教; 1.11b–18b). The following chapter is devoted entirely to the first sentence of the introduction (*shiti* 釋題) to Xuanzong’s commentary: “Laozi’ is the private style (*neihao* 內號) of the Most High Emperor Xuanyuan.” This phrase gives rise to a treatise on the cosmic origin of

the deified Laozi, his revelation of sacred literature, subsequent transformations and epiphanies, and finally his esoteric and hypostatic appellations, as well as on the titles conferred on the deity by early Tang rulers. Two further chapters conclude this broad exposition of Xuanzong's introduction. Du's citation of the text of the introduction ends with the words "six juan in all," a phrase that for obvious reasons is absent from the present ten-juan version of the commentary. Juan 5 of the "Explications" analyses the juxtaposition of the pair "Way" and "Power" and the corresponding division of the *Daode jing*, as decreed by Xuanzong. With juan 6, finally, begins the work's main task of exegesis, in which DU GUANGTING joins his own extensive explications (*yi* 義) to both Xuanzong's commentary (*shu* 疏) and annotations (*zhu* 注), devoting full chapters to between one and three of the original scripture's eighty-one brief stanzas (*zhang* 章).

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35 juan

By GUO XIANG 郭象 (fl. 312) and CHENG XUANYING 成玄英 (fl. 650)

745 (fasc. 507–509)

"Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Southern Florescence." This text of the *Zhuangzi* has a commentary by GUO XIANG and a subcommentary by CHENG XUANYING. It is preceded by prefaces by each of these commentators. Chapters 2 and 6 of the *Zhuangzi* are divided into two parts, thus accounting for the thirty-five chapters of the present work.

The commentary and subcommentary were originally published separately. Both were revised by ZHANG JUNFANG (fl. 1028; cf. 737 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* 20b). There are two other extant editions that carry the two commentaries together: the first by Li Shuzhang 黎庶昌 in *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書 (Tokyo 1882–1884; the modern critical edition by Cao Chuji and Huang Lanfa is based on this), and the second by Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 in *Zhuangzi jishi* (preface dated 1894). The prefaces are also found in 738 *Nanhua zhenjing yushi zalu* 1.9a–12b.

The *Zhuangzi*'s text here is the version edited by GUO XIANG, that is, the truncated and reorganized version rearranged into thirty-three chapters (*pian* 篇; see the postface mentioned below). The particular edition of the *Zhuangzi* in our text seems to be that of CHENG XUANYING, revised by ZHANG JUNFANG (compare the present text 1.10b, 5.3b, 5.17b with 737 *Zhangju yushi* 8a, 9a, 9b; and 6.9b in our text with 736 *Zhangju yinyi* 8b).

There exist also several editions of the GUO XIANG commentary, either standing alone or accompanied by textual glosses by Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627). Variants concern minor points of detail. There seems to be no edition before the Song, although some fragments from the Tang (618–907) are found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. The present form of the GUO XIANG commentary is incomplete (see the critical edition of variants in Wang Shumin, *Guo Xiang Zhuangzi*). The postface to the commentary is missing. It was rediscovered in the Kōzanji in Kyoto and has been edited by Fukunaga Mitsuji (Sōshi, postface, 4) and Takeuchi Yoshio (“Rōshi to Sōshi,” 247 ff.). Zhang Zhan’s 張湛 (fl. 370) quotations from this commentary in 732 *Chongxu zhide zhen jing sijie* are slightly different (compare, for example, our text 6.10b and 5.58b with 732 *Sijie* 9.27b and 9.16b–17a, etc.). A number of errors of attribution are to be noted: the words of 34.7a, for example, are CHENG XUANYING’s and not those of GUO XIANG (this passage is not in Lu Deming’s version).

On the basis of remarks made in *Shishuo xinyu* 4.17, GUO XIANG was long held to have plagiarized Xiang Xiu 向秀 (ca. 221–300). Many scholars have shown this allegation to be false (see, in particular, Fukunaga Mitsuji, “Kaku Shō no Sōshi zhū to Kō Shū no Sōshi zhū”). For conclusive proof, one need refer only to Lu Deming’s quotations, in his *Jingdian shiwen*, of the commentary by Xiang Xiu. CHENG XUANYING was a notable Taoist master from the middle of the seventh century who also wrote commentaries on the *Daode jing* 道德經 and *Duren jing* 度人經 (cf. 87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*). The subcommentary by Cheng existed independently of GUO XIANG’s commentary (cf. the bibliographical chapters of the *Jiu Tang shu* 47.2029, where Cheng’s subcommentary is mentioned as comprising twelve juan, and of the *Song shi* 205.5180, where it is listed in ten juan).

Cheng states in his preface (4b) that he had assembled the *Zhuangzi*’s text into thirty chapters. Our edition, therefore, does not correspond to its original form. His quotations of GUO XIANG’s commentary sometimes also differ from the present text (cf. 20.10b; 21.14b).

This subcommentary, like the *Daode jing* commentary by the same author, is much marked by Mādhyamika doctrine and belongs to the commentaries of the Chongxuan 重玄 or Double Mystery school. The mainspring of this school is the “middle-Tao” that stands equidistant from affirmation and negation. The second of the double *xuan* 玄 consists of rejecting all notions, not only the notion of the distinction between affirmation and negation, but also the notion of the two merging together and thus annihilating any trace of duality, and even the notion of that which lies beneath the unifying of complementary opposites. The technique of the Double Mystery school is to proceed in two stages: the first is “forgetfulness,” or the rejection of all emotional or conceptual opposites; the second is forgetfulness and rejection of the first rejection. This double rejection is the meaning given in chapter 20 of the *Zhuangzi* to the

sentence “I place myself between usefulness and uselessness; this resembles but is not [the Tao]: there one is not freed from all shackles” (22.1b–2a).

According to CHENG XUANYING, when Zhuangzi uses the term “useful,” he means “nonuseful” action, which is nonaction; between the two is the Tao of the middle. Although Zhuangzi keeps his distance from the two extremes, he remains in the “middle-one” and thus he has not rejected the middle. “This resembles the Tao, but it is not the true Tao.” Zhuangzi continues, “But for those who take the Tao and De as their mount and go freely wandering, it is not the same.”

Cheng adds the commentary: “He has rejected the two extremes and moreover has forgotten the “middle-one,” he has rejected and again rejected, *xuan*, and again, *xuan*.”

The Buddhist technique of the Four Terms (the affirmation of being or existence [*you* 有]; the affirmation of the contrary [*wu* 無]; the simultaneous affirmation and rejection of the two) is specifically expounded in juan 2 of our text, more methodically and more explicitly than in CHENG XUANYING’s commentary of the *Laozi*. Cheng’s choice of GUO XIANG’s commentary as his point of departure is perfectly logical. GUO XIANG had already worked upon the notions of rejection and forgetfulness and had provided an exact outline of this mechanism of double rejection when he wrote: “reject the affirmation, then reject that rejection: reject and again reject until nonrejection is attained” (8.7b).

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Isabelle Robinet

Tongxuan zhenjing 通玄真經

2 juan

Commentary by Xu Lingfu 徐靈府, *hao* Moxi zi 默希子; completed between 809–815

746 (fasc. 520–522)

“True Scripture of Communion with Mystery.” This title was bestowed on the Taoist philosophical work *Wenzi* 文子 simultaneously with the canonization of the four disciples of Laozi—Zhuangzi 莊子, Liezi 列子, Wenzi 文子, and Kangcang zi 亢倉子—in 742 (*Tang huiyao* 50.866).

The *Han shu* 30.1729 lists a *Wenzi* in nine *pian* 篇, whereas the *Sui shu* 34.1001 lists a book of the same title in twelve juan and records the loss of the text in nine *pian*. These facts, added to the observation that the extant *Wenzi* shows influences from the *Huainan zi* 淮南子 (see 1184 *Huainan honglie jie*) and even from its early commen-

taries (Wang Shumin, *Zhuzi jiaozheng*, 493–539), have led to the conclusion that the received text is a drastic rewriting of the "Proto-Wenzi" and has to be dated between the third and fourth century (a commentary to the new version was written by Zhang Zhan 張湛, fl. 370; see Kandel, *Wen tzu*, 26).

The 1973 excavation in Dingzhou 定州 (Hebei) of the textual fragments of the original *Wenzi* on bamboo confirms this conclusion. The latest date on the bamboo slips is 56 B.C. It was found that the dialogue originally took place between the instructing Wenzi and King Ping 平王 (of Zhou?), and not, as handed down traditionally, between Laozi and the inquiring Wenzi. Moreover, the questions that have been transmitted to us through the later text were originally formulated as answers, and the answers as questions.

In spite of these discrepancies, there also seem to have been parallels between both versions (see the publications of Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiu suo Dingzhou Hanjian zhengli xiaozu listed below). On the other hand, comparisons with the Dunhuang fragment Pelliot 3768 (see Wang Zhongmin, *Dunhuang guji xulu*, 245–57) and a passage in YJQQ 91.1a–11b show that the rewritten *Wenzi* continued to undergo considerable modification.

The text had previously been commentated in the fourth century by Zhang Zhan (this commentary, mentioned above, is now lost), by Li Xian 李暹 (sixth century, also lost), and possibly by Zhu Bian 朱弁 (on the date of the latter, see the following article on 749 *Tongxuan zhenjing*). In its present form, the received text of the *Wenzi* seems to date back to Xu Lingfu. Xu completed his commentary on Mount Heng 衡山 between 809 and 815 (see the preface). In his commentary, he generally limits himself to terse paraphrases that closely follow the wording of the text. In contrast to the Song printed edition—which has no preface and of which juan 9, 11, and 12 have been only partially preserved—the *Daozang* edition is complete. A comparison undertaken by Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 (1866–1956) has revealed numerous textual differences of varying importance with respect to the Song edition (see his appendix of 1936 to the edition of the *Tongxuan zhenjing* in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊).

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Tongxuan zhenjing 通玄真經

7 juan

By Zhu Bian 朱弁, *hao* Zhengyi 正儀

749 (fasc. 525–526)

“True Scripture of Communion with Mystery.” A commentary on the *Wenzi* in twelve juan by Zhu Bian (var. Zhu Bing 并, Zhu Qi 棄, and Zhu Xuan 玄) is first mentioned in *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu*. The *Junzhai dushu zhi* II.476, which gives the name as Zhu Xuan and indicates twelve juan, no doubt refers to the present work, but dates it to the Tang dynasty (618–907). The entry mentions the earlier loss of the section “Fuyan 符言” *Wenzi* (4), which is said to have been replaced in some versions by the corresponding portion from Xu Lingfu’s 徐靈府 commentary (see the article on 746 *Tongxuan zhenjing* and VDL 93).

Our present version preserves only seven juan of Zhu’s commentary (juan 4 and 7 were drawn from Xu Lingfu) and claims that Zhu lived during the Song (960–1279). Yet the fact that Zhu is said to have served as subprefect of Jinyun 縉雲 in Guazhou 括州 (Zhejiang) points rather to the Tang, more specifically to a date between 758 and 769, the period during which Jinyun was administered as a subprefecture of Guazhou (renamed Chuzhou 處州 after 769).

As far as any comparison is possible (juan 5), Zhu’s main text seems to be closer to the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 3768 (see Wang Zhongmin, *Dunhuang guji xulu*, 245–57) than to Xu Lingfu’s version. Reconstructing the lost portions of Zhu’s commentary is partly possible on the basis of the “old commentary” in juan 9 of the *Wenzi zuanyi* 文子續義 version from the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, which is not by Xu Lingfu (see the article on 748 *Tongxuan zhenjing zuanyi*).

Zhu Bian’s commentary gives priority to the cosmic-mystical aspects of the text over its political implications. For him, the central theme is finding the way back to one’s nature (*xing* 性) and one’s innermost principle (*li* 理) in perfect harmony (*shun* 順) with the phenomena of the universe (*wuxiang* 物象).

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2.A.1.b Tang Philosophical Texts (General)

As far as Taoist philosophy is concerned, the Tang dynasty is primarily a time of synthesis. Two important trends, reflected in most of the works in this section, are

discernable. The first trend, now generally known as Chongxuan 重玄 or Double Mystery, flourished during the seventh century and continued to exert its influence as late as the tenth century. Leading figures of this new development in Taoist mysticism, such as CHENG XUANYING and Li Rong 李榮, often expressed their views in the form of commentaries on the *Daode jing* or the *Zhuangzi*. Hence, their works are treated in the previous section of this book. Works in the form of dialogic treatises, authored by other figures, have also been preserved, such as 1048 *Xuanzhu lu* and 1035 *Daoti lun*. The path proposed by Double Mystery (the name originates in the line *xuan zhi you xuan* 玄之又玄 from the first chapter of the *Daode jing*) combines the mystical potential of the Taoist classics with the views and methodology of Mādhyamika philosophy. The attainment of union with the Tao necessitates an act of “twofold obscuring” or “twofold rejecting,” which leads to the eventual surpassing all contradictions, as between vulgarity and wisdom, being and nonbeing, duality and nonduality. Although Taoist masters of the late seventh and the eighth centuries, like SIMA CHENGZHEN and WU YUN, cannot be properly considered representative of Chongxuan learning, their works in this section (1026 *Tianyin zi*, 1036 *Zuowang lun*, 1038 *Xinmu lun*, and 1052 *Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun*) bear witness to its influence.

The second trend, which gained in importance after the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 (755–757), was far less concerned with Taoist and Buddhist mysticism, reflecting instead an increasingly critical attitude toward socio-political matters, all the while continuing the old search for accommodation of China’s two native systems of thought, Confucianism and Taoism. Good examples of this trend are Wang Shiyuan’s 王士源 *Kangcang zi*, which was later renamed 669 *Dongling zhenjing*, and Luo Yin’s 羅隱 1135 *Taiping liangtong shu*. Also 1044 *Huashu*, though ideologically much more complex than the works just mentioned, partly reflects this trend. Sometimes, as in the case of 1027 *Sulü zi*, Taoist influence is tenuous at best.

One text that falls outside the major tendencies in Tang thought is 1028 *Wuneng zi*. Violently anti-Confucianist and hardly influenced by Buddhism, it is one of the few Tang works to offer a faithful elaboration of the most radical elements of classical Taoist philosophy.

Taishang dongxuan lingbao fashen zhilun 太上洞玄靈寶法身製論

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

462 (fasc. 203)

“Regulations for the Body of the Law.” The term *fashen*, which is not explained in this short text itself, is borrowed from Buddhism, where it denotes the highest of the three bodies of Buddha (*trikāya*): the embodiment of absolute truth (*dharmakāya*). The work 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 1.3a–8a contains a section on this term, mainly quoting

9 *Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing* and *Benji jing* 本際經 from the Sui and Tang dynasties. Around the same time, other Taoist works frequently use this term in the expression *chujia fashen* 出家法身 which seems to be synonymous with simply *chujia* (monk, Taoist; e.g., 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 1.3b–4b).

This latter meaning of *fashen* seems to apply to the present title. In eight paragraphs the text provides basic rules, mainly of a general kind, for the conduct of Taoists. Sanctions for offenses against these rules are temporary suspension (*jingu* 禁錮), or exclusion from the diocese and annulment of the register (*duozhi xuelu* 奪治削籙). Especially the common practice of seeking to gain merit by releasing living beings (*fangsheng* 放生) at certain times in the fifth month is denounced, because the animals were first caught for this purpose. The text also briefly refers to the detailed rules by LU XIUJING.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Xuanzhu ge 玄珠歌

4 fols.

By Tongxuan xiansheng 通玄先生; tenth century

573 (fasc. 320)

“The Song of the Mysterious Pearl.” The author has not been identified with certainty. *Chongwen zongmu* 9.15a seems to suggest that Zhang Jianming 張薦明 (fl. 939) is the author (cf. LZTT 46.8a). The thirty didactic verses describe the Mysterious Pearl.

The radiance of the pearl represents the completeness of the human being. If the “original spiritual forces” and the “original completeness” diminish and are finally lost, humans also lose the Mysterious Pearl. In this song, the Mysterious Pearl is an entity that may be apprehended by meditative means. However, it is endangered by a profane attitude of mind and a negligent way of life. The text explains that the undiminished presence of the Mysterious Pearl produces most favorable effects, especially the “ascension to a state of perfection.”

Florian C. Reiter

Xuanzhu xinjing zhu 玄珠心鏡註

10 fols.

By Hengyue zhenzi 衡嶽真子; Five Dynasties (907–960)

574 (fasc. 320)

“The Commentary on the Mysterious Pearl and the Mirror of the Mind.” This text comments upon two poems, “Shouyi shi” (On the Preservation of the One; 1a–6a) and “Dadao shouyi bao zhang” (The Precious Stanza about the Preservation of the One by the Great Tao; 6a–10b). Concerning their origin, see 575 *Xuanzhu xinjing zhu*, which

predates this work. Hengyue zhenzi is probably to be identified with CHEN SHAO-WEI (see 1017 *Daoshu* 31.1a). The *Chongwen zongmu* 9.14a lists this commentary.

This commentary contains an abridged version of the poems, which appear in the commentary of 575 *Xuanzhu xinjing zhu*. Special emphasis is laid on the meaning of *xin* 心 (mind) as mirror (cf. 1017 *Daoshu* 37.2b), and on the meaning of the scale. The latter measures, by means of meditation, the success of the endeavor of “embracing the original [Being] and preserving the One” (10a). At the end of this work there are passages that differ from the respective section in 575 *Xuanzhu xinjing zhu*. Hengyue zhenzi criticizes statements by Taoists of his time who made pretentious claims about their successes. This commentary distinguishes five phases of time that demarcate the progressive improvements of the state of mind. In the end, there should be a complete absence of any influences of the outside world. Consequently, the physical conditions would improve according to a succession of seven phases; the last phase is said to be far beyond the Three Worlds (10b).

Florian C. Reiter

Xuanzhu xinjing zhu 玄珠心鏡註

36 fols.

Commentary by Wang Sunzhi 王損之; edited by Zhangsun Zi 長孫紫, hao Juzhe 巨澤; Tang (618–907)?

575 (fasc. 320)

“The Commentary on the Mysterious Pearl and the Mirror of the Mind.” This work was written by Wang Sunzhi and transmitted by Zhangsun Zi (see the preface, dated 817). It contains two poems with commentaries, and is listed in *Bishu shengqueshu mu* 2.31b (VDL 134). The account of the history of the poem “Shouyi shi” (On the Preservation of the One) is the same as in *Taiping guangji* 67.414–16. It had been revealed by Cui Shaoxuan 崔少玄, who was the wife of Lu Chui 盧陞. Being an exiled secretary of the Jade Emperor, she gave that poem to her husband just before her return to the heavens. However, her husband was unable to understand the poem. In Shaanxi he happened to meet Wang Sunzhi, who explained the poem and wrote an appropriate text, for which he designed the title *Xuanzhu xinjing*. It is this text that is here presented as “commentary.” A second poem with a similar title is said to stem from the same source (30a ff.). Neither the preface of this work nor *Taiping guangji* 67 mention that poem. It is likely that this edition of *Xuanzhu xinjing zhu* was compiled after 817.

The commentary connects the topic of the preservation of the Original One or the “Buddha mind” (*xinyin* 心印) with meditative and physiological concepts. The Original One or the Pure Yang is the Mysterious Pearl.

Florian C. Reiter

Dongling zhenjing 洞靈真經

30 fols.

Attributed to Gengsang Chu 庚桑楚

669 (fasc. 349)

“True Scripture of the Communion with the Divine.” The origin of this philosophical work is directly related to the honors conferred by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–756) on the ancestor of the dynasty (Laozi), his four disciples (Zhuangzi 莊子, Liezi 列子, Wenzi 文子, Kangcang zi 亢倉子), and the writings attributed to these figures. The book *Kangcang zi* (or *Gengsang zi* 庚桑子) was first mentioned when the emperor, in early 742, recommended it to the Central Chancellery (*zhongshu menxia* 中書門下) for verification and revision. The intention was to grant it the title *Dongling zhenjing* and then to use it, together with the other three newly canonized works, as an examination text in the Taoist institutes of the empire (Chongxuan xue 崇玄學). The

actual author of the present work was the hermit Wang Shiyuan 王士源 [元] (fl. 742) from Yicheng 宜城 (Hubei). Wang took the chapter “Gengsang chu 庚桑楚” from the *Zhuangzi* as a starting point and, using other philosophical writings, created a new work comprising nine chapters (*pian* 篇; see *Xin Tang shu* 59.1518; *Meng Haoran ji*, preface by Wang).

Although scholars opposed the state-authorized promulgation of the book (*Meng Haoran ji*, preface by Wei Tao 葦滔 [750]; *Zizhi tongjian waiji* 1.16b–17a, citing Feng Yan 封演 [fl. 742–805]), the *Kangcang zi* soon began to circulate in various versions, differing mainly in its division into *juan*. However, no officially certified version of the text was established by the imperial library (Bishu sheng 秘書省) until 1117 (*Tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 127.4b).

Phonetic explanations of the archaic characters typical of the text are also found in the edition commentated by He Can 何璨 (for details see the article on 747 *Dongling zhenjing*).

The brief biography of Gengsang Chu preceding the *Daozang* edition of the text comes from 163 *Xuanyuan shizi tu* (q.v.). The woodcut

庚桑子



FIGURE 21. Gengsang zi (669 1a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/664)

print depicting the philosopher (fig. 21) may be based on ZHAO MENGFU's illustration of Zhang Junxiang's 張君相 (1254–1322) edition of the same work.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Tianyin zi 天隱子

6 fols.

By SIMA CHENGZHEN 司馬承禎 (647–735)

1026 (fasc. 672)

“Master Hidden in the Heavens.” This book's title is the name of an unknown immortal and its legendary author. SIMA CHENGZHEN, twelfth patriarch of the Shangqing school (not the thirteenth as stated in the colophon), is considered the author only of the commentary. It is mentioned in the Song bibliographical catalogues (VDL 84); one version is said to have included an appendix on the Three Palace method, which is not found in present text. *Quan Tang wen* 924.17a–b contains only the preface.

The book is divided into eight paragraphs: the first three are of a general nature; the last five correspond to the five stages of liberation until complete deliverance (4b). The first stage, liberation by faith, is attained by fasting and observance of interdictions: abstinence from cereals, nourishing oneself by the qi, massage, and self-discipline curbing all excess. The second stage, liberation by emptying the mind, is achieved by retreating to a room where the half-light and atmosphere are conducive to a balance of yin and yang influences.

The third stage, liberation through knowledge, is the fixing of the spirits by the heart-mind (*xin*) and visual meditation on the body. Next comes the stage of seated meditation, “sitting and forgetting” (*zuowang* 坐忘), through which the adept attains stillness and, finally, forgetfulness, both of himself and everything around him. This is liberation through concentration.

These four stages or liberations lead to the deliverance by the spirit (or of the spirit): this deliverance is the One of the *Yijing*; the “all things being equal” of the *Zhuangzi*; the *Daode* of the *Laozi* and the *tathatā* (*zhenru* 真如) of the Buddhists. It leads to the state, earthly or heavenly, of immortality (*xian* 仙).

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Isabelle Robinet

***Sulü zi* 素履子**

3 juan

By Zhang Hu 張弧; Tang (618–907)

1027 (fasc. 672)

“Master Plain Conduct.” As the short preface explains, the title of this work derives from the tenth hexagram of the Book of Changes—*lü* 履 (“to tread,” “to conduct”)—where it is said that “he whose conduct is plain (simple, unadorned) can go forth without blame.” Zhang Hu’s book was written as a warning against forgetting this rule of conduct.

About the author, little is known. Apparently, Zhang Hu once held the titles of court gentleman for ceremonial service (*jiangshi lang* 將仕郎) and probationary case reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review (*shi dali pingshi* 試大理評事).

The *Daozang* edition is now the oldest printed version of the *Sulü zi*. The text can also be found in a half dozen other collectanea, the earliest being the *Fanshi qishu* 范氏奇書 from the Jiajing period (1522–1565).

The Song catalogues that mention this work (see VDL 131) consider it to be Confucian, and they have every reason to do so. Of the fourteen sections of the book, only the first two (on the Way and its Virtue) are clearly Taoist in inspiration, and even here the Confucian influence is easily recognizable. Zhang Hu then proceeds to elucidate a number of Confucian values, such as loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, trustworthiness, etiquette, and music. The book concludes with Zhang Hu’s observations on the nature of wealth and nobility, poverty and lowliness, peace and crisis. Anyone familiar with Zhou and Han Confucianism will have to look hard for original contributions in the *Sulü zi*. At best, our text is to be viewed as one of the less interesting examples of the Tang dynasty tendency to synthesize Confucian and Taoist thought.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Xuanzhen zi waipian* 玄真子外篇**

3 juan

By Zhang Zhihe 張志和 (fl. 757–762)

1029 (fasc. 672)

“Supplementary Book of the Master of the Obscure Truth.” *Xuanzhen zi* 玄真子 is one of the bynames and also the title of a philosophical book of Zhang Zhihe (see *Xin Tang shu* 196). According to the author, this appellation means “the truth out of the without truth” (1.3a–b). According to Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785), an acquaintance of the author’s, Zhang Zhihe had written a *Xuanzhen zi* in twelve juan, totalling 30,000 characters (see the biographical notice attached to the end of the text in the edition of *Congshu jicheng jianbian* 叢書集成簡編 52). The present text is com-

posed of only about 7,000 characters. It is uncertain whether it is a fragment of the long lost book in twelve juan, or a supplement. The bibliographical treatise of the *Xin Tang shu* contains two references to the *Xuanzhen zi* under the same author's name, one in twelve juan and the other in two juan, without giving precise details about the contents of or the relationship between the two texts. The *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 9 refers to a version in the present format.

The three juan of the book bear the following subtitles: (1) “Bixu 碧虛” (Blue Void); (2) “Yuezhuo 鸞鷲” (Celestial Bird); and (3) “Tao zhi ling 濤之靈” (Spirit of the Waves). These titles are the names of characters and form the opening words of the respective chapters. The texts consist of dialogues and discussion on cosmological and philosophical subjects among imaginary characters. The inspiration of the book seems to derive from the *Zhuangzi*.

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Liuzi 劉子

10 juan

Commentary by Yuan Xiaozheng 袁孝政

1030 (fasc. 673–74)

“Book of Master Liu.” This text contains fifty-five paragraphs dealing with literary, philosophical, and political subjects. Several editions of this work show variants as to text and title (e.g., the Tang *Liuzi* 流子). The book has been attributed to different authors, including Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 462–522) and Liu Zhou 劉晝 (514–565). Lin Qitan and Chen Fengjin have presented a critical study of the many editions of the *Liuzi* and also of the extant Dunhuang fragments Pelliot 2546, 3562, and 3704. According to their research, the original *Liuzi* can be traced back to Liu Xie (see Lin Qitan and Chen Fengjin, *Liuzi jijiao*, 339–42).

This edition of the *Liuzi* has to be appreciated in connection with the commentary by Yuan Xiaozheng (Tang period [618–907], adjutant in Bozhou 播州). According to Lin and Chen (*Liuzi jijiao*, 8), it is most likely that this edition had been printed before the Zhengtong period (1436–1449). The attribution of the *Liuzi* to the author Liu Zhou is usually based on a preface ascribed to him that is no longer extant. Yuan Xiaozheng's commentary elucidates each paragraph.

The commentary contains explanations of terms or expressions. It also provides documentation based on examples taken from historical records. Especially the last paragraph of this book refers to Taoism, under the heading “Jiuliu” (Nine Classes of Teachings; 10.13a–b). This is the only section that could actually justify the incorpora-

tion of this learned collection into the Taoist canon. The *Liuzi* neither represents any specific branch of Taoism nor refers to religious or liturgical matters.

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Florian C. Reiter

Daoti lun 道體論

1 + 32 fols.

Transmitted by Tongxuan xiansheng 通玄先生; tenth century?

1035 (fasc. 704)

“Discourse on the Way and Its Substance.” The Song catalogues that list this work (VDL 154) do not mention an author. Tongxuan xiansheng is variously identified as SIMA CHENGZHEN, ZHANG GUO, and Zhang Jianming 張薦明 (fl. 939). The preface is concerned only with matters of content and offers no clues as to authorship or date. However, a comparison of the *Daoti lun* with the writings of SIMA CHENGZHEN and ZHANG GUO and with the evidence about Zhang Jianming in the *Xin Wudai shi* (34.369–71) and in LZTT (46.8a–b) suggests that the authorship of the *Daode jing* exegete Zhang Jianming is fairly probable. Our text has been preserved only in the *Daozang*.

The *Daoti lun* is divided into three parts: “Lun Laozi Daojing shang 論老子道經上” (On Laozi’s *Scripture on the Way*, Part One), “Wendao lun 問道論” (On Questions Regarding the Way), and “Daoti yi 道體義” (The Meaning of the Way and its Substance). It is presented in the form of a dialogic treatise (*yulu* 語錄). In its explanations of philosophical categories such as Way and virtue (*daode* 道德), Way and matter (*daowu* 道物), being and nonbeing (*youwu* 有爲), names and actuality (*mingshi* 名實), vacuity and being (*kongyou* 空有), et cetera, it betrays a strong influence of the Double Mystery (Chongxuan 重玄) learning of the early Tang, and thus of Buddhist (Mādhyamika) philosophy.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Zuowang lun 坐忘論

20 fols.

Attributed to SIMA CHENGZHEN 司馬承禎 (647–735)

1036 (fasc. 704)

“Treatise [on the Art] of Sitting and Forgetting.” The title is a reference to the passage on the Fast of the Heart (*xinzhai* 心齋) in chapter 6 of the *Zhuangzi*. The expression *zuowang* 坐忘 has become synonymous with “meditation.” In 1026 *Tianyin zi*, by the same reputed author, the same term denotes the fourth and next to last stage prior to the deliverance of the spirit, or “liberation through concentration.”

The YJQQ 94 reproduces this text in extenso, but there the end of the seventh section is quite different, and the conclusion (*zuowang shuyi* 坐忘樞翼) is missing altogether. The YJQQ gives no indication of authorship.

1017 *Daoshu* 2.1a–4a includes a condensed version of the *Zuowang lun*, apparently abstracted from the text as we have it here. Almost all major Song catalogues list the work (see VDL 109). The *Xin Tang shu* places it under the name of SIMA CHENGZHEN, but the *Bishu sheng* catalogue (*Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu*) attributes it to WU YUN. The question of its authorship remains uncertain.

The present edition is due to an otherwise unknown Zhenjing jushi 真靜居士, who commissioned its printing (see the preface).

The *Zuowang lun* explains the principles of the practice of the Tao in seven parts. It advocates renunciation of the world and its luxuries and the adoption of a stoical attitude. Changes of fate should be accepted as inevitable and as sent from Heaven. The longest section is the third, on the “concentration of the heart” (*shouxin* 收心). This concentration leads to the “emptiness of the heart-mind,” which implies a total void: the mind should be free from any contingencies, even of “emptiness,” which still is a “place” (see 3b). The last section, devoted to “attaining the Tao” (*dedao* 得道), makes a distinction between two kinds of “attainment”: the more profound form produces an unchanging body, the body of the “divine humans” (*shenren* 神人), who have a spiritual body when they are hidden and a spirit similar to qi when they manifest themselves. The more superficial attainment is that which gives the “deliverance through the corpse”; here it is only the heart that “obtains” wisdom. This wisdom, however, uses the body, which therefore remains subject to corruption. The concluding section is in fact an adaptation of 400 *Dongxuan lingbao dingguan jing zhu* (also reproduced in YJQQ 17), an early Tang scripture, which further raises the problem of the authenticity of the *Zuowan lun* in its present form.

An inscription of the Tang dated 829, by the female Taoist master Liu Ningran 柳凝然, contains a presentation of a *Zuowang lun* in one juan and seven sections (that is, in the same arrangement as the present text) by a Taoist named Zhao Jian 趙堅, a contemporary of the author of the inscription (see Chen Yuan et al., *Daojia jinshi lue*, 176). Chen Yuan does not hesitate to title it “The *Zuowang lun* of Master White Cloud” (Boyun xiansheng *Zuowang lun* 白雲先生坐忘論), that is, of SIMA CHENGZHEN. The fact, however, that its text differs widely from the present version further increases our doubts as to the work’s attribution.

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Isabelle Robinet

Xinmu lun 心目論

4 fols.

1038 (fasc. 704)

“Discourse on the Heart and the Eyes.” The unnamed author is the Tang Taoist and poet WU YUN (d. 778). The present version is identical to the text in Wu’s collected works, 1051 *Zongxuan xiansheng wenji* 2.16a–19b (q.v.).

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Sanlun yuanzhi 三論元旨

1 + 20 fols.

Late Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960)?

1039 (fasc. 704)

“The Original Purport of the Three Arguments.” The *three* in the title has different connotations: it refers not only to the three subsections of our text—“Daozong 道宗” (The Principle of the Way), “Xuwang 虛妄” (Falsities), and “Zhenyuan 真源” (Sources of Verity)—but also to the original unity of Way, mind, and nature (*dao* 道, *xin* 心, *xing* 性), and to the unity of spirit, vital energy, and essence (*shen* 神, *qi* 氣, *jing* 精).

From the preface, nothing factual about date and authorship can be gleaned, except that the author had been a recluse for many years. IIII *Taixuan zhenyi benji miaojing* is quoted regularly, indicating that our text is not older than the early Tang. A reference to the *Zhuangzi* as the *Nanhua jing* 南華經 indicates that the *Sanlun yuanzhi* must have been written after 742, when the *Zhuangzi* was canonized as the *Nanhua zhenjing*. The *Sanlun yuanzhi* has been preserved only in the *Daozang*.

It is clear that the *Sanlun yuanzhi* is deeply influenced by the Chongxuan 重玄 learning of the early Tang. A recurring theme is the attainment of union with the Tao. Leading to this union are three forms of meditation (*sanding* 三定), corresponding to three stages of being, in ascending order: immortal, zhenren, and sage (*shengren* 聖人). The importance of the equal cultivation of both spirit and vital energy through meditation and gymnastics (*daoyin* 導引) is emphasized. Our text posits the unity of spontaneous nature (*ziran* 自然) and Buddhist causality (*yinyuan* 因緣), a feature also characteristic of 1035 *Daoti lun*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Huashu 化書

6 juan

Attributed to TAN QIAO 覃峭, *zi* Jingsheng 景昇 (fl. ca. 880–950)

1044 (fasc. 724)

“The Book of Transformations.” This text was first circulated as the work of Song Qiqiu 宋齊丘 (*zi* Zisong 子嵩) under the title *Qiqiu zi* (see *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 117.2464–65). It is mentioned in several Song bibliographies with this author (VDL 83), and the *Shuofu* 42 edition of the introductory part of the book (the prefaces and table of contents) opens with a preface by Song Qiqiu dated 930, in which he claims credit for the book. Song Qiqiu (d. 959) was an official in the state of Wu and associated with Li Bian 李昇, the governor of Jinling 金陵 (present Nanking). In 937 he assisted Li Bian in establishing the Southern Tang dynasty, with its capital in Jinling, and he also held office during the reign of the second emperor of the dynasty (see *Xin Wudai shi* 62–63). Li Bian appointed Song Qiqiu military governor (*jiedu shi* 節度使) of Hongzhou 洪州 (present-day Nanchang), the capital of Jiangnan West. Song Qiqiu built a large mansion in his home village (near Hongzhou) and established himself there as a great lord, surrounded by scores of diviners and magicians (see Ma Ling’s *Nan Tang shu* 20 and *Jiangnan yeshi* 1–2).

The idea that Song Qiqiu had in fact stolen the *Huashu* from a Taoist by the name of TAN QIAO was put forward by CHEN JINGYUAN in a preface dated 1060 and likewise included in *Shuofu* 42. CHEN JINGYUAN relates the story of the theft as told to him by Zhang Wumeng 張無夢 (952?–1051), who repeats a conversation with his master, CHEN TUAN (d. 989). CHEN TUAN refers to TAN QIAO as a master and friend (*shiyou* 師友), and states that Tan wrote the book while living on Zhongnan shan 終南山. Passing through Jinling on his way to Maoshan 茅山, Tan met Song Qiqiu and entrusted him with the book, in order that he should write a preface and transmit the book to posterity. Song, however, first plied Tan with drink, then tied him in a bag and threw him into a deep abyss, whereafter he proceeded to circulate the *Huashu* as a work of his own. A shorter version of the preface, without the fantastic details in connection with the theft, is found in LZTT 39.17b–18b, appended to the biography of TAN QIAO. The actual biography derives from 295 *Xu xian zhuan* 3.17b–18b, by Shen Fen 沈汾 of the Southern Tang dynasty. It is included also in YJQQ 113B.41a–42a and does not mention the *Huashu*. The biography confirms, however, that TAN QIAO retired first to Zhongnan shan and thereafter visited the sacred mountains throughout China.

The notion that TAN QIAO might be identical with TAN ZIXIAO, the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (see the article on 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*), is not found in Song sources. See, for instance, 606 *Nanyue zongsheng ji* 5a–b and *Fozu tongji* 42.392c, which both give short accounts of the appearance of the book, based

on the preface by CHEN JINGYUAN. The identification is also implicitly denied in the Yuan dynasty LZTT, which includes separate biographies of the two persons and mentions the *Huashu* only in connection with TAN QIAO. Such denial is also the case for 781 *Xuanpin lu* 5.13b–14a, which records a summary of the book made by a man who settled on Lushan 廬山 around 962. However, in texts of the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the two names consistently refer to the same person, and the earliest surviving local histories relating to Quanzhou (according to all sources, the native place of TAN ZIXIAO, the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa) include biographies in which TAN ZIXIAO is described as the author of the *Huashu* and with the family background mentioned in 295 *Xu xian zhuan* 3.17b–18b. See *Quanzhou fu zhi* 65.38a–b and the *Min shu* 7.11a–12a. The latter text includes the biography in the geographical section, under the description of Qingyuan shan 清源山, the sacred mountain immediately to the north of Quanzhou, claiming that TAN ZIXIAO cultivated the Way at the Zize dong 紫澤洞 cavern near the top of the mountain. The claim is frequently repeated in later topographical works of the area, but it does not appear to be supported by sources earlier than the Ming dynasty.

The attribution of the *Huashu* to TAN ZIXIAO is generally accepted in Taoist sources since the late Ming dynasty, for instance in a preface by Wang Yiqing 王—清 (fl. 1592), who wrote a commentary to the book. For this, see the *Daozang jiyao* edition of the *Huashu*, which gives Zixiao zhenren 紫霄真人 as the *hao* of the author but retains the *zi* Jingsheng of TAN QIAO. The *Xu Daozang* edition of the book, 1478 *Huashu*, does likewise. The attribution to TAN ZIXIAO was accepted by Yu Jiayi, on the basis that TAN ZIXIAO, on his way from Quanzhou to Lushan, passed through Nanking in the years 943–957 and therefore may be taken to be identical with the TAN QIAO who, in CHEN JINGYUAN's preface, is said to have met Song Qiqiu in Nanking (Yu Jiayi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng*, 846–47). One might add that TAN ZIXIAO was living on Lushan (on Zixiao Peak, from which he seems to have taken his name) when Song Qiqiu was installed in Hongzhou, not far from the mountain. Lushan was by far the most important religious center of the area, and no doubt many followers of Song Qiqiu were connected with the mountain. The *Lushan zhi* 1.46b–47a quotes a *Yuyu lu* 園余錄 for an anecdote mentioning Song Qiqiu's frequent visits to Lushan.

The contents of the *Huashu* give no cause to doubt its attribution to TAN ZIXIAO. The philosophy of the book, with its deduction of techniques from the emptiness of the Tao (as realized within the body of the practitioner), agrees with the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa. The few specific techniques mentioned are all consistent with its teachings: *fuhui* 伏虺 (the subduing of snakes; 2.1a), *wuji* 巫祭 (offering through mediums; 2.2b); and *xiangfu* (the use of “imitative symbols”; 4.7a). The latter are described as exorcistic in function and involve the “entwining of arms and locking together of fingers.” The commentary of Wang Yiqing identifies these practices as

techniques for the transformation of the spirit through instructions for finger pricking and through walking the guideline (*qiajue bugang bianshen zhi shu* 掐訣步罡變神之術), that is, the kind of practices for which TAN ZIXIAO was particularly noted (see Ma Ling's *Nan Tang shu* 24.162–63). Note also that the term *Zhengyi* 正一 is given special emphasis (1.6b–7a), in accordance both with the title *Zhengyi xiansheng* given to TAN ZIXIAO by the ruler of Min (see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*), and with the general affiliation of the Tianxin zhengfa.

The *Huashu* is philosophical and literary in a form that evokes the early Taoist philosophers. It addresses itself to the general reading public and was printed in a large number of editions (see Chang Bide, *Shuofu kao*, 258–59). The philosophy of the book is markedly influenced by Buddhism, see especially juan 1, entitled “Daohua 道化” (Transformations of the Tao). All creation is said to be founded in emptiness, and the phenomena of the world are seen as transmutable, relative, and illusory. By a return to emptiness one may transcend the world of changes and transform oneself into something lasting. Compare the biography of TAN ZIXIAO in LZTT 43.8a–11a, where he is said to have constantly explained to his disciples that his teaching was based on the *Zhuangzi* and *Liezi*, and that it was in perfect accord with the central philosophy of Buddhism. He says that he had studied the Buddhist scriptures since his youth, and he attacks those Taoists who opposed themselves to Buddhism: rejecting Buddhism is also turning one's back to the fundamental meaning of Taoism.

It may be noted that the discussions of morality, found in juan 3–4, are to a large extent Taoist justifications and reinterpretations of traditional Confucian virtues. It is clear that the book participates in the trend toward a unification of the three teachings, manifested already in the early part of the tenth century and represented, for instance, by CHEN TUAN, the famous friend of TAN QIAO (on their relationship, see the preface by CHEN JINGYUAN and also Lin Shengli, “Zixiao zhenren”).

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Poul Andersen

Huashu 化書 (譚子化書)

6 juan

Attributed to TAN QIAO 覃峭, *zi* Jingsheng 景昇 (fl. ca. 880–950)

1478 (fasc. 1170)

“The Book of Transformations.” The heading gives Zixiao zhenren 紫霄真人 as the *hao* of the author, thus conflating him with TAN ZIXIAO (fl. 936–976), the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (see 1044 *Huashu*). The present edition has a table

of contents but is otherwise identical to 1044 *Huashu* (and to the *Daozang jiyao* edition, derived from a copy of the *Daozang* kept at Wudang shan 武當山). The section headings and ordering are slightly at variance with those of the table of contents found in *Shuofu* 42, which apparently represents a *Xinghua lu* 興化路 version printed in 1330–1332 (see Chang Bide, *Shuofu kao*, 259).

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Poul Andersen

Haike lun 海客論

23 fols.

1045 (fasc. 724)

“The Sea Traveler’s Discourses.” This is an abridged version of 266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* (tenth century; q.v.).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xuanzhu lu 玄珠錄

2 juan

By Wang Hui 王暉, *hao* Xuanlan 玄覽 (626–697); compiled by Wang Daxiao 王大霄, *zi* Taixiao 太霄 (b. ca. 671)

1048 (fasc. 725)

“Record of the Mysterious Pearl.” The term *xuanzhu* 玄珠 (Mysterious Pearl), as the preface (3b) by Wang Xuanlan’s disciple Wang Daxiao explains, is a courteous reference to Wang Xuanlan himself.

The preface contains fairly detailed data about the master’s life and considerable literary output, now lost but for the 120 or so entries recorded here, culled from private notes made by Wang Xuanlan’s interlocutors and compiled in the form of a dialogic treatise (*yulu* 語錄). The material dates from Wang’s forties and fifties, when he liked to engage in philosophical debate. Wang, who started out as a soothsayer and a diviner, instructed himself in Mahāyāna texts, the *Daode jing*, YAN ZUN’s 693 *Daode zhenjing zhigui* (first century B.C.), and works on immortality. He was almost fifty when he was finally ordained a daoshi. Perhaps this absence of a regular teacher explains his sometimes highly original views. The *Xuanzhu lu* has been preserved only in the *Daozang*.

Essential to Wang’s system of thought is his unconventional interpretation of the first line of the *Daode jing*, from which he isolates the *kedao* 可道 and the *changdao* 常道. The *changdao* produces Heaven and Earth, which are eternal; the *kedao* (or “private dao,” *sidao* 私道) produces all beings, which are mortal. This theory enables Wang to

find an answer to the following paradox: If the Tao is fundamentally different from all beings, then how can all beings cultivate the Tao? And if Tao and beings are identical, then where is the necessity for all beings to cultivate the Tao? It is possible, according to Wang, for one to cultivate one's own "private Tao" and to ascend to the constant, eternal Tao. The way to reach this goal is to practice "sitting in oblivion" (*zuowang* 坐忘), which became a prominent feature in the works of SIMA CHENGZHEN, who was one generation younger than Wang Xuanlan.

Wang's idealistic system of thought is heavily influenced by Buddhism, in particular by the school of "consciousness only." Parallels with the roughly contemporary *Hai-kong jing* 海空經 are legion. Our text is one of the best examples of the Tang dynasty tendency to merge Taoist and Buddhist thought, better known as the Double Mystery (Chongxuan 重玄).

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Jan A. M. De Meyer

Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun 宗玄先生玄綱論

26 fols.

By WU YUN 吳筠, posthumous title Zongxuan xiansheng 宗玄先生 (d. 778)
1052 (fasc. 727)

Wu zunshi zhuan 吳尊師傳

2 fols. (appendix to 1052)

By QUAN DEYU 權德輿 (between 802–810)
1053 (fasc. 727)

"Arcane Principles of Master Zongxuan." This work is an outline of Taoist thought, written by WU YUN for the Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756). The text is preceded by a memorial that states it was presented to the throne in 754 (Xuanzong's reply is preserved in *Quan Tang wen* 37.12b).

The *Xuangang lun* is considered one of WU YUN's most outstanding works by his biographer QUAN DEYU (see 1053 *Wu zunshi zhuan* 2a). The latter refers to the work in three sections, which corresponds to the present text, but the *Chongwen zongmu* lists the title twice, once in three juan, the second time in one juan (VDL 98). Other bibliographies also mention either one juan or three juan, but the latter designations actually refer to the three sections (cf. VDL 98). The three sections are further subdivided into subsections (*zhang* 章), each with its own heading.

The first section is titled "Ming Daode" (Clarification on the Tao and the De). It comprises nine subsections dealing with the various manifestations of the Tao in the universe and within humanity: the Primordial Qi, the True One, *taiji* 太極, yin and

yang, movement and quiescence, being and nonbeing, etc. At the end of the section, there is also some criticism of Confucianism: the practice of Confucian virtues is considered unsuitable for a monarch, because the Confucianists are incapable of comprehending the profound meaning of the teachings of the sages (8b).

The second section, entitled “Bian fazhao” (Explanation of the Doctrine), comprises fifteen subsections. It describes the sacred origin of the scriptures and the order in which they should be studied: Zhengyi 正一, Dongshen 洞神, Lingbao 靈寶, Dongzhen 洞真. This account is followed by a discussion of methods employed for self-purification and the accumulation of merit through the observance of moral precepts. Immortality, for WU YUN, can be attained by meditation and mental concentration, by practicing compassion and observing religious rules rather than by simply ingesting elixirs.

The third and last section is entitled “Xining zhi” (Fixing the Will and Mind on Immortality). It comprises nine subsections, all presented in *yulu* 語錄 (recorded conversations) form. The dialogue between WU YUN and an interlocutor dwells on the reasons so few attain immortality. The arguments put forth are similar to those in the “Shenxian ke xue lun” (1051 *Zongxuan xiansheng wenji* 2.9b–16a).

The appendix, 1053 *Wu zunshi zhuan* by QUAN DEYU, is a short biography of WU YUN and traces his Taoist career at Emperor Xuanzong’s court. The biography is reproduced virtually verbatim in *Jiu Tang shu* 192 and forms the primary material for all subsequent biographies of WU YUN (cf. LZTT 37.96b–10b, 304 *Maoshan zhi* 15.10b, etc.).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taiping liangtong shu 太平兩同書

2 juan

By Luo Yin 羅隱, zi Zhaojian 昭諫 (833–910)

1135 (fasc. 767)

“The Identity of Both.” The term *liangtong* 兩同 in the title has two different meanings. Besides hinting at Luo Yin’s attempt to show that Confucianism and Taoism are compatible, it also refers to the ten chapter headings, all of which consist of two antithetical concepts, such as strength and weakness, profit and loss, order and disorder, and so on. The idea, then, is that a faulty interpretation of a certain concept easily leads to the actualization of its opposite. The term *taiping* 太平 was added before the second half of the twelfth century, possibly because of Luo Yin’s relation to LÜQIU FANGYUAN (d. 902), author of 1101b *Taiping jing chao*.

In half of the Song catalogues that list the *Liangtong shu* (VDL III) not Luo Yin but WU YUN (d. 778) is given as the author. This discrepancy is the result of the existence of two *Liangtong shu* (see *Xin Tang shu* 59.1540 and *Song shi* 205.5208), one

by WU YUN and one by Luo Yin. Comparison with the extant works of both writers indicates that the present text is the work of Luo Yin. *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 10.15b lists it under the title *Zhurong zi liangtong shu* 祝融子兩同書, another indication of Luo Yin's authorship, as the Luo clan was reputed to have descended from the mythical emperor Zhurong.

Although Song dynasty prints of Luo Yin's poetic works are still extant, this is not the case of the *Liangtong shu*. The present text is preserved (in some cases only in fragments) in the Ming editions *Xu baichuan xuehai* 續百川學海 and *Shuofu*. Yong Wenhua consulted these editions with another Ming copy from Fan Qin's 范欽 (1506–1589) *Tianyi ge* 天一閣 when he compiled his *Luo Yin ji*. The *Liangtong shu* version on which Yong Wenhua based himself for his critical edition, however, is not a Ming but an early Qing (1644–1911) copy, namely, the text as it appears in juan 8 of the *Luo Zhaojian ji* 羅昭諫集. This work is now preserved in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, which also contains another version of our text, as a separate work in the *zajia* 雜家 section. The *Luo Zhaojian ji*, which was already mentioned in the twelfth-century *Suichu tang shummu* 72, acquired its definitive form in a 1670 print made by a certain Zhang Zan 張瓚, who had previously combed the Hangzhou region for all existing old editions of Luo Yin's works. This version of the *Liangtong shu* is superior to all others, including the *Daozang* edition (the oldest) of which Yong Wenhua was apparently unaware. The *Daozang* edition shares many insignificant textual variants with the other Ming editions. Fragments of our text also appear under the name *Lingbi zi* 靈璧子 in the Ming collections *Zhuzi huihan* 諸子彙函 and *Zhuzi gangmu leibian* 諸子綱目類編.

Our text has not been fully preserved. The tenth chapter, which, like chapters 6 through 9, should end with a quotation from Confucius, actually ends in midsentence. Probably, not more than one or two dozen characters are missing.

The *Taiping liangtong shu*'s emphasis is on the art of governing. Its most interesting aspect is Luo Yin's diverse attempts to prove the basic compatibility of Taoist and Confucian values, for example, by praising historical figures who in their own actions exemplified both Taoist and Confucian values; by illustrating certain themes with quotations from both Taoist and Confucian sources; and by explaining concepts normally associated with one school through the use of terms normally connected with the other school. Our text is arguably the most systematically elaborated example of a trend—often motivated by anti-Buddhist sentiments and by no means uncommon during the latter half of the Tang—toward the unification of Taoism and Confucianism. The fact that the first five *Liangtong shu* chapters end with a quotation from Laozi does not imply the precedence of Taoism over Confucianism. Luo Yin's basic interest rather resembles the Confucian “rectification of names” (*zhengming* 正名). Though he does his best to incorporate as many Taoist values as possible, he is also

careful to exclude Zhuangzi's relativistic and so-called primitivistic elements, apparently concerned lest Taoist "radicalism" place a strain on any lasting Confucian-Taoist synthesis.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Taishang laojun qingjing xin jing 太上老君清靜心經

3 fols.

1169 (fasc. 839)

"Scripture by the Most High Lord Lao on Purity and Quietude of the Heart." This text, which also figures in YJQQ 17.13b–15b under the title *Laojun qingjing xin jing*, basically corresponds to 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing* but is simpler in style. Whereas its counterpart includes an epilogue, the present scripture concludes with a *gāthā* and promises of rewards for the recitation and keeping of the scripture.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongling zhenjing 洞靈真經

3 juan

He Can 何璨 [粲], commentator

747 (fasc. 522)

"True Scripture of the Communion with the Divine." He Can's commentary on the *Kangcang zi* 亢倉子 (see the article on 669 *Dongling zhenjing*) was first bibliographically recorded in *Junzhai dushu zhi* (VDL 82). A comparison of two citations in TPYL 344.7b and 350.3a with the present work (1.26a–b) shows, however, that it already existed—with some variants—in the tenth century.

No details about the author of this commentary seem to have been available to Song (960–1279) and post-Song bibliographers, but the *Yongle dadian* 10286.14b–15a contains a preface, nowhere else preserved, by the grand academician (*taixue boshi* 太學博士) He Can, of the [Hou] Jin dynasty (936–946). According to this source, a certain Liu Tiancong 劉天從, who kept a copy of the *Dongling zhenjing* in his private collection, asked He Can for an introduction so that he could have the work printed. However, no mention is made of He having written the commentary on this occasion. The author of the present pithy lexical-semantic explanations and interpretation of the text already had various versions of the *Kangcang zi* at his disposal (see, e.g., 1.13a, 1.24b, 1.25a, 2.11a). The phonetic annotations interspersed in the main text are also found in the above mentioned citations in TPYL, but since they appear in 669 *Dongling zhenjing* as well, they cannot be firmly attributed to He Can. A folio containing phonetic explanations (*yinyi* 音義) is preserved in a printed Song edition of this commentary (five juan, in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊); its author cannot be deter-

mined beyond doubt, nor is it possible to identify it confidently with the *Kangcang zi yinyi* 亢倉子音義 in one juan listed in the bibliographic chapters of the *Song shi* (205.5178).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Wuneng zi 無能子

3 juan

Written in 887

1028 (fasc. 672)

“Master Incompetent.” The preface to this text states that it was written by a friend of Wuneng zi. However, the information it provides about the date of the writing of the text is so detailed that it is probably the work of Wuneng zi himself. Our text was written in Zuofu 左輔 (modern Dali, east of Xi’an) between 26 March and 22 April 887, while Wuneng zi spent most of his time in bed. The author, who apparently had held an office but went to live in obscurity with a family he befriended, the Jing 景 clan, chose not to reveal his real name. None of the names mentioned in *Wuneng zi* permit the identification of the author.

Most important Song catalogues (VDL 143) list the *Wuneng zi* in three juan, *Song shi* 205.5180 giving one juan instead. Although in some editions of our text eleven of the thirty-four subsections are marked as missing, one can safely assume that the work has been preserved in its entirety: possibly as a result of the author’s whim, some subsections are split up into two, three, or four paragraphs. The number of additional paragraphs thus created corresponds exactly to the number of subsections marked as missing.

Six Ming dynasty collectanea—namely, *Shier zi* 十二子, *Ershi jia zishu* 二十家子書, *Zi hui* 子彙, *Qieqiean chujian shiliu zi* 且且菴初箋十六子, *He zhu mingjia pidian zhuzi quanshu* 合諸名家批點諸子全書, and *Zhuzi huihan* 諸子彙函—contain the *Wuneng zi*, sometimes in heavily truncated form, as in the case of the *Zhuzi huihan*, which reproduces only five of the thirty-four chapters and in its table of contents erroneously lists the *Wuneng zi* as a Sui dynasty (581–618) text. This edition is interesting, however, as it contains a short but not unsympathetic remark on the present text by the Neo-Confucianist Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085). The oldest edition of *Wuneng zi*, predating the earliest other Ming prints by about a century and the only one to contain the full table of contents, is the present version in the *Daozang*. The compilers of the *Siku quanshu*, who used a copy of this text from Fan Qin’s 范欽 (sixteenth century) Tianyi ge 天一閣 library, stated that they included the *Wuneng zi* only because of the scarcity of Tang books. They failed to indicate the age of the “old copy” (*jiuben* 舊本) at their disposal (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 146.50a).

Formally, the three juan of our text differ. Juan 1, which opens with the important essay “On the Transgressions of the Sage” (*shengguo* 聖過), sketches the basis of Wuneng zi’s philosophy; juan 2 offers elaborations in the form of fictitious dialogues between historical figures, arranged chronologically from King Wen of the Zhou to the third-century hermit Sun Deng 孫登; juan 3 consists of dialogues between Wuneng zi and his friends and family, together with a few parables.

Whenever *Wuneng zi* is mentioned in works on Chinese thought, it is almost invariably in the context of classical Chinese anarchism. Wuneng zi’s precursors were Laozi, Zhuangzi, Liezi, Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263), and GE HONG’s contemporary Bao Jingyan 鮑敬言. Actually, what this iconoclastic work aims at is the total annihilation of traditional or conventional ideas and practices, which are nothing but arbitrary fabrications of the so-called sages of antiquity. Toward the end of the book, even the conventions of language itself are shattered (3.7a–8b). Another interesting argument concerns the impossibility of physical death (since the body consists of originally dead material) and hence the futility of the quest for physical immortality (1.5a–b). Noteworthy is the *Wuneng zi*’s repeated insistence upon “no-mind” (*wuxin* 無心) as the solution to human suffering.

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Jan A. M. De Meyer

Gushen fu 谷神賦

8 fols.

By Zhao De 趙德, *zi* Daxin 大信, *hao* Dashui yiren 大水逸人 (early ninth century)

262 (fasc. 121)

“Rhapsody of the Valley Spirit.” The *Daozang* edition of this otherwise unknown annotated *fu*-rhapsody indicates the author with the words “Tianshui yiren Daxin zhu 天水逸人大信註.” The character *tian* must be an error for *da*. Song bibliographies such as *Tongzhi yiwen lüe* state that the work was written by Zhao Daxin 趙大信 (see VDL 110), which allows us to identify the author, either of the text of the rhapsody or of the commentary, as Zhao De, *hao* master Dashui (Dashui xiansheng 大水先生), a presented scholar (*jinshi* 進士) of the late Tang, who retired at an early age in his native region of Chaozhou. When Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) was exiled to Chaozhou in 819, Zhao was put in charge of coastal defense and also taught at the school that Han had established, greatly enhancing the standard of learning in the region. *Quan Tang wen* 622.6b preserves Zhao’s preface to a collection of writings by Han Yu.

The rhapsody takes its title and main theme from a passage in *Daode jing* 6. From

there the author develops his mystical vision of the Primordial Womb (*yuanbao* 元胞) and the realization of the immortal embryo within the body. The thought of the author shows the influence of 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*. The annotations follow the text closely and elucidate it; they are likely by the same hand.

Kristofer Schipper

***Chisong zi zhongjie jing* 赤松子中誠經**

12 fols.

Tenth century

185 (fasc. 78)

“Scripture of the Central Rules by Chisong Zi.” This text is first listed in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.2b. The *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.34b gives the variant title *Chisong zi bajie lu* 八戒錄 and ascribes the authorship to CHEN TUAN (871–989). This attribution is not confirmed anywhere in Chen’s biographies. In Song times (960–1279), further variant titles are attested: *Chisong zi jie*, *Chisong zi zhongjie pian* 篇 (cf. VDL 110), and *Chisong zi jing* (cf. *Xishan xiansheng Zhen wenzhong gong wenji* 35.551–552). Possibly, the present text was inspired by a passage in 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 6.5a–b, which contains a brief summary of a *Chisong zi jing* with similar contents.

An account of marvelous cures due to Chisong zi’s central rules figures as a preface to the present work. A variant of this story is found in 1167 *Taishang ganying pian* 4.1b–2a.

The text itself is composed as a dialogue: in response to questions put forth by the Yellow Emperor, Chisong zi explains the relation between one’s individual actions and their consequences. Each person has a star that watches over him or her and that diminishes his or her original lifespan of 120 years upon each offense (1a–b); thus Chisong zi gives numerous rules of conduct and exemplifies the effects of good and evil deeds.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

2.A.1.c The *Yinfu jing* and Its Commentaries

Despite its controversial origin and obscure content, the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 has been influential among both Taoist and Confucian thinkers. Tradition places its origin variously in the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), or in the Jin or Northern Wei (386–534) dynasty. At the opposite extreme, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and other Song scholars took the skeptical view that the scripture actually originated with Li Quan

李筌 (fl. 713–741), the main commentator featured in this section. The fact that the *Yinfu jing* is quoted in the *Yiwen leiju*, however, shows that it existed at least by early Tang times (618–907). It is presented here in a version that probably dates to the first half of the eighth century (31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*).

Interpretations of the *Yinfu jing* have ranged between the domains of military and political philosophy, on the one hand, and physiological alchemy, on the other, giving rise to numerous commentaries. The Song catalogue *Tongzhi*, “*Yiwen lue*,” lists thirty-nine titles. In this section, Li Quan’s collection of annotations ascribed to ancient authors and completed by his own (108 *Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu*) is followed by his contemporary ZHANG GUO’s 112 *Huangdi yinfu jing zhu*, which takes issue with Li Quan’s views in 108 *Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu*. The next item, 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu*, appears to be wrongly ascribed to Li Quan. It is based on DU GUANGTING’s early tenth-century account of Li Quan’s encounter with the Old Woman of Lishan 驪山老母. This mysterious immortal not only revealed an “authentic” explication of the scripture to Li, but also confirmed its supposed antiquity. DU GUANGTING was himself the author of a now lost commentary on the *Yinfu jing*.

Huangdi yinfu jing 黃帝陰符經

2 fols.

Eighth century?

31 (fasc. 27)

“The Yellow Emperor’s Scripture of the Hidden Contracts.” This text deals with the cosmic forces and principles, and also with their seen or unseen influences in the human world. There are three paragraphs: “The Immortal Embraces the One: This means Tao”; “Enriching the State and Pacifying the People: This means Fa”; and “Strengthening the Troops and Fighting Victoriously: This means Shu.” These subtitles combine the aspects of “civil culture” (*wen* 文) and “military means” (*wu* 武). Bibliographies classify this text either as “military” or “Taoist” (see VDL 139, 140; Reiter, “Scripture of the Hidden Contracts”). The present text represents the long version comprising about 400 words, whereas tradition ascribes 300 words to the *Yinfu jing* (see 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu*, preface 1b). Another text, 113 *Huangdi yinfu jing jie* offers an interpretation of this discrepancy, connecting Xi wang mu 西王母 and the Yellow Emperor with the revelation and transmission of the *Yinfu jing* (in 400 words). Chu Suiliang’s (596–658) *Tang Chu Henan Yinfu jing moji* reproduces the long version. There is some dispute as to the authenticity of Chu’s work (see Yu Jiayi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 1178–80). Ouyang Xun’s (557–641) *Yiwen leiju* 88.1507 quotes one sentence of a text with the title *Yinfu* that can be found in the present work (1a). It is therefore likely that a *Yinfu jing* was extant in the sixth century. However, the above-mentioned three subtitles appear for the first time around 750, in a text traditionally

attributed to Li Quan 李筌 (see 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu*). It should be noted that most phrases quoted elsewhere from the *Yinfu jing* do appear in this text.

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Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu 黃帝陰符經集註

14 fols.

By Li Quan 李筌 (fl. 713–741)

108 (fasc. 54)

“The Collection of Commentaries on the Yellow Emperor’s Scripture of the Hidden Contracts.” This work contains explanations that are said to have been transmitted by Yi Yin 伊尹, Taigong 太公, Fan Li 范蠡, Guigu zi 鬼谷子, Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, Zhang Liang 張良, and Li Quan 李筌. The preface, attributed to Zhuge Liang, connects the text with the Yellow Emperor, but it does not give the traditional information about the Old Woman of Lishan 驪山 that figures prominently in 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu*.

The “long version” (in approximately 400 words, see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*) of the *Yinfu jing* is not divided into the customary three paragraphs (cf. 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu*). The distribution of commentaries through the text is uneven. The commentaries by Li Quan are comparatively substantial; however, do not match the commentaries attributed to that author in 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu*. Li Quan’s commentaries in the present collection prompted ZHANG GUO to write his own (see 112 *Huangdi yinfu jing zhu*) in order to refute Li Quan’s opinion, which confirms Li Quan’s authorship of the commentaries attributed to him in this collection. The compilation of the collection itself can be attributed to Li Quan. His name occupies the last and chronologically most recent position at the end of the long series of authors. Li Quan offers naturalistic interpretations that seem to be based on historical events or on data referring to military and political actions.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經註

11 fols.

By ZHANG GUO 張果 (first half of the eighth century)

112 (fasc. 55)

“Commentary on the Yellow Emperor’s Scripture of the Hidden Contracts.” According to 295 *Xu xian zhuan* 2.4b–6a, ZHANG GUO died at the beginning of the

Tianbao period (742–756). Since the present text mentions neither the title nor *hao* that were bestowed onto Zhang by the emperor in 734 (cf. *Jiu Tang shu* 8.200), his commentary was probably written before that date. His biography in *Jiu Tang shu* 191 tells us that he wrote the *Yinfu jing xuanjie* 玄解. In the Song catalogues, the present text is listed under the title *Yinfu jing taiwu zhuan* 太無傳 (see VDL 140). Zhang mentions in his preface that several commentaries to the *Yinfu jing* existed already, none of which was satisfactory. He condemns especially the commentary by Li Quan 李筌, a contemporary of his. As Zhang states, he happened to find a *Yinfu zhuan* in the Taoist canon (*daojing zang* 道經藏), the date and author of which were unknown. He rearranged it and also included his own annotations (in which he mainly limits himself to harshly attacking Li Quan). Both Zhang and Li based their commentaries on the long version of the *Yinfu jing* (comprising 443 and 437 characters, respectively). In fourteen instances, Zhang criticizes Li's interpretation, referring each time to Li's commentary in 108 *Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu*. For one of his points of criticism (1a), compare Li Quan's preface to the *Yinfu jing* quoted in *Junzhai dushu zhi* 11.487–89. The present work is also found, with slight variants, in YJQQ 15.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing song 黃帝陰符經頌

7 fols.

By Yuanyang zi 元陽子; Tang (618–907)?

311 (fasc. 161)

“The Yellow Emperor's Scripture of the Hidden Contracts [Interpreted] in Hymns.” In this work, Yuanyang zi relates the *Yinfu jing* to alchemical practice in thirty-nine hymns in seven-character lines. Bibliographic mention of this interpretation is found in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 5.5a. The main text (417 characters) is divided into three sections with the usual headings. The *Daozang jiyao* edition of this work shows an interpolation in the main text (for a discussion of this passage, see 124 *Huangdi yinfu jing zhujie* 2b–3a); the commentary is identical.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Tianji jing 天機經

8 fols.

Probably Tang dynasty (618–907)

1190 (fasc. 874)

“Scripture of Natural Opportunities.” Also known under the titles *Tianji zi* 天機子 and *Yinfu tianji jing* 陰符天機經 (VDL 84, 140), this text is in fact one of the numerous 31 *Huangdi Yinfu jing* 陰符經 commentaries.

The preface, studded with quotations from the Book of Changes, summarizes the

contents but contains no factual information as to date or authorship. *Junzhai dushu zhi* II.489–90 considers it to be the work of Li Quan 李筌 (mid-eighth century). Our text has been preserved only in the *Daozang*, where it is also found in YJQQ 15, appended as an explanatory work to the *Yinfu jing*. *Daozang jinghua* lists the work under the title *Yinfu tianji jing*.

Tianji jing is divided into nineteen subsections, each elucidating one term from the *Yinfu jing*. The stress is on statecraft and strategy, with sporadic references to longevity. The wise man, according to our text, becomes invincible by scrutinizing signs from nature and humanity, by knowing when to advance and when to retreat, by understanding the interplay of yin and yang, and by responding to opportunities (*yingji* 應機). The Book of Changes and *Daode jing* are quoted frequently, but echoes of Mencius (5a) and GUO XIANG (6b) are likewise present.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

2.A.1.d Commentaries on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* and Related Scriptures

The essential theoretical framework for this section is provided by the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, the *Guwen longhu jing* 古文龍虎經, and the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經. Because of their problematic dating, these texts are discussed here rather than in part I. The three texts, together with the so-called *Wu xianglei* 五相類, are closely related, so much so that they are often combined in different sequences. An example is 905 *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao*, a book in which the main text is the *Wu xianglei*, in supposed sequence with the *Zhouyi cantong qi*. Other works, such as 1017 *Daoshu*, give a *Cantong qi* in three chapters (*sanpian* 三篇). In these works, the second chapter is a *Cantong qi* ascribed to a certain Caoyi zi 草衣子, also known as Lou Jing 婁敬, of the Han dynasty, while chapter 3 in fact corresponds to the *Jinbi jing*. Still other works—such as 999 *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 with the commentary of Yin Changsheng 陰長生—consider (preface 1a) that the *Cantong qi* was produced out of the *Guwen longhu jing*. In order to throw some light on these difficulties, we shall discuss the different texts in turn, beginning with the one that is best known today.

The *Zhouyi cantong qi* (Concordance of the Three according to the Book of Changes of the Zhou Dynasty) is a short treatise in verse and prose that endeavors to explain the alchemical process in terms of the cosmology of the *Yijing*. This book is ascribed to WEI BOYANG, a legendary immortal. The attribution is based on Wei's hagiography in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, presumably written by GE HONG: “Wei Boyang made the *Cantong qi wu xianglei* together in two scrolls. The discourse is like a commentary on the *Zhouyi* but in fact he borrows its divination symbols [*yaoxiang* 爻象]

in order to discuss the meaning of the making of the elixir. However, the Confucian scholars [*ruzhe* 儒者] did not understand matters related to immortality and therefore often wrote commentaries [explaining the text] in yin-yang [sexual] terms. They thus completely lost sight of its deeper meaning” (*Shenxian zhuan* in YJQQ 109.6a–b).

This passage is rather problematic. It is uncertain whether the title *Cangtong qi wu xianglei* denotes one or two distinct works. The explanation given of its contents and its misuse by Confucian scholars suggests a subsequent addition, as it closely fits the later, Tang (618–907) version of the work but not at all the earlier one (see below). Moreover, yin-yang commentaries of the work existed in Tang times (see van Gulik, *Sexual life in ancient China*, 80–81). Indeed, the whole text translated above seems doubtful, given that GE HONG mentions WEI BOYANG in his BPZ 19.306 as the author of a work simply called *Neijing* 內經. The very historicity of WEI BOYANG is open to question. His legend as reported in the *Shenxian zhuan* is devoid of facts; it contains only an anecdote about the way WEI BOYANG tested the resolve of his disciples by pretending to die after taking his alchemical elixir. In fact, *Boyang* is the name of Laozi (see Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao Tseu*, 7, 29–30), and according to Laozi’s biography in *Shiji* 63.2142, his son Zong 宗 became commander in Wei 魏. Moreover, the very passage translated above is also found in the BPZ 3.46, again in connection with Laozi. Hence, as Fukui Kōjun observes (in “A study of *Chou-i Ts’an-t’ung ch’i*,” 26), “Wei Boyang” can be read as “Boyang from Wei” and therefore as referring to an avatar of Laozi.

The most significant reason, however, to question the relation of the present *Zhouyi cantong qi* with a legendary WEI BOYANG and an ancient stratum of Taoist alchemy is that the text as we know it is not quoted in any form before the Tang dynasty. A commentary to the *Yijing* called *Cantong qi* must have existed, since the *Jingdian shiwen* 2.1a by Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627) quotes a commentary by Yu Fan 虞翻, a scholar of the end of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220): “The *Cantong qi* says: ‘the graph has *sun* and thereunder *moon* 日月爲易.’” This brief clause can indeed be found in 999 *Zhouyi cantong qi* 1.10a.1, but there it is part of a sentence that reads, “the sun and the moon alternate, hard and soft complete each other 日月爲易, 剛柔相合.” Yu Fan was a Confucian scholar known for his commentaries on the apocrypha (*wei* 緯); the *Cantong qi* he quotes must have been an apocryphal commentary on the *Yijing* and not a Taoist book on alchemy. Therefore, the present version of the *Cantong qi* places what must have been a definition of the character *yi* 易 in a context of cyclical alternation and alchemical process. It is also doubtful that the text Yu Fan referred to was the same as the present *Cantong qi* because the clause cited is too short to be conclusive. A second instance where a *Cantong qi* is mentioned is in 1016 *Zhen’gao* 12.8b, where in his commentary TAO HONGJING quotes a *Yi cantong qi* 易參同契 concerning the story of a certain Chunyu Shutong 淳于叔通. This person obtained methods for

calculating future events, which enabled him to be appointed *fangshi* 方士 as well as mayor of the capital Luoyang. It is not entirely clear whether the “calculations” in question were contained in the book of *Yi* itself, but it stands to reason to suppose that there was a direct relationship, which again shows that the original *Cantong qi* was an apocryphal commentary on the *Yijing* and concerned prognostication, not alchemy. However, this obvious fact has not prevented many prefacers of editions of the present alchemical work to quote, mostly indirectly, this passage of the *Zhen'gao* in an attempt to reconstruct its textual history.

A final indication of the fact that the original *Cantong qi* was a work of prognostication and calculation is provided by a quotation in the *Yanshi jiaxun* 17, “Shuzheng 書証.” Here the author Yan Zhitui (531–ca. 590) cites the *Cantong qi* as saying: “A man carrying an announcement makes [the character] ‘to create’ 以人負告爲造.” He then goes on to criticize what he terms “the nonsensical utterances of the prognosticators and calculators 數術謬語.” Again, this criticism is a clear indication that the original work was related to the art of *shushu* 數術 and not to alchemy. In modern times, the textual scholar Ma Xulun 馬敘倫 (1884–1970), in *Dushu xiaoji* 2.34, accords with our argument that an apocryphal *Yijing* commentary called *Cantong qi* must have existed. He goes on to emend the quotation in the *Yanshi jiaxun* in a contrived way to make it correspond to a passage in the actual *Cantong qi* (see Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 354).

In this light, it would be useful to find evidence in the surviving *Yiwei* 易緯 apocrypha of a relationship with the *Cantong qi*. Although there are some obvious parallels, these may be explained by the similarity of the subject matter. Also the author of a counterfeit *Cantong qi* would certainly have tried to imitate the still existing Han *Yiwei* texts, such as the *Qianzuo du* 乾鑿度 (in *Yiwei bazhong* 1.5b–6a). In short, there is no conclusive evidence that a *Cantong qi* as we have it today existed before Tang times.

The earliest mention of the present *Cantong qi* may well be a short treatise by the daoshi Liu Zhigu 劉知古 entitled *Riyue xuanshu lun* 日月玄樞論 (in *Quan Tang wen* 334.13a–21a). There is also a memorial (*biao* 表) presenting this work to the throne. Both mention the *Cantong qi* in the context of the practice of alchemy and as the fundamental text of this mysterious art. Liu Zhigu states that many people already used this book but failed to understand it. In his research on the origins of the *Cantong qi*, Liu mentions GE HONG's *Shenxian zhuan*, as well as other authors. He quotes the preface of an edition of the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 by a certain Mr. Xiao 蕭; more of this text can be found today at the beginning of the preface of 999 *Zhouyi cantong qi*, attributed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生. Although it does not tell us much about the book by Mr. Xiao, it does show that Liu Zhigu was referring to texts that were related to the lore of the *Cantong qi* as we have it today.

Liu, according to his biography in LZTT 32.2a–3b (probably based on the now lost *Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳; cf. 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 1.10b–11a), became a Taoist

during the Longshuo era (662–663) and left this world in 743. Since he was esteemed by SIMA CHENGZHEN, the likely period for his treatise and its presentation to the throne would be the reign of Xuanzong (712–757).

Another work of the same period, the *Chuxue ji*, contains a quotation (23.549) that corresponds to a sentence in the *Cantong qi*. The sentence in question is found in chapter 79 of 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 3.1a (cf. Fukui Kōjun, “A study of *Chou-i Ts’an-t’ung ch’i*,” 27). The earliest of the annotated versions of the book, that of Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (999 *Zhouyi cantong qi*), should also date from this period (see Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 377). This early commentary is followed by that of PENG XIAO, 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*, dated 947. As the title indicates, Peng (whose real family name was Cheng 程) divided the text into chapters. His edition would remain the standard for later times, and most of the subsequent studies are based on it.

All these facts bring us to the conclusion that the received *Cantong qi* did not come into being before the middle of the Tang dynasty. This conclusion vindicates the many opinions that have been voiced in the past expressing doubt as to the authenticity of the text. As early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, a local official from Fujian—Bao Zhongqi 鮑仲祺, zi Wozhi 澣之—expressed his disbelief (see 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*). As to the way the present *Cantong qi* defines itself, we have seen that here, too, the different versions offer conflicting accounts. One of the persistent themes, however, from Liu Zhigu to the preface in the Yin Changsheng edition and beyond, is that there exists a close relationship between the *Zhouyi cantong qi* and the *Guwen longhu jing* (also titled *Guwen longhu shangjing* 上經).

The *Guwen longhu (shang) jing* is not known before the Tang. A close stylistic resemblance between this work and the *Cantong qi* is evident. Both texts are essentially in rhymed verse, both speak of alchemy, and many of the technical terms are similar. This resemblance is especially manifest for the first part of the *Cantong qi* (the first juan in the PENG XIAO edition), in which, in many instances, we find wordings and meanings almost identical with corresponding phrases in the *Longhu jing*. A close comparison shows, however, that the *Yijing* vocabulary, so prevalent in the *Cantong qi*, is absent from the *Longhu jing*. In many places, instead of typical Taoist terms and names such as Yuanjun 元君 and Xuannü 玄女, the *Cantong qi* has Zhongni 仲尼 and Shengren 聖人. Other transpositions are *zhonggua* 衆卦 for *zhongshi* 衆石 (juan 1).

The most conclusive evidence that the *Cantong qi* is a sequel and an enlargement of the *Longhu jing*, however, is that at the end of the *Longhu jing* the author indicates that further information about the practice can be found in a text called *Huoji* 火記 (Notes on Fire). In fact, says the final paragraph, the *Longhu jing* is but a supplement to this *Huoji*, and therefore it was not the author’s purpose to repeat the information contained therein. The corresponding passage in 999 *Cantong qi* (1.38b) is a clear ampli-

fication of this passage, but far more verbose and devoid of any clear message. It states that the indications of the *Huoji* “in six hundred chapters” were not comprehensible to the vulgar, but that true sages used them, and that they were explained here, lest the Tao not be transmitted. This is a classical case of amplification (*yanchu* 演出). Indeed, the text of the *Longhu jing* is clear and straightforward in discussing the hierogamy of the dragon and the tiger, whereas the *Cantong qi* discusses the same topic but more awkwardly, having to match the imagery of the Taoist cosmological process with that of the *Yijing*.

The study of the relationship between the two works could be pushed further. For instance, in 887 *Zhang zhenren jinshi lingsha lun*, the author, Zhang Jiugai 張九垓 (fl. 750), repeatedly cites the *Longhu jing*, while in fact his quotations correspond to the *Cantong qi*, but with a number of variants. On page 2b, the quotation in the *Longhu jing* reads: “The White Tiger is the hinge; the Green Dragon mates with it 白虎爲敖樞，青龍與之俱。” These two clauses can be found in 999 *Cantong qi* (1.33b), but in a different context: “The moon crescent is modeled on the crucible. The White Tiger is the hinge. The mercury sun is like flowing pearls. The Green Dragon mates with it 偃月法爐鼎，白虎爲敖樞，汞日爲流珠，青龍與之俱。” It is the same text, but two sentences have been added. Moreover, these sentences are in the part of the *Cantong qi* that comes after the passage on the *Huoji*, where the correspondence with the received *Longhu jing* ends. A quotation of the *Cantong qi* in Zhang’s work (887 *Jinshi lingsha lun*, 8a) cannot be found in the present versions. Many more instances illustrate the complex relationship between these texts.

Another work of the same group is the *Jinbi jing*, which also comes in many versions. One of the oldest may be the 904 *Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi* in three juan with a preface and a commentary ascribed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生. In conclusion, we may say that in the middle of the eighth century there existed a cluster of texts with the titles *Longhu jing*, *Zhouyi cantong qi*, and *Jinbi jing* that formed the bases of the present three works.

During the Southern Song, the *Cantong qi* became popular, and many of the greatest scholars, including Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), tried their hand at writing commentaries on it. The *Longhu jing*, meanwhile, lost favor. The *Cantong qi* was frequently reprinted at government expense (*gongku banxing* 公庫板行). The work’s great popularity turned the homeland of WEI BOYANG, the region of Guiji 會稽 (Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang), into a center for practitioners of Inner Alchemy.

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***Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契**

3 juan

Attributed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (an immortal of the Former Han period, 206 B.C.–A.D. 9); Tang (618–907)

999 (fasc. 621)

“Concordance of the Three according to the Book of Changes of the Zhou Dynasty.” This is a commentary to the *Cantong qi* 參同契 by a legendary immortal who is considered to have been the disciple of Ma Mingsheng 馬鳴生. The work is mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue” (see VDL 139). The text is not divided into chapters (*zhang* 章), unlike 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* by PENG XIAO (q.v.).

According to the preface, a certain “Xu zhenren 徐真人,” from Beihai 北海 and a retainer (*congshi* 從事) to the magistrate of Qingzhou 青州 (both places are in today’s Shandong), wrote the *Gu longhu shangjing* 古龍虎上經 (Old Superior Book of the Dragon and the Tiger). Later, WEI BOYANG wrote a commentary to this work that he titled *Wu xianglei* 五相類. The work by Xu and the commentary by Wei together were then called *Cantong qi* 參同契.

It must be noted that this first part of the preface is similar to, and at places identical in wording with, the Treatise on the Mysterious Axis of the Sun and the Moon (*Riyue xuanshu lun* 日月玄樞論 in *Quan Tang wen* 334.13a–21a) by Liu Zhigu 劉知古 (see introduction to part 2.A.1.d). In this document, the passage concerning Xu zhenren is presented as part of the preface of the commentary to the “*Longhu* 龍虎” (this must be the *Guwen longhu jing* 古文龍虎經) by a certain Mr. Xiao 蕭. It is unclear which version is the original. Another version of a similar story involving the same Xu zhenren is given in 905 *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 1a.

Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 377) considers, on the basis of various sources quoted, that the present text cannot be earlier than the Tang dynasty (618–907). The sources in question include the *Jinhai* 金海 by Xiao Ji 蕭吉, quoted in 1.21b and 1.25a; the *Yisi zhan* (1.24a, 25b; 2.2b, 3b); and the *Shenshu lingxia* 神樞靈轄, quoted in 2.27b and 34a. The commentary also quotes a certain Wang Fusi, for instance in 1.18b, and it shows many variant readings in comparison with the 1002 *Tongzhi yi* by PENG XIAO (colophon dated 947). These variants suggest that the present text is older than 1002 *Tongzhen yi* and therefore could be from the middle of the Tang and, thus, one of the earliest editions of the *Cantong qi*.

The legendary alchemist Yin Changsheng is mentioned by GE HONG (BPZ 3.47) among those immortals who swallowed only half a dose of elixir so as to remain on Earth. He has a biography in the *Shenxian zhuan* (in *Taiping guangji* 8.53–55). Part of the alchemical work 880 *Taiqing jingyi shendan jing* is attributed to him, and that part (juan 2), if not a Han work, is certainly early. Another later and far more elaborate

version is found in YJQQ 106.21b–24a, followed by an “autobiographical note” (*Zixu* 自敘; 24a–b). The source of the YJQQ text cannot be identified, but the text shows that Yin was popular during the Tang. None of these biographies, however, link Yin in any way to the *Cantong qi* or the *Gu[wen] longhu jing*. Many commentaries beside the present one are also attributed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生, for instance 904 *Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi*, 906 *Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei*, and 226 *Zi yuanjun shoudao chuanxin fa*. All of these are Tang works.

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi 周易參同契分章通真義

3 juan

By PENG XIAO 彭曉 (Cheng Xiao 程曉), *zi* Xiuchuan 秀川, *hao* Zhenyi zi 真一子; Dated 947 (see colophon to 1003)

1002 (fasc. 623)

Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu 周易參同契鼎器歌明鏡圖

12 fols.

By PENG XIAO 彭曉; colophon dated 947

1003 (fasc. 624)

“Penetrating the Real Meaning of the Concordance of the Three according to the Zhou Book of Changes, Divided into Chapters,” followed by “Song of the Tripod” and “Image of the Shining Mirror.” The *Daozang* lists “Penetrating the Real Meaning” and the additional texts “Song of the Tripod” and the “Image of the Shining Mirror” as two separate books, whereas in fact they form a single work. At the end of 1003 (11a–12a), a colophon signed by PENG XIAO gives the date of 947.

The *Daozang* version here is based on the printed edition made by Bao Zhongqi 鮑仲祺, *zi* Wozhi 澣之, in 1208. Bao was a local official in charge of agricultural affairs in Jianyang 建陽 county in northern Fujian, the region where the famous Masha 麻沙 editions were produced. Bao’s colophon can be found in 1003 6b–8a, but from his own words as well as from textual annotations following the different chapters (e.g., 1002 1.19b and 1003 3b) it can be ascertained that the two parts constitute a single work.

Bao based his edition of the *Cantong qi* on two previous editions. For the main text he used the critical edition established eleven years earlier by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (see 1001 *Zhouyi cantong qi*). As to PENG XIAO’s commentary, he availed himself of the edition made by Zheng Huan 鄭煥 from Lin’an 臨安 (Hangzhou). Since this edition had many errors, he also consulted numerous other versions (7a). It seems that Zhu Xi’s work on the *Cantong qi* was already printed when Bao made his edition, and Bao tells us that in his time many more editions were current, which must indicate that the book was popular indeed. Bao does, however, express his misgivings as to the

authenticity of the *Cantong qi* and suggests that it must have existed before the Five Dynasties period (1003 7b). This comment makes him the earliest critic of the alleged antiquity of the *Cantong qi* on record.

PENG XIAO's commentary is recognized as the authoritative version of the *Cantong qi*. Peng came from Yongkang 永康 in Northern Sichuan and was a daoshi who also served as an official during the Hou Shu 後蜀 dynasty (934–965). According to the *Shu taowu* 蜀樁杙, quoted in LZTT 43.7b–8a, PENG XIAO's surname was Cheng 程. He was a Taoist of the Feihe shan 飛鶴山 in the Changli 昌利 diocese. After having passed the examinations, he became prefect of Jintang 金堂, near Chengdu. At the end of his life he was promoted to the honorary post of gentleman of the Board of Sacrifices (*cibu yuanwai lang* 祠部員外郎). He died in 955.

According to the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* (see VDL 112), PENG XIAO's commentary was printed for the first time, it seems, at Magu shan 麻姑山, and the text of the *Cantong qi*, which he divided into ninety chapters, was followed by his own "Mingjing tu" (Image of the Shining Mirror), as well as by his biography, with the title *Xiuchuan zhuan* 秀川傳. This biography is no longer extant in the present edition. Here we find only a colophon (*xu* 序; 1003 11a–12a) dated 947, where Peng gives his definition of the name *Cantong qi*, explaining that *can* stands for *za* 雜, *tong* for the homophone *tong* 通, and *qi* for *he* 合. Thus the title means, Peng states, that the principles of all alchemical works are here comprehensively explained and that their meanings are all in agreement with each other. The key to the fundamental meaning of alchemy is to understand all terms as symbolical (*xiang* 象) and related to the cosmological process. The colophon ends with a quote of Yin Changsheng 陰長生 to the effect that one should not talk about success or failure but be fully concentrated on the practice; only then can the transformation of the elixir be hoped for. A similar sentence can be found in the preface of 999 *Zhouyi cantong qi*, which shows that PENG XIAO knew this work and that therefore it must be older.

PENG XIAO also wrote commentaries to the *Yinfu jing* and other works. Most of these commentaries are no longer extant. The YJQQ 70 has his *Huandan neixiang jin yaoshi* [*huolong shuihu lun*] 還丹內象金鑰匙[火龍水虎論], which according to Peng's preface was written after he completed his commentary on the *Cantong qi*.

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Yuan Bingling

***Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契註**

2 juan

Five Dynasties (907–960)?

1004 (fasc. 624)

“Commentary on the Concordance of the Three according to the Zhou Book of Changes.” This anonymous commentary to the *Cantong qi* 參同契 contains only the first part of the main text, and more precisely, that part in Yin Changsheng’s 陰長生 version that occupies the first juan (see 999 *Zhouyi cantong qi*). The author explains in his undated preface that he considers only this part to be the authentic work of WEI BOYANG and that the rest of the text of the *Cantong qi* is only a commentary by Chunya Shutong 淳于叔通 (see introduction to part 2.A.1.d).

According to the study that Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 377–79) made of this text, a number of place names it uses came into use only during the Tang (618–907) and the Five Dynasties (907–960). The present *Daozang* edition omits one stroke in the character *kuang* 匡, in observance to the Song (960–1279) taboo. The edition on which this version was based should therefore date from that period.

In general, the commentary is close to Yin Changsheng’s, but the text has even a greater number of lacunae.

*Yuan Bingling***2.A.1.e Commentaries on Lingbao Scriptures**

***Dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren jingjue yinyi* 洞玄靈寶無量度人經訣音義**
9 fols.

By ZHANG WANFU 張萬福 (fl. 713)

95 (fasc. 48).

“Formulas and Glosses on the Book of Salvation [*Duren jing*].” ZHANG WANFU quotes from a number of ancient Lingbao scriptures on how to recite the *Duren jing*, and how to meditate on certain parts. The present text (7b–9a) gives not only the pronunciation of certain terms but also their meaning.

Kristofer Schipper

***Taishang dongxuan lingbao dagang chao* 太上洞玄靈寶大綱鈔**

3 fols.

By LÜQIU FANGYUAN 閻丘方遠, *hao* Xuandong xiansheng 玄洞先生 (d. 902)

393 (fasc. 185)

“Outline of the Lingbao Tradition.” Here LÜQIU FANGYUAN, himself a Taoist

master of the Shangqing tradition (“Tianzhu guan ji” [dated 900], 782 *Dadi dongtian ji* 3.3b; for biographical details, see 295 *Xu xian zhuan* 3.4a–6a), first explains the five kalpas in relation to the Five Elements before briefly describing the transmission of Lingbao scriptures from the time of the Yellow Emperor to that of LU XIUJING. LÜQIU also mentions Emperor Xuanzong’s (r. 712–756) initiatives that changed the name of Taolin 桃林 district to Lingbao district and that founded Lingbao monasteries. The *Duren jing* 度人經 is considered the essential scripture within the fifty-eight-juan Lingbao canon.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao dingguan jing zhu 洞玄靈寶定觀經註

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

400 (fasc. 189).

“Book of Intent Contemplation, of the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon, with a Commentary.” This is a short doctrinal treatise on *samādhi*. The text is known only in conjunction with its commentary and is reproduced in extenso in YJQQ 17.6b–13a, but without the short colophon of the present version. This colophon is signed by an unknown Lingxu zi 冷虛子 and dated with the cyclical characters *renshen* 壬申. The present title is given in the *Junzhai dushu zhi*, which mentions that it was listed in the *Handan shumumu* 邯鄲書目 of 1049 (VDL 112).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註

36 fols.

Attributed to DU GUANGTING 杜光庭, hao Guangcheng xiansheng 廣成先生 (850–933)

759 (fasc. 533)

“Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility.” The attribution to DU GUANGTING cannot be maintained because of various anachronisms in this work. The most conspicuous example (27b) is the allusion to Ding Shaowei 丁少微 (fl. 978) and CHEN TUAN (871–989). Hence this commentary is not likely to date prior to the late tenth or the eleventh century. However, DU GUANGTING was familiar with the *Qingjing jing* and cites it in 783 *Yongcheng jixian lu* 1.11b.

Compared to 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing* our main text shows only insignificant variants. The comprehensive commentary that groups the individual sentences according to criteria of contents and that favors the *Daode jing* 道德經 and

[726] *Xisheng jing* 西昇經 in its citations also affirms the basic equality of Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism (15b; 16a–b).

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Zhutian lingshu duming miaojing yishu 諸天靈書度命妙經義疏

15 fols.

Tang (618–907)

98 (fasc. 50)

“Commentary on the Miraculous Book of Salvation in the Numinous Writing of the Numerous Heavens.” This text is a free philosophical interpretation of 23 *Taishang zhutian lingshu duming miaojing*, with strong Buddhist overtones. It provides no clue as to its date or provenance.

According to the author’s view, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning’s renewed revelation aims at making the inhabitants of the five paradises conscious of the relative and illusory nature of happiness in life—which they deem to be everlasting (*wu chang* 無常, *xiechang* 邪常)—thus leading them toward the realization of the truly eternal (*zhenchang* 真常).

Understanding that the blessed existence is merely based on the residue force (*yushi* 餘勢) resulting from the earlier revelation of the Lingbao scriptures is, according to this commentary, the first step to overcoming (*du* 度) sensory perception (*shiming* 事命) and karma (*yeming* 業命) and to breaking through to one’s true nature (*zhenxing* 真性) and original destination (*daoming* 道命).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

2.A.2 Divination and Numerology

This section contains four works on topomancy and astrology that can all be dated to the Tang-Song transition period (tenth century). The 282 *Huangdi zhaijing*, a manual on the siting of dwellings, is followed by a set of works on astral divination: the Star Scripture (287 *Tongzhan daxiang li xingjing*), a descriptive astronomy cum astrology; and the two closely related Observatory Scriptures, 288 *Lingtai jing* and 289 *Chengxing lingtai biyao jing*, which feature a divination practice based on the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions and a ritual against baleful celestial influences, respectively.

Huangdi zhaijing 黃帝宅經

2 juan

Late Tang (618–907)

282 (fasc. 135)

“Yellow Emperor’s Scripture on Dwellings.” This is a topomantic work devoted to the determination of the influence of dwellings and sites in general on human destiny (1.1a). It is not mentioned in any bibliographic catalogue before the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (109.1a–b). In their entry on the present work, the *Siku* compilers provide a brief overview of this type of topomantic literature, which can be traced back as far as the *Han shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 30.1774, which mentions a *Gongzhai dixing* 宮宅地形. In their view, the *Huangdi zhaijing* can be considered one of the oldest extant treatises on mantic arts.

Our text is divided into two juan, supplemented by explanatory notes. The beginning of the first juan (1.1a–2b) is a kind of unannotated introduction to the whole work; the remainder is a general exposition on topomantic techniques, dotted with quotations, mainly from the *Yijue* 易訣 by Xu Jun 許峻 of the Han. The second juan consists of a presentation and commentary on two diagrams representative of yang and yin dwellings (see fig. 22). All the quotations in this part derive from a “Book” (on dwellings?), presumably an earlier work that is also quoted in juan 1 in both the notes (1.3b) and the text (1.8a).

Juan 1 provides a list of twenty-nine topomantic works, ten of which have indications of authorship. The most recent authors mentioned are Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670) and SIMA CHENGZHEN (655–735, called Sima tianshi 司馬天師). The earliest possible date for the compilation of this text is thus the late eighth century, or somewhat later, since the author, who addresses the “topomancers of recent times” (*jinlai xuezhe* 近來學者; 1.2a), considers the above-mentioned texts as representing the “old system” (*guzhi* 古制; 1.1b).

The text dates probably from the late Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties period (907–960), since a copy of juan 1 is attested in the Dunhuang manuscripts (Pelliot Chinois 3865). It is also totally unrelated to the southern tradition that took an important part in shaping modern geomancy as we know it today and that became widespread from the Northern Song (960–1127) onward. None of the twenty-nine mentioned works are references for the modern tradition. Moreover, our text does not mention the compass (*luopan* 羅盤) and the three differently shifted arrangements of the twenty-four positions; it also postulates an absolute priority of calendrical calculation over real-site observation and analysis. In the present system, the auspiciousness or balefulness of the topomantic position (*zhai zhi xingnian* 宅之行年) depends on the relationship of the seasonal cycle and sexagesimal binomials with the indices pertaining to the twenty-four positions.

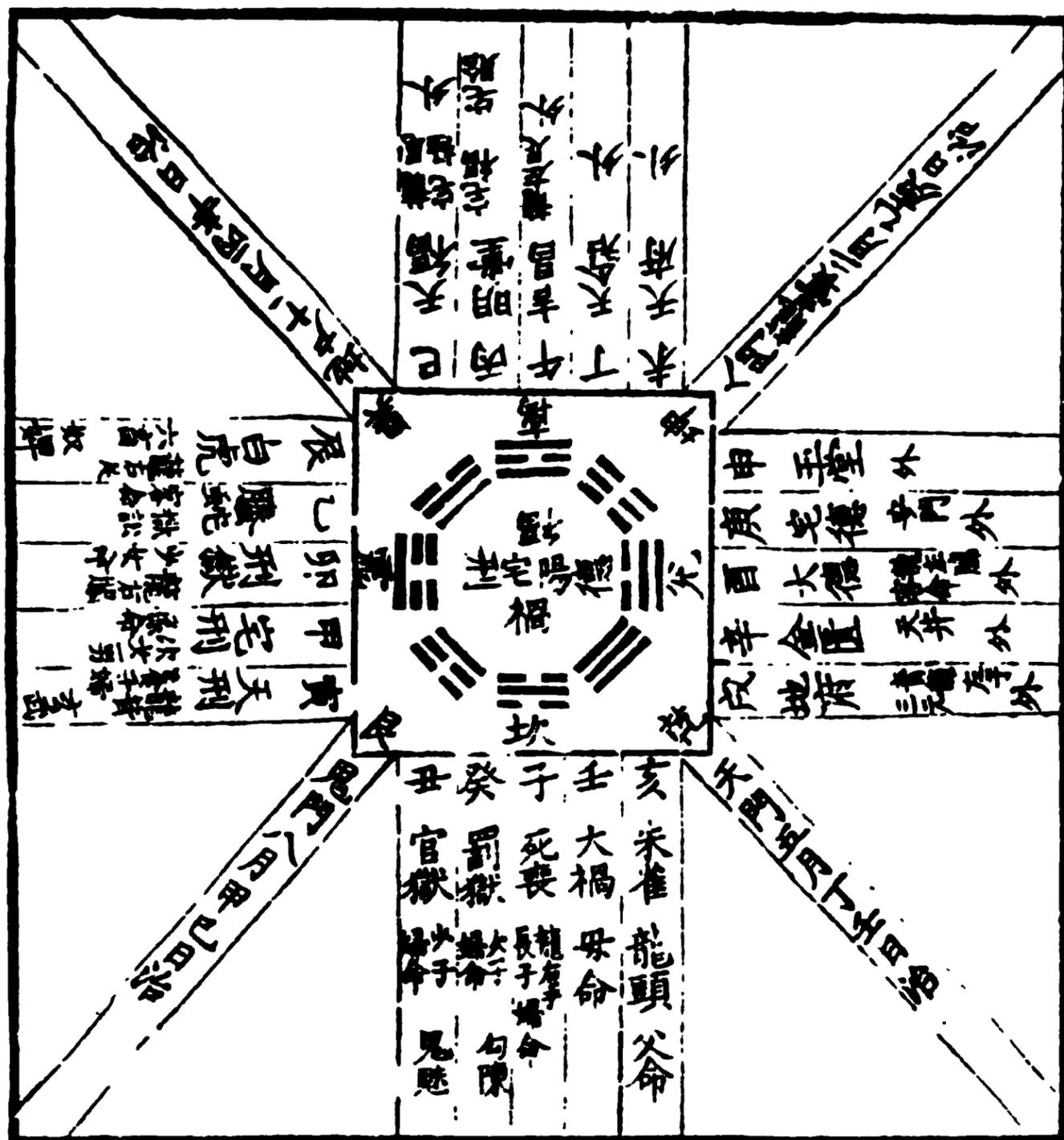


FIGURE 22. The spatial orientation and siting of yang dwellings (282 2.1a–b).

The *Huangdi zhaijing* is included at the beginning of the first of the thirty juan devoted to topomancy in the *Gujin tushu jicheng* (juan 651).

Marc Kalinowski

Tongzhan daxiang li xingjing 通占大象曆星經

2 juan

Tang (618–907)

287 (fasc. 136)

“Scripture on the Stars, with the Descriptive Almanac of their Basic Divinatory Symbols.” Better known among specialists as the Star Scripture (*Xingjing* 星經), this work appears as a descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the stars or constellations belonging to Chinese uranography (see fig. 23). The entries are mostly in an oracular style, lending the work the aspect of a handbook of judiciary astrology, and warranting the full title in the present *Daozang* edition.

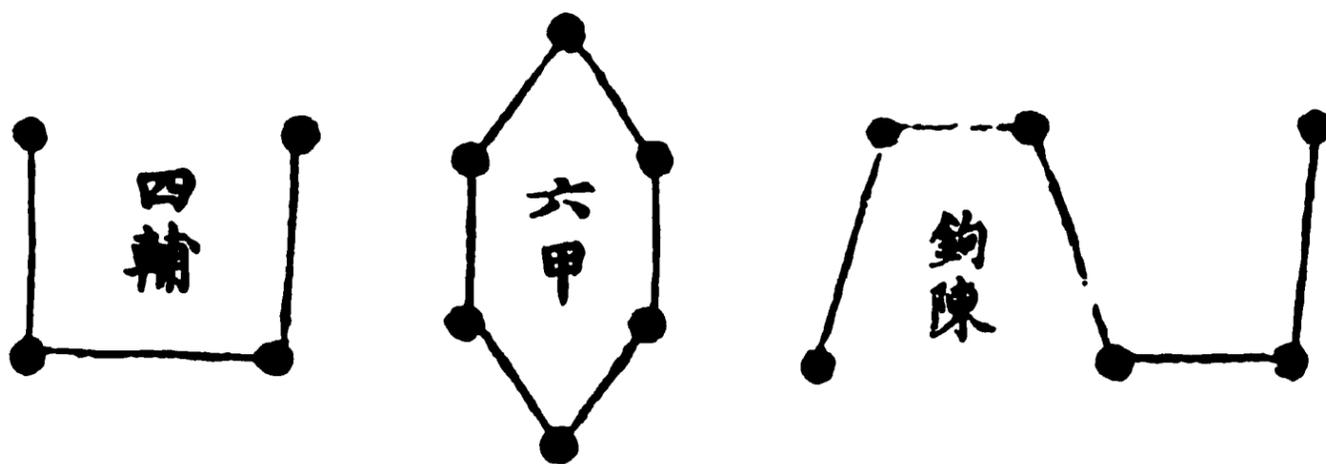


FIGURE 23. The constellations of the Four Auxiliaries (*sifu* 四輔), the Six Periods (*liujia* 六甲), and the Gouchen 鉤陳 pole (287 I.1a–b).

The Star Scripture is mentioned for the first time in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 44.12b, in three juan. The larger number of juan is no reliable indication of the state of the work at the time, since the edition described in *Siku quanshu zongmu* (110.25b–26a), today in the Tianyi ge 天一閣 collection, comprises six juan, despite the fact that it is a simple reedition of the *Daozang* text. All extant editions, whatever their title or attribution, are actually copies corresponding to the Ming Taoist canon, which is therefore the oldest prototype. The *Sibu zonglu tianwen bian* (“bubian” 49b) mentions a Yuan printed edition without describing or identifying it.

The present text suffers from many lacunae. The first sheet is missing, and only 162 of the 283 known constellations are included. The entries’ order is congruent with the natural succession of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions (*xiu* 宿), distributed seven to each direction. Entries 1 to 100 deal with the seven eastern *xiu* and neighboring constellations; 101 to 162 with the northern *xiu* and neighboring constellations. Entry number 101 is preceded by an introduction on the northern *xiu*, which confirms that such was indeed the original order of the work and that lacunae are mostly due to the loss of the second part, dealing with constellations of the western and southern quarters.

When compared with the star catalogues preserved in Tang literature (see Needham, “Astronomy,” 197–98), especially with the *Kaiyuan zhanjing* 開元占經 of the early eighth century (juan 60–63 and 65–70), the present work shows obvious similarities both in style and content. The oracular formulas are often identical with the exception that where the *Kaiyuan zhanjing* presents itself as a compilation of supplementary materials, the *Tongzhan daxiang li xingjing* almost always adduces its own authority. It can be safely assumed that the present work was written during the Tang (618–907). This dating is further confirmed by some elements of internal criticism, for which see the entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu*. In his *Han shu yiwen zhi shibu* 2:1502, Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 argues that its integration into the *Daozang* should date from the Tang or, at the latest, from the Song (960–1279).

Lingtai jing 靈臺經

21 fols.

Tang (618–907)

288 (fasc. 136)

The “Scripture of the Transcendant Terrace.” The term *lingtai* (transcendant terrace) in the title of this work denotes, in the Chinese scientific tradition, any kind of observatory tower for astronomical, meteorological, or other purposes. This text is a fragment of an astronomical treatise of unknown origin. The *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 44.14a lists a *Lingtai jing* in three juan.

The present version includes only four headings, numbered 9 to 12. A commentary explains that headings 1 to 8 are lost. Heading number 10 (3a–14b), the most important, is devoted to the description of a divination practice using a set of twenty-eight palaces, certainly linked to the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions (*xiu* 宿). The text can be dated with some certainty to the beginning of the tenth century, on the basis of its similarities with another treatise that immediately follows it in the *Daozang*: 289 *Chengxing lingtai biyao jing*.

The mantic world evoked by the procedures preserved in this text betrays a strong influence of astrocalendric calculations of Indian origin that were widespread in China during the second half of the Tang (618–907), including the system of the nine luminaries (*jiuyao* 九曜) and the Greek zodiac. Titles quoted in the text belong to the Greco-Indian astrological corpus, like the *Duli [yusi] jing* 都例經 (4b), introduced into China between 785 and 805 (see also the entry on 289 *Biyao jing*), and the *Simen jing* 四門經 (1b; see *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.373), which also dates from the Tang (see *Xin Tang shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 3.1548).

One peculiarity worth mentioning is the advanced Sinification of the system of the nine luminaries, among which the typically Chinese Tianyi 天一 and Taiyi 太一 are used in place of *jidu* 計都 (*ketu*) and *luohou* 羅侯 (*rāhu*).

Marc Kalinowski

Chengxing lingtai biyao jing 秤星靈臺祕要經

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

289 (fasc. 136)

“Scripture on the Essential Secrets of the Transcendant Terrace for Appraising the [Influence of] Celestial Bodies.” The title paraphrases heading 11 in the preceding work, 288 *Lingtai jing*, “Appraising the Influence of the Celestial Bodies” (*chengxing lifen* 力分; 14b).

The text is as fragmentary as the preceding one (see 6a for a reference to missing passages), with which it shares a common lexical and theoretical background. Fre-

quent quotations from a *Jiuzhi jing* 九執經 (2a, 3b, 4a) confirm the obvious filiation with Indian astrocalenderic traditions; the *Jiuzhi li* 曆 (Calendar of the Nine Planets) was introduced to China in 718.

A short introduction by the author was fortuitously preserved in the shape of a commentary to a quotation from the *Renlun jing* 人倫經 (1a–b). It explains how the transmission of the astrological ritual described here, going back to Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324), passed through Yixing 一行 (eighth century) and his contemporary Li Quan 李筌, who noted it down in their *Bisi jing* 筆斯經. The author claims to have deleted this part of the text while editing it around 894–897, lest sorcerers (*shimu* 師巫) put it to illicit use. He ends by saying that over the years he changed his mind and was now ready to publish a separate edition of this very part. It can thus be assumed that the received version was written in the first decades of the tenth century.

The treatise is clearly divided into two parts: the first part (1a–4b) describes a protection ritual against baleful celestial influences and forms a kind of appendix to the divinatory procedure outlined in 288 *Lingtai jing*. It may be noted that the ritual includes the chanting of Taoist scriptures such as the *Duren jing* 度人經 and the *Xiaozai jing* 消災經 (3a).

The second part (5a–7a) has two paragraphs (the first paragraph being followed by a commentary) and deals again with the mantic world of the nine luminaries. The title of the second paragraph, “Dongwei dashu 洞微大數,” anticipates a divinatory method that seems to have taken form under the Song (960–1279); the earliest known source of this method is a work in the *Daozang*: 1485 *Ziwei doushu* (q.v.; this work stipulates the equivalence of *ziwei* 紫微 and *dongwei* 洞微). More generally, the procedures in both the present text and 288 *Lingtai jing* present many similarities with those in 1485 *Ziwei doushu* that may represent reformulations by later Song innovators.

Marc Kalinowski

2.A.3 Medicine and Pharmacology

If a distinction can be made in the history of Chinese medicine between an earlier period of “Taoist medicine” and a later period of “Confucian medicine,” then the Tang (618–907) witnessed the final flourishing of the former. Both SUN SIMO, at the beginning of the dynasty, and WANG BING, at its later stage, made immense contributions toward the preservation and the upgrading of Chinese medical science. Sun’s work is related mainly to herbal drugs and symbolical therapy, whereas both Wang’s work on the *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (see part 1.A.3) and his later studies,

such as the 1023 *Suwen liuqi xuanzhu miyu* listed here, concern mainly acupuncture and questions of theory. From Sun's work and other minor texts assembled here one can see how closely Tang medicine was related to Tending Life practices. The reader is therefore invited to consult also part 2.A.4.

Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang mulu 孫真人備急千金要方目錄

2 juan

1162 (fasc. 799)

Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang 孫真人備急千金要方

93 juan

By SUN SIMO 孫思邈 (581?–682); revised by Lin Yi 林億 and others; eleventh century

1163 (fasc. 800–820)

“Essential Priceless Prescriptions for All Urgent Ills, by Zhenren Sun.” This is an important medical handbook in 232 sections that contain 5,200 articles concerning the main aspects of practical medicine. The title of the work is not new. The *Sui shu*, “Jingji zhi,” 34.1045 quotes a *Qianjin fang* 千金方 in three juan by Fan Shiyong 范世英.

According to Nathan Sivin, this great work of SUN SIMO was written between 650 and 659. There are three main editions of the book: one dating from the Northern Song period, which is very incomplete; another from the Song, and the present *Daozang* edition (see Okanishi Tameto, *Song yiqian yiji kao* 2:584 ff.; Ma Jixing, *Zhongyi wenxian xue*).

The first two juan are edited separately under the title “Table of Contents of the *Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang*.” In addition to the table of contents, this part contains two prefaces and an introduction.

The first preface is signed by Gao Baoheng 高保衡, Sun Qi 孫奇, Qian Xiangxian 錢象先, and Lin Yi, members of the bureau charged with the revision of medical texts, founded on imperial order in 1056. For their work of revision and editing, they requested that the secretary of the imperial cabinet collect public and private manuscripts of the *Qianjin fang*, as well as the books of the Taoist canon. Having first presented the sources used by SUN SIMO for his handbook, the prefacers briefly describe the sequence of the sections of the work.

The second preface is by SUN SIMO himself, who explains the reasons for writing this work and the meaning of the title. The introduction that follows is composed of two parts: (1) ten articles for guidance written by Sun himself and originally placed at different places in his work, but assembled here by the editors; and (2) a number of corrections made by Lin Yi and his collaborators. Their work consists mainly in the unification of names, remedies, and medical terminology; a modernization of the

measures given in the recipes; a reordering of chapters and recipes; and the correction of faulty characters.

The main part of the work deals with drug therapy (juan 2 to 78), beginning with prescriptions for diseases of mother and child. At the end of each prescription, variants for dosage or ingredients are indicated in small characters. These indications have been borrowed from later sources and are certainly due to Lin Yi and his collaborators. In addition to the prescriptions of classical Chinese medicine, the work contains a number of Taoist remedies, such as the use of incantations or talismans. There are also a few references to the alchemical work of SUN SIMO. Between 618 and 626, a dragon is said to have presented Sun with a book called Canon for the Absorption of Water (*Fushui jing* 服水經), which the author abstracts here. The book describes a form of exorcism that uses a Sanskrit *dhārānī*.

Juan 79 and 80 are devoted to dietary rules. Juan 81 to 83 are on the arts of Tending Life. These chapters use large parts of the lost *Yangsheng yaoji* 養生要集, which is also used in 1427 *Taiqing daolin shesheng lun*.

At the end of the work, there is a part devoted to pulse taking and acupuncture. The system expounded here is that of the *Jiayi jing* 甲乙經, revised by Zhen Quan 甄權 of the Tang in his *Mingtang renxing tu* 明堂人形圖.

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Catherine Despeux

Suwen liuqi xuanzhu miyu 素問六氣玄珠密語

17 juan

By WANG BING 王冰, *hao Qixuan zi* 啓玄子; 762

1023 (fasc. 665–667)

“Secret Instructions on the Mysterious Pearl of the Six Qi in the *Basic Questions*.” The work is mentioned in Yu Mao’s *Suichu tang shumu* under the title *Miyu* 密語 (see VDL 134). WANG BING, the editor and commentator of the *Huangdi neijing suwen*, announced in his preface to 1018 *Huangdi neijing suwen buzhu shiwen* that he wrote a *Xuanzhu miyu* 玄珠密語, which he clearly identifies as a work on prognostication (1018 *Buzhu shiwen*, xu 1b). This text seems to have been originally part of WANG BING’s commentary but appears here as a separate work. As indicated in the title, it is a detailed treatise on energy cycles (*qiyun* 氣運) in the universe and in the human body.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Taishang zhouhou yujing fang 太上肘後玉經方

5 fols.

By Lu Zunyuan 盧遵元, *hao* Xiaqi zi 霞栖子; ninth century

847 (fasc. 573)

“Vade Mecum of Recipes from the Jade Book of the Most High.” This small collection consists of eight prescriptions, each linked to one of the Eight Recipes and attributed to a famous immortal. The text is mentioned in Song catalogues (see VDL 86) and reproduced in YJQQ 74.13a–19a. There the name of the author is given as Lu Daoyuan 盧道元.

The author is not known from other sources. In the preface, he traces the transmission of the recipes to the god Donghai qingtong jun 東海青童君, who dictated them to a certain Chaoju zi 巢居子. The latter recorded them and gave them to Hanqi zi 寒棲子 during the Chang’an era (701–704). Hanqi zi passed them on to the author in 792, who transmitted them in turn to a Mr. Shi 施, alias Yinqi zi 隱棲子, “in the *yimei* 乙未 year of the Baoli era (825–827).” In fact, this era does not comprise a *yimei*, but only a *dingwei* 丁未 year. It is probable that there has been a graphic confusion between *yi* 乙 and *ding* 丁.

Each prescription carries a colophon relating its origin. For instance, the fifth recipe is said to have been found in a cavern on Mount Heming 鶴鳴 in Sichuan, whereas the sixth was culled from a *Xianmen zi jing* 羨門子經. The latter title is mentioned in the catalogue *Sanguo yiwenzhi* 三國藝文志 4.84a.

The YJQQ version is more explicit than the present text with respect to the origins of the recipes. Moreover, the YJQQ reproduces the Eight Trigrams at the head of each of these recipes. For the sixth recipe, the YJQQ version gives a variant.

Catherine Despeux

Shenxian fushi lingcao changpu wan fangzhuan 神仙服食靈草菖蒲丸方傳

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)

844 (fasc. 573)

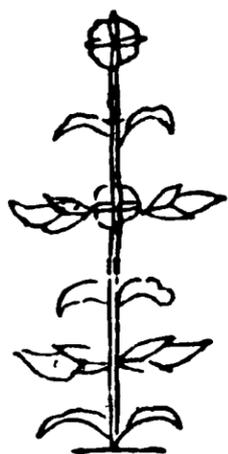
“Recipes and Stories Concerning Calamus and Ganoderma Pills.” This is a small treatise on the different ways of gathering and preparing herbal medicine from these two species, how to ingest them, their efficacy, and historical examples of people who benefitted from them. The introduction gives the date Dali 14, which corresponds to 779.

Kristofer Schipper

仙
娥
草

黄
芽
草

如
十



十
四

FIGURE 24. Imaginary herbs for medical meditation—the Immortal Beauty and the Yellow Shoot (932 17a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/925)

Boyun xianren lingcao ge 白雲仙人靈草歌

20 fols.

Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960)

932 (fasc. 597)

“Song of the Divine Herbs, by the White Cloud Immortal.” This is an illustrated catalogue of fifty-five medicinal plants, with annotations in rhymed verse (see fig. 24). One entry lacks an illustration.

Boyun xianren (White Cloud Immortal) is an appellation for SIMA CHENGZHEN (667–735). The present work, however, is quoted only in the *Chongwen zongmu* (see VDL 100), and without attribution. The book must therefore have been written between the eighth and tenth centuries.

The herbs have a wide range of properties. Some are used in operative alchemy, in mollifying or fixing minerals. Others have therapeutic virtues or help to prolong life. The preface to the catalogue is stated to be lost.

Catherine Despeux

Zhong zhicao fa 種芝草法

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)

933 (fasc. 597)

“Method of Planting Cryptogams.” This is an undated text; it quotes as its source the instructions given by Laozi in another text, also undated: 1206 *Shangqing mingjian*

yaojing, paragraph 7, which carries the subtitle “Laozi’s Jade Casket Containing the Scripture on Growing Cryptogams: A Secret of the Divine Immortals” (*Laozi yuxia zhong zhongzhi jing shenxian bishi, diqi* 老子玉匣中種芝經神仙祕事第七).

These two texts are similar in content, but many textual divergences between them suggest that our text may well be an inexact copy of *1206 Mingjian yaojing* and *1245 Dongxuan lingbao daoshi mingjing fa*, a text that repeats *1206 Mingjian yaojing* in many instances. To take two examples among many, 2b of our text compared to *1206 Mingjian yaojing* 10b shows discrepancies in the *wuxing* 五行 table of correspondences; and 3a and 4a compared with *1206 Mingjian yaojing* 10a–13a reveal evidence of faulty copying.

The text stipulates that immortality may be obtained only by the absorption of the four cryptogams of the cardinal points, cultivated according to the instructions given. These instructions provide for every detail of the growth, harvesting, and preparation of the cryptogams for medical purposes. These plants, of themselves, command all the tellurian, vegetable, mineral, and cosmological essences used in other methods in the quest for immortality. Most of the plants, minerals, ceremonies of harvesting, and laws governing each cryptogam in rhythm with the universe that are mentioned in our text are also found in the BPZ, particularly in juan 11, “Xianyao 仙藥.”

Pauline Bentley Koffler

Shangqing mingjian yaojing 上清明鑑要經

12 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1206 (fasc. 876)

“The Scripture of the Essentials of the Clear Mirror.” This text contains instructions for the preparation and use of seven methods for attaining immortality, presented in seven short paragraphs: (1) meditation by means of mirrors; (2) the polishing of such mirrors; (3) alchemical prescriptions; (4) celestial flower-wine; (5) selected healing plants for making pillows, and identification of the nine-knotted magistral staff; (6) prescriptions for such pillows, and their accompanying fu; (7) cultivation of cryptogams governed by the cardinal points.

It is possible that in deference to the Song taboo of the name of Gaozong (*jing* 鏡) the term *jian* 鑑 was substituted in the title for the more usual *mingjing* 明鏡. The book was probably written before the Song (960–1279). Paragraphs 1, 2, 4, and 5 (that is, the entire first half of the text, with the exception of page 4b) exist also in YJQQ 48.8a–13b, as well as in the Tang work *1126 Dongxuan lingbao daoixue keyi* 2.6b–10a. Moreover, the first two paragraphs of the present work make up the entire text of *1245 Dongxuan lingbao daoshi mingjing fa*. As to paragraph 7 of our text, it is the source of

933 *Zhong zhicao fa*. On close scrutiny, the textual variants that exist between all these versions convey the impression that the present one is the least distorted.

In spite of its title, this book does not appear to have any direct relationship with the Shangqing scriptural tradition. The ingredients of the prescriptions echo the classical sources on those matters (*Shennong bencao*, BPZ).

Pauline Bentley Koffler

2.A.4 Yangsheng

This section, devoted to Tending Life techniques (*yangsheng* 養生), is divided into two sections: “miscellaneous practices,” many of which involve breathing exercises in combination with a variety of other methods; and practices that are specifically centered on “respiratory techniques.” The first category comprises dietary techniques (especially abstention from cereals), personal hygiene, gymnastics, massage, divination and calendrical observances, meditation, elixir and physiological alchemy, and magic. The section opens with a short, general treatise on the Primordial Qi or the fundamental life force (*yuanqi* 元氣). Next comes perhaps the best-known representative of *yangsheng* literature: 838 *Yangxing yanming lu*, attributed by tradition alternatively to the scholar of medicine and alchemy TAO HONGJING and to the Tang physician SUN SIMO. This text is followed by another work ascribed to Sun: 837 *Zhenzhong ji*. Several of the compilations in this section are presented in the form of commentaries on earlier works, such as 402 *Huangting neijing yujing zhu*, 403 *Huangting neijing yujing jingjie*, and 432 *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu* on the Book of the Yellow Court (see also 1400–1402), and 763 *Laozi shuo wuchu jingzhu* on the Five Feasts Scripture. The work 673 *Taishang laojun hunyuan sanbu fu*, a rare collection of popular talismanic methods, is followed by several works on life-tending magical arts involving invocations, *dunjia* 遁甲 (hidden period) magic, and mirrors. The discourse in this section ranges from homely advice on everyday lifestyle and the maintenance of good health to abstract philosophical speculation. The respiratory techniques that form the main subject of part 2.A.4.b, and that feature frequently in the other works in this chapter as well, are for the most part based on the theory and practice of Embryonic Breathing” (*taixi* 胎息) described in Henri Maspero’s “Methods of ‘Nourishing the Vital Principle.’”

2.A.4.a Miscellaneous Practices

Yuanqi lun 元氣論

28 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1032 *Yunji qiqian* 56 (fasc. 677–702)

“Treatise on the Primordial Qi.” This text is cited as lost in 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 2.6a and must therefore have existed as an independent work. It has, however, been preserved in the YJQQ, where it is placed at the beginning of the chapters concerning bodily exercises, as a kind of introduction. The text observes the Tang taboo of the character *zhi* 治, replacing it with *li* 理. There are citations of 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing* (18b and 24a) and of the “Sanfeng ge 三峰歌” of Luo Gongyuan 羅公遠, which shows that the work dates from the Tang dynasty and was probably composed during the late eighth or early ninth centuries.

The present work is a theoretical treatise on *yuanqi* 元氣 (Primordial Qi, fundamental life energy), in its relationship to the origin of the universe and the configuration of the human being. The preface (1a–3a) retraces the mythical birth of the universe from the cosmic egg and the ensuing formation of the world and of human life. The later part of the text explains the cosmological system and the corresponding methods of Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) and other Tending Life techniques.

Alessandra Lavagnino

Yangxing yanming lu 養性延命錄

2 juan

Attributed to TAO HONGJING 陶弘景 (456–536)

838 (fasc. 572)

“Records Concerning Tending Life and the Lengthening of Life.” This is a collection of instructions for healthy living; food; fasting and prayer; breathing exercises for healing; massage; gymnastics; and sexual therapy.

The present work is mentioned in Song catalogues such as the *Bishu sheng xubian-dao siku qieshu mu* with attribution to TAO HONGJING (see VDL 159). The preface of the present edition notes, “Some say that this book was compiled by Sun Simo.” This attribution may be due to the fact that the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” lists a work with a similar title, also in two juan, which it ascribes to Sun, whereas the *Bishu sheng* catalogue lists a *Yangsheng zalu* 養生雜錄 in one juan by the same author (VDL 159).

The present text is given, in an abridged form, in YJQQ 32. There the unsigned preface does not contain the note on the alternative attribution of the text to SUN SIMO, nor does it mention the division of the book into two juan of three paragraphs each, which may imply that those two details were added later. The wording of the

preface suggests the authorship of TAO HONGJING, as does the style, but this similarly does not exclude the possibility of a deliberate imitation.

The author states in the preface that he studied all texts on the art of Tending Life, from the mythical emperors up through the Wei and Jin dynasties, and that he relied on the *Yangsheng yaoji* 養生要集 by Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 370), Zhi Dun 支遁 (alias Daolin 道林), Zhaiping 翟平, and Huangshan 黃山. In fact, one third of the section on gymnastics and massage here consists of extracts from the *Yangsheng yaoji* (see Despeux, “Gymnastics”).

The book is composed of numerous quotations, many containing the words of Pengzu 彭祖. These words may have come from a *Pengzu yangxing jing* 彭祖養性經 in one juan, mentioned in the *Sui shu*, “Jingji zhi,” 34.1043. Parts of this latter text can also be found in 1163 *Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang* by SUN SIMO, in the section 81.9b–17b of that work which bears the title “Tending Life according to Daolin,” and is therefore probably based on the above-mentioned work by Zhang Zhan. Other parts of our text can also be found in 837 *Zhenzhong ji*, also by SUN SIMO (compare, e.g., the passages in 1.5b and 1.10b of our text with 837 *Zhenzhong ji* 2b and 3a–b, respectively). Moreover, the third paragraph of juan 1 of our text corresponds to 1427 *Taiqing Daolin shesheng lun* 9. The latter work corresponds in turn to juan 81 of 1163 *Qianjin yaofang*. The description of the Six Qi given in our text (2.3a) is identical to the one found in 836 *Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu* 5b. The passage on the Play of the Five Animals (*wuqin xi* 五禽戲; 2.7a–b) corresponds to a passage in 821 *Taishang laojun yangsheng jue* 1.1a–2a.

This work appears to be a reconstitution dating from the late Tang dynasty (618–907) and drawing on materials on *yangsheng* techniques found mainly in the works of SUN SIMO.

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Catherine Despeux

Zhenzhong ji 枕中記

27 fols.

Tang (618–907)

837 (fasc. 572)

“Notes to Be Kept inside the Pillow.” This is a collection of various methods for Tending Life. The *Chongwen zongmu* (VDL 115) attributes it to SUN SIMO (d. 682). YJQQ 33.1a–12a has a *Shayang zhenzhong fang* by SUN SIMO of Taibo shan, with a preface, that corresponds to the beginning of the present text (approximately 1a–10a).

The other parts of the text are quoted in *Jingshi zhonglai daguan benzao* 6 and 12 (dated 1108), indicating that in the early Song it had already its present form. However, an editorial mistake caused a fragment of 850 *Xiuzhen bilu* to take the place of a part of the original text (10a–13a), which continues from 13b onwards. The author mentions a journey to Sichuan in 649 (21a), which is confirmed by Sun's biography in LZTT 29.12b.

The present book is a patchwork of quotations and methods taken from Six Dynasties compilations and divided into two main parts: (1) recipes for Tending Life (1b–10a), offering general thoughts, prohibitions, gymnastics, and breathing exercises, with a brief overview of Embryonic Breathing (which is criticized in 820 *Taiqing tiaoji jing*); (2) methods concerning the harvest, fabrication, and ingestion of the most common mineral or vegetable concretions, so as to keep the intestines free after having “chased the Three Worms” (13b–27b). Details are provided on the rites to perform when ingesting the drugs.

Jean Lévi

Huangting neijing yujing zhu 黃庭內景玉經註

3 juan

By Bo Lüzhong 白履忠, hao Liangqiu zi 梁丘子 (fl. 722–729)

402 (fasc. 190)

“Commentary on the Precious Book of the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court.” This is a commentary on 331 *Taishang huangting neijing yujing*, by the court Taoist Bo Lüzhong. Bo's biography in *Tang shu* 192.5124 mentions the present work. The original preface has been preserved in YJQQ 11.1a–b, where it is followed by the preface to the Wucheng zi 務成子 commentary (1b–9b). In our present edition, this sequence is reversed: the Wucheng zi preface occupies 1a–3a; Bo's original preface is on 3a–b; and they are merged into a single text called “Formula (for Reciting) the *Huangting neijing yujing*.” Both prefaces are again reproduced in the version of the present work included in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 55–57, but there they are presented as being entirely the present author's work. Bo's commentary is complete, giving due attention to each detail, whether of a practical or of a mystical nature, and drawing on a large number of primary and secondary sources in support of the interpretations. Its inclusion in a great number of Song libraries (VDL 88) demonstrates its popularity.

Kristofer Schipper

***Huangting waijing yujing zhu* 黃庭外景玉經註**

2 juan

By Bo Lüzhong 白履忠, *hao* Liangqiu zi 梁丘子 (fl. 722–729)263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 58–60 (fasc. 131)

“Commentary on the Precious Book of the Outer Landscape of the Yellow Court.” This is Bo Lüzhong’s commentary to 332 *Taishang huangting waijing yujing*, preserved only in the *Xiuzhen shishu* collection. The work reads like a sequel to Bo’s 402 *Huangting neijing yujing zhu*, as it bases most of its interpretations on the system of the latter. This dependence is especially apparent in the fact that the present text places all major dwellings of the gods in the head (for instance, the “marvelous root” [*linggen* 靈根] is indentified with the tongue on 58.2b) instead of in the lower belly and the sexual organs, which seems to be what the original meaning of the *Waijing yujing* indicates. Among the deities of the body, Laozi is especially prominent, and the whole commentary can be read as a guide to visualizing an Inner Old Master.

*Kristofer Schipper****Huangting neiwai yujing jingjie* 黃庭內外玉景經解**

11 fols.

By Jiang Shenxiu 蔣慎修 (Tang [618–907])

403 (fasc. 190)

“Commentary on the Precious Book of the Inner and Outer Landscapes of the Yellow Court.” This is a commentary on the two versions of the *Huangting jing*. The present text is only a fragment of the original work by Jiang in ten juan (see *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.5b; VDL 147). Jiang is unknown elsewhere, but, judging from his title, he may have been a daoshi at a Tang (618–907) court. This is a detailed philosophical commentary drawing on classical Taoist sources.

*Kristofer Schipper****Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu* 黃庭內景五臟六腑補瀉圖**

2 + 22 fols.

By Hu Yin 胡愔; preface dated 848

432 (fasc. 196)

“Chart on the Procedures for Filling and Emptying the Six Receptacles and Five Viscera according to the the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court.” This is a short, illustrated treatise on the Five Viscera and their corresponding qi-breaths (fig. 25).

The work is mentioned in a Song catalogue (VDL 147). It is also reproduced, without illustrations, in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 54. That version is titled *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu tu* and it is preceded by the same preface, except for the omitted date. The main texts of the two versions show major divergences: The passage 4a–b in 263

肝
臟
圖



FIGURE 25. The Green Dragon of the liver (432 10a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/429)

Xiuzhen shishu is absent from the present text; conversely, the section 2b–3a here is missing in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu*. The discussion concerning the heart is entirely different in the two versions. The present work is also related to 1402 *Shangqing huangting wuzang liufu zhenren yuzhou jing*, which, in its edition in YJQQ 14, features the same illustrations (compare, for example, 7b–8b here with YJQQ 14.6b–7b, and 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 54.4a–5b with 1402 *Yuzhou jing* 2b–3b). These different versions all constitute fragmentary and no doubt partially corrupted elaborations of the same basic material (see also 819 *Taishang yangsheng taixi qijing*).

In his preface the author explains that he had selected and ordered a set of Taoist texts for the initiation of novices. The categories indicated in the preface correspond exactly to those found in the text: illustrations, glosses, pathology and medication, therapeutic breath-swallowing, seasonal taboos, and gymnastics.

Jean Lévi

Shangqing huangting yangshen jing 上清黃庭養神經

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1400 (fasc. 1049)

“Book on the Nourishment of the Spirits of the Yellow Court, a Supreme Purity Scripture.” The present text is listed in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue” (see VDL 148). Moreover, YJQQ 14 contains a *Huangting dunjia yuanshen jing* the first three pages of which are the same as this text. The first part sets out a system combining meditation on the spirits of the body, as prescribed by the Book of the Yellow Court (see 331 *Huangting neijing yujing* and 332 *Taishang huangting waijing yujing*), with the worship of the gods of the sexagesimal cycle and the so-called *dunjia* 遁甲 or “hidden period” magic. As such, the title of the YJQQ version seems more appropriate. However, after the first three pages, which both texts have in common, the YJQQ version, beginning at the end of page 3b, contains a treatise on the Five Viscera and the different ways to nourish them that is similar to 1402 *Shangqing huangting wuzang liufu zhenren yuzhou jing* (q.v.), whereas our text is from the beginning to the end devoted to the cult of the gods of the sexagesimal cycle. All these texts must have a common background. In

spite of the *Shangqing* epithet, there is no clear relationship with the scriptural canon of the same name.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang huangting zhongjing jing 太上黃庭中景經

13 fols.

Commentary by Li Qiansheng 李千乘; late Tang (618–907)?

1401 (fasc. 1050)

“The Book of the Central Landscape of the Yellow Court of the Most High.” This is a sequel to the two other versions, the “Inner” and the “Outer,” of the Book of the Yellow Court, 331 *Taishang huangting neijing yujing* and 332 *Taishang huangting waijing yujing*. It carries a second title: *Huang-Lao huangting jing* 黃老黃庭經. But this mention of “Huang-Lao” (the Yellow Emperor and Laozi) was probably intended to give the book an antique aura. Its description of the inner world is also more straightforward and picturesque than that of other versions. The work is listed in the bibliographical chapters of the *Song shi* and in the *Tongzhi*; these chapters also mention the commentator (see VDL 147).

Li Qiansheng is unknown. His name is preceded, at the beginning of the text, by his ordination title of Shangqing yuanming zhenren 上清元命真人, which was current during the Tang. His extensive glosses draw on a variety of well-known sources, all classical but not exclusively from the Shangqing canon. The *Yijing* 易經 is quoted on page 5b and again on 9b. The *Dadong jing* 大洞經 is also often referred to, which suggests a late Tang date.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing huangting wuzang liufu zhenren yuzhou jing

上清黃庭五藏六府真人玉軸經

12 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1402 (fasc. 1050)

“Precious Scroll of the Zhenren on the Six Receptacles and Five Viscera of the Yellow Court of Shangqing.” This work is a short treatise on the visualization of the Five Viscera, with illustrations (see fig. 26). A related text, though with different illustrations, is found in YJQQ 14.3b–14a. The latter’s illustrations are identical to those in 432 *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu*, the contents of which again recall the present work. The beginning of the YJQQ version is truncated and the text has been conflated with a *Huangting dunjia yuansheng jing* that does not correspond to the *Daozang* work of the same title, 873 *Huangting dunjia yuansheng jing*. In fact, this version



心
藏
圖

治
心
當
用
呵
呵
為
瀉
吸
為
補



FIGURE 26. The Red Bird, spirit of the heart (1402 3b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1383)

(YJQQ 14) seems to be a different elaboration of 432 *Buxie tu*. The version in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 54 incorporates extensive passages of the present work (54.10b of the *Xiuzhen shishu* corresponds to 5b of our text) that do not feature in the extant edition of 432 *Buxie tu*. Moreover, both 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* and the present text contain numerous identical passages.

An abridged version of the present work is also found in 819 *Taishang yangsheng taixi qijing* 5b–7b.

Jean Lévi

Laozi shuo wuchu jing zhu 老子說五厨經註

2 + 5 fols.

By Yin Yin 尹愔; presented in 736

763 (fasc. 533)

“Commentary on the Five Feasts Scripture Pronounced by Laozi.” Yin Yin (d. 741), a prominent Taoist and Confucian scholar under Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), served variously as imperial remonstrator (*jianyi dafu* 諫議大夫), abbot of the Suming guan 肅明觀 temple in Chang’an, and Jixian yuan 集賢院 academician (see *Xin Tang shu* 200.5703; *Cefu yuangui* 53.16b–17a; *Makita Tairyō, Gikyō kenkyū*, 364). The presentation date at the end of the author’s preface is preserved only in the edi-

tion of this commentary in YJQQ 61.5b–10b, where it is titled *Wuchu jing qifa* 氣法.

The short Five Feasts Scripture itself is entirely preserved within this commentary. It does not appear independently in the *Daozang* (for another edition of the scripture, see *Zangwai daoshu* 6:58; in that version, Yin Yin’s introductory paragraph appears at the end). The scripture comprises five stanzas consisting of four five-character lines each. The YJQQ edition shows that the five stanzas were associated with the Five Directions of space: east (lines 1–4), south (lines 5–8), north (lines 9–12), west (lines 13–16), and center (lines 17–20). Taoist “kitchen banquets” (*chu* 廚) were originally communal feasts that constituted an important part of the liturgical system of the Heavenly Master movement (see Stein, “Spéculations mystiques et thèmes relatifs aux ‘cuisines’”). In the present work, the five kitchens are assimilated with the Five Viscera (*wuzang* 五臟), and the concept of the ritual banquet is recast in terms of physiologi-

cal alchemy. In his introductory paragraph (1a), Yin Yin relates the harmonization of vital energy (qi) to the satisfaction of the Five Viscera, which in turn balances the Five Spirits (*wushen* 五神). As a result of realizing these conditions, desire is eliminated. “In this scripture,” says Yin, “obtaining provisions for the Five Viscera is likened to seeking food in the kitchen. Hence the reference to Five Kitchens.” Commenting on Yin Yin’s interpretation, DU GUANGTING claims more explicitly that practicing this scripture will enable the adept to stop eating (590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 12.2b).

DU GUANGTING also states (590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 12.2b) that the *Wuchu jing* formed part of the Taiqing bu 太清部 section, that is, the third of the Four Supplements (*sifu* 四輔), containing alchemical works, in the Tang Taoist canon. A second commentary, according to Du, had been written by Yin Yin’s contemporary Zhao Xianfu 趙仙甫 (fl. 732; see *Yuhai* 53.11b). The same scripture, titled *Sanchu jing* 三厨經, was also contained in the Buddhist canon of the Tang period (see *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 18.672a). The Buddhist version is, moreover, represented by a set of Dunhuang manuscripts (studied in Makita Tairyō, *Gikyō kenkyū*, 351–61) and is still found in the Taishō canon (T 85, no. 2894). Its five stanzas or incantations, arranged in the Buddhist version in the spatial order east-south-center-west-north (Stein 2673; Makita 354–55), were characterized by DU GUANGTING as “spell *gāthā*” (*zhouji* 咒偈; 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 12.2b). It seems likely that the scripture, with its Buddho-Taoist content and quasi-magical use, originated as a late Six Dynasties (220–589) Tantric “book of spells” (*zhoujing* 咒經; cf. Makita Tairyō, *Gikyō kenkyū*, 367, and Strickmann, “The Consecration sūtra”). In Tang times (618–907), the text was fiercely disputed by the Taoist and Buddhist communities, as borne out by DU GUANGTING’s tale of alleged Buddhist plagiarism, which claims to document the origin of the separate Buddhist version circulating at that time (see 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 12.2b–3b, and Verellen, “Evidential Miracles,” 250–51).

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Franciscus Verellen

Siqi shesheng tu 四氣攝生圖

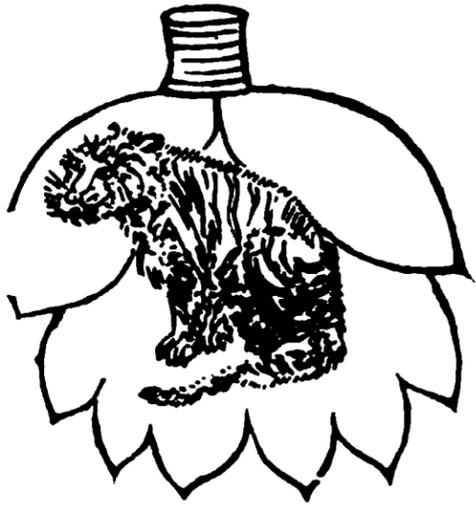
28 fols.

Late Tang (618–907)?

766 (fasc. 534)

“Illustrated [Method] of the Four Energies for Conserving One’s Health.” At the end of the unsigned and undated preface (page 3b), the title of the present work is given as *Siqi shesheng tu* 四季攝生圖, reading “Four Seasons” instead of “Four Energies.” Several Song catalogues, such as the *Chongwen zongmu*, quote the work under

肺
神
字名
虛皓
成華



懸
磬
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神

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白
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象

肺
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FIGURE 27. The spirit of the lungs (766 12a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/759)

the present title (see VDL 96), stating that it was written by the daoshi Liu Ding 劉鼎. A number of people with this name can be identified for the Tang (618–907) and Wudai (907–960) periods, but none of them is known to have been a daoshi.

The work describes and depicts the viscera (*wuzang* 五臟, *liufu* 六腑) and their functions, linking them to the seasons and to the rules to be observed to keep in harmony with their changes (see fig. 27). A number of the practices as described here were common in Tang texts, such as 828 *Youzhen xiansheng funa yuanqi jue*.

Kristofer Schipper

Baosheng ming 保生銘

1 fol.

Attributed to SUN SIMO 孫思邈 (581?–682?)

835 (fasc. 571)

“Inscription on Preserving Health” This is an abstract of the main principles for maintaining good health as found in most of the Tending Life texts, such as SUN SIMO’s 1163 *Sun Zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang* 81.9b; 1427 *Taiqing Daolin shesheng lun* 1b, 10b, 11b; and in 838 *Yangxing yanming lu*.

This short text was engraved on the gate of an anonymous person. *Baosheng ming* is quoted in 766 *Siqi shesheng tu* 2b.

Catherine Despeux

Taiqing zhonghuang zhenjing 太清中黃真經

2 juan

Text attributed to Jiuxian jun 九仙君; commentary to Zhonghuang zhenren 中黃真人; Tang (618–907)

817 (fasc. 586)

“The Most Pure Veritable Book of the Yellow Center.” This is a didactic poem in seven-character verse. Both the Jiuxian jun and Zhonghuan zhenren are mythical figures, the latter being considered the master of the Yellow Emperor (see *Xianyuan benji* 軒轅本記 in YJQQ 100. 26b–27a). Zhonghuang is the center of the body. It is also a

name for the spleen. According to the unsigned and undated preface, this *Zhonghuang jing* 中黃經 was also called Treatise on the Womb Receptacle (*Taizang lun* 胎藏論) or Book of the Yellow Center of the Womb Receptacle (*Taizang zhonghuang jing* 胎藏中黃經). The eighteen sections (*zhang* 章) originally formed a single juan. This is also the version preserved in YJQQ 13, which is identical with the present one, except for some elements (the preface has a commentary, but part of the commentary we have here is missing). A version of the present work in one juan is listed in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.2b under the title Book of the Yellow Center of the Inner Landscape (*Neijing zhonghuang jing* 內景中黃經; see VDL 80).

The form and content of the present work is comparable to 402 *Huangting neijing yujing zhu*, with its commentary by Bo Lüzhong 白履忠, *hao* Liangqiu zi 梁丘子 (fl. 722–729). A *Zhonghuang jing* is quoted by Bo in YJQQ 11.24b and 34b, and 12.6a, 19b, 20b, and 21b, but the citations do not correspond to the present work.

The work explains how one can gain inner vision through physical exercises. The first chapter concerns the abstention from cereals, the Three Worms, and the Three Cinnabar Fields. The second chapter describes Embryonic Breathing, how to visualize body energies, and heavens and palaces inside the body. The necessity for concentrating one's mind through an impeccable moral conduct, among other things, is stressed (2.11b). The commentary adds that practicing Embryonic Breathing requires the help of an assistant (2.2b), which may indicate that these practices were carried out in communities of adepts.

Lidia Bonomi

Taishang laojun yangsheng jue 太上老君養生訣

7 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

821 (fasc. 569)

“Instructions of the Most High Lord Lao for Nourishing Vitality.” This work consists of a collection of diverse gymnastic and respiratory practices, arranged in four paragraphs. Each of these short texts can be found in works of the early Tang (618–907), and the present collection should date to the same period.

The text states that it was “transmitted by Hua Tuo 華佗 to Wu Pu 吳普,” reflecting the usual attribution of its first technique to Hua (see *Hou Han shu* 82B.2739). Song catalogues mention a *Laozi wuqin liuqi jue* 老子五禽六氣訣 (VDL 102) that undoubtedly corresponded to our work. The first two paragraphs of the present text are entitled “Wuqin 五禽” (Dance of the Five Animals; cf. 838 *Yangxing yanming lu* 2.7a–8a) and “Liuqi 六氣” (The Six Breaths), respectively. The *liuqi* method is extant in numerous analogous versions (e.g., 131 *Taixi biyao ge jue* 1b–2a). The third paragraph, a general discours on dietary methods, is also reproduced in 842 *Baopu zi*

yangsheng lun. The final paragraph concerns respiratory techniques, in particular the method of the Six Breaths for healing diseases of the Five Viscera. An analogous version is found in 1163 *Sun zhenren beiji qianji yaofang* 82.5b–8b.

Jean Lévi

***Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu* 神仙食氣金櫃妙錄**

18 fols.

By Jingli xiansheng 京里先生

836 (fasc. 571)

“Marvelous Record from the Golden Chest on Qi-Eating [as Practiced] by the Immortals.” The identity of the Master of the Capital City, Jingli xiansheng, is unknown. We also have a collection of alchemical methods, 420 *Shenxian fuer danshi xingyao fa*, from the same author. He is mentioned in the *Sui shu* bibliographies as the author of a *Jingui lu* in twenty-three juan. This title is also mentioned in Song catalogues (VDL 130).

The present text contains a selection on dietary, “breath-swallowing” (*fuqi* 服氣), and gymnastic methods that are extant elsewhere in Tang collections. In particular, the part on curing various diseases through *daoyin* 導引 gymnastics (9a–13b) can be found in 818 *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* (9a–13a); many other excerpts are included in 837 *Zhenzhong ji* (e.g., 7a–9a and 14a–18a in the present text correspond to 9a–10b and 1a–4b in the *Zhenzhong ji* and in 838 *Yangxing yanming lu*).

Jean Lévi

***Sandong shuji zashuo* 三洞樞機雜說**

13 fols.

Tang (618–907)

839 (fasc. 572)

“Various Accounts of the Essential Elements of the Three Caverns.” This is a small notebook with prescriptions on miscellaneous subjects, culled from a number of well-known sources, none of them later than the Tang (618–907). The text begins with instructions for daily gymnastic exercises for novices. There are precise indications, and no source is given. The next item is on self-massage, with excerpts from 1016 *Zhen’gao* and other Shangqing texts. Another item treated in some depth is rheumatism and other ailments that provoke stiff and painful joints. For these ailments, a Spell of the Northern Sovereign for Curbs and Twists (4b–7b) is given. Other topics concern herbs, the classification of immortals, and different kinds of incense. This work looks like a scrapbook of a Taoist amateur of the Tang dynasty.

Kristofer Schipper

Shesheng zuanlu 攝生纂錄

28 fols.

Tang (618–907)

578 (fasc. 321)

“Collection of Texts for Conserving Health.” This work is concerned with gymnastic exercises (*daoyin* 導引), breathing techniques (*tiaoqi* 調氣), the siting and protection of dwellings (*juchu* 居處), and the choice of auspicious days for traveling (*xingliu* 行旅).

The title of this work is quoted in the bibliographical chapter of the *Xin Tang shu* (59.1542), which indicates that the author is a certain Wang Zhongqiu 王仲丘, whereas the Song catalogues give Wang Liquiu 王立丘 (see VDL 167) and state that the work had three juan.

The first part, on gymnastic exercises, draws on well-known sources of the Jin period (265–420) or even earlier, such as the *Yangsheng yaoji* 養生要集 of Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 370) and the *Daoyin jing* 導引經, mentioned in the biographical chapter (juan 19) of 1185 *Baopu zi neipian*. In addition to these exercises, the present work gives a series of twelve exercises named Brahman Gymnastics (*poluomen daoyin fa* 婆羅門導引法; 2a–3a) that are also found in 1163 *Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang* 81.1a–2a and in 1427 *Taiqing Daolin shesheng lun* (without the mention of Brahman Gymnastics). This is the only reference to Indian gymnastics in the *Daozang*.

Among the breathing exercises, we find a Method for the Harmonization of Qi by Master Luan (*Luan xiansheng tiaoqi fa* 欒先生調氣法; 10b) that probably comes from the *Tiaoqi fang* 調氣方 of the Buddhist monk Luan mentioned in the bibliographical chapter of the *Xin Tang shu* (59.1568). The part on siting page 19 quotes 283 *Huangdi longshou jing*.

Catherine Despeux

Sun zhenren sheyang lun 孫真人攝養論

5 fols.

Attributed to SUN SIMO 孫思邈 (581?–682)

841 (fasc. 572)

“Discourse of Sun Zhenren [i.e., SUN SIMO] on Dietary Rules and Hygiene” This work is in fact a manual of calendrical observances. It may be related to the *Qianjin yueling* 千金月令 of SUN SIMO, of which a few fragments are preserved in *Shuofu*. Some of its formulæ are also found in Sun’s 837 *Zhenzhong ji*. The text lists alimentary interdictions and prescriptions concerning hygiene corresponding to each month of the year.

Jean Lévi

Hunsu yisheng lu 混俗頤生錄

2 juan

Liu Ci 劉詞; tenth century?

848 (fasc. 573)

“Notes on [Methods of] Nourishing Life for Common Use.” Liu Ci was a recluse of Maoshan 茅山 (Jiangsu). A biography of a Liu Ci figures in both the *Jiu Wudai shi* 124 and the *Xin Wudai shi* 50. A native of Hebei, Liu was famous for his military prowess. He died during the reign of Shizong (954–959) of the Later Shu. No mention of Taoism is made in his biography, and it is uncertain whether its subject is the author of our text.

The present work is listed in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.17a as *Hungu* 谷 *yisheng lu* (cf. VDL 135); the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 205.5195 notes only one juan.

In the preface, the author confesses to having fallen ill due to overindulgence in food and drink. His condition led him to the discovery that the art of prolonging life did not lie in the ingestion of drugs or the search for immortality, but simply in achieving the proper balance (1b).

The text comprises ten basic rules for the observation of diet hygiene. The first two sections deal with food and drink in general, followed by certain precautions to take during the Four Seasons and some prescriptions to combat fatigue and diseases caused by noxious winds. The last two sections concern rules related to sexual hygiene and prohibitions regarding hours and days of the year.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Baopu zi yangsheng lun 抱朴子養生論

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

842 (fasc. 572)

“Baopu zi’s Discourse on Tending Life.” This work is mentioned in the *Song shi* among the works of GE HONG (VDL 113). The title of this brief tract is explained by its opening citation of a celebrated and frequently quoted passage from the *Baopu zi* (BPZ 18.368), which was in turn inspired by the *Huangren jing* 皇人經.

This work is an assemblage of commonplaces on the art of nourishing vitality. Most of its constituent elements are derived from Tang (618–907) writings. The same text is also found, with small variants, in 821 *Taishang laojun yangsheng jue*. In addition to the passage taken from the *Baopu zi*, the work contains quotations from the *Xiaoyou jing* 小有經 (cited also in 837 *Zhenzhong ji* 2b and 838 *Yangxing yanming lu* 1.5b) of Feng Junda 封君達 (838 *Yangxing yanming lu* 1.10a; 837 *Zhenzhong ji* 3a). Compare also 2a with 838 *Yangxing yanming lu* 1.9a.

Jean Lévi

***Baosheng yaolu* 保生要錄**

10 fols.

By Pu Qianguan 蒲虔貫 (fl. 934–965)

849 (fasc. 573)

“Essentials for Preserving Life.” The author held the post of *siyi lang* 司義郎 (secretary) in the chief secretariat of the crown prince. Although this official title was of Tang origin, it was equally used in the early Song (960–1279; cf. *Xin Tang shu* 39.1293 and *Song shi* 168.3997).

The name of the author and the date of the text are problematic. The *Junzhai dushu zhi* 1a–6b lists a *Zhouyi yigui* 周易易軌 by Pu Qianguan of the Later Shu (934–965). The *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 206.5265, however, does not mention the *Zhouyi yigui* but attributes another work to the author (written 蒲乾貫), a *Zhouyi zhimi zhaodan jue* 周易指迷照膽訣. The *Shuofu* 84 virtually reproduces all of the present text (until page 7a, *guolei* 果類), but it indicates the name of the author as Pu Chuguan 蒲處貫.

The text itself concerns dietetics. In his short preface, the author explains that the entire work is a result of his own experiences. He therefore undertakes the task of correcting certain errors found in ancient books. The latter include, for instance, substances of little use in dietetics, whereas he mentions only those substances that actually reinforce or “nourish” (*bu* 補) the organism.

The text begins with a brief summary of the *shen* 神/*qi* 氣 (spirit and breath) theories and *daoyin* 導引 gymnastics. This summary is followed by advice on clothing and habitation, the main object being “to avoid (noxious) winds in the same way as one would avoid an arrow” (4b). In the sections concerning drugs and food, the author advocates herbal and plant medicines (6b) and stresses the importance of sesame (*huma* 胡麻) among cereals. The list of alimentary substances for dietary purposes includes some varieties of fruit, meat (mutton, venison), fish, and fowl. Of note is the absence of vegetables in the list and the mention of Angelica root (*bozhi* 白芷; Dahurian Angelica) of the country of Wu, considered the best variety during the Song dynasty (cf. 769 *Tujing yanyi bencao* 30.8a).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Taishang baozhen yangsheng lun* 太上保真養生論**

5 fols.

Five Dynasties (907–960)

852 (fasc. 575)

“Discourse on Tending Life and Preserving Perfection by Taishang.” This short anonymous treatise is mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.7b, which omits the term *Taishang* 太上. The present title is listed in the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 205.5202 (cf. VDL

120), which also includes another work with a similar title, the *Da dongxuan baozhen yangshen lun* 大洞玄保真養生論.

The book is a collection of quotations and excerpts: it begins (1a–2a) with an extract from 641 *Taishang laojun neiguan jing* followed by the text of 840 *Pengzu shesheng yangxing lun*. Although the latter shows some variants, the version of our text seems far more complete. Another passage, in a reduced version, figures in 263.17 *Zazhu jiejing* 18.5b, where it is attributed to YANLUO ZI. The latter was a Taoist of the Five Dynasties (907–960), the date of our text must be placed between that period and the early Song (960–1279).

The work discusses humanity's place in the universe, the formation of the embryo, the reasons for the loss of vital energy, dietetics, and rules to observe in everyday life. When the adept has succeeded in the practice of all of these disciplines, notes the author, he or she may proceed to ingest drugs, at first of plant, later of mineral origin. The final step is ataraxy, the only state in which adepts can avoid the scattering of their internal deities or spirits (*shen* 神), for their departure from the body is considered as the cause of disease and death.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xiantian Xuanmiao yunü Taishang shengmu zichuan xiandao

先天玄妙玉女太上聖母資傳仙道

9 fols.

Tang (618–907)

868 (fasc. 579)

“The Tao of the Immortals Conferred by the Most High Holy Mother, the Jade Maiden of Obscure Mystery from the Prior Heaven.” This short and clearly incomplete text contains the instructions concerning the arts of Long Life revealed to Laozi by his mother, the Jade Maiden of Obscure Mystery, immediately after his birth.

Laozi's mother, Mother Li, was canonized as Great Empress of the Prior Heaven (*Xiantian taihou* 先天太后) by Empress Wu Zetian in A.D. 666; it is likely that her title here refers to this canonization.

Several passages of the present work can be found, with many variants, in 770 *Hunyuan shengji* by XIE SHOUHAO (twelfth century). It is probable that both works had a common source in a now lost *Xuanmiao jing*, which is quoted in 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 4.3a and YJQQ 12.5b and 21.13a. The present text is also close to 954 *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu*, which was likewise among the sources of 770 *Hunyuan shengji*.

Among the secrets of Long Life that Laozi receives, elixir alchemy occupies an important part (page 3a–4b). From page 5a on, the text describes the initiation of Yin Xi 尹喜. As a guidebook for practicing meditation, Laozi gives his disciple a *Yuli*

zhongjing 玉曆中經 in thirty-five chapters (*zhang* 章; see page 6a). This text must be 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing*, and “thirty-five” appears to be an error for “fifty-five,” the actual number of that work’s chapters.

Kristofer Schipper

Huangting dunjia yuanshen jing 黃庭遁甲緣身經

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

873 (fasc. 580)

“Book of the Hidden Period and the Causal [Karma] Body of the Yellow Court.” This work is a manual of life-preservation methods. It combines the meditation and invocation practices of the Book of the Yellow Court, and more specifically of the “Inner Landscape” version of this text (see 331 *Taishang huangting neijing yujing*), with the *dunjia* magic, which consists in marshaling the spirits of the six *jia* and six *ding* periods for help and protection.

There is another text in the *Daozang* with this title, juan 14 of the YJQQ. Both texts are different but clearly related in subject and style. The YJQQ version mentions, within the text on page 3b1, a more complete title, adding the two terms *neijing* 內景 (Inner Landscape) and *biyao* 秘要 (Secret Essentials): *Huangting neijing biyao liujia yuanshen jing* 黃庭內景秘要六甲緣身經.

The *dunjia* method consists of writing a Talisman of the Causal Body of the Six Jia

(*liujia yuanshen fu* 六甲緣身符) and swallowing it. This remedy will heal all diseases and also bring about the presence of the Jade Maidens of the Six Jia (*liujia yunü* 六甲玉女). Other methods consist in breathing exercises, including the famous absorption of the Five Shoots (*fu wuya fa* 服五牙法; 4b–7b). One of the texts presented here, the “Taiji zhenren fu siji yunya shenxian shangfang 太極真人服四極雲牙神仙上方,” may well be a fragment of a Shangqing text annotated by TAO HONGJING, as found in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*. The meditation methods are indeed related to the *Huangting jing*. Those in the YJQQ versions are illustrated (see fig. 28).

The YJQQ version is far more complete and more structured as a “canon.” The pres-

脾藏圖



FIGURE 28. The spirit of the spleen (YJQQ 14.9a).

ent work is composed of fragments, some quite unrelated to their title, Possibly, they all derive from the same source.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao daoshi mingjing fa 洞玄靈寶道士明鏡法

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1245 (fasc. 991)

“The Clear-Mirror Method for Use by Taoists of the Sacred Treasure Register.” This text provides no indication of authorship or date. It is a shortened version of 1206 *Shangqing mingjian yaojing*. It is also identical, apart from two brief passages in the text (on pages 2a and 3a), with 1126 *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* (2.7b). With minor variations, the text as a whole is to be found in YJQQ 48, *Biyao jue fa*, in the sections titled “Laojun mingzhao fa xushi 老君明照法叙事,” “Mingzhao fa 明照法,” and “Mozhao fa 摩照法.” The text is a medley of selected passages dealing with the use of mirrors for meditation practices.

Pauline Bentley Koffler

Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing 長生胎元神用經

19 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1405 (fasc. 1050)

“Book of the Function of the Spirit of the Origin of the Matrix, Who Bestows Long Life.” This is a small manual of Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息) and other common Tending Life practices popular during the Tang. The author, who terms himself a “rustic” (*yeren* 野人), relates that he met a certain Mr. Wang on Mount Luofu 羅浮山 (near Canton) during the Dali era (766–779; see page 10a; cf. 824 *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing*).

Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing Daolin shesheng lun 太清道林攝生論

24 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1427 (fasc. 1055)

“Discussion on Conserving Health according to the Forest of Taoists, a Taiqing Book.” This is a collection of prescriptions on lifestyle, housing, eating, self-massage, gymnastics, and breathing exercises.

The present work is listed in Song catalogues (see VDL 151). The name Daolin 道

林 (Forest of Taoists) may refer here to Zhi Dun 支遁, whose religious name was Daolin and who was one of the authors of the now lost *Yangsheng yaoji* 養生要集, a forerunner of most compilations of the Tang period on Tending Life techniques (see 838 *Yangxing yanming lu*, preface).

The present text is similar to juan 81–83 of 1163 *Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang*, by SUN SIMO (fl. 673). There are, however, many discrepancies and, at times, the order of the rubrics differs. The *Yigu tang tiba* quotes the table of contents of a Northern Song edition of the *Qianjin yaofang* 千金要方, which seems to indicate that that edition, which was not reedited by Lin Yi 林億, was closer to the present text (see Okanishi Tameto, *Song yiqian yiji kao*, 593).

The second rubric in the present work is entitled “Huangdi zaji 黃帝雜忌” (Miscellaneous Interdictions of the Yellow Emperor; 9a–13b). It is possible that this rubric preserves the text of an otherwise lost work titled *Huangdi za yinshi ji* 黃帝雜飲食忌, quoted in the *Sui shu*, “Jingji zhi,” 34.1043.

Catherine Despeux

Pengzu shesheng yangxing lun 彭祖攝生養性論

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

840 (fasc. 572)

“Discourse on Conserving Health and Tending Life according to Pengzu.” This work consists of a series of general considerations on precautions to observe, exhortations to moderation, and prescriptions of hygiene for the prolongation of life. The prescriptions are typical of life-tending literature of the Tang period.

Jean Lévi

Yangsheng bianyi jue 養生辯疑訣

3 fols.

SHI JIANWU 施肩吾, *hao* Qizhen zi 栖真子; after 806

853 (fasc. 575)

“Oral Formula for the Dispersal of Doubts Concerning [the Practice of] Tending Life.” The treatise was well known in the early Song (960–1279), although not always under the same title. Both the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.8b and the *Xin Tang shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 59.1523 list a *Bianyi lun* 辯疑論 in one juan. The *Xin Tang shu* adds that the author, SHI JIANWU, a presented scholar (*jinsshi* 進士) of the Yuanhe period (806–820), was a recluse of Xishan 西山 in Jiangxi. The present title figures in YJQQ 88, but only the section on pages 11a–12b corresponds, with some variants, to our text (1a–2b). The rest of the YJQQ text is actually an excerpt from another work, the *Sanyuan pian* 三元篇 (cf. 1017 *Daoshu* 30.9a, YJQQ 88.13b, and the postface).

The text existed in its present form during the early period of the Southern Song dynasty. This is evident from the slightly abridged quotations in *1017 Daoshu* 35.3a, although the order is slightly different (cf. 2a, 1b, and 3b of our text).

The essential ideas contained in the work resemble those in SHI JIANWU's *Sanzhu pian* 三住篇 (see *1017 Daoshu* 30). Much emphasis is laid on the preservation of *xing* 形 (body), *qi* 氣, and *shen* 神 (spirits or divinities) through the practice of Holding the One (*shouyi* 守一). The author adds that if adepts could live secluded from common mortals in a state of ataraxy, they would be able to keep both their *qi* and *shen* within the body.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Sandong daoshi jushan xiulian ke 三洞道士居山修鍊科

29 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

1272 (fasc. 1003)

“Codex for Taoist Masters of the Three Caverns Who Live in the Mountains and Practice Physiological Refinement.” This small manual opens both with instructions for absorbing the *qi* (*fuqi* 服氣) and the ritual for the transmission of the instructions. It contains directions for making various elixirs, abstaining from cereals, ingesting *fu* for healing, and collecting minerals and plants in the mountains.

The respiratory exercises at the beginning of the work contain an otherwise unknown technique, for which 120 breaths in three series, named *bayin* 八引|, *siyin* 四引|, and *yi Yin* 一引|, are inhaled. Also the “apothecaries’ measure” used in the alchemical practice (25a) is worth noting: one “inch-square spatula” (*fangcun bi* 方寸匕) is equivalent to two “pinches” (*cuo* 撮), equivalent to four “spatulas” (*daogui* 刀圭), or to eight “beans” (*dou* 豆). This manual seems to have been largely compiled from other texts: 11b–15b is the same as “Gushen miaoqi jue 谷神妙氣訣,” YJQQ 61.10b–15a; 20a–23b derives from “Qingling zhenren Pei jun zhuan 清靈真人裴君傳,” YJQQ 105.15a–17b, 105.4a–5a; for 24b–25a, cf. 837 *Zhenzhong ji* 26a–b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Guqi huanshen jiuzhuan qiongdan lun 固氣還神九轉瓊丹論

13 fols.

Five Dynasties (907–960)?

418 (fasc. 192)

“Treatises on the Mutation of the Spirit through Keeping the Qi Firm and on the Nine-Times-Transmuted Precious Elixir.” The first treatise (“Guqi huanshen lun 固氣還神論,” 1a–2b) is a short prose text arguing that one should preserve the “essence,” that is, semen (*jing* 精), not simply by refraining from ejaculation but also by recycling

the semen inside the body through the “return of the essence” (*huanjing* 還精) technique advocated in the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經. The term *guqi* 固氣 (keeping the qi firm) is defined in the (presumably) Tang work *Taiqing Wang Lao kouchuan fa* 太清王老口傳法 (in YJQQ 62.20a) as “avoiding ejaculation.”

The second treatise is the “Jiuzhuan qiongdan lun 九轉瓊丹論” (3a–13b). It is composed of a main text and a commentary, apparently both by the same author. The treatise advocates spritual alchemy above laboratory alchemy, which it terms *danfa* 丹法 (the usual expression, *neidan* 內丹, does not occur). The vocabulary recalls the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and related works. The source materials and argumentation of both treatises suggest a pre-Song (960–1279) date.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing 太上除三尸九蟲保生經

25 fols.

Five Dynasties (907–960)?

871 (fasc. 580)

“Scripture of the Most High for the Protection of Life through the Elimination of the Three Corpses and the Nine Worms.” This is an illustrated handbook presenting these agents of decay and death as well as various apotropaic and medical methods for expelling them (see figs. 29–31).

Whereas the Three Corpses are clearly identified as demons of human and animal morphology, the Nine Worms are given shapes similar to insects and germs, which has led some scholars to propose that the existence of harmful bacteria was known to the Chinese of the time (see Liu Ts’un-yan, “Taoist knowledge of tuberculosis”).

The text itself (14a–b) attributes the discovery of these worms to the great physician SUN SIMO. Sun is said to have showed them to a student by the name of Zhou 周, who drew pictures of them. Later these pictures passed into the hands of a daoshi from Mount Qingcheng 青城山, who transmitted them to the prefect of Pengzhou 彭州, Geng He 庚河. The latter tried out Sun’s remedies and commissioned a skilled draftsman to make paintings of the harmful agents. The author obtained these paintings from his friend, a certain Chen Lingzhang 陳靈章 from Dongping 東平, who during the Yuanhe era (806–820) traveled to the northern part of Sichuan to practice the Tao. There in the early years of the Changqing era (821–824), together with a fellow Taoist named Li Xuanhui 李玄會, he abstained from cereals during 100 days, performed breathing exercises and ingested drugs for the elimination of the worms. In the end, some strange insect-like creatures were evacuated from his body.

Elsewhere (6a–7a), the author tells the story of two brothers who obtained immortality, also in Sichuan. The facts were reported to the authorities by a daoshi named Yang Yuanyi 楊元一, the head of a temple (*guan* 觀) on Mount Qingcheng 青城山,



FIGURE 29. The seven *po*-spirits (87I 3a-b).



FIGURE 30. The Three Corpses (87I 7a-b, 8b).

FIGURE 31. Pathogenic agents in the body (87I 14a).

in the year 900 (Guanghua 3). Since the text mentions explicitly the Tang dynasty (618-907) at this point, it is likely that it was compiled at a later date.

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Liu Ts'un-yan, "Taoist knowledge of tuberculosis."

Kristofer Schipper

Nantong dajun neidan jiuzhang jing 南統大君內丹九章經
6 fols.

Attributed to WU YUN 吳筠; Five Dynasties (907-960)?
1054 (fasc. 727)

"The Scripture in Nine Sections on Inner Alchemy." This is a spurious work attributed to WU YUN (d. 778, cf. 1051 *Zongxuan xiansheng wenji*). The book is first mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lue," 5.22b.

Both the preface, dated 818, and the colophon are also ascribed to WU YUN, but the former states that the text was transmitted to the author by Li Bo 李白 (701–762), whereas the latter writes “by an old man.” The colophon also indicates another title for the present text, the *Neidan shenjue* 內丹神訣, and criticizes another text revealed by a certain Nantong Fan dajun 南統樊大君 in 818 (cf. 761 *Taishang laojun yuandao zhenjing zhujie*). Consequently, the present work must postdate the latter.

The “scripture” deals with the techniques of preserving life transmitted by Lord Mao 茅君 to Fan. The text is divided into nine short sections, each with a heading. It belongs to the Maoshan tradition and describes simple techniques of visualization and pacing the Dipper; absorption of the rays of sun, moon, and the Seven Luminaries; the method of the Six Qi; and so on.

The text also places emphasis on good deeds in order to accumulate “hidden merit.” Through the practice of these techniques, the divinities are moved to descend and inhabit the adept’s body, thereby assuring the latter of immortality. The term *neidan* 內丹 is not used in the alchemical sense and is defined as the collection of divinities within the body (1a). Both the preface and the colophon consider Embryonic Breathing as an ineffective technique for preserving life when practiced on its own.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

2.A.4.b Respiratory Techniques

Taixi jing zhu 胎息經註

3 fols.

Commentary by Huanzhen xiansheng 幻真先生 (late ninth century?)

130 (fasc. 59)

“Commentary on the Book of Embryonic Breathing.” This is a small, somewhat theoretical work. The authors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 28 consider the commentator to be also the author of the book itself. However, the *Taixi jing* also exists in a separate version, without commentary (see 14 *Gaoshang yuhuang taixi jing*).

The real name of Huanzhen xiansheng is unknown. He is considered to be the author of 828 *Youzhen xiansheng funa yuanqi jue* (where *you* 幼 stands for *huan* 幻), an important treatise on Embryonic Breathing. This text is also included in the *Yunji qiqian* (YJQQ 60.14a–27a), where it is followed immediately by the present text (27a–28b), called simply *Taixi jing*.

828 *Youzhen xiansheng funa yuanqi jue* has a preface mentioning the Tianbao era (742–756). The same preface can, however, also be found with 824 *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing*, ascribed to a certain Taiwu xiansheng 太無先生 (on the relationship between these two texts, see Maspero, “Methods,” 460–61 n. 3), and the same preface

is found again at the beginning of a short treatise entitled *Taiwu xiansheng fuqi fa* 太無先生服氣法 (YJQQ 58.8b). Here, instead of Tianbao, the Dali era (766–779) is indicated.

The commentary on the *Taixi jing* uses a vocabulary unlike that of other Tang texts on the same subject. For instance, on pages 1a and 3b the term *taixi* 胎息 is said to be equivalent to *neidan* 內丹. The YJQQ version is slightly shorter and has a few variant readings. Also, both a passage at the end of the commentary, beginning with *fan taixi* 凡胎息 (3a), and the final Inscription on Embryonic Breathing (*Taixi ming* 胎息銘; 3a) are lacking in the YJQQ version. The passage beginning with *fan taixi* was actually taken from 825 *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* (17b), yet another treatise on the same subject, which dates from the late Tang period (see Maspero, “An essay on Taoism,” 339 n. 57). In its present form, the work under discussion may, therefore, be a compilation of a later period, prior to the publication of the YJQQ.

The commentary explains that the practice of Embryonic Breathing enables one to keep the Primordial Qi (*yuanyi* 元氣) and the gods (*shen* 神) within the body and thus to attain immortality.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Gaoshang yuhuang taixi jing 高上玉皇胎息經

1 fol.

14 (fasc. 24)

“Book of Embryonic Breathing.” This text is, but for the first line, identical to 130 *Taixi jing zhu* (see above), also found in YJQQ 60.27a–28b.

Kristofer Schipper

Taixi biyao ge jue 胎息祕要歌訣

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)

131 (fasc. 59)

“Oral Formulas and Songs on the Principal Secrets of Embryonic Breathing.” This small, anonymous work treats, in prose and verse, the same topics as those found in 820 *Taiqing tiaoyi jing*, and is thus probably of a later date. The substitution of the character *li* 理 for *zhi* 治, in observation of the Tang taboo, is another indication of the possible date of the work.

The author recalls briefly the main points concerning the absorption of qi: dietetics, sexual hygiene, the exercises of the Six Qi (*liuqi* 六氣) to be practiced in times of illness, and so on. The last exercise is to be found nowhere else and may have been invented by the author himself.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zhenqi huanyuan ming 真氣還元銘

17 fols.

By Qiangming zi 強名子; first half of the tenth century

264 (fasc. 131)

“Inscription on the True Qi Returning to the Origin.” An epigrammatical text on the subject of breathing and meditation, in classical, four-character phrases in the style of Ming inscriptions, accompanied with an explanatory commentary. The author, using the pseudonym Master of the Forced Name (i.e., the Tao), tells us in his undated preface that during the Zhenming years (915–920) of the [Later] Liang dynasty he visited Mount Taishan and met an immortal who transmitted to him the “art of spitting out [the old] and inhaling [the new; *tuna* 吐納] and perfecting the body [*lianxing* 鍊形].” The immortal told him not to divulge these secrets before twenty years had passed. Now that this was the case, the author worked these instructions into a new scripture (*xinjing* 新經) for inscription in public places and on holy mountains.

The commentary draws on a number of sources, such as the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 and the *Taixi jing* 胎息經.

Kristofer Schipper

Xiuzhen jingyi zalun 修真精義雜論

25 fols.

By SIMA CHENGZHEN 司馬承禎, *hao* Boyun zi 白雲子 (647–735)

277 (fasc. 134)

This text is part of the 830 *Fuqi jingyi lun* by SIMA CHENGZHEN (q.v.).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taishang yangsheng taixi qijing 太上養生胎息氣經

9 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

819 (fasc. 568)

“Most High Scripture on Embryonic Breathing and Tending Life.” This is a short treatise compiled from a number of well-known texts. The names of the Three Cinnabar Fields and the stages of the transformations of the body are the same as in 824 *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing*.

Our text differs, however, from the latter treatise, since it also adopts some specific Shangqing techniques for the absorption of astral concretions, corresponding to the viscera and to particular periods of the calendar cycle. Each of the viscera and periods is put in correlation with a specific type of expiration. The Tables of the Five Viscera (the illustrations have been lost) are summarized here from 1402 *Shangqing huangting wuzang liufu zhenren youzhu jing* (see also YJQQ 14.4a–13a). The text claims to belong

to the Maoshan movement, since it places itself under the patronage of Fusang dadi jun 扶桑大帝君.

Jean Lévi

Taiqing tiaoci jing 太清調氣經

22 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

820 (fasc. 569)

“Great Purity Scripture on the Harmonization of Qi.” This text, in one juan, is mentioned in the Song catalogue *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* (VDL 92). It shows close affinities with certain passages in 825 *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* (compare 9b and 17b–18b with 825 *Xinjiu fuqi jing* 2b and 1a–2b, respectively). Similarly, the three techniques of smelting, letting roam, and closing the qi are practically identical with those in Yanling’s anthology (compare 18b–21b with 825 *Xinjiu fuqi jing* 23b ff.). The relationship with 824 *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing* (q.v.) is problematic; both works appear to be based on the same kind of materials.

The present work, seeking to break with earlier tradition and the practices of its time, attacks the old manuals on breath absorption as offering nothing but vacuous visualizations, calendrical rules, and a plethora of useless if not harmful prescriptions. The treatises on Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) of the early Tang, such as 837 *Zhenzhong ji* (9a–10b), seem to be particularly singled out for criticism. Instead, this work advocates spontaneity and natural harmony, as well as more flexible practices of breath absorption that would be compatible with the life of an official.

Jean Lévi

Taiqing fuqi koujue 太清服氣口訣

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

822 (fasc. 569)

“Oral Instructions on Breath Absorption of Taiqing.” This work is mentioned in numerous Song catalogues (VDL 91). The *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” attributes these instructions to Fan Zongshi 樊宗師. According to the YJQQ, the instructions convey the method of Wang Lao 王老 (see YJQQ 62.1a, “Taiqing Wang Lao kouchuan fa 太清王老口傳法,” and 59.12a, “Taiqing Wang Lao kouchuan fuqi fa 太清王老口傳服氣法”). The preface in the present text also places the work under the patronage of Wang Lao (see also YJQQ 62.11a and the postface, “Wang Lao zhenren jing houpi 王老真人經後批,” 21b ff.).

The edition in YJQQ 62.1a–2b resembles an extract of the same work in YJQQ 59.11b–13b; it is sufficiently different from the present work to suggest that the two

might be separate elaborations of a common source. The following passages correspond: 1a–3b and YJQQ 62.1a–4a; 4a–b and YJQQ 62.13b–14b; 5a–b and YJQQ 62.7a–8a; 6a–8a and parts of YJQQ 62.8b. Beginning on 6a, the two texts diverge. The YJQQ version is longer but does not represent the original text (62.9b).

This manual, despite indications to the contrary in the preface, is primarily addressed at novices who might experience serious troubles when practicing the breathing techniques. It offers a survey of common breath absorption and dietary techniques that were current under the Tang, represented by such works as 820 *Taiqing tiaopi jing* and 824 *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing*. The closing invocation corresponds to the one used in the establishment of the sacred area in 1226 *Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 7.9b–10a.

Jean Lévi

Zhuang Zhou qijue jie 莊周氣訣解

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

823 (fasc. 569)

“Explanations of the Breathing Method of Zhuangzi.” This is a small manual on breath absorption. The work probably dates to the Tang (see *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.27a; VDL 138). Li Quan’s commentary in 110 *Huangdi yinfu jingshu* 1.2a, close to the *Zhuangzi*’s 莊子 famous parable (chapter 3) of the fire that passes from log to log (see 1a in the present text), is explained in terms of Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生). The final part, concerning Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息), is closely related to 831 *Qifa yaoming zhijue* (see 11a–b).

Jean Lévi

Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing 嵩山太無先生氣經

2 juan

Eighth–ninth century?

824 (fasc. 569)

“Breath Scripture of Master Great Nonbeing of Mount Song.” This work is preceded by a preface in which the author declares to have received its method of Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息) in the Dali reign period (766–779) in the form of oral instructions by Master Wang (Wang gong 王公) of Luofu shan 羅浮山 (cf. 1405 *Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing*). According to the version in YJQQ (see below), the encounter took place at Gaoyou 高郵.

This work is mentioned in several Song catalogues (see VDL 90). The entry in *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” identifies the author as Li Fengshi 李奉時 (fl. 825), otherwise known for a method cited in 825 *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 6a–b. YJQQ 59.25b

states that this master was from Songshan. 1017 *Daoshu* 15.10a–13a reproduces a series of breath absorption methods, corresponding by and large to the present text. They are attributed to a “Saint of Songshan,” identified in a note as Li Fengshi. Another version of this text (see below), however, ascribes it to Huanzhen 幻真, the annotator of 130 *Taixi jing zhu* (q.v.).

While Master Wang has not been identified, he is cited in 831 *Qifa yaoming zhijue* 5b and 8b. A note explains that the Longgang 龍崗 method in question was transmitted by ZHANG GUO. The present work refers to Wang Lao 王老 (cf. LZTT 43.11b–12b) and the *Wang Lao jing* 王老經, frequently associated with ZHANG GUO in hagiographic writings. One of the methods in the present work appears under the name of ZHANG GUO, who died at the beginning of the Tianbao era (742–756), in 825 *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 4b–5a. These indications suggest that the present work represents Taoist writings belonging to the second half of the eighth century.

The Huanzhen version is found in 828 *Youzhen [i.e., Huanzhen] xiansheng funa yuanqi jue* and YJQQ 60.14a–27a. It represents essentially the same text, with slight divergences. More complete if less systematically organized versions of most of the methods in the present work are found in 820 *Taishang tiaopi jing*. Other Tang and Song collections reproduce the work partially (see YJQQ 59.8a–10 and 73.11a–b; 818 *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 13a–14b and 16a–b).

The contents of this work can be grouped under three headings: respiratory practices (1.1a–10b), dietary regimens and general recommendations (1.10b–13b), and the theory of Embryonic Breathing (1.13b–2.4a). By defining Embryonic Breathing as a form of natural alchemy or “hidden cinnabar” (*yindan* 陰丹), it suggests an inner alchemical approach to its subject.

Jean Lévi

Youzhen xiansheng funa yuanqi jue 幼真先生服內元氣訣

Preface + 13 fols.

828 (fasc. 570)

“Instructions of Master Huanzhen [for Youzhen, read Huanzhen 幻真] for the Absorption of Primordial Breath.” This is another version of 824 *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing* (see preceding entry).

Jean Lévi

Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing 延陵先生集新舊服氣經

26 fols.

Annotated by Sangyu zi 桑榆子; late Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960)

825 (fasc. 570)

“Master Yanling’s Collection of Ancient and Modern Treatises on Breath Absorption.” This text is mentioned in several Song catalogues (see VDL 109). Master Yanling and Sangyu zi have not been identified. The two appellations may refer to the same person. Internal evidence, such as the references to ZHANG GUO, date the work to the period between the mid-eighth century and the Five Dynasties (907–960).

Items 1–13 of the work’s fifteen methods, together with Sangyu zi’s commentaries, also appear in YJQQ 58, 59, and 61. The two versions are textually close. However, in the YJQQ version the methods from the present work are found interspersed among passages from other sources. Other extracts in YJQQ 58–61—for example, from *Taiqing Wang Lao kouchuan qijing* 太清王老口傳氣經 (59.11b–13a) and *Zhongshan yugui fuqi jing* 中山玉櫃服氣經 (60)—are found in more complete versions elsewhere in YJQQ (62 and 83, respectively), which suggests that the YJQQ version of the present text is cited, but via an anthology incorporating extracts from other works as well. The present work is also quoted in 829 *Taixi jingwei lun* (q.v.).

The methods involve breathing techniques related to Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息). There are no references to the Maoshan methods of astral absorption and few to visualization. The commentary of Sangyu zi is of a practical nature, emphasizing spontaneity and regular but measured application.

Jean Lévi

Taixi jingwei lun 胎息精微論

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

829 (fasc. 571)

“Discourse on the Subtleties of Embryonic Breathing.” This work precedes another with a similar title, 830 *Fuqi jingyi lun*, a treatise by SIMA CHENGZHEN (647–735). The present text criticizes certain techniques found in the latter (2a). The work is listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* as comprising 3 juan, but the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” mentions a *Taishang hunyuan shangde huangdi* [i.e., Laozi] *taixi jingyi lun* in one juan (see VDL 88 and 124) that seems to correspond to the present work, also ascribed to Laozi. Our text was well known at the end of the ninth century (see *Xianji zhi jue* by PEI XING in YJQQ 88.8a ff.).

The work comprises three different texts: “*Taixi jingwei lun* 胎息精微論” (1a–3a), “*Neizhen miaoyong jue* 內真妙用訣” (3a–5b), and “*Taixi shenhui neidan qifan jue*

胎息神會內丹七返訣” (5b–7b). Of these three texts, only the first is quoted in its entirety in another Tang text, the 825 *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 14b–16a (the version in YJQQ 58.1a–3b is identical, except for its omission of the first sentence). This version is much longer than our text and includes practical instructions (cf. 825 *Xinjiu fuqi jing* 15b4–10; 16a4–8; 16b3–7). Both our text and 825 *Xinjiu fuqi jing* also feature different commentaries, anonymous in the case of the present text and by Sangyu zi 桑榆子 in the case of 825 *Xinjiu fuqi jing*. The *taixi* 胎息 method described is actually the absorption of the Inner Breath (*neiqi* 內氣) through holding the breath and swallowing the saliva seven times.

Of the next text, the “Neizhen miaoyong jue,” there exists an expanded, Buddhized version in YJQQ 59.14b–18a: “Damo dashi zhushi liuxing neizhen miaoyong jue 達磨大師住世留形內真妙用訣”; this version, according to Fukui Fumimasa (“Key to longevity”), is based on our text. Other versions of the text are incorporated in 1405 *Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing* 1a–4b and in 826 *Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue*. In both of the latter versions, the commentary of our text is presented as part of the main text. The first sentence is from the present text (1a and 1b). The “Neizhen miaoyong jue,” ascribed to Liu jun and entitled *Liu jun bizhi* 劉君祕旨, then follows.

The “Neizhen miaoyong jue” is a discussion of *taixi* with hardly any practical instructions (cf. the long instructions in 1405 *Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jue*, missing in our text). The importance of *shen* 神 is emphasized as the controller (*zhu* 主) of *qi* (the technical term *zimu* 子母 is used for *shen* and *qi*).

The last text, “Taixi shenhui neidan qi fan jue,” deals with the technique *huanjing bunao* 還精補腦 (Repairing the Brain with Seminal Essence), inspired from the *Huangdi neidan qifan [jue]* 黃帝內丹七返 [訣] (now lost). Part of this text (6b–7b) can be found in abridged form in 1405 *Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing* 6b.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Fuqi jingyi lun 服氣精義論

12 fols.

By SIMA CHENGZHEN 司馬承禎, hao Boyun zi 白雲子 (647–735)

830 (fasc. 571)

“Essays on the Quintessence [of the Method of] Absorbing Qi.” The author’s name is given as Boyun zi beneath the title; this was the hao of SIMA CHENGZHEN according to an inscription dated 742 (see 603 *Tiantai shan zhi* 12a). A *Jingyi lun* by Sima lianshi 司馬鍊師 is mentioned in 901 *Shiyao erya* 2.4a (preface dated 806). The *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.25b lists the present title in three juan, the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 205.5195, however, writes one juan.

The difference in the number of juan can be accounted for, since the present text is only a fragment of the original, which comprised altogether nine essays (*lun*). The

fuller version can be found in YJQQ 57.1a–30a. Our text comprises only the first two essays: “Wuya lun 五牙論” and “Fuqi lun 服氣論.” A note on 6b announces that the *daoyin* 導引 gymnastics techniques are explained in the essays, but the essays in question, including the one on *daoyin*, are found elsewhere in the *Daozang* (cf. 277 *Xiuzhen jingyi zalun*).

There are some variants in our text (including the version found in 277 *Xiuzhen jingyi zalun*) with respect to the YJQQ version. Although the latter is sometimes more complete, (see, e.g., YJQQ 57.10b–12b, “Wuling xindan zhang 五靈心丹章,” missing in the present text), it omits some of the methods and all the diagrams of the fu.

The “Wuya lun” and the “Fuqi lun” describe techniques for the absorption of the Five Shoots (i.e., the qi of the Five Directions) and of swallowing breath. The former technique is based on methods described in 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1.11b. The methods used for the absorption of breath were intended primarily to permit the adept to survive without cereals (*duangu* 斷穀).

For a description of the other techniques, see 277 *Xiuzhen jingyi zalun*. The “Daoyin lun” comprises seventeen gymnastics techniques (the YJQQ includes only one). These techniques, which should not be employed at the same time, were considered as an aid for the absorption of breath. The next two essays, “Fushui lun 服水論” and “Fuyao lun 服藥論,” deal with the ingestion of fu and drugs, mainly to avoid hunger and thirst, thereby facilitating the absorption of breath. The “Shenji lun 慎忌論” and the “Wuzang lun 五臟論” concern dietary rules and the Five Viscera. The last two essays, “Liaobing lun 療病論” and “Binghou lun 病候論,” discuss diseases and their cures. The “Liaobing lun” (YJQQ: “Fuqi liaobing lun 服氣療病論”) describes the use of gymnastics and the absorption of breath for curing various ailments.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Qifa yaoming zhijue 氣法要妙至訣

12 fols.

Late Tang (618–907)

831 (fasc. 571)

“Arcane Instructions on Breathing Techniques.” This is a small treatise on Embryonic Breathing. The work mentions the title given to ZHANG GUO by the Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) and must therefore be later than the mid-eighth century. The text discusses methods for harmonizing breath and the use of the Six Qi. The author warns of the dangers of his method to novices and praises its miraculous effects.

Jean Lévi

Shangqing siming Mao zhenjun xiuxing zhimi jue

上清司命茅真君修行指迷訣

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

832 (fasc. 571)

“Instructions Pointing out Errors in Practice, by the True Lord Mao, Director of Destiny of Supreme Purity.” This is a small guide for breathing exercises. Lord Mao is Mao Ying 茅盈, the eldest of the three Mao brothers and one of the divine patriarchs of the Shangqing revelation. His hagiography survives partially in YJQQ 104.10b–20a (*Taiyuan zhenren dongyue shangqing siming zhenjun zhuan* 太元真人東嶽上卿司命真君傳). Here, however, in spite of the title, there seems to be little or no connection with the Shangqing scriptures (see part 1.B). The breathing exercises are straightforward and practical, and the instructions do not use Shangqing terminology. The daily practice is coordinated with the time cycles of the decade and the twelve months. Part of the text can be found in YJQQ 61.17b–18b under the title “Method for the Absorption of Qi during the Twelve Months” (*shier yue fuqi fa* 十二月服氣法).

*Kristofer Schipper**Shenqi yangxing lun* 神氣養形論

3 fols.

833 (fasc. 571)

“Spirit and Breath as Sustenance for the Body” is mentioned in a Song catalogue (VDL 131). An abridged version is found in YJQQ 34.15b. The work should therefore be of a Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960) date. After a brief discussion of the relationship between Breath (action, mother of Spirit) and Spirit (word, son of Breath), on the one hand, with Form, or the body, on the other, the text adduces the *Laozi* and the Yellow Court Scripture *Huangting jing* (*waijing* 外經) for exalting the merits of interior meditation.

*Jean Lévi**Cunshen lianqi ming* 存神鍊氣銘

3 fols.

Attributed to SUN SIMO 孫思邈 (581?–682)

834 (fasc. 571)

“Inscription on Concentrating the Spirit and Refining Breath.” This work is a short piece on the steps of the Tao, *ascribed to Sun Simo*. This attribution is doubtful. Note that the work is listed in Song catalogues as anonymous (VDL 101). It is probably of a Later Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960) date.

The work is entirely reproduced, under the title *Taiqing cunshen lianqi wushi qihou*

jue 太清存神鍊氣五時七侯訣, in YJQQ 33.12a–14b, where it follows a partial citation of 837 *Zhenzhong ji*, hence perhaps the attribution to SUN SIMO. A similar text is found in 400 *Dongxuan lingbao dingguan jing zhu* 6b–7a. The term *dingguan* 定觀 (intent contemplation or *samādhi*) also occurs in the present work (3b).

The text is divided into three parts: a general introduction on respiratory practices, in four-character verse; five preliminary steps for attaining the Tao; and seven subsequent grades for the advanced adept.

Jean Lévi

***Baopu zi biezhi* 抱朴子別旨**

2 fols.

Attributed to GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343); probably Tang (618–907)

1186 (fasc. 870)

“Separate Instructions from the Master Who Keeps to Simplicity.” This text contains two paragraphs: one on Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息), the other on gymnastics (*daoyin* 導引). The text does not correspond to any passage in 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* but is mentioned as a separate work in Song bibliographies (VDL 113). The bibliography of the *Song shi* lists it as having two chapters. The present version is therefore but a fragment of a Tending Life manual, dating from the Tang (618–907).

Kristofer Schipper

***Taiqing yuandao zhenjing* 太清元道真經**

3 juan

Ninth century?

1423 (fasc. 1055)

“Veritable Scripture of the Original Tao of the Taiqing [Heaven].” This scripture is mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.8b and other Song catalogues (VDL 85). The text was originally revealed by Laozi to nineteen persons, who subsequently attained immortality (3.2b). The scripture was, however, first diffused in 818 when Nantong Fan dajun 南統樊大君 revealed it to Meng Zhexian 孟譎仙.

The latter transmitted it to Wang Xuwu 王虛無, who recorded it in writing (3.2b). The scripture is criticized in a postscript attributed to WU YUN, in a text with a preface also dated 818 and revealed by Nantong Fan dajun (cf. 1054 *Nantong Fan dajun neidan jiuzhang jing* 4a).

The 761 *Taishang laojun yuandao zhenjing zhujie*, with a commentary by Yin Zhi 隱芝, is a Southern Song version of the scripture based upon another edition. Although the first juan in both versions is identical, except for the last line, juan 2 and 3 in the present text contain many lacunae (see, e.g., 2.1a–1b, 3b, 4a, and 3.1a). A long passage of the same scripture is quoted in 1017 *Daoshu* 13.10a–11b, which seems to have been

excerpted from yet another edition. Finally, the observance of a Tang taboo (1.1b, 2.3a), suggests a late Tang (618–907) date.

The scripture deals with Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息), a technique that enables the adept to return to his origin. *Yuandao* 元道 is defined as the unsurpassable method of the Most High Lord Lao of returning to the root (1a). The *yuandao* method is superior to the techniques described in the *Huangting jing* because of its relative simplicity: it can be practiced by anyone under any circumstances. The method is divided into three different grades.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

2.A.5 Alchemy

We know from history that alchemy enjoyed great popularity during the Tang period (618–907; see Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*), and this popularity is borne out by the large number of texts found in this section. Most of these texts deal with alchemy in much the same way as their predecessors in earlier centuries, and they incorporate elements from Han (200 B.C.–A.D. 220) as well as Six Dynasties (220–589) Taoism. Some works, however, are different in character and make use of a theoretical framework provided by certain texts that, although reputed to be very old, in fact became current only in the Tang dynasty. The most important of these theoretical works are the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, the *Guwen longhu jing* 古文龍虎經, and the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 (the question of the dating of these texts is discussed in the introduction to part 2.A.1.d).

The difference between the two kinds of texts, those that deal with laboratory alchemy (*waidan* 外丹) and those that transpose the alchemical process within the human body and that in Tang times therefore received the name of Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹), is often stated clearly. In some instances, however, it is difficult to say whether the names of alchemical ingredients are used in a concrete or in a metaphorical way. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that the majority of the texts in this section are placed indiscriminately in the Ming *Daozang* in the *Fangfa* 方法 division of the Dongshen. Often we have to resort to comparisons with other texts in order to establish the true nature of the work. For instance, the YJQQ, in its section on alchemy (juan 63–73), does distinguish between *neidan* and laboratory manuals.

All in all, the distinction between operative laboratory alchemy and contemplative Inner Alchemy has been so fundamental since Tang times that the two have to be presented as separate categories, in spite of some unresolved uncertainties with respect to the classification of specific texts.

2.A.5.a Laboratory Alchemy

Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣

20 juan

Juan 1, presumably Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220); juan 2–20, Tang (618–907)

885 (fasc. 584–585)

“Canon and Instructions for the Divine Alchemy of the Nine Cauldrons of the Yellow Emperor.” The first juan is generally considered to be the original canon (*jing* 經), as its text corresponds, in a general way, to the quotations given in the BPZ 4 (“Jingdan pian 金丹篇”) of a *Huangdi jiuding shendan jing*. In spite of many differences, the relationship between the two texts is undeniable. According to GE HONG, the work called *Jiuding danjing* 九鼎丹經 should have been in the possession of Zuo Ci 左慈 (Zuo Yuanfang 左元放, ca. 155–220), who gave it to GE HONG’s grandfather, GE XUAN (BPZ 4). According to Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 296–97), the text is of Han date.

The remaining nineteen juan contain the instructions (*jue* 訣), which are sometimes of a practical, sometimes of a theoretical nature. Each of the parts begins with the words “This servant remarks” (*chen an* 臣按). These chapters should date to the Tang. A date suggested by place names (e.g., Chenzhou 辰州, a name in use during the period 659–686) and by quotations from books such as the pharmacopoeia *Bencao* 本草 by Su Jing 蘇敬, who lived in 659. A final, more circumstantial indication is given in 14.2a, where we find a discussion on the price of realgar (*xionghuang* 雄黃). The text states that “as this dynasty has unified the world,” the price of the ingredient, formerly extremely expensive, has fallen drastically. A similar statement was made by SUN SIMO, as quoted in 837 *Zhenzhong shu* 21a. Chen Guofu has shown that juan 10 quotes a poem titled *Zhenren ge* 真人歌 that features Han period rhymes (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 293). As the use of Han rhymes remained widespread in later periods, this does not necessarily indicate a Han date.

The present work, in ten or in twenty juan, is mentioned in several Song catalogues (see VDL 146). The work contains a certain number of references to medical and alchemical sources, some of which no longer exist. Chen Guofu has listed these works (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 329–30).

The first juan expounds the names and characteristics of nine kinds of elixirs. Each elixir has a different efficacy, but all confer on those who ingest them the power of rising up to Heaven. This juan also explains the manufacturing of the alchemical vessels and the all-important lute (*liuyi ni* 六一泥). According to the tradition given by the text itself, this alchemical text was transmitted by the Dark Maiden (Xuannü 玄女) to the Yellow Emperor. For the transmission, as a token of faith, gold figurines of a human being and a fish were to be thrown into an eastward flowing stream (1.1b). This

fundamental text mentions certain alchemical terms, such as “the beautiful maiden” (*chanü* 姮女), that also occur in the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and that therefore have become important in Inner Alchemy.

Among the many studies on the alchemy of the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue*, the work of Sivin is noteworthy for reconstructing some of the experiments and their theoretical implications (see Sivin, “Theoretical background, 225–27, on the recipe for the Yellow-and-Black preparation [*xuanhuang* 玄黃]).

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Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan zisheng xuanjing 九轉靈砂大丹資聖玄經

12 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

886 (fasc.886)

“Scripture of the Mystery of the Nine-Times-Cycled Marvelous Mineral Great Elixir That Assists the Saints.” This is a small composite treatise on the theory and the practice of laboratory alchemy. The first part (1a–9a) expounds the alchemical procedure in a most unusual Taoist sūtra form. Here we find the Zhenren of the Supreme Ultimate (Taiji zhenren 太極真人) in Heaven preaching a doctrine of “salvation through refinement” (*liandu* 鍊度), not, as in later liturgical practice, through the symbolic Inner Alchemy of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 tradition (compare 1220 *Daofa huiyuan*) but through laboratory alchemy. In keeping with the title and with the accepted practice, the alchemical process is carried out in nine phases. The great elixir having been completed, the adept rises up to Heaven in broad daylight and enters the court of the Golden Portal, in order to join the ranks of the True Persons who attend to the Heavenly Emperor.

The scripture on the great elixir is followed by two paragraphs devoted to fire-phasing: the low fire (*wenhuo* 文火) and the blazing fire (*wuhuo* 武火). Finally there are four alchemical recipes.

The liturgical form of the present scripture suggests that it dates from the Tang dynasty.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao zhongzhen danjue 靈寶衆真丹訣

16 fols.

Compiled before 1020; probably Tang (618–907)

419 (fasc. 192)

“Instructions on the Elixirs of the Zhenren of Lingbao.” This text is a collection of eleven recipes, introduced by a preface concerned with their efficacy for curing illnesses caused by “winds” (*feng* 風). The original title of the compilation was *Lingbao huanhun danfang* 靈寶還魂丹方 (Lingbao Recipes of the Elixirs for Returning the Hun Soul). Under this title, which in the *Daozang* edition is the name of the first recipe (1a–5b), the text is partially included in YJQQ 76.1a–13b (corresponding here to 1a–5b, 7a–10a, and 13a–16b) and is listed in *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qieshu mu* 2.36a (cf. VDL171–72). The inclusion in the YJQQ shows that the work was compiled before 1020. The mention of the *daliang* 大兩 and *dafen* 大分 weight measures suggests that it is not earlier than the Tang (618–907).

The three recipes on 7a–8a and 15a–16b are also found in 918 *Zhujia shenpin danfa* 3.10a–11b, 6.7a–8a, and 6.8b–9a, respectively. The last recipe in the YJQQ version, 76.14a–b, does not appear in the *Daozang* text.

*Fabrizio Pregadio***Shenxian liandan dianzhu sanyuan baozhao fa** 神仙鍊丹點鑄三元寶照法

7 fols.

Preface dated 902

863 (fasc. 578)

“Method of the Divine Immortals for Refining the Elixir and Casting by Projection the Precious Mirrors of the Three Originals.” This is a short text giving instructions on the preparation of three mirrors through an alchemical process. According to the preface, the method was revealed to the anonymous author by Guigeng zi 歸耕子.

The Three Originals (*sanyuan* 三元) here are Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. To each of them is devoted a mirror, to be cast with the Elixir of the Fiery Dragon (*huolong zhi dan* 火龍之丹) and inscribed with emblems (1a–2b and 7a). The properties of the elixir, obtained from the Five Metals (*wujin* 五金; 1a), are described in 2b–3a. The process includes a procedure of fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候, 4a–7a) that extends over a period of one year. The names of the procedure’s seventy-two stages are derived from sentences found in the “Yue ling 月令” (Monthly Ordinances) chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites).

Fabrizio Pregadio

Taiqing shibi ji 太清石壁記

3 juan

By Chuze xiansheng 楚澤先生; compiled in 758 or 759 on the basis of an earlier version

881 (fasc. 582–583)

“Record from the Stone Wall of the Great Purity.” This text attributed to a master of Chuze, is a collection of alchemical recipes, followed by sections dealing with rules for the ingestion of the elixirs. According to *Xin Tang shu* 59.1521, the text was edited in three juan during the Qianyuan 乾元 period (758–759) of the Tang by an anonymous officer of Jianzhou 劍州 (in modern Sichuan), on the basis of an earlier version attributed to Su Yuanming 蘇元明, who appears as Su Yuanlang 蘇元朗 in *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 18:240.9b–10a, quoting from a version on the *Luofu shan zhi* 羅浮山志 (Monograph of Mount Luofu). He is ascribed there a *Shibi ji* 石壁記 and is said to have retired on Mount Luofu at the end of the sixth century (cf. CGF 435, n. 16; Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 314–15; and Soymié, “Le Lo-feou chan,” 122).

More than sixty recipes are given altogether in this important collection. Their sources are not mentioned, but the *Shibi ji* appears to be closely related to the corpus of writings developed around the *Taiqing jing* 太清經 during the Six Dynasties (220–589). The recipes are often followed by details of the medical properties, and the third juan is mainly concerned with rules for the ingestion of the elixirs and descriptions of their effects.

Many alternative names of the elixirs, usually listed together with their recipes, are the same as those given in SUN SIMO’s *Taiqing danjing yaojue* 太清丹經要訣 (YJQQ 71.2a–3b) and in 901 *Shiyao erya* (cf. Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*, 76–79, 258–59). Both a *Shibi ji* and a *Chuze jing* 楚澤經 are mentioned in *Shiyao erya* 2.3b and 2.7a, respectively. No relationship, on the other hand, is found between the synonyms of the substances given in juan 1 of *Shiyao erya* and those in the two lists of the present text (2.9a–10a). The short accounts of minerals in 3.12b–14a form the basis of those in 907 *Jinshi bu wujin shu jue*.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

Zhang zhenren jinshi lingsha lun 張真人金石靈砂論

10 fols.

By Zhang yinju 張隱居; between 742 and 770

887 (fasc. 586)

“Treatise on Metals, Minerals, and the Numinous Powder [i.e., Cinnabar] of the Zhenren Zhang.” The author of this text, the zhenren or recluse (*yinju*) Zhang, can be identified as Zhang Jiugai 張九垓, *hao* Hunlun zi 渾淪子. In the bibliographies of the *Jiu Tang shu*, 59.1518, and the *Song shi*, 205.5191, he is attributed commentaries, now lost, to the *Zhuangzi* and the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經. According to the former catalogue, he was active during the reigns of Daizong (763–779) and Dezong (780–805). A sentence in the present text (4b) shows that he was born in 720 or slightly earlier, and that his work dates from between 742 and 770.

Together with the *Qian tong jue* 潛通訣, the *Longhu jing* is the main textual authority of this treatise. The passages excerpted from these texts are not found in their present versions: some sentences quoted as deriving from the *Longhu jing* are now in the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (e.g., those on 2b, 3a, and 9a correspond to 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 1.23a, 2.1b, and 2.21a, respectively), while the passage quoted on 5a–b as coming from the *Qian tong jue* is found in 996 *Guwen longhu jing zhushu* 3.8b.

The text is divided into twelve *pian* 篇 (chapters) and is devoted to as many substances or alchemical preparations (cf. Kaltenmark, “Summary,” 64–65). Each *pian* generally describes the cosmological associations, the function in drug prescriptions (*jun* 君, *chen* 臣, etc.), and the action on the human body of a substance; the latter aspect is emphasized in the final section. The passages on the cosmological associations of cinnabar and mercury (5a) and the yin and yang substances (6a–b) are summarized in 938 *Dadan pian* 2b.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

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21 fols.

890 (fasc. 586)

Dadong lian zhenbao jing jiuhuan jindan miaoju

大洞鍊真寶經九還金丹妙訣

17 fols.

By CHEN SHAOWEI 陳少衛, *zi* Ziming 子明, *hao* Hengyue zhenren 衡嶽真人;
between 712–734

891 (fasc. 586)

“Wonderful Instructions for the Subduing of Cinnabar” (890) and “Wonderful Instructions on the Golden Elixir of the Nine Cycles” (891), both “Supplementary to the Dadong Scripture on the Refining of the Authentic Treasure.” These works describe two complementary methods for the refining of cinnabar and its transmutation into an elixir. Several statements (e.g., preface of 890 *Lingsha miaoju* 1a and 4b; 891 *Jindan miaoju* 1b) show that the two works originally had different titles and formed a single treatise, said to contain instructions on the *Dadong lian zhenbao jing*. The latter is also attributed to CHEN SHAOWEI in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.19b and *Song shi* 205.5194 (cf. VDL 78).

The place names mentioned in both texts were in simultaneous official use only during the first four decades of the eighth century. The dating suggested by this evidence is confirmed by the expression *tianyuan* 天元 (preface of 890 *Lingsha miaoju* 1a), which probably refers to the Xiantian 先天 and Kaiyuan 開元 reign periods, that is, 712–741 (cf. Zhang Zigao, *Zhongguo gudai huaxue shi*, 209–10). The original treatise was not written later than 734, when a reduced version of the two parts was submitted to the throne by ZHANG GUO (cf. article on 896 *Yudong dashen dansha zhenyao ju*).

CHEN SHAOWEI refers to the first section of the present work as “Lingsha qifan lun” 靈砂七返論 or *pian* 篇 (Treatise on the Seven Cycles of Cinnabar) and to the second as “Jindan erzhang” 金丹二章 (Two Essays on the Golden Elixir). The two sections retain titles close to these in YJQQ 69 (*Qifan lingsha jue* 七返靈砂訣) and 68.9a–25a (*Jiuzhuan jindan erzhang* 九轉金丹二章). The inclusion of these texts in reverse order in the YJQQ shows that the separation into two distinct works had already taken place by the early eleventh century; this separation is also suggested by the *Chongwen zongmu* entry cited above, which lists only the title of the first text in a form similar to the present one. The original title of the first section appears in the present work as its subtitle.

CHEN SHAOWEI’s work is one of the main sources of Tang alchemy (cf. Sivin,

“Theoretical background,” *passim*). In the first text, centered on cinnabar, the main process of each cycle consists of the treatment of the product of the previous cycle, yielding each time a “gold” (*jin* 金) that can be ingested or used as the main ingredient in the next cycle. In the second text, the final product of the previous seven cycles, now defined as “mercury” (*gong* 汞), is used as the main ingredient for the preparation of a “cyclically transformed elixir” (*huandan* 還丹). The treatment by fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候) includes here six cycles rather than nine, as would seem to be implied in both the original and the current title of this section (*jiuhuan* or *jiuzhuan*, “nine reversions” or “nine-times cycled”).

The descriptions of cinnabar in the first text (preface and 1a–3b) and of mercury in the second (9a–b) form the basis of those given in 909 *Longhu huandan jue* 1.1a–10b and 913 *Tongyou jue* 3b–4b. A summary of the preface of the first text, as well as part of its instructions on fire-phasing (5a–b), are found in 1017 *Daoshu* 31.1a–2a. The beginning of the preface is reproduced in *Quan Tang wen* 901.7a–b.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

Taishang weiling shenhua jiuzhuan dansha fa 太上衛靈神化九轉丹砂法

7 fols.

Seventh or eighth century?

892 (fasc. 587)

“Method of the Highest Nine-Cycled Cinnabar, Protecting the Spirit and Divinely Transmuting.” This text describes the preparation of an elixir through the treatment of cinnabar in nine stages. In a different and often more reliable version of the same method, found in 895 *Yinyang jiuzhuan cheng zijin dianhua huandan jue*, the final product is said to transmute (*hua* 化 or *dianhua* 點化, “transmute by projection”) other metals into gold. The expression *shenhua* 神化 (divine transmutation) in the title of the present text refers, strictly speaking, to this property.

The title of this work is not listed in any bibliography, with the possible exception of 901 *Shiyao erya* 2.3b, which mentions a *Weiling jue* 衛靈訣. On the basis of this evidence, and of references to place names officially adopted during the Tang period (618–907), the dating would be restricted to between the seventh and the eighth century.

The various steps of the process are related to passages of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, usually quoted and briefly commented upon at the end of each section (cf. article on 895 *Huandan jue*). The quotations are missing in the last two sections. The

text of the final section seems in fact to be either incomplete or altered, as it does not include the description of the ninth stage of treatment.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

Yudong dashen dansha zhenyao jue 玉洞大神丹砂真要訣

21 fols.

By ZHANG GUO 張果, *hao* Gushen shan ren 姑射山人; submitted to the throne in 734

896 (fasc. 587)

“Veritable Essential Instructions on the Great Divine Cinnabar.” This is an abridged version of CHEN SHAOWEI’s treatise, now found in the *Daozang* as 890 *Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue* and 891 *Dadong lian zhenbao jing jiuhuan jindan miaojue*. ZHANG GUO’s summary is identifiable as the text listed in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.21a as *Fu dansha jue* 服丹砂訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of Cinnabar), and in the bibliography of the *Xin Tang shu* 59.1521 as *Dansha jue* 丹砂訣 (Instructions on Cinnabar; cf. VDL 114). The entry in *Xin Tang shu* adds that the text was submitted by ZHANG GUO to the emperor (i.e., Xuanzong) in 734.

The elaborate construction of CHEN SHAOWEI’s treatise is lost in ZHANG GUO’s abridgment, which omits important sections, such as the whole preface, and gives short summaries of others. Most passages concerned with doctrinal rather than practical instructions (e.g., 891 *Jindan miaojue* 9b–10a and 10a–b, on the cosmological associations of mercury extracted from cinnabar) are excluded. At the end of this version (17a–21a) are four methods not found in CHEN SHAOWEI’s work and unrelated to the main text.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Shiyao erya 石藥爾雅

2 juan

By Mei Biao 梅彪; preface dated 806

901 (fasc. 588)

“Synonymic Dictionary of the Mineral *Materia Medica*.” This is an alchemical lexicon followed by lists of names of elixirs and methods and by a bibliography of alchemical and other texts. The preface is by Mei Biao (b. ca. 750), who was a native of Jiangyuan 江源 in modern Sichuan. He states there that his work was compiled to supply the lack of entries concerning minerals in the *Erya* 爾雅, but he also alludes to the widespread use of “secret names” (*yingming* 隱名) in the alchemical literature.

The first juan gives a list of more than 500 synonyms for 164 (or 167, also counting subentries) names of mineral, vegetal, animal, and human substances, as well as laboratory instruments (cf. Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 383–442). The sources of the various synonyms are not mentioned. The second juan includes three lists of names and synonyms of elixirs, a list of names of alchemical methods, and a list of about 100 texts mostly concerning alchemy.

Thirteen names in the second list of elixirs (2.1b–3a) appear together with their synonyms, with occasional variants but in the same order, in juan 1 of 881 *Taiqing shibi ji*, where the corresponding methods are given. Several of these names and synonyms are also found in SUN SIMO's *Taiqing danjing yaojue* 太清丹經要訣 in YJQQ 71.2a–b. The latter also includes twenty-four names of elixirs found here in the third list (2.6b–7a; cf. YJQQ 71.3a–b), which shows the close relationship among *Shiyao erya*, *Danqing yaojue*, and juan 1 of *Shibi ji* (cf. Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*, 76–79, 258–59). There is, on the contrary, no direct relationship between the synonyms of substances given by Mei Biao and the “secret names” listed in *Shibi ji* 2.9a–10a, nor between these synonyms and the collection of glosses found in other alchemical sources (cf. Pregadio, “Un lessico alchemico,” 16–21).

According to the preface, the work was originally in one juan, and as such it is listed in *Chongwen zongmu* 10.4a and in *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 67.28a (cf. VDL 100). Against Zhu Yizun's 朱彝尊 (1629–1709) opinion that the second juan is a later addition (see the colophon reproduced at the end of the *Biexia zhai congshu* 別下齋叢書 edition) stand Mei Biao's own words asserting that his work is divided into six *pian* 篇 (chapters), as we have it today. All the later editions, both Chinese and Japanese, are derived from the *Daozang* edition.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

Jinshi bu wujiu shu jue 金石簿五九數訣

10 fols.

Tang, after 686

907 (fasc. 589)

“Instructions on an Inventory of Forty-five Metals and Minerals.” This is a short treatise on the *materia medica* dealing with substances used in the preparation of elixirs. Both *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshe mu* 2.38b and *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 67.28a (cf. VDL 100) include its title, omitting the word *jue* 訣 (instructions). The reference to Jinzhou 錦州 as a source of cinnabar (*dansha* 丹砂; 1a) shows that the

work dates from after 686. The entry on talc (*huashi* 滑石; 8a) mentions Caizhou 蔡州, the name given to Yuzhou 豫州 in 762 because of a taboo on the personal name of Emperor Daizong, but this name probably reflects the date of the copy on which the *Daozang* edition is based. Other details suggest that this edition descends in fact from a Song copy: the largest administrative unit of the empire is called *lu* 路 (6b), and the Tang dynasty is referred to as *jin Tang* 近唐 (“recently, under the Tang”; 5b). Apart from the inclusion in the two Song bibliographies there is no definite evidence on the latest possible date of compilation, but the references to substances coming from foreign countries and to the pilgrimage on Mount Wutai 五臺山 of the Indian Buddhist monk Zhi Falin 支法林, said to have taken place in 664 (5b–6a), suggest that the work dates from the Tang.

The main source of the treatise is a text now lost, known only through a quotation in 881 *Taiqing shibi ji* 3.12b–14a, which does not mention either its title or its author. About a dozen descriptions of the present text, as well as its short introductory passage, essentially correspond to those found there. One third of the hundred or so indications of sites of occurrence are derived either from TAO HONGJING’s *Bencao jing jizhu* 本草經集註 or, through the latter, from the *Mingyi biele*. Three entries—those on *shi guiying* 石桂英 (splendor of the stone cassia; 5a), *shi liudan* 石榴丹 (vermilion of the stone pomegranate; 8b), and *shi zhong huangzi* 石中黃子 (yellow seeds of the stone; 10a)—are similar to passages found in BPZ II.199.

The descriptions, usually short, are concerned with the places of origin, shape, and properties of the various substances. All of the descriptions refer to minerals, with the single exception of *hutong li* 胡同律 (resin of balsam poplar; 8a–b), which was used as flux in mineral preparations. The earliest descriptions of selenite, halite, and asbestos in an extant pharmacological source are found here. Reference to sites of occurrence include Persia, Uddyāna, the Western Regions (*xiyu* 西域), modern Vietnam and Cambodia, and the modern provinces of Gansu, Qinghai, and Xinjiang.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

Longbu huandan jue 龍虎還丹訣

2 juan

By Jinling zi 金陵子; Tang or Song (compiled before 1042)

909 (fasc. 590)

“Instructions on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir of the Dragon and the Tiger.” This text, attributed to a master of Jinling (a place in modern Jiangsu), includes sections dealing with the *huandan* 還丹, followed by a collection of other methods. A

reference to the *dajin* 大斤 and *daliang* 大兩 weight measures (1.15a) suggests that the text is not earlier than the Tang (618–907). It was compiled before 1042, as shown by the mention in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.22b of a *Longhu huandan jue* in two juan, attributed to Jinling zi.

The contents of the text may be divided into two parts. The first part (1.1a–13b), concerned with mercury and lead, is almost entirely based on quotations from CHEN SHAOWEI's 890 *Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue* (preface and 1a–3b), dating from the beginning of the eighth century. While CHEN SHAOWEI's work deals with the extraction of mercury from cinnabar and the preparation of a *huandan* using that mercury as the main ingredient, the passages quoted in the present text are employed to refer to a mercury-lead process, described in 1.13a–b.

The second part, which comprises more than eighty methods including variant recipes (cf. Guo Zhengyi, “Cong *Longhu huandan jue*”), opens with two methods for the preparation of the *danyang* 丹陽 (a copper and arsenic compound, 1.14a–20a; cf. other methods in 953 *Gengdao ji*, juan 6) and continues into the second juan, which deals mainly with the production of *hongyin* 紅銀 (red silver, i.e., copper) and with methods for removing the halo (*yun* 暈). CHEN SHAOWEI's work is explicitly mentioned here (2.40a) as *Qipian dansha jue* 七篇丹砂訣. Several characters, substituted by blank spaces, are missing in the final pages (2.33b to end).

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Fabrizio Pregadio

Tongyou jue 通幽訣

28 fols.

Tang 618–907)?

913 (fasc. 591)

“Instructions for Penetrating [Alchemical] Secrets.” This short treatise on alchemical theory is first mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.22b. However, some details in the text could indicate a Tang date: the use of the place name Langzhou 朗州 (3b), which was changed to Huzhou 湖州 in the early Song 907–1279), and the title Hunyuan huangdi zhenjun 混元皇帝真君 for Laozi. This title could also be an abbreviated form of Taishang laojun hunyuan shangde huangdi 太上老君混元上德皇帝, conferred on Laozi in 1014. Our text also mentions a lost work (11a), the *Yinyang tonglüe* 陰陽統略 (cf. VDL 142), the exact date of which, however, remains uncertain. The long passage on the provenance of cinnabar (4a–b) seems to be an abbreviated version of 890 *Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue* 2a by CHEN SHAOWEI (fl. eighth century).

The text discusses both the number of years needed for the natural elixir and the different names for cinnabar (1a–4b). The remainder of the work deals with the theory of correspondences, fire-phasing, and, finally, two recipes for a drug made with *zhu* 朮 (atractyle).

Most of the text is also found elsewhere. For the first part (1a–20b), compare 915 *Huandan zhouhou jue* 1.1a–18a (the latter is quite abridged). For the second part (12b–27a), see 947 *Yuqing neishu* 1a–7a.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Danfang jianyuan* 丹方鑑源**

3 juan

By Dugu Tao 獨孤滔, *hao* Zige shansou 紫閣山叟; 836

925 (fasc. 596)

“The Original Mirror of Alchemical Prescriptions.” This text was listed during the Song period under various titles (see VDL 80). The dating of the text (836) is based on 919 *Qiangong jiageng zhibao jicheng* 1.2a. The text of “*Danfang jingyuan* 丹房鏡源” in 919 *Zhibao jicheng* 4.3a–8b differs from the present work. Dugu Tao compiled the names of essences and products of operative alchemy (*waidan* 外丹).

There are twenty-five paragraphs listing the names of metals, minerals, alloys, and medicines, all according to their categories. The accompanying indications either give the place names where the essences can be found or describe their physical structure, colors, and qualities. The text indicates how such essences may react with each other. It appears that lead and mercury, which are difficult to define and to fix, are the most prized products. The term *huangbo shu* 黃白術 (yellow-white techniques) pertains to the majority of the practical instructions in this text (1.3a). However, only the last section gives a detailed description of an alchemical production (“*Dianzhi wuhuang wanzi fang* 點制五黃丸子方”; 3.6b–7b).

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Florian C. Reiter

***Dadan pian* 大丹篇**

9 fols.

Tenth century?

938 (fasc. 598)

“Book on the Great Elixir.” Read *da* 大 for *tai* 太 in the title. A Song catalogue (see VDL 77) lists a *Dadan shi* 大丹詩 in one juan that could refer to our text. The present work, a collection of quotations excerpted from Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960) sources, includes both prose and verse.

The section on elixir poisoning (1a–1b) is an abridged version of a preface attributed to Yuanyang zi 元陽子 and ZHANG GUO[LAO] in 239 *Huandan jinyi ge zhu* 1a–1b. The “Shu zhongjing 術中經” (6b–8a) is an extract from 922 *Huanjin shu* 5a–6b by TAO ZHI (d. 825). For Li Tuo 李託 and Zhang Tao 張陶 (fl. 803), mentioned in 4b, see 1083 *Longhu yuanzhi* 8b, which, however, writes Li Fen 李汾 instead of Li Tuo. That work, attributed to Qingxia zi 清霞子 (Sui or Tang), also includes many other passages from the present text.

The present collection also contains material from lost works such as the *Jinshi lingtai jue* 金石靈臺訣 (6a), mentioned in 901 *Shiyao erya* 2.3b of the early ninth century as *Jinshi lingtai ji* 記 and also listed in the catalogue of lost books, the *Daozang quejing mulu* 2.6a. The *Guigu xiansheng jiuzhuan jinyi da huandan ge* (see 8a of the present text) is mentioned in a Song catalogue (see VDL 132) as *Guigu xiansheng huandan ge* 鬼谷先生還丹歌 in one juan.

The prose and poetry of the *Dadan pian* deal with numerous aspects of laboratory alchemy.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Dadan wenda 大丹問答

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)

939 (fasc. 598)

“Questions and Answers on the Great Elixir.” This is an alchemical treatise presented in the form of a dialogue between Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN) and his disciple GE HONG. Although the title is not mentioned in any of the bibliographies, the text was often quoted in alchemical books of the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) dynasties. The quotations, however, are mainly excerpts from the first section of the text (1a–3b; see the somewhat reduced version in 927 *Taiqing yubei zi* 1a–3b).

The first quotation in a book with an established date figures in 233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 11a (preface dated 1052). The present text is also quoted (without title) in 1017 *Daoshu* 32.27a–27b and 20.4b where the quotation is attributed to Qingxia zi 清霞子. During the Song dynasty, there were many books in circulation ascribed to Zheng Siyuan (i.e., ZHENG YIN) and GE HONG, excerpted from other books ascribed to these two Taoists. One example is 940 *Jinmu wanling lun* 4a–4b, which also quotes a passage from our text (2b).

The first section of the *Dadan wenda* is on the qualities of the elixir, which should be composed of metals and minerals, that is, a mixture of gold or metallic essence (*jin zhi jing* 金之精) and mineral solution (*shi zhi yi* 石之液). The remainder of the text deals with the natural formation of the elixir and fire-phasing, information that can be found also in other texts, such as the first chapter of 915 *Huandan zhouhou jue*, also

attributed to GE HONG (compare 1.3a, 18a, and 21a ff. with 3b–4a of our text), and 947 *Yuqing neishu* 18b, 19b.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jinmu wanling lun 金木萬靈論

4 fols.

Attributed to GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343); probably Tang (618–907)

940 (fasc. 598)

“Discourses on the Myriad Efficacies of Metal and Vegetal [Elixirs].” These discourses claim the superiority of GE HONG’s teachings. They also affirm the existence and value of the elixirs that confer immortality. This title is listed in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.20a (cf. VDL 116).

The text partly combines, sometimes with mistakes, abridged versions of texts signed by GE HONG, such as BPZ 4, “Jindan 金丹” (see also 917 *Baopu zi shenxian jinzhuo jing* 2.1a–5a, which can be compared with 1a–3b of the present text and 939 *Dadan wenda* 1a–1b, 2b, which can be compared with 4a–4b). The diction of the variants proves that this text was composed long after GE HONG’s 1185 *Baopu zi neipian*.

Florian C. Reiter

Hongqian ru heiqian jue 紅鉛入黑鉛訣

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

941 (fasc. 598)

“Formulas for the Addition of Red Lead to Black Lead.” The terms *hongqian* 紅鉛 (red lead) and *heiqian* 黑鉛 (black lead) were already in use during the Five Dynasties period (907–960), as can be seen from the alternative titles of the *Huandan neixiang jin yaoshi* 還丹內象金鑰匙 (YJQQ 70) by PENG XIAO (d. 950): *Heiqian shuihu lun* 黑鉛水虎論 and *Hongqian huolong jue* 紅鉛火龍訣, where the terms stand for lead and mercury, respectively.

This work is a short alchemical treatise belonging to a group of cognate texts with a common source, a *Yuanjun jue* 元君訣, discussed in 947 *Yuqing neishu* 玉清內書 1a. The latter gives more details, whereas our text is terse and practical. Moreover, it classifies its procedures under various headings lacking in the *Yuqing neishu*; the sequence of the headings suggest that the two texts are based on different versions. The treatise comprises methods for making a reaction vessel (1a) and fixing mercury (1b, 5b); indications on fuel quantities, fire-phasing (2b ff.), and projection (5a); as well as a discussion on the ingestion of the drug and its aftereffects (4a). It is clearly a work on laboratory alchemy.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Tongxuan bishu* 通玄祕術**

21 fols.

Edited by Shen Zhiyan 沈知言, *hao* Buyi 布衣; late ninth century, based on an earlier version

942 (fasc. 598)

“The Secret Arts for Penetrating the Mystery.” This is a collection of alchemical recipes edited by Shen Zhiyan, a native of Mount Jin’e 金鵝山 in modern Sichuan. According to the preface, in 864 the author received the Secret Essentials of Various Masters on the Divine Elixirs (*Shendan zhujia biyao* 神丹諸家祕要) in three juan from a Master Zheng 鄭公 from Huainan 淮南. The latter is probably Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, to whom *Chongwen zongmu* 7.19a and other Song catalogues (VDL 126) ascribe a *Putian tongxuan bishu fang* 圃田通玄祕術方 in three juan. As stated in the preface, Shen Zhiyan’s compilation also was originally in three juan. The bibliography of *Song shi* 207.5314 assigns the *Tongxuan bishu* the same number of juan. The same catalogue ascribes a *Tongxuan biyao shu* 通玄祕要術 in three juan to an anonymous author of the Xiantong period (860–874), while *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.37b attributes a *Tongxuan miaojue* 通玄妙訣 in one juan to Bo Zhiyan 波知言, likely to be a mistake for Shen Zhiyan 沈知言 (cf. VDL 126 and 139).

The text includes recipes for more than two dozen elixirs, occasionally giving details of their medical properties. There is a gradual shift from mineral to vegetal substances in the lists of ingredients. One of the compounds (*pishu dan* 辟暑丹, or Elixir to Escape the Summer Heat; 14b–15a) is said to have been offered to and ingested by Emperor Yizong (r. 860–874). The last recipe is followed by the description of a rite (18b–19a) in which the officiant is instructed to wear the robes of a daoshi 道士, visualize divinities, and utter an invocation before the ingestion may take place.

Fabrizio Pregadio

***Lingfei san chuanxin lu* 靈飛散傳信錄**

6 fols.

By Qi Tui 齊推; 812

943 (fasc. 599)

“Record of the Truthful Transmission of the Divine Flying Powder.” This short treatise begins with a testimony, dated 812, in which the author demonstrates the efficacy of the *lingfei san* 靈飛散—a powder based on mica—and relates how he succeeded in obtaining the best recipe for it. The text is reproduced in YJQQ 74.20b–26a and quoted in Song catalogues (see VDL 169).

According to his testimony, Qi Tui, from Gaoyang 高陽 (Hebei), was befriended by his uncle Huishu 晦叔, a member of the Censorate (*Xiantai chashi* 憲臺察史). Huishu told Qi that juan 28 of SUN SIMO’s *Qianjin fang* indeed contained this recipe

(1163 *Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang* 82.22a; the Northern Song edition of the same medical handbook quotes it in juan 27). Moreover, a Taoist called Wu Dan 吳丹, client of the honorary supernumerary secretary (*xun yuanwai lang* 勳員外郎) Cao Junyi 曹君彝, told his patron that the best version of the recipe was to be found in the *Taiqing jing* 太清經. Later, Cao indeed happened to discover a manuscript of the *Taiqing jing* containing the recipe, in the chapel of the house of the late Li Bi 李泌 (d. 754) of the imperial secretariat.

The YJQQ version of the present text specifies that the recipe figured in juan 153 of the *Taiqing* division of the Taoist canon. In 1163 *Qianjin yaofang*, the recipe is attributed to a zhenren of the Western Peak (Xiyue zhenren 西嶽真人), and instead of the herb *atractilis* (*zhu* 朮), ginseng is prescribed.

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Catherine Despeux

Yuqing neishu 玉清內書

22 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

947 (fasc. 599)

“Inner Book of Jade Purity.” This is an alchemical treatise that is mainly theoretical in nature but also contains some practical instructions. The statement “At present, in our great Tang empire . . .” (3b) could indicate a Tang date. The *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.38b lists a *Jindan zhouhou jue yuqing neishu dayao zhongpian* 金丹肘後訣玉清內書大藥終篇, which could be an alternate title of our text. The present title first occurs in the *Chongwen zongmu*, which records two juan (VDL 99). The treatise belongs to a group of cognate texts that all mention a *Yuanjun jue* 元君訣, but the sentence on transmission by Yuanjun (7a) occurs also in an Inner Alchemy text (cf. 226 *Zi yuanjun shoudao chuanxin fa* 7a).

Most parts of the present work can be found in other alchemical texts. For the *Yuanjun jue* (1a–7a), see 913 *Tongyou jue* 20a–27a, which contains some variants. Each version includes sentences missing in the other (cf. 2a and 5b of our text and 913 *Tongyou jue* 24a, 25a, and 25b); in one case (3a), the text seems to have been deliberately altered (cf. 913 *Tongyou jue* 22b). For the *Jindan fushi bianhua wujin zhi gong* 金丹服食變化五金制汞 (2b–11a), compare 941 *Hongqian ru heiqian jue* 1a–6b. The latter employs a different order of presentation and a slightly different terminology. This section includes practical procedures for fixing mercury, making a reaction vessel, casing, and so on.

A third section describes a helical type of fire-phasing (11a–17b) similar to that described in 233 *Huandan zhong xian lun* 16b–17b (preface dated 1052); this section explains the increase and decrease in the weight of fuel over a period of nine months.

Finally, an abridged version of the *Yuanjun qianyun shoujing jue* 元君潛運手鏡訣 (17b–21a) can also be found in 915 *Huandan zhouhou jue* 1.21a–24a. This section also deals with fire-phasing over a period of nine months; this period is considered to correspond to the Nine Tripods (*jiuding* 九鼎).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taigu tudui jing 太古土兌經

3 juan

Tang (618–907)

949 (fasc. 600)

“Scripture of Earth and the Trigram *Dui* of High Antiquity.” Earth and the trigram *dui* 兌 are symbols of minerals and metals, respectively. Although the title writes *jing* 經, this work is not a scripture. The *Chongwen zongmu* 9.20a, the first bibliography to mention the book, lists it as *Duitu jue* 兌土訣 in three juan. The correct title should, therefore, read *Taigu duitu jue* 太古兌土訣. Even though it is appears in a Song (960–1279) bibliography for the first time, the geographical names used date to the Tang dynasty (618–907) or earlier (3.1b, 3b, 7a). According to Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 336), the work can be dated between 702 and 749.

The book is ascribed to a certain Master Zhang 張先生 (1.4b). It is difficult to judge how much of the text was indeed written by Zhang, since there are remarks and notes by an anonymous compiler scattered throughout the text. Several references to other editions are made in the body of the work such as “one edition says 一本云” (1.6b, 2. 4b) or “according to the Wu edition 吳本云” (2.5a). The work mentions TAO HONGJING and the *Zhang jun Wupian* 張君五篇, often quoted in books of the Five Dynasties (907–960) and the early Song (cf. 239 *Huandan jinyi ge zhu*, preface, 4a, and 924 *Zhenyuan miaodao yaolie* 4b).

Much of the work deals with processes of subduing minerals and metals (*fufa* 伏法). Many of these methods are attributed to Hugang zi 胡剛子. The methods, however, do not correspond to those attributed to Hugang zi in other alchemical texts (compare, e.g., the *xuanzhu fa* 玄珠法 with the method of the same name in 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 3.5b). Hugang’s poems in the first juan (1.2b–3b), however, are quoted in 909 *Longhu huandan jue* 1.16b and in 1004 *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 2.24a under the heading “Wujin jue 五金訣.”

The last section, entitled “Jinshi chao lu 金石抄錄” (3.7b–12b), shows a marked influence of the theory of categories, similar to that 905 *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* (cf. 3.2b–3a, *ming junchen* 明君臣, and 3.9a–9b, *ming xianglei* 明相類, of our text).

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Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 336.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xuanjie lu 懸解錄

9 fols.

Preface dated 855

928 (fasc. 597)

“Record of Arcane Explanations.” Read *xuan* 玄 for *xuan* 懸 in the title, which is first mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.25a. The *Xin Tang shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” avoiding a taboo, writes *Tongjie lu* 通解錄 and notes that the preface was written in the Da-zhong period (847–860) by Hegan Ji 紇干鼠, governor of Jiangxi (see VDL 166). This corresponds to the preface of our text which, although anonymous, is dated 855.

The book was known under different titles: *Xuanjie lu* 玄解錄, *Xianjie lu* 賢解錄, *Yanmen gong miaojie lu* 鴈門公妙解錄, and *Tongjie lu* 通解錄, (see Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 327–28). Moreover, Hegan Ji wrote a *Liu Hong zhuan* 劉泓傳 that Chen Guofu believes to be identical with the *Xuanjie lu* (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 328).

The book also appears in YJQQ 64; 944 *Yanmen gong miaojie lu* (see following entry) is a shorter and incomplete version. It is possible that the title Lord of Yanmen 鴈門公 (in Shanxi) refers to the author.

The *Xuanjie lu* is considered to be the first printed book on a scientific subject (see Needham, “The historical development of alchemy,” 167, and Carter, *The invention of printing*, 59). The book deals with elixir poisoning and its antidotes. It was first revealed to the Han alchemist Liu Hong 劉泓 by Jiuxiao jun 九霄君 in 122 (1b). Liu Hong engraved it on stone; in the eighth century it was discovered by ZHANG GUO[LAO], who presented the text to Emperor Xuanzong (7b).

The author extracted only the most important sections from this work, those on the identification of mineral ingredients and the formulas for neutralizing toxicity (1b).

The text (1b–7b) is presented as a dialogue between Liu Hong and Jiuxiao jun. The latter explains the danger of preparing and ingesting mineral elixirs without understanding both the true nature of the ingredients and natural laws (4b), since each ingredient possesses its own particular poison. Liu Hong’s recipe for an antidote based on five ingredients (*Shouxian wuzi wan fang* 守仙五子丸方; 8a) is followed by a poem of praise by ZHANG GUO.

Of interest is the cultivation of the “Three Ones” (*sanyi* 三一) within the body as an alternative path to immortality (6b). The expression *sanyi* is also used to designate the three perfect elixirs (*zhiyao* 至藥), such as *shenfu* 神符, *baixue* 白雪, and *jiuzhuan* 九轉. For these elixirs, see also 906 *Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei*.

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Carter, *The invention of printing*; Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Yanmen gong miaojie lu 鴈門公妙解錄

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

944 (fasc. 599)

“Lord Yanmen’s Record of Marvelous Explanations.” This work on elixir poisoning and its antidotes is discussed in the preceding article on 928 *Xuanjie lu*, of which the present text is a shorter version. This text contains some variants, the most important being the use of the character *bao* 保 instead of *shou* 守. The pages *Xuanjie lu* 8a–9a are missing from the present text.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei 陰真君金石五相類

42 fols.

Attributed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (Former Han period, 206 B.C.–A.D. 9); before 1052, probably Five Dynasties (907–960)

906 (fasc. 589)

“Yin Zhenjun’s [Treatise on the Theory of] Categories of Minerals and Metals.” This work, ascribed to the immortal Yin Changsheng, is not listed in any of the bibliographies, but it is quoted in 233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 5b (preface dated 1052). Another text, most probably of the Five Dynasties (907–960), seems to allude to it (266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 6a).

Most of the books quoted in the text are of the Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties period; the *Biyao jue* 祕要訣 mentioned on page 35a could be a reference to 905 *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao*. Moreover, Chen Guofu dates the text between the Tang and the end of the Five Dynasties on the basis of the place names. The date of the work, nevertheless, poses problems: on two occasions it quotes a *Shilu* 實錄, the first time regarding three grades (*sanpin* 三品; 1b), then concerning the story of Yu the Great 大禹 and the perfect medicine (18b–19a; cf. the tale recounted in 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1). The classification of the elixir in three grades, of which *shenfu* 神符 is the most important, can be found in such pre-Song (960–1279) works as 928 *Xuanjie lu* 5a (preface dated 855) and 954 *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 7a–b (for GE HONG, *shenfu* is a drug only of the second category, cf. 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 4.7b). However, the source of the *Shilu* is unclear.

The work is divided into twenty sections, each of which is devoted to a mineral or metal. Each section is followed by a discourse on the mineral’s or metal’s category and best possible combinations (or “marriage”) with other substances. The esoteric names of substances used are commonly found in other alchemical texts, such as 901 *Shiyao erya* and 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue*. It may be noted that Bo He 帛

和 is presented as the teacher of Yin Changsheng (37a), and that lead from Persia is considered superior to lead from Jiazhou 嘉州 (32b–35b, 37a–37b).

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Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 331.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Penglai shan xizao huangdan ge 蓬萊山西竈還丹歌

2 juan

Attributed to Huang Xuanzhong 黃玄鍾; Tang (618–907)?

916 (fasc. 593)

“Song of the Refining of Cinnabar in the Western Still on Mount Penglai.” The *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” mentions this work with Huang Xuanzhong as its author (see VDL 157). Both the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” and the *Chongwen zongmu* mention a *Penglai shan caoyao huandan jue* 蓬萊山草藥還丹歌 in one juan by the same author (VDL 158). The latter title corresponds better to the text we have here, inasmuch its contents concern almost exclusively the description of many kinds of medicinal herbs. The author is indicated at the beginning of our text as acting director of the Department of State, grand master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon of the Han dynasty (*Han jianjiao puyi jinzi guanglu dafu* 漢檢校僕射金紫光祿大夫). This title, however, corresponds to Tang not Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) nomenclature. The misleading element comes from the presentation (1a–2b) of the work, where the “author,” who signs as an immortal official of Penglai shan (one of the islands of Immortals in the Eastern Sea), tells a fable about his acquisition of his esoteric alchemical knowledge and the presentation thereof to Emperor Wu of the Han (compare 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*). At the time of the presentation, the author was already retired on Penglai, and out of compassion for the emperor sent one of his divine pages to bring the book to court.

The text consists of some 170 poems on vegetable substances to be used in alchemy. Each poem is accompanied by a paragraph giving the various (poetic) names for the herb. Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu kao*, 334–35) has shown that some place names used in the text correspond to Tang administrative geography.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Taiqing xiudan bijue 太清修丹祕訣

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

884 (fasc. 583)

“Secret Instructions for the Practice of Alchemy according to the Taiqing Tradition.” The text is divided into two parts. The first concerns the making of *lingsha* 靈沙, an elixir that enables the adept to become an Earth Immortal. This elixir is in fact excrement obtained after a period of feeding on rich food, followed by a short period of vegetarianism. The excrement has to be eaten in small portions over a period of fifteen days, followed by another period of rich food, and again one of eating excrement.

After these practical instructions follows a paragraph on the theory of Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息). Titled “Kanli eryong fa 坎離二用法” (6a–7a); this paragraph is taken from 829 *Taixi jingwei lun*, “Neizhen miaoyong jue 內真妙用訣” (3a–4a), a Tang text. It describes the Mysterious Female (*xuanpin* 玄牝) according to the Heshang gong commentary of *Laozi* 4, “This is the nose and the mouth.” It continues by saying: “When the Mysterious Female is established [i.e., fully formed] it is like the flower stalk that grows out of the melon. This is the moment when the yin [parts] first get the maternal energy” (6a6). From this moment springs the human being, which then develops outside the womb. The return to the womb can be enacted by learning again to breathe like an embryo (*taixi*).

Yuan Bingling

Xuanshuang zhangshang lu 玄霜掌上錄

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

945 (fasc. 599)

“Handbook for [Making] Black Frost.” This is short recipe for the making of a *yin* drug to counterbalance the cinnabar compounds (*danyao* 丹藥), which, conferring Long Life, were strongly yang (see 1b). This text is also included in YJQQ 77.11b–13b and should, therefore, date from the Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960) period.

The recipe calls for the oxidation of lead, from which white crystals were taken for repeated treatment and ingestion as a powder.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Taiji zhenren zadan yaofang 太極真人雜丹藥方

15 fols.

Tang (618–907)

946 (fasc. 599)

“Miscellaneous Methods for Alchemical Elixirs by the Taiji zhenren.” A small collection of recipes, using esoteric names for most of the common ingredients. The work is illustrated, but the relation between the drawings and the contents of the work is unclear. The place names used in the text point to a Tang date.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Jiuzhuan liuzhu shenxian jiudan jing 九轉流珠神仙九丹經

2 juan

Tang (618–907)?

952 (fasc. 601)

“Book of the Divine Immortals Nine Elixirs Obtained through the Ninefold Transformation of the Liquid Pearl.” This alchemical work is mentioned in the *Bishu sheng xubian dao siku qieshu mu* (VDL 72). Almost no elements for its dating are available. The text is in a poor state, and some parts have been displaced or are missing. It could well date to the Tang period, despite the use of the character *zhi* 治 (normally a Tang taboo).

According to Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 292), the present text is linked to 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue*, because it starts out with a commentary on the poem “Zhenren ge 真人歌” that can also be found in 885 *Shendan jingjue* 10.3b–4a (the beginning of the poem is missing in our text). In fact, although there is some resemblance between the two versions, the wording is so different in places as to make any conclusion on their relationship a matter of conjecture. However, the nine kinds of elixir that are listed and explained throughout the book are those also given in juan 20 of 885 *Shendan jingjue*. It would seem, therefore, that the present work is a sequel to the latter. Among the more original materials of the present work is a Recipe for Reviving the Dead (*qisi fang* 起死方) attributed to Lü Gong 呂恭, an immortal of old who used a herbal drug to reanimate the members of his family who had died during the two hundred years he had spent in the mountains (2.10b–11a). An improved method calls for the use of the placenta of a child born the fifth day of the fifth lunar month.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Qiangong jiageng zhibao jicheng 鉛汞甲庚至寶集成

5 juan

Tang (618–907)?

919 (fasc. 595)

“Complete Collection of the Lead and Mercury, Male and Female, Great Treasures.” This text is a handbook on laboratory alchemy. The expression *jiageng* 甲庚 here is a mystical term for the opposite and complementary principles: *jia* stands for the sun (yang), as the sun starts its cycle in this sign; and *geng* stands for the moon (yin), as its ascent begins in that station (see 915 *Huandan zhouhou jue* 1.4b and 913 *Tongyou jue* 4b, 5a). The meaning of the title of the present work is explained in 913 *Tongyou jue* 1.5a: “The two treasures of sun and moon are the supreme essences [*jing* 精] of Heaven and Earth. When *jia* and *geng* are moved by each other’s essences, they undergo transformation and their shining lights take form and materialize as minerals [*sha* 砂].”

This work is in fact a collection of various texts. Juan 1 begins with instruction on how to make the Casket of the Bubbling Source Elixir (*Yongquan kuifa dan* 涌泉匱法丹). The method is preceded by a preface (1.1a–5a) signed by Zhao Naian 趙耐庵, hao Zhiyi zi 知一子, and dated with the cyclical characters *bingchen* 丙辰. Since the preface mentions (2a7) the Baoying era (A.D. 762), it seems that *bingchen* here stands for 776 or a later recurrence of the cyclical date. Zhao relates how he obtained this method from two masters, Zhang Fuhu 張富壺 and Yang Jiuding 楊九鼎, both from Sichuan. There are illustrations on 9b and 10b, the latter showing how the *kui* 匱 is immersed in water and the fire is placed on top. One of the aims of the procedure is to make artificial gold.

Juan 2 is devoted to methods for making gold and silver. It is understood that only high-class people should practice these methods. The artificial gold should be used only for saving the poor, and not for private wealth. Otherwise, the divine punishments would be terrible (2.3b). A table of different kinds of artificial gold is given on 4.2b. The instructions are followed by a colophon (2.10b) signed by a person named Qingxu zi 清虛子 from the Jinhua dong 金華洞 and dated on the third year of the Yuanhe era (808). The cyclical characters following the date are *wushen* 戊申, an error for *wuzi* 戊子.

Other datable elements in the text are rare. The names Rihua zi 日華子 (3.7a) and Wuzhen Dongyang zi 悟真洞陽子 (1.21b) have not been identified. The *Danfang jingyuan* 丹房鏡源 is quoted in Zhao Naian’s preface (1.2a) as dating from 762. The *Danfang jingyuan* itself is quoted in 4.3a–8b. This text is roughly the same as 925 *Danfang jianyuan* (q.v.). Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu kao*, 344–45) states that the place names used in this text point to a Southern Song (1127–1279) or even Yuan (1279–1367)

date. This evidence is, however, not conclusive, and there are no clear indications that this well-edited and clear handbook is later than the Tang dynasty.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Xuanyuan huangdi shuijing yaofa 軒轅黃帝水經藥法

12 fols.

Five Dynasties (907–960)?

929 (fasc. 597)

“Methods for Drug [Preparation] from the Scripture of Aqueous [Solutions] of Xuanyuan, the Yellow Emperor.” This short treatise contains thirty-two recipes for making aqueous solutions of cinnabar, realgar, and other minerals used in operative alchemy. Two methods (numbers 3 and 4) are missing.

According to the preface, a certain Xu Jiu 徐久, a hermit and alchemist, received the Scripture of Aqueous [Solutions] (*Shuijing* 水經) from an immortal in the Cavern of the Lotus Brook (Lianxi dong 蓮溪洞) on Mount Tiantai 天台山.

The recipes are followed by a list identifying sixty-nine kinds of dragon shoots (*longya* 龍芽) that serve to fix the minerals. The list is classified in the order in which these substances are used in alchemy and corresponds to the identifications given for sixty-nine kinds of dragon shoots in 903 *Chunyang Lü zhenren yaoshi zhi* 1a–10b. At the end of the text, there is a poem on the method of using these dragon shoots.

Catherine Despeux

2.A.5.b Inner Alchemy

Xiuzhen liyan chaotu 修真歷驗鈔圖

18 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

152 (fasc. 68)

“Copy of Diagrams of Attested [Methods] for the Cultivation of Perfection.” In YJQQ 72, this short alchemical work is entitled *Zhenyuan miaodao xiudan liyan chao* 真元妙道修丹曆驗抄, with Caoyi dongzhen zi 草衣洞真子 given as the author. However, Caoyi dongzhen zi is also considered the author of the preceding text in the YJQQ, *Da huandan qibi tu* 大還丹契秘圖, and in all Song catalogues (see VDL 162). The name appears to have been attached to our text by mistake (cf. the discussion in CGF 287). Caoyi zi also figures in a list of names at the end of the text (16a), an additional indication that he is not its author. Moreover, Caoyi zi quotations in later works are excerpts from the *Huandan qimi tu*, not from the present text (see, e.g.,

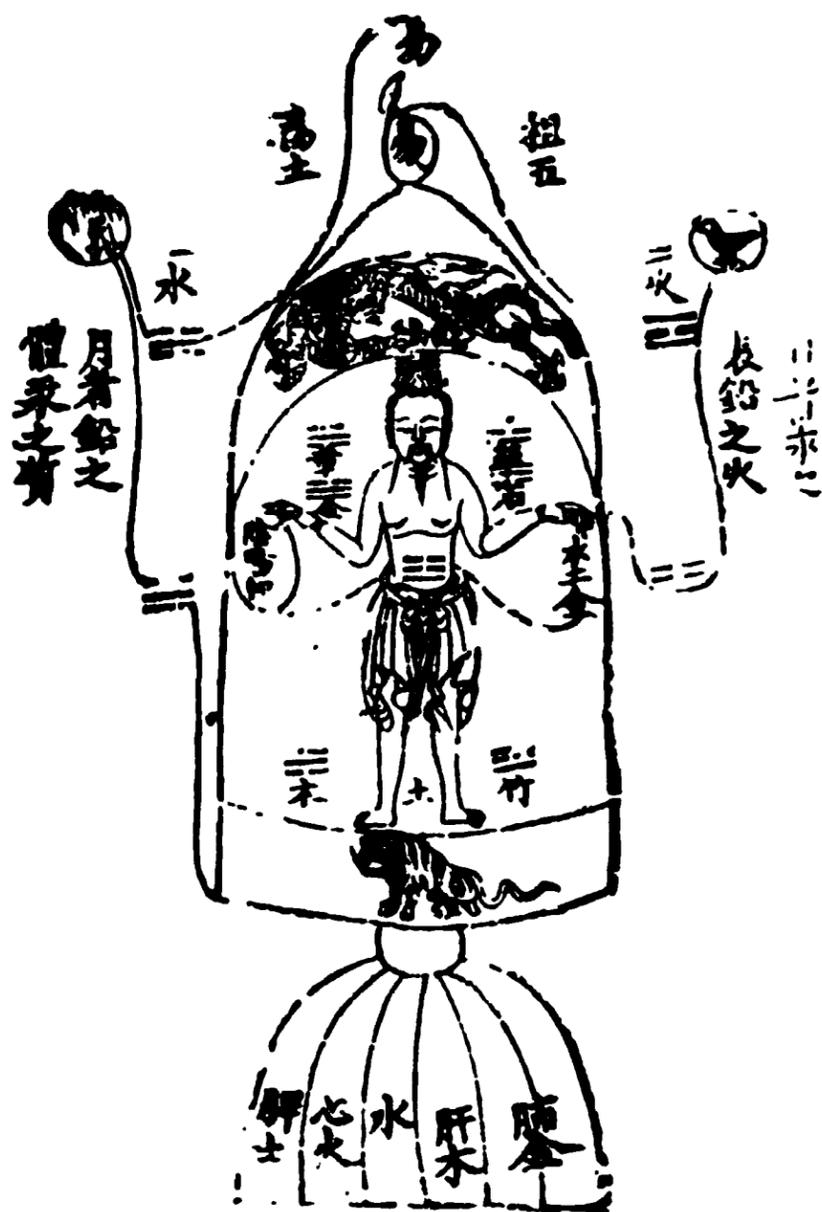


FIGURE 32. Man and the universe, or the multiple correspondences between the body and cosmic energies (152 15b).

1086 *Yuzhuang xiehou lu*, mid-twelfth century). Finally, the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.26a ascribes the authorship of our text to a certain Luo Ziyi 羅子一 (cf. VDL 126).

The treatise describes the formation of an elixir, which under natural circumstances would require 4,320 years. The alchemist, however, using the yin and yang components of his body as ingredients, accelerates this process within himself. The procedure is mental, and much emphasis is laid on emptying and fixing the mind (*kongxin* 空心, *jiaxin* 佳心). Changes and transformation in the macrocosm are illustrated by twelve diagrams (see fig. 32), which are slightly different in the YJQQ version.

The *Daozang* version is less complete than that in the YJQQ (see, e.g., 11b, where the explanatory comments on the hexagrams are missing).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zi yuanjun shoudao chuanxin fa 紫元君授道傳心法

9 fols.

Commentary attributed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生; Tang (618–907)

226 (fasc. 112)

“The Method of Zi [-xu 虛] Yuanjun [i.e., WEI HUACUN] of the Transmission of the Tao through the Heart.” This work is mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* and in the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” under the titles: *Yuanjun fudao chuanxin jue* 元君付道傳心訣 and *Yuanjun fudao chuanxin famen* 法門 (VDL 82). This kind of title appears to have been common in the Five Dynasties period (907–960; see, for instance, 926 *Da huandan zhaojian* 19a), but it is not impossible that the present work is of an earlier date. The title *Yuanjun* is traditionally linked to alchemical texts (see 885 *Huangdi jiu ding shendan jingjue* 3.1a–1b). Also, 901 *Shiyao erya* (preface dated 806) 1.6b says that “Yuanjun does not allow the ultimate medicine to be transmitted in an unruly way.” The expression *zhiyao* 至藥 (ultimate medicine) is often used in our text. On page 7a there is a sentence concerning the transmission of the text. This sentence is corrupted

in the present text, but is quoted in its correct form in 947 *Yuqing neishu* 7a, a work probably dating from the Tang.

The work is divided into two parts. The first part (1a–2b) concerns the transmission through the heart and is written in partially versified prose, with sentences of five and four characters. The adept is enjoined to purify his or her heart before receiving the teaching and to meditate (*guanxin* 觀心) before putting this teaching into practice.

The second part (2b–8b) contains a poem called “Longhu ge 龍虎歌” (Song of the Dragon and Tiger), together with a commentary and, at the end, a series of twelve other poems. This part has been reproduced in YJQQ 73.1a and following. There the poem is called “Gu longhu ge 古龍虎歌” and the commentary is attributed to Yin Changsheng.

The poem and commentary in the second section use an alchemical vocabulary similar to that found in works like 928 *Xuanjie lu* or 906 *Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei*. However, our text insists on the danger associated with the “yellow-white medicine” (*huangbo yao* 黃白藥) and instead emphasizes spiritual accomplishments.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zhen longhu jiuxian jing 真龍虎九仙經

14 fols.

Commentary attributed to YE FASHAN 葉法善 and Luo Gongyuan 羅公遠;
before the ninth century

227 (fasc. 112)

“Book of the Nine Immortals and of the Real Dragon and Tiger.” According to the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.2a, the title of this work should be *Tianzhen huangren jiuxian jing* 天真皇人九仙經 (VDL 84). The work 1017 *Daoshu* gives a version of the present text based on another edition; there it is called *Jiuxian pian* 九仙篇, and the commentary is attributed to three authors: YE FASHAN, Luo Gongyuan, and the monk Yixing 一行 (682–727). This latter version is mentioned by the *Junzhai dushu zhi* 16.758–59, but instead of YE FASHAN, this catalogue writes Ye Fajing 葉法靜. The *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.13b and the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 205.5192 give Ye Jingneng 葉靜能 and Yixing, respectively, as the authors. The appearance of the name of Yixing here suggests a connection with Tantrism (*mizong* 密宗).

The *Junzhai dushu zhi* writes that the book originally was transmitted to the Yellow Emperor by Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人 (cf. 1a of our text). The Emperor concealed the book on Emei shan, where it was recovered during the reign of Han Wudi (140–87 B.C.). Later, during the Dazhong era of the Tang (847–860), the book was proscribed (VDL 84).

The *Daozang* version is less complete than the one reproduced in the *Daoshu*, but it contains a number of passages that are lacking in the latter.

The terminology of the work is rather esoteric, as exemplified by the use of terms like *sanmei dinghua zhi huo* 三昧定化之火, *fenshen* 焚身, and *toutai* 投胎. This terminology was to exert a considerable influence on later Taoist texts. The methods are based on the visualization techniques of ancient Taoism; they are presented here in a systematic way for use in healing as well as for opening the fontanel in order to be able to exteriorize the Infant.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Tao zhenren neidan fu* 陶真人內丹賦**

18 fols.

Attributed to TAO ZHI 陶植 (d. 825); Five Dynasties (907–960)?

259 (fasc. 121)

“Ode on the Inner Elixir.” This is a short Inner Alchemy poem ascribed to TAO ZHI, with an anonymous commentary. The poem has been known under various titles since the early Song (960–1279). The work 266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 22b quotes it as *Jindan zhi fu* 金丹職賦, and the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.21a lists a *Jindan fu* 金丹賦. Juan 1 of 261 *Jindan fu* has the same poem with a commentary of a much later date. A comparison of the two texts shows many variants that sometimes convey significantly different meanings (cf. 8a of our text with 19b of the 261 *Jindan fu*). The poem in the present text is much shorter than that in 261 *Jindan fu* (see, e.g., 10b–11a, 19a, 30a, 37a–45a of the 261 *Jindan fu*), whereas only one line of our text is missing in the latter. It is, nevertheless, difficult to ascertain which of the two poems represents a more authentic version of the original.

The commentary is an alchemical interpretation of the poem, preceded by a short preface. Both the *Cantong qi* 參同契 and the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 are regarded as works on the art of lengthening one’s lifespan (7a). The author uses many of the arguments found in late Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties theoretical alchemical works disproving the efficacy of Outer Alchemy: 7b quotes 937 *Da huandan jinhu bolong lun* 3a, and 17a quotes the 922 *Huanjin shu* 7b. This last quotation begins with “Tao jun says . . .,” an indication that the commentary was probably not written by TAO ZHI himself.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 金液還丹百問訣**

31 fols.

Five Dynasties (907–960)

266 (fasc. 132)

“Explanations of the ‘Hundred Questions’ on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir of Liquefied Gold.” This alchemical work in the form of recorded conversations (*yulu*

語錄) comprises an introduction (1a–5a) and a dialogue between Li Guangxuan 李光玄, a native of Bohai 渤海 (1a), and his master Xuanshou xiansheng 玄壽先生. The names of Bohai and Xinluo 新羅 (Sila; 1a, 3a) indicate that Li lived before 926, because these two kingdoms were destroyed in 926 and 935, respectively. The text mentions military unrest in the north: Li is counseled by his master to leave Mount Song and to pursue his alchemical quest on one of the holy mountains in the south, where it was peaceful (Luofu, Maoshan, Lushan, and Taishan are named; 29b). This mention of unrest, along with the use of the geographical names Wuyue 吳越 and Jiangzhe 江浙, is an indication of a late Tang (618–907) or early Wudai (907–960) date. The text is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubian dao siku queshu mu* 2.39a as *Jinyi huandan lun* 論, in one juan, by Li Xuanguang 李玄光. A *Xuanguang xiansheng koujue* 玄光先生口訣 is quoted in 926 *Da huandan zhaojian* 12b (preface dated 962).

An abridged version of the present text entitled *Jinyi huandan neipian* 金液還丹內篇 (the term *neipian* 內篇 [inner chapter] seems to suggest the existence of a *waipian* 外篇 [outer chapter]) is included in 1017 *Daoshu* 22.6b–9b. The work 1045 *Haike lun* is a shorter version of our text with some changes in sequence: 14b–17b, 18a–20a figure in the *Haike lun* on 14a–16b and 12b–14a, respectively.

The text emphasizes at the outset breathing exercises and concentration on the *dan-tian* 丹田 to protect the *yuanqi* 元氣 (Primordial Qi; 2b). It then advocates the making of the elixir with two ingredients only, lead and mercury (5b, 15b). Most of the text is composed of criticism of those who believe in vegetal (24b) or mineral substances (13b ff.) as suitable elixir ingredients. The entire work is much influenced by 922 *Huanjin shu* by TAO ZHI (d. 825), which is often quoted. That the present work contains older material can be seen from the occasional use of *li* 理 in the place of *zhi* 治 (6b), which was tabooed during the Tang. The text seems to be a readaptation of an older alchemical work; compare, for instance, the quotation from a *Baiwen lun* 百問論 in 233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 3a and the corresponding passage on 27b of our text.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taishang laojun neidan jing 太上老君內丹經

3 fols.

643 (fasc. 342)

“Book of Inner Alchemy of the Most High Lord Lao.” This small summary of the Tao (*daoyao* 道要) explains the allegorical and metaphorical nature of the alchemical process as applied to meditation and body techniques. It must date to the Tang dynasty (618–907) because in the first line it contains an instance of Tang taboo avoidance (*lixin* 理心 instead of *zhixin* 治心). The terminology of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 is virtually absent.

Kristofer Schipper

***Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue* 魏伯陽七返丹砂訣**

7 fols.

Commentary by Huang Tongjun 黃童君; Tang (618–907)

888 (fasc. 586)

“Wei Boyang’s Explanation of the Sevenfold Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This short alchemical work comprises a *jue* 訣 (an oral formula; 1a–3a) and a *ge* 歌 (a song; 3a–7a). It is ascribed to WEI BOYANG, the traditional author of the *Cantong qi* 參同契. The work 901 *Shiyao erya* (preface dated 806) mentions a *Qifan lingsha ge* 七反靈砂歌 (2.3b; *lingsha* 靈砂 and *dansha* 丹砂 are synonymous). A version of this text with the commentary by Huang Tongjun was known in the early Song period (VDL 71).

Another version of the *jue* without the commentary figures in 905 *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 1b–2a, and the *ge* is reproduced, with some slight variants, in 927 *Taiqing yubei zi* (3b–4a), under the title *Yaoping ge* 瑤瓶歌: *Yaoping* being the first two characters of the poem.

The formula deals with the origin and transformation of mercury and cinnabar: both substances originate from the *yuanqi* 元氣 (Primordial Qi) and acquire form through its transformations. This reference to *yuanqi* is the most striking difference between our text and the *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao*, which does not use the term *yuanqi*, although it mentions a *weimiao yuan qi* 微妙元氣 (subtle and marvelous qi) on one occasion. The commentaries on the two versions are completely different. As for the poem, it describes the vessel and lute used for making the sevenfold cyclically transformed elixir. It is difficult to judge whether the text refers to interior practices or to actual alchemy: on the one hand, the adept is instructed to seal the vessel and conduct (*yin* 引) the qi (4b; the gloss says *neiqi* 內氣, inner qi); on the other, there are directions to immerse the cinnabar for three days in a cold spring to eliminate the poison, and finally to take three pills a day (6a–b).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Huanjin shu* 還金述**

9 fols.

By TAO ZHI 陶植 [植] (d. 825)

922 (fasc. 596)

“Explanations on the Cyclically [Transformed] Gold [Elixir].” The author died in the mountain range of Siming shan 四明山 in 825, according to a Yuan source (141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 4.13b).

This short alchemical treatise, in three sections, is included in YJQQ 70, “Neidan fajue 內丹法訣,” with a few textual variants and writing *shu* 術 for *shu* 述 in the title. There is also an abridged version in 1017 *Daoshu* 32.28a–33a.

The treatise was popular during the Five Dynasties (907–960). It is quoted by PENG XIAO (d. 960) in 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 2.15a and 926 *Da huandan zhaojian* 12a (preface dated 962). Judging from the quotations, there must have been many editions of our text in the early Song (960–1279). Those quotations in 266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 6a, 7a, 16a correspond to the present text (4a, 1a, 2b), but the long passage quoted in 938 *Dadan pian* 6b–8a was excerpted from a different version. Moreover, 233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 11b includes a quotation from a *Tao Zhi sanpian* 三篇 that is missing in the *Daozang* edition (the *Huanjin shu* is often quoted as *Tao Zhi pian* 陶埴篇 or *Sanpian* 三篇 because of its three sections).

The treatise comprises a short preface, three sections, and a poem. The first section interprets a series of quotations, mainly from the *Cantong qi* 參同契 and the *Guwen longhu jing* 古文龍虎經. The second section refutes the possibility of prolonging life through the ingestion of an elixir made with mercury or cinnabar. The third section deals with correspondences and numbers used in fire-phasing.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Zhenyuan miaodao yaolie* 真元妙道要略**

20 fols.

Attributed to Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN); Five Dynasties (907–960)

924 (fasc. 596)

“The Synopsis of the Essentials of the Mysterious Tao of the True Origin.” This text contains explanations concerning alchemical praxis and meditative self-cultivation. The author points out errors a practitioner should avoid. Such errors could lead to physical injuries like burns (via, e.g., the unintentional production of gunpowder, 3a). This work cannot have been written at the time of Zheng Siyuan (Western Jin [265–316]), as the quotations of Li Ji 李勣 (594–669) and of YANLUO ZI (ca. 936–943) indicate.

The work comprises three paragraphs: “Chujia yanzhen jing 黜假驗真鏡” (Mirror of Wrong [Practices] and of the Realization of Perfect [Results]; 1a–10b), “Zhengzhen pian 證真篇” (Evidences of the Perfect [Methods]; 10b–16a), and the “Lianxing pian 鍊形篇” (Sublimation of the Outer Form; 16a–20a). Much emphasis is laid on the interpretation of alchemical processes in the sense of *neidan* 內丹 and the cultivation of the mind (18a; see 641 *Taishang Laojun neiguan jing* 6b). There are many quotations from scriptures like the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經, *Sanyuan jing* 三元經 or *Neipian* 內篇 (11b, 19a, 19b). This work shows the influence of deities, cosmic energies, astronomy, and the calendar on alchemical procedure (see, e.g., 11b–12a).

Florian C. Reiter

Da huandan zhaojian 大還丹照鑑

23 fols.

Preface dated 962

926 (fasc. 597)

“Shining Mirror of the Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” An anonymous preface dated 962 states that the author was a native of Zitong jun 梓潼郡 (Sichuan); he lived during the reign of Meng Chang 孟昶 (934–965) of the Western (or Later) Shu 蜀 dynasty.

The complete title of the treatise should be *Zhaojian dengxian ji* 照鑑登仙集, according to the preface. The *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* 2.40b writes *Da huandan zhaojing dengxian ji* in one juan. The *Daozang* title is therefore abbreviated. Moreover, the text in one juan comprised thirty-three *pian* 篇 or sections (preface), whereas the present work has thirty-four *pian*.

The *Da huandan zhaojian* is a collection of alchemical poems (with some prose) attributed to a vast array of Taoist worthies, some historical, others legendary. The five poems at the beginning (2a–6a) were written by the author himself, each dealing with a direction, element, or metal, with their secret names appended at the end. These poems are followed by thirty-four *pian* of oral formulas (*jue* 訣) excerpted from various sources: For the *Lun erqi chan huangya* 論二氣產黃芽 (6a) and *Shi qiangong* (7a–8a), see 937 *Da huandan jinhu bolong lun* 2a–4a. The *Lun erqi chan huangya* is fairly abridged in our text. For the *Luofu xiansheng koujue* 羅浮先生口訣 (10a), *Yang Xuanyi koujue* 楊玄一口訣 (16b), and *Taibo shan yinshi Han Yunzhong koujue* 太白山隱士韓蘊中口訣 (22b), compare 265 *Huandan gejue* 1.16b, 5b, and 12b, respectively. For the *Xuanhuang zi koujue* (11b), see 233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 8a.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jusheng ge 巨勝歌

5 fols.

By Liu Chongyong 柳沖用, hao Xuanming zi 玄明子

931 (fasc. 597)

“Sesame Song.” This is a poem on Inner Alchemy in which sesame is not mentioned at all. The title was probably chosen because of the metaphoric significance of the name *jusheng* 巨勝 (literally, “giant winner”) given to the tiny grain because of its great dietary value. As said in the thirty-first chapter of the *Cantong qi* 參同契: “Sesame [*jusheng*] gives longevity; cinnabar, if transmuted, can be absorbed” (see 1000 *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 1.21b).

This text is mentioned in several Song catalogues (see VDL 96). It quotes the *Tao zhenjun sanpian* 陶真君三篇, a title sometimes used to designate 922 *Huanjin shu* (see that work, 2.5a), by TAO ZHI (d. 825). Our text also quotes a passage of the *Cantong qi* (see 1000 *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 1.24b and juan 36), as well as the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經,

the *Taiyi tu* 太易圖, and the *Yuanjun ge* 元君歌. This last text must be related to the tradition of 947 *Yujing neishu*, which quotes a *Yuanjun jue* 元君訣.

The introduction criticizes certain alchemical transmissions. The poem is composed of ten stanzas of eight lines on the theme of “lead and mercury and the five agents.”

Catherine Despeux

***Danlun juezhi xinjian* 丹論訣旨心鑑**

14 fols.

Zhang Xuande 張玄德; Five Dynasties (907–960)?

935 (fasc. 598)

“Mental Mirror and Directions Regarding Discourses and Explanations on the Elixir.” This is a short treatise by Zhang Xuande of Nanyang 南陽 (Henan). It is mentioned in Song catalogues (see VDL 80), and another version, with minor differences, is preserved in YJQQ 66. A part of the text is included in 915 *Huandan zhouhou jue* 2.3b (early Song) under the title *Zhizhen jue* 指真訣. Since the quotations and content of the treatise are similar to 936 *Dahuan xinjian* (between the late ninth and the early eleventh centuries), our text must date from approximately the same period.

The treatise comprises five sections: an introduction (1a–2b); a discussion on the toxicity of elixirs based on mineral substances (*mingbian* 明辯; 2b–7b); discourses on the elixir (*jindan lun* 金丹論; 7b–12a); discourses on its cyclical transformation (*dahuan zongzhi* 大還丹宗旨; 12a–13b); and finally a short passage entitled “Arcane Notes” (*xuanji* 玄記; 13b–14a).

Several passages from the second and third sections are quoted in alchemical books of the Five Dynasties or the early Song, such as 899 *Dadan ji* (under the title *lun* 論) and 927 *Taiqing yubei zi*. As to the nature of the discourses, it is unclear whether the author is writing about Inner or Outer Alchemy. Chen Guofu believes the work to be Inner Alchemy (see CGF 390 and 417).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Dahuan xinjian* 大還心鑑**

5 fols.

Five Dynasties (907–960)?

936 (fasc. 598)

“Mental Mirror of Cyclical Transformation.” This short alchemical treatise is included in YJQQ 73.12a–16a under the title *Dahuan xinjing* 心鏡. The present title, however, which substitutes the character *jian* 鑑 for *jing* 鏡 in deference to a Song taboo, is also listed in several Song bibliographies (cf. VDL 79). Although the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” indicates Hanshan zi 寒山子 of the Tang dynasty as author, the text is of a later date since it quotes MA ZIRAN (d. 856). The treatise can, therefore, be dated

between the mid-ninth century and the early eleventh century (publication of the YJQQ). Although essentially the same, except for a few minor differences, the YJQQ version seems more complete. A longer version of the treatise figures in 915 *Huandan zhouhou jue* 2.1a–7b under the title *Longhu jinyi huandan xinjian* 龍虎金液還丹心鑑 (also in 1017 *Daoshu* 14, where the authorship is attributed to Xuanhe zi 玄和子).

The basic ideas in the text resemble those found in 926 *Da huandan zhaojian*, especially the rejection of drugs based on mineral substances. For the author, who seems directly inspired by TAO ZHI (d. 825), the elixir should contain only lead and mercury. Moreover, TAO ZHI's book, 922 *Huanjin shu*, is often quoted. The aim of alchemy, according to the text, is to obtain the perfect medicine and at the same time achieve illumination. On the basis of its content and the vocabulary, it is unclear whether the text falls into the category of Inner or Outer Alchemy.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Da huandan jinhu bolong lun 大還丹金虎白龍論

6 fols.

Huanyang zi 還陽子; ninth or tenth century

937 (fasc. 598)

“Discourse on the Golden Tiger and the White Dragon of the Great Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This is a short treatise on alchemical theory by the Recluse of Mount Sumen 蘇門山隱士 (Henan), Huanyang zi. The latter was—according to the *Xin Tang shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 59.1524—a hermit of the Tang dynasty.

A colophon at the end of the text states that Du Xidun 杜希遁 (*zi* Wangji 忘機, *hao* Yongyang zi 永陽子) of Mount Heng 橫峰, while fleeing an uprising in 886, met the recluse Nanyang gong 南陽公, for whom he wrote down the present text. The author of the colophon, however, had received these instructions on alchemical ingredients *yaojue* 藥訣 from his deceased master. The treatise was certainly known during the tenth century, since the two sections of the text (2a–4a) are quoted in an abridged form in 926 *Da huandan zhaojian* 6a–8a (962). The latter, however, does not indicate its source and attributes (8a) one of the poems in our text (4a) to Guangcheng zi 廣成子. The present text was well known during the early Song (cf. VDL 78); it is also quoted in 259 *Tao zhenren neidan fu* 7b.

The text comprises a preface (1a–2a), two sections on ingredients (2a–4a), six poems, and a colophon (4a–6a). In the preface, the author rejects the use of *waidan* 外丹. The sections on ingredients include discussions on lead (i.e., “golden tiger,” *jinhu* 金虎), mercury (i.e., “white dragon,” *bolong* 白龍), and “yellow shoots” (*huangya* 黃芽), an amalgam, in this case, of lead and mercury. These three ingredients represent water/metal, fire/wood, and earth, respectively.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Longhu yuanzhi 龍虎元旨

9 fols.

Attributed to Qingxia zi 青霞子; ninth century or later

1083 (fasc. 741)

“Secret Directives on the Dragon and the Tiger.” Read *xuan* 玄 for *yuan*. Although the title of this short alchemical text is not mentioned in any bibliography, the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.21b and 25a (cf. VDL 161) mentions a *Qingxia zi Longhu jinyi huandan tongxuan lun* 青霞子龍虎金液還丹通玄論 in one juan and a *Longhu huandan tongxuan yaojue* 龍虎還丹通玄藥訣 in two juan by Su Yuanming 蘇元明 (i.e., Qingxia zi, see CGF 419). These titles could refer to the present work since it is also attributed to Qingxia zi. The book was first transmitted to Dong Shiyuan of Mount Dongyue 東嶽董師元 by the recluse of Luofu Qingxia zi 羅浮隱士青霞子 in 789 (8b). It was then handed down to Zhang Tao of Jianzhou 劍州張陶 in 803 and later to Li Fen of Jingnan 荆南李汾 (for Li Fen 李汾 or Li Tuo 李託, see 938 *Dadan pian* 4b) in 838, and finally to Cheng jun 成君. In one bibliography of the early Song (VDL 91), Zhang Tao was considered the author of 881 *Taiqing shibi ji*, traditionally attributed to Qingxia zi.

Much of the material in the text itself, can be found in other books of the late Tang (618–907) or the early Song (960–1279), although not in the same order. For the *Guge* 古歌, the quotations attributed to Wei jun 魏君, and the *jue* 訣 (4a–6b), see 927 *Taiqing yubei zi* 5b–6b. Similarly, for the quotations on pages 4b–7b, see 899 *Dadan ji* 1a–3b. Our text seems more complete and less corrupt than the others. In 1085 *Neidan bijue* 9b, the seven poems at the end are attributed to ZHANG GUO[LAO] (fl. eighth century).

The text deals with the theory of correspondences, cyclical transformation, the complementarity of yin and yang, and fire-phasing (1a–8a). Cinnabar is accepted as the sole drug of immortality (3b–4a), and emphasis is laid on the secrecy of textual transmission (8b). The entire work is a commentary on the basic ideas of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Yuanyang zi jinyi ji 元陽子金液集

15 fols.

Ninth–tenth century

238 (fasc. 113)

“Yuanyang zi’s Collection [of Verse and Commentary] on the Gold Liquid.” The “collection” comprises one alchemical *neidan* 內丹 poem with commentary ascribed to Yuanyang zi 元陽子. The text is listed as *Huandan jue* 還丹訣, one juan, in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qieshu mu* (VDL 163).

It is also mentioned in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* as *Huandan ge* 歌, one juan, by Yuanyang zi. A bibliographical note states that this work was transmitted to *Li Guangxuan* 李光玄 by his teacher (cf. 266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue*) and that the sequence of the verses was in complete disorder.

The poem is quoted in books of the Five Dynasties (907–960) and the early Song (960–1279), for example, in 266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 7b, 12b, 22a (the quotation on 22a is missing in our text) and in 233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 9a (preface dated 1052), which quotes the commentary as *Yuanyang zi zhu* (3b). Since the present text refers (9a) to 922 *Huanjin shu* 4a by TAO ZHI (d. 825), it can be dated between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

Another version of the Yuanyang zi poem is included in juan 2 of 265 *Huandan gejue*, but the commentary is not the same. Although the present text states (13a) that the poem consisted of thirty verses, both the present version and the *Huandan gejue* have thirty-one. The latter also inverts the order of some of the verses (see numbers 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 21, and 22; number 16 is placed at the end). Textual variants abound in both versions and also in the quotations found in other works, which suggests the existence of many different editions of this text in the early Song period.

The book advocates the formation of an elixir of immortality based on the “true yin/yang” ingredients within the adept and warns against the use of toxic mineral or metal ingredients. It is written in the same style as 239 *Huandan jinyi ge zhu* and seems to be directly inspired by the 922 *Huanjin shu* of TAO ZHI.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan jinyi ge zhu 還丹金液歌註

2 fols.

By Yuanyang zi 元陽子; commentary attributed to ZHANG GUO 張果 (d. ca. 742), *hao* Tongxuan xiansheng 通玄先生; Five Dynasties (907–960)?

239 (fasc. 113)

“Commentary on the Song of the Cyclical Return of Gold Liquid.” This work comprises a long preface and a short alchemical poem and is ascribed to Yuanyang zi. According to the CGF 287, Yuanyang zi could be the *hao* of Yang Canwei 羊參微, commentator or author of the *Shangqing longhu jinbi jing*, a book that is no longer extant. The commentary is attributed to ZHANG GUO (also known as Tongxuan zi 通玄子, see CGF 287), and some passages of his biography are quoted in the preface (5b).

The *Junzhai dushu zhi* mentions a *Huandan ge* in one juan, but the reference is to another work (cf. 238 *Yuanyang zi jinyi ji*). The present text, however, judging from quotations in other works, can be dated, at the latest, to the Five Dynasties (907–960) or the early years of the Northern Song (960–1127). The preface (1a) is quoted in 938 *Dadan pian* 1a, but a passage there on removing toxicity is missing from our preface.

However, the work 1017 *Daoshu* 32.25a gives a long yet abridged extract from the preface, followed by the text in which both commentary and poem are mixed.

The preface and the poem deal with outer alchemical topics and the true understanding of natural law (1a–2b). They warn against the fatal effects of elixirs prepared with mineral substances (2b–4a quotes ZHANG GUO). The work ends with anecdotes on testing disciples before imparting the secrets to them (5b–6b).

The *Xin wenfeng* 新文豐 edition of the *Daozang* erroneously places the poem before the preface.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

2.A.6 Sacred History and Geography

In this section, Laozi chronicles have been grouped under sacred annals, while lives of various gods, saints, and immortals are discussed under hagiography. Although the devotional and *mirabilia* writings in the subsection titled “Sacred Annals and Records” also contain broadly hagiographic narratives, they are treated separately here because they served purposes and explored themes that distinguish them from the purely hagiographic compilations (see the introduction to 2.A.6.a). Sacred geographies are treated here as “records”; and gazetteers and inscriptions are gathered in the subsection titled “Mountain and Temple Monographs; Epigraphy.”

2.A.6.a Sacred Annals and Records

The following subsection comprises four distinct subjects or genres: chronicles of the acts and manifestations of Laozi, a spiritual lineage, *mirabilia*, and sacred geography. The Tang development of the Laozi annals tradition begins with a chronicle by YIN WENCAO. It was presented to Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–683) and survives only in citations (especially YJQQ 102.1a–6a). The “True Record of the Most High of Undifferentiated Beginning” (954 *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu*) is thought to be close to this chronicle in period and background. In late Tang times, DU GUANGTING was the principal contributor to this genre. His *Hunyuan tu* 混元圖 in ten juan (see *Chongwen zongmu* 10.12a) was lost by the time of the Ming canon compilation (see 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 1.19b), but is likely to have exerted a major influence on the Song continuations of the tradition (see part 3.A.6.a). Du’s 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 2 (see part 2.A.1.a) should be consulted in this context. His 593 *Lidai chongdao ji*, a court memorial, is discussed in the present section because it also includes an extensive chronicle of Laozi manifestations. Like the “True Record,” the “Inner Preface to the

Golden Book” (772 *Taishang laojun jinshu neixu*), probably a work of the Tang-Song transition period (tenth century), places the emphasis on the transmission of the *Daode jing* 道德經 from Laozi to his disciple Yin Xi 尹喜.

This subsection also contains the “Shangqing Genealogical Record of the Three Worthies” (that is, the gods of the Three Caverns of the Taoist canon; 164 *Shangqing sanzun pulu*) and a spiritual genealogy (444 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji*) on the lineage of the Taoist masters of Tiantai shan. DU GUANGTING’s collections “Evidential Miracles in Support of Taoism” (590 *Daojiao lingyan ji*) and “Record of Marvels” (591 *Luyi ji*) represent two literary genres of sacred records: the *lingyan* 靈驗 miracle tale and *zhiguai* 志怪 *mirabilia*, respectively. These texts are followed by three works of sacred geography: “Map of the Book of Mysterious Contemplation of Man-Bird Mountain” (434 *Xuanlan renniao shan jingtu*); SIMA CHENGZHEN’s “Plan of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences” (*Tiandi gongfu tu*, preserved in YJQQ 27); and DU GUANGTING’s comprehensive geography: “Record of the Cavern-Heavens, Auspicious Sites, Holy Mountains, and Marshes” (599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji*).

Taishang hunyuan zhenlu 太上混元真錄

28 fols.

Tang; seventh–eighth century?

954 (fasc. 604)

“True Record of the Most High of Undifferentiated Beginning [i.e., Laozi].” This text relates the departure of Laozi from the Zhou and his meeting at the Hangu 函谷關 pass with Yin Xi 尹喜, the guardian of the Pass who becomes his disciple. Yin here receives the transmission of Laozi’s Text in Five Thousand Characters (*Wuqian wen* 五千文)—that is, the *Daode jing* 道德經—and other scriptures, including the *Xisheng jing* 西昇經, as well as the *Jiejie* 節解 commentary on the *Daode jing* and instructions pertaining to various esoteric methods (*fa* 法). The work is mentioned in Song catalogues (VDL 103).

Kusuyama Haruki (“*Taishō kongen shinroku kō*,” 464, 469, 473–74) dates this anonymous work to the period between 650 and 750 and speculates on a possible connection with YIN WENCAO (622–688), a noted author on the Laozi legend, the discipleship of Yin Xi, and the traditions concerning the sage’s departure to the West, including a now lost Laozi chronicle titled *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji [jing]* 玄元皇帝聖紀[經] in ten juan (see VDL 97 and the fragment preserved in YJQQ 102.1a–6a). The present text’s use of commentaries titled “discussions” (*lun* 論; 1b–2b, 10b, 21b–22b, and 27b) is also found in the surviving fragments from YIN WENCAO’s chronicle (see the article on 1200 *Dongxuan lingbao taishang liuzhai shizhi shengji jing*). The “True Record” is in any event a Tang work—it avoids the Tang taboo character *shi* 世, replacing it with *dai* 代,

in deference to Emperor Taizong's (r. 626–649) personal name, Shimin 世民—and is probably not later than the eighth century.

The *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* stands as an early representative of a new phase in the development of Laozi annals, a phase that took shape against the background of the sage's adoption as the Tang imperial family's ancestor. Further examples of such annals include the work of YIN WENCAO already mentioned, as well as 593 *Lidai chongdao ji* and other works by DU GUANGTING. The genre continued to flourish under the Song (see 774 *Youlong zhuan* and 770 *Hunyuan shengji*).

A brief introduction and quotations (1b) are followed by the first “discussion.” The quotations are of verses by Qian Xiu 牽秀 (zi Chengshu 成叔, fl. 280–290, see *Jin shu* 60.1635)—citing his *Laojun song* 老君頌—and Xue Daoheng 薛道衡 (fl. 570, see *Sui shu* 57.1405–8), citing the *Laozi beiming* 老子碑銘 (cf. *Wenyuan yinghua* 848.1a–5a). After the first discussion, the work chronicles the transmission, embedded in a dialogue between Lord Lao and Yin Xi, of a variety of teachings attributed to Laozi. These teachings are concerned mostly with alchemical and physiological methods and include the *Lianjin fa* 鍊金法 (6b–7a), *Taiqing bafu jing* 太清八符經, *Taiqing guantian jing* 太清觀天經, and *Jiudu jing* 九都經; the *Shendan jing* 神丹經 and *Jinyi jing* 金液經 (7a; cf. 880 *Taiqing jinyi shendan jing*); the *Yuli zhongjing* 玉曆中經 (10b; cf. 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing*); the *Daode jing* (12a; cf. 664 *Daode zhenjing*); and the *Jiejie* 節解 commentary (13b; cf. 710 *Daode zhenjing zhushu*). This chronicle is followed by a summary of the *Xisheng jing* 西昇經 (15a–18b; cf. 726 *Xisheng jing jizhu*) and an account of Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians (*huahu* 化胡) in the West (18b–20a), of his second meeting with Yin Xi at the Black Sheep Market (Qingyang si 青羊肆) in Chengdu (20a–21a), and of his ascension into Heaven (21a). A further discussion elaborates again on the *Xisheng jing* (21b–22b). This discussion is followed by two additional Laozi revelations: the “Cun sanyi zhi fa 存三一之法,” an inner alchemical meditation method (22b–24a), and instructions for entering the meditation chamber (*ru jingshi* 入靜室; 24b–27a).

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Franciscus Verellen

Lidai chongdao ji 歷代崇道記

20 fols.

DU GUANGTING 杜光庭; 885

593 (fasc. 329)

“The Record on the Veneration of Taoism through the Ages.” This work was written as a memorial addressed to Emperor Xizong (r. 874–888). According to *Chongwen zongmu* 10.9a, the original title was *Lidai diwang chongdao ji* 歷代帝王崇道記.

DU GUANGTING records the major events in the history of Taoism, especially its official or imperial patronage and support. According to Du, the history of the official veneration of Laozi and of Taoism reaches back to the time of the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1050–221 B.C.). The most important expression of such acts of official veneration was the establishment of temples and cloisters and the ordination of Taoist priests for these religious establishments. Du's record features the many apparitions of Laozi or of his messengers that legitimized imperial rule. Such apparitions or visions were perceived and reported by Taoists. The places where these events occurred were suitable for the establishment of religious institutions. DU GUANGTING takes into account the fact that the Tang emperors claimed Laozi as their ancestor. Consequently, he focuses his attention mostly on events related to the Tang house.

This work features the religious legitimacy of imperial rule, which is based on divine approval, itself manifested in the apparitions of Laozi. DU GUANGTING does not give any indication as to his sources.

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Florian C. Reiter

Taishang laojun jinsbu neixu 太上老君金書內序

6 fols.

772 (fasc. 554)

"Inner Preface to the Golden Book of the Most High Lord Lao." This text connects the hagiography of Laozi with the story of the compilation of the *Daode jing* 道德經. According to the colophon by the unknown author, who calls himself Xuanshi 玄師, this work presents a critical documentation. It claims to be more precise than the other current works on the subject. The *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesbu mu* 2.22b lists this work, which, consequently, must have been written during the eleventh century at the latest.

The text describes the legendary birth of Laozi and his rank as a universal deity. He served the Zhou rulers as official, teacher, and prophet. There are detailed reports about his encounter with Yin Xi 尹喜, about the revelation of the *Daode jing*, and about the Conversion of the Barbarians. The *Daode jing* is an object of veneration for the immortals who reside in the heavens. Here on Earth, that scripture can be used for meditation and recitation.

Florian C. Reiter

Shangqing sanzun pulu 上清三尊譜錄

12 fols.

164 (fasc. 73)

“Shangqing Genealogical Record of [the Affiliation with] the Three Worthies” This work belongs—together with 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*, 674 *Wushang sanyuan zhenzhai linglu*, 1388 *Shangqing jinzhen yuhuang shangyuan jiutian zhenling sanbai liushiwu bu yuanlu*, and 1390 *Shangqing dongtian sanwu jin'gang xuanlu yijing* (q.v.)—to the group of texts related to the enigmatic Jinming qizhen 金明七真. This work was recorded, and at the same time provided with a commentary, by Jinming's disciples Xuhuang daojun 虛皇道君, Xuwu zhenren 虛无真人, Jiutian zhangren 九天丈人, and others (10b) who had also already transcended the historical-terrestrial sphere. The information about Jinming qizhen in 446 *Shangqing zhongjing zhu zhensheng bi* 7.11a–b may have been taken from the present text (3b).

The Three Worthies (*sanzun* 三尊) in the title, hypostases of the Three Jewels (*sambao* 三寶; Sanskrit, *triratna*), are directly related to the scriptures of the Three Caverns. The intention of this work, to confirm Jinming qizhen as the divine ancestor of the Taoism of the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞), thus becomes clear. The veneration and visualization of the Three Worthies in connection with the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures, the *Sanhuang jing* 三皇經, the *Wuyue [zhenxing tu]* 五嶽[真形圖] and Laozi's Text in Five Thousand Characters (*Wuqian wen* 五千文) represent, according to the commentary, Jinming's original teaching (1a).

Among the three divine masters of transmission (*dushi* 度師; 1a–4a) whose secret names are given in freely composed characters, Jinming qizhen, being the representative of the present time, is placed in the last position. Subsequently, Jinming's heavenly inauguration by the Three Worthies during the Chiming 赤明 era, which he obtained together with Gaoshang jiutian shanghuang yuanjun 高上九天上皇元君 and Jiutian shanghuang laojun 九天上皇老君, is recounted. Instructions for copying, keeping, and venerating the genealogical record conclude this work.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji 洞玄靈寶三師記

9 fols.

Attributed to Liu Chujing 劉處靜, hao Guangcheng xiansheng 廣成先生;

preface dated 920

444 (fasc. 198)

“Record of the Three Masters.” On the liturgical function of the Three Masters, see the article on 445 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen*. The preface bears the cyclical date *gengchen* 庚辰 (920). This book is wrongly attributed to Liu Chujing, for the author calls himself the “disciple [of Ying Yijie 應夷節]

Master Guangcheng 廣成先生” (8b). The only person known to fit this description is DU GUANGTING (see LZTT 40.11a–13a), but Verellen (*Du Guangting*, 18) adduces a number of good reasons for calling Du’s authorship into doubt. Liu Chujing was in any case not the disciple of Ying Yijie, who is the “initiating master” in the present text, but codisciple, with Ying, of Feng Weiliang 馮惟良 (4b–5a). Liu died in the year 873 (see 602 *Xiandu zhi* 1.14b; note the cyclical date *xinyou* 辛酉 does not correspond to Xiantong 14).

Feng’s master was Tian Xuying 田虛應. According to the account given here, Tian ended his career on Mount Tiantai after having lived a long time on the Southern Peak, where he received from Xue Jichang 薛季昌 the *Shangqing dadong* 上清大洞. Tian’s three most important disciples were Feng Weiliang, Xu Lingfu 徐靈府, and Chen Guayan 陳寡言. He is said here to have lived more than 200 years.

The *Yinhua lu* (ca. 860) confirms that Tian was one of the greatest Taoists of the early ninth century (4.92–93). He could control rainfall, and he also performed Yellow Register rituals. Like the present text, the *Yinhua lu* associates Tian with the Southern Peak and mentions the same three disciples from Tongbo shan 桐柏山 (in the Tiantai range). The *Yinhua lu* does not, however, mention Xue Jichang and does not say that Tian himself went to Tiantai.

Xue was a disciple of SIMA CHENGZHEN who was not integrated into the Shangqing lineage (304 *Maoshan zhi* 11.2a–5a). His biography mentions the names of none of his disciples (LZTT 40.1a–b). It may be, therefore, that the transmission story told here is designed to justify a new lineage (cf. CGF 29–30). According to the very last line of Tian Xuying’s biography, he was “the ancestral master of the method of the Three Caverns used nowadays in the Jiangzhe 江浙 area.”

Feng Weiliang is said to have received from Tian, on the Southern Peak, “the secrets of the Three Caverns.” Around 820 he accompanied his master to Tiantai and “spread the method of the Three Caverns originally transmitted by Sima Chengzhen and Master Tian throughout the Jiangnan area.”

Ying Yijie (810–894) was initiated successively in Zhengyi (by the Eighteenth Heavenly Master, Zhang Shaoren 張少任, at Longhu shan 龍虎山), Dongshen, Dongxuan, and Shangqing practices. According to the present text, Ying was the eighth master in the *Shangqing dafa* 上清大法 lineage, after TAO HONGJING, WANG YUANZHI, PAN SHIZHENG, SIMA CHENGZHEN, Xue, Tian, and Feng. Ying’s ritual practice included, therefore, both Zhengyi and Shangqing elements—“ascension of the altar to review the registers [*yuelu* 閱籙]” and recitation of the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經, respectively—and it led to his “direct reception of the transmission of the zhenren.”

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Daojiao lingyan ji 道教靈驗記

15 juan

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭; after 905

590 (fasc. 325–26)

“Evidential Miracles in Support of Taoism.” In his undated preface the author states that sanctuaries and images have overlords, and veritable writings and transcendent rituals have guardians. Since every sacrilege inevitably implicates the offender, supernatural manifestations abound. Characteristically against this background of retribution, the book narrates incidences of miraculous intervention that furnish cognizable evidence for tenets of the Taoist faith.

The imperial preface is erroneously ascribed to Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1126) in the present text; the same preface also occurs in the edition in YJQQ (117.1a–b), an anthology compiled a century before the reign of Huizong. The latter version plausibly attributes the preface to Emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). It may be noted that the YJQQ edition (122.16a–b) features a further text attributed to Zhenzong: a preface to the *Tiantong huming miaoqing* 天童護命妙經. This scripture, an antecedent of 632 *Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaoqing*, is the subject of a miracle tale by DU GUANGTING in the present collection.

According to Du’s preface, the original *Daojiao lingyan ji* comprised twenty juan. A corresponding version survived at least into the thirteenth century (see *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.347). Some 50 percent of the present text (82 of 167 titles) is duplicated in the YJQQ edition (juan 117–9, 120.1a–14a, 121.7a–13b). The editors of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, discussing a fifteen-juan version with identical subheadings, described the YJQQ version summarily as a further abridgment of the original (see *Siku quanshu zongmu* 147.3072). Yet the YJQQ substantially complements the present text. With thirty-six additional stories (YJQQ 120.14a–22a, 121.1a–7a, and juan 22 in extenso), it allows the reconstitution of 22 percent of the original (in terms of titles), against the 25 percent (in terms of juan) missing in the present edition.

The present text belongs to the first decades of the tenth century and draws predominantly on Sichuanese material, reflecting the author’s activities as head of the Taoist community there under the late Tang and the Former Shu. The latest dated event (7.2b) is a ritual performed by Wang Zongtan 王宗坦 (d. 913) in 905. DU GUANGTING served as tutor to Wang Zongtan, the second son of Emperor Wang Jian (r. 907–918) and first heir apparent (908–913) of the Shu kingdom (see *Xin Wudai shi* 63.789).

The book is organized according to eight categories of supernatural agents effecting the miracles recounted:

1. Patron deities of temples, monasteries, and sacred sites
2. Deities represented by sacred statues and paintings

3. Apparitions and interventions of Lord Lao
4. Manifestations of the Heavenly Master
5. Various deities, true immortals, and spirit officers
6. Efficacious scriptures, or their tutelary deities, and other sacred writings (talismans, registers)
7. Supernatural power emanating from bells, chimes, and other liturgical utensils
8. The efficacy of the rituals of the Retreat and the Offering and of the written petitions presented therein

The “Evidential Miracles” constitutes a major source on Buddho-Taoist relations under the Tang and Five Dynasties. The work bears witness to tensions and rivalries between the two communities in the wake of the Huichang (841–846) proscription of Buddhism, its polemical thrust heightened by the Taoist appropriation of the *lingyan ji* 靈驗記 miracle tale, originally a Buddhist apologetic genre, to the detriment of Buddhism.

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Franciscus Verellen

Luyi ji 錄異記

8 juan

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭, completed between 921–925

591 (fasc. 327)

“Record of Marvels.” This work contains an undated preface by the author. Shen Shilong 沈士龍 (*juren* 舉人 graduate in 1597) asserted that Du composed this work in order to flatter Meng Chang 孟昶, the second ruler of the Later Shu (r. 934–965), whom he allegedly served as a magician (see Shen’s preface to the *Bice huihan* 秘冊彙函 edition cited below). This view was corrected by the *Siku* editors who observed that the events in the book referred to the Former Shu and that, in fact, Du had not survived into the Later Shu (see *Siku quanshu zongmu* 144.2995). The *Luyi ji* nevertheless has the appearance of an official presentation (see the concluding remark of the preface) to the second ruler of the Former Shu, Wang Yan 王衍 (r. 918–925). Du’s campaign for the house of Wang and his express faith in their future as rulers of Shu (see, e.g., 5.6a) date the book before 925, the year in which the Former Shu were ousted by the Later Tang. On the other hand, the latest dated event in the text (6.7b) places its completion after 26 February 921.

Some 60 percent of the present edition has been transmitted separately through the *Taiping guangji*. Early synoptic versions are also preserved in *Leishuo* 類說 (six stories)

and *Shuofu* (twelve stories). One of the two manuscripts in the Peking National Library bears colophons by Qin Silin 秦四麟 (*gongsheng* 貢生 nominee between 1573–1619) and He Zhuo 何焯 (1661–1722), and a colophon and collation notes by Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 (1763–1825). Several useful editions have survived in *congshu* 叢書 from the Ming period onwards. The edition in *Bice huihan* contains significant variants to the present text, as well as prefaces by Shen Shilong and his coeditor Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨 (1569–1644).

While the most complete extant texts are arranged in eight jian, the Song version comprised ten jian (see *Chongwen zongmu* 6.3b). A significant part of the text lost from all editions and manuscripts can be recovered from the *Taiping guangji*, namely, twenty-four additional stories against some 138 titles in the *Daozang* edition (ca. 14 percent in terms of titles, depending on the division of the text into separate items).

Du's work incorporates a wide range of traditional material as well as events based on contemporary or near-contemporary sources. Other material or events were witnessed by the author himself, transmitted to him orally, or derived from current official documents.

Within the literary and religious framework of an avowed *mirabilia* collection (cf. the *zhiguai* 志怪 tradition evoked in Du's preface as antecedent to his work), the *Luyi ji* served a manifest political purpose. At the time of its presentation, Du occupied the rank of vice president of the Board of Finance (*hubu shilang* 戶部侍郎) and acted as chief Taoist advisor to Wang Yan. His "Record of Marvels" not only bolstered a sense of cultural cohesion for the region of Shu but also pointed to the historical precedents for its political independence and asserted a cosmological sanction for the succession of its current rulers to the Tang dynasty. The political implications of Du's more outspoken support for the kingdom of Shu were apparently objectionable enough to early Song editors to have been excised from the text incorporated in *Taiping guangji* (compare, e.g., 2.6a–b in the present text with *Taiping guangji* 86.559–60).

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Franciscus Verellen

Xuanlan renniao shan jingtu 玄覽人鳥山經圖

6 fols.

434 (fasc. 196)

"Scripture and Chart for the Mysterious Contemplation of Man-Bird Mountain." This is a text of mystical geography, said to have been written by Tiandi 天帝 (2a), concerning the mountains (there is one of them in each of the endless worlds) inhabited by the Man-Birds, spirits of hybrid shape; the mountain itself has a man-bird

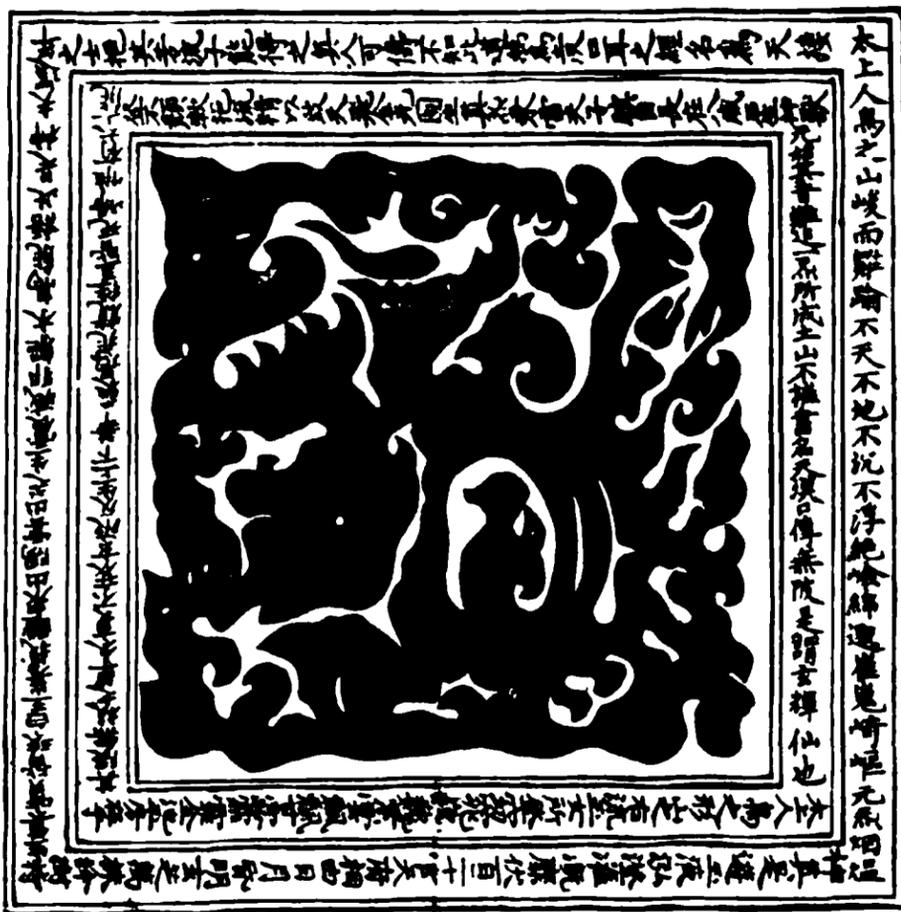


FIGURE 33. The map of Man-Bird Mountain (434 5a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/431)

shape. A map for the contemplation of the mountain is given on 5a (see fig. 33): its authors are said to be Jiulao xiandu jun 九老仙都君 and Jiuqi zhangren 九氣丈人.

The text can be divided into three parts: (1) a description of the peculiarities (shape and nature) of the mountain, on top of which is found the palace of Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王; there Xi wang mu 西王母 was initiated to the Tao (1a–2b); (2) a detailed description of the ritual for the contemplation of the mountain (2b–4b); and (3) a list of the seven names of the mountain and its fantastic animals and miraculous plants (5b–6a). For this last part, compare 598 *Shizhou ji* 5b–6b.

The version of this work in YJQQ 80.19b–24a, titled *Yuanlan renniao shan xingtu* 元覽人鳥山形圖, presents no major variants, with the exception of the third part, which is missing.

Some passages of the text are quoted in WSBY: in particular in 4.8a–b, where the text is quoted under the title of *Dongxuan wufu jing* 洞玄五符經, a name that probably refers to the lost [*Dongxuan*] *Wufu renniao jing* 五符人鳥經 (see CGF 69–70).

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Giovanni Vitiello

Tiandi gongfu tu 天地宮府圖

17 fols.

By SIMA CHENGZHEN 司馬承禎 (647–735)

1032 *Yunji qiqian* 27 (fasc. 677–702)

“Plan of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences.” According to the author’s preface, the original work constituted a gazetteer (*tujing* 圖經) in two juan. A work corresponding to that description and attributed to SIMA CHENGZHEN was catalogued in the thirteenth century (*Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.347) under the title *Shangqing tiandi gongfu tujing* 上清天地宮府圖經 (Shangqing Gazetteer of Celestial and Ter-

restrial Palaces and Residences). A separate version was reported lost at the time of the compilation of the Ming canon (1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 1.2a).

The present register localizes various categories of sacred sites and identifies their presiding deities. The sites are grouped, in accordance with traditional sacred geography (cf. Miura Kunio, “Dōten fukuchi shōkō”), under Ten Great Cavern-Heavens (*dongtian* 洞天; 1b–3b), Thirty-six Lesser Cavern-Heavens (3b–9a), and Seventy-two Blessed Places (*fudi* 福地; 9a–17a). Sima’s entries may be compared with those of DU GUANGTING in the corresponding sections of 599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji*, dated A.D. 901 (see 3b–4b, 6b–8b, and 8b–11a, respectively).

DU GUANGTING’s account continues with a catalogue of the Twenty-four Dioceses (*ershisi zhi* 二十四治). It might be conjectured that the second juan of Sima’s original work applied the same traditional scheme. Shen Cengzhi, in fact, wrote his brief notice of the present work in *Hairi lou zhacong* (250–51), on the tacit assumption that the compilation 1032.28 *Ershisi zhi* (q.v.) in the following chapter of YJQQ (28) constitutes juan 2 of Sima’s work.

Franciscus Verellen

Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記

17 fols.

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭; 901

599 (fasc. 331)

“Record of the Cavern-Heavens, Auspicious Sites, Holy Mountains, and Marshes, as well as of the Famous Mountains.” This is a work of religious geography that was compiled in Sichuan (Chengdu), according to the preface dated 901. The author’s aim was to collate and transmit the indications of religious geographic data that were given in *Guishan yujing* 龜山玉經. This source had formerly been incorporated into the Taoist canon (see 969 *Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji*, preface 1a) but is no longer extant. DU GUANGTING describes the connections between the spheres of the divine and the human world. These connections become manifest in the many residences of the deities and immortals throughout the cosmos and in the world of humans. Deities and immortals take residence in selected sites, where temples or belvederes should be established (preface). This idea was especially current during the Tang period, as other texts in the Taoist canon document (see, e.g., SDZN 7.1a ff. and 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 1.12b–13a).

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Florian C. Reiter

2.A.6.b Hagiographies

Hagiographies, for the purposes of this subsection, are lives or collections of lives of Taoist saints and immortals. Chronicles of the acts and manifestations of Laozi are grouped under the heading “Sacred Annals and Records” in the preceding subsection, 2.A.6.a. The material below falls into two groups: individual lives and collections. The former—of which only a small fraction survive, judging by the numerous references to individual *benzhuan* 本傳 and *neizhuan* 內傳 titles in the hagiographic literature—are here represented by the illustrated hagiography of Wangzi Jin 王子晉, the “Veritable Illustrations with Eulogies” (612 *Shangqing shi dichen Tongbo zhenren zhen tuzan*), a fragment from the “Annals of Huangdi” (290 *Guang Huangdi benxing ji*), and by the “Biography of Tao [Hongjing], the Hermit from Huayang” (300 *Huayang Tao yinju neizhuan*). The “True Lords Wu and Xu” (449), by contrast, jointly treats the founding patriarchs of a school, the Way of Filial Devotion (Xiaodao 孝道). The remaining collections show a variety of classificatory criteria: the “Supplementary Lives of Immortals” (295 *Xu xian zhuan*) groups its subjects according to the categories “Ascensions” and “Hidden Transformations”; DU GUANGTING’s “Encounters” (592 *Shenxian ganyu zhuan*) places the emphasis on revelatory contacts on the border between the worlds of humans and immortals; the same author’s “Assembled Immortals of Yongcheng” (783 *Yongcheng jixian lu*) classes together female immortals. In the “Jiang-Huai” collection (595 *Jiang-Huai yiren lu*), the principle of selection is regional, while, finally, in “Presumed Immortals” (299 *Yixian zhuan*) it is thematic, highlighting the problem of recognizing immortals in this world.

Shangqing shi dichen Tongbo zhenren zhen tuzan

上清侍帝晨桐柏真人真圖讚

19 fols.

Compiled by SIMA CHENGZHEN 司馬承禎, *hao* Boyun zi 白雲子 (647–735)

612 (fasc. 334)

“Veritable Illustrations with Eulogies of the Imperial Chamberlain of Shangqing and Zhenren of [Mount] Tongbo.” This is a hagiography, in eleven scenes, of the immortal Wangzi Jin 王子晉. At the head of the main text, following the author’s preface, is a more elaborate version of the work’s title that adds the honorifics “assistant of the right with jurisdiction over the Office of the Five Peaks” (*ling* *Wuyue si youbi* 領五嶽司右弼) and “Immortal Lord Wang 王仙君” (3a). For information on Wangzi Jin—also known as Wangzi Qiao 王子喬, the son and crown prince of King Ling of the Zhou (571–545 B.C.)—the preface refers the reader to the *Shiji* (see 4.156) and the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (see Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan*, 109–14), remarking that

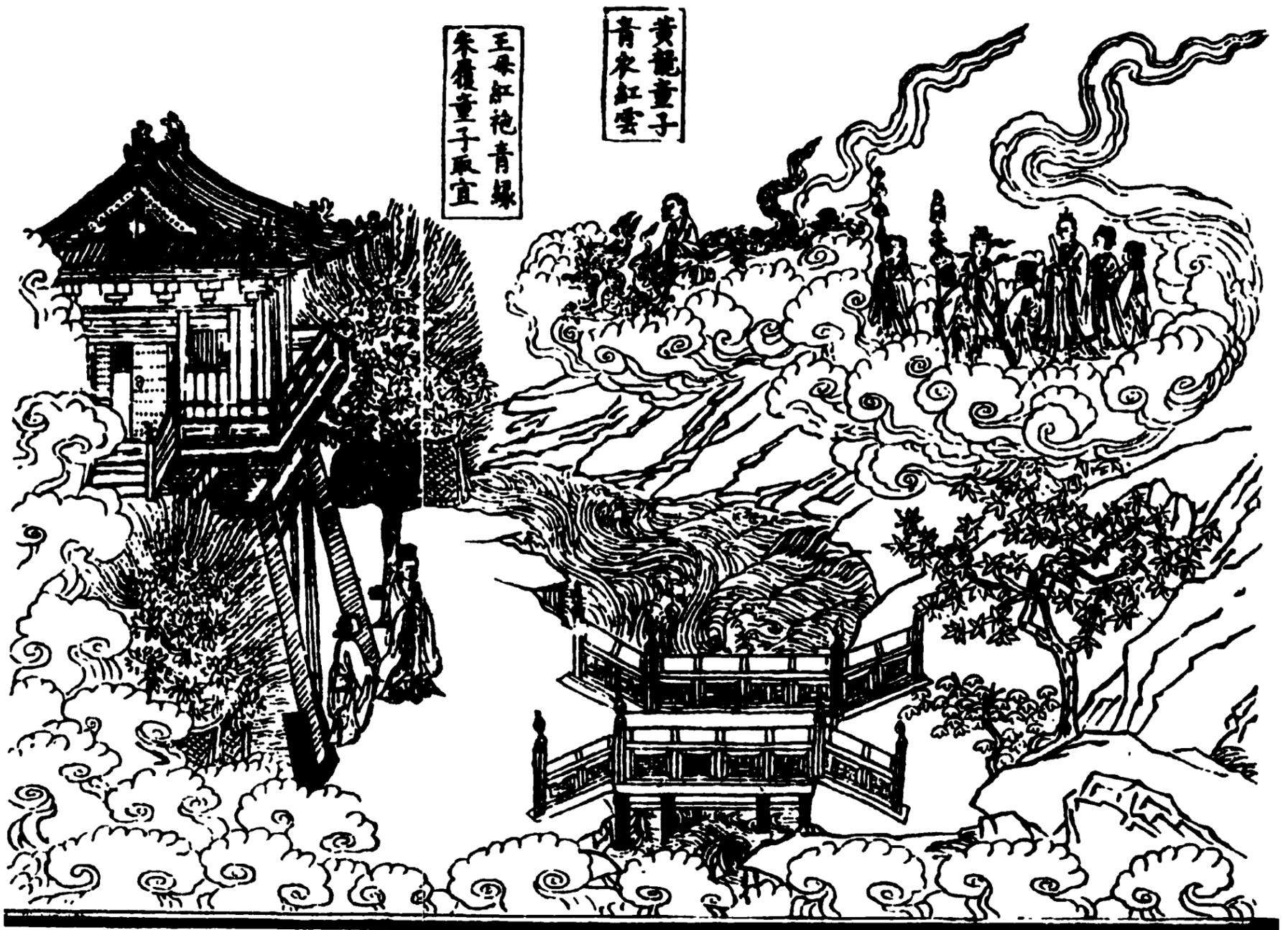


FIGURE 34. Wangzi Jin descends on a cloud chariot to Tongbo shan (612 14a–b, scene 8).

official historiography recorded his traces up to his death, while Taoist books focused on his afterlife as an immortal (1b).

Wangzi Jin's heavenly honors and appointments form the subject of several of the handsomely illustrated scenes highlighting important episodes in his career from crown prince to Shangqing saint. Each scene begins with a narrative account, some citing earlier sources (especially the *Liexian zhuan* and a separate biography, *zhuan* 傳), and includes a description of the corresponding illustration, noting ritual vestments, sites, palaces, and paraphernalia of iconographic interest. This description is followed by a eulogy in eight four-character lines and by the illustration itself. Scene 7, for example, shows the saint in audience with Yuchen dadao jun 玉晨大道君 (see his hagiography 1389 *Shangqing gaosheng taishang dadao jun dongzhen jinyuan bajing yulu*) at the Gold Portal (*jinque* 金闕), where Wangzi receives his insignia and charter of appointment (12a–13a). In scene 8 (13b–14b; fig. 34) his title is proclaimed as *shi dichen ling Wuyue si youbi Wang Tongbo zhenren* 侍帝晨領五嶽司右弼王桐柏真人 (imperial chamberlain assistant of the right with jurisdiction over the Five Peaks, *zhenren* Wang of Tongbo) and he is seen descending on a cloud, about to take up his post as governor of Mount Tongbo (Tiantai shan 天台山, Zhejiang). Scene 9 (14b–15b)



FIGURE 35. Wangzi Jin descends from Heaven to reveal scriptures to Yang Xi (612 18a–19a, scene 11).

depicts Wangzi Jin holding court in the Palace of the Golden Court Cavern (Jinting dong 金庭洞), the Cavern-Heaven (*dongtian* 洞天) of Tongbo.

The special interest these items in Wangzi Jin's hagiography held for SIMA CHENGZHEN can be appreciated from the siting of the Tongbo guan 桐柏觀 temple, founded in Sima's honor in 711, directly above Wangzi Jin's Cavern-Heaven (see 603 *Tiantai shan zhi*). Both the temple emplacement and this hagiography's emphasis on Wangzi Jin's association with the Shangqing Heaven underline the links between the Tiantai school of Taoism and the textual tradition of Shangqing, in which SIMA CHENGZHEN occupies the place of a patriarch. Indeed, the present work culminates in the descent of the Lord of Tongbo, clad in crimson robe and hibiscus cap, to Maoshan 茅山, as one of the zhenren responsible for the Shangqing revelations in 365. In the final scene, the Maoshan visionary YANG XI is depicted standing on a raised platform, with brush and paper in hand ready to take a dictation (fig. 35; cf. 1016 *Zhen'gao* 1.2b, where this apparition of Tongbo zhenren is also listed).

Franciscus Verellen

***Guang huangdi benxing ji* 廣黃帝本行記**

12 fols.

By Wang Guan 王瓘; 881

290 (fasc. 137)

“Expanded Annals of the Yellow Emperor.” The present text is the final chapter of the annals in three juan listed in Song catalogues under the title *Guang Xuanyuan benji* 廣軒轅本紀 (VDL 157).

The complete work is reprinted in YJQQ 100.2b–32a, a text in turn reproduced in LZTT 1.1a–27b. All three texts include the same commentary, with a few variants: a note in the present version (11b) is incorporated into the main text of YJQQ 100.31b, and the commentaries in the YJQQ version are not found in the present text (26b). The passage concerning the visit of Guangcheng zi 廣成子 is different in the present and YJQQ versions.

The work of Wang Guan incorporates elements from several early texts: compare 1a, 1b, and 9b with 294 *Liexian zhuan* 1.1b, 1.2a, and 1.1a–2b, respectively. Also compare the biography of Huangdi in 1.2b–3a, 2a–b, and 4a–5a in the present text with *Zhuangzi* 24.830–33 and 11.379–84; and compare 10b here with 1031 *Shanhai jing* 3.14a and 3.22b). Grafted onto these mythological elements are traditions from the early Lingbao corpus: compare 3b in the present text with BPZ 4.61, 18.29, 17.274; and 9b–10a in the present text with BPZ 13.235–36. The passages concerning the burial of talismans in the mountains (9b, 11a–b) are related to the tradition found in 388 *Tai-shang lingbao wufu xu* (1.2b–3a, 4a–b, 6b). The initiation of Huangdi by Huang Ren 皇人 (5a–8a) seems to correspond to a later development of the Taiqing tradition. The passage is not found in the YJQQ version.

The first two chapters are devoted to Huangdi’s feats as inventor and exorcist. The third chapter, entitled “Xiuxing daode 修行道德” (Perfection of Virtue) and found only in the *Daozang* version, is the narrative of Huangdi’s mystical quest and of his initiation by masters on each of the sacred mountains.

Jean Lévi

***Huayang Tao yinju neizhuan* 華陽陶隱居內傳**

3 juan

By Jia Song 賈嵩, hao Xueluo ruzi 薛蘿孺子

300 (fasc. 151)

“Biography of TAO [HONGJING], the Hermit from Huayang.” Although later scholars date this text to Song times (960–1279; see, e.g., Ye Dehui’s 葉德輝 edition of 1903 in *Guangu tang huike shu* 觀古堂彙刻書), its author, Jia Song, is with some probability identical with the late Tang (618–907) prose writer of that name whose rhapsody *Xiari keweifu* 夏日可畏賦 has been preserved in *Wenyuan yinghua* 5.9a–10a.

If so, some questions arise with respect to juan 3 of this biography: although the preface states that the work comprises three juan, the last juan is based entirely on documents that are not mentioned during the critical discussion of sources in that preface. Both Song Huizong's decree of 1124 concerning the expansion of Tao's honorific name and the eulogy by the poet Su Xiang 蘇庠 (1065–1147) have to be regarded as later additions, unless we consider the possibility that the work originally consisted of only two juan—which would be in keeping with a statement in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* (VDL 144).

The other parts of the text give an account of TAO HONGJING's official career (juan 1) and of the religious life he led after his retreat to Maoshan 茅山 (in 492). Jia Song lists individually his sources of information. His primary source was the record kept by TAO HONGJING's nephew, Tao Yi 陶翊, until 499 and then supplemented by Pan Quanwen 潘泉文 around 502–508, which has been preserved only in a very incomplete version (*Huayang yinju xiansheng benqi lu* 華陽隱居先生本起錄, YJQQ 107.1b–11b). In addition, Jia used 1016 *Zhen'gao* and 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*, which must have contained autobiographical material (cf. the article on the latter), and also Tao's literary works (see 1050 *Huayang Tao yinju ji*). Occasionally, Jia Song also draws on official historiographical works like Tao's biography in *Liang shu* 51.742–43. We must consider dubious the various citations from a *Jijuan* 集卷 (presumably an abbreviated title), in which Tao is called *xiansheng* 先生 throughout (e.g., 2.1b). Even if those quotations from *Jijuan* stem from an unidentified part of an earlier edition of Tao's literary works, they cannot be from Tao's own hand.

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13 fols.

449 (fasc. 201)

“Biographies of the Two True Lords Wu and Xu of the Way of Filial Devotion.” This work is one of the earliest accounts of the acts of XU XUN and his eleven disciples, if the date of 819 mentioned in the text (9b) is accepted. This date conflicts, however, with the indication that 560 years had passed since the apotheosis of XU XUN in 292 (9b). The text contains, with major variants, all of the material found in BO YUCHAN's 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 33–36, as well as a useful lineage of masters up to 683 (13a–b).

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Jean Lévi

Xu xian zhuan 續仙傳

3 juan

Compiled by Shen Fen 沈汾; Southern Tang (937–975)

295 (fasc. 138)

“Supplementary Lives of Immortals.” Citations of this work in *Taiping guangji* and its listings in several Song bibliographies (see VDL 168) refer to the title as *Xu shenxian zhuan* 續神仙傳. The author’s name at the head of each juan is accompanied by the titles *chaoqing lang qianhang Lishui xian ling* 朝請郎前行溧水縣令 (front echelon gentleman for court audiences and county magistrate of Lishui [Jiangsu]). The hagiography of Nie Shidao 聶師道 (3.6a–14b) mentions the sovereign Wu Taizu (r. 902–905), the founder of the Five Dynasties Wu kingdom in Huainan (3.12b and 14a). Given Shen Fen’s appointment in the same Jiangsu region, and that his book was anthologized by the editors of *Taiping guangji* in 978, it is likely that the author lived under the Wu kingdom (902–937) and/or its successor, the Southern Tang (937–975). A collection of lives from the same period and region, *595 Jiang-Huai yiren lu* by Wu Shu 吳淑 (947–1002), has an entry on a Taoist wizard identified as “attendant censor Shen Fen *shiyu* 沈汾侍御” (19a–b), while another Southern Tang writer, Liu Chongyuan 劉崇遠, uses the same appellation to refer explicitly to the author of the *Xu xian zhuan* (see Liu’s *Jinhua zi zhibian* 2.60 and Yu Jiayi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 19.1220). Some sources give the author’s personal name as Fen 汾 (see CGF 240; *Siku quanshu zongmu* 146.1252).

In his own preface, where he refers to himself as “Fen 汾” (1b), Shen attributes the scarcity of Taoist hagiographic records both to the elusive nature of the immortals and to the failure of official historiography to acknowledge them. As the specific impulse for undertaking his own compilation, Shen names the loss of classical works (*fenji* 墳籍) in the “flames of war” during the Zhonghe reign period (preface 2a), referring to the chaos and destruction that accompanied the sack of Chang’an by Huang Chao 黃巢 and the exile of Emperor Xizong from the capital in 881–885.

The Taoist canon edition of this work represents the earliest extant version, along with the citations in *Taiping guangji* (eight biographies) and YJQQ 113B (twenty-five biographies). The *Xu xian zhuan* was also reproduced in the *Shuofu* (the 100-juan series), *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (*Yingyin Wenyuan ge* 景印文淵閣 edition, vol. 1059), and other *congshu* 叢書 editions.

The “Supplementary Lives” forms a structured compilation of individual biographies of immortals (*xianzhuan* 仙傳), the typical format of contemporary Taoist hagiography, exemplified by the numerous works of DU GUANGTING in this genre. One of the tales in the present collection, titled “Wang Kejiao 王可交” (2.13–15b), is in fact also found in Du’s *592 Shenxian ganyu zhuan* (2.1b–2b, and again cited in YJQQ 112.10b–11b as derived from the latter source). Shen Fen groups his material in two cat-

egories: “Ascensions” (*feisheng* 飛昇; juan 1, “comprising eighteen persons, including three female zhenren”) and “Hidden Transformations” (*yinhua* 隱化; juan 2, “twelve persons,” and juan 3, “eight persons”). The work includes some lives of well-known figures of the Tang (618–907) and Five Dynasties (907–960) periods, both historical and legendary, such as Lan Caihe 藍采和 (1.1b–2b), MA ZIRAN (1.6a–10a), Xie Ziran 謝自然 (1.16b–19a), SUN SIMO (2.1a–4b), ZHANG GUO (2.4b–6a), SIMA CHENG-ZHEN (3.1a–3a), and LÜQIU FANGYUAN (3.4a–6a).

Franciscus Verellen

Shenxian ganyu zhuan 神仙感遇傳

5 juan

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭; after 904

592 (fasc. 328)

“Biographies of Persons Who Had Contacts and Encounters with Supernatural Beings and Immortals.” This collection contains seventy-five tales—including a condensed version of the well-known “Guest with the Curly Beard” (4.7b–10b)—and is marked “incomplete.” In the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5190 it is listed as comprising ten juan. The *Taiping guangji* contains twenty-seven biographies quoted from the *Shenxian ganyu zhuan*, eighteen of which are not found in our text. A few of these stories are, however, cited in 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu*.

The stories take place mainly in today’s provinces of Henan, Shaanxi, and Sichuan; the dates mentioned range from A.D. 265 to A.D. 904; many of the tales are contemporary to the author.

For this collection Du has drawn on several sources: the anecdotes 4.2a–4a, 6b–7b, and 5.20a–21b seem to be based on *Xuanshi zhi* 9.2a–4a, 1.15a–b, 1.11a–15a by Zhang Du (fl. 853). Six other episodes (2.1a–b, 2.9b–13b, 3.3b–4a) were obviously taken from Duan Chengshi’s (ca. 803–863) *Youyang zazu* 2.17–20, 26–28. The story of Pei Chen 裴沉 is corrupt in the present version (2.10a–b; cf. YJQQ 112.13a–14b) where the last four lines belong to an anecdote also found in *Youyang zazu* 2.28. Another three episodes (2.6b–9a, 3.7b–8a) were again taken from a different work and are found in YJQQ 99.1a–4a.

YJQQ 112 consists of thirty selected tales from the present work. The fourteen anecdotes in YJQQ 113A, which in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition forms the second half of juan 112, are, however, not part of DU GUANGTING’s work but were selected from the now lost *Yishi* 逸史 (preface dated 847) by Lu Zhao 盧肇 (cf. *Shuofu* 24.21b–23b; *Taiping guangji*; 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 16.22b; Verellen, “Luo Gongyuan,” 291–94).

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yongcheng jixian lu 壙城集仙錄

6 juan

DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

783 (fasc. 560–561)

“Record of the Assembled Immortals of Yongcheng.” This work was originally in ten juan, according to DU GUANGTING’s preface, which is contained in YJQQ 114.4a. The original version comprised 109 biographies of immortals (see *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.7b). This edition is, therefore, lacking four juan; it contains only thirty-seven texts. YJQQ 114–116 has 27 biographies, which partly double those preserved in this edition (e.g., “Xi wang mu zhuan,” 1.9a–20b; and “Jiutian xuannü zhuan,” 6.2a–4a). In any case, the full set of 109 biographies can no longer be reconstituted. The name *Yongcheng* (Fortified City) refers to the residence of Xi wang mu 西王母 on Mount Kunlun 崑崙 (see 598 *Shizhou ji* 11a; YJQQ 114.4a; *Shuijing zhu* 1.10.3–5).

This work is devoted to the lives of Xi wang mu, the Queen Mother of the West, and her entourage on Mount Kunlun, comprising, among others, her daughters. The texts describe the revelation of practices of self-cultivation and the revelation of the Shangqing scriptures, which were received by WEI HUACUN. The texts are couched in the form of biographies that also describe the visits of these deities in the human world. At the beginning of this work, DU GUANGTING places the biography (or hagiography) of Laozi’s mother (“Shengmu yuanjun”; 1.1a–9a). The biography of the Queen Mother (“Jinmu yuanjun”; 1.9a–20b) follows. There are references to antiquity (e.g., Yu 禹 asks Yunhua furen 雲華夫人 to come to his aid; 3.1a ff.) or explanations concerning local cults (e.g., concerning Huangtang tan jing 黃堂壇靖, the place from which Xi wang mu ascended to Heaven; 5.16a). DU GUANGTING does not indicate his sources. However, it is clear that he transcribed extensively from sources like 1016 *Zhen’gao*, 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*, 294 *Liexian zhuan*, 1138 *Wushang biyao*, and others.

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Florian C. Reiter

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25 fols.

By Wu Shu 吳淑 (947–1002)

595 (fasc. 329)

“Records about Extraordinary Persons in [the Area along the Rivers] Jiang and Huai.” Although the present edition does not name an author, Wu Shu from Danyang

丹陽 (Jiangxi) is generally acknowledged to have written this collection of episodes. In the Song catalogues this work is listed as comprising three juan (cf. VDL 102).

The collection contains twenty-five stories of persons who lived in Wu's home province and in other provinces along the named Jiang and Huai Rivers during the second half of the Tang (618–907) and under the Wu (902–937; in which the author's father held an official position), and Southern Tang (937–975) dynasties. The figures in the stories demonstrated supernatural abilities in different fields such as prophecy, healing, alchemy, or communication through dreams. The dates mentioned in the text range from 769–957, thus reaching up to the childhood of the author, who probably collected most of the episodes himself (10a, 14b). Written sources on which Wu Shu may have drawn are not apparent—except for the story of Qu Tong 瞿童 (21b–25b), which is based on Wen Zao's 溫造 account of Qu Boting 瞿伯庭 (cf. VDL 164–65).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yixian zhuan 疑仙傳

3 juan

Yinfu yujian 隱夫玉簡; Five Dynasties (907–960)

299 (fasc. 151)

“Biographies of Presumed Immortals.” The author of these twenty-two biographies has not been identified. The biographies were compiled after the Tianbao period (742–756). According to *Chongwen zongmu* 10.9a, this work had only one juan. However, the arrangement of the texts in three juan corresponds with the indications by the author Yinfu yujian in his preface.

The twenty-two texts contain didactic dialogues, stories about healers, visionary encounters and experiences, which together make clear that these “biographies” have to be considered as specimens of *chuanqi* 傳奇 literature.

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Florian C. Reiter

2.A.6.c Mountain and Temple Monographs; Epigraphy

This subsection discusses inscriptions marking temples and sacred mountains, beginning with the 971 *Tang Songgao shan Qimu miao beiming* stele by Cui Rong 崔融 (652–707). The Qingyang gong inscription (964 *Xichuan Qingyang gong beiming*) complements DU GUANGTING's account in 593 *Lidai chongdao ji* of the Tang restoration after the Huang Chao 黃巢 rebellion in 884. The work 970 *Tang Wangwu shan Zhongyan tai Zhengyi xiansheng miaojie* gives the text of a stele inscription at Mount

Wangwu 王屋山 commemorating SIMA CHENGZHEN. DU GUANGTING's 969 *Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji* is a gazetteer on the same mountain, and 453 *Nanyue xiaolu* is a mountain monograph, based mainly on local inscriptions, devoted to the Southern Peak.

Tang Songgao shan Qimu miao beiming 唐嵩高山啓母廟碑銘

7 fols.

By Cui Rong 崔融 (652–703)

971 (fasc. 610)

“Tang Stele Inscription at Qimu Temple on Mount Song.” The present stele inscription tells the story of the birth of Qi, son of Great Yu 大禹, whose mother was transformed into a stone pillar (*Han shu* 6.190). The stone in question, called “Qimu shi 啓母石,” can be found at the foot of the Songshan 嵩山. According to a fragment of an inscription preserved in the *Songshan zhi* 8.43a–b, the first temple was built in this location by Zhu Chong 朱寵 in A.D. 123. The temple was rebuilt in 683 by order of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang (*Songshan zhi* 8.53a).

The present inscription was written by Cui Rong on the occasion of his visit to the site in 680 (cf. *Xin Tang shu* 114.4195).

Denis Allistone

Xichuan Qingyang gong beiming 西川青羊宮碑銘

24 fols.

By Yue Penggui 樂朋龜; 884

964 (fasc. 609)

“Stele Inscription for the Qingyang Gong Temple in Xichuan [Province, Western Jiannan].” This stele was made on imperial orders for emplacement in the restored temple on the site of the ancient Black Sheep Market (Qingyang si 肆) in the western suburb of Chengdu, in modern Sichuan (on the significance of this site in the legend concerning the epiphanies of Lord Lao, see Kusuyama Haruki, *Rōshi densetsu no kenkyū*, 423–35).

The author—a Hanlin academician in the entourage of Emperor Xizong (r. 873–888) and protégé of the influential eunuch Tian Lingzi 田令孜 (see *Beimeng suoyan* 5.35) during the emperor's exile to Chengdu in 881–885—held the rank of vice president of the Board of War (*bingbu shilang* 兵部侍郎) and served as officer in charge of decrees and proclamations (*zhizhi gao* 知制誥) at the time of presenting the inscription to the throne.

The text is followed by an accompanying memorial of Yue Penggui (23b–24a) and a dispatch (*die* 牒) concerning the emplacement of the stele at the site of the temple

by the military governor of Xichuan (Chen Jingxuan 陳敬瑄, d. 893; 24a–b). The latter document, dated 30 September 884, is also reproduced in 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 9.24a–b.

Other samples of Yue's official writings are preserved in *Tang da zhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 (1070) and later compilations. The present text appears to represent the earliest and most complete extant version of the Qingyang gong inscription.

Another firsthand account of the miracle commemorated by the inscription is contained in 593 *Lidai chongdao ji* 16b–20b. Dated a few months after Yue's compilation (4 January 885), this text refers to the imperial edict ordering the present inscription (20a). A further record in two juan was extant during the Song but reported lost before the compilation of the Ming canon (see VDL 86).

The inscription commemorates a local portent of the quelling of the Huang Chao rebellion (878–884), the imminent restoration of the Tang under Emperor Xizong, and the end of the Chengdu exile. In addition, it surveys incidences of both loyalist and supernatural support for mythical as well as recent historical rulers.

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Franciscus Verellen

Tang Wangwu shan Zhongyan tai Zhengyi xiansheng miaojie

唐王屋山中巖臺正一先生廟碣

5 fols.

By Wei Ping (?) 衛阡

970 (fasc. 610)

"Tang Stele at the Temple of Master Zhengyi on Zhongyan Terrace of Mount Wangwu." The commemorative stele for SIMA CHENGZHEN (647–735) provides an outline of the master's life. The *Zhengyi* in the title should read *Zhenyi* 貞一, the master's posthumous name, conferred by Emperor Xuanzong. *Zhenyi* is elsewhere used correctly within this text (4a). The alteration of *Zhen* 貞 to *Zheng* 正 results probably from the taboo on Emperor Song Renzong's personal name, Zhen 禎 (see CGF 57). This stele features a *hao*, unknown elsewhere, of SIMA CHENGZHEN, namely, Daoyin 道隱 (1b). According to this inscription, SIMA CHENGZHEN settled in Wangwu shan 王屋山 in 724 (2b) and died there in 735 (3b). The latter date does not accord with that of 727 found in Sima's biography in the *Jiu Tang shu* 192 and in 969 *Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji* 天壇王屋山聖跡記 4b. Chen Guofu noted that the author of this inscription was probably one of the disciples of SIMA CHENGZHEN; Chen thus considered the indication in this text more reliable.

There is some uncertainty as to the correct graph for the author's personal name.

The character Ping (?) 阡, not found in standard dictionaries, is indicated by the present *Daozang* edition. In the *Jinshi lu* 7.6b and the *Jiyu tang bei lu* (“Wu,” 1a) the character Ping 憑 appears, while CGF 52 prefers Jing 阱.

Another complete version of the text is found in the *Jiyu tang bei lu*. Certain elements in this version differ from the text in the *Daozang*. For example, the name and the *zi* 字 of the master are reversed. Furthermore, the stele does not give the accurate date of its erection during the temple’s restoration by Sima Gang 司馬綱, a nephew of the master. One verse at the end of the text alludes to the erection, but the two versions diverge with respect to the date. According to the *Daozang*, the event occurred several years after the master’s death (5b); according to the *Jiyu tang bei lu*, the stele was set up following his death (“Wu,” 5a). The author of the latter work therefore classed this stele among those dated 736, refusing, for reasons unknown, the year of 747 proposed by the *Jinshi lu* (7.6b).

Kwong Hing Foon

Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji 天壇王屋山聖跡記

4 + 14 fols.

Preface by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

969 (fasc. 610)

“Account of the Sacred Vestiges of the Altar of Heaven on Wangwu Shan.” In his preface, DU GUANGTING explains his reasons for writing this local gazetteer (it is, however, not certain that Du’s preface originally referred to the text that follows it here): the Tiantan was the highest peak of the Wangwu Mountains. It was there that the Yellow Emperor received the revelations of Xi wang mu 西王母 and the Jiutian xuannü 九天玄女 enabling him to defeat Chiyu 蚩尤. A religious festival was celebrated yearly on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon in this place of worship, where SIMA CHENGZHEN (647–735) had built a temple, the Shangfang yuan 上方院. The Taoist princess Yuzhen 玉真公主, daughter of the Emperor Ruizong (r. 710–712), settled there after 712.

The present version includes a rather detailed description of the Tiantan and its main religious monuments (1a–7b). This description is followed by four imperial edicts addressed to SIMA CHENGZHEN, three by Ruizong and one by Xuanzong (7b–9a). Next come several poems by various authors. The Tang poems are by the emperor Ruizong and by Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770). The latter’s poem is probably another version of the fourteenth poem in the series of twenty titled *Qinzhou zashi* 秦州雜詩二十首; the first two verses of the poem corresponding to the version of this series are also cited in 307 *Xiyue Huashan zhi* 21b. The following six poems constitute later materials; they are attributed to Jinmen yuke Lin xianren 金門羽客林仙人 and Tongzhen daoren 通真道人. These two appellations may refer to the same person,

LIN LINGSU (cf. LZTT 53.7a). Then there is one Yuan poem in three characters by Du Renjie 杜仁傑, dated 1289 (two other texts by the same author appear in 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 5.7a–9a and 8.14a–17b).

Finally, an inscription by Chen Daofu 陳道阜, written at the request of the temple intendant Fu Daoning 傅道寧, commemorates the empress mother's donation of a jade statue of Tianzun in 1309 (see also CGF 53).

Kwang Hing Foon

Nanyue xiaolu 南嶽小錄

15 fols.

By Li Chongzhao 李冲昭; 902

453 (fasc. 201)

“Short Record of the Southern Peak [in Hunan].” About the author no details are known. The earliest mention of the text is found in the *Chongwen zongmu* (cf. VDL 121). The introductory remarks by Li are dated *renxu* 壬戌. Since the latest date mentioned in the text is A.D. 869 it is likely that these cyclical characters stand for the year 902.

This record was based on old inscriptions, the *Hengshan tujing* 衡山圖經, *Xiangzhong shuo* 湘中說 (read *ji* 記 for *shuo* 說), and oral information. It gives an account of the topography of the Hengshan 衡山, the various religious buildings found there, and the persons who obtained the Tao on this mountain. The record also includes Chisong zi's 赤松子 biography by Liu Xiang 劉向 (14a–b; from 294 *Liexian zhuan* 1.1a) and a colophon by Zhuge Huang 諸葛黃 to a portrait of Tian Liangyi 田良逸 (d. 811).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

2.A.7 Collected Works

Two eminent Taoist authors are represented here, one a poet of the mid-Tang period, the other a late-Tang master of prose. WU YUN's partially preserved collected works contain, in addition to *fu*-rhapsodies and verse in various fixed meters, celebrated samples of his *lun*-discourses. DU GUANGTING's collection is even more fragmentary. Of his immense oeuvre in many genres only two categories survive here, albeit in large quantities: official and liturgical petitions, providing a detailed documentation of his career at the courts of the Tang and the Former Shu.

Zongxuan xiansheng wenji 宗玄先生文集

3 juan

By WU YUN 吳筠, *zi* Zhenjie 貞節, *hao* Dongyang zi 洞陽子, posthumous title Zongxuan xiansheng 宗玄先生 (d. 778)

1051 (fasc. 726–727)

“Collected Works of Master Zongxuan.” This collection is preceded by an undated preface by QUAN DEYU, vice-president of the Board of Rites (*libu shilang* 禮部侍郎). QUAN DEYU occupied that post from 802 to 810. He is also the author of WU YUN’s biography 1053 *Wu zunshi zhuan*.

WU YUN was a prolific writer whose complete works amounted to 450 chapters (*pian* 篇). Twenty-five years after his death (ca. 803), the collected works were compiled by Wang Yan 王顏 in thirty *pian* and presented to the throne. That edition was later obtained by one of WU YUN’s disciples, who then asked QUAN DEYU to write a preface (see preface 2b–3a).

The present collection is incomplete, since, according to QUAN DEYU, it originally comprised twenty juan (see 1053 *Wu zunshi zhuan* 2a). Later bibliographies record ten or eleven juan. The collection comprises only twenty-four of the thirty sections mentioned in the preface. The preface also includes the titles of twelve sections, of which four are missing in the present work (preface 2a–2b). Moreover, 1052 *Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun*, in three sections, also formed part of the collection (see 1053 *Wu zunshi zhuan* 3a).

Juan 1 and 2.1a–9b comprise eight *fu*-rhapsodies in irregular verse. Some of these are meditative in nature (see, for instance, “Xixin fu 洗心賦” and “Dengzhen fu 登真賦”; 2.3a–7a), others descriptive (2.7a–9b). The “Xuanyuan fu 玄猿賦,” written at Mount Lushan, includes a short preface. The “Yiren fu 逸人賦” (1.4a–8b) is a dialogue between a recluse and an interlocutor: the recluse discourses on the importance of disdaining worldly honors in favor of preserving the integrity of body and spirit. The “Si huanchun fu 思還淳賦” (2.1a–3b) contains some barbed references to the “Buddhist clique.”

The *fu*-rhapsodies are followed by three *lun*-discourses, all mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* (see VDL 93, 109, and 129).

The most famous of these *lun*-discourses is the “Shenxian ke xue lun 神仙可學論” (2.9b–16a), which upholds the thesis that immortality can be attained through the exercise of will and through study—a refutation of the claim by the Six Dynasties poet Ji Kang 嵇康 (223–262) that immortality was innate and could not be attained through study or exterior means. This work is included in the YJQQ 93.1a–7b.

The “Xinmu lun 心目論” (2.16a–19b) is presented in the form of a dialogue between the eyes and the heart, each accusing the other of leading him astray. It is in fact a metaphorical tale aimed at the emperor: the heart represents the ruler who blames

his lack of self-control on other factors (here the eyes). The work 1038 *Xinmu lun* reproduces this text (cf. Köhn, “Mind and Eyes”).

The “Xingshen ke gu lun 形神可固論” (2.20a–26b) comprises a preface and five essays on ways of consolidating body and spirit.

Nine short poems and four long ones on various themes end the collected works. The four long poems are: (1) “Youxian shi 遊仙詩” (Roaming Immortal), twenty-four couplets in five-word verses; (2) “Buxu ci 步虛詞” (Pacing the Void), ten couplets; (3) “Langu shi 覽古詩” (Perusing the Past), fourteen couplets in five-word verses; (4) “Gaoshi yong 高士詠” (Odes to Eminent Gentlemen), fifty couplets in five-word verses, each of which is dedicated to a Taoist immortal or to a person admired by WU YUN.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Guangcheng ji 廣成集

17 juan

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

616 (fasc. 337–339)

“Collected Works of the Master of Broad Accomplishments.” DU GUANGTING received the honorary title *Guangcheng xiansheng* 廣成先生 from Wang Jian (847–918), king of Shu, in 913. Du’s collected works are catalogued in the *Chongwen zhongmu* as having fifty-four juan and in the bibliographical chapter of the *Song shi* as comprising one hundred juan (see VDL 109–110). The present edition corresponds, therefore, to only a part of the original work.

The first three juan contain petitions (*biao* 表) addressed to the throne; the remaining juan hold supplications (*ci* 詞) presented at different ritual services. None of these documents appear to date from the time the author was active at Chang’an, the capital of the Tang dynasty, before coming to Chengdu, Sichuan, in 881 with Emperor Xizong. Du’s title, as given with his name at the beginning of the present edition, corresponds, however, to the one he bore in that early period of his life.

The *biao* are all addressed to the Shu emperors, to Wang Jian as well as to his son Wang Yan (898–925). The *ci*, on the contrary, date largely from the times when Du, although having remained in Sichuan at the service of Wang Jian, was at least in name subject to the last Tang emperors. In these documents, Wang Jian is named “the master of Sichuan” (*Chuanzhu* 川主; e.g., 6.9b and 7.10b), or, elsewhere, “king of Shu” (*Shuwang* 蜀王; e.g., 9.5b); the supplications ask for “blessings for the Tang and peace for the region of Shu” (9.8b). From juan 12 on, we find mention of the “emperors of Shu” and their reign titles. These documents thus reflect the political changes of the times. They also mention many important historical figures related to the Shu region

and to the new dynasty. Certain events, such as the auspicious portents produced at the coronation of Wang Jian and the death and funerals of the latter, are well documented.

The *ci* were written for a great variety of liturgical services. We find the classical Retreats (*zhai* 齋) of a general nature, as well as a great number of specialized Offerings (*jiao* 醮) addressed to the stars and, on the occasion of special dates or events—for example, ordination—to specific deities, such as the Earth God, and immortals. The most important Offering services are called *Zhoutian dajiao* 周天大醮 and *Luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮. These vast rituals, which are described here for the first time, are said to be based on the “ancient Lingbao liturgy” (6.11b).

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Kristofer Schipper

2.A.8 Handbooks and Encyclopedias

The encyclopedic and analytic compilations on the categories of Taoist literature, thought, and practice in this section offer an insight into the structure of the mental universe of medieval Taoism. The “Principal Meaning of Taoism” (1124 *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi*) analyzes the twelvefold classification of Taoist writings in the canon; “The Pearlbag of the Three Caverns” (1139 *Sandong zhunang*) lays out major categories of Taoist theory and practice; and “The Pivotal Meaning of Taoist Doctrine” (1129 *Daojiao yishu*) categorizes theoretical concepts and terms. The “Phonological Glossary” (1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*), likewise concerned with problems of terminology, is a fragment of a once extensive glossary of the Taoist canon. The final group of texts—“Forest of Opinions” (1262 *Yilin*), “Discussion of the Standard Works of Taoism” (1130 *Daodian lun*), and “Collection of Accomplished Sayings” (1033 *Zhiyan zang*)—consists of compilations of citations.

Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi 洞玄靈寶玄門大義

20 fols.

Seventh century

1124 (fasc. 760)

“Principal Meaning of Taoism.” This work deals with the classification of the Taoist writings into twelve divisions (*shier bu* 十二部; 1a–b) and with their characteristics. As Ōfuchi Ninji demonstrates (“On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 33–36), the *Xuanmen dayi* is

based on SONG WENMING's (fl. 550) *Tongmen lun* 通門論. The last part of that work has been preserved in Dunhuang manuscripts (Pelliot 2861, Pelliot 2256, Pelliot 3001; see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 332; *Zurokuhen*, 725–34). The *Xuanmen dayi* again served as a basis for the *Daojiao yishu*, compiled about 700 (cf. 1129 *Daojiao yishu*, preface 4b; note that 2.14b–24a of this work is almost entirely composed of parts from the present *Xuanmen dayi*).

The passages 14b–15a and 15b of our text are cited in 464 *Zhaijie lu* 5a and 7b as being derived from the *Xuanmen dalun* 玄門大論. Passages 7a–12a are found in YJQQ 7.1a–6a where *Daomen dalun* 道門大論 is named as the source. Of YJQQ 6, also citing *Daomen dalun*, only the final part (6.20a–23a; 6.23b–24b) survives in the present text, whereas the first part (6.1a–19b) now figures—partly abridged and with new titles—only in 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 2.1a–12a. This sort of textual modification is fully in keeping with the statements by MENG ANPAI in his preface to the latter work. Also SDZN quotes from juan 7, 13, and 20 of a *Xuanmen lun* 玄門論. These passages are no longer found in the present *Xuanmen dayi*, but the citation in SDZN 7.23a appears to be the abridged version of a passage in 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 1.17b (cf. also 1124 *Xuanmen dayi* 17b and Pelliot 2256 lines 286–89). Thus *Xuanmen lun*, *Xuanmen dalun*, and *Daomen dalun* can be regarded as alternative titles for the *Xuanmen dayi* that originally comprised twenty juan. This conclusion contradicts, however, 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 1.12b and 1.20a, which has separate entries for a *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi* and a *Xuanmen dalun* in twenty juan (cf. Ōfuchi Ninji, *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū*, 280–87, 334–36).

Since the *Daomen dalun* in YJQQ 6.1a cites the *Benji jing* 本際經, our text can be dated between the *Benji jing* (early seventh century) and the SDZN (second half of the seventh century).

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Sandong zhunang 三洞珠囊

10 juan

Compiled by Wang Xuanhe 王懸河, hao Luhai yuke 陸海羽客; ca. 680

1139 (fasc. 780–782)

“The Pearlbag of the Three Caverns.” This work is an encyclopedia of Taoist practice presenting exemplary models of Taoist careers, together with their subjects’ literary activities and general conduct. Wang Xuanhe selected texts or books from the Three Caverns that present model Taoists who often rank among the deities and immortals. Many texts convey theoretical notions that Wang Xuanhe wishes to introduce. *San-*

dong (Three Caverns) here means Taoist literature. Concerning the activities of the court Taoist Wang Xuanhe, there are three titles of inscriptions preserved in *Baoke leibian* 8.288.

Song bibliographies indicate that *Sandong zhunang* (SDZN) originally comprised thirty juan (VDL 74). The present remainder was substantially rearranged under unknown circumstances, see, for example, the indication on 4.5b, according to which the chapter “Nourishment” (3.1a–29a) was originally juan 9. On the other hand, 4.5b indicates the existence of a chapter on the “Retreat into the Mountains,” formerly juan 29, which is no longer extant. There are other indications concerning lost titles or chapters, for example, 7.24a, “Ershiqi tian zhe 二十七天者.”

Wang Xuanhe intended to provide the Taoist priest with instructive guidelines, rather than to compile a complete catalogue of Taoist scriptures and literary works. In this respect, the SDZN differs from WANG YAN’s bibliography *Sandong zhunang*, compiled around the end of the sixth century (see YJQQ 85.18b–20a). Wang Xuanhe quotes biographies in order to present model Taoists who had successfully realized those practices and prescriptions that the texts of the Three Caverns feature. The chapters in SDZN are entitled “Nourishment,” “Meditation,” “Elixirs of the Deities and Medicines of the Immortals,” and so on. There are some indications concerning formal rules that a Taoist priest should observe, for example, “To Gain Merits, to Observe Restrictions” (6.4b–13a). Wang Xuanhe also features comprehensive systems that appear to classify and order the world as well as its physical and spiritual entities; see, for example, “The Twenty-four Dioceses” (7.1a ff.) and “The Twenty-seven Lords of the Vital Energies in the Human Body” (7.24a–24b). In juan 7, Wang Xuanhe introduces some sources of the Sui (581–618) or early Tang (618–907) period, for example, *Zhang Tianshi ershisi zhi tu* 張天師二十四治圖 (7.6a–14a). The majority of Wang Xuanhe’s sources consist of earlier Shangqing texts. In many cases, Wang Xuanhe clearly quotes from 1016 *Zhen’gao*.

Wang Xuanhe aims to define the place of Taoism within society and history. This aim can be seen from his extensive presentations of the themes “Laozi, the Teacher of the Emperors” (9.5b) and “Laozi Converts the Barbarians of the West” (9.8b–20b). SDZN is an important source for the bibliography of Taoist works. It preserves numerous texts and extended fragments of texts that are either no longer extant or incomplete, for example, the extensive quotations of 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 (e.g., 3.20a ff.) and the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (9.6b ff.).

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Florian C. Reiter

***Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞**

10 juan

By MENG ANPAI 孟安排 (fl. 699)

1129 (fasc. 762–763)

“The Pivotal Meaning of Taoist Doctrine.” This small encyclopedia of Taoist terms and concepts was compiled probably toward the beginning of the eighth century. The Taoist master MENG ANPAI from Mount Qingqi 青溪 (Hubei) lived during the reign of the empress Wu (684–705). His name is mentioned in connection with the construction of a temple in 699 in Jingzhou, not far from Mount Qingqi (“Jingzhou da chongfu guan ji 荊州大崇福觀記,” *Wenyuan yinghua* 822.1a–2b).

As Meng writes in his preface—in which he also cites the paragraph on Taoist scriptures from the bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu* (dated 656) 35.1091–92—he found the existing works of this kind unsatisfactory, with the sole exception of the *Xuanmen dayi* 玄門大義 (see 1124 *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi*). He adopted the latter in an abridged form, made use of additional citations from various scriptures, and thus compiled his work in thirty-seven sections. It has not come down to us completely, since one section from juan 5 and the whole of juan 6 in four sections are missing (cf. the table of contents to the work).

In his compilation, Meng does not treat the practice of Taoism but concentrates exclusively on its theoretical concepts, which, in each case, he briefly defines (*yi* 義) before providing detailed explanations (*shi* 釋) and citing sources. To a great extent, the concepts discussed are of Buddhist origin, for example, “fields of merit” (*futian* 福田), Pure Land (*jingtu* 淨土), and “five corruptions” (*wuzhuo* 五濁). Thus the present work also bears testimony to the influence of early Tang Buddhism on Taoism. Of great importance is also juan 2, in which the conception for the classification of Taoist scriptures in three, seven, and twelve divisions is documented.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 一切道經音義妙門由起**

33 fols.

By SHI CHONG 史崇, alias Shi Chongxuan 史崇玄, et al.; compiled 712–713

1123 (fasc. 760).

“Phonological Glossary of the Taoist Canon” and “The Origin and Development of Taoist Doctrine.” The present edition consists of two prefaces to the work corresponding to the first part of the title, and the text of the second.

The “Phonological Glossary” had been commissioned by Emperor Xuanzong, who came to power in September 712 and consolidated his rule by the elimination of the Taiping princess, his aunt, at the end of July 713.

The editor in chief of this work was SHI CHONGXUAN (d. 713), an influential court Taoist under two preceding reigns (see *Jiu Tang shu* 7.141, and *Zizhi tongjian* 208.6598 on his appointments under Zhongzong, and *Xin Tang shu* 83.3656–57 for those under Ruizong) and abbot of the Taiqing guan 太清觀 temple, seat of the imperial Laozi cult in Chang’an. In the wake of the Taiping princess’s death, Shi and several other members of the editorial committee mentioned in the preface (see below) fell victim to a purge of her former supporters (see *Chaoye qianzai* 朝野僉載, by Zhang Zhuo 張鷟, ca. 658–730, quoted in *Taiping guangji* 288.2292, and *Zizhi tongjian* 210.6683–86). The completion of the work therefore falls within the interval between the accession of Xuanzong and the downfall of the Taiping princess.

The glossary itself survived into the Song (see references in 104 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* 1a–12a, passim) but was subsequently lost (cf. 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 2.1b). A separate edition of the preface(s) was recorded in the eleventh century (*Chongwen zongmu* 9.3a, listing the *Yiqie daoshu yinyi xu* 一切道書音義序 in one juan).

The two prefaces to the present text are by Emperor Xuanzong (“Yiqie daoqing yinyi xu”) and by SHI CHONGXUAN and his fellow editors (“Miaomen youqi xu”). The former recounts the imperial order that had initiated the research for and compilation of the glossary. The completed work comprised 140 juan, “not counting the index and the catalogue of scriptures.”

The second preface indicates a total of 113 juan, including the glossary, doctrine (*Miaomen youqi* 妙門由起, “in six sections”), and the bibliographies (note that *Xin Tang shu* 59.1520 catalogues a *Daozang yinyi mulu* 道藏音義目錄, also in 113 juan; the *Daozang quejing mulu*, cited above, claimed 150 juan for the lost work titled *Yiqie daoqing yinyi* 一切道經音義).

The editors’ preface further lists the members of the editorial committee: twenty-three officials and scholars, headed by Shi, and eighteen clerics (not an exhaustive list), abbots, and dignitaries of major metropolitan and provincial temples. The latter group was headed by ZHANG WANFU, also of the Taiqing guan in Chang’an, who had already collaborated with Shi in the ordination ceremonies for imperial princesses in 711 and 712 (see 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lieshuo* 2.18a–20b).

The title suggests that the glossary was modeled on the *Yiqie jing yinyi* (mid-seventh century) by Xuanying 玄應 and on antecedent Buddhist dictionaries, which elucidated phonetic and philological difficulties arising from the Chinese translation of Sanskrit names and terminology.

The glossary was compiled on the basis of 2,000 juan of scriptures held at the

capital. The editors' preface evokes the vicissitudes of the transmission of Taoist books. In fact, their scholarly project was soon followed by the attempts of the Kaiyuan period (713–741) to reconstitute the canon itself (cf. 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 52.16b).

As mentioned in the editors' preface, the *Miaomen youqi* in six sections had been compiled jointly with the glossary. This summary account of Taoist doctrine, according to citations from selected scriptures (see the list in Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō kyōten shiron*, 398–400), is all that survives of the larger work. The six sections address the following subjects: (1) Cosmogony (*daohua* 道化); (2) Pantheon (*tianzun* 天尊); (3) and (4) Cosmology and sacred geography (*fajie* 法界, *jüchu* 居處); (5) Taoist practice (*kaidu* 開度); and (6) Scriptural traditions (*jingfa* 經法).

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Franciscus Verellen

Yilin 意林

5 juan

By Ma Zong 馬總, *zi* Yuanhui 元會; 787

1262 (fasc. 1000–1001)

“Forest of Opinions.” This is a compilation of selected passages from philosophical works from the pre-Qin (221–206 B.C.) up to the Six Dynasties (220–598) period. The two prefaces by Dai Shulun 戴叔倫 and Liu Bing 劉并 (*zi* Bocun 伯存), dated 786 and 787, provide information about the compilation of this collection: Ma Zong used as a basis Yu Zhongrong's 庾仲容 (476–549) work *Zichao* 子鈔 in thirty juan (of which only the list of books used for the compilation has been preserved; cf. the bibliographical appendix to *Zilüe*), but he modified the length of the individual excerpts, thus creating his own selection in six juan.

The present fragmentary version of the *Yilin* in five juan contains extracts from sixty-nine works (the table of contents lists seventy-one), almost half of which are lost today. However, an abridged version of the *Yilin* in six juan is still found in *Shuofu* 11.11a–33a. Although the table of contents in the *Daozang* edition corresponds, apart from a few exceptions, to the *Shuofu* edition and also to the list of works excerpted in the *Zichao*, the order of the textual extracts in juan 5 of the present text differs from the table of contents. Also, the passage given under “Wangsun zi 王孫子” in juan 2 does not come from that work (cf. the version in the *Shuofu*).

Shortcomings of this kind have been noted and corrected in later critical editions, such as the one of 1797 commentated by Zhou Guangye 周廣業, which also contains a compilation of scattered fragments from the *Yilin*. Compilations of missing passages from juan 2 and 6—found, for example, as an appendix to the *Wuying dian juzhen* 武

英殿聚珍 edition—merely contain the respective paragraphs from the *Shuofu* version. For a discussion of numerous other editions of this text, see Hu Yujin, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao buzheng*, 1018–19.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Daodian lun 道典論

4 juan

Tang (618–907)

1130 (fasc. 764)

“Discussion of the Standard Works of Taoism.” Despite the title, this work is not a discourse but an encyclopedia in which the anonymous compiler has assembled, under each heading, a selection of citations from Taoist writings. Originally comprising thirty juan (see *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.25a), it most likely dates from (the first half of?) the Tang dynasty. In the present four juan version more than seventy texts are cited, most of them from the Six Dynasties (220–589) period. Seven texts are probably of a later date and quoted only in other compilations of the seventh and eighth century. About a dozen texts, such as *Taishang chutai yebao jing* 太上處胎業報經 (3.4b) and *Taiyi dijun tianhun neibian jing* 太一帝君天魂內變經 (4.7b) are otherwise unknown.

Two Dunhuang fragments, Stein 3547 and Pelliot 2920, contain parts of juan 1 of the present work. The first sixteen lines of Stein 3547 precede the beginning of the *Daodian lun* in the *Daozang*. Moreover, an internal reference to the headings “Mountains” and “Vestments and Adornments” (1.12b), which are not preserved in our text, confirm the fragmentary character of this encyclopedia.

The preserved four juan contain more than fifty headings on the following topics: classification of deities (juan 1); ranks and titles of Taoists (juan 2); forbidden actions and wrong mental attitudes (juan 3); omens, dreams, gymnastics, respiratory exercises, and operative alchemy (juan 4).

Very likely, the Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot 2459, Pelliot 2469, Pelliot 2725, Pelliot 3652, Pelliot 3299, and Stein 1113—which, according to Ōfuchi’s studies, probably belonged to one and the same scroll—and presumably also Pelliot 2443 (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 349–51; *Zurokuhen*, 801–10) are further fragments from the *Daodian lun*: there, too, we find the binominal headings with occasionally very brief entries; the same, otherwise little-known texts are cited, and the same abbreviated titles are used (e.g., *Mengwei jing* 盟威經, *Fuqi fa* 服氣法). Moreover, Pelliot 2459, line 101, has a commentary by the compiler that, like the occasional explanations in the present text (e.g., 1.11a; 2.7a), starts with the formula “Now I explain” (*jinsi* 今釋). The indications of the juan of a work from which the citations are drawn are, however, missing in the *Daozang* version.

Assuming that the above manuscripts are fragments of the *Daodian lun*, the work cannot have been compiled before the beginning of the seventh century, since Pelliot 3652 cites from juan 4 of the *Benji jing* 本際經, and Pelliot 2725, Pelliot 2459, and Stein III3 quote juan 3 of the *Benji jing* under the title *Tianshi qingwen jing* 天師請問經.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao Zuoxuan lun 洞玄靈寶左玄論

4 juan

Seventh century or earlier

1136 (fasc. 767)

“Discourse of Zuoxuan.” The term *Zuoxuan* 左玄 in the title might imply that this text was attributed to GE XUAN (164–244), traditionally considered to have been the recipient of the sacred Lingbao scriptures, and who in hagiographic sources is also referred to as Taiji Zuo xiangong 太極左仙公. Another possibility is that the term is a reference to a certain mythical zhenren from the hierarchy of immortals surrounding the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, namely Zuoxuan zhenren 左玄真人, mentioned in 1432 *Taishang zhongdao miaofa lianhua jing* 1.1a.

Evidently, much of the original text has been lost. The four juan that make up the actual text correspond to the fourth and fifth item (*pin* 品) of the original text. Three quotations from the *Zuoxuan lun*, preserved in the seventh-century SDZN (7.22a), make clear that the original text consisted of at least thirteen *pin*. These quotations also suggest the early Tang (618–907) as a probable date of composition.

The present text, which has been preserved only in the *Daozang*, posits the division of the Tao into a Great and a Lesser Vehicle (Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna) on the basis of precedence given to either compassion and pity (*cibei* 慈悲), or to meditation on the unreality of ego and phenomena and on the reality of karma and nirvāṇa (*kongguan* 空觀). In the present text, Taishang Daojun 太上道君, who is credited with the (originally Buddhist) ability to reveal himself in various manifestations in order to expound the doctrine (*xianshen shuofa* 現身說法), also explains the origin and meaning of the Three Caverns and their twelve subsections (*sandong shier bu* 三洞十二部).

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Zhiyan zong 至言總

5 juan

Fan Xiaoran 范儵然; late Tang (618–907)?

1033 (fasc. 703)

“Collection of Accomplished Sayings.” As its title suggests, this book is a selection of texts from various works considered by the compiler as suitable for Taoist practice. The first chapter concerns the rites of the Retreat (*zhaijie* 齋戒; 1.1a–8a), audiences

with the *zhenren* (*chaozhen* 朝眞; 1.8a–10b), purification and bathing (*jiehui muyu* 解穢沐浴; 1.10a–12a). The second chapter is about the methods, theories, and recipes of the art of Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生). The third chapter addresses interdictions and precautions (medical, dietary, sexual, hygienic, and even emotional, etc.) that must be observed in order to “maintain life.” The fourth chapter describes breath circulation (*yunqi* 運氣). The fifth chapter concerns methods for exercising and strengthening the body (*budao* 補導), the massage methods of Laozi (*Laozi anmo fa* 老子按摩法; 5.1a–4a), merit and demerit (*gongguo* 功過; 5.4a–10a), and finally a rite of repentance (*Sanyuan bajie xieguo fa* 三元八節謝過法; 5.10a–12a).

The present text cites dozens of earlier books, some of which appear independently in the *Daozang*, as follows (the references in parentheses are to the *Zhiyan zong*):

- 417 *Taishang dadao sanyuan pinjie xiezui shangfa* 1a–2a (1.10b–11a)
 464 *Zhaijie lu* 1a–2b (1.1a–2a), 3a–4a (1.2a–3a), 8b–11b (1.3a–6b), 16b–17a (1.4a–b)
 838 *Yangxing yanming lu* 1.5a (2.1a–b), 1.5a (2.4a–b), 1.8b–9a (3.9b), 1.10a–b (2.4b)
 1163 *Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang* 81.1a–2b (2.10a–b), 81.2b–3a (2.6a–b),
 81.3a–b (2.6b–7a), 81.3b–4a (2.10b–11a), 81.10a–b (2.3b–4a)
 1427 *Taiqing Daolin shesheng lun* 1a–b (2.11a–b), 2b–4a (3.2a–3b), 4a–5a (2.11b–
 12b), 9a–10a (3.3b–4a), 10a–12a (3.4a–5b), 13a–b (3.5b–6a), 13b–14b (5.2b–3b),
 14b–16b (5.1a–2b), 16b–18a (4.8b–9b), 18b–19b (4.9b–10b), 23a–b (2.8a–b)

The *Zhiyan zong* is, in turn, cited twice by the YJQQ, 35.6a–10a (2.2b–12b) and 35.10a–14a (3.1a–5b), dating it to before the eleventh century. The compiler, Fan Xiaoran, designated as a *daoshi* of Yuxue 禹穴, Guiji 會稽, is otherwise unknown. According to Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, he was approximately contemporary with DU GUANGTING (850–933) and the book appeared at the end of Tang.

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Kwong Hing Foon

2.B Texts in Internal Circulation

2.B.1 The General Liturgical Organization of the Tang

The unification of Taoist traditions that began in the fifth century A.D. reached its culminating point during the Tang dynasty (618–907). The groundwork for this unification was laid by LU XIUJING (406–477) in his *Sandong jing shumu* 三洞經書目 and in his codification of the liturgy of the Way of the Heavenly Master (see 1127 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe*). In a different way, works by TAO HONGJING (452–536) such as 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* and the *Zhenling weiye jing* 真靈位業經 (see 167 *Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu*) equally attempted to provide a global and unified view of the Taoist traditions that were current in those times.

The great encyclopedic undertaking, 1138 *Wushang biyao*, constituted a further step toward the integration of the different traditions into a single system (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 32 and passim). However, inasmuch as this enterprise aimed at the establishment of a state religion, the Way of the Heavenly Master and its liturgy were virtually excluded. The collection and collation of texts for the compilation of the *Wushang biyao* was carried out at the Tongdao guan 通道觀 under the direction of WANG YAN (d. 604). Bibliographic projects continued at the abbey during the Sui dynasty (581–618), when its name was changed to Xuandu guan 玄都觀. A manuscript of the *Laozi bianhua jing* 老子變化經 discovered at Dunhuang has a colophon indicating that it was copied in 612 under the guidance of a master of the Xuandu guan in order to be included in the imperial library (Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao Tseu*, 59–60, and Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 325). Thus this manuscript must have been part of the general compilation effort undertaken at the abbey. Moreover, this manuscript shows us that at that time the collection and collation of Taoist texts was no longer limited to the scriptures of the Three Caverns (*Sandong jing* 三洞經) but also included more ancient works. The editors treated the ancient messianic text of the *Laozi bianhua jing* with the utmost respect, since all archaic and corrupt characters and sentences were copied verbatim. All the Taoist scriptural traditions were thus united for inclusion in one great canon. As is well known, on that occasion the ancient texts were subdivided into four parts, the so-called Four Supplements (*sifu* 四輔).

The *Wushang biyao* does not as yet mention the *sifu*. But WANG YAN's catalogue, called the Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns (*Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊; not to

be confused with the later encyclopedia SDZN that bears the same title), was divided into seven chapters, which may be an indication that it was this catalogue that was divided into Seven Parts (*qibu* 七部). This hypothesis becomes all the more likely when we recall that the catalogue listed a number of works that were not included in the category of the scriptures of the Three Caverns (see *Xiaodao lun* 9.152b).

Several decades later, the patriarch PAN SHIZHENG (d. 682), in his dialogues with the Tang emperor Gaozong (r. 649–683), remarked: “Concerning the transformation of the Three Caverns into Seven Parts [one should note that]: Dongzhen, Dongxuan, and Dongshen [are the Three Caverns], so Taixuan, Taiping, and Taiqing contain the auxiliary scriptures (*fujing* 輔經). . . . The Zhengyi [One and Orthodox] Covenant with the Powers (*mengwei* 盟威) is pertinent to all [the canon]. Together, [all these divisions] form the Seven Parts” (1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 1.2a).

The most remarkable feature of this evolution is the fundamental importance accorded, at the beginning of the Tang period, to the liturgy of the Way of the Heavenly Master. It is henceforth integrated into the unified Taoist system, of which it forms the basis as well as the first step. The reason for this order must be sought in the fact that the classification of Taoist scriptures does not correspond solely to preoccupations of a bibliographical nature. This classification of books also reflects the different ordination ranks of the Taoist hierarchy. The Zhengyi (Heavenly Masters) tradition is the first and lowest echelon. From there, the system comprises a large number of steps leading to the top of the ladder, the initiation into the Shangqing tradition (the Dongzhen scriptures). Chen Guofu (CGF 7) remarks: “The transmission of registers (*falü* 法籙), disciplinary rules (*jie* 戒), and scriptures between Taoists followed a set system of hierarchical grades. To each grade corresponded a certain type of scripture. This classification does not necessarily follow that of the Taoist canon, but can be used as material for comparison purposes.” Chen’s point of view is not entirely substantiated by the evidence furnished by Tang works on the overall liturgical organization. It is true that some subdivisions of the seven-part canon have no clear status in the classification system of ordination ranks (this is the case, for instance, for the *Taiqing bu* 太清部). But at the same time, there can be no doubt that there existed a formal relationship in Tang times between the divisions of the canon and the ordination ranks of the daoshi. Indeed, several sources show us that in those times the ordinations were accompanied by the transmission of scriptures that represented complete divisions of the canon. For instance, 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* contains an ordination ritual corresponding to the ranks of disciple of the Golden Button (*jinniu dizi* 金鈕弟子) and of master of the Rites of Divine High Mystery (*taishang gaoxuan fashi* 太上高玄法師). This ordination was linked exclusively to the transmission of the texts in the *Taixuan bu* 太玄部 of the canon, and, during the ceremony, the most representative works of that division were indeed handed over from master to disciple. These works

were the *Daode jing* 道德經 and its most important commentaries, as well as several rituals that were linked to these scriptures. In a similar way, the conferral of the rank of disciple of the Three Sovereigns (*sanhuang dizi* 三皇弟子) implied the transmission of the *Dongzhen bu* 洞真部, as is shown by 803 *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi*. These links between ordination and the transmission of scriptures are borne out by the way ZHANG WANFU (fl. 713) presents the ordination ranks of his times in his 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li*.

One of the most fundamental aspects of the system that linked ordination with the transmission of texts was already outlined by PAN SHIZHENG. When Taizong (alias Tang Tianhuang 唐天皇 [Heavenly Sovereign of the Tang]) asked him “Where are the fruits of the different stages of Taoism found?” PAN SHIZHENG answered: “In the classification system of our religion, we distinguish between the gradual and the sudden. That implies that when an adept for the first time manifests his or her intention of becoming a Taoist [master] . . . he or she should first observe the disciplinary rules. These rules are, for instance, those that the *Taixuan zhenjing* 太玄真經 calls the three, five, nine, ten, one hundred and eighty, and three hundred rules.”

The *Taixuan jing* to which PAN SHIZHENG refers is now lost, but ZHANG WANFU gives a rather complete list of the different sets of rules and their corresponding ordination ranks at the beginning of 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu liieshuo*. This list shows conclusively that ordination ranks were linked not only to scriptures but also, as Chen Guofu observed, to sets of disciplinary rules: to receive an ordination implied the transmission of a corresponding register (*lu* 錄; see Zhang’s 1212 *Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi*) and a particular set of commandments. ZHANG WANFU’s handbooks, as well as a number of other works, explain the entire system, which matched the seven divisions of the canon to the hierarchy of the Taoist clergy.

To each of the seven parts corresponded a rank and titles for those who had received the texts of that part. For each part, there was a distinct ritual of transmission, and at each stage, new offerings had to be made by the recipient. These offerings ranged, for example, from one pair of silver rings and 120 feet of silk for obtaining the lowest rank in the Way of the Heavenly Masters, to nine ounces and fourteen rings of gold, at least 300 feet of silk, and numerous other precious objects for the highest rank of transmission of the Shangqing scriptures. Inside the system, there were, of course, a number of minor discrepancies. The general situation, however, was that during the entire period under discussion here, there was a near perfect unity between the Taoist clerical-liturgical organization and its scriptural corpus. This situation must have been most satisfying, inasmuch as the different textual traditions no longer represented different schools (if that had ever been the case) but had become integrated into an

overall system in which the adept could make his or her way from the first religious instruction during childhood to the highest levels in the divine office.

We have listed the texts in this section according to the organization of the Tang canon. Beginning from the lowest level, the One and Orthodox (*zhengyi* 正一) Way of the Heavenly Master, we present the Taiping and Taixuan divisions, but not the Taiqing division, as there is absolutely no proof that the texts of that part of the canon were ritually transmitted within the framework of the overall liturgical organization. For instance, there is no ordination title that corresponds to the possession of Taiqing texts, and these works, mostly manuals for the Tending Life practices, must therefore have been in general circulation. The textual traditions of the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* 洞淵神咒經 and the *Shengxuan jing* 昇玄經 do not have their own divisions. They are therefore classified, by the Tang liturgists, either as part of the Dongshen division, or as separate groups somewhere between Dongshen and Dongxuan, that is, as “lesser Lingbao” texts. Notwithstanding the vagueness that surrounded their canonical status, these texts were transmitted liturgically and commanded special initiations and ordination titles.

Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi

洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始

6 juan

By Jinming qizhen 金明七真; early Tang (618–907)

1125 (fasc. 760–761)

“Regulations for the Practice of Taoism in Accordance with the Scriptures of the Three Caverns, a Dongxuan Lingbao Canon.” This work presents standards for the Taoist’s life and professional activities. Originally the work was arranged in three juan (1.1b); see *Chongwen zongmu* 9.3b, where the title reads *Sandong fengdao kejie* 三洞奉道科戒. It is not known how or why the work was remodeled to comprise six juan, nor when the title was expanded. The present edition is incomplete, as is shown by the quotations found in 1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 1.1a and SDZN 6.13a.

This is Jinming qizhen’s main work (see also 164 *Shangqing sanzun pulu*, 674 *Wushang sanyuan zhenzhai linglu*, 1388 *Shangqing jinzhen yuhuang shangyuan jiutian zhenling sanbai liushiwu bu yuanlu*, and 1390 *Shangqing dongtian sanwu jin’gang xuanlu yijing*), which sets the standard for the integral, hierarchically structured system of Taoism that was to retain validity throughout the Tang dynasty. The exact date of the work remains to be ascertained. Whereas Ōfuchi Ninji, on the basis of internal evidence, dates it to about the middle of the seventh century, Yoshioka, mainly relying on dates given in 1388 *Sanbai liushiwu bu yuanlu*, argues for a date around 550 (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, “*Sandō hōdō kakai gihan*,” 39–45). But the lack of historical evidence for the

existence of such complex, state-sponsored Taoist institutions (*guan* 觀) in the sixth century—corresponding largely to the Buddhist *vinaya*, as described in the present text—leaves doubts about Yoshioka’s thesis.

Ōfuchi Ninji (*Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 115 ff.) describes the Dunhuang fragments of this work, and Yoshioka Yoshitoyo’s *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 3:77–219 contains a complete Japanese paraphrase of the text.

The relationship of the present work to other texts provides a basis for its tentative dating. On the one hand, the work itself (1.8a, 1.12a) clearly relies on 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing*, and a now lost passage (cited in 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 17b–18b) shows a parallel with 339 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chujia yinyuan jing* 10b. On the other hand, 792 *Xuanmen shishi weiyi* repeatedly (10a, 11a) refers to our text as Qizhen’s *Code*. Apart from the citation from a *Sandong ke* in SDZN 6.13a, not found in the present text, the earliest historically reliable references to the code date from the early eighth century (see 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 8b).

This work shows essential features of Zhengyi Taoism, which received substantial imperial favors at the presumed time of the book’s compilation. According to the preface, Jinming qizhen had divided his work into three juan-comprising 512 individual paragraphs and eight additional sections containing standards for the ceremonial (*yifan* 儀範). Judging by the number of individual paragraphs still extant, more than one third of the text is lost. Some of these lost portions are found in the Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot 3682 and Stein 809 (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 115–16; *Zurokuhen*, 219–22); 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 17b–18b contains a lost passage, of which manuscript Pelliot 3682 is a direct continuation. Another noteworthy passage is found in 464 *Zhaijie lu* 9a–10a (cf. 336 *Yebao yinyuan jing* 4.11a).

The *yifan* in eight sections, completely preserved in juan 4 to 6 of the present text, originally formed a single juan, the final juan 3 (see 6.12a). Song bibliographers still referred to this original version in three juan (VDL 74), but among the Dunhuang manuscripts there existed already a version in five juan (Pelliot 2337; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 116–21; *Zurokuhen*, 223–42).

The first part of the work (juan 1–3) offers detailed descriptions of ten categories of Taoist religious activities (“the production of icons,” 2.1a–5b; “the copying of scriptures,” 2.5b–7a; etc.). This part opens with a presentation of the rewards or punishments obtained for evil and good deeds, all of which are quoted from 336 *Yebao yinyuan jing* (1.8a, 12a); compare Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 3:117–33. The second part (juan 4–6), consisting of eight sections, provides instructions for the performance of liturgical services (see fig. 36). The ranks that mark the career of the Taoist priest and the respective registers and scriptures that the Taoist receives step-by-step are all listed and described in great detail. Possibly the most important data are provided by two



FIGURE 36. Ritual vestments for male and female priests of different grades (1125 5.4b, 6b).

lists of the relevant scriptures: *Lingbao zhongmeng jingmu* 靈寶中盟經目 (4.8a–10b) and *Shangqing dadong zhenjing mu* 上清大洞真經目 (5.1a–2b). These lists should be viewed within the context of the chapter on the Taoist's career (“Faci yi 法次儀”; 4.4b ff.). Most of the texts listed here were written during the Six Dynasties period (220–589) and are of great bibliographical and historical value because they reveal the concrete literary background to the activities of the Taoist priest.

A comparison of the *Daozang* text with the Dunhuang manuscripts cited above, as well as with Stein 3863, reveals in addition to variant characters (instead of *nüguan* 女冠 as in our version, the manuscripts consistently write *nüguan* 女官) interpolations in the section on ordination grades and documents (“Faci yi 法次儀”) in our version (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 115, 117–18). Also, the change of the title from *huangchi dizi* 黃赤弟子 (Pelliot 2337 line 132) to *sanyi dizi* 三一弟子 (4.6a) is worth noting.

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Florian C. Reiter and Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu 道門經法相承次序

3 juan

By PAN SHIZHENG 潘師正; ca. 680

1128 (fasc. 762)

“The Order of Succession of the Taoist Scriptural Legacy.” This text purports (see 1.9a) to record conversations between the Celestial Emperor (Tianhuang 天皇)—that is, Tang Gaozong (r. 649–683), who assumed this title in 674 (see *Jiu Tang shu* 5.99, *Zizhi tongjian* 202.6372)—and the Reverend Master Pan (PAN SHIZHENG [d. 682?]) that took place at the latter’s retreat in Xiaoyao 逍遙 valley on the Central Peak (i.e., Songshan 嵩山), not far from Gaozong’s capital at Luoyang.

Although the exchanges recorded in the present text are not dated, Gaozong’s interest in Songshan and in Pan is well attested in the Taoist tradition (see *Zhenxi* 真係, dated 805, in YJQQ 5.13b) and confirmed by historical sources. At least one dated visit to the sacred mountain included a meeting of the emperor and his close family with Pan from 19 to 25 March 680 (see *Zizhi tongjian* 202.6393). For (planned) visits in 676, 679, and 683 (the year of Gaozong’s death), see the review of the relevant sources in CGF 51. However, the enfeoffment ceremonies in honor of Mount Song that were intended in each of those years were all cancelled for various reasons (see *Zizhi tongjian* 202.6379, 6393, and 203.6515; cf. *Tang huiyao* 7.101–3).

The discrepancy between the title and the contents of the work (for which see below) and the lack of editorial unity suggest that the present text may be incomplete. It is also impossible to ascertain whether the purported conversations were recorded by PAN SHIZHENG himself.

An introductory section summarizes Taoist doctrines concerning the organization of the universe, the structure of the Taoist canon, the pantheon, and moral precepts. The discussion of the latter subject (1.6a–9a) shows a strong Buddhist influence; it is cast in the form of a catechism.

Instruction by question and answer is the characteristic presentation of Pan’s main body of teaching, which responds to questions by Emperor Gaozong regarding the doctrines of the Way of the Three and One (1.9a), the Nine and Six Palaces (1.10a), the grades of spiritual attainment (1.10b), and Taoist cosmology and the pantheon (1.14b).

Chapter 2 opens with a list of celestial palaces and their residing deities (2.1a), followed by further questions and answers concerning the corporeal manifestations of the Heavenly Worthy (2.7a), and the celestial hierarchy and organization (2.16a).

Chapter 3 is a glossary of Taoist concepts involving numerical categories, ranging from one to ten.

***Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔**

16 juan

By Zhu Junxu 朱君緒, *zi* Faman 法滿; early eighth century

463 (fasc. 204–207)

“Summary of Important Ceremonies, Rules, and Codices to be Practiced.” Little is known about the author, a Taoist master of the Three Caverns (*sandong daoshi* 三洞道士), except that he was a native of Yuhang 餘杭 district (Zhejiang) and died there on Mount Tianzhu 天柱山 in 720 (*Dongxiao tuzhi* 5.9b–10a; see *Zhenjing lu* 真境錄 [ca. 1115], quoted in *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* 13.20b–21a).

Zhu’s compilation is a thematically arranged survey of Taoist religious practice drawing on about ninety earlier works—without according preference to one or the other tradition. His own comments are few; for the most part he lets the textual passages speak for themselves. The main themes are:

Juan 1: Division of the Taoist canon and transmission of the scriptures

Juan 2: Copying and reciting of scriptures and ritual instructions pertaining to these tasks

Juan 3: Rules for disciple and master

Juan 4–7: Various sets of commandments and interdictions

Juan 8: Types and periods of fasting (*zhai* 齋) and the functions of individuals participating in the ritual

Juan 9: Prescriptions about vestment, etiquette, and the common meals

Juan 10–11: On Taoist dioceses and the submitting of petitions

Juan 12: Miscellaneous topics, like meals for the sages (*fanxian* 飯賢), construction of religious buildings, meditation on the Tao

Juan 13: Various rules on behavior toward fellow disciples, on erecting the altar, and others

Juan 14: Drinking of alcohol, abstinence from cereals, ingestion of drugs, and others

Juan 15–16: Sickness and death of Taoists, placing the body into a coffin, and burial.

The last two juan, on rarely discussed subjects, have a special standing within the compilation. As Zhu writes in a preliminary remark, he made an effort to combine here in one juan (suggesting that the division of his works was originally different) the observances laid down by Da Meng 大孟 (Meng Jingyi 孟景翼; fl. 505), Xiao Meng 小孟 (Meng Zhizhou 孟智周; first half of the sixth century), Shi Jingong 石井公, and Zhang Xu 張續.

The importance of Zhu Junxu’s compilation lies not least in its wealth of citations

from lost works such as *Huangren benxing jing* 皇人本行經, *Taizhen ke* 太真科, and *Jinlu jianwen* 金籙簡文.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Sandong zhongjie wen 三洞衆戒文

2 juan

Compiled by ZHANG WANFU 張萬福 (fl. 713)

178 (fasc. 77)

“Comprehensive Prescriptions of the Three Caverns.” ZHANG WANFU’s collection—which may date from roughly the same time as 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lieshuo* and which originally contained twenty-one juan (1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shuo sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 2a)—has been preserved only as a fragment in two juan. The surviving preface, however, still gives an approximate idea of the components of the work. Its structure corresponded to the ordination hierarchy of the Tang, which in turn was related to the arrangement of the texts in the Taoist canon (see the introduction to part 2.B.1, and Schipper, “Taoist ordination ranks,” 128–31). ZHANG WANFU extracted and compiled these materials from originals in the canon to provide adepts with proper models of the texts needed for transmission. According to the preface, the separately transmitted texts 445 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* and 788 *Sandong fafu kejie wen* also belonged within the configuration of the *Sandong zhongjie wen*.

Among the preserved contents of our fragment are the prescriptions of the Triple Refuge (*sanguai jie* 三歸戒) that mark the beginning of religious life, and thirty-six paragraphs concerning the conduct of disciples in their relations with their masters (*dizi fengshi kejie wen* 弟子奉師科戒文). Although both series of prescriptions are part of the Zhengyi ordination, Zhang remarks that the former was taken from the Taixuan 太玄部 division of the canon. Almost all of the rules of conduct for disciples are found in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 3.3a–7a, which quotes a more comprehensive series from a penal code (*lü* 律; possibly the *Xuandu lü* 玄都律).

The order in juan 2 may be corrupt, since the rules for obstructing the Six Passions (*bise liuqing jie* 閉塞六情戒) corresponding to the “first alliance with the Lingbao canon” (*lingbao chumeng* 靈寶初盟) precede the various series of prescriptions related to the Dongshen scriptures. Of the latter, two series, the so-called “eight failings” (*babai* 八敗) and the “thirteen prohibitions” (*shisan jin* 十三禁), presumably have their source in 640 *Dongshen badi miaojing jing* 1b–2a and 13a–b.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li

洞玄靈寶道士受三洞經誡法籙擇日曆

8 fols.

By ZHANG WANFU 張萬福 (fl. 713)

1240 (fasc. 990)

“Almanac for Determining the Proper Dates for the Transmission of the Registers and Commandments of the Scriptures of the Three Caverns to Taoists, of the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon.” The author states in the introduction (1a–2a) that this booklet was compiled for easy reference on the basis of a larger manual, the Comprehensive Rules of the Three Caverns (*Sandong zhongjie* 三洞衆戒) in twenty-one juan (see 178 *Sandong zhongjie wen*).

The almanac is organized according to the classification of scriptures in the hierarchical order of initiation and transmission current at the time. On the elementary level, we find the ordinations of the One and Orthodox (*zhengyi* 正一) Way of the Heavenly Master: first the registers of immortals and spirits (*xianling fulu* 仙靈符籙) for lay people, then the Diocesan registers (*zhilu* 治籙) for the ordination of masters.

The next step concerns the transmission of the *Daode jing* 道德經, marked by the ordination to the Lord Lao Gold Button Register (*Laojun jinniu lu* 老君金鈕籙). This step is followed by the transmission of the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* 洞淵神咒經 and the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文.

The initiation in the Lingbao scriptures corresponds to that of the Covenant of Spontaneity (*ziran quan* 自然券) and the registers of the Scriptures of the Median Oath (*zhongmeng jing* 中盟經: a general name for the revealed Lingbao scriptures) and the True Writs (*zhenwen* 真文). To this category are appended the transmission of a number of ancient texts, grouped together as the Five Methods (*wufa* 五法). These texts are the [*Laojun*] *liujia fu* [老君] 六甲符, the [*Xiyue gong*] *jinshan fu* [西嶽公] 禁山符, the [*Sanhuang*] *neiwen* [三皇] 內文, the [*Lingbao*] *wufu* [靈寶] 五符, and the *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖. These five old texts were grouped together by TAO HONGJING, who wrote a ritual for their transmission (see Dunhuang manuscripts Stein 3750 and Pelliot 2559). ZHANG WANFU classifies them here as Lingbao. Under a separate heading, the author inserts a register of the River Chart (*Hetu baolu* 河圖寶籙; see 1396 *Shangqing hetu baolu*), which is related to the cult of the Dipper stars and to the Sacrifice of the Nine Sovereigns (*Jiuhuang jiaoyi* 九皇醮儀).

The final stage of initiation is marked by the transmission of the Shangqing scriptures. At the end of the almanac there is a discussion on the importance of performing transmission rituals in an orderly fashion.

Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo 傳授三洞經戒法籙略說

2 juan

By ZHANG WANFU 張萬福; 713

1241 (fasc. 990)

“Short Exposition on the Transmission of the Scriptures, Rules, and Registers of the Three Caverns.” ZHANG WANFU compiled this work in early 713; it is less of a practical manual than a theoretical treatise on the different groups of texts within the Taoist canon in connection with the Tang ordination system. Following the hierarchy, Zhang quotes a number of fundamental texts, each time giving a brief exegesis of his own. His work opens with a list of rules relevant to the different ranks of ordination (*jiemu* 戒目; see 178 *Sandong zhongjie wen*). This list is followed by similar surveys of the registers of the Zhengyi canon (*Zhengyi fawen* 正一法文), the group of Daode scriptures (*Daode jingmu* 道德經目) from the *Taixuan jing* [bu] 太玄經[部], and the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 with their corresponding registers (*Sanhuang famu* 三皇法目); each survey includes a theoretical discussion. The texts of the Lingbao (*Lingbao famu* 靈寶法目) group are mentioned only summarily. By contrast, the five ancient texts of fu-talismans (grouped as *wufa* 五法 in 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li*, for example) — namely, [*Laojun*] *liujia fu* [老君] 六甲符, *Lingbao wufu* 靈寶五符, [*Xiyue gong*] *dongxi jinwen* [西嶽公] 東西禁文, *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖, and *Sanhuang neiwen* 三皇內文 — are dealt with in detail (1.12b–19a). For the Shangqing canon, *Santian zhengfa chu liutian yuwen* 三天正法除六天玉文 (now lost) and 1372 *Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing* are cited.

A second section of this work (2.8a–18a) treats the symbolism of the pledges (*xin* 信) to be provided for the transmission ritual, and the meaning of ordination contracts (*quanqi* 券契), vows of alliance (*meng* 盟), and oaths (*shi* 誓). The text concludes with ZHANG WANFU’s colorful description of the ordination of the imperial princesses Jinxian 金仙 and Yuzhen 玉真 in 711 and 712.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Sandong fafu kejie wen 三洞法服科戒文

11 fols.

By ZHANG WANFU 張萬福 (fl. 713)

788 (fasc. 563)

“Treatise on the Code of Ritual Vestments for the Entire Liturgy.” A subtitle for this short vade mecum reads: “Catechism of the Heavenly Master, Section on Ritual Vestments” (*Tianshi qingwen fafu pin* 天師請問法服品). The Catechism of the Heav-

enly Master is now lost, but a Lingbao text, the Catechism of the Duke Immortal (*Xiangong qingwen jing* 仙公請問經), contains a treatise on ritual vestments (see III4 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing* 6a–b).

The Heavenly Master received from the Most High Lord Lao fifteen vestments and ritual instruments for the accomplishment of his office. Like the Taoists in this world, the zhenren and immortals in the other worlds also have ritual vestments that differ according to their ranks, of which there are nine. But their vestments are immaterial. Only when they transform their bodies so as to reveal themselves to us do they assume a material appearance (4a–b).

The vestments of the Taoists here below are divided into seven classes: vestments for (1) novices (*churu daomen* 初入道門); (2) Zhengyi 正一 (Heavenly Master); (3) Daode 道德 (transmission of the *Daode jing*); (4) Dongshen 洞神; (5) Dongxuan 洞玄; (6) Dongzhen 洞真; and (7) a final rank for the Lecturer of the Three Caverns (*Sandong jiangshi* 三洞講師). This classification corresponds to the ordination ranks of the Tang. It follows, as do the descriptions of the clothing, the regulations given in II25 *Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.4a–5b. The regulations of the Shangqing (Dongzhen) masters correspond to the indications given in 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 4.6a–7a.

The text gives detailed explanations on the meaning of vestments such as the crown (*guan* 冠), the cape (*pi* 被), the robe (*he* 褐), and the skirt (*qun* 裙). Finally, it reproduces forty-six rules laid down by the Heavenly Master concerning those who wear these vestments.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen

洞玄靈寶三師名諱形狀居觀方所文

5 fols.

By ZHANG WANFU 張萬福 (fl. 713)

445 (fasc. 198)

“Documents Concerning the Proper Names of the Three Masters, Their Appearance, Their Temples and [Other] Places of Residence.” The author, the great liturgist for the imperial Taiqing guan 太清觀 in Chang’an, reminds the reader that prior to all religious services, the officiants should meditate on their Three Masters (*cun sanshi* 存三師): the Master of the Initiation (*dushi* 度師), the Master of the Record (*jishi* 籍師), and the Master of the Scriptures (*jingshi* 經師), defined as the adept’s own teacher, his teacher’s teacher, and the latter’s teacher, respectively. This rite is an act of homage (*lishi* 禮師) during which the masters’ age, rank, and place of residence (*juguan fangsuo* 居觀方所) should be recalled, and their physical appearance (*xingzhuang* 形狀) mentally evoked. These particulars are communicated to the disciple at

the moment of his or her ordination into the different ranks of the liturgical organization, and they are confirmed in written documents signed by the guarantors (*baoju* 保舉) who act as sponsors of the ordinand.

The text provides models for the documents corresponding to ordinations as master of (1) the Way of the Heavenly Master (*Zhengyi* 正一); (2) the *Daode jing* 道德經 (*Wuqian wen* 五千文); (3) the [*Dongyuan*] *Shenzhou jing* [洞淵]神咒經; (4) the Dongshen 洞神 scriptures; (5) the *Shengxuan jing* 昇玄經; (6) the Dongxuan 洞玄 scriptures; and (7) the Shangqing 上清 scriptures.

A similar text is given in 1244 *Shoulu cidi faxin yi* 15a–16b. There, on pages 16a–b, simple indications are included on the appearance of the Three Masters: “red-brown face, with a small beard,” et cetera.

Kristofer Schipper

Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi

醮三洞真文五法正一盟威籙立成儀

26 fols.

By ZHANG WANFU 張萬福 (fl. 713)

1212 (fasc. 878)

“Complete Ritual for Offering to the Gods of Registers of the Three Caverns, the Five Methods, and the One and Orthodox Covenant.” A list on page 8b gives all the titles of the registers venerated in this celebration. These titles comprise virtually all the initiation documents of the time. They were presented by the same author in several other works as well, for instance, 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li*.

The ritual shows that the registers are unrolled and placed on the altar, together with the offerings. There is a detailed illustration of this altar on pages 4a–5a (fig. 37). It can be set up either on a holy site before a cave, or in any calm and clean place.

The major part of the ritual is taken up by the rites of inviting and invoking the deities of each register (*qingguan qishi* 請官啓事; 9a–24a). There are twenty-four *Zhengyi* registers that correspond exactly to those given in 1208 *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu*. Next to these twenty-four registers we find the Tablet of the General Inspector of Merits (*Dugong ban* 都功版; see 1211 *Zhengyi fawen chuan dugong ban yi*) and the gods of the different dioceses, quoted according to the Diocesan Codex (*Zhidian* 治典; 17a).

All offerings are vegetarian. Wines and meats are strictly forbidden. Instead of wine, the libations are made with water (*tang* 湯).

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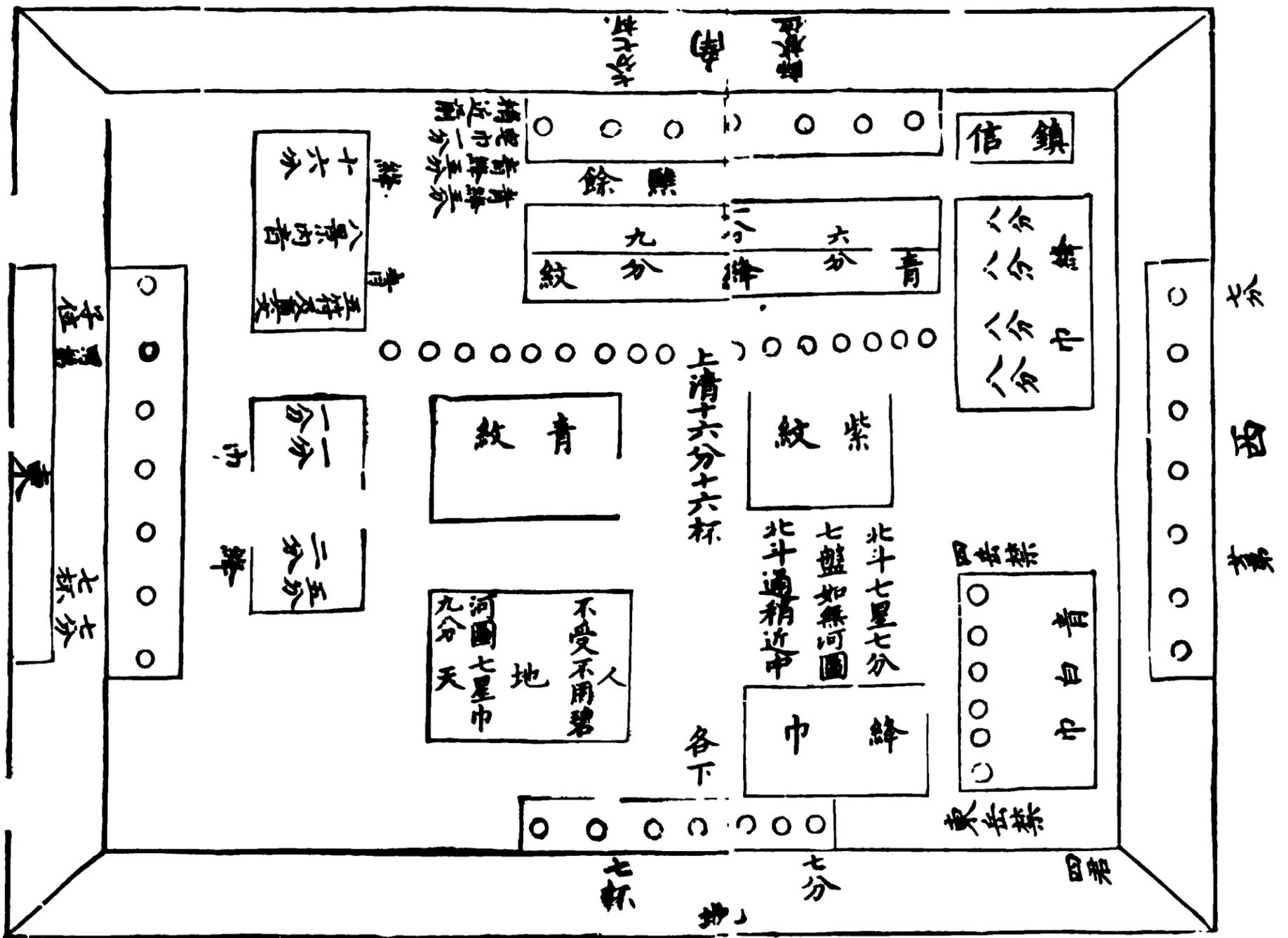


FIGURE 37. Diagram of the altar with indications for the placement of offerings (1212 4a–5a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1195)

Shoulu cidi faxin yi 受籙次第法信儀

30 fols. + appendix: *Tianshi zhi yi* 天師治儀

Mid-Tang (618–907)

1244 (fasc. 991)

“Protocol of the Ritual Pledges [to Be Given] on Receiving the Registers, in Hierarchical Order.” As an appendix, there is a Protocol of the Dioceses of the Heavenly Master (see hereunder). The pledges—rice, paper, and writing utensils, silk, silver, and gold—are divided into ten rubrics, each corresponding to a hierarchical degree in the Taoist organizational framework and linked to the transmission of registers and scriptures. At each new level, the pledges become more costly, ranging from a pair of silver rings at the first initiation (*chu shoudao* 初受道) to three pairs of rings, nine ounces of fine gold, five bronze mirrors, and many rolls of silk for the final bestowal (*bixian quan* 畢仙券).

Each degree has its own corresponding ordination titles and ritual offices, from Taoist of Pure Faith (*qingxin daoshi* 清信道士) and disciple [Observing] the Ten

Commandments (*shijie dizi* 十戒弟子) at the outset, to True Man, disciple of Three Effulgences, from the Great Cavern of the Mysterious Capital of Highest Purity (*shangqing xuandu dadong sanjing dizi* 上清玄都大洞三景弟子, *mou zhenren* 某真人) at the end.

The hierarchy of scriptural traditions accords entirely with that of the middle of the Tang period, as given by ZHANG WANFU in his 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li*.

The registers command the divine energies of the universe, and each adept, according to his or her birth date, occupies a particular position in this framework (*ming xi qiji* 命系氣籍). The cosmological taxonomy is different for each tradition, and the present work gives tables for determining each individual's position (7b–12b).

At the time of the transmission, messages written on wooden tablets (*banwen* 版文) are presented to the gods so that they may know the adept's name. Other tablets, called *chenban* 餽版, are sent to inferior deities. Some of these tablets have talismans, which are reproduced at the end of the work.

Those Taoists who lived in religious communities were required to have a document showing their affiliation to the monastery (*guan* 觀). The example shown here (15a–16b) is similar to that given in 445 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* by ZHANG WANFU.

The present work incorporates, from page 19b on, an important document called the Protocol of the Dioceses of the Heavenly Master, Part I (*Tianshi zhi yi, shang* 天師治儀上). It is by Zhang Bian 張辯, descendant of the thirteenth generation of the Heavenly Masters (*shisan shisun* 十三世孫) and officer of the guard of the prince of Wuling of the Liang dynasty 梁武陵王. The latter was Prince Xiao Ji 蕭紀, fifth son of Emperor Wu and established at Chengdu 成都 in Sichuan. He died in A.D. 553 in the struggle for the succession of the throne of Emperor Jianwen.

This protocol gives the list of forty-four dioceses with their geographical and cosmological locations. They are divided into four groups. There is a commentary that compares different versions of this text and that quotes the *Taizhen ke* 太真科. This commentary probably dates from the Tang period.

Kristofer Schipper

Xuanmen shishi weiyi 玄門十事威儀

17 fols.

Tang (618–907)

792 (fasc. 564)

“Ten Items of Taoist Ceremonial.” This text most likely dates from the Tang. It refers repeatedly (10a; 14a) to 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*, named here *Fengdao ke* and *Qizhen ke* [jie] 七真科[戒] (compare, e.g., 10a with 1125

Fengdao ke 6.6a). It also promises the ten kinds of blessings and respect from the *Shengxuan jing* 昇玄經 and *Fafu ke* 法服科 to those who observe the rules (16a). Infractions of the rules will result in the loss of the ten kinds of merit and respect and cause ten kinds of contempt and separation from saints and sages (16b). The ten kinds of loss are enumerated in ZHANG WANFU's compilation 788 *Sandong fafu kejie wen* 9b–10a. In 1236 *Taishang chujia chuandu yi* 12b, JIA SHANXIANG (fl. 1086) refers to the present work as a standard text for rules of conduct.

The work, revealed to Wuxiang zhenren 無想真人 by the Most High Lord Lao, contains remarkably detailed regulations for deportment in the monastic community and for everyday practice. In more than 140 items, the rules for behavior with regard to the master, the use of certain objects (sitting platform, water flask, five eating bowls, and two napkins), and hygiene are laid down. The regulations are not associated with any specific tradition within Taoism, and there are no details about religious grades and initiation or the organization and possessions of the monastic community.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang jingjie 太上經戒

19 fols.

Tang (618–907)

787 (fasc. 562)

“Canonical Commandments of the Most High.” This is a collection of six distinct sets of rules linked to the different ordination ranks of the Tang period. The Ten Commandments (*shijie* 十戒) at the beginning of the work come originally from 1312 *Taishang dadao yuqing jing* 1.1a, 4b and 7b–9a. The next text (2b–12b), called Great Commandments of the Highest Class (*Dajie shangpin* 大戒上品), is a long excerpt from the rules found in 344 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* 1a–11a. These rules were linked to the transmission of the Lingbao scriptures (see 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo*, by ZHANG WANFU). Also belonging to the Lingbao tradition are the Ten Good and Ten Evil Actions (*shishan shie* 十善十惡; 12b–13a), quoted from 1352 *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 8.4b–5b, as well as the Ten Commandments from the Book on Meditation on the Sublime and Fixing the Will (*Siwei dingzhi jing shijie* 思微定志經十戒), quoted from 325 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* 7b and 20b–23b.

The Twenty-seven Commandments of Miaolin (16b–17b) show a marked resemblance in style and content with 1398 *Dacheng miaolin jing*, but they cannot be found there.

Finally, there are the Twenty-seven Commandments of Lord Lao. Divided into three categories of nine rules each, these commandments correspond to the teachings of the *Daode jing* 道德經. They are preceded by Nine Rules of Conduct (*jiuxing* 九

行), otherwise known as the Commandments of Xiang'er 想爾戒 (see 786 *Taishang laojun jinglü*).

The text of the present work corresponds exactly to that of juan 38 of the YJQQ, entitled “Explanations on the Commandments” (*shuojie* 說戒).

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi 洞玄靈寶道學科儀

2 juan

Signed Taiji taixu zhenren 太極太虛真人 (Chisong zi 赤松子); Tang (618–907)
1126 (fasc 761)

“Instructions for the Study of the Tao of the Sacred Treasure Register.” This text is undated, and the signature is ambiguous. By its content the book belongs to an epoch when Taoist monastic life was already well established, that is to say, after A.D. 400.

Much of the text, using variations in language and a sometimes more elaborate form, is reminiscent of other texts of a similar nature found in the YJQQ. It also recalls many of the commandments in 786 *Taishang laojun jinglü*. In the first part of our text, for instance, the instructions concerning the proper dates for taking a bath and the spell to be pronounced at that occasion, which are given in the first juan of our work on page 14a, are also found in YJQQ 41.6a–7a and 10b. Another spell accompanying ablutions on 1.16a of our text occurs also, in a similar context, in YJQQ 45.6b, and again in YJQQ 46.12b and 47.4a. A series of instructions concerning meditation methods are to be found almost verbatim in both works. The interesting method for meditating before a mirror (*mingjing yaojing pin* 明鏡要經品) on 2.7b–8b is reproduced in YJQQ 48.8a–9a, as well as in 1206 *Shangqing mingjian yaojing* 1a–3a. The method for making a pillow (*shenzhen pin* 神枕品; 6b–7b) corresponds to YJQQ 48.12a–13b and 1206 *Mingjian yaojing* 5a–7a. A version of the text on the making of a magical staff with nine knots (*jiujie zhang* 九節杖; 9b–10a) is found in YJQQ 48.14a–b and 1206 *Mingjian yaojing* 7a–b. Finally, the instructions for making a divine sword (*zuo shenjian fa* 作神劍法; 10a–12a) can be compared with 431 *Shangqing hanxiang jianjian tu* 4b–8a.

This book is a compendium of instructions for the daily behavior in the ritual and personal lives of novices living within Taoist religious communities. Although it bears textual resemblances to other works, it differs from some of these by the fact that it has no application to the conduct of social life in the world outside the Taoist communities it addresses.

Pauline Bentley Koffler

Shangqing jing bijue 上清經祕訣

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1291 (fasc. 1009)

“Secret Instructions from the Shangqing Canon.” This is a short summary of Tang liturgical practice, introducing the scale of ordinations as linked to the registers of the different traditions, the division of the canon into Three Caverns, and the way this body of scriptures corresponds to the organization of the human body.

The text says, “Our state has adopted the marvelous instructions of Xuanyuan” (i.e., Laozi, according to his Tang canonization title; 1b). It quotes from a variety of sources and gives the *Shangqing jing* as the main source for the organization of the canon into Three Caverns.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhaijie lu 齋戒錄

17 fols.

Ninth–tenth century

464 (fasc. 207)

“Register of Rules for Fasting.” This work appears to be a compilation of the second half of the Tang dynasty. It quotes the *Zhuangzi* under the title 670 *Nanhua zhenjing* (1a, 6a), so the year 742 can be regarded as a *terminus post quem*. DU GUANGTING’S (850–933) preface to 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* seems to be a fuller version of the story in *Zhaijie lu* on the transmission of *Shenzhou jing* 神咒經, *Shenhua jing* 神化經, and *Sanwu dazhai jue* 三五大齋訣 from Daojun 道君 to Wang Zuan 王纂. *Taiping guangji* 15.103–4 contains an episode about Wang Zuan identical with the present story and names Du’s 592 *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* as its source. However, this episode is no longer found there.

Our text gives a comprehensive survey of the different kinds of *zhai* 齋 and the corresponding calendar dates, yet without providing practical instructions for their observance. Inserted in this compilation are the above-mentioned story of Wang Zuan and an episode quoted from WSBY (47.4a–5b, giving as its source the now lost *Benxing miaojing* 本行妙經) that illustrates the results of an offense against the fasting rules (14b–16a). Since the text repeats itself in some instances (1a–2a and 11b–12a; 6a and 1a, 1b; 8b and 16a), it is doubtful that the present version corresponds to the original text.

Distinct textual relationships to other works include the following: *Zhaijie lu* 1a–2a, 3a–4a, 8b–11b are found, with slight variants, in 1033 *Zhiyan zong* 1.1a–6b; the passages 1a–2a, 2a–3a, 16a–b are found in 1200 *Dongxuan lingbao taishang liuzhai shizhi shengji*

jing 3a–4a, 1a–2a, 2a–b; YJQQ 37, entitled *Zhaijie xu* 齋戒敘, is identical to the present text.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Xuantan kanwu lun 玄壇刊謬論

16 fols.

By Zhang Ruohai 張若海, *hao* Wuwei zi 悟微子 (fl. 943)

1280 (fasc. 1005)

“Essay on the Rectification of Errors [Committed] on the Altar of Mystery.” This essay was written by Zhang in 943 in the Ziji gong 紫極宮 temple in Changsha (Hunan; see page 16a). In twenty paragraphs, it gives the gist of his discussions with a certain Yunguang xiansheng 雲光先生, who had come from Mounts Tiantai 天台 and Siming 四明 in Zhejiang (page 1a). Zhang questions Yunguang and thanks him for his answers.

The explanations of Master Yunguang are especially remarkable for the frequent comparisons he makes to court ritual: if even court rituals require prior purification by means of a retreat, he argues, then how much more so those performed before the Three Pure Ones (*sangqing* 三清; 2b). For each day of a service a different memorial is needed, just as no court official would present the same memorial twice (12b). Popular songs and music are not used in court rituals: is it conceivable that they be used, as is the case nowadays, in rituals for Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 (14a)?

This small book is criticized in several manuals of the Southern Song period (960–1279): none of these manuals accepted the ideas of Master Yunguang regarding the ceremonies for the Proclamation of the Prohibitions and the Installation of Officiants, for these ceremonies should take place after the rites of opening, not before, as is the case in court ritual (see 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 16.12b and 1226 *Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 6.3b). The criticisms of JIANG SHUYU (see 508 *Licheng yi* 16.19a–24b) are the most numerous and detailed. All citations he makes of the book are still found in the present text.

John Lagerwey

2.B.2 The Orthodox One Way of the Heavenly Master

The liturgical manuals of the early Tang period (618–907) show that the religious organization of those times remained for the most part the domain of the Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox One) Way of the Heavenly Master (see 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.4b–6b and, especially, 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 10.1a–8a). The importance of the Zhengyi tradition (see the introduction to part 2.B.1) is, moreover, shown by the compilation of a special scriptural canon, the Liturgical Corpus of the Orthodox One Way (*Zhengyi fawen* 正一法文), by the great Taoist scholar MENG ANPAI (fl. 699; see YJQQ 6.18a). A few texts with the prefix of *Zhengyi fawen [jing]* 正一法文 [經] have been preserved from this corpus (see also CGF 309).

At the head of the dioceses, we find the inspectors of merit (*dugong* 都功). For the most important dioceses, these *dugong* should be linear descendants (*Tianshi zisun* 天師子孫) of the First Heavenly Master. After so many centuries, this quality is shared by many men and women. Their ordination is documented in 1210 *Zhengyi fawen shilu zhaoyi* and 1211 *Zhengyi fawen chuan dugong ban yi*. The list of Tang dioceses is given in SDZN 7, and in a more complete form, in the *Ershisi zhi* 二十四治, YJQQ 28 (see the article on 1032.28 *Ershisi zhi*). The masters remained connected to these dioceses, even if they no longer lived there. There is a description of the sanctuaries in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 10.1a–4b.

The Zhengyi rituals clearly show the popular character of the Way of the Heavenly Master. The rituals for the presentation of memorials (*shangzhang* 上章) remain simple. As shown in part 2.B.1, the Zhengyi tradition constitutes the lowest and most elementary level of the seven divisions of the canon, of which it now forms an integral part, as is borne out by many sources, especially ZHANG WANFU's 1212 *Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi*.

In order to obtain the grade of inspector of merit, one must obtain the transmission of twenty-four Zhengyi registers, corresponding to as many degrees (*jie* 階). The integral transmission of all twenty-four registers at the same time—instead of obtaining them gradually according to one's progress in the Tao, as in the past—had become a general practice. This is shown by a memorial, preserved in 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* 4.22b, that must date from the second half of the Tang (618–907). The practice may well be connected with the emergence of the Longhu shan 龍虎山 in Jiangxi as a major pilgrimage center for the cult of the First Heavenly Master. This cult was promoted by a new lineage of the Zhang family, which designated among its offspring one “Heavenly Master” per generation. By doing so, the Zhangs of the Longhu shan did not conform with the genealogy of the linear descendants of the First Heavenly

Master. This is demonstrated by the fact that we hear for the first time of the Longhu shan family around A.D. 770, at which time they claim to be descendants of the thirteenth generation. From the *Tianshi zhiyi* 天師治儀 (see 1244 *Shoulu cidi faxin yi*) we know that the linear descendants of the First Heavenly Master had already arrived at the thirteenth generation by the middle of the sixth century. DU GUANGTING tells us that it was the thirteenth “Heavenly Master” of the Longhu shan family who exchanged the rule that the registers for the ordination should be inscribed on wooden tablets (*ban* 版) for their copy on paper, “so as to assure a wider distribution” among lay people and clergy as protective talismans (590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 11.5b). A complete version of the twenty-four registers as they must have been distributed by the Longhu shan cult is given in 1208 *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu*. Two rituals edited by DU GUANGTING, 796 *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei yuelu jiaoyi* and 797 *Taishang zhengyi yuelu yi*, concern the worship of the gods of these registers.

2.B.2.a Liturgical Organization

Wushang sanyuan zhenzhai linglu 無上三元鎮宅靈籙

23 fols.

Attributed to Jinming qizhen 金明七真; early Tang (618–907)

674 (fasc. 353)

“Divine Register of the Supreme Three Origins for Securing the House.” The name of Jinming qizhen is associated with one of the most important works for the hierarchical systematization of Taoism: 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*. Here he appears as the recipient of a new revelation in a *renshen* 壬申 year on Mount Kunlun 崑崙 (1a). The Lord of the Great and Infinite Tao, Most High Jade Emperor of the Ultimate Supremely Supreme Primordial Beginning (Wushang shangshang yuanshi taishang yuhuang 無上上上元始太上玉皇) transmits to Jinming qizhen the Correct Teaching of the Pure and True [Pneuma] (*qingzhen zhengfa* 清真正法), or the Teaching of the Great Vehicle (*shangmiao dacheng zhengfa* 上妙大乘正法). In the closely related texts 1388 *Shangqing jinzhen yuhuang shangyuan jiutian zhenling sanbai liushiwu bu yuanlu*, 1390 *Shangqing dongtian sanwu jin'gang xuanlu yijing*, and also 164 *Shangqing sanzun pulu*, Jinming communicates with Gaoshang tianbao yuhuang 高上天寶玉皇. The present teaching is intended for the salvation of mortals as a future generation of heavenly beings (*shifang tianren dizhao* 十方天人地兆).

On the basis of the dates in Jinming's 1388 *Sanbai liushiwu bu lu*, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (“Sandō hōdō kakai gihan no seiritsu ni tsuite,” 43) concludes that the cyclical characters stand for the year 552. Assuming, however, that the present text, the three similar texts attributed to Jinming qizhen mentioned above, and 1125 *Fengdao kejie*

(q.v.) originated around the same time from the same tradition, such an early date seems doubtful. Although 1125 *Fengdao kejie* 4.6b lists a *Sanyuan zhailu* 三元宅籙 among the grades of the Zhengyi tradition, it cannot be inferred that this register was identical with the present one. Since none of the four texts dealing with Jinming qizhen's revelation and the organization based thereon play any role in 1125 *Fengdao kejie*, they might rather slightly postdate this important work integrating the various Taoist traditions into a comprehensive hierarchical system.

The present register integrates the household of the recipient into Jinming qizhen's religious community and puts it under the surveillance of three times three divine protectors in the Three Heavens (Qingwei tian 清微天, Yuyu tian 禹餘天, and Dachitian 大赤天). In return, the parties to the household covenants agree to pay yearly tributes (of rice, among other things) to the master in charge, and to keep accurate accounts of the deceased and living members of the family. The influence of the Way of the Heavenly Masters is evident (see especially 1127 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe*); modifications are found with reference to a few specific points only: the three days of assembly (*sanhui* 三會) of the original system—during which the household registers were revised in the diocese and the tutelary gods were promoted—are replaced here by the days of the Three Principles (*sanyuan* 三元).

Following the register, we find rules concerning the religious life and details about transmitting and using the register. These rules are presented as a type of penal code (*Yusi zhengfa lü* 玉司正法律). A postface by Jinming qizhen concludes our text.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Xuandu liuwen 玄都律文

22 fols.

Seventh century

188 (fasc. 78)

“Penal Code of the Mysterious Capital [i.e., the seat of Laojun 老君].” This is a work of the Zhengyi tradition that regulates the religious life within the community of the Heavenly Masters. We can draw no conclusions with regard to any specific text on the basis of similar titles (*Xuandu nüqing shanggong zuoguan lü* 玄都女青上宮左官律 and the like) that figure already in 457 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui zuigen shangpin dajie jing* 2 (passim), but one of the earliest quotations of our work is found in 133 *Taishang dongfang neijing zhu* 6a–7a. The source of the passage in question is identified as juan 9 of the *Xuandu lü* and corresponds to 3b–4b of the present version. This reference—as well as the numerous citations from the *Xuandu lü* in SDZN and in 463 *Yaouxu keyi jielü chao*, for which corresponding passages can be found only rarely—proves that the present work constitutes merely a fragment of the original text, which the Song bibliographers still list as having either eight or fifteen juan (VDL 98).

Among the surviving six sections of the work (the SDZN names a few more of the original subtitles), we find instructions for reciting the rules (*jiesong lü* 戒頌律), regulations for the communal organization (*zhidu lü* 制度律) that deal with, inter alia, the hereditary succession of the master (*shi* 師), the annual taxes (*tianzu mi* 天租米), the days of assembly (*sanhui ri* 三會日), and the cosmological orientation and organization of the dioceses (*zhi* 治) and “chambers of quietude” (*jing* 靖); and rules for writing memorials (*zhangbiao lü* 章表律). Levels of punishment are laid down for each offense against these rules.

Firmly rooted in the tradition of the Heavenly Masters, our text reveals later influences in only one paragraph, on the investiture in the different grades of ordination that culminate in the transmission of the *Shengxuan zhenwen* 昇玄真文 and the *Shangqing dadong* 上清大洞 [*zhenjing* 真經] (17a).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Zhengyi fawen shilu zhaoyi 正一法文十籙召儀

28 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

1210 (fasc. 878)

“Protocol for the Invocation [of the Gods] of the Ten Registers of the Zhengyi Canon.” This work is a repertoire aimed at determining, according to a given previous date of birth, the dominant god (the Lord, *jun* 君) of the registers the adept is receiving. At the beginning, a table lists not ten but fourteen registers, while the text (1b–13b) gives fifteen lists. These lists in fact correspond to ten registers, inasmuch as the numbers 2–3, 4–5, 6–7, 8–9, and 13–14 belong together as sexually differentiated parts of one and the same register, listing *xianguan* 仙官 for the masculine and *lingguan* 靈官 for the feminine forces. These ten registers are transmitted to adepts who have been initiated in the Union of Pneumata (*heqi* 合氣; see 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*) and have obtained the rank of master. Also according to 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao* 10.7a–b, these adepts receive ten registers, and the list of registers provided is, although not identical, close to the present protocol. The ordinands are called zhenren of Scarlet Yang (*chiyang zhenren* 赤陽真人; compare 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.6a). For this reason, the first register in our text is the *Yuanming chilu* 元命赤籙, which corresponds to this rank and must, therefore, be the highest of the ten registers. Moreover, the present text contains, following the ten lists, a Contract of the Scarlet Register (*Chilu quan* 赤籙券; 13b–14b): insignia in two symmetrical parts, with the text of the Oath of Transmission (*jianmeng* 簡盟) written twice, from right to left on the right side of the contract, and from left to right on the left side. The transmission of this document conferred the ability to master (*du* 度; literally, “to transfer”) the divine spirits of the sexagesimal cycle and of the points

of the compass. A detailed table of their taboo names (*hui* 諱) is given at the end (15b–28b).

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi fawen chuan dugong ban yi 正一法文傳都功版儀

5 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

1211 (fasc. 878)

“Ritual for the Transmission of the Tablet of the Inspector of Merit, of the Zhengyi Canon.” The office of inspector of merit (*dugong* 都功) is the highest in the Heavenly Master hierarchy of the Tang, and the Tablet (*ban* 版) is the foremost insignia of this rank. Only those who have obtained all of the registers and passed all lower grades are eligible for this office (26–3a; compare 1239 *Zhenyi xiuzhen liueyi* 11a). It confers the right to hereditary transmission of the function of master to descendants (1a and 3a). The present text envisages also the possibility of transmitting the dignity of *dugong* to “those who dwell in the Tao” (*zai dao* 在道), that is, those who live in a monastery (*guan* 觀; 1a). The *dugong* are leaders of the dioceses (*huashou* 化首; *hua* stands for *zhi* 治 in deference to the Tang taboo) and are qualified to confer the diocesan ordination (*zhilu* 治籙), except for the *Yangping zhi* 陽平治: the office of *dugong* of this foremost of all dioceses is reserved for the linear descendants of the first Heavenly Masters (1b, the commentary quotes LU XIUJING).

The present text makes almost no reference to the ritual of transmission but consists of a series of model documents for the investiture, namely, the text to be written on the Tablet (*banwen* 版文; 1a–2b) and two memorials, one presented on the eve of the night of transmission, the other the next morning, when the installation is confirmed.

The present text is marked as missing from the Ming canon in 1430 *Daozong quejing mulu* 28b. This oversight occurred, no doubt, because the text is marked as an appendix to 1210 *Zhengyi fawen shilu zhaoyi* (see the present text 1a, subtitle).

Indeed, holding the ten registers of 1210 *Shilu zhaoyi* is a prerequisite for obtaining the rank of *dugong* (see 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 10.7b).

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi fawen falu buyi 正一法文法籙部儀

24 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

1242 (fasc. 990)

“Protocol of the Section of Ritual Registers, of the Zhengyi Canon.” This is a collection of rites and documents for promoting disciples to ranks superior to the ordinary lay registers, but without conferring the diocesan ordination and the quality

of master. This hybrid ritual is different from other texts of the Zhengyi canon, or, for that matter, from any other known tradition. The adepts possess already the Mandate of the Yellow Image (or Book; *Huangtu [shu] qiling* 黃圖 [書] 契令) and the True Heavenly Scarlet Register (*Zhentian chilu* 真天赤籙), two documents that belong to the highest lay ordinations of the Heavenly Master tradition under the Tang (see *1210 Zhengyi fawen shilu zhaoyi* 13b). But here the disciples receive an additional contract of the Great One, True One, Three Ones (*Zhentian sanyi zhenyi taiyi suquan* 真天三一真一太一素券). This particular terminology is related to certain concepts that are mentioned in our text, which explains that the universe is governed by a Great One True One of the Supreme Three Heavens (*Shang santian zhenyi taiyi* 上三天真一太一; 1a–b) and that the ordination disciples receive here is called the Triple Oath of the Great One (*Taiyi sanmeng* 太一三盟). This ordination combines elements from the Dongshen canon (such as the *Jin'gang biquan* 金剛畢券; 12b), the Lingbao canon (22b–23a), and the Shangqing canon (16a). The present protocol therefore aims at integrating the different traditions of the end of the Six Dynasties (220–589) and the early Tang (618–907).

At the end of the text, we find a quotation from the *Siji mingke* 四極明科 that cannot be found in the present version of *184 Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing*. There is a colophon giving a line of transmission not of the existing present text but of an accessory rite, the invocation of the divine spirits of the Twelve Hours (*shier shi shoushi* 十二時狩士; 24a). Of all the persons mentioned, only one is known: Ding Xuanzhen 丁玄真 (530–607), whose biography is found in LZTT 31.14a–b.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao kezong fa 洞玄靈寶課中法

8 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

1246 (fasc. 991)

“Method for Determining [the Dominant Qi] in Each Class [of Register].” Although the title gives the epithet *Lingbao*, this repertory concerns above all the Zhengyi registers. At the beginning of the tables, we find the qi and the gods of the *Zixu lu* 紫虛籙 of the *Daode jing* 道德經, and at the end, those of the seven stars of the Dipper (*Qixing lu* 七星籙). This register does not appear before the Tang period. Except for the last one, all the tables of the repertory are similar to those found in *1210 Zhengyi fawen shilu zhaoyi*.

At the end of the work there is a clear, short exposition of the significance of the Zhengyi registers (“Jie lu lüeshuo zhengyi zhi yi 解籙略說正一之儀”; 6b–8b).

Kristofer Schipper

Ershisi zhi 二十四治

19 fols.

Seventh to tenth century

1032 *Yunji qiqian* 28 (fasc. 677–702)

“The Twenty-four Dioceses.” This anonymous text derives for the most part from juan 7 of SDZN (see the list of correspondences by Lagerwey, in Schipper, *Index du Yunji Qiqian*, 1:36 n. 48). The following three passages are exceptions: (1) 3a–4b, taken from a lost work by DU GUANGTING (see *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺, quoted in *Taiping guangji* 37.235–36); (2) 5b–7a, from DU GUANGTING’s 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 2.10b–12a, also quoted in YJQQ 117.14a–b; and (3) 11b–12a, from *Yuntai zhi zhong [nei] lu* 雲台治中[內]籙 (see YJQQ 4.11b–17a).

The present work, then, essentially combines seventh- or pre-seventh-century material (the SDZN passages in turn refer to predecessors) with early tenth-century additions by DU GUANGTING. In addition to the above sources, the present text may represent elements of DU GUANGTING’s *Ershisi hua tu* 二十四化圖 in one juan (not extant; see *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5190; see also 599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 11a–15a), or of juan 2 of SIMA CHENGZHEN’s *Tiandi gongfu tu* (YJQQ 27, see 1032.27), or a combination of both.

The preface, citing the *Zhang tianshi ershisi zhi tu* 張天師二十四治圖 via 770 *Hun-yuan shengji* 7.6a–7b, recounts the legend of Lord Lao’s revelation to Zhang Daoling 張道陵, which led to the institution of the dioceses (see 1205 *Santian neijie jing* 1.6b; WSBY 23.4a–9a). The text lists and localizes the original Twenty-four Dioceses in three hierarchical orders of eight, with accounts of the topography and legends associated with each sacred site and of the four additional dioceses instituted by Zhang’s successors to complete the correspondence between the system of the dioceses and that of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions (*xiu* 宿).

Franciscus Verellen

Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi 正一修真略儀

20 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1239 (fasc. 990)

“Concise Treatise for the One and Orthodox Cultivation of the True [Way].” The purpose of the work, as defined in the unsigned and undated preface, is “to explain the profound meaning of the main points for the cultivation of the Registers of the Three Caverns (*sandong lu* 三洞籙), so that one may understand that the doctrines promulgated by the highest saints and gods in all respects are in complete agreement with the mystery of mysteries.” The registers, which are the foundation of the scriptures of the Three Caverns, enable the initiates to marshal the gods and subdue the demons, and

thus to progress on the road to immortality. The text refers to other manuals, such as the *Sandong fengdao ke* 三洞奉道科 (see 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4) and the Protocol of the Dioceses of the Heavenly Master (*Tianshi zhiyi* 天師治儀; see 1244 *Shoulu cidifaxin yi*). The present work seems to be incomplete, as the explanations on the sacrifice of the Registers (*jiaofa* 醮法) announced on page 5b are no longer found.

The registers are presented here in three main groups. On the most elementary level we find those of the Way of the Heavenly Master, in reversed order of importance: first the Precious Register of the One and Orthodox Covenant with the Powers, in Twenty-four Degrees (*Zhengyi mengwei baolu ershisi jie* 正一盟威寶籙二十四階), and the Register of the One Hundred and Fifty Generals (*Baiwushi jiangjun lu* 百五十將軍籙), which represent the higher ordinations; then, at the end (page 10a), the Register for Children (*Tongzi yi jiangjun lu* 童子一將軍籙). The contract that proves the legal transmission (*sanwu zhenquan* 三五真券) follows these registers. There is also a special paragraph on ordination and liturgy.

The middle level (*zhongfa bu* 中法部) lists the talismans, diagrams, images, and writs of the Sanhuang and Lingbao traditions, equally presented in a descending order. A long and important commentary explains the different practices that belong to this level. There are breathing exercises, meditation practices, as well as the dancing of the Paces of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步) and Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱).

The uppermost level is that of the Shangqing division. Here we also find twenty-four degrees, as well as a document confirming the legitimate transmission. A final paragraph is devoted to the rules to be observed when copying all these registers.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi weiyi jing 正一威儀經

20 fols.

Eighth century

791 (fasc. 564)

“Scripture on the Liturgy of the Zhengyi Masters.” This scripture deals, in thirty different topical sections, with specific questions of ordination, ritual, and the conduct of life. It corresponds in its overall conception to the Taoist codices that flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries. The registers and rules given for the grades of ordination within the Zhengyi tradition, and also the hierarchical order of the daoshi within the clerical system—from the lay degrees (*qingxin dizi* 清信弟子) up to the *dadong fashi* 大洞法師 (5a–b)—follow the outlines provided by such standard works as 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.5a–5.3b.

A remarkable feature of the present text is its description of life in Taoist institutions and of certain aspects of their organization. On 18a–b it says, for instance, that

the final stage of entering into the religious state is residence in a monastic community (*zhuguan* 住觀). The necessity of monastic residence also applies to Zhengyi masters. The monastic institutions possessed domains (*zhuangtian* 莊田), mills (*nianwei* 碾磑), and servants (*jiaren* 家人). After a master had died, all goods, apart from his most personal belongings such as clothes and bedding, passed into the permanent possession (*changzhu* 常住) of the institution (19a–b). All of these elements correspond to prescriptions in Buddhist monastic discipline (*vinaya*; cf. Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese society*).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang zhengyi mengwei falu yibu 太上正一盟威法籙一部

44 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

1209 (fasc. 878)

“Complete Division of the Liturgical Registers of the One and Orthodox Covenant with the Powers of the Most High.” The liturgical registers (*falu* 法籙) are in principle linked to the practice of ritual and not to the transmission of scriptures (see 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* 4.22a–b). Apparently, the fourteen registers contained in the present work were all intended for lay adepts, although the sixth one, the Register of the Pneumata of the Twenty-four Dioceses (*Ershisi zhi qilu* 二十四治氣籙), corresponded, originally, to the ordination of a master of a community (see CGF 339–40). The accompanying text for the transmission of this register, however, does not mention this function. The registers seem to be arranged here in hierarchical order. The first three registers are intended for children, while the last, the Register of Immortals and Spirits of One Hundred and Fifty Generals for Male Adepts (*Taishang baiwushi jiangjun nan xianling lu* 太上百五十將軍男仙靈籙), is for adults. The other registers appear to be mostly of a prophylactic nature (*fulu* 符籙; see page 11b, line 6). Some registers are also found elsewhere, such as the Register of the Most High for Protection and Long Life (*Taisheng baoming changsheng lu* 太上保命長生籙; 19a–21b), equally reproduced in 1208 *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu* 6.25b–17a. The present work is in many respects comparable to the latter but lacks the systematic division into twenty-four *lu* that characterizes 1208 *Mengwei lu*.

Each register is accompanied by a form for its transmission. The text of these forms is practically the same for all registers. It states that the disciple, who receives these initiatory documents from a Master of the Three Caverns (*sandong fashi* 三洞法師), espouses the cause of the Way of the Heavenly Master, the rules and commandments of which he or she promises to observe.

These rules corresponded in the first place to the Five Commandments (*wujie* 五戒), which are mentioned at the end of the work. The disciple also confirms his or her

resolve to learn to recognize the divine qi of the “newly appeared Laozi” (*xinchu Laozi* 新出老子) in his or her body.

Kristofer Schipper

2.B.2.b Rituals

Zhengyi fawen jing huguo jiaohai pin 正一法文經護國醮海品

12 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

1287 (fasc. 1008)

“Offering to the Seas for the Protection of the State, from the Zhengyi Ritual Canon.” In fact, this chapter (*pin* 品) from the liturgy of the Heavenly Masters contains several different rituals and other texts. At the beginning, we find a short scripture on the Offering of the Universal Proclamation of the River Chart (*Hetu pugao dajiao* 河圖普告大醮), giving detailed instructions about its performance (1a–2a.8). Then, without transition, the ritual to which the present text owes its title begins: the Offering to the Dragons of the Sea for the Benefit of the State. In the introduction (2a–4a), the Heavenly Master explains the efficacy of this ritual and stipulates the Offerings, which are comparatively costly. Next, the iconography of the Dragon-Kings of the Four Seas is described.

From 9a on, we find three short rituals of the Lingbao liturgy for depositing dragon-tablets (*longjian* 龍簡): in the sea, on a mountain, and under the floor of a house. These rites are complementary to the *jiao* 醮.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi jiee jiaoyi 正一解厄醮儀

8 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

794 (fasc. 564)

“Offering for Averting Misfortune and Illness, of the Zhengyi Liturgy.” The ceremony consists of the Presentation of a Petition (*zhangjiao* 章醮), combining the rites of triple libations of wine (the first being accompanied by an offering of tea) with those for sending off a petition and for the reading of the memorial (*shu* 疏). The latter must be a feature of the Lingbao liturgy: the Memorial of Accomplished Merits (*gongde shu* 功德疏), giving details of the rites, the offerings, and the participants. The text distinguishes (6b) between followers who are in office (*zaiguan* 在官), those who live in the world (*zaizhai* 在宅), and those who have entered religion (*zaidao* 在道). All these elements point to the Tang dynasty as the date for this ritual.

The *jiao* 醮 offering is, in the first place, presented to the seven stars of the Dipper,

and next to the Five Emperors, the Directors of Destiny (*siming* 司命), and the deities of the sexagesimal cycle.

The altar for the *jiao* is built either in the courtyard of the house of the patron, or inside the house. It is divided into three square concentric parts, separated by partitions made of strips of red fabric (*lanzuan* 欄纂), with openings at each of the four corners. In this sacred area (*tanshan* 壇墀) are placed different kinds of offerings, such as fruit, cakes, Destiny Rice (*mingmi* 命米), salt, beans, et cetera, as well as numerous oil lamps. There is only one officiant, who is seated to the south of the area, facing north.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi chuguan zhangyi 正一出官章儀

21 fols.

Tang (618–907)

795 (fasc. 564)

“Ritual Formulas for the Exteriorization of the Officials, according to the Zhengyi Tradition, Together with Their Corresponding Petitions.” This work may be a fragment of a larger liturgical manual, as a great number of different petitions existed in the Heavenly Master liturgy (see *615 Chisong zi zhangli*).

The text contains four rites, all concerning the release from spells and the effects of sorcery. The first rite is called the “return to normality” (*huishan* 迴善; 1a–5b), for diseases caused by witchcraft. The person who cast the spell is called the “evil person” (*eren* 惡人), and his or her name should be indicated. The presentation of the petition can be completed by means of an exorcism with the help of a talisman (4b–5b). The next rite also concerns healing (*huihao* 迴好; 5b–10a). Here the illness is caused either by witchcraft or as a result of past misdeeds committed by the patient. The third petition concerns liberation from prison (*kai laoyu* 開牢獄; 10a–14b). Although the text does mention real imprisonment, it primarily concerns the arrest, by vengeful demons, of the souls of the patient. The principal aim of the rite is therefore the liberation from spirit possession. The final item is called “return end repentance” (*huihua* 迴化; 14b–21a) and concerns slaves who rebel and, possessed by malevolent spirits, constantly run away from their master’s house carrying away the latter’s property. In order to obtain his recovery, the master of the slaves proceeds to the sanctuary (*Sanbao yuqian* 三寶御前) of a monastery (*guan* 觀) for the rite to be performed.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei yuelu jiaoyi 太上三五正一盟威閱籙醮儀

14 fols.

Edited by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

796 (fasc. 564)

“Offering Ritual for the Inspection of the Zhengyi Registers.” At periodic intervals, on the days when the lists of the Seed People (*zhongmin* 種民) are examined in the heavens, the adept himself must review the gods of the registers he or she has received. The present ritual concerns the twenty-four registers of the Heavenly Masters dioceses, as given in 1208 *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu*. The same series is also used in 1212 *Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* by ZHANG WANFU.

The evocation of the gods of the registers (*chuzou falu libing* 出奏法籙吏兵; 3b–6b) is here followed by that of the generals and knights (*zhubu jiangjun bingma* 諸部將軍兵馬; 7a–13b). The present text is close to that of 797 *Taishang zhengyi yuelu yi* (see the next article), but it mentions neither the offerings nor the libation rites of the *jiao* 醮 ritual.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhengyi yuelu yi 太上正一閱籙儀

16 fols.

Compiled by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

797 (fasc. 565)

“Ritual of Inspection of the Zhengyi Registers.” The ritual takes place in a Pure Room (*jing* 靖; 1a). The registers have to be unrolled and placed on stools, with offerings of wine and fruits. The complete sequence of the ritual is outlined. The text of the ritual is nearly identical with that of 796 *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei yuelu jiaoyi*.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi zhijiao zhai yi 正一旨教齋儀

6 fols.

798 (fasc. 565)

Zhengyi zhijiao zhai qingdan xingdao yi 正一旨教齋清旦行道儀

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

799 (fasc. 565)

“Rites for the Retreat of the One and Orthodox Teaching.” LU XIUJING, in 1278 *Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen* 7a, classifies the *Zhijiao zhai* at the last and lowest level of the nine forms of Lingbao Retreats. He states that the most important aim of this ritual is purity. An anonymous commentary adds: “This is performed by libationers

[*jijiu* 祭酒] and disciples [*lusheng* 籙生] alike, according to their hierarchical position. When hungry, one is allowed to eat, but only vegetarian food. . . . After the midday meal, [even] water should not cross one's teeth." These injunctions correspond to those given among the Twelve Rules of the Retreat in the ritual itself (798 *Zhijiao zhai yi* 4a). The last rule is also quoted in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 9.12b as deriving from the *Zhijiao jing* 旨教經, a now lost liturgical treatise of the Heavenly Master tradition (compare also 463 *Jielü chao* 9.8b). For 1126 *Dongxuan lingbao dao xue keyi* 1.18a, the *Zhijiao zhai's* purpose is the healing of illness.

The two texts of the *Zhijiao zhai* that have been preserved in the *Daozang* are parts of the same service. According to 798 *Zhijiao zhai yi*, (3b), this service lasted one night and one day and comprised the rituals of "three times practicing the Tao" (*sanshi xingdao* 三時行道), that is, the morning, noon, and evening rites. The ritual of 799 *Zhijiao zhai qingdan xingdao yi* corresponds to the first of these, while 798 *Zhijiao zhai yi* contains the text of the Nocturnal Announcement (*sugü* 宿啓) to be performed during the preceding night.

The officiant is an inspector of merit of one of the Heavenly Masters' dioceses, indicated in 798 *Zhijiao zhai yi*, by way of example, as the Yangping zhi 陽平治, the first in rank among the dioceses (*xi tianshi Yangping zhi zuo pingqi dugong* 係天師陽平治左平氣都功; 1b). The service is performed for the benefit of a patron (*zhai zhu* 齋主; 799 *Zhijiao zhai qingdan xingdao yi* 4a). The *xingdao* 行道 ritual culminates in a triple offering of incense. This simple service is, in spite of its many Zhengyi elements, essentially modeled after the Lingbao liturgy.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi chitan yi 正一敕壇儀

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

800 (fasc. 565)

"Ritual for the Consecration of the Altar." This is a preliminary ritual for the purification and the protection of the altar for the *jiao* 醮 offering in a Retreat (*zhai* 齋) service (pages 1b and 6a). The present ritual, in many respects, resembles the rites for the purification of the altar (*jietan jiehui* 潔壇解穢) in 1212 *Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* 5a–6a by ZHANG WANFU. The officiating master's ordination title on 3a is identical with that given in 797 *Taishang zhengyi yuelu yi* by DU GUANGTING. The present text may, therefore, be a Tang version of the ritual.

The altar is described as having three levels, on which the gods of Heaven and Earth and their subaltern deities all have their proper place. At the beginning of the ritual, the officiating master invokes the Divine Beasts of the four directions (*zhao siling* 召四靈) and the gods, especially the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官). Then he proceeds to

consecrate the ritual instruments: the sword and the bowl of purifying water. Dancing the Paces of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步), he invests the sacred area with his legions of heavenly soldiers. At the end, he executes the magical steps of the seven stars of the Dipper, and, having “entered the Dipper” (*rudou* 入斗; 5b), he performs the final exorcism.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi jiaozhai yi 正一醮宅儀

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

801 (fasc. 565)

“Offering for the Dwelling.” This is a ritual presented to the domestic deities, principally to the Stove God (*Zaojun* 竈君; 2a) and to the Generals of the Five Directions who guard the house. This Offering is made on the *wangxiang* 王相 days of every season, in order to avert calamities caused by baleful influences that may affect the dwelling.

The text of this ritual is similar to that of 802 *Zhengyi jiaomu yi* and seems to have been annotated by the same person. Our text (2b, line 6) notes that “officiants who have entered religion simply sit down without doing obeisance.” The same remark is found in *Zhengyi jiaomu yi* 2a, line 3. The text is also close to that of 794 *Zhengyi jie jiaoyi* (compare the list of offerings). All three of these rituals have a tea offering added to the first libation of wine, a detail that may indicate a date from the second half of the Tang dynasty (618–907).

The ceremony is simple. After having drawn the outline of the sacred area on the ground of the courtyard, the officiant installs the altar by the placement of one large table and five small ones. The place of honor, at the north side, is given to the God of the Hearth. In addition to the usual offerings, four mirrors are installed. The ritual consists of an invocation and three libations, without the presentation of a petition or a memorial. At the end, some of the foodstuffs that have been offered are buried in the ground near the gates of the dwelling.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhengyi jiaomu yi 正一醮墓儀

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)

802 (fasc. 565)

“Offering at Tombs.” This ritual is presented to the guardian deities of the site: the five *houtu* 后土 and the *tingzhang* 亭長 (gods of the Earth), and the *zhangren* 丈人 (god of the mountain). The offering is made to avert calamities that are brought about

through the deterioration of the tomb or the site. The text mentions the divination practices that have determined the selection of the site of the tomb (2a).

The altar is installed to the left of the road that leads to the tomb. The ritual apparently comprises only two libations. It is performed by an Invocator (*zhuren* 祝人). The entire text is close to 801 *Zhengyi jiaozhai yi*.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang jinshu yudie baozhang yi 太上金書玉牒寶章儀

13 fols.

Tang (618–907)

806 (fasc. 566)

“Protocol of the Most High for the Precious Petitions Written on Jade Tablets.” This short manual contains the rites of exteriorization (*chuguan* 出官) and of invocation (*qi* 啓) of deities for the presentation of four petitions. The text begins with a prayer for pardon and peace on behalf of a family befallen by ill luck (1a–3b). This prayer is followed by a General Memorial for the Announcement of Merit (*yangong* 言功), presented on the occasion of a community assembly on the fifth day of the tenth month, when the registers of the followers are revised and updated (3b–5b). Then comes a supplication for a sick child (5b–8b), and, finally, a petition linked to an exorcism (8b–12b). Among the ritual objects used for this exorcism, there are a bow and five arrows (12b). The altar was constructed on the bank of a river. First the petition was presented and burned; then the likenesses of the demons were painted, and these effigies were placed in a box and immersed in the river, special care being taken that they did not surface. In the event that the rite could not be performed at a riverside, a bucket of water could also be used.

All petitions had to be copied in 100 copies, which were first purified by fumigation and then placed before the image of the deity. Only when, after three days, they had not been blown away by a gust of wind or polluted by the excrement of mice or rats could they be used.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuanci zhuhua zhang 太上宣慈助化章

5 juan

Compiled by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭, *hao* Guangcheng xiansheng 廣成先生 (850–933)

617 (fasc. 339–340)

“Most High Memorials That Proclaim Mercy and Are Helpful in Working Wonders.” This is a collection of twenty-three *zhang* 章 memorials used for different

purposes. Most of the memorials concern various kinds of illnesses and misfortunes and were presented in times of crisis or as preventive measures.

There is no reason to doubt the attribution to DU GUANGTING. It may be that the patriarch compiled this collection in order to reconstruct a work with the same title: the *Xuanci zhang* 宣慈章 by a certain Master Yu 虞先生 of the Tang, which was lost during the turmoils that marked the end of that dynasty (see the preface to *Shangqing wuyuan yuce jiuling feibu zhangzou bifa* 上清五元玉冊九靈飛步章奏祕法, in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 179.1a).

The collection contains a memorial for a daoshi's presentation of his personal record of sins to the Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water (*Daoshi tiandishui sanguan shoushu luzhuang zhang* 道士天地水三官手書錄狀章; 2.12a–15a). This memorial is a unique testimony of the practice of writing full confessions of one's sins in order to obtain forgiveness by the Three Officials (*Sanguan shoushu* 三官手書), a practice that goes back to the origin of the Heavenly Master movement (see *Sanguo zhi* 8.264, quoting the *Dianlüe* 典略). According to our text, the adept had to establish a record (*luzhuang* 錄狀 or *buzhuang* 簿狀) of all his or her transgressions since the age of seven *sui*, itemizing them one by one, giving full details of places and dates, avoiding any circumlocutions or flowery paraphrases, and presenting everything in a straightforward manner, as in an official document (2.12a and 13a). The same juan contains a number of other memorials to be presented by daoshi, not only to atone for their sins but also to ask for protection, for instance on their travels “Daoshi yuanxing zhang 道士遠行章”; 2.6b–8a)

A long Memorial to Arrest the Puppy Devil “Shou quanzi gui zhang 收犬子鬼章”; 3.1a–4b) relates to cases of possession by this fearful spirit, more fully named the Puppy Devil from under the Stone (*Shixia quanzi gui* 石下犬子鬼), which especially attacks children. Other demons that cause childrens' diseases are also named: the Wet Nurse from Heaven's Prison (*Tianlao rumu* 天牢乳母) and the Washing Bride (*Xihuan xinfu* 洗浣新婦). Other memorials also provide interesting glimpses into medieval demonology.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao suling zhenfu 太上洞玄靈寶素靈真符

3 juan

Attributed to Masters LU XIUJING 陸修靜 (406–477) and DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933); preface by DU GUANGTING, after 913
389 (fasc. 184)

“True Talismans of the White Numen from the Supreme Mysterious Cavern of the Lingbao [Canon].” According to the preface, the text was bestowed on Zhai 翟 [Fayan 法言], *zi* Qianyou 乾祐, by the Heavenly Worthy in the form of one scroll of

vermilion writing. The revelation is said to have taken place during the Qianyuan 乾元 reign (758–760) in the area of the Yangzi gorge at Wushan. The date appears to be a mistake for Kaiyuan 開元 (713–741), since the author’s account of the subsequent history of the text refers to Tianbao (see below). Although Zhai’s hagiography does not supply realistic dates (aged forty-one in 755, died in 836), it is likely, nevertheless, that he was active in the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756; see LZTT 41.17a–20a).

The talismans are said to have reached the capital during the Tianbao period (742–756), and they subsequently flourished in both popular and official circles throughout the middle Yangzi region of modern Hubei and Eastern Sichuan. The preface names Duan Chengshi 段成式 (ca. 803–863) among adepts of the text after it had reached Xiandu shan 仙都山 (Fengdu). Duan’s father, chief minister Duan Wenchang 段文昌 (773–835), had been a benefactor of the Xiandu temple on that site (see his *Xiu Xiandu guan ji* 修仙都觀記, dated 833, in *Wenyuan yinghua* 822.3b–4b). It was in this temple that DU GUANGTING obtained the present text in 906, while conducting a search for lost scriptures. Later, Du took it upon himself to enter the text into the Taoist canon (see preface).

The attribution varies in each chapter heading: juan 1, “Master Lu”; juan 2, “received by Master Lu”; juan 3, “received by Master Du.” The title of the work does not figure in the extant Dunhuang catalogue of LU XIUJING’s Lingbao canon. A lacuna is indicated at the end of the present text.

The preface is signed “Guangcheng 廣成 Du Guangting,” using the religious title that Du received in 913 (see Verellen, *Du Guangting*, 163–64). Designs of the talismans—with commentaries and instructions for use (swallow, attach to part of body, etc.)—and incantations are included. The talismans serve as cures for various pains and diseases, against depression, and in exorcism. The preface mentions, in addition, reviving the dead, conjuring rain, and warding off wild animals—referring presumably to a more complete version of the collection.

Franciscus Verellen

Taishang laojun hunyuan sanbu fu 太上老君混元三部符

3 juan

Tang (618–907)

673 (fasc. 352–353)

“The Three Fu of the Origin of Chaos, the Most High Lord Lao.” *Sanbu fu* 三部符 may have been a generic name for talismans in general, perhaps as an allusion to the three fu that enabled Shen Buhai 申不害 (d. 377 B.C.) to govern the kingdom of Han with Taoist inaction and peacefulness (see *Huainan zi* 20). The term *Hunyuan*, Laozi’s epithet since Tang times, is perhaps misplaced here; the original title could have read: *Taishang hunyuan laojun sanbu fu*.

A *Sanbu fulu* in two juan is mentioned in Song catalogues (see VDL 75). DU GUANGTING's *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺 relates the story of a Taoist by the name of Shi Deyi 史得一 who, during the Xiantong period (860–874), found a book called *Laojun sanbu fu* floating on the water during a flood. It had not become wet, and he took it home. A night, the divine guardian of the book appeared to him in the form of a young lad and said: “The precious fu of the Most High have long circulated among the people. . . . Many mistakes have appeared. This correct version is now given to you so that you may save people from illness and distress” (*Xianzhuan shiyi*, in Yan Yiping, *Daojiao yanjiu ziliao* 1.102–3). This story seems to indicate that a collection of talismans known as *Sanbu fu* existed prior to the new revelation received by Master Shi.

That the present collection dates to the Tang period (618–907) is borne out by a number of details. The comments that accompany the talismans speak of Taoist adepts as *jijiu* 祭酒 and *lusheng* 籙生, whereas their sanctuary is called a *zhitán* 治壇 (1.6b). Other titles mentioned are regional inspectors (*cishi* 刺史; 3.29b), two-thousand-bushel officials (*erqian shi* 二千石; 2.21b), and district officials (*xianguan* 縣官; 2.15a). These are all Tang and pre-Tang titles.

A commentary on page 1.2b of our text mentions “the Three Fu and all others” (*sanbu fu ji yiqie fu* 三部符及一切符), which may indicate that some talismans were added to the original collection.

The fu are by and large intended for exorcistic purposes, and their uses reflect the daily worries of a rural population. The talismans are classified in twenty-seven categories, ranging from the protection of houses and crops against rats to avoiding epidemics and evil officials. A single love talisman is found on 3.29a. From the commentaries and spells that accompany the fu, some information on medieval popular religion may be gleaned. We learn that ghosts (*gui* 鬼) were wont to steal people's clothes, rock their beds, and cause them to lose their hair (1.34b–35a). In one instance, we are told a legend: Han Wudi's palace was haunted by dog spirits (*quanguai* 犬怪). Xi wang mu 西王母 gave the emperor a fu to put on the walls of his dwelling, and the scourge subsided (2.11a).

Kristofer Schipper

Si yin qi juefa 思印氣訣法

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

869 (fasc. 579)

“Magic Formulas Using the Mind, the Seal, and the Breath.” This is a short but important collection of various rites of exorcism. The seal is the Yue Seal of the Yellow God (*Huangshen yuezhang* 黃神越章; 1.b) already mentioned by GE HONG in the context of similar rites (BPZ 17.89). Here “Yue” may mean *intaglio*, as GE HONG also

uses the expression *yuezhang* as a technical term. Apart from their great similarity with the practices described by GE HONG, the present formulas also show distinct characteristics of the Heavenly Master tradition (for instance, “Tianshi jijiu 天師祭酒”; 3b). There is also a marked resemblance with the healing rites, using the same seal, in 1270 *Zhengyi fawen xiuzhen zhiyao* 15b–20a. The rites combine breathing techniques (holding one’s breath) with visualizations and *Yubu* 禹步 paces (*bu jiuji* 步九跡; 1a).

The exorcisms concern spirits, wild animals, and other dangers encountered in mountains: evil persons, epidemics, tree spirits, baleful stars, phantoms, heterodox cults, discontented ancestors, and so on.

Of a distinctly popular nature, the present formulas could well correspond to ancient practices. Several details, such as the allusion to the power of the *vajra* (*jin’gang* 金剛; 3b), point, however, to the Tang as the time when the present collection was produced.

Kristofer Schipper

Beidi qiyuan ziting yansheng bijue 北帝七元紫庭延生祕訣

10 fols.

Tang or Five Dynasties (seventh–tenth century)?

1265 (fasc. 1002)

“Secret Instruction for Prolonging Life, of the Purple Court of the Seven Origins [Subject to] the Northern Emperor.” This book is said to have been revealed to GE XUAN by the Most High Lord Lao in 239 and to have been transmitted to the world during the Wei period (220–265) by a certain Mr. Ye 葉先生 (1a). It is included as a whole in YJQQ 25.1a–10b (only the talismans are different) and may well be of late Tang or Five Dynasties date. It is connected with the later *Beidou jing* 北斗經 tradition, which likewise is defined as a text for prolonging life (*yansheng* 延生) and which has many elements in common with the present work (see 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*).

The book describes a ritual for presenting offerings to the gods of the Big Dipper, with the aim of averting calamity, obtaining blessings, and saving one’s ancestors. At a given moment in the ritual, the script calls for “burning money,” implying that use was made of sacrificial paper money (7a). Seven lamps are lit in the sacred area, and destiny is interpreted by the manner in which they burn. The eighth and ninth stars of the Dipper are identified as Gaoshang yuhuang 高上玉皇 and Taiwei dijun 太微帝君, and it is said that if one succeeded in visualizing them, his life would be prolonged by 300 or 600 years, respectively (2b; compare 752 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.25a). One of the incantations is entitled “Beidou yansheng shenzhou 北斗延生神咒” (8a). It closely resembles the “Beidou changsheng congming shenzhou 北斗長生聰明神咒” found in 752 *Beidou jing zhu* 3.15a–b (as well as in modern editions

of the scripture). Note that the latter version of the incantation is found identically in 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 9.15b, where it forms part of the rite of lighting “lamps for prolonging life, in the pattern of the character *chi* 敕.”

Poul Andersen

2.B.2.c Miscellaneous

Zhengyi lun 正一論

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1228 (fasc. 988)

“Discussion of the Orthodox One Way of the Heavenly Master.” This is a short treatise in question and answer form, in defense of the ancient Heavenly Master liturgy. The work is listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* (see VDL 97). The mention of the Ming dynasty (Da Ming 大明) on page 2, line 10, must be an alteration by the editors of the *Daozang* for Da Tang 大唐. Similar changes occur elsewhere in the Taoist canon.

The discussion begins with the question of why there are numerous Taoist traditions, each of which claims to be a divine revelation. The answer is that each tradition is intended for different kinds of adepts, cultivated and uncultivated, of different periods. However, of all traditions, the Orthodox One Way of the Heavenly Master constitutes the fundamental norm. Questions then address the issue of liturgy, and especially the relationship and the relative value of the Heavenly Master ritual of Mud and Charcoal for the Forgiveness of Sins (*tutan xieyi* 塗炭謝儀) and the Lingbao Pure Retreat (*Lingbao qingzhai* 靈寶清齋). Can they be performed together? The teacher refuses this amalgamation. The Heavenly Master tradition is earlier than GE XUAN’s Lingbao liturgy. At the time the former was revealed, there existed only the Lingbao Five Talismans (*wufu* 五符; see 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu*). The famous Five True Writs (*wu zhenwen* 五真文) were fabricated later (page 3a, line 10, and 3b, line 1). In general, the rites of the Heavenly Master tradition, especially the Teaching Retreat (*zhijiao zhai* 旨教齋), are simple and rustic in comparison to the magnificent celebrations (*shengguan* 盛觀) of the Lingbao liturgy. With a great flourish of quotations of the *Daode jing* 道德經, the teacher proves the greater authenticity of the simple and sober Zhengyi tradition.

Kristofer Schipper

Daoyao lingqi shengui pin jing 道要靈祇神鬼品經

27 fols.

Ca. sixth–seventh century

1201 (fasc. 875)

“The Scripture on the Ranks of the Essential Spiritual Forces, Divinities, and Spirits.” This work presents categories of divine potencies, representing specific spheres of competence. It was written in the late Six Dynasties period (220–589) or, at the latest, under the early Tang (618–907; see Ze Cheng, “Dunhuang guxieben *Taiping jing* wenzi canye,” 55–56, and Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 351).

The text presents the names of early saints, together with the names of the deities controlling the forces of nature such as water, mountains, calendrical time, et cetera. The text also makes mention of both widely established cults, such as the deities of the Earth Altar (4a–5a), and local cults like that of Kuang Su 匡俗 on Mount Lu 廬山 (6b). Special attention is given to the name by which a deity can be summoned. The name forms the basis for ritual formulas or prayers introduced by this text.

The text refers to the Shangqing, Lingbao, and Zhengyi traditions of the Six Dynasties period, as shown by the list of the deities of the sexagesimal cycle (13a–16a), which also can be found in 790 *Nüqing guilü* 1.4b–7b.

Florian C. Reiter

Taishang shuo liujia zhifu baotai huming miaojing

太上說六甲直符保胎護命妙經

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

50 (fasc. 29)

“Scripture of the Officers in Charge of the Energies of the Sexagesimal Cycle, for Protecting the Embryo and Guarding Life.” It is said to have been revealed by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Laozi in Tang popular belief) to his disciple Yin Xi 尹喜.

This prophylactic scripture is based on the register of officers of the sexagesimal cycle of the Heavenly Master tradition (e.g., “Jiazi Wang Wenqing 甲子王文卿, etc.)—spirits of the Original Destiny (*yuanchen* 元辰). Here these officers are ritually invited to protect mother and child against evil spirits and black magic (*gu* 蠱; 2b) at the moment of birth. Women are invited to copy this scripture and worship it (7b).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhengyi zhongui jing 太上正一咒鬼經

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

1193 (fasc. 875)

“Collection of Incantation Spells for Exorcisms of the One and Orthodox, Transmitted by the Heavenly Master.” Certain spells are in rhymed verses of seven, four, and five words. From page 4b onward, the text comprises invocations, prayers, and incantations in prose for the purpose of exorcising the demons of heterodox cults (*yedao* 野道). In a final paragraph, the entire text is presented as a scripture (*jing* 經) transmitted by the Zhengyi zhenren 正一真人 to all his libationers.

Kristofer Schipper

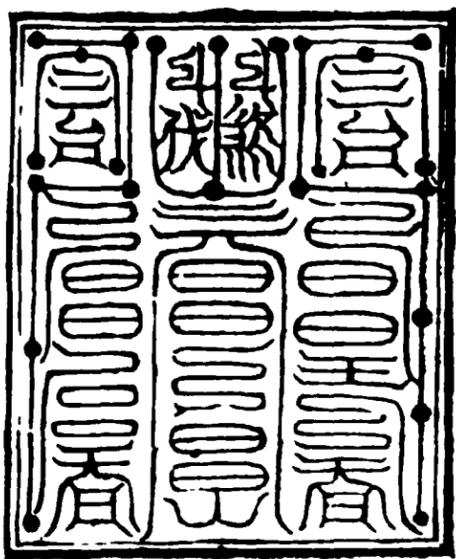


FIGURE 38. Seal for use in exorcism (1270 19b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1252)

Zhengyi fawen xiuzhen zhiyao 正一法文修真旨要

20 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1270 (fasc. 1003)

“Essentials of the Practice of the True, from the One and Orthodox Ritual Canon.” This is a small collection of miscellaneous practices. The first part is devoted to breathing techniques and gymnastics (*daoyin* 導引; 1a–11b). The second part deals with healing: different forms of diagnosis through observation and analysis (*chahou* 察候), followed by treatment through exorcism (*xingjin* 行禁) by means of a seal (12a–20a; fig. 38).

The seal technique is explained by a certain Li Daohua 李道化. A number of the instructions for breathing techniques in the first part are borrowed from the Shangqing scriptures.

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Strickmann, “The Seal of the Law,” 10–20.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhengyi fawen jing 太上正一法文經

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

1204 (fasc. 876)

“Scripture of the Most High Zhengyi Ritual Canon.” This is a hybrid work combining Heavenly Master and Lingbao teachings. The exact relationship with the *Zhengyi*

fawen canon is unclear. We may have here an “abstract of the essentials” (*daoyao* 道要), a form of short liturgical scripture popular in Tang times.

The text reveals, first, the origin of suffering in the world: the sins of humanity bring about punishment from Heaven in the form of legions of demons causing diseases. Nine forms of disaster (*jiue* 九厄) are defined (2a–3b); next, the names of nine ugly and murderous demons (*jiu chou shagui* 九醜殺鬼) are given; finally, the text presents the emissaries of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝), the diseases they convey, and the knives and swords (*dao* 刀) they wield.

Those who meditate upon the Taiyi jiuku tianzun 太一救苦天尊, copy this scripture, and recite it nine times while untying nine knots (*jiejie* 解結) made in tresses of black silk will escape all calamities.

The text ends with a short ritual of atonement addressed to the Heavenly Worthies of the Ten Directions (*li shifang tianzun fa* 禮十方天尊法).

Kristofer Schipper

Wushang santian fashi shuo yinyu zhongsheng miaojing

無上三天法師說廢育衆生妙經

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1197 (fasc. 875)

“Marvelous Scripture for the Protection of the People, Spoken by the Supreme Ritual Master of the Three Heavens.” The first day of the eleventh moon of the 47th year (*gengxu* 庚戌) of the sexagesimal cycle, Zhang Daoling 張道陵, Ritual Master of the Three Heavens (*santian fashi* 三天法師), moved by the suffering of the people who have been under attack for several months by hordes of demons led by a “newly appeared chief” (*xinchu guishi* 新出鬼師, 4b; compare the contract for the purchase of a tomb, dated 485, mentioned in Stein, “Religious Taoism and popular religion,” 64), descends on Yuntai shan 雲臺山 in Langzhou 閬州 (Sichuan). There he reveals to a Taoist named Cheng Fadao 成法道 (4a) the present scripture “for the protection of the people.” Since the outburst of demonic power is the result of “heterodox worship of gods and demons” (*yinsi guishen* 淫祀鬼神; 3b), it suffices to ask a monastic Ritual Master of the Three Caverns (*chujia sandong fashi* 出家三洞法師) to perform a Lingbao Retreat with Divine Incantations (*shenzhou lingbao qingzhai* 神咒靈寶清齋; 1b–2a, see 654 *Taishang dongshen tiangong xiaomo huguo jing*), according to the method of the Retreat of Spontaneity (*ziran zhai* 自然齋法; 3a). Then the Heavenly Master in person, followed by his disciples Wang Chang 王長 and Zhao Sheng 趙昇, will descend in order to exterminate the demons by means of a “divine fu of the Most High.”

Various elements suggest a Tang date: the title of the Taoist master, the names given to the Retreat, the administrative organization (*zhou xian xiang* 州縣鄉; 4a). The

name of Langzhou did not exist prior to the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (712–756). The *gengxu* date could refer to the years A.D. 770, 830, or 890.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongshen tiangong xiaomo huguo jing 太上洞神天公消魔護國經

3 juan

654 (fasc. 343)

“Scripture of the Lord of Heaven for Destroying Demons and Protecting the State.” This remarkable text explains the origin and function of a corresponding “Retreat for Destroying Demons and Protecting the State.” The Lord of Heaven is Yuhuang 玉皇, the Jade Emperor, who was given charge of the world when the Three Pure Ones (*sansqing* 三清) retired after the genesis of the world had been completed. The fact that this is a Dongshen scripture of the Most High is significant, for all the books of the Three Caverns are presented as having issued from the mouth of Lord Lao, who resides in the Taiqing 太清 or Dongshen 洞神 Heaven (2.3a, 6b). Dongshen seems also to be equated with Zhengyi, inasmuch as the Nine Heavens of the Shangqing revelation and the Thirty-two Lingbao Heavens are said to be “outside” the Three Pure Heavens of the Zhengyi cosmogenesis (2.7a).

Sun Xubo 孫虛白, Taoist master at the court of Huizong (r. 1100–1125), mentions a “Lingbao tiangong zhai 靈寶天公齋” (1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 3.4a). The text itself traces the Retreat back to a certain Wang Fajin 王法進 (d. 742) of Jianzhou 劍州 (in the Shu area of Sichuan) who, after completing the Lingbao Retreat of the Lord of Heaven, announces the merit obtained and presents a memorial (2.1a–b). According to her biography in 298 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji* 4.16b–19a, Wang Fajin received at the beginning of her career the Zhengyi Register for the Prolongation of Life and was later chosen to receive the method of the Lingbao Pure Retreat and Offering for Thanking Heaven and Earth. This Pure Retreat is described as being close to the Lingbao Retreat of Spontaneity (*Lingbao ziran zhai* 靈寶自然齋) and is said to have been much practiced in Sichuan. Whereas in Li’nan 里南, it is simply called Pure Retreat, in Shu it is called the Retreat of Heavenly Merit (*gong* 功 instead of *gong* 公).

The Retreat of the Lord of Heaven may be performed “in order to obtain birth and growth from the Great Tao, or to give thanks to the heavens for covering and to the earth for supporting all beings, to obtain the forgiveness of sins or to pray for good fortune, to supplicate for timely wind and rain to ensure abundant harvests of cereals, to expel pestilence and poisoned qi, or in order to bring down good fortune and extend life” (2.4b). Among the twenty-seven types of Retreats revealed by Laojun, the Retreats of the Golden and Jade Registers were for use by the emperor only,

and the Retreat of the Yellow Register was for the salvation of the dead (2.3a–4a). By contrast, the Retreat of the Lord of Heaven was intended for the people and was to be performed for the living by a Ritual Master of the Three Caverns and Orthodox Unity (2.2b, 3.5b).

John Lagerwey

Dongzhen santian bibui 洞真三天祕諱

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1350 (fasc. 1033)

“The Personal Names of the Three Heavens.” This is a small but interesting manual for ritual practice for private or liturgical use. It contains a number of simple rites for minor officiants (here simply called *daoshi*; 3b) who have received the ordination of “the Three and the Five” (*sanwu* 三五; 1a), meaning the registers of the Zhengyi tradition (compare 1239 *Zhengyi xiuzhen liueyi* 2b–10b). These rites conferred the status of True Being of the Original Destiny, Pacing the Fundamental Structure of the Three and the Five of the Red Sky (*Chitian sanwu bugang yuanming zhenren* 赤天三五步綱元命真人; see 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 4b), thus enabling the officiant to marshal the Great Left and Right Generals of the Three and the Five of the Red Sky (*Chitian sanwu zuoyou da jiangjun* 赤天三五左右大將軍; see our text page 6a). The rites contain much ancient material, but the invocation of the nine Dipper stars (pages 2b–3a) is the same as that in the *Hetu jiuxing lu* 河圖九星錄 (see 1392 *Shangqing qusu jueci lu* 23a–24a) and again in YJQQ 24.17b–18b, which clearly shows that the manual belongs to the Tang period.

The first rite—which has given its title to the entire manual—is that of the invocation of the True Names (*zhenming* 真名) of the Three Heavens and the personal names of the Three Masters (*sanshi* 三師; here defined, in the manner of the ancient Heavenly Master movement, as Zuo Wushang 左無上, You Xuanlao 右玄老 and Zhong Taishang 中太上). These names are to be called out loud in times of crisis. If this invocation proves to be insufficient, one should perform the dance of the straight Paces of Yu of the Divine Turtle on heavenly stilts (*shenkui tianqiao zhi Yubu* 神龜天躡直禹步; 1b) while pronouncing the above-mentioned invocation of the Dipper stars. An alternative method is that of “Reclining in the Dipper” (*wodou* 臥斗; compare YJQQ 24.16b ff.).

The manual next presents a number of healing and exorcistic rites to be performed for lay people, on request. The first service takes the form of a simple presentation of an oral memorial (*kouzhang* 口章; 3b), accompanied by *bugang* 步綱 dancing. The head of the household should prepare offerings to the seven stars of the Dipper (not

nine, as in the previous rites), of wine, cakes, and fruit (dried jujubes and chestnuts), that should be eaten on the spot by the officiant. On more important occasions, the same rites should be performed, but this time accompanied by a great offering (*dajiao* 大醮; 5b). A service of an even higher grade demands a communal banquet of the Three and the Five (*sanwu chu* 三五廚), for which a number of outside persons have to be invited. To the expenses for feeding a group of lay people is added the outlay of faith offerings (*xinwu* 信物; 6a) of bolts of silk.

At the end, the text enumerates the Ten Highest Commandments (*Shangpin shijie* 上品十戒; 6a), followed by the list of ten evil actions. These lists come from 457 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui zuigen shangpin dajie jing* 1.6a–7b, and are also found in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 5.2b–3b, which shows that they were current in the Tang period.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang laojun shuo jieshi zhouzu jing 太上老君說解釋咒詛經

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

652 (fasc. 343)

“Scripture for Dissolving Spells, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao.” The text that bears the alternative title “Scripture for Eliminating Spells and Bewitchments” (*Jiechu zhouzu yanmei jing* 解除咒詛厭魅經; 2b) was probably the central part of a minor ritual. Believers who have been bewitched by evil persons are to ask a Taoist Master of the Three Caverns (*sandong daoshi* 三洞道士) to recite this scripture, whereupon the Five Emperors and their retinue will destroy all demons.

The text is loosely related to *Foshuo zhoumei jing* 佛說咒魅經 (T 2882), where, among others, the Five Emperors are sent to destroy persons who have bewitched others. To the wording used in our text—that their heads shall be broken into seven pieces (*tou po zuo qi fen* 頭破作七分)—the Buddhist scripture adds “like the twigs of the Ali tree” (*ru ali shu zhi* 如阿梨樹枝).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

2.B.3 The Taiping Division

Taiping jing chao 太平經鈔

10 juan

Tang (618–907)

1101.b (fasc. 746–747)

“Selected Excerpts from the Scripture of the Great Peace.” The editors of the Ming *Daozang* incorporated this work into the incomplete version of 1101.a *Taiping jing* (originally in 170 juan) that they had at their disposal, placing it at the beginning in order to make up for the missing first ten juan of the work. In fact, however, this is an independent work, presumably of a later date, aiming to provide an abstract of the scripture. Its ten juan, numbered from *jia* 甲 to *gui* 癸, are supposed to give the essential content of each chapter of the main work, which was divided into ten similarly numbered parts of seventeen juan each.

The present work was used extensively by Wang Ming (*Taiping jing hejiao*) to complete the lacunal 1101.a *Taiping jing* version of the *Daozang*. However, the anonymous author of our “Selected Excerpts” probably used a different version of the Great Peace Scripture. The comparison with the table of contents of the 170-juan *Taiping jing*, as given in the Dunhuang manuscript Stein 4226, shows that, to begin with, the *jia* part of one text does not correspond to that of the other. Indeed, the *jia* part as outlined in the Dunhuang manuscript corresponds to the contents of the last (*gui*) chapter of the “Selected Excerpts.” As to the first chapter of our present text, it draws heavily on the fourth-century 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji* (see Wang Ming, “Lun *Taiping jing chao*,” and *Taiping jing hejiao*, 1–7). Because these elements from the Shangqing tradition are completely absent from 1101.a *Taiping jing*, Wang Ming (“Lun *Taiping jing chao*”) considers the first chapter of our book to be a falsification. This assertion should be qualified. Although there is a clear difference in the ordering of the text as given in the Dunhuang manuscript and the present work, it is by no means certain that the 170-juan *Taiping jing* did not include similar Shangqing material. Indeed, the Dunhuang manuscript appends at the end of the table of contents of the 170-juan version a quotation from the *Taiping jing* (Stein 4226, lines 605 ff.) that is similar to, at certain points even identical with, the text of the first chapter of our work, as well as its original source, the 442 *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji*. It may, therefore, reasonably be assumed that the text of our first chapter (*jia*) was indeed part of the *Taiping jing*. Wang Ming’s opinion to the contrary rests on the dating of the *Taiping jing* as a Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) work, as a result of which the presence of quotations from a fourth-century text can represent only a falsification. Yet this view should be qualified by taking into account the history of the rewriting of the *Taiping jing* by Zhou

Zhixiang 周智響 during the Chen dynasty (569–583; see 1101.a *Taiping jing*). Zhou was a Taoist of the Maoshan (Shangqing) school, which held that the Latter-Day Saint (Housheng daojun 後聖道君) was a reincarnation of the Lord of Great Peace (Taiping jun 太平君). Our text (1.4b) states that this lord's Book of the Great Peace (*Taiping zhi jing*) should be studied by all who hoped to be saved from the impending apocalypse. The inclusion of this material at the beginning of the 170-juan *Taiping jing* is therefore not fortuitous, but accords well with the circumstances of the compilation of this *rifacimento* as we know them.

Another point that should not be overlooked is that there are many discrepancies between the two texts in the remaining parts, too. Wang Ming's ingenuity in collating both works conceals the fact that a great number of passages in the present text have no counterpart in the 1101.a *Taiping jing* version (for instance, compare 2.13b to 2.16b).

Since Tang Yongtong ("Du *Taiping jing* shu suojian"), the present work has been ascribed to LÜQIU FANGYUAN (d. 902), author of 393 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao dagang chao* and editor of 167 *Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu*. Although scholars have accepted this attribution by and large, the evidence on which it is based appears to be slim. The *Taiping jing chao* is first mentioned by JIA SHANXIANG's 774 *Youlong zhuan* 4.18a, which lists it among the works related to the *Taiping jing*, saying: "In addition to the main scripture [*zhengjing* 正經], there are the Selected Excerpts of the *Taiping [jing]* in ten juan. The author is unknown. He gives a general outline of the scripture following its table of contents." Farther on (18b), Jia again writes at length about LÜQIU FANGYUAN, concluding: "He also profoundly studied the *Taiping jing* and wrote a commentary to it in thirty juan, entirely grasping the essentials of the text." Jia borrowed the material on Lüqiu from the latter's biography in 295 *Xu xian zhuan* 3.4a–6a. Lüqiu's commentary, also known from other sources (see Wang Ming, *Taiping jing hejiao*), therefore cannot be assimilated to the present *Taiping jing chao*. That Lüqiu did write a general outline of the Lingbao canon (393 *Lingbao dagang chao*) does not prove that he was also the author of the present text. It should also be noted that the general outline of the Lingbao canon, notwithstanding the word *chao* 鈔 in the title, is in fact a work of an entirely different nature.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiping jing shengjun bizhi 太平經聖君祕旨

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1102 (fasc. 755)

"Secret Instructions of the Sage-Lord of the Scripture of Great Peace." This short treatise on the practice of Keeping the One (*shouyi* 守一) is signed by the Great Minister Lord Green Lad (Shangxiang qingtong jun 上相青童君), one of the foremost

immortals of the Shangqing revelations (see YJQQ 4.7b). Its direct link with *1101.a Taiping jing* is not clear, but JIA SHANXIANG (774 *Youlong zhuan* 4.18b) lists a *Taiping bizhi*—“said to have been transmitted by the Great Minister Lord Green Lad and that discusses the methods of Keeping the One”—among the subsidiary texts of the great scripture. This text must be the present work.

The main theme of the treatise is the unity of the Three Energies: essence (*jing* 精), godhead (*shen* 神), and pneuma (*qi* 氣).

Kristofer Schipper

2.B.4 The Taixuan Division

Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue 傳授經戒儀註訣

17 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

1238 (fasc. 989)

“Annotated Instructions for the Protocol of Transmission of the Scripture and the Rules.” This work concerns the transfer of the *Daode jing* 道德經, its commentaries, and the corresponding ritual texts, which, together, form the Taixuan division of the Taoist canon of the Tang dynasty (see list on page 4b). The present work is included and listed as the eighth scroll (juan) of the group of texts of the division. Thus, the SDZN (5.5b) quotes the “Annotated Instructions” as “Number Eight of the Taixuan Scriptures,” and 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 4b refers to our book as “Annotated Instructions by Lord Lao for the Transmission of the Dongxuan Division.

For a study of the present protocol and a discussion of its date as an early Tang work, see Kusuyama, *Rōshi densetsu*, 140–43 and 261–67.

The transmission of this group of texts of the Taixuan division coincides with the conferral of a corresponding rank in the Taoist hierarchy of the times. The ordinand is called a disciple of the register (*lusheng* 籙生). During the ceremony, he or she is presented by a Master of the Three Caverns (*sandong fashi* 三洞法師) to a Great Master of Highest Mystery (*Taishang gaoxuan fashi* 太上高玄法師). The latter title is borne by those who possess the *Daode jing*, and it is indeed this master who confers the ordination (compare 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.7a). According to the present protocol, however, the ordinand does not himself receive this title. Instead, after having received the Taixuan division scriptures, he is simply called Disciple of the Three Treasures (*sanbao dizi* 三寶弟子; compare also 1244 *Shoulu cidi*

faxin yi 6a). The text indicates, moreover, that when the ordinand is called upon to officiate, his title will be Ritual Master of the *Daode jing*. He must await the moment when, having advanced through successive stages, he will become Master of the Three Caverns (see 14b). The present ordination is therefore regarded as only one stage of many more to come.

The oath (*mengwen* 盟文; 16a) delivered by the disciple is also known from other documents; it is found in WSBY 37.2b–3b, as well as in the Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot 2347, 2350, 2417, and 2735, all dating from the period between 709 and 757 (see Schipper, “Taoist ordination ranks,” 137).

The Taixuan division as defined by the present protocol contains no more than seven works comprising ten scrolls: the *Daode jing* “in large characters” (without commentary); the Heshang gong and the Xiang’er commentaries; the Annotated and Illustrated Instructions by Lord Lao for Meditation (*Laojun sishen tu zhujie* 老君思神圖注戒; this should be the same work as 875 *Taishang laojun da cunsi tu zhujue*); the present protocol; and, finally, the Rituals for the Spontaneous Retreat and for the Audience (*Ziran zhai* 自然齋 and *Ziran chao* 自然朝) of the Old Lord. These rituals are no longer extant.

The rules to be observed by the disciple are called the Essential Commandments in Three Classes (*sanpin yaojie* 三品要戒; 9a). They were originally issued by Xiang’er (see page 3b) and should therefore be the same as the *Daode zunjing Xiang’er jie* 道德尊經想爾戒 mentioned in 784 *Taishang laojun jiejing* 1a–b.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang sandong chuanshou daode jing zixu lu baibiao yi

太上三洞傳授道德經紫虛籙拜表儀

19 fols.

Edited by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

808 (fasc. 566)

“Ritual of the Presentation of Memorials for the Transmission of the Register of the Purple Void and the *Daode jing*, in the Tradition of the Liturgical Scriptures of the Three Caverns.” The ordination of the *zixu lu* 紫虛籙 marked the first step in the hierarchy of Taoist masters in Tang times. The present ordination ritual is divided into two parts: a ceremony of repentance, probably coming at the end of the period of retreat and seclusion of the ordinants (1a–12a), and a *daochang* 道場 ritual, to be performed three days later by the disciples themselves, or, if they are not yet capable of performing it correctly, by the senior master who has sponsored (*jianbao* 監保) their ordination.

The first part is composed mainly of hymns and texts of repentance. At the end, a memorial announcing the merit and seeking atonement for sins is presented (*yangong xieguo zhang* 言功謝過章).

The second part marks the actual ordination. The disciples, who are referred to by the title of Newly Ordained in the Register of the Purple Void (*xinshou taishang daode gaoxuan gaoshang zixu dizi* 新授太上道德高玄高上紫虛弟子), receive: the *Daode jing* “with the black tassels and the golden button” on the wrapper (*qingsi jinniu* 青絲金鈕); the register *Gaoshang zixu tianshu bilu* 高上紫虛天書祕籙; the commentary by HESHANG GONG (*Heshang gong zhangju* 河上公章句); the Rules of Xiang'er (*Xiang'er yaojie* 想爾要戒); 875 *Taishang laojun da cunsi tu zhujue*; 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue*; 666 *Xisheng jing*; the *Miaozhen xuanjing* 妙真玄經; the *Liujia cuntu* 六甲存圖; the *Lizang yuli* 歷藏玉曆 (this may well be another title for 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing*); and the liturgical rituals that correspond to the qualifications of the masters of this rank.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang laojun da cunsi tu zhujue 太上老君大存思圖注訣

25 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

875 (fasc. 580)

“Instructions and Illustrations of the Principal Visualizations of the Most High Lord Lao.” A scripture bearing this title existed before the seventh century: 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* 4b presents a *Laojun sishen tu zhujue* 老君思神圖注訣 as the seventh of the ten juan of the Taixuan section of the *Daozang*. The present text addresses the transmission and recitation of the basic scripture of this section, namely, the *Daode jing* 道德經 (23a, 24b, YJQQ 43.6a), and it refers to the *Xiang'er zhu* 想爾注, also of the same section (11a; see 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* 4b). Finally, a few paragraphs correspond to prescriptions given for the transmission of the *Laozi* in the WSBY (WSBY 37.1a–b, 5b corresponds to YJQQ 43.6b, 7b, 16b–17a).

This text is quoted as the *Laojun cunsi tu* 老君存思圖 in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* (where 2.7a–8a corresponds to 18a–21b of the present text; 8a5–b1 is not found in our text). With the exception of 4b–9b, 19a–b, 24b–25b and all drawings, the entire text corresponds, apart from a few variants, to paragraphs 9–18 of the YJQQ’s edition of the *Laojun cunsi tu* in eighteen paragraphs (*pian* 篇) with a preface (*xu* 序; 43.3a–17b). The original text certainly included the seven supplementary paragraphs found in the YJQQ: paragraph 5 is the one that deals with the transmission of the *Daode jing*; paragraphs 6 and 7 describe the entrance onto the sacred area and therefore constitute the counterpart to paragraphs 12 and 13, on the subject of leaving the sacred area (YJQQ 43.13a–14a corresponds to 875 13a–14a). Paragraphs 1 to 4, finally, are also essential, as they describe the transformation of the Hall of the Retreat into the Mountain of the Jade Capital, Yujing shan (玉京山) and the visualization of the Three Treasures and the Daode tianzun 道德天尊 of the Ten Directions. Pages 4b–9b, which are missing



FIGURE 39. Visualization of the Three Pure Ones (875 21a–b).



FIGURE 40. Visualization of the gods while ascending the altar (875 21b–22b).

in the YJQQ, must also belong to the original text, for visualizations described in these pages are announced at the beginning of the paragraph (875 1a; YJQQ 43.8a). In the text of the YJQQ the illustrations are said to be lost (YJQQ 43.3b).

The preface in the YJQQ describes the fundamental importance of the methodical practice of visualizations to obtain great enlightenment (*dajue* 大覺; 43.3b). Visualizations may be performed in a seated position (paragraph 10) or lying down (paragraph 11; see 875 12a–b). The text also provides descriptions of visualizations specific to the six different hours of the day for practicing the Tao (*xingdao* 行道; paragraph 14, 14b), and of visualizations that must precede the ascension of the rostrum (*deng gaozuo* 登高座), whether for the purposes of predication or recitation (paragraphs 15 to 17; 875 18a–22b) (see figs. 39–44).



FIGURE 41. Vision after ten thousand recitations of the *Daode jing* (875 23b-24b).



FIGURE 42. How to meditate before sleeping (875 12b).



碧冠青被淺
服餘取宜裝

FIGURE 43. Vision after emerging from meditation at night (875 14a-b).



FIGURE 44. Visualization before ascending the chair for giving a sermon (875 18b).

Taishang laojun neiguan jing 太上老君內觀經

7 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

641 (fasc. 342)

“Book of the Inner Vision, by the Most High Lord Lao.” In 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lieshuo* 2.5b–7a ZHANG WANFU quotes extensively from this work (2a–6a), which, stylistically as well as in content, shows affinities with 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing* (compare page 5a.6 of the present text).

The work treats the theoretical background of ecstatic introspection, the development of the embryo, the nomenclature of the spirits of the body, and the state of ataraxy. It has exerted a wide influence and is often quoted in later commentaries.

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Taishang laojun xuanmiao zhenzhong neide shenzhou jing

太上老君玄妙枕中內德神咒經

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

872 (fasc. 580)

“Divine Spells of Inner Virtue, from the Mystical Pillow of the Most High Lord Lao.” To judge by the bibliographical record, this little manual must have been very popular. From 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 5b we know that it was one of the texts transmitted on ordination into the rank of Gaoxuan daoshi 高玄道士. At the end of the Tang, it was used by lay people as well (590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 12.8a–b; the same story is also included in 592 *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 1.13a–b). In Southern Song times (1127–1279), this text was still used liturgically (1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 3.21a). It also found its way into imperial and private libraries (VDL 15).

After a short introduction, the text provides a protective spell and then several methods and formulas to be put into practice at night, before sleeping, in order to ensure a quiet rest.

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Zhenzhong jing 枕中經

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1422 (fasc. 1055)

This is the same text as 872 *Taishang laojun xuanmiao zhenzhong neide shenzhou jing* (q.v.).

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Taishang laojun jiejing 太上老君戒經

29 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

784 (fasc. 562)

“Commandments of the Most High Lord Lao.” As explained at the beginning of the book, the sage, after having transmitted the *Daode jing* 道德經 to Yin Xi 尹喜, also gave him these rules, at the latter’s request, during their journey to India.

As indicated on page 29b, the present text, with commentary, is incomplete. The mention of a “first part” at the beginning and a reference to a later chapter on page 13b indicate that the book comprised more than one juan. Part of the work, with its commentary (pages 7b to 10a and 11b to 19a), was reproduced in YJQQ 39.14b–16b.

The commandments—which consist of the five interdictions of murder, theft, lewdness, untruth, and alcohol—correspond to the *pañca-śīla* that Buddhism prescribes for its lay adepts. Here, twenty-five guardian deities protect those who have adopted the rules (see page 11a). Then the text indicates numerous correspondences between the Five Commandments, the Text in Five Thousand Characters (the *Daode jing*), the Five Viscera, the Five Emperors, and others.

Before pronouncing the commandments, Lord Lao quotes a hymn in three stanzas: the Formula in Praise of the Scriptures (*Lijing zhu* 禮經祝), first found in 344 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* 7a–8a.

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Kristofer Schipper

2.B.5 Sanhuang Scriptures and Rituals

As during the Six Dynasties (220–589) period, under the Tang (618–907) the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文, the fundamental text of the Dongshen division, did not develop into a major tradition but remained almost invisible. The contents of the present section reflect this state. It seems as if the Dongshen division existed mainly as a minor ordination grade within the Tang liturgical organization, since a sizeable proportion of all texts preserved are related to this institution. Moreover, because the original *Sanhuang wen* texts were in fact little more than the talismans of the Three Sovereigns and the Map of the True Form of the Five Sacred Peaks (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖), both a form of diagram, it seems that the Dongshen division also became the repository of other similar documents and their accompanying rituals. The work 1202 *Dongshen badi yuanbian jing* deals with methods of magic and prognostication linked

to the Eight Archivists (*bashi* 八史)—spirits of the Eight Trigrams—whereas other rites involve the powers of the River Chart (*Hetu* 河圖). That the *Sanhuang wen* and *Wuyue zhenxing tu* talismans continued to be popular in Tang times can be seen from many contemporary accounts (cf. CGF 77).

Dongshen badi yuanbian jing 洞神八帝元變經

39 fols.

Eighth or ninth century?

1202 (fasc. 876)

“Scripture of the Mysterious [read *xuan* 玄 for *yuan* 元] Transformation of the Eight Emperors, of the Dongshen Canon.” The present book describes a technique of divination based on the summoning of the Eight Archivists (*bashi* 八史), the spirits of the Eight Trigrams (2b–7a). An earlier version of this technique is found in 767 *Taishang tongling bashi shengwen zhenxing tu*, which may be dated to the third or fourth century A.D., and which represents the period before the methods related to the Eight Archivists were classified as belonging to any particular tradition. As testified by the present book, and by references to the Register of the Eight Archivists (*Bashi lu* 八史錄) in other Tang dynasty texts, these methods were later absorbed as parts of the Dongshen canon (see, e.g., 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.7b). The title of the present book is found in the fourteen-juan list of the *Dongshen jing*, included in 803 *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 5a–b, in which juan 7–9 are listed as the three parts of the *Badi xuanbian jing* 八帝玄變經 (see 640 *Dongshen badi miaojing jing*). The content of the books listed in 803 *Sanhuang yi* seems to comprise practices related to the Eight Archivists (cf. the survey of the contents of a *Dongshen jing* in fourteen juan—referring to the same set of material as 803 *Sanhuang yi*—found in 1125 *Kejie yingshi* 4.7b). Thus it seems likely that the present book corresponds to the title listed in 803 *Sanhuang yi*.

A version of the method described is said to have been edited by the Buddhist monk Huizong 惠宗, who lived on Mount Songgao 嵩高 (34a–b). Nothing is known from the standard historical sources about this monk, but the information of the present book places him somewhere in the third or early fourth century A.D. The author makes several comparisons with Huizong’s version, stating that Huizong used special names, incomprehensible to noninitiates, for the herbs used, as a part of the method, in the preparation of medicines (preface 2a), and that he expanded the section on forms of the Paces of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步) so as to include more than ninety variants (11b).

The present version is associated with another line of transmission (35a), originating with an immortal by the name of Yan Daoseng 延道僧, who in 508 revealed the method to three persons staying in the western mountains in Youzhou 幽州 (Hebei). The line of transmission comprises six stages, ending with one Zu Ji 祖積, and in-

cludes two Buddhist monks from the Yongtai si 永泰寺 monastery. There was a Yongtai si on Mount Songgao, but it was so named only in 706 (see “Zhongyue Yongtai si bei 中嶽永泰寺碑,” dated 752, in *Jinshi cuibian* 89.1a–5b). Thus the present version may be tentatively dated to the eighth or ninth century.

The book is divided into fifteen sections, corresponding to various elements or aspects of the technique of summoning the Eight Archivists. These elements include the Paces of Yu (section 4, 11a–13a); the fu of the Eight Trigrams (*Bagua fu* 八卦符), one set of which is swallowed and another suspended at the sides of the altar (section 5, 13a–16b); and the preparation of a medicine (section 6, 16b–19a). The central part of the technique is a large offering (*ji* 祭; section 10, 23a–25b). The effect of these elements is that the Eight Archivists are “summoned and made subservient” (*zhaoyi* 召役), and the overall aim is that the spirits will appear in front of the practitioner (*shuren* 術人), who may ask them questions about the future, past, and distant events (section 11, 25b–27b). A secondary effect is that these spirits will be at his service and provide protection as well as any conceivable kind of blessing (2b–3a, 27a).

The technique of summoning the Eight Archivists is described in the present book as more elaborate and more esoteric than in the earlier 767 *Bashi shengwen zhenxing tu*. It can be performed only by a male practitioner, who preferably uses a secluded place in the mountains where he has constructed a temple (*shenshi* 神室) especially for the performance of the practice (19a–20b), and who keeps even the offerings free from the polluting touch of female hands (25a). Compare the ritual carried out in people’s homes, preferably by a husband and wife in unison, described in 767 *Bashi shengwen zhenxing tu*. Note also that the present book modifies the standard cosmological setting presented in 767 *Bashi shengwen zhenxing tu*—where the Eight Archivists are described as delegates of the archives of fate in the Big Dipper—by referring to the spirits as “assistant scribes of the Southern Dipper” (*Nandou shizuo* 南斗史佐; 1a, 2b). Nevertheless, there is a clear connection between the two forms of the technique. The names of the spirits in 767 *Bashi shengwen zhenxing tu* are found in the present book in the names of the set of fu to be suspended at the sides of the altar; these names accompany the new names given to the archivists in the present book. Moreover, the actual form of the two sets of fu clearly shows them to be related to the two sets of the first part of 767 *Bashi shengwen zhenxing tu*, as does the agreement on the functional division between the two sets.

Poul Andersen

Taishang sanhuang baozhai shenxian shanglu jing 太上三皇寶齋神仙上錄經
Tang (618–907)?

854 (fasc. 575)

“Supreme Scripture on the Registration as a Divine Immortal [through the Performance of] the Precious Retreat of the Three Sovereigns.” The book describes a method of performing a Retreat (*zhai fa* 齋法) belonging to the Dongshen tradition. The practitioner refers to himself as a disciple of that tradition (*dongshen dizi* 洞神弟子; 5b), and the division of the Dongshen canon into books, each transmitted by one of the Three Sovereigns and the Eight Emperors (*badi* 八帝), is alluded to (1b–2a, 5b; see 640 *Dongshen badi miaojing jing*). The main elements of the Retreat comprise ablutions, offerings of incense, and the lighting of lamps (*randeng* 然燈). It is concluded by an offering (*jiaoyi* 醮儀) to the Three Sovereigns (5a–6b).

Poul Andersen

Dongxuan lingbao hetu yangxie sanshiliu tian zhaiyi

洞玄靈寶河圖仰謝三十六天齋儀

4 juan

515 (fasc. 292)

Dongxuan lingbao hetu yangxie sanshiliu tubuang zhaiyi

洞玄靈寶河圖仰謝三十六土皇齋儀

4 juan

Late Tang (618–907)

516 (fasc. 292)

“Rituals of the Retreat of the River Chart for Atonement to the Thirty-six Heavenly [Emperors] and Earthly Sovereigns, of the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon.” According to the text itself (5b, and passim), this ritual was part of a Prayer Retreat of the Median Principle (*Zhongyuan qiqing dazhai* 中元祈請大齋) celebrated in a sacred area (*shan* 壇), in accordance with the Dongshen 洞神法 rites. The detailed instructions at the beginning of 515 *Dongxuan lingbao hetu yangxie sanshiliu tian zhaiyi* for the construction of this sacred area, with its three altars, tell us that in the center of the *shan* there had to be a flagpole, fifteen feet high, with a banner bearing the fifteen sacred signs of the *Sanhuang tianwen* 三皇天文 (1a). Therefore, this Lingbao Retreat is based on the Sanhuang Register.

Each of the four juan of 515 *Tian zhaiyi* contains the prayers addressed to nine Heavenly Emperors (in the first juan the passages 7 to 9 are missing), and the four juan of the present text follow a similar pattern. Each god has a different secret name (*hui* 諱) but the same epithet: True Essence in Response to the Great Tao of Supreme Nonaction, Most True, Most High, Negated Nothingness (Taishang wuwu zhizhen

wushang wuwei dadao yinggan zhenjing 太上無無至真無上無爲大道應感真精). A similar epithet is applied to the gods invoked in the cognate 805 *Taishang dongshen taiyuan hetu sanyuan yangxie yi*, edited by DU GUANGTING.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongshen taiyuan hetu sanyuan yangxie yi

太上洞神太元河圖三元仰謝儀

31 fols.

Edited by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

805 (fasc. 565)

“Ritual of the River Chart of the Great Origin, for Atonement to the Three Principles, a Dongshen Canon.” Although this ritual is cognate to 515 *Dongxuan lingbao hetu yangxie sanshiliu tian zhaiyi* and 516 *Dongxuan lingbao hetu yangxie sanshiliu tuhuang zhaiyi*, there are many dissimilar details, notably in the layout of the sacred area (*shan* 壇). This group of rites may derive from the *Hetu dazhai* 河圖大齋, which the emperor Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–756) asked LI HANGUANG to perform on his behalf on Maoshan 茅山 (see 304 *Maoshan zhi* 8.9a).

The present text accords with other liturgies edited by DU GUANGTING (cf. the ordination title on 20b), and the attribution would present no difficulty were it not for the fact that on 1b and following there is a reference to a *Huanglu licheng yi* 黃籙立成儀 containing detailed diagrams of the sacred area. This text could be the work of a certain Lü Yun 呂雲, a contemporary of JIN YUNZHONG (fl. 1224–1225; see 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 44.17b). The work 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 319.18b quotes the same text as an authority for the layout of the altar. On the other hand, it seems that the *Hetu dazhai* was no longer celebrated in Southern Song times (1127–1279), and the reference to *Huanglu licheng yi* may be a later interpolation.

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Dongshen sanhuang qishier jun zhai fangchan yi

洞神三皇七十二君齋方懺儀

8 fols.

Edited by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

804 (fasc. 565)

“Ritual of Repentance to the (Four) Directions during the Retreat of the Seventy-two Lords of the Three Sovereigns, from the Dongshen Canon.” This rite of pardon is cognate to 805 *Taishang dongshen taiyuan hetu sanyuan yangxie yi*. The seventy-two lords (*jun* 君) correspond to the four directions of Heaven and Earth, respectively. In each of these eight directions there are nine lords. To each group is addressed an

offering of incense, flowers, lamps, and other things, and blessings are invoked for the ruling emperor. In addition, a final prayer is addressed to Taiyi 太一.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi 太上洞神三皇儀

13 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

803 (fasc. 565)

“Ritual of the Three Sovereigns.” This text contains the liturgical protocol for the transmission of the scriptures of the Dongshen division and related talismans and writs. The ceremony for ordination and initiation into the arcana of one of the seven canonical degrees is comparable to that of the Taixuan division contained in 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue*. Both texts resemble each other in the way the lists of scriptures to be transmitted are presented; the two texts should belong to the same period, the beginning of the Tang.

The present text appears to be incomplete. The Opening of the Incense Burner (*fulu* 發鑪) rite is not matched with a corresponding “closing” (*fulu* 復鑪) rite at the end. The ritual stops abruptly with the presentation of the attributes of the Three Sovereigns. It is probable that 1284 *Taishang dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi* corresponds to the missing final part of our ritual.

The ritual offers important information on the contents of the Dongshen division in Tang times. Of the texts listed on pages 5a–b, the first eleven juan (out of fourteen) are early, since they are already mentioned in the *Dongshen bilu* 洞神祕籙 catalogue (in WSBY 30.3a). According to this source, one juan was devoted to each of the Three Sovereigns and the Eight Emperors (*badi* 八帝). We find a confirmation of this arrangement in eleven juan in YJQQ 6.11b–12a, with the additional information that it was the work of TAO HONGJING. The same passage states earlier on that as a result of the addition of three juan of ritual, the number of juan had been raised to fourteen. This number corresponds exactly to the list provided in the present text. The passage of the YJQQ corresponds, according to Ōfuchi Ninji (*Dōkyōshi no kenkyū*, 280–92), to the *Xuanmen dayi* 玄門大儀, a Taoist encyclopedia of the beginning of the seventh century.

The fourteenth juan in the list is a ritual of transmission (*Sanhuang chuanshou yi* 三皇傳授儀). This ritual may well correspond to our present text. As a matter of fact, a quote in YJQQ 6.10a from the fourteenth juan of the *Dongshen* [*jing* 經] corresponds to a passage on page 12b in our text. However, other quotations from the same source (YJQQ 6.11a; SDZN 2.8a; SDZN 4.9a) do not correspond. The fourteen juan of the Dongshen division, together with the related talismans and writs, are also mentioned in 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.7b.

The present ritual gives the texts of all the documents and memorials used for the transmission and describes the transferal of the different scriptures and talismans. The sacred characters of the Writs of the Three Sovereigns (*Sanhuang wen* 三皇文) are translated and read aloud by the master, and the disciple repeats the sounds after him.

The ritual contains many elements of the Heavenly Master tradition (see the ordination titles of the officiant on pages 1a and 2b), whereas the transmission ritual given in WSBY 38 corresponds more closely the Lingbao type.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi 太上洞神三皇傳授儀

16 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

1284 (fasc. 1005)

“Ritual for Transmission of the Scriptures of the Dongshen Division.” The first part of the text is missing; there is a Closing of the Incense Burner (*fulu* 復鑪) rite on page 14a, whereas the corresponding “opening” (*fulu* 發鑪) rite is absent from the beginning. The different writs and talismans mentioned on 13a are all listed in 803 *Taishan dongshen sanguan yi*. All this points to a close relationship between the two fragments, which may indeed have originally belonged to the same text.

The scriptural transmission corresponds to an initiation and ordination as disciple of the Inner Light of the Three Sovereigns of the Dongshen [Canon] (*dongshen sanhuang neijing dizi* 洞神三皇內景弟子).

The larger part of the remaining ritual (1a–10b) contains the text of the Register of the True Officials (*zhenguan lu* 真官籙) of the Three Sovereigns, which is transmitted to the ordinand by the officiating great master. This master states in a long text of atonement (*daxie* 大謝; 10b–13a) that the prescribed period between two initiations for this ritual canon is forty years. The transferal of the sacred writs then takes place by fixing them on different parts of the ordinand’s clothing and body (13a). Finally, the disciple is presented to the gods (*chaobai* 朝拜), and the officiants leave the altar to perform the customary rites of closure.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongshen xingdao shoudu yi 太上洞神行道授度儀

15 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1283 (fasc. 1005)

“Liturgy for the Transmission of the Dongshen Division.” In a truncated and, perhaps for this reason, unsigned colophon, the author explains that he compiled

the present liturgical protocol because at his time the rituals for the transmission of the Dongshen scriptures had become incomplete or were no longer well known. He claims to have made use of different canonical sources. Indeed, the part more specifically devoted to transmission (*chuanshou yi* 傳授儀; 10a–13b) is by and large similar to the corresponding ritual in WSBY 38 (*Shou Dongshen sanhuang yi pin* 授洞神三皇儀品). The text of the oath (*mengwen* 盟文), which our text mentions on 11b, is provided in WSBY 38.2b.

Albeit in an abbreviated way, the present work gives the complete protocol for a service of transmission. First there is a Nocturnal Announcement (*suqi fa* 宿啓法; 1a–1b), followed by an Announcement of Merit (*yangong fa* 言功法; 1b–3a). After the Retreat, the great liturgy begins with the solemn invocation of the gods (*Dongshen xingdao yi* 洞神行道儀; 3a–6b) and the Offering (*Dongshen sanhuang jiaoji yi* 洞神三皇醮祭儀; 6b–9a). The ritual area is then cleared for the rites of transmission (*chuanshou yi*; see above), and an audience rite (*chaoli* 朝禮; 13b–15b) is held for the presentation of the ordinand to the gods.

Kristofer Schipper

***Taishang dongshen wuxing zan* 太上洞神五星讚**

7 fols.

Attributed to Zhang Heng 張衡, *zi* Pingzi 平子 (78–139)

976 (fasc. 614)

“Hymns to the Five Planets, a Dongshen Scripture of the Most High.” This work contains in fact no chants, poems, or hymns to the glory of the planets, but a treatise on these stars, their deities, and powers. The present title is erroneous.

Zhang Heng was a prominent scholar, astrologer, and mathematician. The present work recommends burning incense and presenting *jiao* 醮 offerings to the Office of Water (*shuifu* 水府) as a means for averting the baleful influence of the planets at certain conjunctions; it also uses names like Najie 那頡 for the planet Venus (Jinxing 金星). Although the style is archaic, it is not a Han text. There is an interesting passage on the risks posed to the court by powerful empresses (7b). The work could be of Tang date (618–907).

Kristofer Schipper

2.B.6 Dongyuan and Shengxuan Scriptures and Rituals

2.B.6.a The *Dongyuan shenzhou jing*

Reference is made, for this section, to 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*. The original work in ten juan dates from the late Eastern Jin (317–420). At the beginning of the Five Dynasties (907–960), DU GUANGTING expanded the text to twenty juan. This is the basic text of the *Shenzhou jing* 神咒經 found in the *Daozang* edition. It comprises the same ten juan (apart from some variations) of the Dunhuang versions, plus eight later juan (11 to 18) from the Tang period (618–907). At the beginning of that dynasty the tradition of the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* was recognized as a Taoist order (see 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.3b and 445 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* 3a). Several rituals, which Du included in his twenty-juan edition, are also found separately in the *Daozang*.

Taishang dongyuan shuo qingyu longwang jing 太上洞淵說請雨龍王經

4 fols.

362 (fasc. 180)

“Scripture of the Dragon-Kings for Praying for Rain, Preached by the Most High, [Lord of] the Abyss.” This text corresponds to 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 13.1a–4a (see Mollier, *Une apocalypse taoïste*, 64). From above the Three Heavens the Lord of the Way sees an epidemic spreading throughout the world. Seated on a cloud of five colors, he descends and, having attracted with his radiance the dragon-kings of all the heavens, he preaches the Orthodox Way to them. He concludes by enjoining them to save the people with a torrential rain.

Next the Tao speaks to describe a ritual for averting all manner of misfortune. The ritual consists in reciting, over a period of three days and three nights on a sacred area composed of “the thrones of the nine dragons and the images of the five saints,” the “marvelous scripture of the divine formula of the dragon-kings of all the heavens.” If, after the ritual is completed, a house is struck by lightning during the ensuing storm, the family involved must write the names of the dragon-kings of the Four Seas and suspend them in the four corners of the house and then burn incense and invoke the dragon-kings. The latter will then spew forth water, and the spirit of the flames will hide itself under the earth. Finally, says the Tao, the faithful should worship the dragon-kings regularly on every day of the new and the full moon.

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao bajie zhai suqi yi 洞玄靈寶八節齋宿啓儀

9 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1296 (fasc. 1009)

“Ritual for the [First] Night Communication of the Retreat of the Eight Nodes.” The title refers to the divisions of the solar year. This minor Lingbao Retreat is mentioned in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 8.1b, where it is said that its aim is “to wash away new and old sins.” There is no evidence that it was practiced either before or after the Tang.

We do not find here the rites of installation of the officiants and the proclamation of rules for the Retreat that are common in the *suqi* 宿啓 rituals performed at the start of larger Lingbao services. After the presentation of the memorial (*ci* 詞), there is a proclamation of the Ten Rules (*shijie* 十戒).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang sanwu bangjiu jiao wudi duanwen yi 太上三五傍救醮五帝斷瘟儀

12 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

809 (fasc. 566)

“Offering to the Five Emperors for Abolishing Epidemics, Thanks to the Immediate Succor of the Most High Three and Five.” This is a small domestic service to be performed in the case of epidemics. It is related to the *Dongyuan shenzhou* tradition. The present offering could be performed in conjunction with a *shenzhou zhai* 神咒齋 (1a), and the officiant has the title of *dongyuan dizi* 洞淵弟子 (2a). Among the offerings are listed five dishes of Fate Rice (*minglu mi wupan* 命祿米五盤), as well as wine and dried deer meat (*jiubu* 酒脯). Not only these offerings but also the style in which the text of the ritual is written are archaic and primitive: The oral prayer (*kouzhong ciyu* 口中詞語) is partly in rhymed four-character phrases (3b–5a). The offering of tea (5a) suggests a popular ritual of the Tang dynasty.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai chanxie yi

太上洞淵三昧神咒齋懺謝儀

20 fols.

Edited by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

525 (fasc. 294)

“Ritual of Confession and Atonement for the Retreat of the Divine Incantations of the *Samādhi* and the Abyssal Caverns [Revealed] by the Most High.” This text, signed by DU GUANGTING, belongs to the Tang liturgical tradition of the 355 *Taishang dong-*

yuan shenzhou jing (see also 526 *Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai qingtian xingdao yi* and 527 *Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai shifang chanyi*). The hymns (*song* 頌) for the Ten Directions of this ritual (2a to end) are indeed those (apart from some variations) in which juan 15 of the Tang version of the *Shenzhou jing* 神咒經 “Buxu jiekao 步虛解考” [Pacing the Void to Avoid Punishment] mainly consisted (2a–10a). These hymns are, themselves, likely revisions of ancient hymns found in juan 3 (2a, 3b, 5b, 8a, 9b, and 10a) of the original (fifth century) *Shenzhou jing*.

The fact that Du signed independent editions of this *Shenzhou jing* penitential ritual (see also 527 *Shifang chanyi*) testifies to his personal interest in perpetuating this liturgical tradition—during the first decades of the tenth century, he also edited and prefaced the *Daozang* edition of the *Shenzhou jing* in its extended version of twenty juan—and to the undeniable importance of this sui generis tradition during the Tang dynasty. This ritual was performed by the masters of the *Shenzhou jing* 神咒經師 (445 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* 3a), also called masters of the Law of the Great Religion of the *Samādhi* and the Divine Incantations of the Abyss (1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.3b), who formed an order within the sacerdotal Taoist system of the Tang dynasty (cf. 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 8b; 1125 *Kejie Yingshi*; Schipper, “Taoist ordination ranks”).

Compared to the version found in *Shenzhou jing* 15, DU GUANGTING’s “new” liturgy shows a concern for systematization and conformity with current religious tastes. No mention is made of the archaic Pacing the Void rites. The mediumistic, spoken aspect of juan 15 of the *Shenzhou jing*, with the stereotyped formula “the Tao says” (*Tao yan* 道言), is almost completely absent (except for one example: 2b).

The ritual is intended for a family to cure illnesses, to expel demons, avoid natural calamities, and so on. Proselytism, which had been at the core of the therapeutic and liturgical performances of the masters of the *Shenzhou jing* in the early stages of the movement, is still alive: families are encouraged to receive the sacred book (4a.7), that is, to become initiated. Rites of confession are performed by the participants in the ten directions; the *Shenzhou jing* and the hymns and incantations are recited.

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Christine Mollier

Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai qingdan xingdao yi

太上洞淵三昧神咒齋清旦行道儀

8 fols.

Edited by DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)?

526 (fasc. 294)

“Morning Audience for the Retreat of the Divine Incantations of the *Samādhi* and the Abyssal Caverns [Revealed] by the Most High.” This is the Morning Audience ritual of the liturgy of the Dongyuan shenzhou order. The preceding text (525 *Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai chanxie yi*) as well as the next one (527 *Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai shifang chanyi*) equally belong to this service. These three rituals do not form a complete set. Not only those for the Noon and Evening Audiences are missing (see note on page 1a), but probably others as well. There are no fundamental reasons against the attribution to DU GUANGTING; the claim “edited by Du,” however, is also found in a number of texts of obviously later date.

The officiant is identified as a Great Ritual Master of the Three Caverns who, on this occasion, “respectfully performs the rites of the Retreat of Great *Samādhi* and Divine Spells” (page 2a). The purpose of the service is clearly of a healing and exorcistic nature. The invocation of divine helper spirits (pages 6a to 7b) is based on the liturgy of the Heavenly Master school (*Santian fashi Zhengyi kepin* 三天法師正一科品).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai shifang chanyi

太上洞淵三昧神咒齋十方懺儀

10 fols.

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)?

527 (fasc. 294)

“Ritual of Confession to the Ten Directions for the Retreat of the Divine Incantations of the *Samādhi* and the Abyssal Caverns [revealed] by the Most High.” This work forms part of DU GUANGTING’s “new” liturgy of 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*. It is closely linked, indeed complementary, to 525 *Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai chanxie yi*. Both of these rituals of confession are signed by Du and consist mainly in the same hymns to the Ten Directions found in juan 15 of the Tang *Shenzhou jing* (see 525 *Chanxie yi*).

Christine Mollier

*Taishang dongyuan sanmei dixin guangming zhengyin taiji ziwei fumo
zbigui zhengjiu edao jifu jixiang shenzhou* 太上洞淵三昧帝心光明正印
太極紫微伏魔制鬼拯救惡道集福吉祥神咒

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

386 (fasc. 182)

“Spell of Auspicious and Exorcistic Power, of the Luminous Heart Seal of *Samādhi*, from the Dongyuan Tradition.” This longest of all the titles in the *Daozang* introduces a strange spell composed of long and incomprehensible phrases (a standard length is twenty-five characters) that all end in the refrain “*jixiang yin tan chijun* 吉祥音檀熾鈞,” meaning approximately: “auspicious sounds! resounding clappers!” The present text, which might be a fragment of a lost work (an isolated subtitle appears on 2a), is unlike any known text of the Dongyuan tradition.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongyuan beidi tianpeng huming xiaozai shenzhou miaoqing
太上洞淵北帝天蓬護命消災神咒妙經

7 fols.

Late Tang (618–907)?

53 (fasc. 29)

“Marvelous Book of Divine Incantations of Tianpeng, for Protecting Life and Abolishing Disasters, a Most High Dongyuan Canon Spoken by the Emperor of the North.” This is an eschatological scripture that advocates the practice of the rites of the Emperor of the North. The method of the Emperor of the North for killing demons (*Beidi shagui zhi fa* 北帝煞鬼之法) is found, among other minor rites, in 1016 *Zhen’gao* 10.10a–11b (cf. also 1016 *Zhen’gao* 15.1a–4b) and in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 2.11a–13b. The same rite appears in 140 *Shangqing wozhong jue* 2.17a–18b, but under the title “Method of the Emperor of the North.” The rite consists mainly in calling out the names of the Six Heavenly Palaces of Fengdu in order to marshal the demon-killing armies (the titles here are different from those given in the above-quoted texts), as well as in reciting the famous Tianpeng Incantation (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 10.10b–11a). According to TAO HONGJING’s commentary (1016 *Zhen’gao* 11b), this method was revealed to YANG XI. It may well be, however, that the method originally belonged to an older and independent liturgical tradition (compare 49 *Dongzhen taiji beidi ziwei shenzhou miaoqing*) that also continued to exist in later times (see 1412 *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaoqing*) and that was related to eschatological expectations and beliefs.

The present text indeed reveals a marked apocalyptic background. According to the words of the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, traditional virtues have

completely disappeared; bandits and demons, wild animals and natural calamities injure and kill people. The number of victims of the exactions by officials are increasing. The mingling of the living with the dead and the spread of the forces of the demons of the Six Heavens are the cause of the appearance of the Three Catastrophes (*sanzai* 三災) and the impending end of the kalpa. Only *zhai* 齋 Retreats and the recitation of the names of the heavenly palaces and gates, as well as of the Tianpeng Incantation, can save the faithful.

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Christine Mollier

Taishang dongyuan ciwen shenzhou miaojing 太上洞淵辭瘟神咒妙經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

54 (fasc. 29)

“Marvelous Scripture of Divine Incantations of the Abyssal Caverns, [Pronounced by] the Most High for Avoiding Epidemics.” This text advocates the practice of short Retreat rituals to save the sick. It was joined to three other short scriptures in the same juan of the Ming canon. Like the other three, this work dates from the Tang period.

The text describes how the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning revealed this scripture in the Supreme Yang Palace (Shangyang gong 上陽宮) to the Heavenly Worthy of the Abyssal Caverns, Dongyuan tianzun 洞淵天尊, for the purpose of saving people from devastating illnesses. These calamities are due to the perverted hearts of human beings who do not respect the Three Treasures. Their names are noted down by the emissaries of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝) and other divine authorities. In retribution for sins, these gods send epidemics and disasters, not only to humans but also to domestic animals, causing them to fall ill. To be released and to have one’s name erased from the registers, families should establish sacred areas (*daochang* 道場) and practice Retreats, reciting this scripture and offering incense.

Christine Mollier

2.B.6.b The *Shengxuan neijiao jing*

Taishang dongxuan lingbao xuanjie shouhui zhongzui baohu jing

太上洞玄靈寶宣戒首悔衆罪保護經

3 juan (the first juan is missing)

Tang (618–907)

460 (fasc. 203)

“Scripture of Protection for the Proclamation of the Commandments and the Confession of All Sins.” This scripture presents itself as a complement to the *Shengxuan jing* 昇玄經 (see 1122 *Taishang lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing zhonghe pin shuyi shu*). It was to be transmitted to those who had already received the former scripture, as well as a (votive) Writ in Seventy-two Characters (*Fangsu qishier zi* 方素七十二字) and the Supreme Great Register (*Wushang dalu* 無上大籙; 3.11a). Since these two related documents are already mentioned in the *Shengxuan jing* itself (see WSBY 34.19a), we may conclude that the present work is later. Everything points to a date in the Tang dynasty. There are references to the calendar of periodic Retreats (2.2b), to the Tang administrative system (2.3b), and to Taoists living in hermitages (3.10b).

The scripture originally comprised three juan, of which the first is lost. The second juan contains the text of five confessions for the benefit of “male and female officers” (*nannü guan* 男女官; 3b), donors (*shizhu* 施主; 5b), officiants (*chen* 臣; 7a), patrons (*zhaizhu* 齋主; 8b), and all the souls in hell (10b). These confessions should be performed according to the Lingbao rites (*Lingbao zhaifa* 靈寶齋法), as the Taishang daojun 太上道君 declares to the Heavenly Master Daoling 天師道陵 (3a).

In the third juan, Taishang daojun explains to the Heavenly Master that confession procures the salvation of the living and the dead, as it eliminates the faults that otherwise would be reported to Heaven by the censors (*siguo zhi shen* 伺過之神; 8a) who live in each person’s body. Lay people are therefore advised to invite a Master of the Scriptures (*jingshi* 經師) to come to their house and recite these Writs of the Confessions of the Ascent to Mystery (*Shengxuan huiguo zhi wen* 昇玄悔過之文) six times a day for a duration of either one day or three consecutive days (10a). At the end of the text there is a ritual for its transmission, by a Ritual Master of the Ascent to Mystery (*Shengxuan fashi* 昇玄法師; compare 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.8a): the Ultimate Contract of the Supreme Interior Teaching That Leads to Heaven (*Neijiao wushang dengtian biquan* 內教無上登天畢券; 10a).

John Lagerwey

2.B.7 Lingbao

2.B.7.a Scriptures

The Lingbao scriptures constitute the most voluminous part of Taoist texts of the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) periods. The reason for this great number of texts may be sought in the development of monastic Taoism during the late Six Dynasties period. The history of this development has yet to be written, but it seems certain that it was mostly sponsored by governments and the ruling classes (see Schipper, “Le monachisme taoïste”), inasmuch as the monastic communities were modeled on the Buddhist *sangha*. From the beginning, Lingbao scriptures and liturgies had been subject to Buddhist influence. This canon, therefore, naturally came to occupy a central position in monastic Taoism. In addition, Buddhism was gaining an important foothold in popular devotion during the same period.

The interpenetration of Buddhism and Taoism accentuated the rivalry between the two. Their mutual antagonism is reflected in the famous debates, often sponsored by the emperor himself, between Buddhist and Taoist scholars in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. These debates, in turn, must have provided an incentive for the composition of the large doctrinal treatises brought together below in part 2.B.7.a.1.

These scriptures present themselves as superior teachings with respect to the original Lingbao texts. A related characteristic is the fact that they are obviously very much influenced by Buddhism, and specifically by its great sūtras such as the *Miaofa lianhua jing*, the *Dabo niepan jing*, and the *Weimojie suoshuo jing*. Taking the form of doctrinal treatises, these scriptures discuss all aspects of Buddho-Taoist thought and institutions. Although they observe the classical form of the revealed scripture, their authors were often well-known clerics. As Wu Chi-yu’s pioneering study of the *Benji jing* 本際經 has shown, Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 and Li Zhongqing 李仲卿, the authors of this “Taoist sūtra,” were famous monks living in the capital. Li Zhongqing participated in the debates at the imperial academy in the presence of Emperor Tang Gaozu himself (Wu Chi-yu, *Pen-tsi king*, II–14).

These texts must have been extremely popular during the Sui and early Tang periods, given the presence of numerous copies found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. No less than eighty-one manuscripts of the *Benji jing* have been retrieved at Dunhuang (see Wu Chi-yu, *Pen-tsi king*, 1). This scripture originally comprised ten *juan*, of which only two survive in the Ming *Daozang* (see 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing*).

The same period saw the development of a genre of texts that constitute the opposite of the large treatises: the short doctrinal and prophylactic texts here assembled in part 2.B.7.a.3. The main characteristic of these miniature *jing* 經, some only ten or

so lines long, is that they were manifestly written for lay people, to be constantly recited or even worn on the body as amulets. Some of the most famous popular Taoist texts belong in this group, first of all 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, but also 19 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing* and 65 *Taishang zhenyi bao fumu enzhong jing*. Many of these short texts were engraved in stone. The Dunhuang manuscripts contain numerous copies. A number of commentaries were written on these texts in later times (see part 3.A.1.e). The fact that these and a number of other scriptures in this chapter do not bear the epithet *Lingbao* in their titles, but are instead considered as revealed by Taishang laojun 太上老君, might indicate that they do not belong here but should be classified instead among the Taixuan division. Indeed, as can be gathered from 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 1.16b–18b, the Yuan *Daozang* classified them thus. There are, however, two reasons that this example has not been followed here. First, we have no evidence that texts such as 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing* were indeed included in the Taixuan division during Tang times; the available information indicates, on the contrary, that this was not the case. Second, the text itself, by claiming its transmission by GE XUAN, squarely places the work in the Lingbao tradition.

Between the two extremes—the long doctrinal treatises and the short “essentials of the Tao” (*daoyao* 道要), we have a large number of scriptures of medium length, here assembled in part 2.B.7.a.2. These texts might be subdivided again into several groups. The first group represents texts that continue the tradition of the *jing* 經 (scriptures) of the Six Dynasties period. These *jing* discuss general doctrinal issues and religious practices. Another group of texts concerns more specifically the liturgical practice of the Sui and Tang periods, especially the masses for the repose of the dead, the services for redeeming the souls in hell, and the fasts to be observed at periodical intervals by clerics and laymen alike: the Six Yearly Months of Fast and the Ten Monthly Days of Fast (*liuzhai shizhi* 六齋十直). Some *jing*, such as 662 *Taishang laojun shuo bao fumu enzhong jing* and 647 *Taishang shuo zhuanlun wudao suming yinyuan jing*, are direct adaptations of Buddhist sūtras, whereas other scriptures, such as 650 *Taishang laojun changsheng yisuan miaojing*, have in turn been adapted as Buddhist texts.

The late Tang period saw the development of the first local schools of the Lingbao tradition. One of these schools, linked to the cult of the patriarch XU XUN (Xu Jingyang 許旌陽) and known as the Way of Filial Piety (*xiaodao* 孝道), is well known through hagiography (see Schipper, “Taoist ritual and local cults”). One *xiaodao* scripture of the Tang period has been preserved in no less than three different versions (66 *Yuanshi dongzhen cishan xiaozai baoen chengdao jing*, 380 *Dongxuan lingbao daoyao jing*, and 1112 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao baxian wang jiaojie jing*), a fact that demonstrates the great popularity of the movement.

2.B.7.a.1 The Long Treatises

Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經

10 juan

Sui (581–618) or early Tang (618–907)

336 (fasc. 174–175)

“Scripture of the Most High from the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon Regarding Retribution and Karmic Causes.” The original title of this text (*Taishang yebao yinyuan jing*; see 10.10a and Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2387) did not include the classificatory terms *dongxuan lingbao*. The Most High Lord of the Way is the disciple of the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (4.6b) and the author of this text, which is composed of his responses to the questions of the zhenren of Universal Salvation (Puji zhenren 普濟真人).

Among the twenty-one manuscripts of various parts of this text found at Dunhuang (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 85–100), only juan 2 and 10 are not represented. A comparison with the present text shows that a passage in 6.7a concerning the “hanging of images” (i.e., paintings) was apparently not in the original text (see Ōfuchi, *Mokurokuhen*, 92). One of the Dunhuang manuscripts (Ōfuchi, *Mokurokuhen*, 96) is dated 753. Ōfuchi situates two others (page 94) toward the beginning of the seventh century. A much abbreviated, but essentially accurate citation of 7.1a–3b may be found in 1123 *Yiqie daoqing yinyi miaomen youqi* 9b–10a.

In an article on 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*, a book that cites the present text simply as “the scripture,” Yoshioka, responding to criticisms of Ōfuchi and Akizuki, defends a date between 530 and 550 for the production of both texts (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, “Sandō hōdō kakai gihan,” 41–42, 53–85). The *Yebao jing* is indeed quoted in a text that dates to the early Tang (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū*, 227–29). On the other hand, it recommends the “release of living animals” (*fangsheng* 放生, 6.5b, 9.2b), a practice thought to have been introduced only by Zhi Yi 智顛 (538–598).

The *Yebao jing* is divided into twenty-seven sections, probably in order to correspond to the twenty-seven grades in the hierarchy of heavenly disciples of the scriptures of the Three Caverns (10.4a; see SDZN 7.22b, quoting SONG WENMING). At the outset, the entire universe having been illumined by the light of the Heavenly Worthy of Compassionate Countenance (*ciyan tianzun* 慈顏天尊), the readers are invited to contemplate the heavens. They see first the celestial assembly discussing the Unique Vehicle (*yicheng* 一乘; 1.2a), then a land whose king sets an example for his subjects by “alienating his person [*sheshen* 捨身] and giving liberally in order to find the true Way” (1.3a). Next readers see a land where, on the contrary, an evil king goes so far as to kill the very “body of the Law” (*fashen* 法身: *dharmakya*) of monks (1.10a).

Finally, readers visualize the punishments inflicted on evil persons either in hell or by means of reincarnation.

This first section sets the tone for all that follows: moral and social hierarchies are identical, and the search for the Unique Vehicle, preached by monks through public exegesis (*jiangjing* 講經)—the greatest of all sources of merit (7.7b)—becomes a matter of state concern. The goal is to “take the teaching of the books of the Three Caverns and to use whatever means are expedient (*shanjiao fangbian* 善巧方便: *upāya-kauśalya*) to convince and induce all beings to embody and understand the orthodox Way and to enter the Unique Vehicle” (5.11b; compare 9.16a).

In his great synthetic undertaking, the author of the *Yebao jing* wrote what appears to be the first description of the moral and ritual system of monastic and state-sponsored Taoism that was to play so important a role in the Tang. In this context, we may note his description, thenceforth standard, of the calendar (4.7a–11a), of the nine types of Retreat (5.3b–4b; see also 1138 *Wushang biyao* 49–57), of the Five Meritorious Acts (6.12a–13a: making statues, copying sacred texts, founding religious institutions, performing rituals, and undertaking acts of charity), of the rituals to be performed every seventh day up to and including the forty-ninth day after the death of a parent (8.5b–7a), and of the Grand Offering of the Capital of Mystery (9.1b–11a).

The Unique Vehicle contains not only the great method of the Three Caverns (2.4b) and the Retreats described in the thirty-six sections of these scriptures (4.6b; compare 10.4a), but also the scriptural method revealed at Jinming shan 金明山; the present book; the *Shengxuan jing* 昇玄經; and the “seven thousand fu and charts and four thousand divine formulas” (6.1b, 3a). Among the nine types of Retreat mentioned above, we find the exorcistic Retreat known as the Divine Formulas for the Expulsion of Epidemics and Sweeping Away Perverse Spirits (5.4b). In general, it is clear that the present text aims, in the first place, to explain and to prove—hence the “exemplary tales” that often follow the explanations of practices (e.g., 5.9b, 14a, 6.1b)—as well as to be all-inclusive. The zhenren of Universal Salvation, after receiving the simple method (*jianyao zhi fa* 簡要之法) of the Grand Offering (9.10b), states that “even the Unique Vehicle is difficult to enter”; he therefore asks the Lord of the Way to reveal to him a summary of the simple method (*jianyao zhi li* 簡要之理; 9.14b). The Lord of the Way explains to the zhenren the Twenty-four Gates by which all may gain access to salvation (see 183 *Taiji zhenren shuo ershisi men jie jing*).

The zhenren, however, desires something still simpler, and the Lord of the Way therefore explains to him how at once to reduce everything that is “without appearance” (*wuxiang* 無相: *alaksana*) to the Unique Vehicle and to destroy all that “has an appearance” (*youxiang* 有相: *salaksana*) in order to “equalize the ten thousand methods” (9.16a). In conclusion, the Lord of the Way recounts how, through the ages, he has assumed all manner of forms and names, from Yuanshi 元始 to Xuhuang 虛皇

(10.7a), as well as those of a Confucian (Ruzong 儒宗; 8a) and of Guanshiyin 觀世音 (9a). Since all things derive from the Most High, it is enough to “express spontaneously the good intention to come before me” to make confession for one’s sins to be pardoned (3.1b). A single thought can cleanse entirely one’s “shining mirror” and enable one to recover the “lost true nature,” that is, the nature that was “originally calm and pure,” the “Tao-nature” innate in everyone (3.14a–b, 7.7b).

The *Yebao jing* is thus a synthesis of Buddhist and Taoist elements, the latter deriving primarily from the Lingbao scriptures. The *Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經, translated in 512, is the likely source of the practice of the “alienation of one’s person,” performed for the first time by the Liang emperor Wudi in 528 (Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China*, 125). The vow to be reborn in the Pure Land (*jingtu* 淨土; 5.9b) recalls that of Huiyuan 慧遠 (344–416). Above all, however, the *Dabo niepan jing*, translated in 421, and the *Miaofa lianhua jing*, translated in 406, seem to have influenced our text: to the former may be attributed the idea of the original purity of human nature, a reflection of the *Tathāgata-garbha* theory, and to the latter both the mention of Guanshiyin and the idea of a Unique Vehicle (see Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China*, 117, 307).

These two texts are among the most popular of Buddhist sūtras. Nonetheless, it is possible that the *Yebao jing*’s use of them derives from the Buddhist schools of the period. The descriptions of decadence that appear before the presentation of the method for saving and protecting (*jiuhu zhi fa* 救護之法; 6.3b) and the ritual prescriptions (*kejie* 科戒) of *Laozi* (10.5a) suggest the influence of Xinxing 信行 (540–594; see Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China*, 297–99). The emphasis placed on simple methods—that to “save and protect” consists in the invocation of the Heavenly Worthies Who Save from Distress in the Ten Directions (6.4a)—recalls the practices preached by the propagators of Pure Land doctrine in the sixth and seventh centuries (see Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China*, 343–46). The Lotus Sūtra, finally, with its theory of the Unique Vehicle, became the supreme sūtra of the Tiantai school founded by Zhi Yi. Assuming that such influences indeed underlie the *Yebao jing*, a late sixth or early seventh century date could be assigned to it.

John Lagerwey

Taixuan zhenyi benji miaojing 太玄真一本際妙經

18 fols.

Early seventh century

III (fasc. 758)

“Book of the Original Term of the True One.” This text constitutes the second juan of the original *Taixuan zhenyi benji miaojing* (abbreviated *Benji jing* 本際經) in ten juan, which is no longer extant as an integral text. Wu Chi-yu reassembled it as far as possible from numerous Dunhuang manuscripts (for its textual history, see his *Pen-tsi*

king, 15–24). Only juan 2 and 9 are extant in the *Daozang* (see also 59 *Yuanshi dongzhen jueyi jing* and 329 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao kaiyan bimi zang jing*).

The work dates from the early seventh century. According to *Zhenzheng lun* 3.569c, the first five juan were written by the Taoist Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 of the Sui dynasty (581–618). Li Zhongqing 李仲卿 enlarged the work to ten juan. According to the biographical information Wu Chi-yu gathered on both authors, they lived sometime between 560 and 640 (Wu Chi-yu, *Pen-tsi king*, 11–14). The earliest quotation from the *Benji jing* is found in *Bianzheng lun* (T 2110) 8.544a–b. This work was probably completed in 629.

The term *benji* 本際 (original terminus, fundamental origin) is nowhere explained in the extant parts of the work. In Buddhist scriptures, from which Liu Jinxi presumably borrowed the term, it denotes the origins of suffering and of the cycle of transmigration, namely, ignorance and desire (Wu Chi-yu, *Pen-tsi king*, 5–10). According to our text, suffering (*fannaobing* 煩惱病) can be healed by the medicine of wisdom (*zhihui yao* 智慧藥) engendered by this scripture (10a–b).

The *Benji jing* is, on the whole, a theoretical work that has to be seen in the context of the Buddho-Taoist debates of the period, in which the two authors themselves participated (Wu Chi-yu, *Pen-tsi king*, 12–14). Basic questions concerning Taoism are discussed here, or are answered by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning and other gods, using numerous terms and concepts borrowed from Buddhism and the dialectical logic of Mādhyamika teaching (for instance, 6b; 13b).

In this second juan, the Heavenly Worthy enumerates twelve distinctive marks (*yin* 印) by which the true doctrine differs from false teachings (5b–7a), expounds ten ways of conduct as the prerequisite for the correct insight (*zhengguan* 正觀; 7b–8a; 11a–16a), and gives explanations about his real body (*zhenshen* 真身) and its manifestations (*yingshen* 應身; 3a; 16b).

A list of textual differences between our edition and various Dunhuang manuscripts—mostly fragments, the earliest of which (Stein 3135) dates from 678—is provided by Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 133–41. A commentary to this juan of the *Benji jing* has come down to us as a fragment (Pelliot 3027).

For an explanation of the subtitle “Fushu pin 付囑品” (Injunctions) of the present second juan, see the next article concerning 59 *Yuanshi dongzhen jueyi jing*.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yuanshi dongzhen jueyi jing 元始洞真決疑經

17 fols.

Early seventh century

59 (fasc. 31)

“Dongzhen Scripture for Resolving Doubts [Spoken] by [the Heavenly Worthy of] the Primordial Beginning.” This text corresponds to juan 2 of the *Benji jing* 本際經 and is thus essentially the same as *III Taixuan zhenyi benji miaojing*. It contains, however, more textual variants and is corrupt in two places: 12a–13a (printing block *xiuwu* 宿五, 10) is merely a repetition of 8b–9b (printing block *xiuwu*, 7); 17a has a number of lacunae (see *III Benji miaojing* 17a).

The present title, “Scripture for Resolving Doubts,” is derived from the contents: on the one hand, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning himself resolves doubts by answering the questions put to him (1b, 16a–b); on the other hand, just before “entering mystery” (*shengxuan rumiao* 昇玄入妙; 3a), he entrusts the Lord of the Tao with the task (hence the subtitle “*fushu pin* 付囑品” given to this juan in *III Benji miaojing*) of dispersing doubts, and Xu Laile 徐來勒 is assigned to help him disseminate the teaching (3b, 4b–5a).

This title was already current in the eighth century, as our text is quoted as *Taishang jueyi jing* 太上決疑經, for instance, in *II23 Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 12a and *Chuxue ji* 23.553.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao kaiyan bimi zang jing

太上洞玄靈寶開演祕密藏經

15 fols.

Early seventh century

329 (fasc. 167)

“Lingbao Scripture that Opens the Treasury of Secrets.” This scripture corresponds to the ninth juan of the *Benji jing* 本際經 (see the article on *III Taixuan zhenyi benji miaojing*). The alternative title comes from the text itself, where it is also explained.

In keeping with the remainder of the *Benji jing*, this juan treats philosophical and theological themes. In reply to Taiwei dijun’s 太微帝君 question about the bodily characteristics of the Heavenly Worthies of the Ten Directions of space, Taishang dao-jun 太上道君 expounds different concepts, distinguishing, on the one hand, between the immaterial body without shape (*daoshen* 道身) and the physical body (*shengshen* 生身), and, on the other hand, between the original body (*benshen* 本身)—a primordial condition unperturbed by affliction that is equated with the Tao-nature (*daoxing* 道性; 3a)—and the manifest body (*jishen* 跡身). Farther on, he elucidates the concept of differentiated teaching (*biejiao* 別教) and explains that he teaches according to the

understanding of the masses in two halves or extremes that finally lead to the middle path and the correct insight (*zhengguan* 正觀; 9a–10b). Thus the Most High Lord of the Tao has opened the treasury of the secrets of body, mouth (differentiated teaching), and heart (correct insight; 12b–13b). After tracing the line of oral transmission of the text from Taidi 太帝 to himself, Taishang daojun concludes by calling upon Taiwei dijun to write down and transmit this text.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang miaofa benxiang jing 太上妙法本相經

3 juan

Sui (581–618) or early Tang (618–907)

1131 (fasc. 764–765)

“Scripture on the Origin and Appearance of the Wonderful Law.” A note at the beginning of this text states that it is “incomplete.” Indeed, even its title cannot be understood without reference to 319 *Dongxuan lingbao benxiang yundu jieqi jing* 9a, where *ben* 本 (origin) refers to the beginnings of the luminous teachings of Taoism (*daojiao* 道教), and *xiang* 相 (appearance) designates the “powerful appearance [*weixiang* 威相] of the methods of the Tao [*daofa* 道法]” that are revealed in the Three Worlds for the salvation of all beings (compare our text 1.17b).

The two *Benxiang* scriptures—319 *Jieqi jing* and the present text—must have originally belonged to the same work. Not only do both belong to the catechetical genre using questions and responses, they also use the same curious formula for introducing questions, “I have received your gracious response; allow me to request further answers” (319 *Jieqi jing* 14a; 1131 *Benxiang jing* 1.7a). In addition to their common use of vocabulary typical of the voluminous Taoist sūtras of the seventh century (*heyi gu* 何以故, *suoyi zhe he* 所以者何, *biru* 譬如) they also share references to the ten immortals (319 *Jieqi jing* 7b; 1131 *Benxiang jing* 1.14b) and to Kunlun (319 *Jieqi jing* 10b–12a; 1131 *Benxiang jing* 3.6a–b).

Among the twelve manuscripts of a *Benxiang jing* found at Dunhuang (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 295–304), the first four, all untitled fragments, correspond to parts of juan 1 and 3 of the present text. Two other manuscripts mention the names of sections (*pin* 品) 5 and 21. Pelliot 2388 identifies itself as juan 23 of the *Taishang miaofa benxiang jing* (*juan* 卷 is undoubtedly an error for *pin* 品). Part of Pelliot 3091 corresponds to a citation in YJQQ 7.11a–b of a *Benxiang jing* (319 *Jieqi jing* 1b–2a closely resembles this passage, but it is impossible to decide which of the two passages preceded the other).

Among the many citations of a *Benxiang jing* in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* only three are found, and these only partially, in the present text: 12.12b, 12.8b, and 1.3a–b in 463 *Jielü chao* correspond to 1.14a, 2.8a–b, and 1.2a in 1131 *Benxiang jing*, respectively. The

last passage is also found in Pelliot 2357. Of a total of seven variants, all three texts differ twice, the present manuscript is in agreement once with 463 *Jielü chao* and once with 1131 *Benxiang jing*, and the latter two agree three times. One of the citations in the 463 *Jielü chao* (10.7b–8a) contains remarks against the venality of libationers (*jijiu* 祭酒) that seem to be in contradiction with what is said in the present text concerning Taoists who “live at home.” The style of all other citations in the 463 *Jielü chao* differs greatly from that of our text.

Neither this text nor 319 *Jieqi jing* contain any of the numerous citations of a *Benxiang jing* in 1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang*. A passage quoted in 3.5a–b and attributed to *Benxiang jing* section 11, however, includes a list of texts close to that at 319 *Jieqi jing* 5b–6a. Other citations refer to *Benxiang jing* sections 1 to 20.

If, finally, we consider the relationship between the two texts in the *Daozang*, the Dunhuang fragments, and related citations in the *Xiaodao lun* (see article on 319 *Jieqi jing*), it is clear that the present text is indeed incomplete and presumably the product of modifications of a sixth-century *Benxiang jing*. As an example of such changes we may note that the present text invariably writes *tianzun* 天尊 (Heavenly Worthy) where Pelliot 2396 (lines 70, 85, and 87) has *Jinglao* 靜老. This modification in the present text is especially clear in view of the fact that a *Jinglao tianzun* appears in Stein 2122 (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 302, 304) and in a citation of the *Benxiang jing* in 1132 *Leishi xiang* 4.1b (note that *Jinglao* is preserved once in 1131 *Benxiang jing* 3.6b6, corresponding to Pelliot 2396, line 100, which reads *Jingxuan* 靜玄).

The main aim of the present text is to define Taoist practice, for “the zhenren is interested only in practice, not names” (2.7b; compare 3.4b, 11a): “He who neither speaks nor names embodies Emptiness” (2.1b); “to practice Emptiness is to honor one’s mother, to follow the Tao is to revere one’s father. . . . They are my original parents” (3.9b). To achieve the Tao, which is “truth and purity” (1.1b), one must have both knowledge and willpower, for they who lack them are like animals: “They know their mother, but not their father” (2.6b). Knowledge seems to refer primarily to knowledge of the inevitability of karmic retribution. Willpower is required to purify the three sources of bad karma, for “bad fortune does not come of its own; it is the actions of the body, the mouth, and the heart that bring it about” (1.2a).

Successful practice also depends on finding a good master and steering clear of *waidao* 外道. “An enlightened master,” we read, “is the gate of the Tao”; he is “the father and mother of a Taoist” (1.13b, 3.8a). The term *waidao* refers at once to “foreign” and “materialistic” ways. Those who adhere to *waidao* “see everything upside down: they begin their teaching with Plenitude and so give illicit pleasure to the crowd” (2.1b). All of juan 3 is devoted to an argument aimed at convincing a certain “mother of

the desert” (*yemu* 野母)—together with her accomplices, all of whom have the names of barbarians or wild animals—to forego her excessively materialistic understanding of life, causality, and salvation.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dadao yuqing jing 太上大道玉清經

10 juan

Eighth century

1312 (fasc. 1022–1024)

“Scripture of Jade Purity of the Great Tao of the Most High.” This scripture is at once a polemical anti-Buddhist text and a synthesis of the Taoist literature of the Six Dynasties. *Yuqing* 玉清 (Jade Purity) does not refer any longer to the highest heaven, it is but the heaven of the Palace of the Clouds where dwell the Heavenly Worthies of Great Compassion (2.17a, 10.1b–2a) and of the Gold Portal (2.12a; compare 1.27a), as well as the Supremely Great Tao (8.14b) and various zhenren in the service of the higher gods. These zhenren are Baoguang 寶光, whose birth myth recalls that of Laozi (7.1a–b); Tongxuan 通玄, who describes the Way for the kings of the foreign countries who have come to the world of the Great Tang 大唐世界 (8.1b, 3b); Mengwei 盟威, who would appear to be Zhang Daoling 張道陵, as he is associated with the revelation of the rituals (*weiyi* 威儀) of the Way of the Orthodox One (9.1b, 2b). This zhenren is also linked to the Way of Filial Piety (*xiaodao* 孝道; 9.10a; see also 9.5b). The zhenren Zhonghe 中和 visits Heaven on the days of the Three Principles (*sanyuan* 三元)—the seventh or the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth months. These visits are the occasion for final explanations of the Way of Compassion (*cibei dao* 慈悲道; 10.1a–2a).

These divine beings together save humanity by their “expedient means [*fangbian li* 方便力] of great compassion” (2.4b), that is, by the preaching of books such as this one, by the invention of methods of all kinds (1.12b ff.), by the proclamation of rules of conduct (*jieke* 戒科; 1.33a; see also 1.27a), and so on. But if this world of infinite adaptation to the needs of suffering creatures also includes a “teaching without words” (3.25a; compare 4.10b), it is inferior to the Heaven of the Great Net, where the adept can visit (*ye* 謁) the Primordial Worthy (Yuanzun 元尊) and where he or she must “communicate with the spirit” (*yi shen jiao* 以神交; 6.7b). Higher still, the adept encounters the Heavenly Worthy of the Void (Xuwu tianzun 虛無天尊). Then the adept enters the domain of the Way of Silence of the Most High (*Taishang mingji daojing* 太上冥寂道境), where there are “neither visits nor words.” Finally, he or she reaches the domain of the Way of Great Space (*Taixu daojing* 太虛道境), “where there is nothing to see.” And yet, the Heavenly Worthy of the Great Peace (Taiping tianzun 太平天尊)

seems to dwell there. Moreover, the Way of Great Peace (*Taiping dao* 太平道) (8.3b) is the omnipresent ideal at all levels of the universe: the empire, for example, “now” lives in such a time (1.4b; compare 2.8a, 4.16b, 7.12b, etc.).

In this world at peace, the obsession with classifications has ceased: the spiritual is now identical with the social hierarchy (see especially 1.3b, 7b, 8b, 21b), and it seems now less urgent to divide Taoist books into Three Caverns—the term is used but twice (9.21a, 10.22b)—than to affirm that all such texts belong to the “Way of life” (*shengdao* 生道) that makes it possible to “extirpate the qi of death” (9.16a). The author is nonetheless well acquainted with earlier Taoist writings: he not only mentions the Ways of Great Peace and of the Orthodox One, but also either mentions or uses 1364 *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen* (1.31b), the *Kongdong ziran lingzhang* 空洞自然靈章 (4.26a), the thirty-nine Stanzas of 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* (4.15b, 10.11b), and the thirty-two heavens of 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* (7.31a–32b).

He also mentions and describes the practices that lead to long life, as well as the following rituals: the Grand Retreat of the Nine Realms of Darkness (*Jiuyou dazhai* 九幽大齋); the Grand Offering of the Median Principle (*Zhongyuan daxian* 中元大獻; 3.9a); the Retreats of the Three Principles (*Sanyuan zhai* 三元齋; 4.27a); the Retreat and Offering rituals (*zhaijiao keyi* 齋醮科儀; 1.39b; compare 9.16a, 19b); the practices of absorption of energies (*fuqi* 服氣; 8.25a) and of “spitting out the stale and taking in the new” (*tugu naxin* 吐古納新; 8.7a, 10.18b). This book is also rich in information on the constitutive elements of ritual: the Striking of the Metal Bell and the Stone Chimes (*ming jinzhong ji yuqing* 鳴金鐘擊玉磬; 1.15a); the Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛; 2.19a, 4.6b); the singing of “powerful stanzas for expelling demons” (*fumo lingzhang* 拂魔靈章; 3.11a); and the purification of the altar by “contracting servants to whom one issues orders” (*yuechi tongpu* 約敕僮僕; 5.23a; compare 9.19a).

This text would seem to represent a new phase in Buddho-Taoist relations. Buddhist vocabulary and style are still very much in evidence, as the following, much abbreviated list shows: *heyi gu* 何以故 (1.29b); *yingshen* 應身 (7.13a); *wujin zang* 無盡藏 (4.25a); *sanjie* 三階 (10.22b); *jiandun fa* 漸頓法 (10.23a); *jingshe* 精舍 (10.30a). Even the subordination of mental to bodily practices seems to make use of Buddhist reasoning. For example, understanding (*ruli* 入理) is not as important as “putting the body in order” (*lishen* 理身; 10.5b; compare 10.8b: “to destroy the body to find the Way results in the survival of the Way but the destruction of the body”). The attack on the discourse on Vacuity (*kong* 空) recalls the idea that “the Victorious . . . have declared beyond healing those who believe in Vacuity” (see Lamotte, *L'enseignement de Vimalakīrti*, 49).

The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* in particular seems to have been consulted frequently by the author of the present text, as evidenced by the discourse on the “four major elements” (*sida* 四大; 10.29a; see Lamotte, *L'enseignement*, 228); by the negative attitude

toward “teaching with words” (*yanjiao* 言教), in spite of the fact that this book itself fits that category (4.10b; compare 1.29b and Lamotte, *L'enseignement*, 146 ff., 316), by the story of the taking of food (4.22a; see Lamotte, *Vimalakīrti*, 319); by the multiplicity of the “domains of the Way” (2.14a) going hand in hand with the supremacy of empty space (6.7b; Lamotte, *Vimalakīrti*, 396); and by the “middle Way” (10.1a; Lamotte, *Vimalakīrti*, 301).

But all these borrowings notwithstanding, we also find in this text a remarkably explicit and nationalistic rejection of Buddhism: it is called the religion of “salvation by extinction” (*miedu* 滅度; 1.26a; compare 7.15b, 34a, 10.8b). Nothing is more shocking to a Taoist than the suicide by fire (*shaoshen zimie* 燒身自滅; 1.30b; compare 7.14a, 9.11a) practiced in this “foreign way” (*waidao* 外道; 5.14b). In any case, this religion lacking in “true methods” (*shifa* 實法; 1.30b), of “allegorical discourse” (*biyu zhishuo* 譬喻之說; 1.31a), cannot even pretend to an autonomous origin, for it was first taught by the Heavenly Worthy of the Latter-Day Saints (Housheng tianzun 後聖天尊; 1.27a)—that is, Laozi—to his disciple, the Old Master (Gu xiansheng 古先生): “I ordered him to use it to convert the frontier regions . . . ; they are regions difficult to civilize, inhabited by people without harmonious qi” (1.30a–b). An entire section of the present text, occupying all of juan 7, is devoted to the description of the “use of the Way to civilize the barbarians on all sides” (*dao hua siyi* 道化四夷).

This scripture was produced prior to 753, the date of one of the five manuscript fragments from Dunhuang (Pelliot 2257; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 304). The anti-Buddhist polemics call to mind the ferocity of Buddhō-Taoist debates at the beginning of the Tang (618–907).

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John Lagerwey

Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing 太上一乘海空智藏經

10 juan

Early Tang (618–907)

9 (fasc. 20–22)

“The Most High, Unique Vehicle Scripture of Sea-Space, the Reservoir of Wisdom.” According to Xuanyi 玄嶷 (fl. 684–704), a *Haikong jing* in ten juan was written by Li Xing 黎興 and Fang Chang 方長, the first a Taoist of Yizhou 益州 (Sichuan), the second a Taoist of Lizhou 澧州 (Hunan; cf. *Zhenzheng lun* 569c). Early citations of this text can be found in SDZN (4.9b corresponds to 3.1a of the present text) and 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* (1.12a–13b, corresponding to 1.19b–20a, 6a–9a). The word *zang* 藏 (reservoir, repository) here also means “womb” because its usage

clearly derives from *fozang* 佛藏, “womb of Buddha-hood” (*Tathāgata-garbha*; see Kohn, *Early Chinese mysticism*, 148).

The doctrinal content of this text is summed up in its title: Haikong zhizang is in the first place the name of a true adept (*zhenshi* 真士) who, by posing questions to the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, elicits a major part of the text. It is said of Haikong zhizang that “his body is like the sea and his heart like space; his argument [*li* 理] includes that which is ‘beyond things’: he is a reservoir of wisdom” (1.2a–b). This reservoir of wisdom is also “like a great sea: no matter what enters it, its taste is constant” (4.7a). Haikong himself is described as “permanence and joy: he dwells in the reservoir of jewels that does not change” (5.19a). Being “neither this nor that,” he is not absolutely fixed, and “it is because all the dharma are empty that he is called Sea-Space” (5.19b). Indeed, there is in reality no difference between the Heavenly Worthy, Sea-Space, and the Way: “I am the reservoir of hidden jewels of the Unique Vehicle’s Sea-Space of wisdom” (6.16a).

This Unique Vehicle is set in opposition to the Lesser Vehicle (referring to Taoists who achieve only terrestrial immortality; 5.18a, 8.21a) and against the Taoism of those who “direct families and convert the people” (10.3b, 7a). It is also contrasted with “foreign ways” (8.12b, 9.1b) and, above all, with the cult of “heavenly demons” (*tianmo* 天魔; 4.30b, 5.13a–15a). It is a Great Method (*dafa* 大法; 9.14a) that enables the adept to understand the books of the Three Caverns and the Seven Parts (6.22a). It should, therefore, be transmitted only to Taoists who “have already received the Lingbao True Writs and who understand perfectly the subtle meaning of the Dongxuan scriptures” (3.21b).

The Taoism (*daojiao* 道教; 3.18a, 4.29b) of the Unique Vehicle is monastic, for unless the adept “leaves his family” (4.22b, 6.2b–3a, 8.8b), he cannot free himself from attachment (*zhuo* 著; 4.32a, 7.5a), nor recover his “balance” (*pingdeng* 平等, juan 7), that is, the Tao-nature—defined as “permanence, joy, selfhood, and tranquility” (*chang le wo jing* 常樂我淨; 6.2a, 7.2a, 14a)—that even the hungry demons possess (5.5b). Preaching is essential to this monastic Taoism, for it liberates people from their “doubting hearts” (2.8a) and from their “unbelief” (2.12a). This preaching is to be done after the sole meal of the day, taken at noon (1.2a, 3.17b, 8.29b, 10.13a). Lay believers contribute through giving (*bushi* 布施; 10.2b), even of the self (*sheshen* 捨身; 8.1a), and by making Pure Offerings (*jingong* 淨供; 5.7a, 8.2a). But in order to reach nirvāṇa (*miedu* 滅度; 2.2b) in the Land of Extreme Joy (Jile guo 極樂國; 1.1a, 8.26b–28b), one must transcend the distinction between giving and receiving (*sheshou* 捨受; juan 9) by “entirely transcribing” (*puji* 普記, juan 10) this text, that is, by “receiving its imprint” (*shouji* 受記; 10.16b).

In order further to situate this text with respect to other scriptures of the same type and period, the following points may be noted: in the text itself (4.28b), the revealing

Heavenly Worthy is the one of Great Compassion; the end of the book, from 8.7a on, is a prolonged departure scene, punctuated by the lachrymose pleading and final questions of the Worthy's audience. At last, after a long discourse on the decadence that will occur 8,000 years after his departure (10.2a–12a), the Heavenly Worthy confides (*fuzhu* 付囑) his teaching to a “king of the dharma” (*fawang* 法王; 10.18b), promises his listeners that they will one day see him again, and then disappears.

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John Lagerwey

Wushang neibi zhenzang jing 無上內祕真藏經

10 juan

Early Tang (618–907)

4 (fasc. 14–15)

“Supreme Esoteric Writ of the True Reservoir.” In the text the title is defined as follows: “The bodies and natures of all beings are pure; celestial truth and the orthodox Way are hidden within: that is the meaning of ‘true reservoir.’ This true reservoir is neither interior nor exterior; it is not the aggregate of the dharmas, nor that of all beings, neither the Way nor its manifestation. Because it is, in the final analysis, not nothingness but silence, we call it ‘secret.’ . . . Whoever recites, observes, and explains this scripture of the true reservoir will have unimaginable merit that will enable him to see me in person and accomplish the supreme Way” (2.14a). This work is a “scripture of the Great Vehicle” that enables the practitioner to find his way to the Mountain of Spiritual Comprehension (Lingjie shan 靈解山; 2.8a), where the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning reveals this text in the form of responses to the doubts of his disciples (1.1a, 10.11b).

This book is quoted for the first time at the beginning of the eighth century in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao*. It distinguishes itself from other Buddhist-influenced scriptures of the period by its insistence on the fundamental identity of all beings—they are identical with respect to the “nature of the Heavenly Worthy” (1.13b) and to the “body of the Way” (3.7a, 9.2b)—and on a fixed social hierarchy (see 10.11a) that corresponds, ultimately, to a spiritual hierarchy based on capacity and merit (5.2b, 6.12b). The aim of the propagators of this form of Taoism (*daojiao* 道教 or *xuanjiao* 玄教; 6.13a, 7.2a) is to “open the gate of expediency” (*fangbian* 方便; 9.7a) so that all may have access to the “power of fearlessness” (6.3b) and to the joy (9.11b) to be found in the “ultimate field of the Way” (*jiujing daochang* 究竟道場), that is, in the Mountain of Spiritual Comprehension in the land of the Hall of Great Good Fortune (Da futang guo 大福堂國; 5.1a; on this name, see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 41).

Ignorance, avarice, and anger are the three things that separate people from this mountain (1.7a). Of these three sources of the “overturning” (*diandao* 顛倒) of the truth, the first is the most important: “Ignorant people, people of superficial understanding, do not comprehend the Great Way and lose their eternal and true nature; they misunderstand the orthodox scriptures and classify them” (4.1b; compare 9.10a). In reality, all sacred texts derive from the true reservoir—the golden mouth of the Heavenly Worthy (4.2b)—and all methods belong to the orthodox Way (3.7a). The Heavenly Worthy himself owes his name to the fact that he is “identity, without duality” (3.11).

It is therefore necessary to give up the superficial methods of the Lesser Vehicle (3.5a). The way of the immortals not only is extremely difficult, but also leads to longevity, not to liberation (4.9a). The Heavenly Worthy knows this because he himself tried that path before encountering his “supreme and venerable master, who put an end to my doubts and taught me how to lose myself in the Way, to enter the five spaces where there is nothing [*wu wujian* 五無間], to kill the five demon thieves, to cling to the One and never change” (5.7b–8a). In order to reach this land of the Way where all is one, adepts must use this book to train themselves in the practice of double negation. They must also observe a series of twenty-seven commandments (6.6a). Above all, “in the end” (*jiujing* 究竟: the title of the thirteenth and final section of the text), they must “practice assiduously” the five “virtues of good fortune,” to wit, reverence, compassion, readiness to accept humiliation, regular progress, and charity (10.5a).

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2.B.7.a.2 Medium-Length Scriptures

Dacheng miaolin jing 大乘妙林經

3 juan

Early Tang (618–907)

1398 (fasc. 1049)

“Marvelous Forest of the Great Vehicle.” The first of the ten sections of this summary (*yaoyan* 要言; 1.5a, 2.17b) of the doctrine of the Great Vehicle explains at some length the meaning of the term *miaolin* 妙林 (marvelous forest) in the title (1.6b–7b). To hear this teaching produces the same effect as to eat the fruits of a marvelous forest; also, a forest reproduces itself, provides shade, and adapts to the wind. The magical forest of the present book is located near the Palace of Primordial Yang in the City of the Seven Treasures on the Mountain of Unimaginable Discourse (Busiyi shan 不思議山; 1.1a), also known as the Hall of Great Good Fortune (Dafu tang 大福堂; 2.7b). This forest produces the sounds of the sermon of the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning—also called the Heavenly Worthy of Great Virtue (1.21b) or of Great

Compassion (1.15b, 2.7a)—prior to his return to the Marvelous Land of Eternal Joy (Changle miaotu 長樂妙土; 1.1b), that is, the Pure Land (Jingtu 淨土; 2.10b).

In reality, however, this Pure Land of the eternal joy of the Three Pure Ones does not exist (3.7a). There is but One Vehicle (2.6a), not two (3.9a). Beyond the pale of this “city of jewels” (2.12b, 3.16a) there is nothing but the thirty-six questions known as “perverse views” (1.22b) and the thirty-six views that are “incorrect” (3.14a). The literature of the thirty-six sections in the Three Caverns, in other words, belongs to the past, and this text poses the basic issue in these terms: if “silent extinction [*jimie* 寂滅] is in the breast” (1.24a), and if the “Three Worlds are domains of the Way” (3.10), of what use is “correct practice” (1.21b) or the “appearance of the Heavenly Worthy in this world” (3.12a). Their main function is to show that “it is because there is no self that my person lives forever in the Pure Land of eternal joy”: “to search for the Way by physical means” is therefore a “great illness,” for it presupposes the existence both of the body and of evil (3.7a–b). Correct practice and divine appearances, thus, enable adepts to “transcend practice” (*shengxi* 勝習; 1.7b), but also, when they take the form of a book, to protect those who own and recite it (3.17a).

This text relies heavily on 4 *Wushang neibi zhenzang jing* and 9 *Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing* for both its vocabulary and its arguments. However, it recommends (3.2a–5a) the very “spirit of certainty” (*jueding xin* 決定心) that 9 *Haikong jing* (10.9a) opposes. A citation contained in YJQQ 89.2b–3b corresponds to 1.15a, 20a–21a.

John Lagerwey

Taishang laojun xuwu ziran benqi jing 太上老君虛無自然本起經

15 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1438 (fasc. 1059)

“Book of the Origins of the Void Spontaneity by the Most High Lord Lao.” This is a philosophical treatise typical of eighth-century Taoism. The vocabulary—from the dialectical as well as from the conceptual point of view, especially terms like *biru* 譬如 (or *biruo* 譬若) and the phrase *suoyi zhe he* 所以者何—is reminiscent of Buddhist-influenced texts of the seventh century. The entire text as we have it here is reproduced in YJQQ 10. The few variant readings in the YJQQ version are mostly preferable to those of the present version.

The text begins with an explanation of the cosmology of the three qi, red, yellow, and white. Lord Lao, author of the *Daode jing* 道德經 (6b), is presented as a transformation of the second of these qi, that is to say, the yellow and harmonious “pneuma” of the center (*zhonghe* 中和). The term translated as *void* in the title of the present work is composed of two characters: the first, *xu* 虛, designates the red qi, the second, *wu* 無, the yellow qi. The red qi is called the One of the Left; it encourages

good deeds. The white qi is the One of the Right and encourages evil. The yellow qi, called the One of the Center, is “the spirit of my body, the child of the Tao” (8a). He who liberates himself from all desire and “holds to the Void . . . may obtain the Tao of spontaneity” (2b).

In consequence, it is recommended to hold to the Void, rather than to retain the qi of one’s body. In order to do this, one must read the scriptures continuously and thus awaken to the fact “the spirits of the body are born from the Tao, which is pure and calm” (3a). It is also recommended to do good deeds and so obtain merit (6a, 8a). The greatest merit accrues to “him who, with a heart full of compassion, desires to save all those who are in distress” (13b). Under no circumstances should one imitate the exoteric Taoists (*wai daoia* 外道家), who “isolate themselves in their chamber and forcibly shut their ears and eyes” (5b). One should also take care “when one sees a god, not to address it, because it may be a perverse deity come to seduce you” (15a). In general, all active methods (*youwei zhi fa* 有爲之法; 11a) should be avoided, such as gymnastics (*daoyin* 導引), alchemy, and offerings (*jiaoji* 醮祭), and one should never be satisfied with the results of one’s studies (15a).

John Lagerwey

Wushang dacheng yaojue miaojing 無上大乘要訣妙經

11 fols.

Tang (618–907)

58 (fasc. 31)

“Marvelous Supreme Epitome of the Great Vehicle.” This brief scripture revealed by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning to the Most High Lord of the Way, of Da futang guo 大福堂國, is a summary (*yaojue* 要訣) of the great Taoist sūtras of the seventh to eighth centuries. It is built around a modified version of the Parable of the Burning House in the Lotus Sūtra: in order to induce his children to leave the burning house, a father promises them three kinds of vehicles, but once they are out of danger, he gives them only one Great Vehicle (3b–4a). In like manner, the Heavenly Worthy urges the Lord of the Way to stop using the methods of the Lesser Vehicle and to spread the “true methods of the Lingbao teaching” (3a). In these decadent times, he adds, there is no greater merit than to organize Retreats (*zhaijie* 齋戒) and to preach the present text, nor any demerit greater than criticizing this text (8a–10a). Helping others to understand the importance of this text will also be greatly rewarded.

The use of the term *shouji* 受記 (receive the imprint; 1b, 6a) makes it likely that this text is later than 9 *Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing*.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianwang huanle jing 元始天王歡樂經

15 fols.

Tang (618–907)

62 (fasc. 32)

“Scripture of Happiness of the Heavenly Kings, [Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy] of Primordial Beginning.” After a tour of inspection in the countries of the Ten Directions, and before returning to the supreme Daluo Heaven, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning entrusts (*fuzhu* 付囑) the True Books in Thirty-six Sections to the heavens of the 3,000 worlds. The Heavenly Lord of the Nine Qi then asks the Heavenly Worthy what should be taught to the evil kings who inhabit the Yuanli 宛利 Heaven below.

Evil, replies the Heavenly Worthy, is due to the fact that the people do not believe in moral causality. He therefore preaches the present scripture “in order that the kings of all countries may know happiness [*huanle* 歡樂] and bring peace to their territories” (2a). Thereupon the merciful Worthy describes a complete—typically Tang—program of rites designed to ensure the happiness of the country.

The king of the country of True Patience (*shanren* 善忍; 3a), after having listened to the Heavenly Worthy, puts his program into practice: he gives up his palace, his parks, and all the beautiful sites in his country and builds abbeys in them. There he chooses the best among his subjects to “enter the Way, promote orthodox rites, and help the state transform the people.” Soon, the families of the wealthy begin to imitate the king by donating money for the Field of Virtue (*yitian* 義田; 4a). Some people practice the *shangqing dadong jinfang tianbao dongzhen sanyuan xingdao* 上清大洞金房天寶洞真三元行道, “so as to sublimate matter”; others perform twelve different kinds of ritual. Among these rites, those of the Dongyuan shenzhou 洞淵神咒, the Zhengyi 正一, the Taiping dongji 太平洞極, and the Wulian xingdao 五鍊行道 are particularly noteworthy.

The fame of this utopian state rises to the heavens, and the heavenly kings, overjoyed (*huanle*), come down to Earth to observe and protect it. The most perfect natural harmony reigns until the day the king and his entire court “rise to heaven in broad daylight” (6a).

The remainder of the text gives the list—for each of six categories: zhenren, Jade Lads and Maidens, *vajras* (*jin'gang* 金剛), divine kings and generals—of the 100 agents sent by the Heavenly Worthy to all those who emulate the practice of that blessed land.

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao zhutian shijie zaohua jing 洞玄靈寶諸天世界造化經

12 fols.

Tang (618–907)

321 (fasc. 165)

“Book of the Transformations of the Worlds of the Different Heavens.” This book is divided into seven sections. The first section is an introduction (*kaixu* 開敘) to the cosmology of the kalpas and to the ethics of retribution according to the Five Paths (*wudao* 五道). The last section (11b) is a plea for the promotion of Taoism by the expression of the Great Vow (*dayuan* 大願; 12b) for universal salvation and by the contractual transmission (*tongqi xiangshou* 同契相受) of the present scripture.

Sections 2 to 6 are “words of the Tao.” They are organized according to a decreasing hierarchy that begins with a description of the world of the four directions centered on Mount Kunlun, and ends with an account of infernal torments. Section 2 (13a) incites the listeners to fast ten times a month. Section 3 (5b) urges them to respect five things: life, goodness, purity, discipline and trust. According to section four (7a), the worlds of all the heavens have large caves where zhenren live and “never die.” People who lead a secular life cannot imitate them. To do so, one has to be Taoist and live in seclusion. Section 5 (8b) describes the cosmic cycles: natural calamities make small kalpas, social decay large ones. After all has been destroyed by the simultaneous appearance of seven suns, the Heavenly Worthy renews the world (9a–b).

The present text is probably the Taoist answer to the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經, a Buddhist apocryphal work written around 427 (Soymié, “Les dix jours de jeûne du taoïsme,” 2). While plagiarizing the Buddhist sūtra (4b–5a), it also modifies it: Kunlun replaces Sumeru, and Taiwei dijun 太微帝君, replaces Indra. The name of the country to the west of Kunlun, Datang guo 大唐國, also suggests that the present text is from the Tang period.

The Mountain of the Powerful Bird (Lingniao shan 靈鳥山) from which the Heavenly Worthy reveals this scripture (1a), is the Mountain of the Man-Bird (see 434 *Xuanlan renniao shan jingtu*).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan wuliang shou jing

太上洞玄靈寶三元無量壽經

14 fols.

Tang (618–907)

323 (fasc. 166)

“Scripture of Incommensurable Longevity of the Three Principles, from the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon of the Most High.” This text consists of twenty-seven incommensurable (*wuliang* 無量) methods revealed by the Most High Lord Lao during a

“great assembly” held in the Palace of the Three Principles. “Incommensurable longevity” is one of the blessings promised those who recite, copy, and distribute this text (13b–14a).

All methods, says the Most High, come from the Tao and may be summarized as the practice of contemplative wisdom (*guanhuì* 觀慧). The first of the twenty-seven incommensurable methods—twenty-seven is also the number of paragraphs in 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing*—teaches how to “distance oneself from the body” (*yuanshen* 遠身), the last how “to bear the unbearable.” Each method has ten modalities: one keeps the body at a distance by means of wisdom, compassion, patience, good works, work on one’s heart, amelioration of karma, assiduity, the regulation of the body, the elimination of desire, and the “universalization of the heart” (*puxin* 普心).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao shihao gongde yinyuan miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶十號功德因緣妙經

9 fols.

Tang (618–907)

337 (fasc. 176)

“Marvelous Scripture of the Karmic Retribution of the Merit of the Ten Epithets, from the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon.” Seated on his Lion Throne of the Seven Treasures in the World of the Rejection of the Sages (*qixian shijie* 棄賢世界), the Most High Lord of the Tao explains to a zhenren named Universal Salvation (*puji* 普濟) the merit to be acquired by the recitation of the Ten Epithets of the Original Master (*benshi* 本師), the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, in front of his statue (pages 2b and 8a; compare the Ten Epithets of the Heavenly Worthy in the *Longjiao jing* 龍躡經, quoted by Li Shaowei 李少微 in 87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 2.28b). These epithets are esoteric words of the Great Brahma (*dafan yinyu* 大梵隱語), translated into human speech by Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人 and others (4a; compare 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 1.1a). They all express the capacity of the Original Master to save all beings, because he is the Supreme Tao (*wushang Tao* 無上道) on which “the ten thousand practices depend” (4a).

The ninth epithet—Master of Immortals and Zhenren—contains all the others, and the explanation given for this title is therefore the longest of all (5a–8a). It is also the most original contribution of the present scripture. Here we find what is probably the most ancient definition of the Twelve Sections (*shier shibu* 十二事部) of the books of the Three Caverns. The “worthy scriptures in thirty-six sections” (*Sanshiliu zunjing* 三十六部尊經), source of all forms of salvation, are themselves expressions of the three bodies of the master: the Body of the Law (*xuwu fashen* 虛無法身, or *dharmakāya*),

the Body of Retribution (*ziran baoshen* 自然報身, or *sambhogakāya*), and the Body of Transformation (*yuanshi huashen* 元始化身, or *nirmānakāya*).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao suming yinyuan mingjing

太上洞玄靈寶宿命因緣明經

11 fols.

Tang (618–907)

338 (fasc. 176)

“Luminous Scripture of the Karmic Causality in Former Lives, from the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon of the Most High.” A *Dongxuan lingbao suming yinyuan miaojing* 妙經 is mentioned by DU GUANGTING in his “Zhaitan jingmu 齋壇經目” (see 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 1.6a–b). The Most High Lord of the Tao (Laozi) here explains to Yin Xi 尹喜 that people’s present conditions have their “karmic origin in their former lives.” Nine paragraphs, each followed by a hymn, list such items as the six things and the five sins that determine whether one is to be reborn in Heaven, as an animal, and so on. The six things (2b) resemble the five things of 321 *Dongxuan lingbao zhutian shijie zaohua jing* 6a, and it is only in this passage that the present text uses the pronoun *rucao* 汝曹, which appears several times in the 321 *Zaohua jing*.

The beginning and the end of the present *Suming jing* are especially interesting. At the end, the text distinguishes Three Ways: the Way of Communication with the *zhenren*, the Way of the West, which derives from the “division of the body” of the Tao named Tathāgata (*rulai* 如來), and the Way “spit from the mouth” of Laozi into Yin Xi’s ear. The beginning of the text traces mythological history back in time from the method of the Three Treasures (*sanbao zhi fa* 三寶之法), attributed to Yu 禹, back to Fuxi 伏羲 and Nügua 女媧 and to the Three Ways of the Origin (*yuandao* 元道), of the Beginning (*shi* 始), and of Humanity (*ren* 人; see 1205 *Santian neijie jing* 1.3a).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao chujia yinyuan jing 太上洞玄靈寶出家因緣經

20 fols.

Seventh century

339 (fasc. 176)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Home [in order to Devote Themselves to the Religious Practice].” Since about 20 percent of this text is quoted (partly abridged) in 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*, it must have existed by the beginning of the eighth century at the latest.

In the narrative frame of this scripture, two hundred monarchs appear before the Most High Heavenly Worthy and express their wish to give up their worldly life. From

him they learn about all the good deeds and pious works that they have accomplished and that mark their present existence. Thereafter they receive the commandments for the initial stage of perfection (*chuzhen jie* 初真誠) and make the appropriate promises and vows. The text continues by explaining the threefold meaning of the term *chujia* 出家: to leave home, to enter into religious practice, and to forsake everything profane. Together, these three steps define a Taoist master. In many examples, our text illustrates the importance of Taoists for society and the commonweal, substantiates the significance of their position, and shows how hostile attitudes toward them have catastrophic results.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang shuo zhuanlun wudao suming yinyuan jing

太上說轉輪五道宿命因緣經

8 fols.

647 (fasc. 342)

“The Most High Proffers the Scripture Concerning Reincarnation into the Five Paths according to the Karma of Previous Lives.” During a retreat in the ninth month, the Most High Lord Lao, followed by a cortege of immortals, takes up his seat at the foot of a huge tree whose fruits heal all illnesses. When Zuoxuan zhenren 左玄真人 asks him a question about karmic causality, Lord Lao, who is also called Tianzun and the Tao, uses the tree as the metaphoric basis of his sermon, “Those who do good are like this tree: they grow ever taller, and there is no limit to the fruit they bear.” In like manner, everything that happens to people in this life is the result of what they have “planted” in previous lives. Those who desire good fortune in future lives must begin to do good now. They must, above all, practice the Way regularly and not wait until they fall sick or encounter ill fortune. The greatest merit is to be obtained by the recitation and distribution of this scripture.

The present text is quite clearly modeled on *Shan'e yinguo jing*: the place from which the sermon is preached, its theme, the structure of its phrases, and even, on occasion, the language are identical (compare 2a1–3 and 2b6 here with *Shan'e yinguo jing* 1380c16–17). The administrative term *zhoujun lingzhang* 州郡令長 (4b) cannot be used to date this text, as it derives from the Buddhist scripture (1383a). It is worth noting, finally, that the prospect of punishment threatened by the Buddhist text to those who work in this life as *shigong* 師公 or *shimu* 師母 (1381c) is not found in this Taoist sūtra.

John Lagerwey

Taishang laojun shuo changsheng yisuan miaojing 太上老君說長生益算妙經

10 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

650 (fasc. 343)

“Wonderful Scripture on Longevity and Increasing the Life Span, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao.” There is indirect evidence for the existence of this scripture in the seventh century, in that a Buddhist adaptation of it, *Qiqian Fo shenfu jing* 七千佛神符經 is already listed among the apocrypha in a catalogue of the year 695: *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 15.474a–c. Three scriptures in one juan each are listed there: *Fo shuo yisuan jing* 佛說益算經, *Fo shuo qi Fo shenfu jing* 佛說七佛神符經 and *Fo shuo yisuan shenfu jing* 佛說益算神符經. A later catalogue, *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 18.677c (dated 730), remarks that all three titles represent one and the same work.

In the present scripture, the generals of the six cyclical *jia* 甲 combinations (*liujia jiangjun* 六甲將軍) are, at the behest of the Most High Lord Lao, entrusted with eliminating calamities, protecting the people, and prolonging their lives. Also, fifteen fu are revealed that are to be carried on the body and that serve the same purpose.

The Buddhist version of this scripture shows many textual parallels (including the fu) with our text. It is, however, partly abridged (the mention of Zhang Daoling 張道陵 is, of course, missing), and the fu are not called “Taishang [or dadao] shenfu 太上(大道)神符,” but “seven-thousand-Buddha” (*qiqian Fo fu* 七千佛符).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo bao fumu enzhong jing 太上老君說報父母恩重經

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

662 (fasc. 345)

“Scripture on the Rewarding of Parental Kindness, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao.” This scripture is a Taoist elaboration of *Fumu enzhong jing*, an apocryphal Buddhist text mentioned in *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 15.474a (dated 695). That scripture gives an account of the manifold hardships and privations that parents undergo in order to bring up their progeny. Particularly noteworthy is the well-observed description of the mother-child relationship during pregnancy, birth, and the child’s growing up. Pious children can return the kindness they have received by copying and reciting the scripture for their parents and by making offerings during the *ullambana* festival on the fifteenth day of the seventh month.

The present work contains all essential parts of that Buddhist scripture, partly verbatim, partly rearranged or expanded and, of course, given a Taoist veneer: in the place of Buddha, Ānanda, and *ullambana*, we find Taishang laojun 太上老君, Haikong zhizang zhenren 海空智藏真人 (see the seventh-century 9 *Taishang yicheng haikong*

zhizang jing), and *zhongyuan* 中元. A few noteworthy amplifications include the short treatise on filial piety (1b–2a), the enumeration of the torments of hell for impious children and of heavenly blessings for dutiful ones (5a–6b), and the instruction to have a *gaoshang jingde fashi* 高上淨德法師 master preach on this scripture on the first day of each month (7b).

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo yisuan shenfu miaojing 太上老君說益算神符妙經

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

672 (fasc. 352)

"Wonderful Scripture of the Divine Fu for Increasing the Life Span, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao." The contents of this scripture largely correspond to 650 *Taishang Laojun shuo changsheng yisuan miaojing*. Its narrative frame (transmission of the scripture from Taishang laojun 太上老君 to Zhang Daoling 張道陵) and its overall structure, however, are more coherent than 650 *Yisuan miaojing*, which could point to an earlier date, especially since the present work also contains fewer repetitive embellishments. Both texts also differ in the number and kind of fu. The present scripture contains ten fu: seven for the stellar divinities of Ursa Major and three for those of the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台). The former are also found in 753 *Beidou qi yuan jinxuan yuzhang* 3a–4b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianguan jing 太上洞玄靈寶天關經

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

987 (fasc. 618)

"Scripture of the Gate of Heaven." In a succinct manner, this little treatise places religious practice in the context of the world's structure. It begins with a description of the emergence of this structure from one period to another: "The root of Heaven and Earth" (1a), Lord Lao changes his name after each cataclysm, when a new universe appears. He was first called Wuming jun 無名君, then Wushang xuanlao 無上玄老, and later Taishang laojun 太上老君. After having passed yet again through Xuanmiao 玄妙, that is, having undergone rebirth, his name became Gaoshang laojun 高上老君 and he created the present universe by "differentiating the original qi" (1b). Of this qi, Taishang laojun is later said to be "the father and the mother" (4a).

Using the Lingbao and Shangqing scriptures, our text then describes the universe, with its Thirty-six Heavens, Thirty-six Worlds, and Three Offices. In this universe, the Taoist's goal is to “ascend to the realm of the Three Pure Ones and escape forever from the cycle of reincarnation” (1b). Above all, one must insure that one's name is never entered into the registers of death by the censors of the Three Offices. One can do this by taking refuge in the Heavenly Worthy of the Ten Directions.

The novelty of the present text, in comparison with the Six Dynasties texts it uses, lies in its description of the appearance of the ten Heavenly Worthies. This description is intended to enable one to visualize them at the same time one commits oneself into their hands. For the images of the sovereigns of the Thirty-six Heavens and the Thirty-six Worlds, the text refers to the Registers and Portraits of the Immortals (*Xianban tuji* 仙班圖籍).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao guowang xingdao jing

太上洞玄靈寶國王行道經

12 fols.

Tang (618–907)

III3 (fasc. 758)

“The Books of Kings Who Practice the Tao.” The substitution of the character *dai* 代 for the Tang taboo character *shi* 世, as well as stylistic features, confirm the Tang date of this work. The Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning begins by explaining to the Most High Lord of the Tao how, moved by human ignorance, he travels the universe and assumes different aspects—of a sage, a Taoist, a scholar, a Confucian, even of a palace lady—in order “to help the sovereign establish the rites and instruct the people.” But scriptures are not sufficient, the Lord of the Tao replies. People still harbor doubts. It is true that the people are dullwitted, admits the Heavenly Worthy, and that is why one has to lead them gradually (*jian* 漸) to enlightenment. It cannot be done suddenly (*dun* 頓). Then the Lord of the Tao suggests that the best means of reforming the people would be “henceforth to entrust [*fuzhu* 付囑] the sovereign with the teaching of the saints, for whether the teaching of the scriptures flourishes or declines depends entirely on him” (2b). The Heavenly Worthy assents, vowing to leave his teaching after his departure (*guoqu* 過去) to the kings, the ministers, and all those, men and women, who exercise authority over the people.

In the twenty-odd paragraphs that follow, the Heavenly Worthy gives instructions for managing religious affairs. One must, to begin with, “establish hermitages and initiate [*du* 度] the people.” Then thousands of chairs for predication (*fazuo* 法座) are to be instituted, and Taoists should be invited to explain “the profound meaning of the Seven Subtle Sections and the Three Caverns of the Great Vehicle” (3a). Officials

should receive “the registers and fu, the rules and scriptures of the Three Caverns” (7b). For the first fifteen-day period of each season, they should “set up great Wheels of the Treasure [*baolun* 寶輪] and light ten thousand spirit lamps in imitation of the constellations.” During this period, officials should invite Taoists to carry out rituals and explain the scriptures of the Three Caverns (8a–b). The Heavenly Worthy also prescribes that on the days of the Three Origins, the ceremonies of the Great Offering of the Heavenly Capital (*Xuandu daxian* 玄都大獻; 9a) and of the Casting of Dragons (*tou longjian* 投龍簡) be carried out (9b).

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao taishang zhenren wenji jing 洞玄靈寶太上真人問疾經

31 fols.

Tang (618–907)

III6 (fasc. 758)

“The Zhenren of the Most High Enquires into Illness.” According to the preface to the work, the zhenren, also called Real Person without Beginning (Wushi zhenren 無始真人), is one of the few among the throngs of spiritual beings who have come to hear the Lingyao baozang tianzun 靈耀寶藏天尊 preach on a text of the Great Vehicle titled *Wuqian wen* 五千文 who truly understand the Heavenly Worthy’s explanations. At the end of his sermon, the Heavenly Worthy chooses Real Person without Beginning and three other zhenren—among them Zhang Daoling 張道陵—to carry his message of salvation to the world in the “eons to come.” Then the Heavenly Worthy “divides his body and his names,” that is, he produces the Three Vehicles or Caverns and assumes for himself ten distinct names. At the same time, he becomes subject to a multitude of illnesses and sufferings. “Why?” asks Real Person without Beginning. “Because I have a body,” responds the Heavenly Worthy (see *Laozi* 13).

The main text is composed of the Heavenly Worthy’s teachings in twelve sections, followed by the explanations of Real Person without Beginning. In the first of the twelve sections (Questions Concerning Illness), the Heavenly Worthy explains that the seventy-two forms of sickness from which people suffer are the result of their sins. “That is why,” he says, “I divide my body into seventy-two saints.” Those who recognize that their “true body” is not their “body of flesh” will be saved. The best way to learn how to distinguish these two bodies is to engage in Retreats at which, while wearing the fu and registers of the Three Caverns, one performs the sixfold recitation of the scriptures in order to control the six emotions of one’s physical body.

The following sections consist primarily in the enumeration—much as is done in 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* (see 15a–b here and 336 *Yinyuan jing* 2.1a ff.)—of what a healed person can hear, see, and so forth, without being troubled, and then of the karmic effects of a given mode of practice. The Heavenly Worthy

declares himself to be “the father and mother of all beings: I have compassion for you, I love you. . . . Why are you not merciful in turn so as to repay my kindness?” (12b, 13a).

The zhenren Real Person without Beginning’s primary concern is to explain ritual practice: of particular importance is the recitation of the *Wuqian wen* because it is “the spirit of the Five Organs” of the Heavenly Worthy (17a). The Confucian view that it is an exoteric teaching is legitimate, but it is above all “the body of the Great Saint” (20a). That is why, when an adept of the Higher Way dies, it is more appropriate simply to recite the present text during Retreats on the three sevens (the seventh, fourteenth, and twenty-first days after his death) than to perform the ordinary rites of mourning.

In a more general vein, among all extant rituals, only those written by the Latter-Day Saint (Housheng 後聖; 24b) should be used. The method of the Three Heavens is to be used for rituals of offering. The ritual code of this method, the *Xuandu jiuge* 玄都舊格, contains oaths that “protect the qi” attached to each of its articles. Finally, recitation of the present text enables one not only to resolve all the problems of this world, but also “gradually to enter into *samādhi*” (*shending* 神定; 26b). “All that,” concludes the text, “is the result of study; it does not happen of itself.”

John Lagerwey

Taishang xuandu miaoben qingjing shenxin jing 太上玄都妙本清靜身心經
6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

35 (fasc. 27)

“Scripture of the Marvelous Root of the Pure Calm of Body and Mind.” It is from the Abbey of Primordial Yang in the Capital of Mystery (Xuandu) that the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, the Worthy of Great Compassion, explains how to recover the original purity of the body and the heart (the *miaoben* 妙本 of the title). His sermon on the reversal (*diandao* 顛倒) of the “correct nature” elicits from his celestial audience a hymn of joy, but the zhenren of the Explanation of the Law (*fajie* 法解; see 371 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao santu wuku badu shengsi miaojing*), knowing how “doltish” people are, asks how to perform the ritual of salvation. Ten times each month, responds the Heavenly Worthy, adepts should sit in their Pure Room and, after passing in review the filthiness of heart and body, they should wash the body with the “warm water of the incense of the Law (*faxiang tang* 法香湯)” and purify the heart with the “incense of quiet contemplation (*jingguan* 靜觀).”

Another zhenren, worried that in these latter days people’s minds are too benighted to understand the Law, asks how their borrowed (*jiayou* 假有) bodies could participate in salvation. You have truly understood the Unique Vehicle, replies the Heavenly Worthy: human nature and characteristics (*xingxiang* 性相) are empty, and the body

is but a “temporary abode” destined to decay. Whoever incorporates emptiness no longer needs a body. But inasmuch as people have bodies, they must perform rituals. Even after they die, their kin should erect “great treasure altars” and recite the present text so that the deceased can return to the Pure Void.

After a hymn, the Heavenly Worthy exhales a five-colored light that illumines the entire universe and elicits from his auditors a confession and the prayer (*yuan* 願) that all beings be saved. The Heavenly Worthy then opens hell so that the hungry demons can ascend to the “sphere of the Tao.”

John Lagerwey

Taishang jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing

太上九真妙戒金籙度命拔罪妙經

9 fols.

Tang (618–907)

181 (fasc. 77)

“Book of the Golden Register for the Redemption of Sins and for Salvation, [Including] the Marvelous Commandments of the Nine Zhenren.” This book was in existence during the Tang, as a manuscript version discovered at Dunhuang (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 326) attests. The text may even be as early as the seventh century, if it corresponds to the *Jiuyou jing* 九幽經 that Xuan Yi 玄嶷 attributes to Liu Wudai 劉無待 (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, “Eisei e no negai,” 237; see 370 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan yujing xuandu daxian jing*). The present text is quoted under this title in 1167 *Taishang ganying pian* (26.6a), and the term *jiuyou* (Nine Realms of Darkness) actually occurs in the title—between the words *duming* 度命 and *bazui* 拔罪—of the Dunhuang manuscript.

The present book envisages the redemption of sins—especially those of the dead who already suffer in the Nine Realms of Darkness, but also those of the living—by the transmission of the Nine Commandments of the White Slips of the Golden Register (*Jinlu baijian jiuzhen miaojie* 金籙白簡九真妙戒) during a Great Retreat of the Nine Realms of Darkness (*Jiuyou dazhai* 九幽大齋; 5a).

Two charms mentioned in these slips must be transmitted at the same time. They are the famous *jiuku zhenfu* 救苦真符 and *changsheng lingfu* 長生靈符 that deliver from suffering and bestow eternal life. The Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning reveals both charms and commandments at the behest of the Emperor of the North of Fengdu (Fengdu beidi 酆都北帝), who pleads for mercy for all the suffering souls for whom he and his demon officials (*guiguan* 鬼官) are responsible. The revelation takes place on a day of assembly in the Palace of the Three Principles (Sanyuan gong 三元宮), in the World of the Nine Purities (*Jiuding miaojing* 九清妙境). It enables sinners to become zhenren of the Nine Palaces (*Jiugong zhenren* 九宮真人; 8a).

All the liturgical manuals of the Southern Song period (1127–1279) advocate the transmission of these commandments (for example 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 4.30b; 546 *Lingbao yujian mulu* 27.1a), but they reverse the order of the first two. The work 466 *Lingjiao jidu jinshu* 290.10a restores the original order. DU GUANGTING quotes a *Jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming miaojing* that does not correspond to the present text (507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 56.9a).

The same pages (1a–7a) of this text can be found in 1412 *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing* 6.1a–7a.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianzun shuo Fengdu miezui jing 元始天尊說酆都滅罪經

3 fols.

73 (fasc. 32)

“Scripture of Redemption from Sins in the Netherworld of Fengdu, Pronounced by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning.” This scripture deals with ritual measures to be taken for the salvation of one’s deceased parents. For a period of two years, while the dead person is brought before the ten judges (*Shiwang* 十王) of the netherworldly courts, the living accompany him or her by accumulating merits through the performance of rites (Retreats, Offerings, recitation of scriptures). These rites finally cancel the burden of the dead person’s guilt and exempt him or her from punishment in one of the twenty-four hells situated under Mount Fengdu.

The idea of a bureaucratic otherworldly tribunal with ten courts presided by ten royal judges originated in a Buddhist-inspired popular milieu in China. The earliest transmitted manuscript of the apocryphal Scripture of the Ten Kings dates from 926, but there is good reason to assume that belief in the ten kings—and possibly also rituals focusing on them—existed considerably earlier. The *Da Tang neidian lu* of 664, for example, lists a *Shiwang zhengye jing* 十王正業經 by a monk named Fayun 法雲 who lived roughly around the same time.

The date of this Taoist scripture on the ten kings—which lists new Taoist names for each of the deities, in addition to those names borrowed from the earlier sources—is uncertain. However, rituals to the ten otherworldly judges are propagated in some compilations of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Taoist liturgy (see, e.g., 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 54.19b–20b), while heavily criticized in others (e.g., 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 44.19a).

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太上十二上品飛天法輪勸戒妙經

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

182 (fasc. 77)

“Scripture of the Twelve Superior Rules of Admonition of the Wheel of the Law of the Flying Devas.” This text is spoken by the Taiji zhenren 太極真人 (Xu Laile 徐來勒) and the Zuo xianweng 左仙翁 (GE XUAN). The recitation of this book abolishes the twelve kinds of sin (murder, theft, heterodoxy, calumny, lies, jealousy, cupidity, wrath, stupidity, infidelity, lack of filial piety, and drunkenness). The rules against these sins are related to the Marvelous Commandments of the Nine Zhenren (*Jiuzhen miaojie* 九真妙戒; see 181 *Taishang jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing*).

In spite of its title, the present work appears to bear no relation to the Book of the Wheel of the Law (*Falun jing* 法輪經; see 346 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing*, 348 *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo quanjie falun miaojing*, 445 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen*, and 347 *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo miaotong zhuan shen ruding jing*). It contains two nonrhyming *gāthās*, and it makes a distinction between Taoists who have “left the family” (*chujia* 出家) and those “within the family” (*zaijia* 在家). It therefore likely dates from the Tang period.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiji zhenren shuo ershisi men jie jing 太極真人說二十四門戒經

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

183 (fasc. 77)

“Scripture of the Twenty-four Prescriptions, Spoken by Taiji Zhenren.” This scripture begins by listing the various periodical days of Retreat, during which the prescriptions that follow are to be recited—either by a group in the oratory (*jingshi* 靜室) or by a master of the ritual (2a–b). Offenses against the twenty-four interdictions are punished in the twenty-four hells named after the tortures that await the sinner there (3a–6b). The recitation of the interdictions is recommended for the salvation of the deceased during the seven-times-seven-day period of mourning, for pregnant women, and in life-threatening situations (7b).

A rhymed *gāthā* in praise of these prescriptions concludes the text.

The present work is mentioned as *Zhenren ershisi jie jing* 真人二十四戒經, together with the corresponding hells, in 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 34.11b–12b (identical with 547 *Lingbao yujian* 31.27a–b), 42.1a, and 58.13b, in connection with setting up the forty-nine *huiyao* 迴耀 lamps for the souls of the deceased.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taiyi jiuku bushen miaojing 太一救苦護身妙經

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

351 (fasc. 177)

“Marvelous Life-Protecting Scripture of the Great One Who Saves from Distress.” During an assembly in the Qingwei 清微 Heaven, the Most High Lord Lao asks the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (*yuanshi tianzun* 元始天尊) to enable people who suffer in the Three Worlds to participate in the heavenly joy created by his light. That is the role of the Heavenly Worthy Who Saves from Distress (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊), responds the Tianzun, for he is capable of transforming himself into a Taoist, a marshal, or even a Chan master in order to save all beings. Supplicants need only to invoke him.

The Tianzun immediately proceeds to do precisely that, and the savior appears as a young child. After Lord Lao has demonstrated his capacity to transform himself and save lives, the Tianzun says to him: “You are my qi; I am your root. What I know, you know. This is the Nine Yang essence that is very powerful. You must keep it secret and never reveal it” (3b). Lord Lao then concentrates in order to create a formula to encapsulate the power of the Nine Yang (the qi of the orient from which comes the One Who Saves from Distress). The Tianzun continues with a litany of the times when recitation of this formula, together with the present text, can save one from distress. Inasmuch as the savior descends to the human realm regularly on the third and ninth days of each month, adepts must also worship him on these days in their Pure Room.

*John Lagerwey**Shangqing jingui yujing xiuzhen zhixuan miaojing*

上清金匱玉鏡修真指玄妙經

17 fols.

Tang (618–907)

353 (fasc. 178)

“Marvelous Jade Mirror in a Golden Casket Elucidating the Mystery of the Practice of Perfection.” The significant part of the title, repeated in the text (1a), is *xiuzhen zhixuan* 修真指玄 (explanation of the mystery of the practice of perfection). The term *yujing* 玉鏡 (jade mirror) does not appear in the text; it probably refers to the text itself: like a mirror, it enables one to “see clearly”; and as a precious object, it is enclosed in a golden casket (*jingui*; see 16b, the “powerful stanzas of the golden casket”). Lord Lao’s title, Holy Ancestor (*shengzu* 聖祖; 6a, 11a), and one of the titles used for lay people, Men and Women of Pure Faith (*qingxin nanni* 清信男女), suggest that this text belongs to the Tang period.

The present text is a summary (*yaoyan* 要言; 5a) of Taoism revealed by the Most High Lord of the Tao for the benefit of lay people, who are sometimes called People of Pure Faith (*qingxin zhi liu* 清信之流; 1a; compare 9b). The text is later than 371 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao santu wuku badu shengsi miaojing*, which it quotes (4b–5a and 10a–b correspond to 371 *Shengsi miaojing* 6a–b and 7a–b, respectively).

After the Lord of the Tao briefly describes the spirits of the body, the “Tao explains” the importance of the practices of nourishing the heart (2a) and the qi (3a). The adept must also perform many charitable works and, most importantly, save his ancestors before he can “unite with the Tao” by means of interior alchemy (4a–5a). The present summary is apparently intended to take the place of the regular practice, which “ordinary people” lack the time to carry out.

The summary is followed by a ritual to be performed for one’s deceased parents. A statuette representing the deceased is set next to the images of the Three Pure Ones after having first been stamped with the Seal of the Nine Zhenren (they are probably linked to the Nine Prescriptions of 181 *Taishang jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing*). Three times per day for three to nine days (5a), one must then make a confession of sins. Otherwise, one may invoke the Heavenly Worthy Who Saves from Distress (*Jiuku tianzun* 救苦天尊) 3,000 times. After every 100 invocations, one must stop and bow to the Three Pure Ones and to other appropriate deities whose fu are given in the text.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao santu wuku badu shengsi miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶三塗五苦拔度生死妙經

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

371 (fasc. 181)

“Marvelous Scripture of Salvation from Life and Death in the Inferior Ways and the Five Sufferings.” After having explained the *Weimiao xuanyi zhenjing* 微妙玄一真經 to a celestial assembly in the World of Everlasting Happiness (*changle shijie* 長樂世界), the Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 emits a light of nine colors that illuminates everything in the Ten Directions and the Nine Hells. Distressed by what he sees in the hells, the zhenren of the Explanation of the Law (*Fajie zhenren* 法解真人) asks the Tianzun for an explanation and a solution. The explanation is that people become depraved at the end of an era (*shimo* 世末); this depravity results in their transmigration into the Three Inferior Ways (*santu* 三塗), which are followed first by the Five Sufferings (*wuku* 五苦) in the various hells and then by the Eight Difficulties (*ba’nan* 八難)—the eight obstacles to a devout life—when they are reborn. The solution (4b–5b) is the purification of the Three Karmic Sources (*sanye* 三業)—the mouth, the heart, and the

body—and of the Five Poisons (*wudu* 五毒) of the senses, and followed by practice of the Eight [Forms of Good] Conduct (*baxing* 八行). Even the Heavenly Worthies of the Three Times (Sanshi tianzun 三世天尊) achieved the state of nonaction in this manner, concludes the Tianzun.

That is all very well for future and present generations, responds the zhenren of the Explanation of the Law, but what is to be done for those already in the hells? Since the entire ritual of salvation (*qianba zhi ge* 遷拔之格) is recorded in the scriptures of the Three Caverns (*Sandong zhongjing* 三洞衆經; 6a), the Tianzun presents here only a summary: if even the “officials who study the Tao” must save their ancestors before they can save themselves, how much more is this true of ordinary people? As soon as a parent dies, one must summon the Tianzun who lives “beyond this world in the Palace of the Far East. . . . One need only turn to him in one’s mind, fix one’s thoughts on his venerable countenance, and call out his name,” for he has vowed to save every living being, and he will come, just as his name suggests, “in search of the voice” (*xunsheng* 尋聲). One may also light nine lamps to illumine the Long Night (see 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* 15b–24a). The lamps must be lit over a period of forty-nine days. One might also make a soul-banner, copy and disseminate the present scripture, or give alms to the poor. As a result of these meritorious deeds (*gongde* 功德), the names of one’s parents are removed from the Black List and their souls can then ascend to the Pure Land.

This text is quoted in 353 *Shangqing jingui yujing xiuzhen zhixuan miaojing* (q.v.).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao wangsheng jiuku miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶往生救苦妙經

14 fols.

Tang (618–907)

373 (fasc. 181)

“Scripture for Saving [Deceased Parents] from Distress in Future Lives.” This scripture appears to be a Tang recension of 371 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao santu wuku badu shengsi miaojing*, from which it takes its main themes and character, and even its title (see 2a, 7b). It places greater emphasis, however, on proselytism and pedagogy. Those who receive this text are called upon “to spread it to those who have not heard it” (10b) and to exhort others to perform the “five acts of philanthropy” (11b–13a). The Heavenly Worthy proceeds to calculate the return one may expect on each charitable “investment,” while also warning that “if one’s wealth is not enough to redeem [*bu* 補] one’s sins, the wealth has no weight” (13a).

The ritual and institutional instructions are also more precise than in the 371 *Badu shengsi jing*. To save one’s ancestors, one must ask a Taoist master (*daoshi* 道師) to

perform a seven-day Retreat (2a). If one wishes to use “the text of the five meditations,” one must “invite a master and receive it in accordance with the code” (8a). Among the five charitable acts, three consist in giving money to religious institutions and inciting others to do likewise (12a–b). Frequent reference is made to the merit of those who “leave the family” in order to dedicate themselves to the religious life (6a, 9b, 12b). The ritual for one’s deceased parents should be done on the forty-ninth and one hundredth days, for “within forty-nine days their sins are judged and within one hundred days they enter one of the Five Paths” (7b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao jinggong miaojing 太上洞玄靈寶淨供妙經

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

376 (fasc. 181)

“Marvelous Scripture on the Pure Offering.” This Pure Offering—here revealed to GE XUAN by his three masters: the zhenren Yuluoqiao 鬱羅翹, Guangmiaoyin 光妙音, and Zhendingguang 真定光, already mentioned in 346 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing*—is intended to replace the Grand Offering of 370 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan yujing xuandu daxian jing* (10a). Unlike the latter, the Pure Offering must be made not only on the days of the Three Principles, but also on the days of the five *la* 臘 festivals. Whereas in 370 *Daxian jing* the most important thing was to recite the revealed scripture, the present text emphasizes the performance of a day-long ritual that culminates at noon in a gigantic offering—as large as a mountain, the text says (3b, 9a)—for all hungry souls. The present text also insists on the danger these souls represent for the well-being of the living and emphasizes the duty every pious son has toward his natural parents and his “true parents.” Less importance is attached to the sufferings of these hungry souls and to the karmic origins of their suffering.

The present text can be distinguished from its predecessor by a style that is more obviously influenced by Buddhism. Witness the frequent use of the double negative (for instance, “neither birth nor death”; 7b) and the distinction between exhaustible (*youjin* 有盡) and inexhaustible (*wujin* 無盡) offerings (6a). Such terminology is typical of Taoist texts of the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century.

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao zhongqing weiyi jing 洞玄靈寶鍾磬威儀經

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

531 (fasc 295)

“Book of the Protocol for [Sounding] the Bell and the Chime Stone.” These two instruments announce the hours of the service and punctuate the ritual recitations. The bell must be struck a certain number of times for different occasions. Errors are punished by Heaven.

This is a small didactic scripture of uncertain date. It contains twelve hymns (*song* 頌) and a *gāthā* (*ji* 偈) celebrating the virtues of the instruments. All the hymns and the *gāthā* are rhymed.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao jiu zhenren wufu sangui xingdao guanmen jing

洞玄靈寶九真人五復三歸行道觀門經

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

990 (fasc. 618)

“Scripture of the Nine Zhenren for the Contemplation of the Gates and the Practice of the Tao by Means of the Five Restorations and the Three Returns.” The Nine Zhenren are listeners who, upon hearing the words of the Tao, proceed to an altar area to show lay people how to advance in the Way and transcend all difficulties. The “five restorations and three returns” undoubtedly refer to a return to the proper use of the five senses and of the *sanye* 三業 (the three sources of karmic disorder, namely, the body, the heart, and the mouth). Frequent reference is made to “returning to the root,” to the Way, to the heart, and to constancy. The gates the adept contemplates are presumably the gates of the senses, which he or she controls as the result of his or her “practice of the five victories” (4b–5a).

This practice enables the adept to escape from the Nine Dark Realms of hell. Each hell is described as the punishment for a specific sin: against the Tao or its De, against one’s nature or against reason, or against one of the five Confucian virtues. Each kind of sin attracts a specific demon that attaches itself to one or another aspect of the person (one’s knowledge, one’s will, etc.). The first hell is governed by the Jade Emperor, the next three by the Three Sovereigns, and the last five by the Five Emperors. By avoiding the various sins, adepts can purify their hearts, recover “true constancy,” and ascend to “the supreme place” or to “the fruit of the Great One.”

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao taishang liuzhai shizhi shengji jing

洞玄靈寶太上六齋十直聖紀經

9 fols.

Eighth to tenth century

1200 (fasc. 875)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Six Annual Months of Fast, the Ten Monthly Days of Fast, and the Records of the Saint.” This is one of twelve scriptures printed in 1016 at the request of WANG QINRUO (*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 86.10b). Bibliographic mention of this scripture is found in *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.21b. The scripture contains a compilation of the different kinds of fast and the calendrical dates pertaining to them, with a discussion that emphasizes the spiritual component of the fast, referring to the well-known passage in *Zhuangzi* on the Fast of the Heart. This discussion is followed by a selection of citations from various works (the sources are not named) that introduce the basic ideas of Laozi’s teaching.

At least the part of this text dealing with the fast (1b–4a) seems to come from the lost *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji* 玄元皇帝聖紀 in ten juan, written by YIN WENCAO between 679 and 684 (see “Yin Wencao bei 尹文操碑,” 957 *Gu louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 1.4b–9b): the passages 2a and 3a–4a are cited in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 8.1b–2a, 8.3b as coming from the *Shengji jing*; in 464 *Zhaijie lu* 1a–2a and 8b they are cited under the title *Hunyuan huangdi shengji* 混元皇帝聖紀 and *Shengji jing*. This part of the present text also shows the same formal division (presentation with a subsequent discussion, *lun* 論) as a fragment of YIN WENCAO’s work preserved in YJQQ 102.1a–6a and also entitled *Hunyuan huangdi shengji jing*.

On the basis of corresponding passages in WSBY and *Zuowang lun* 坐忘論 (YJQQ 94.1b), a number of sentences on pages 4a–b, 5b–6a, and 7a–8b can be shown to come from the lost *Miaozhen jing* 妙真經. A passage on pages 6a–b is from the *Wenzi* 文子 (746 *Tongxuan zhenjing* 5.2a–4b). A paragraph on pages 8b–9b is also found in YJQQ 55.8b–9a, where the source is indicated as *Yuqing bilu* 玉清祕籙.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yuanshi dongzhen cishan xiaozhi baoen chengdao jing

元始洞真慈善孝子報恩成道經

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

66 (fasc. 32)

“Book of the Filial Son, Good and Merciful, Who Repays His Debt [to His Parents] and so Achieves the Tao.” See the following article on 380 *Dongxuan lingbao daoyao jing*.

Dongxuan lingbao daoyao jing 洞玄靈寶道要經

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

380 (fasc. 182)

“Book of the Summary of the Tao.” This text, together with 66 *Yuanshi dongzhen cishan xiaozi baoen chengdao jing* is one of the basic texts of the Way of Filial Piety (*xiaodao* 孝道; see also 449 *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan*). Judging from the conceptual and linguistic similarity of the present text and 66 *Chengdao jing*, as well as from the fact that the last sentence of both texts is identical, it seems likely that these two texts were written by the same person. The use of certain terms and turns of phrase borrowed from seventh-century Taoist literature—such as Real Tao (*zhendao* 真道; 66 *Chengdao jing* 4b), and [Great] Supreme Tao (*wushang [da]dao* 無上[大]道; 66 *Chengdao jing* 1a; 380 *Daoyao jing* 6a)—sets a *terminus post quem* for the date of these texts. The use of the term *wujin zang* 無盡藏 (inexhaustible reservoir; 380 *Daoyao jing* 7a) suggests a date around 700 (cf. Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese society*, 210–17). Traditionally, the *xiaodao* is considered a branch of Lingbao Taoism.

Both the present text and 66 *Chengdao jing* constitute “words of the Tao,” but the latter is the “basic text” (*benwen* 本文) of the movement, while the present text is—as its title states—a “summary of the Tao” (*daoyao* 道要; 4b). The title of 66 *Chengdao jing* emphasizes its theological priority over the “summary” by linking itself to the highest of the Three Caverns (Dongzhen 洞真) of the Three Pure Ones (Yuanshi 元始; see 1b: *wushang dadao yuanshi tianzun* 無上大道元始天尊).

Both texts are panegyrics to the *xiaodao*, but it is 66 *Chengdao jing* that describes the teaching’s origin: the zhenren of the left, the right, and the center take form by becoming differentiated from the Primordial Beginning (1a). After 90,000 kalpas, they leave the “jade matrix” with bodies that are luminous “like the new moon.” Another 90,000 kalpas later, “they transform themselves into babies and attach themselves to their Real Mother” (1b). There, they gradually grow up, while waiting for the right time to reenter the world.

Each of these “true kings of filial piety”—this is the epithet given them by the Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊—rules over one of the Three Luminaries (*sanguang* 三光; the sun, the moon, and the Big Dipper). Orphans are able to “repay the primordial debt to their parents” by worshiping the Three Luminaries (4a–b). The three zhenren “love life and reject death” (2a). All that is evil—eating meat, drinking wine, stealing, and adultery—is therefore alien to their way. Those who follow the Way of Filial Piety are as powerful as the Tao (2b). They are able to discard the Five Anxieties (3b) and to control a country, a body, illness, or the Ten Thousand Things (4a). In the land of an enlightened king (*mingwang* 明王) who governs according to the “rules of the teaching” (*jiaojie* 教戒) of filial piety, there will be Great Peace (*taiping* 太平). It suffices to

recite this text in order to repay one's debt, and to initiate a ritual concert in Heaven as well. Therefore, the *Chengdao jing* must be diffused by all possible means.

According to the present text, the Supreme Way puts an end forever to the cycle of life and death, to suffering and karmic causality (6a), for filial piety never leaves the Gold Portal (the source of life) and thus closes off hermetically the way of death (7a). Filial piety is related to maturation (*cheng* 成) as the Tao is to birth (1a). Those who are not grateful to their parents are worse than animals: they are sinful souls (2a). But so great is the compassion of a filial person that the True King of High Brightness (Gaoming zhenwang 高明真王), on seeing those sinful souls in the eighteen hells, transforms himself, thanks to the light in his filial heart, into the "cloud of an immortal." This cloud converts the entire universe and enables such souls to receive forgiveness, "to wash themselves in the mysterious ford and to ascend the Phoenix Steps" (3a). After having made their confession there, they return to their tombs. From these tombs they then appear to their descendants in dreams (*tongmeng* 通夢) and exhort them to "repay their debts." Once the descendants have done this, their ancestors ascend to the Southern Palace.

Thus, concludes the Tao, "sinful souls receive forgiveness and go on to practice the Tao, while their descendants, enlightened by their dreams, practice filial piety. But those who follow my way should first practice filial piety and, in the second place, practice the Tao" (3b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao baxian wang jiaojie jing

太上洞玄靈寶八仙王教誡經

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

III2 (fasc. 758)

"Scripture on the Rules and Teaching for the Eight Immortal Kings." This text is identical to 66 *Yuanshi dongzhen cishan xiaozi baoen chengdao jing*. It defines itself as "the statement of the rules and of the teaching [*jiaojie* 教誡] of the supremely great Tao to the enlightened kings of earth" (6b). The Eight Immortals mentioned in the title do not appear in the text.

John Lagerwey

2.B.7.a.3 Short Doctrinal and Prophylactic Texts

Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaoqing 太上昇玄消災護命妙經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

19 (fasc. 25)

“Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery, which Protects Life and Averts Disaster.” From the Palace of the Fivefold Brightness (Wuming gong 五明宮) in the Forest of the Seven Jewels, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning emits a ray of light that illumines the misery of all beings sunk in the River of Passion (Aihe 愛河) and the Sea of Desire (Yuhai 欲海). Addressing himself to all beings, the Heavenly Worthy exhorts them to understand that the vacuity of things is no more certain than their perceptible reality: “Those who know that vacuity is not unreal and that the perceptible reality is not mere appearance are enlightened, and have even begun to penetrate the marvelous sounds.” He concludes by saying that when this scripture is recited, a host of gods will come and protect the adept.

The language and the argumentation of the text are typical of the first century of the Tang period. Two undated Dunhuang manuscripts (Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuben*, 315–16) are titled *Taishang shengxuan huming jing*.

This work has remained popular over the centuries. DU GUANGTING recounts a miracle linked to its recitation (see Verellen, “Evidential miracles,” 237). The Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) wrote a preface to it (YJQQ 122.16a–b). Its recitation was part of the celebration of the *Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 during the Song (see 508 *Wusheng huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 12.2a, and 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.6a). There are several commentaries: by LI DAOCHUN (101 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaoqing zhu*), by WANG JIE (100 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai shuo huming miaoqing*), and by Zhang Bo 張白 (312 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaoqing song*).

John Lagerwey

Taishang laojun shuo xiaozai jing 太上老君說消災經

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

631 (fasc. 341)

“Scripture on Warding off Calamities, Pronounced by the Most High Lord Lao.” Although no details are known about the origin of this text, it is one of those minor scriptures typical of the Tang period. Both 289 *Chengxing lingtai biyao jing* 3a and 592 *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 5.18a mention a *Xiaozai jing*, probably referring to the present text.

The scripture, revealed by Lord Lao to Yin Xi 尹喜, lists the thirty-six *vajra* (*jin'gang*

金剛), twenty-five divine kings (*shenwang* 神王), twenty-seven strong men (*lishi* 力士), and thirty-seven Heavenly Masters (*tianshi* 天師, residing above the thirty-six heavens), all of whom were to be invoked when a household suffered from demons, diseases, or other calamities. When male or female believers recited this scripture, all misery came to an end. For the Buddhist polemics about the appearance of *jin'gang* and *lishi* divinities in Taoism, see *Bianzheng lun* 辯証論 8.547a–c.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang changsheng yanshou ji fude jing 太上長生延壽集福德經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

21 (fasc. 25)

“Scripture for the Prolongation of Life and the Accumulation of Felicity and Merit.” During an encounter in the land of the Magic City (Huacheng guo 化城國), the Divine King of Long Life and the Protection of Felicity (Changsheng hufu shenwang 長生護福神王) asks of the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning what rites should be performed by those who, overwhelmed with misfortune, wish to enter the Gate of the Law (*ru famen* 入法門). “You should first teach them how to purify their bodies, hearts, and mouths and then transmit to them the superior methods of the Three Caverns,” the Heavenly Worthy answers. He then adds two formulas, one for the prolongation of life, the other for the accumulation of felicity and merit. One must recite these formulas according to a specific rite and calendar. The text concludes with a hymn of thanks chanted by the Divine King, and with the audience’s vow to follow the Supremely Great Tao.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing 元始天尊說生天得道經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

24 (fasc. 27)

“Pronouncement of the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning on Living in Heaven and Obtaining the Tao.” Written in the usual style of Mahāyāna Taoist scriptures (*dacheng jingdian* 大乘經典), this text is a short summary of such physiological practices as the circulation of the harmonious breath (*taihe zhenqi* 太和真氣) and the interior vision (*neiguan* 內觀). The recitation of this scripture is already mentioned in an inscription dated 980 (*Jinshi cuibian* 125.19b) and listed in the *Bishu sheng* (see VDL 100). Some liturgical manuals of the Song period (for example, 508 *Wushang huanlu dazhai licheng yi* 12.2b; 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 55.31b; 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.7b)

also advocate the recitation of this scripture in the context of rites for the salvation of the soul.

John Lagerwey

Taishang yuanshi tianzun zhengguo zhenjing 太上元始天尊證果真經

1 fol.

Tang (618–907)

47 (fasc. 29)

“True Scripture of the Most High Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning on Rewards.” This brief scripture deals with the rewards (*zhengguo* 證果) that can be obtained through its transmission and constant recitation: heavenly protection, roaming the Shangqing Heaven, immortality, and the destruction of demonic powers. Ordinary mortals are rewarded with longevity, domestic happiness, and redemption of their souls from postmortem punishment. A hymn recapitulating these ideas concludes the scripture.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo xuming miaojing 太上元始天尊說續命妙經

1 fol.

Tang (618–907)

48 (fasc. 29)

“Marvelous Scripture for the Prolongation of Life, Spoken by the Most High Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning.” Taishang daojun 太上道君 having been ordered by Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 to save people from suffering by spreading “his method,” enjoins human beings to invoke the two zhenren of Great Mercy—the zhenren of Great Charity (*dahui* 大惠) and the zhenren who Saves from Distress (*jiuku* 救苦)—whenever they are sick or in difficulty. This indication will suffice to save them and “prolong their lives.”

In the hymn that follows, the laity are called Men and Women of Pure Faith (*qingxin nannü* 清信男女), a term characteristic of the Tang period.

John Lagerwey

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo dayu longwang jing

太上元始天尊說大雨龍王經

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

51 (fasc. 29)

“Scripture of the Great Rain-Producing Dragon-Kings, Spoken by the Most High Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning.” At the heart of this text we find the

names of sixty-eight dragon-kings for invocation in periods of drought. Good men and women (*shan nanzi shan nüren* 善男子善女人) are encouraged to go wherever there is a drought to copy this text, transmit it in a “pure and solemn” manner, and then ask a Ritual Master of Great Virtue (*Gaode fashi* 高德法師) to recite it in a “Taoist arena.” The altar may also be called a Pure Land (*jingtu* 淨土), and one may use it to pray for rain on the six monthly days of fasting (*liuzhai ri* 六齋日; 1b). To all these examples of typical Tang terminology can be added the expression “For what reason?” (*heyi gu* 何以故; 1b). The text begins in the same way as 62 *Yuanshi tianwang huanle jing*: “When Yuanshi tianzun had completed [a tour of inspection] of the Five (Ten in 62 *Huanle jing*) Directions . . .”

John Lagerwey

Taishang huguo qiyu xiaomo jing 太上護國祈雨消魔經

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)

52 (fasc. 29)

“Demon-Slaying Scripture for Protecting the Country and Praying for Rain.” The zhenren Moonlight (*Yueguang* 月光) arrives at Yujing shan 玉京山 on a white crane and announces to the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊) his desire to save the people of the Yanfu 閻浮 world from all natural calamities. The zhenren requests the expedient means (*fangbian* 方便) to accomplish this task. The Tianzun then lists his spiritual powers that “abide in this world and save from all difficulties” (2a). When people encounter difficulties, they need merely recite this book.

The zhenren then asks for a ritual (*fashi* 法事) by which to obtain rain. Transmit my teaching in the Yanfu world, the Tianzun says. Tell them, wherever they may be, to create altars (*tanchang* 壇場) with images of the Worthies (*zunxiang* 尊像) and flags, and then to recite this scripture and perform a Retreat and an Offering (*zhaizhuan* 齋饌). These acts will cause the gods to send dragon-kings and masters of thunder and rain to make the clouds appear.

At the end of the book, the Tianzun gives it a title that begins with *Tiangong* 天功 instead of *Taishang*. Among the gods to whom the offering is addressed, there is a Father and a Mother of Celestial Merits (*tiangong fumu* 天功父母; 3a).

John Lagerwey

Taishang zhenyi bao fumu enzhong jing 太上真一報父母恩重經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

65 (fasc. 32)

“Scripture of the Most High True One for Repaying One’s Debt Toward One’s Loving Parents.” By request of the Shangzhi 上智, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning recalls the heavy debt every human being owes his or her parents. He then lists the rituals one may perform in repayment. If one’s parents suffered from illness due to evil demons, one should perform rituals called *daochang* 道場. After the death of one’s parents, one should begin with the observation of a Retreat (*zhai* 齋), of forty-nine days, and then on one’s own birthday, one should remember that it was one’s parents who gave one life.

The recitation of the present text is advocated in 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.9a.

John Lagerwey

Zhenzang jing yaojue 真藏經要訣

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

96 (fasc. 48)

“Epitome of the True Reservoir Scripture.” Two brief passages aside, this summary is entirely composed of citations from 4 *Wushang neibi zhenzang jing*. The first of the added passages treats the importance of keeping the commandments (3a3–7); the second passage criticizes as useless such Buddhist practices as giving oneself to a tiger and self-immolation by fire (4b1–8).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao guanmiao jing 太上洞玄靈寶觀妙經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

326 (fasc. 167)

“Scripture for Contemplating the Marvelous according to the Lingbao Tradition.” This scripture corresponds, from the first line (1b), to 400 *Dongxuan lingbao dingguan jing* 4a to the end, and to the last paragraph of 1036 *Zuowang lun* (beginning on 16b). The text is mentioned in the *Suichu tang shumu* 23b (see VDL 172) and must date from the Tang or Five Dynasties (907–960) period.

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang dongxuan lingbao hu zhu tongzi jing 太上洞玄靈寶護諸童子經

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

328 (fasc. 167)

“Lingbao Scripture of the Protecting Lads.” The “Protecting Lads” mentioned in the title are emissaries of the stars that govern the destiny of humanity. Those whose lives are threatened by the harmful actions of the “dogs of heaven and earth” must burn incense and recite this text, which is primarily an invitation both to the Lads of the true qi of the seven stars of the Big Dipper and to the Lads of the beams of qi from the Five Directions. The conclusion shows that it is this recitation that enables the Lads to carry on their work in the world. The passage 1b–2a derives from 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 8.7a.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao sifang dayuan jing 太上洞玄靈寶四方大願經

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)

343 (fasc. 176)

“Lingbao Scripture of the Great Supplications [to Be Pronounced] in the Four Directions.” In this scripture, the Heavenly Worthy promises to those who seek to obtain the Tao—be it in their mountain retreats or in monasteries—that they shall reach their goal if, in the morning and in the evening, they speak the given supplications into the four directions and pronounce certain benedictions (*zhuyuan* 祝願) before and after eating and drinking.

Of the four series of supplications for oneself and for others (fourteen directed to the saints and zhenren in the east, eleven to those in the south, nine to those in the west, and seven to those in the north; 1a–3b), the first two are based on 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* 3.11a–13a. The second part of the present text (3b–5b) consists of various benedictions that are spoken mainly for the donor (*zhaizhu* 齋主) of the meal at midday (*zhongshi* 中食). Some of those passages (4a, 4b–5a, 5b) are also found in 1410 *Dongxuan lingbao qianzhen ke* 29a–b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang lingbao zhihui guanshen jing 太上靈寶智慧觀身經

2 fols.

First half of the Tang (618–907) dynasty

350 (fasc. 177)

“Lingbao Scripture on Wisdom and the Contemplation of the Body.” This short text probably originated during the first half of the Tang dynasty. In 771 it was carved

in stone in the Yongxian guan 永仙觀 (near Chang'an) under the title *Qingjing zhihui guanshen jing* 清淨智慧觀身經 (see Chen Yuan et al., *Daojia jinshi lue*, 153–54). The theme of this scripture, which conspicuously relies on Buddhist terminology and ideas, is the contemplation of the body and its components, which in meditation are found to be absolutely void and illusory. Thereby one attains to a consciousness in which one is no longer subject to suffering; thus one gains liberation (*jietuo* 解脫).

The three hymns to wisdom that conclude our text are also found in 524 *Dongxuan lingbao zhai shuo guang zhu jie fa deng zhuyuan yi* 7b–8a and 1364 *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen* 1a–b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao furi miaojing 太上洞玄靈寶福日妙經

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

355 (fasc. 179)

“Marvelous Lingbao Scripture on the Days of Blessings.” In this small treatise for use by lay people, the latter are invited to observe a fast on all days of blessings (*furi* 福日) mentioned in the text (for the list of such days, see 464 *Zhaijie lu* passim). The mere recitation of this text sufficed to avert misfortune. It was therefore a highly meritorious act to copy and disseminate it.

John Lagerwey

Taishang shenzhou yanshou miaojing 太上神咒延壽妙經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

358 (fasc. 179)

“Wonderful Scripture of the Divine Formula of Invocation by the Most High Lord of the Tao for Prolonging Life.” This short scripture is an abridged and obviously popularized version of 650 *Taishang laojun shuo changsheng yisuan miaojing* or 672 *Taishang laojun shuo yisuan shenfu miaojing*. For instance, the generals of the cyclical *jia* 甲 combinations are not listed individually, and the *fu* that are shown and explained in detail in the above texts are mentioned only briefly in the present text. Instead, emphasis is placed on the simple recitation of this short scripture.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang daojun shuo jieyuan badu miaojing 太上道君說解冤拔度妙經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

372 (fasc. 181)

“Marvelous Scripture for Salvation and Delivery from Enmity.” This explanation of the Essentials of the Tao (*Daoyao* 道要) by the Most High Lord of the Tao, in the Baqian Forest 八鶩林, illuminates the entire universe and accentuates the contrast between the hells and the Halls of Happiness. What have those who suffer in the former done? asks the zhenren of Great Faith (Duxin zhenren 度信真人). The Lord of the Tao explains that the zhenren, full of compassion, decided to avail himself of the light of the “golden words” to divulge on Earth this book that delivers from sorrow and rescues from sins. Lay people are told to recite it six times during a retreat in their Pure Room.

*John Lagerwey**Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo jiku jing*

太上洞玄靈寶天尊說濟苦經

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

375 (fasc. 181)

“The Heavenly Worthy Explains How to Overcome Difficulties.” Whether it is for a difficult childbirth, for sickness, or for a case of bewitchment (*gudao* 蠱道), “invoke my name and I shall be attentive to the voice [*xunsheng* 尋聲] and come from Heaven with all my host directly to this house to save the sick, drive away the wandering soul, and oblige it to return to its original body [*benshen* 本身].” The Heavenly Worthy is invoked (*zhouqing* 咒請) by the seven names given at the beginning of the text.

The People of the Tao (1b, 2a) are also invited to provide for “my servants, the Taoists,” to make books and statues, to establish temples and abbeys, and to recite this text three times a day.

The reference to the Three Ways (*wuji dadao* 無極大道, *wushang zhengzhen dao* 無上正真道, and *wuwei taiping qingyue dadao* 無爲太平清約大道) seems to allude to 1205 *Santian neijie jing* 1.3a.

John Lagerwey

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing 太上老君說常清靜妙經

3 fols.

First half of the Tang (618–907)

620 (fasc. 341)

“Wonderful Scripture on Perpetual Purity and Tranquility, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao.” This text probably dates from the first half of the Tang dynasty. *Bidian zhulin* 16.3b lists a manuscript of this text from the brush of Huaisu 懷素, dated 785. An autograph in the calligraphy of Liu Gongquan 柳公權, dated 840 (*Yunyan guoyan lu* 雲煙過眼錄; 3.16b), which was later carved in stone, features only a few variant characters (*Zhongguo shufa bianji zubian*, “Liu Gongquan,” 2.201–5). The work 757 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu* 23a mentions an edition with a commentary by SIMA CHENGZHEN, and *Nanyue zongsheng ji* 3.7a states that Li Simu 李思慕 (see 453 *Nanyue xiaolu* 13a) wrote explanations for this scripture. However, today no trace of these two commentaries can be found. For the discussion of an autograph of the *Qingjing jing* attributed to Yang Hu 楊祐 of the Liang dynasty, but most likely dating from the Tang, see Li Weiran, “Songta *Qingjing jing*.”

The work gives instructions on how to restore both the constant purity of the spirit (*shen* 神) that is often upset by the mind (*xin* 心), and the perpetual ataraxy of the mind that is frequently harassed by desire: first by regarding all phenomena as empty (*kong* 空) and nonexistent (*wu* 無) and then by transcending this view. One who follows these instructions will gradually attain the Tao.

In an epilogue, GE XUAN describes the line of transmission of this text, which he has now recorded for the first time, from the Queen Mother of the West down to himself. He also notes that the two zhenren, Zuoxuan zhenren 左玄真人 and Zhengyi zhenren 正一真人, enumerate the wonderful effects that arise from reciting and holding on to the scripture.

This scripture enjoyed great esteem among the Quanzhen Taoists. Not only does the term *qingjing* 清靜 play an important role in WANG ZHE’s teaching (see, for instance, 1156 *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue*, passim), but also the present text belongs to the handful of scriptures, the recitation of which was recommended by Wang (“Zhongnan shan shenxian Chongyang zhenren quanzhen jiaozu bei,” 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 1.8a). For the recitation of the scripture during the Huanglu 黃籙 ritual in the Song dynasty, see 529 *Lingbao wujing tigang*.

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Li Weiran, “Songta *Qingjing jing*”; *Zhongguo shufa bianji zubian*, “Liu Gongquan,” 2.201–5.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo anzhai bayang jing 太上老君說安宅八陽經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

634 (fasc. 341)

“Scripture on the Eight Yang and on [Securing] Peace for the House, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao.” This short text probably dates from the Tang dynasty. It shows a close correspondence, partly verbatim, with a section in *Tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 1423a, a Buddhist text. The latter scripture, the translation of which is attributed to Yijing 義淨 (635–713), was first listed in a bibliography and described in 800 (*Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 28.1017a–b). It was condemned as apocryphal in *Beishan lu* 2.582c (completed in 806).

The present scripture gives no explanation for the term *bayang* 八陽 (Eight Yang), whereas the Buddhist text (1424b) equates “eight” with “discrimination” (*fenbie* 分別) and with the eight kinds of perception (*bashi* 八識) and explains yang as the “clear understanding” of the principle of emptiness and nonexistence (*kongwu zhi li* 空無之理). While the Buddhist work further discusses topics like burial and marriage, the present text limits itself to the pacifying of dwelling places: wherever the dragon deities (*longshen* 龍神) have been disturbed and death-bringing forces (*sha* 煞) have been aroused in the course of digging for the construction of a house, all harm can be averted and harmony and peace secured by reciting this scripture.

The mention of a *Bayang jing* in 289 *Chengxing lingtai biyao jing* 4a presumably refers either to this text or to 635 *Taishang laojun shuo buxie bayang jing*.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo buxie bayang jing 太上老君說補謝八陽經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

635 (fasc. 341)

“Scripture on the Eight Yang and the Amends, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao.” This scripture largely corresponds to 634 *Taishang laojun shuo anzhai bayang jing*. It could be a later version of the latter, since the list of divinities is more extensive here. Also the use of the scripture is specific in that its recitation should be done after the construction works (that disturb the forces residing in the earth) have been completed.

Although the use of our text within the framework of a ritual is not explicitly mentioned, it is clearly related to the *anzhai zhai* 安宅齋 described in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* (especially 198.1b–2b and 320.17b–19a).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo shangqi miezui jifu miaojing

太上老君說上七滅罪集福妙經

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

1170 (fasc. 839)

“Wondrous Book of the Seven [Stars] on High That Abolish Sin and Gather Happiness, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao.” This scripture for recitation in worship of the seven Dipper stars that control fate is similar to 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*. The passage on vows pronounced to the different stars of the constellation (2a–b) is partly identical in wording to the hymns in 622 *Yansheng zhenjing* 8b–9a.

This work was included in the Taiqing division by the editors of the Ming *Daozang*; it thus seems unlikely that it was still currently in use for liturgical purposes in modern times. We may therefore suppose that the present scripture is earlier than 622 *Yansheng zhenjing*, and that the former has perhaps inspired the latter.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang shuo tongzhen gaohuang jieyuan jing 太上說通真高皇解冤經

2 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1449 (fasc. 1063)

“Scripture on Communicating with the Zhenren, High and August, and on Deliverance from Calamity, Spoken by the Most High [Lord of the Tao].” This text is identical with 372 *Taishang daojun shuo jieyuan badu miaojing*.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan jizhong jing 太上洞玄濟衆經

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1460 (fasc. 1064)

“Scripture on Universal Deliverance, from the Dongxuan Canon of the Most High.” This text is a small jewel of monastic and dialectic Taoism of the seventh and eighth centuries. It deals succinctly with one of the most fundamental problems of Taoism, the origin of evil: does evil stem from the spirit (*shen* 神) or from knowledge (*shi* 識)? Compare the discussion on this subject in 9 *Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing* 1.22a ff. The present text makes it apparent that in this new form of Taoism the human being is no longer considered as a body filled with spirits that one must try to retain, but as a spirit endowed with knowledge. One’s difficulties stem from the loss of one’s “lucid nature” (*mingxing* 明性), that is, from one’s misconceptions concerning

one's real origins. One does not own one's body but is only its temporary occupant. The parents who gave one life are not true parents (hence the role of monasticism). Once one has understood (*wu* 悟) that one is born from the Void Spontaneity (*xuwu ziran* 虛無自然; see 1438 *Taishang laojun xuwu ziran benqi jing*), one will no longer be a prisoner of passions or the body: "He will have a body no more; his spirit and body will become one; he will have found his original parents and achieved the Tao."

The version of the present text in YJQQ 31.7b–10a has only a single important variant: on page 1b1, *shui* 誰 should read *shi* 識.

John Lagerwey

Taiji Zuo xiangong shuo shenfu jing 太極左仙公說神符經

7 fols.

III7 (fasc. 759)

"Scripture of the Divine Talisman Spoken by Taiji [Zhenren] and Zuo Xiangong." Zuo xiangong is the title of GE XUAN. In this text, he recounts the transmission of an elixir, the medicinal power of which "equals (*fu* 符) those of divine making" (*shenzao* 神造). Ge himself received the elixir from the zhenren Taiji 太極 (i.e., Xu Laile 徐來勒) and in turn transmits it by way of the present text to Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN). Even though the alchemical recipe revealed here is said to lead to the supreme Way, it seems to be ranked lower than internal practices. At the beginning of the text, we see GE XUAN living in the Huayang Cavern 華陽洞, where he practices holding the Three Ones (the *nihuan* 泥丸, the *jianggong* 絳宮, and the *dantian* 丹田, according to a note). This practice enables him to gain "a profound understanding of life and death, to forget his body altogether, to solidify his nature, and to enter through wisdom into the True Way." It is in this state of trance that he sees the misery of all beings and decides, at the request of one Wang Xingcheng 王行成, to reveal the essential Way (*yaodao* 要道). At the end of the text, Ge "returns to his original heaven," leaving it to Zheng Siyuan to propagate his method.

John Lagerwey

Beidou jiuhuang yinhui jing 北斗九皇隱諱經

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

1456 (fasc. 1064)

"Book of the Secret Names of the Nine Glorious [Stars] of the Northern Dipper." The Ursa Major constellation has seven visible stars and two hidden ones, Fu 輔 and Bi 弼. This short text describes the stars and their functions and commends meditation. Visualizing the stars obtains their protection.

The text is identical to YJQQ 24.9a–14a, a section titled “Beidou jiuhuang zhiwei zongzhu 北斗九皇職位總主.” It is difficult to establish which version represents the original, but inasmuch as the YJQQ section clearly forms part of a larger excerpt from a now lost *Xuanmen baohai jing* 玄門寶海經 (judging by its title, a Tang text), it would seem that the present version was copied from the latter source.

Kristofer Schipper

2.B.7.b Litanies

This section gathers texts of repentance and pardon called *chan* 懺, a term considered to be the transliteration of the Sanskrit *kṣamā* (confession; also written *chanmo* 懺磨 or *chamo* 叉磨). The *chan* constitute a special category of texts, half scripture, half ritual. Like many other liturgical rites of Chinese Buddhism, their creation is traditionally attributed to Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502–549). The Taoist counterparts of the Buddhist *chan* are mainly adaptations from major Lingbao scriptures, to which are added long lists of names of great deities whose pardon is implored. Because of the repetitive nature of *chan*, we have chosen the term *litany* for this type of chanted text. Taoist litanies became current during the Tang (618–907) and have remained an important part of Taoist liturgy.

Taishang cibei daochang xiaozai jiuyou chan 太上慈悲道場消災九幽懺

10 juan

Attributed to GE XUAN 葛玄; preface by LI HANGUANG 李含光; eighth century

543 (fasc. 297–299)

“Litany for the Ritual of Mercy of the Most High, for Deliverance from Calamities and the Nine Realms of Darkness.” In this text, the Most High is called the Merciful Worthy (Cizun 慈尊). By means of a dialogue with Puji zhenren 普濟真人, he reveals and explains this ritual of confession that makes it possible not only to ward off misfortunes that threaten the country, but also to save one’s ancestors from punishment in hell (1.20b–21a). The text makes a clear distinction between these two uses of the ritual: the first use is for the peace of the living (*ping’an* 平安), and the second is for offerings to the dead (*zhuijian* 追薦; 1.8b).

The attribution to GE XUAN is explained by LI HANGUANG in his preface. After receiving the books of the Three Caverns from Xu Laile 徐來勒, writes Li, GE XUAN extracted from them their most salient features in order to compose the present litany. However legendary, this story accurately links the litany to the Lingbao tradition associated with GE XUAN and, thereby, to the Zhengyi ritual tradition (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 24–25). At the beginning of the present text we read that “the Three

Caverns can all be included in the Unique Vehicle. . . . Orthodox Unity combines the Three Vehicles” (1.1b–2a).

As Yoshioka has shown (*Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 1:393–99), this text is at least in part inspired by the *Cibei daochang chanfa*, in ten juan, traditionally attributed to Liang Wudi (r. 502–549) and probably dating at least in part from that period. The present litany does indeed resemble its Buddhist prototype, not only as regards its title and the titles of several of its sections, but also in its use of certain key phrases, as well as in its overall structure. Yoshioka nonetheless dates this text to the eighth century. If we are correct in assuming that Wu Zetian (r. 684–705) is not among the “seven deceased emperors” (*qimiao* 七廟) mentioned at 1.11b, the date of composition could be set between 763 (the date of Daizong’s accession to the throne) and 769 (the date of LI HANGUANG’s death).

As stated in 1.5a, many of the texts of both the confessions and the explanations in this litany are citations, either abridged or adapted, of 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* (1.5a–b here corresponds to 336 *Yebao yinyuan jing* 10.1b–2a, 3b; 6.16a–b to 4.1b–2a; 10.11a–12b to 10.4a–6b; etc.). The last citation, moreover, shows clearly that the dialogue between Puji zhenren and Cizun in the present text is based on that between Puji zhenren and Daojun 道君 in 336 *Yebao yinyuan jing*.

Starting with the east and ending with the zenith and the nadir, each juan is devoted to one of the Ten Directions. The vows that follow each confession and sequence of salutations are always addressed to the Lingbao *tianzun* 天尊 of the relevant direction (see, for instance, 1.11b and 2.4b). Each sequence of salutations—with the sole exception of the last, which is elicited by the depth of GE XUAN’s sense of gratitude to Xu Laile (10.17b–18a)—begins with Yuqing jiangfu tianzun 玉清降福天尊 and Xunsheng jiuku tianzun 尋聲救苦天尊, followed by one of the ten directional *tianzun* (see 1.10b, etc., and 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 6.1a–b). The adept calls on a total of 1,170 *tianzun* and zhenren in the course of the forty-two salutation sequences (10.19b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang cibei jiuyou bazui chan 太上慈悲九幽拔罪懺

10 juan

Tang (618–907)

544 (fasc. 300–301)

“Litany for the Mercy of the Most High for Deliverance from the Nine Realms of Darkness and the Remission of Sin.” As the title indicates, this litany is related to 543 *Taishang cibei daochang xiaozai jiuyou chan*. Among the many parallel passages, those in juan 9 and 10 show most clearly the derivative nature of the present work (compare, for instance, our text 9.4b–5a with 543 *Jiuyou chan* 4.1b–2a, and again

9.8b–9a, 10.4b–5a, and 8b–9a with, respectively, *543 Jiuyou chan* 6.1b–3a, 5.17b–19a, and 5.6b–7a).

The present text presents itself as a sermon delivered by Xuhuang daojun 虛皇道君 to Puji zhenren 普濟真人. As in *543 Jiuyou chan*, here also each juan is dedicated to a direction, beginning with the east. Each juan contains two litanies, which are usually composed of the “appellations of response” (*yinghao* 應號; 2.1b) of fifty *tianzun* 天尊. The first appellation of the 100 in each juan (from juan 2 to 10) is always that of the *tianzun* of the relevant direction. In juan 1, this appellation occurs after those of the Three Treasures (Cibei sanbao tianzun 慈悲三寶天尊) and of the Savior from Distress (Xunsheng jiuku tianzun 尋聲救苦天尊). The acts of obeisance are followed by confessions and discourses on moral causality and meritorious rituals.

The ritual system always prescribes the invitation of a master (*qingshi* 請師; see, for instance, 1.6a). If it is true that the confession of sins can resolve all problems (see 7.9a) and may be performed on any day of the religious calendar (see 3.5a and 7.5a), the author nonetheless clearly thinks of such confession in the context of rituals for the repose of the souls of the deceased, especially parents (see 4.4a). The Way of Filial Piety (*xiaodao* 孝道) of descendants who have this kind of rite performed for their parents “ascends to the Office of Heaven, which decides that the deceased may leave the hells forever in order to roam in bliss and live eternally in the Hall of Happiness” (5.9a).

It may be noted that the list of Retreats given in our text (8.8b), in contrast with the more traditional list given in *543 Jiuyou chan* 6.11a–b, mentions a Retreat of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi zhai* 北帝齋).

John Lagerwey

***Laozi xiangming jing* 老子像名經**

10 juan (juan 6–8 are missing)

Tang (618–907)

661 (fasc. 345)

“Scripture of the Symbols and Names [of the Heavenly Worthy, Revealed] by Laozi.” This text contains litanies for recitation as an act of repentance and in order to achieve absolution (*chanhui* 懺悔). These litanies are said to be revealed by Laozi for the salvation of humanity. On this work, see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 316–21.

The names of the *tianzun* 天尊 are arranged according to the cosmic directions east, south, west, north, northeast, zenith and nadir, and this arrangement also designates the contents of the extant chapters of the work. For each direction there are short introductory and concluding statements attributed to Laozi. Taoists and lay people alike can recite these litanies of repentance to avoid punishment in the hells

or calamities of other kinds. The text also speaks about the positive effects on one's future rebirth and the remission of guilt obtained by reciting these litanies. Practical instructions state that the deities, some of which are described, should be represented by figures or paintings on scrolls and venerated in temples. Such devotional practices also bear good results when the country is threatened by war or other crises. The litanies were to be used in prayer in connection with lamp liturgies (*deng zhi fa* 燈之法). Following these liturgies, celebrations of purification and preaching sessions displaying the scriptures of the Great Vehicle of the Three Caverns could be performed. In this way, divine help and salvation were sure to be obtained (10.8b–9a).

Florian C. Reiter

Taishang lingbao shifang yinghao tianzun chan 太上靈寶十方應號天尊懺

10 juan (juan 1 and 3–9 are missing)

Tang (618–907)

542 (fasc. 296)

“Litany of the Heavenly Worthy of the Ten Directions Who Respond to Invocations.” The expression *yinghao* 應號 (literally, “appellations of response”) refers to the names of the different *tianzun* 天尊 corresponding to their religious role and by which they may be invoked. In like manner, 543 *Taishang cibei daochang xiaozai jiuyou chan* 10.13b, speaks of “names that correspond to different manifestations” (*huashen yinghao* 化身應號), and again, in 10.19a, of the Tianzun of the Ten Directions, each of which is the Primordial Beginning, born in the Ten Directions in correspondence with the *qi* (*yingqi er sheng yu shifang* 應氣而生于十方).

Originally, the present work contained 1,200 names of the Tianzun of the Ten Directions (10.12a). Like the extant two juan, each of the ten juan must have prescribed acts of obeisance to 120 *tianzun* divided into three equal sections (*pin* 品). All these acts of obeisance and confession culminate, at the end of the third section, in a series of vows for the good of all beings. These vows are the expression of the desire of the person reciting them to obtain the Supreme Tao (*wushang Tao* 無上道; 10.12a).

The expression *Wushang Tao* — as well as others such as *heyi gu* 何以故 (why), *zhenxing* 真性 (true nature), *sancheng dafa* 三乘大法 (great law of the Three Vehicles) — allows us to link the present text to the Lingbao tradition of the first half of the Tang dynasty. More precisely, this text, like the above-mentioned 543 *Jiuyou chan*, is largely composed of excerpts from 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* (for instance, 2.1a–2a of our text corresponds to 336 *Yebao yinyuan jing* 3.13b–15b, and 2.2b–4a to 336 *Yebao yinyuan jing* 3.3b–5a). As the same passages are also found in 543 *Jiuyou chan* 2.1a–2b and 6.1a–3a, we may conclude that both litanies use the same procedure for condensing the text of 336 *Yebao yinyuan jing*, and also that the present work departed more significantly from the *Yebao jing* than 543 *Jiuyou chan* (compare, for instance,

336 *Yebao yinyuan jing* 3.5a3–5 with our text 2.3b2–5 and 543 *Jiuyou chan* 6.2b6–7). The present text also differs from the two others in that its protagonists are the Most High (Taishang 太上) and Miaoxing zhenren 妙行真人.

John Lagerwey

Taishang taixuan nüqing sanyuan pinjie bazui miaojing

太上太玄女青三元品誡拔罪妙經

3 juan

Tang (618–907)

36 (fasc. 28)

“Marvelous Scripture That Abolishes Sins against the Classified Rules of the Three Principles, Spoken by the Most High Most Mysterious Nüqing.” This is a later version, in the form of a litany (*baochan* 寶懺), of 456 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing*, an early Lingbao scripture. The reference in 1.10a to the canons and statues of the Holy Tao of the Mysterious Origin (*xuanyuan shengdao* 玄元聖道) confirms the overall impression that this is a Tang work.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanshier tianzun yinghao jing

太上洞玄靈寶三十二天尊應號經

2 juan

Tang (618–907)

1121 (fasc. 759)

“Appellations of Response of the Heavenly Worthy of the Thirty-two Heavens.” Only two juan (12 and 22) of this litany remain. These two juan each provide the 200 names for one of the Thirty-two Heavens. Juan 12 deals with the Qingming hetong tian 清明何童天, which, according to 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1.8a, is the third of the Thirty-two Heavens: it is located in the World of Desire (see WSBY 4.1a) and provides 100 “merciful appellations of response” (2a) for the east and 100 for the south. Juan 22 deals with the Wusi jiangyou tian 無思江由天, the twenty-second of the Thirty-two Heavens (1 *Shangpin miaojing* 1.9a): half of the names correspond to the west, the other to the north. According to WSBY 4.1b, this heaven is located in the World of Appearances.

On the basis of the available evidence, it is difficult to determine the original length of this text. The notes attached to the titles indicate that juan 1 to 11 and 23 to 26 are missing. Perhaps there were, originally, 400 names, that is, two juan for each heaven, but such a hypothesis would not account for the fact that the third heaven is located in juan 12 and the twenty-second in juan 22.

Juan 12 gives what is perhaps the best explanation of the rationale of the text. The beginning of this chapter mentions a celestial assembly brilliantly illuminated by the

sun: overjoyed, “saints, zhenren, and immortals are all promoted.” An immortal then asks the Lord of Heaven how the sins of the people of the inferior world could be forgiven. They must burn incense and light lamps, visualize deities and honor a master, the Lord answers. Then, having chanted a hymn, they must surrender themselves to the Heavenly Worthy whose names are listed further on, and they must vow to have their own names struck off the lists of the *Mengzhen jiuyou yugui changye zhi han* 盟真九幽玉匱長夜之函。

John Lagerwey

Taishang cibei daochang miezui shuichan 太上慈悲道場滅罪水懺

3 juan

Tang (618–907)

545 (fasc. 301)

“Water Litany for the Remission of Sins, a Ritual for the Mercy of the Most High.” At first sight, the present text appears to be a Taoist version of the Buddhist *Cibeishuichan fa* in three juan by Zhixuan 知玄 (d. 881), where the word *shui* 水 is explained as “the water of *sanmei* with which the karma of resentments is washed away” (45.968c). However, the two texts appear to have only their titles and the number of juan in common. The term *shui* in the title of the Taoist litany is not explained but seems to refer to the *shuifu* 水府, the Office of Water, that is, hell (1.1b). There is one juan for each of the Three Principles (*sanyuan* 三元).

The Essentials of the Tao (*Daoyao* 道要), which the present work represents in typically Tang manner (1.1a), consist in the confession of one’s sins and the dispatch of petitions to Heaven (*shangzhang* 上章 or *shangbiao* 上表; 1.1b and 3.6a). These tasks are best done on the days of the Three Principles, or on the days of the five *la* 臘 festivals. Most important is the confession of the sins of the members of one’s lineage, then those of “clerics and lay people, living or dead” (3.4a), and finally those of all beings (3.7a). The importance of filial piety (*zhixiao* 至孝; 3.6b) is stressed.

The list of sins we find here follows the same model — that of 336 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* — as the preceding two texts in the *Daozang*, which also are litanies for the Mercy of the Most High. The procedure is also the same: obeisances (six times ten per juan), followed by confessions.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongzhen xianmen jing 太上洞真賢門經

34 fols.

Tang (618–907)

61 (fasc. 31)

“Book of the Gate of Sages.” The present text, which is a litany of 563 *Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duoren jing fa* (not of 573 *Xuanzhu ge*, as the text announces on page

1a) and names the “bodies of response” (*yingshen* 應身) of the Heavenly Worthy of the Ten Directions, must originally have been called the Book of the Gate of the Sages of Lord Lao (*Laojun xianmen jing* 老君賢門經; 1a), as Lord Lao’s name appears twice in the text, at the beginning and at the end. The present title is probably due to the fact that the scripture is included in the Dongzhen division of the *Daozang*.

The confessions linked to these litanies of names deal with only three sins: killing, theft, and concupiscence. These are the first three of the five sins prohibited by the Five Commandments given during the Tang to Taoist initiates (see 784 *Taishang laojun jiejing* 6b–7b). In each sequence, the adept first confesses his or her sins of murder, theft, and concupiscence in the religious realm—killing, for example, “to make a sacrifice to gods and demons” (7a)—and then confesses the same sins in the profane world. There are thus three times two groups of names for the four directions, the above, and the below. The goal of this practice is to “enjoy the fruits of eternal joy” (6b). Given the reference to “the images of the transcendental powers” (*lingxiang* 靈像; 1b), it may be that these litanies were recited in front of the statues or portraits of the Heavenly Worthy.

John Lagerwey

Taishang yuqing xiezui dengzhen baochan 太上玉清謝罪登真寶懺

6 fols.

190 (fasc. 81)

Taishang shangqing rangzai yanshou baochan 太上上清禳災延壽寶懺

6 fols.

191 (fasc. 81)

Taishang taiqing bazui shengtian baochan 太上泰清拔罪昇天寶懺

7 fols.

192 (fasc. 81)

The above three titles form one work. There is no indication as to the date of the text. This type of scripture seems to have emerged during the Tang period.

The text of the “Precious Litany of Repentance of the Most High Heaven of Yuqing for the Forgiveness of Sins and Ascent to Heaven” (190 *Taishang yuqing xiezui dengzhen baochan*) is divided into two parts. The short introductory remarks by the Most High explain that repentance is indispensable for the extinction of the old karma. Without repentance, which by implication has to be performed ritually, there is no way to have one’s name inscribed in the Golden Registers of the Jade Hall. Recitations of the litanies of all the saints listed here helped to save the souls of the ancestors. At the same time, such recitations secured good luck for posterity. The recitations were made before an image of Laozi. The reciting person entrusted himself or herself to all the

deities and saints named in the litanies of this text. Each litany is introduced by a short paragraph depicting both the transgressions demanding repentance and the recitation of the subsequent litany. One of the sins listed here is the veneration of heretic cults.

The second part of this scripture is arranged in almost the same way. It contains a description of ten types of crimes or faults with their consequences for the after-life, including punishments in the hells and the conditions of rebirth.

The “Precious Litany of Repentance of the Most High Heaven of Shangqing for Averting Misfortune and Prolonging Life” (191 *Taishang shangqing rangzai yanshou baochan*) is also divided into two parts. The short introductory remarks by the Most High recommend the recitation of this scripture to those who wished to enlist divine help to overcome illness and distress or other difficulties, including those caused by slander. On the returns of one’s “personal destiny day” (*benming ri* 本命日) of birth, one should sacrifice in front of images of the Three Pure Ones (*sangqing* 三清) and recite this scripture. This sacrifice could be performed by a Taoist priest rather than a lay person.

The second part of this work addresses specific groups of persons, like officials who go astray from the right principles, or physicians and soothsayers who take advantage of others, or merchants who deceive their customers. In each case the most effective religious means of salvation are the litanies presented in this text.

The “Precious Litany of Repentance of the Most High Heaven of Taiqing for the Eradication of Guilt and Ascent to Heaven” (192 *Taishang taiqing bazui shengtian baochan*) is again divided into two parts. A revelation made by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning introduces the first part. In this respect the text may be compared with 189 *Taishang lingbao chaotian xiezui dachan*. The Heavenly Worthy speaks about the painful suffering that humanity has to endure in hell. This suffering is due to ignorance of the Taoist scriptures. Being led astray by wrong convictions, most people are unable to renounce sin and guilt. The methods of repentance, especially the recitation of the names of all saints, are praised as the best way to accomplish this renunciation. Such recitations can also bolster the defenses against future sin and guilt.

The second part of the text speaks about those who have indulged in profane affairs and not restrained their sensual desires. They must admit their faults, and, showing repentance, they should recite the litanies presented in this part.

Florian C. Reiter

Taishang xiaomie diyu shengzhi tiantang chan 太上消滅地獄昇陟天堂懺
13 fols.

537 (fasc. 296)

“Litany of the Most High for Destroying Hell and Ascending to Paradise.” The person reciting this text begins by taking refuge in ten Heavenly Worthies for each of

Nine Realms of Darkness (*jiuyou* 九幽), and then for all the hells of Fengdu 豐都 and Taishan 泰山. The Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning then promises his help to those who copy this scripture and recite it. The text ends with a prayer addressed to the Compassionate Worthy of the Gold Portal (Jinque cizun 金闕慈尊), asking him to save the reciter and all his or her ancestors.

The first part of the text, concerning the Nine Realms of Darkness, is based on 181 *Taishang jiuuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing*.

John Lagerwey

2.B.7.c Rituals and Rules

The Tang dynasty witnessed a great development not only in Taoist monastic institutions, but also in liturgical creation. The classical ritual canon of the Lingbao Fast or Retreat (*zhai* 齋), with its set pattern of three or nine Audiences (*chao* 朝), became universally adopted during this period. The flowering of liturgical art and the lavishness of the performances can be imagined from ZHANG WANFU's eyewitness report of the rites of transmission of the Lingbao rank, to one of the princesses of the Tang imperial family (see 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo*).

The present section gives an incomplete picture of the importance of the Lingbao liturgy of the periods concerned. The reason for this fragmentary representation is that most of the fundamental liturgical manuals, especially those by the greatest Taoist liturgist of all times, DU GUANGTING, became standard reference works for later generations. They were therefore reedited time and again and have come down to us in later versions. This transmission process also characterizes Du's 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*, which, in spite of the many alterations and its incompleteness, still contains so much original material that we have included it here. It should, however, be studied alongside with other and later manuals that also contain many elements of Du's tradition, and that therefore complete 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*, such as 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* by JIANG SHUYU.

Taishang dongxuan sandong kaitian fenglei yubu zhimo shenzhou jing

太上洞玄三洞開天風雷禹步制魔神咒經

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

385 (fasc. 182)

“Book of Divine Spells and of the Paces of Yu that Open Heaven and Marshal Wind and Thunder to Dominate Demons: A Liturgical Three Caverns Text of the Dongxuan Division.” This is an early scripture about the Thunder Gods (*leishen* 雷神) and their role in rites of exorcism. The text is spoken by Yuhuang 玉皇 (Haotian yuhuang

shangdi 昊天玉皇上帝) to Shuifu fusang dadi 水府扶桑大帝, in the presence of all the bodhisattvas (*zhutian pusa* 諸天菩薩). He mentions his own legend on 1b–2a.

The text does not mention the Paces of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步) at all, but introduces a spell to conjure the Thunder Gods and *yaksa* (*yecha* 夜叉; 2b). All this suggests a Tang date, a hypothesis supported by the fact that the Southern Song text “*Taiyi tianzhang jilei pili jing* 太一天章積雷霹靂經,” in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 140.10a–14b, reproduces the present book in a new version, with the title *Haotian yuhuang shangdi bishou yubu zhilei shenzhou jing* 昊天玉皇上帝秘授禹步制雷神咒經, rewritten to match the Five Thunder Magic (*wulei fa* 五雷法) of the *Taiyi tianzhang yanglei pili dafa* 太一天章陽雷霹靂大法 introduced, according to 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 139.19b, by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao shangpin jie jing 太上洞玄靈寶上品戒經

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

454 (fasc. 202)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Supreme Rules.” The various series of prescriptions of which this text is composed come mainly from the revealed Lingbao scriptures but have been partly altered or expanded: for the *nidāna* formula (1a–b), the exhortations to Ten Good Deeds (3a–4a), and the rules for obstructing the six sense organs (5a–b), see 177 *Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin daje* 1a, 8a–9b, and 6a–7a. For the retribution for nine evil deeds (4b) and the hymns (7b–8a), see 344 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan daje shangpin jing* 3b–4a and 16a–17a. For the ten kinds of disease and wonderful remedies (6a–b; this is a selected series of 100 good and 100 evil deeds), see *Laojun xuwu jing* 老君虛無經, as quoted in 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 5.19a–23b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo shijie jing 洞玄靈寶天尊說十戒經

2 fols.

Sixth century

459 (fasc. 203)

“Lingbao Scripture on the Ten Rules, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy.” This scripture contains two series of commandments: the Ten Rules (*shijie* 十戒) and the Fourteen Rules for Self-Control (*shisi chishen zhi pin* 十四持身之品). Their observance is linked to the grade of an Adept of Pure Faith (*qingxin dizi* 清信弟子).

Eight Dunhuang manuscripts of this text have been preserved, some of them as fragments. They include the documents of initiation (*mengwen* 盟文) that record the transmission of these rules from master to disciple. The oldest manuscript, Pelliot

2347, bears the date 709 (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Mokurokuhen*, 108–10; *Zurokuhen*, 197–201).

However, the two series of rules in our text were combined into one scripture as early as the sixth century: The *Xiaodao lun* 9.149c cites a *Shijie shisi chishen jing* 十戒十四持身經; the passage quoted, however, refers to a ritual of transmission not found in the present version.

Our text has been composed almost entirely from passages in the following early Lingbao scriptures: 177 *Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie* 5a, 2b; 325 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* 7b; 457 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui zuigen shangpin dajie jing* 1.5a–b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao qianzhen ke 洞玄靈寶千真科

30 fols.

Seventh century

1410 (fasc. 1052)

“Code of the One Thousand Zhen.” This text contains the code orally transmitted by the One Thousand zhenren to GE XUAN in A.D. 240 on Mount Laosheng 勞盛, at the behest of the Most High Lord of the Tao (1a–b).

By the beginning of the eighth century, at the latest, this text existed under a form that by and large corresponded to the present version: 463 *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* cites about 80 percent of our text; the textual variants in 463 *Jielü chao* are sometimes clearer and more comprehensive, but occasionally that version is much abridged. Only two citations there (2.1b, 9.5b5–9) cannot be found in the present text.

In the manner of the Buddhist *vinaya*, this work gives detailed regulations for the daily life in a monastic community, pertaining to monks as well as to nuns (7a–b, 16a–17a). These ordinances are not systematically arranged; for instance, regulations about eating are scattered throughout the text. A complex monastic organization is discernible, which is clearly patterned after the Buddhist model and for which there is no evidence before the Sui dynasty (581–618; e.g., permanent monastic property endowments [*changzhu* 常住]; 10b, 11b; controllers of the monastery [*gangwei* 綱維]; 7b, 8a; servants [*jingren* 淨人]; 3a, 4b). The main topics of the work are the initiation of male and female novices by decree of the monarch (*wang chi yu du* 王敕與度; 18a–19a); confession and absolution (3b–4a, 16b–17a); disciplining of community members (note that obstinate offenders can be brought before the monarch and punished under secular law; 4a–b, 7a–8b); vestments (for the Shangqing, Lingbao, and Sanwu traditions; 6b–7a); hygiene (14b–15a, 16a); personal belongings and monastic property, illness, and deathbed rites (20a–b).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan du lingbao ziran quanyi 洞玄度靈寶自然券儀

7 fols.

522 (fasc. 293)

Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhaiyi 洞玄靈寶自然齋儀

6 fols.

Early Tang (618–907)

523 (fasc. 293)

“Ritual for the Transmission of the Covenant of Spontaneity.” This ritual corresponds to the ordination of the first degree (*chumeng* 初盟) of the Lingbao liturgy, with a subsequent Retreat service (523 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhaiyi*). The text of the ritual for transmission here is similar, and in many instances even identical, to that of 1295 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao erbu chuanshou yi*.

The present ritual is mentioned in the catalogue of Lingbao texts in 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.9b.

The transmission of the covenant of spontaneity (*ziran quan* 自然券), as an initial stage of the Lingbao ordination is already mentioned by LU XIUJING in his 410 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhongjian wen* 1b. ZHANG WANFU confirms repeatedly that this ordination service remained current in Tang times (see 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lieshuo* 1.2a, 1.8a, and 2.18b).

At the moment of ordination, the certificate was divided (*fen quanqi* 分券契; 5b), or, more precisely, broken into halves (*poquan* 破券; 4a). ZHANG WANFU, in the above-mentioned passage, links this rite to the adoption of six rules, whereas our present ritual prescribes the promulgation of ten rules (*shijie* 十戒; 7a), which must correspond to those recorded in 1295 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao erbu chuanshou yi*.

The Retreat of Spontaneity (*Ziran zhai* 自然齋) is a classical service of the *daochang* 道場 type, to be performed as an act of merit on the day of the transmission (see 2a). The service is performed on behalf of the ordinand, here called *dadao dizi* 大道弟子, and sponsored by a patron (*zhai zhu* 齋主; 6a).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao wudi jiaoji zhaozhen yujue

太上洞玄靈寶五帝醮祭招真玉訣

7 fols.

Edited by Zhang Chengxian 張承先; Tang (618–907)

411 (fasc. 191)

“Jade Instructions for the Sacrifice to the Five Emperors and for Summoning the Zhenren.” These instructions correspond to a section from 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* (2.20a–28b). Zhang Chengxian, a Taoist master of the Tang

dynasty (see 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 20.9b–11b), states in a concluding remark that he extracted this ritual (from the original work) and edited it to serve for an independent ceremony. On the day of transmission of the two registers of the *Lingbao wulao chishu* 靈寶五老赤書 and the staff for commanding the Eight Daunters (see the article on 528 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi*), this sacrifice should be held in order to summon the heavenly zhenren. After the initial performance, this ceremony should be repeated three times at intervals of three years.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang huanglu zhaiyi 太上黃籙齋儀

58 juan

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

507 (fasc. 270–277)

“Liturgical Manual for the Yellow Register Retreat.” The last part of the present version contains a number of dated prefaces and colophons. The earliest date is 880 (54.26a), which corresponds to the time during which the author, then at Chang’an, had begun his work on the revision of the Lingbao liturgy. The second date is 891 (colophon to the chapter on the recitation of scriptures; 52.17a). This date is accompanied by the words: “revising the liturgy at the Diocese of Yuju 玉局治, at Chengdu.” In this colophon, Du deplors the destruction of the Tang Canon in the two capitals as a result of the rebellion of Huang Chao (880–884). The last date is 901 (57.1b). Thus, the present manual contains texts that were elaborated at different periods in the life of the author.

The *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 was no doubt the liturgical service most commonly celebrated from the seventh to the thirteenth century. For Du, this Retreat could serve the most diverse purposes: peace and prosperity for the country, salvation for the ancestors, repose of the dead, prevention of natural disasters, propitiation of demons, and so on. His manual became an authoritative source for this liturgical practice and served as a model through the entire Song (960–1279) period, even when the *huanglu zhai* became exclusively a service for the repose of the dead. Thus Du is constantly cited and referred to by the liturgists of that period. However, those citations in their works that can be identified in the present version of Du’s manual all come from the last part (juan 49–57), whereas a great number of other citations can no longer be found and must have come from parts of the manual that are now lost.

JIN YUNZHONG, the author of 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, possessed a version of Master Du’s *Huanglu zhaike* 黃籙齋科 in forty juan (preface 1b) that dated from 890–892 (17.19a). This edition, according to Jin, contained some 230,000 characters (22.3a), an average of 5,750 characters per juan, filling approximately seventeen double folios in the arrangement of the present *Daozang* edition. This average length corre-

sponds to the length of the last juan (especially 49, 51, 52, 53), while the juan at the beginning of the work are much shorter, averaging no more than eight folios. Moreover, the present *Daozang* version, although comprising a larger number of juan than the version in Jin's possession, contains only some 190,000 characters. It must therefore be incomplete, which is also apparent from the table of contents of the manual that Jin handed down to us (39.1b–2b). Comparing this table with the contents of the present version, we see that juan 10 to 12 (service for the birth of a crown prince) and juan 40 to 48 (saving the ancestral souls from hell) did not exist in Jin's copy. The latter opened with three chapters on the Establishment of the Altar, the Preliminary Rites, and the Nocturnal Announcement (*sugui* 宿啓), which the present version lacks. These three chapters are often quoted in other Song sources (see 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 2.8a–b, 16 passim, and 19.1a–7a; the remainder of juan 19 and the entire juan 20 of this work correspond to juan 56 and juan 55, respectively, in our version of Du's manual).

The remaining juan are, to judge by their titles, the same in both versions, but arranged in a different sequence. They can be divided into two groups. The first group is made up of the final juan mentioned above. Their common characteristic—their relative length—results from the fact that these are texts annotated by the author. His commentary comprises long discussions, for instance on the True Writs (*zhenwen* 真文; 54.1b–2b), that later became famous (cf. Jin, 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 18.29a–30b). But even in this group, some elements are missing. In juan 50, on the Dispersal of the Altar and the Offering (*santan shejiao* 散壇設醮), we no longer find the discussion of the *jiao* 醮 ritual quoted by Jin (39.3a–4b; compare also 508 *Licheng yi* 15.2b). Du's manual, as preserved in the present *Daozang* version, has suffered major modifications.

These modifications become all the more apparent with the second group, comprising juan 1 to 48. Here, with the exception of juan 1, the texts are completely devoid of commentary. Moreover, the rituals have been much tampered with. For example, instead of the original Invocation of Guardian Gods (*weiling zhou* 衛靈咒) in five verses (see 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 22.14a–15a), we find here the short formulas used in the *luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮 of the Song period (compare the beginnings of 477 *Luotian dajiao zaochao ke*, 478 *Luotian dajiao wuchao ke*, and 479 *Luotian dajiao wanchao ke* with those of juan 10–12 and 13–15 of the present manual). The rite of the Opening of the Incense Burner (*yalu* 發爐) is also very different from that used by DU GUANGTING (cf. 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 22.15b–17b). Instead, we find here a formula similar to that used in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 16.1b and passim (compare the present text 42.1b, passim).

With the exception of a few juan (54, 55, 56), the authoritative manual of the great liturgist of the Tang has come down to us in a late and altered version. A comparative

study with manuals from the Song, especially those by JIN YUNZHONG and JIANG SHUYU (508 *Licheng yi*), might help partially to reconstruct the original work.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu zhai qitan yi 金籙齋啓壇儀

11 fols.

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

483 (fasc. 266)

“Rites of Commencement of the Retreat of the Golden Register.” The *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 should in principle be performed by the monarch himself. However, in the present text, the regulations given as to the offerings and pledges indicate the possibility that the patrons could also be ordinary people (*shuren* 庶人; 5a) who are allowed to spend less for the ritual.

The first half of this work concerns the installation of the ritual area (*jinlu tan* 金籙壇; 2a–6a). The latter is similar to that of DU GUANGTING’s *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 (see 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 1–2) but larger, comprising a surface of 1,800 square feet (200 square meters), surrounded by hundreds of lamps and filled with precious articles, such as five dragons in gold for the rite of Casting Dragons and Tablets (*tou longjian* 投龍簡) at the end of the service (see Chavannes, “Le jet des dragons”).

This ritual area is consecrated by the ritual of the Nocturnal Announcement (*suqi* 宿啓), the text of which is given in the second half of the present work. The ritual starts with a purification of the altar (*jintan* 禁壇). At the center of the ritual is the rite of installation of the True Writs of the Five Directions (*Wufang zhenwen* 五方真文; 8b–9b). The *suqi* ends with a Ceremony for the Promulgation of the Rules (*shuojie weiyi* 說戒威儀; 11b) to be observed during the Retreat.

The present version of the *suqi* ritual is similar to that of DU GUANGTING’s *suqi* for the Retreat of the Yellow Register (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋), as preserved in 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 16. But in the present version, one part seems to be lacking: the rite of the Installation of the Officiants (*buzhi* 補職) that, in DU GUANGTING’s rituals, followed immediately after the *shuojie weiyi* (see Du’s own discussion concerning this point in 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 53.3a–b).

It should be noted that among the series of *jinlu zhai* rituals that follow our text in the Ming *Daozang* there is a unique version of the installation and promulgation rites in 486 *Jinlu dazhai buzhi shuojie yi*. However, the series to which the latter text belongs has another version of the *suqi* (484 *Jinlu dazhai suqi yi*), this time without the installation rite. Moreover, in the series of *jinlu zhai* rituals of which our text is the first item, all the other texts are of a later date, and the relationship between the present work by DU GUANGTING and the others is by no means clear. It should be

observed, however, that only the present text contains the necessary instructions for the installation of the altar.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao liandu wuxian anling zhenshen huangzeng zhangfa
靈寶鍊度五仙安靈鎮神黃縉章法

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1292 (fasc. 1009)

“Rites for [the Presentation of] the Memorial on Yellow Silk, the Pacification of the Souls, and the Tempering of the Five Immortals.” In 369 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao miedu wulian shengshi miaojing*, one finds five directional Heavenly Writs that are to be inscribed on colored stones. These stones are then to be buried in the grave, in the Five Directions, in order “to keep the soul in peace and retain the spirit” (*anling zhenshen* 安靈鎮神). The writs are called *Lingbao mouqi* [某帝] *liandu wuxian anling zhenshen mouqi* [某氣] *tianwen*, which explains the title of the present text. The Five Immortals are the spirits of the Five Viscera, which one must nourish and refine so that they pass (*du* 度) from darkness into the Southern Palace (369 *Miedu jing* 7b–8a). The 369 *Miedu jing* refers only to the rite of the petition on yellow silk (8a), but in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2865, the present text is an integral part of 369 *Miedu jing*. Archaeological finds reveal this ritual to have been practiced in the Tang and Song periods (960–1279) (see Morgan, “Inscribed Stones”).

The present work includes the text of this petition and then describes its correct presentation. At midnight, in the place where the deceased lies in peace, the master—whose title, *Dongxuan lingbao chidi xiansheng zhishen da fashi* 洞玄靈寶赤帝先生至真大法師 (1a), is not otherwise known—faces north, lights five incense burners, sets out the five weights (*wuzhen* 五鎮), that is, the five writs of the 369 *Miedu jing*, and then declaims (*zoushang* 奏上) the petition.

After having left the writs exposed throughout the night, the master buries them the next morning at dawn (5a).

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John Lagerwey

Lingbao banjing zhaiyi 靈寶半景齋儀

19 fols.

Tang (618–907)?

517 (fasc. 293)

“Ritual for a Half-Day Retreat.” This small service comprises three Audiences to be held, respectively, at dawn (1a–5b), early in the morning (5a–10a), and late in the morning (10a–15a), as well as a Triple Libation (*sanxian* 三獻). The Retreat is performed for the inauguration of a newly built or restored house. The text specifically mentions the case of an official who is about to enter his new residence (18a).

The libations are made to the gods of the soil, the site, and the region. There are also other offerings: incense, lamps, silk, and coins (their number is related to the patron’s Fundamental Destiny [*benming* 本命]). These offerings are placed at the five cardinal points. The text, moreover, mentions the presentation of pledges of faith: pieces of silver, as well as camels and horses, presumably in ceramics or made of paper (17a).

The altar is surrounded by four mirrors. Moreover, Stellar Swords (*xingdao* 星刀) are placed on each of the cardinal points. At the end of the service, sacrificial paper money is burned (*shaohua* 燒化; 19b).

This small service is classical in form and vocabulary. It is possible that it dates from the second half of the Tang period.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao yugui mingzhen zhai chanfang yi

太上靈寶玉匱明真齋儀方儀

9 fols.

519 (fasc. 293)

Taishang lingbao yugui mingzhen dazhai chanfang yi

太上靈寶玉匱明真大齋儀方儀

9 fols.

520 (fasc. 293)

Taishang lingbao yugui mingzhen dazhai yangong yi

太上靈寶玉匱明真大齋言功儀

17 fols.

By DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

521 (fasc. 293)

“Retreat of the Sworn Alliance [*ming* 明 in the meaning of *meng* 盟] with the True, from the Jade Case of the Divine Jewel.” According to the definition given by DU GUANGTING, cited in 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 6.2a, the aim of this Retreat is the release of ancestors from hell and their subsequent transfer to paradise.

These three rituals are parts of a service to be celebrated under the auspices of members of the imperial family for the repose of the soul of a deceased ruler (see 521 *Mingzhen dazhai yangong yi* 2a). The two rituals for Atonement toward the [Ten] Directions (*chanfang yi* 懺方儀; 519 *Mingzhen zhai chaofang yi* and 520 *Mingzhen dazhai chanfang yi*) are similar to each other. The Announcement of [Acquired] Merit (*yangong yi* 言功儀) is followed by a Presentation of Tablets (*toujian yi* 投簡儀; 8b–12b) and a Sacrificial Offering (*shejiao* 設醮; 12b–end). These three succeeding ceremonies mark the end of the Retreat. A complete program of a *mengzhen zhai* 盟真齋 is given in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 2.7b–10a.

The rituals and their texts are classical in form. A comparison between 521 *Yangong yi* and the same ritual in DU GUANGTING'S 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 49 reveals many similarities. Some elements of the present ritual are nevertheless of a later date, such as the offering of paper money and horses (*qianma* 錢馬; in 521 *Yangong yi* 16a). This practice was officially adopted during the years 1008–1016 (see 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 3:3a–5a).

The *mengzhen zhai* seems to have originated with early Lingbao scriptures such as 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke*. LU XIUJING mentions it, saying: “It is performed by the adepts themselves for the salvation of the souls of all generations of ancestors, even those who lived in the remotest past” (1278 *Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen* 6a).

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Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jiuyou changye qishi duwang xuanzhang

靈寶九幽長夜起尸度亡玄章

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

610 (fasc. 334)

“Marvelous Stanzas for Resuscitating Corpses and Saving the Dead from the Long Night of the Nine Realms of Darkness, a Lingbao Scripture.” The text is composed of twenty-six stanzas to be recited in a ritual of pardon. A Buddhist parallel to the present ritual is among the Dunhuang manuscripts: *Chizhai nianfo chanhui liwen* 持齋念佛懺悔禮文 (Stein 382), which is a Pure Land text. Compare also *Dacheng sizhai ri* 大乘四齋日 (Stein 1164). In all these rites the officiant recites the stanzas while kneeling in a given direction and making a prescribed number of prostrations. The ritual is linked to certain days of fasting (*liuzhai shizhi ri* 六齋十直日; 7b).

The resemblance to these Buddhist rites as well as a specific vocabulary make it

almost certain that the present text dates from the Tang period. In particular, Laozi is called the Great Sage (*dasheng* 大聖; 2a), and Taoism the Teaching of the Great Sage (*dasheng jiao* 大聖教; 5a).

The order of the directions toward which the adept must kneel does not correspond to any established sequence, and the number of prostrations, likewise, does not correspond to the usual symbolism.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuyue shenfu 太上洞玄靈寶五嶽神符

15 fols.

Tang (618–907)

390 (fasc. 184)

“Divine Talismans of the Five Peaks, from the Most High Dongxuan Lingbao Canon.” The text contains a small collection of talismans, including not only those corresponding to the deities of the Five Peaks and their zhenren (1a–7b), but also those of the White Tiger (*bohu fu* 白虎符; 8a–b), the Five Stabilizers (*wuzhen fu* 五鎮符; 8b–11b), the Great Peace (*taiping fu* 太平符; 11b–12b), the Powerful Virtue (*weide fu* 威德符; 12b–14b), and, finally, the Five Generals (*wu jiangjun fu* 五將軍符; 14b–15b). For the last talisman, our text gives a legendary line of transmission, from Fan Li 范蠡, the statesman of Yue 越, to empress Lü 呂 (Gaohou 高后), the spouse of Liu Bang (247–195 B.C.).

The text that accompanies the talismans of the Five Peaks continuously quotes a work called “Images of the Divine Immortals.” This *Shenxian tu* 神仙圖 is also quoted in other texts. For instance, 1407 *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi sheng tujing* repeatedly cites a *Lingbao shenxian tu* as the source of the twenty-four sets of talismans it contains, and there exists a variant version of this revealed Lingbao scripture, called *Dongxuan lingbao sanbu ershisi sheng tu* (YJQQ 80), that simply has *Shenxian tu*. Among the twenty-four sets of talismans originating in this *Shenxian tu* we also find those of the Five Peaks (*Shenxian wuyue zhenxing tu* 神仙五嶽真形圖). Bokenkamp (“Sources of the Ling-pao scriptures,” 458–60) has shown that both this set of talismans and the others derive originally from different texts kept in GE HONG’s library.

Our conjecture is, therefore, that here too we have a Lingbao adaptation of an ancient version from that same source. Indeed, the present text contains several archaic elements. The talismans are used for the protection of the country and the king’s palace, and they are cult objects to which sacrifices (*ji* 祭 or *jiao* 醮; 8a, 15a) should be made, especially animal sacrifices. For the *wuzhen fu*, the sacrifice of a water buffalo, a sheep, and a pig (*sansheng wu* 三牲物; 9a) is required. The cult of the *Taiping fu* demands horns of water buffalo and sheep, and 120 pounds of pork as a substitute

form of *sansheng* 三牲. For the protection of the palace, our text proposes to make five statues of wax mixed with sulfur, each one fourteen inches high, to be placed in vessels that are hung from the beams of the great hall (7b).

All of these elements are highly anachronistic with respect to the revealed Lingbao scriptures of the fourth and fifth centuries, and even more so with regard to later Lingbao monastic practices. They belong instead to the sphere of 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu*. The present adaptation shows no influence from any of the revealed Lingbao scriptures. It is not quoted in any Six Dynasties source. For these reasons, it seems improbable that the present version was made during the Six Dynasties period; it is more likely a product of Tang antiquarianism.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing gaoshang yuzhen zhongdao zongjian baohui

上清高上玉真衆道綜監寶諱

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

443 (fasc. 198)

“Comprehensive List of Precious Taboo Names of the Exalted Jade Zhenren of [the Heaven of] Supreme Purity.” The book begins with a list of taboo names of various deities, followed by a passage from a Purple Phoenix Register (*Zifeng lu* 紫鳳錄). Both the title of the book and the quotation of this register seem to indicate a relation to the Shangqing tradition, especially to 1372 *Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing* and to the *Zifeng chishu* 紫鳳赤書. The latter text is mentioned in the *Jiuzhen mingke* (in 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* 51b, 52a); it is, moreover, quoted in 412 *Shangqing pei fuwen qingquan jue* 2a and in YJQQ 7.7a, 9.11b. The Song catalogues mention a *Dongzhen longjing jiuwen zifeng chishu* 洞真龍景九文紫鳳赤書 in one juan (see VDL 122).

In the present book, however, the Purple Phoenix Register is said to have been transmitted along with the *Bawei cewen* 八威策文, which is a text originally associated with the Lingbao tradition (see 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 1.24b–26a). The next section of the present book (4a–6b) is said to be derived from chapter 75 of the *Jinguang mingjing* 金光明經 of the *Sanhuang tianwen dazi* 三皇天文大字.

The closing account of the regulations for the transmission of the book includes the form of a contract (*qi* 契; 6b–7a), in which the title of the recipient is given as *dongxuan ziran wushang sandong dizi* 洞玄自然無上三洞弟子. The practice of combining materials from the Three Caverns and assigning them to the use of priests ordained in the Dongxuan division is well attested in texts of the late Tang and the Five Dynasties

(907–960). See, for instance, 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 6b–7a and 1239 *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* 11b–12a, 17a–b.

Poul Andersen

Taixuan bajing lu 太玄八景錄

43 fols.

Tang (618–907)

258 (fasc. 120)

“Register of the Great Mysteries’ Eight Effulgences.” Exactly the same text is also found in 1407 *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi sheng tujing* 3a–48a. Its utilization as a register conferring initiation and ordination, as is the case here, however, did not come into use before the Tang. Hence its placement in this section.

According to the explanations given in the text itself, the name of the Eight Effulgences derives from twenty-four sacred diagrams, written in “golden script and jade characters” (*jinshu yuzi* 金書玉字), through spontaneous transformation of the three times eight luminous spirits of the body of the Lord Li, the Saint Who Is to Come (Housheng Lijun 後聖李君).

The present register is the second in importance to be transmitted to initiates into the texts of the Lingbao canon (*taishang lingbao dongxuan dizi* 太上靈寶洞玄弟子; see 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.8a, where the more complete title of *Sanbu bajing ziran zhizhen yulu* 三部八景自然至真玉錄 is given). The same register is also mentioned in 1239 *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* 18a (under the title *Taishang bajing chentu lu* 太上八景晨圖錄). ZHANG WANFU, in his catalogue of the Lingbao scriptures, mentions a *Bajing neiyin* 八景內音, probably referring to the present register (see 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 1.8a).

Fang Ling

Xubuang tianzun chuzhen shijie wen 虛皇天尊初真十戒文

8 fols.

180 (fasc. 77)

“Text of the Ten Rules for the Initial Stage of Perfection, [Spoken] by the Heavenly Worthy Xuhuang.” The devotee receives this text on the occasion of his or her first initiation (*kaidu* 開度; 1a). In the early eighth century, ZHANG WANFU wrote that novices (*xin chujia* 新出家) received the *chuzhen jie* 初真戒, but he did not specify the number of those rules (178 *Sandong zhongjie wen*, preface; 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 1.1b). Besides the present set, there are still other series of *chuzhen jie*: 339 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chujia yinyuan jing* 4b–5b lists ten prohibitions and ten prescriptions, and 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 3b mentions eighty-one injunctions of the same name.

The present ten rules are also found—though without the explanations that follow each injunction—in 1033 *Zhiyan zong* 1.6b–8a (identical with YJQQ 40.7a–8b). Apart from the explanations, our text appears to be posterior to that passage: whereas in the 1033 *Zhiyan zong* version the rules are pronounced by a Heavenly Zhenren (*tianzhen* 天真), our text is more specific in citing Xuhuang tianzun 虛皇天尊 instead of a zhenren. Rule 9, calling for loyalty, filial piety, and so on, figures as the first prescription in the present version, together with an explanation explicitly emphasizing that in the scriptures of the immortals, loyalty and piety occupy the foremost place. The passages in 1033 *Zhiyan zong* 1.8a on the consequences of keeping and breaking these rules are not contained in our text. The present text therefore represents a later recension of a Tang work.

For a description of the usage of these rules in Quanzhen 全真 Taoism, as well as for a translation, see Hackmann, “Die Mönchsregeln,” 142–70.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

2.B.8 The Dongzhen Division

2.B.8.a Scriptures

Taishang santian zhengfa jing 太上三天正法經

11 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1203 (fasc. 876)

“The Scripture of the Correct Law of the Three Heavens.” This is a title that belongs to the Shangqing scriptures (it is mentioned in 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 4, 1331 *Dongzhen shangqing shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing* 27b, and 1016 *Zhen’gao* 5.2a). The Three Heavens are the three upper heavens (which here bear names different from those in the Shangqing texts). Our work is attributed to the king of the Xiaoyou Heaven, also known as the Green Lad (Qingtong jun 青童君).

The present text is not one of the Shangqing texts revealed to YANG XI. First, most of the quotations from our text do not agree with quotations from a *Santian zhengfa jing* in other works (e.g., WSBY, SDZN, 1132 *Sangqing dao leishi xiang*, YJQQ 2.4b–8a). Only quotations from works later than WSBY, such as *Xiaodao lun* and YJQQ 21.1a, correspond, and only for the first page.

Moreover, the present text (8b–9a) quotes 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 5.6b–7b, a text later than the Shangqing revelation. Also, except for the stanzas on pages 4a–b,

the terminology and content of our text also do not correspond to those of the Shangqing school.

This work must therefore be an apocryphal text of the seventh century, at the earliest. It appears to be fragmentary, containing only the preamble to a discussion of apotropaic texts, which are not included. The preamble deals with the first appearance of these texts, their subsequent transmission in the heavens (1a–5a), and the rules for those who possess them (5b–end). The Heavenly Lads and Maidens protect the adept who possesses any of these works (enumerated in 10a–b) and the regulations governing their transmission.

A commentary recounting the words of the Green Lad accompanies the first two pages of our text and presents the outline of a cosmology.

To supplement the material of this work, see 1395 *Shangqing dadong jiuwei badao dajing miaolu*, 412 *Shangqing pei fuwen qingquan jue*, 413 *Shangqing pei fuwen boquan jue*, and 414 *Shangqing pei fuwen jiangquan jue*.

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Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing 洞真高上玉帝大洞雌一玉檢五老寶經

58 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1313 (fasc. 1025)

“Precious Scripture on the Female One and Five Elders.” The title refers to the *Sansu yuanjun* 三素元君 (Ladies of the *Ciyi* 雌一), feminine divinities dwelling in the Palace of the Golden Flower, situated in the brain, as well as to the *wulao* 五老 (spirits of the registers).

The present work groups together various methods, taken probably from different sources of varying degrees of authenticity with respect to the original Shangqing revelation, and relates them to these feminine divinities. The methods are all old, antedating WSBY (sixth century), which frequently quotes them; they are often presented as formulas accompanying sacred writings. Overall, the presentation accords perfectly with Shangqing terminology and its pantheon, suggesting that this work dates from a period shortly after the revelation. However, the present form of the text, which is mentioned in the ancient anthologies under various titles, is probably later than the seventh century.

The text comprises: procedures supplementary to the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經 (1a–19a and 57b–58b); meditation methods related to the Ladies of *Ciyi* (19b–24a and

43b–53b); a “long” version of *Dongfang jing* 洞房經, more complete and probably more authentic than 133 *Taishang dongfang neijing zhu* (24a–27b); instructions that are also found, in part, in 1330 *Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing* (37b–42b); passages from 1016 *Zhen’gao* (27a–31b); and a long fragment of a method (53b–57b) that at one time was part of 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* but that no longer appears in that work. All these texts and methods aim at having one’s name inscribed on the Heavenly Registers or at untying the knots of predestined death.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang sanyuan liuzhu jing 洞真太上三元流珠經

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1318 (fasc. 1027)

“Scripture on the Three Principles and the Moving Pearl.” The title of this work refers to the divinities of the Moving Pearl (*liuzhu* 流珠) Palace, located in the brain. It also refers to meditation-related practices. But this composite work only partly fits the title. The earliest mention of it is found in 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* 15b and in the biography of Maojun 茅君 (see 304 *Maoshan zhi* 5.13a).

The first page deals with the Moving Pearl Palace; it may be a fragment of a text concerning meditation on this palace. It is this section that probably gives our work its present title. However, the essential part is missing. The charms (1b–3a) are also found in 81 *Dongzhen taiwei huangshu tiandi jun shijing jinyang sujing* 5a, as indicated (1b). The rest of the text is made up of passages taken from 1016 *Zhen’gao*.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen xi wang mu baoshen qiju jing 洞真西王母寶神起居經

19 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1319 (fasc. 1027)

“Scripture of the Queen Mother of the West for Cherishing Spirits and [Regulating] Comportment.” This work takes its title and a good part of its material from 1016 *Zhen’gao*. The latter, in fact, contains a *Baoshen jing* revealed by Pei jun 裴君 to TAO HONGJING, described as “not having appeared in the world.” Thus the present work is not one of the texts revealed to and recorded by YANG XI. The only texts revealed to Yang under this title are the fragments in 1016 *Zhen’gao*. The present work, then, consists of a collection of revelations made to YANG XI and presented under a title that corresponds only to the beginning of the text. This first part may be no more than the remnant of a much larger collection.

Nevertheless, the title fits the contents of the work as a whole inasmuch as this text lays out rules and rituals for the adept to observe in daily life.

Most of the passages in this collection (1a–12b and 14a–16b) are taken from texts in 1016 *Zhen'gao*, though there are sometimes important differences in wording. Other paragraphs (12b–14a) not found in the *Zhen'gao* are presented as texts revealed to YANG XI by the same divinities and are written in the same vein as those in the *Zhen'gao*.

The end of the work (16b–18b) is also similar to 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 26b–28; the last two instructions probably derive from a different source. The Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2576, lines 13–end, is identical to the present text, except that pages 8a–11b are lacking.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang shuo zhibui xiaomo zhenjing 洞真太上說智慧消魔真經

5 juan

Tang (618–907)

1344 (fasc 1032)

“Scripture of Wisdom That Annihilates Demons.” This scripture comprises texts from various periods. The first two juan are exorcistic texts. The three remaining juan contain statements on wisdom expounded in a Buddho-Taoist terminology. The whole work may have been assembled during the Tang period, as suggested by quotations found in 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 5.2a (corresponding in the present text to 3.3a), 104 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* 3b (2.5b here), and YJQQ 49.1a–b (5b–6a in the present text).

The first juan of this work constitutes the *Xiaomo jing* 消魔經 of the Shangqing corpus. Other scriptures bearing the same name also belong in principle to the Shangqing corpus but were “never fully revealed.” They are merely quoted in 1016 *Zhen'gao*. Yet another set of *Xiaomo jing* belong to the Lingbao school. The 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 3.6b attributes seven juan to our scripture, as does the present work itself (1–2b, 4b). In reality, these are nonrevealed chapters (see 1.3b and 4b). Page 1.3b mentions only one juan.

The first juan contains an introduction, probably of a later date, and a “preface” (4b–5a), which is quoted by 1016 *Zhen'gao* (18.6a3–5 and 13.4a4, corresponding to 4b10, 5a2, and 5b10 in the present text). The preface can also be found, in part, in 184 *Mingke jing* (1.5a–b). There only the passage dealing with the organization of the Infernal Offices (*guan* 官) is included. The introduction is followed by hymns, the first of which (6a–11a) relates the revelation of the scripture in Heaven. These hymns are closely related to the *Dadong yujing zhujue* 大洞玉經注訣 (quoted under this title

in 1130 *Daodian lun* 4.16b, corresponding to 1.8b in the present text; this part is also found in 1360 *Shangqing jiutian shangdi zhu baishen neiming jing*).

The remainder of the text consists of a hierarchical enumeration of drugs and medicinal plants that expel demons and illnesses. This list has been incorporated into numerous other texts (1360 *Neiming jing* 3b–7a; 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan* 6a–7b; *Youyang zazu* 2.4b–5a; it was also incorporated in the *Daoji jing* 道跡經; see WSBY 78.3b–6a).

For juan 2, see 1334 *Dongzhen taishang shenhu yinwen*, which contains the same text.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing dongtian sanwu jin'gang xuanlu yijing

上清洞天三五金剛玄籙儀經

30 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1390 (fasc. 1046)

“Scripture Concerning the Shangqing Register of the Three-Five *Vajra* Bearers from the Cavern-Heavens.” This text belongs—to judge by its terminology, the names of its deities, and other details—to the Jinming qizhen 金明七真 group. In form and structure this text is similar to 1388 *Shangqing jinzhen yuhuang shangyuan jiutian zhenling sanbai liushiwu bu yuanlu*; it gives instructions concerning the documents and rites for the transmission of the Register of the Three Generals, named Ge 葛, Tang 唐, and Zhou 周. The model for this register is undoubtedly the *Sanyuan jiangjun lu* 三元將軍籙, listed in Tang sources under the ordination hierarchy of the Zhengyi organization (see, e.g., 1239 *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* 5b and 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.6a). The personal names of the generals are, however, modified in the present text (cf., e.g., 1212 *Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* 12b–13a).

The transmission of the register is accompanied by the splitting of a symmetrical contract into two halves (*sanwu qi* 三五契) and by the transmission of a fu and an inscribed ceremonial tablet (*ceban* 策板). The modifications in the wording of the formulas and documents, when compared to the original Zhengyi models, correspond exactly to those in 1388 *Jiutian zhenling sanbai liushiwu bu lu*.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Dongzhen taishang daojun yuandan shangjing 洞真太上道君元丹上經

41 fols.

1345 (fasc. 1032)

“Superior Scripture of the Mysterious Cinnabar.” This text states that it was transmitted by the Great Lord Green Lad (Qingtong dajun 青童大君). It takes its title (read *xuan* 玄 for *yuan* 元) from the name of a palace situated in the brain.

The work is divided into three distinct parts, of which the first and the third are also found in 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing*. Part 1 (1a–12b) is similar to 12b–22a of the latter. It deals with the contemplation of the palaces in the brain and of their divinities. The third part (20a–end) is the *Xuandu jiuzhen mingke* 玄都九真明科 found in 1314 *Dayou miaojing* 46b–end. The same title is found in 1409 *Taishang jiuzhen mingke*.

The second part (12a–20a), however, which follows on the first part without transition, is a text of completely different origin, with the marks of the One and Orthodox [*zhengyi*] Way of the Heavenly Masters: it gives the names of the Nine Heavens and the Nine Earths, none of which accord with those listed in Shangqing texts.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang badao mingji jing 洞真太上八道命籍經

2 juan

1328 (fasc. 1029)

“Scripture of the Tablets of Life of the Eight Ways.” This scripture is mentioned in 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 2.8b. The “eight ways” are the solar and lunar orbits (1a–b); they give their name to a practice described in the beginning of the text (1.1a–3b) that is based, in an extremely simplified form, on the Eight Tablets of the Mysterious Mother (*Xuanmu bajian* 玄母八簡) found in 1323 *Dongzhen taishang basu zhengjing fushi riyue huanghua jue* 23a–25b. This part of the text is also found in YJQQ 51.1a–3b.

The description of this practice is followed (4a–b) by general remarks on the interdependence of being and nonbeing (*you* 有 and *wu* 無) and on life and death. There follows (6a–12b) a list of the causes of various disasters and failures and of the means to remedy them through rites of expiation.

The first juan ends with a colophon stating that it was received by the Lady WEI HUACUN.

The second juan is devoted to a ritual very much resembling the Shangqing ritual of the Three Originals (*sanyuan* 三元). This juan reproduces a number of passages from Shangqing texts or apocrypha (2.7a–9b: 1379 *Shangqing yudi qisheng xuanji huitian jiuxiao jing*; 10b–11b: 1352 *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 6.30b–31a and 1324 *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing dengtan fuzha miao jue* 7a–b; 21a–23b: 1352 *Taixiao*

langshu 10.2b–5b; 27b–29a: 1317 *Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing* 2.14a–15b).

This work can therefore be considered a Shangqing apocryphal text, dating from before 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* and after 1352 *Taixiao langshu* 10, which it cites explicitly. It is one of the texts testifying to the early ritualization of the Shangqing school.

Isabelle Robinet

Taiwei dijun ershisi shen huiyuan jing 太微帝君二十四神回元經

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1455 (fasc. 1064)

“Scripture of the Twenty-four Spirits That Return to the Origin, Revealed by the Sovereign Lord of the Great Tenuity.” Although this meditation manual on the twenty-four original spirits of the body has been included only in the 1607 supplement to the Ming canon, it is no doubt an ancient text. The practice of visualizing the spirits of the body—eight for each of the three levels (*sanbu bashen* 三部八神)—is well known from the Shangqing scriptures, and the names and descriptions of the deities as they are given here correspond entirely to those found in a number of Six Dynasties texts (see Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 75). The title of the present work cannot be found, however, in the bibliographical sources at our disposal for the early period. The *Gaoshang baoshen mingke jing* 高上寶神明科經 quoted on 2b is equally unknown. As it is unlikely that this work was composed during the Song (960–1279), it has tentatively been given a place here.

The text describes the twenty-four deities and quotes the invocations to be pronounced when visualizing them.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing huaxing yinjing dengsheng baoxian shangjing

上清化形隱景登昇保仙上經

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1369 (fasc. 1040)

“Superior Shangqing Scripture for Transformation, Disappearance, Ascension, and Securing Immortality.” The first part (1a–3b) of this text is a pastiche of the exercise of the Eight Gates of the Mysterious Mother (*Xuanmu bamen* 玄母八門; cf. 1323 *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing fushi riyue huanghua jue* 17a–end). The second part (3b–4b) is taken from 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangshen shendan jue* 11b–12b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing huiyao feiguang riyue jinghua shangjing

上清迴耀飛光日月精華上經

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1370 (fasc. 1040)

“Supreme Shangqing Scripture for Returning to the Light [or Returning the Light] and Flying in the Splendor of the Quintessential Radiance of the Sun and Moon.” This work is an anthology of hymns that are partly inspired by other Shangqing texts (compare 3b–4b and 1332 *Dongzhen taishang zidu yanguang shenyuan bian jing* 2a; also 4b–5b and 1016 *Zhen’gao* 4.6b). Buddhist influence is indicated by the use of such expressions as Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶; 2b) and Great Vehicle (*dacheng* 大乘; 5b).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taixiao yinshu yuanzhen dongfei erjing jing

上清太霄隱書元真洞飛二景經

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1199 (fasc. 875)

“Scripture of the Book Concealed in the Taixiao Empyrean on the Original Truth for Flying to the Two Heavenly Bodies.” This title bears little relation to the content of the text. Shangqing books about flying to the two heavenly bodies deal with flight to the sun and moon. Here we have two extracts from 1317 *Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing*: pages 1a–6a of the present text correspond to 2.6b–11b in the latter, concerning the rite of penitence invoking the five planets; and 6a–b correspond to 1317 *Yidu jing* 3a–b, a short fragment on the stars of the Dipper.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taiji zhenren zhuansuo shixing biyao jing

上清太極真人撰所施行祕要經

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1363 (fasc. 1039)

“Scripture of the Essentials of the Practices of the Zhenren of the Supreme Pole.” This scripture borrows its title from 1016 *Zhen’gao* 9.3a. It is similar to juan 9 and 10 of that text as well as to passages from 1319 *Dongzhen xi wang mu baoshen qizhu jing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing hetu neixuan jing 上清河圖內玄經

2 juan

Tang (618–907)

1367 (fasc. 1040)

“Book of the Interior Mystery of the River Chart, from the Shangqing Canon.” This text (6a–12a) contains the “Precious Shangqing Register of the River Chart” (1396 *Shangqing hetu baolu*), as well as all the formulas and documents for transmission lacking in that text. However, the present work does not give the images of the Nine Sovereign Lords (Jiu huangjun 九皇君) of the stars of the Dipper, but only that of the Nine Ladies (4b–5b).

The present text may well be identical or related to a *Hetu neiji* 河圖內紀 or *Hetu neipian* 河圖內篇 transmitted by the Shangqing patriarch LI HANGUANG to Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–756), who in 753 asked the patriarch to celebrate a River Chart Retreat (*Hetu zhai* 河圖齋) on Maoshan 茅山 based on that text (see 304 *Maoshan zhi* 2.9a). According to two successive replies by LI HANGUANG, the Retreat was celebrated the following year. In the “Chronicle of Maoshan” the text on which this ritual for atonement (*zhaxie* 齋謝) was based is called *Hetu neipian* (304 *Maoshan zhi* 2.17a).

The work 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 3.12a–b and 6.2b quotes the *Hetu neipian* as a source for the emplacement (*shenwei* 神位) of the *Hetu jiao* 河圖醮 or *Jiuyuan jiao* 九元醮 (see 805 *Taishang dongshen taiyuan hetu sanyuan yangxie yi*).

Kristofer Schipper

Jinjue dijun sanyuan zhenyi jing 金闕帝君三元真一經

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

253 (fasc. 120)

“Scripture of the True One of the Three Principles of the Imperial Lord of the Golden Portal.” This text corresponds to 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* 27a–38b. It existed, however, already in Tang times as a separate scripture, as it is given in extenso, with some variants, in YJQQ 50.10b–18b, under the title *Jinjue dijun sanyuan zhenyi jingjue* 金闕帝君三元真一經訣.

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Kristofer Schipper

Yujing jiutian jinxiao weishen wangzhu taiyuan shangjing

玉景九天金霄威神王祝太元上經

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

256 (fasc. 120)

“The Superior Scripture of the Supreme Origin, Invocation of the King of the Majestic Spirits of the Golden Empyrean of the Nine Heavens of the Jade Capital.” This text is later than the Shangqing revelations. It includes texts from that corpus in pastiche form and may be identical with the *Yujing taiyuan jing* 玉景太元經 mentioned in 304 *Maoshan zhi* 9.3b. Note also that the rules for transmission, as given on pages 2a and 5a, would indicate that the present text is posterior to the formation of the Lingbao canon.

The first six pages expound an apotropaic method based upon the name and the visualization of the King of the Majestic Spirits of the Golden Empyrean mentioned in the title. This method comprises a talisman of the great tiger (*dahu fu* 大虎符); another talisman, of “vast clarity” (*huoluo* 豁落; 6b), resembles the talisman of the sun in 392 *Shangqing huoluo qi yuan fu*. From 7a to the end, our text is also found in 1337 *Dongzhen taiwei jinhu zhenfu*.

The present work is further mentioned as a register (*lu* 籙), under the title *Taishang yujing jiutian jinxiao weishen yuzhu jing* 太上玉京九天金霄威神王咒經, in 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.10a, together with a series of Shangqing registers conferring the title of Master of the Dongzhen Law (*Dongzhen fashi* 洞真法師).

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang shengxuan sanyi rongshen bianhua miaojing

太上昇玄三一融神變化妙經

2 juan

38 (fasc. 28)

“Book of the Ascent to Mystery through the Transformations by Means of the Fused Spirit of the Three Ones.” This work is a patchwork, rather than a synthesis, of different elements. The first juan is presented in the form of a Lingbao discourse by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning on karma and the Void Spontaneity (*xuwu ziran* 虛無自然): if most people are subject to reincarnation, it is because they do not know that the real nature is essentially pure and quiet (1.1b), and they are not acquainted with the Unique Vehicle (1.2a). As a result, they use active methods (*youwei* 有爲), the happy rewards of which gradually decrease (1.3b). The nonactive method consists of returning to the origin (1.4a). This method is explained in the second juan, which presents itself as the “words of the Tao.” These words suggest an ancient text on

yangsheng 養生 (Tending Life), with its description of the Three Ones, the Nine Ones, the palaces of the body, and their cosmological counterparts. The nonactive method consists in preserving one's primordial qi and nourishing one's spirits (2.7a). The text continues with multiple definitions of the terms *hundun* 混沌 and *qi* 氣.

The term *rongshen* 融神 (fused spirit) does not occur in the present text; it is found in 39 *Taishang daoyin sanguang jiubian miaojing*.

John Lagerwey

***Taishang daoyin sanguang jiubian miaojing* 太上導引三光九變妙經**

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

39 (fasc. 28)

“Marvelous Book of *Daoyin* Exercises Using the Three Luminaries and Nine Transformations.” The Three Luminaries whose energies (qi) the adept is to “conduct and pull” (*daoyin* 導引) are the sun, the moon, and the stars. The “nine transformations” probably refer to the Laozi of the Nine Transformations (10a), that is, to the transformations of Laozi linked to the sun's course across the sky (cf. Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao Tseu*, 92 ff.). The reference in 40 *Taishang daoyin sanguang baozhen miaojing* to the nine transformations of the eight assemblies (3b) would seem to confirm this interpretation, for the texts of the eight assemblies mentioned there (3a) correspond to the “sounds of the eight assemblies” given here (2a–5b).

Two distinct rites are described, both of which are to be performed during odd (yang) months. The first rite consists in “conducting and pulling” the eight different forms of the qi of the Three Luminaries. These exercises are accompanied by the above-mentioned sounds—hymns—and by the swallowing of fu. The second rite is one of salutations and confessions addressed to thirty-two (i.e., four times eight) Laozi tianzun 老子天尊.

Two of three lines cited from a *Daoyin sanguang jing* 導引三光經 in the SDZN (3.24a) are found here (1b).

John Lagerwey

***Taishang daoyin sanguang baozhen miaojing* 太上導引三光寶真妙經**

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)

40 (fasc. 28)

“Marvelous Book of *Daoyin* Exercises Using the Three Luminaries and Precious Zhen.” This text stands in relation to 39 *Taishang daoyin sanguang jiubian miaojing* as the preface and postface to certain Shangqing texts: it first recounts the manner of its revelation and then lays down the procedure of its proper transmission in accordance

with the *Siji mingke* (184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* does not mention this text). At the beginning, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning and his court are seen verifying registers of the Three Principles when a strange light, streaming from the eastern and western horizons and followed by immortals, suddenly illumines the assembly. The Heavenly Worthy explains how the transformations of the Tao lead, through the alternation of sun and moon, to the creation of the celestial administration of the Three Luminaries. Then he transmits to a zhenren a “text of the eight assemblies”—the hymns of the other *Sanguang jing*—that had until then been hidden in the palaces of the luminaries.

John Lagerwey

Dongzhen taishang zishu luzhuan 洞真太上紫書籙傳

20 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1342 (fasc. 1031)

“Record of the Register with Purple Writing.” This undated work is mentioned in the bibliographical chapters of the *Song shi* under the title *Taishang zishu luzhuan* 太上紫書籙傳 (see VDL 88). A sentence from page 5a of the present text is quoted in TPYL 677.11a as coming directly from a *Taishang zishu lu* 太上紫書籙. At the end of the work, there is a reference to Lord Wang 王君, a saint often linked to apocryphal Shangqing texts, which may imply a reference to the *Taishang zishu wangjun zixu* 太上紫書王君自序, a section of 1316 *Dongzhen shangqing taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing*.

The work consists of sermons and dialogues of a marked Buddhist character pertaining to oral formulas revealed by a number of gods of the Taoist pantheon (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王, Taishang daojun 太上道君, Xi wang mu 西王母, and others).

At the beginning of the work, the contents of the revelations are defined under the complete title “Superior Scriptures Containing the Esoteric Instructions on the Five Secrets, the Six Mysteries, the Three and the Nine, and the Orthodox One” (*Wuyin liumiao sanjiu zhengyi mizhi shangjing* 五隱六妙三九正一密旨上經), later abbreviated as *Liumiao mizhi*. All of these instructions are said to have been transmitted originally by the Taizhen zhangren 太真丈人 to the Wenshi xiansheng 文始先生.

Xi wang mu is at the origin of the revelation of five essential oral instructions (*koujue* 口訣), which are related to the three principal scriptural traditions of the Dongzhen, Dongxuan, and Dongshen canons (8b). Next, Xi wang mu explains the nature of the *liumiao* 六妙, the latter being linked with the use of certain special characters (see pages 9a–b).

Alfredo Cadonna

2.B.8.b The Shangqing Registers

Dongzhen taishang taisu yulu 洞真太上太素玉籙

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1338 (fasc. 1031)

“Jade Register of the Great Simplicity.” A similar title is mentioned in the biography of Pei jun 裴君 in YJQQ 105.23a. Our work is listed in the bibliographical chapters of the *Song shi* (see VDL 86). It consists of a number of minor instructions concerning various practices.

The work divides into three sections. The first two sections comprise thirty columns of text each, due to the fact that they were taken from either the 119 or the 1244 editions of the *Daozang*, which were printed in blocks of thirty columns. The resulting text fragments stop short in the middle of a phrase.

The first thirty columns (1b–2b) probably represent the text itself. The first five lines can also be found in YJQQ 9.5b, while the rest comes from 1330 *Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing* 14b–16b and 20b.

The next thirty columns (3a–4a) are extracts from 81 *Dongzhen taiwei huangshu tiandi jun shijing jinyang sujing* 2b–3b. The pages that follow (4b–6b) concern the transmission of 1316 *Dongzhen shangqing Taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing*, a Shangqing text, with a model of the contract (*qi* 契) of transmission, followed in turn by a Shangqing formula invoking the sun by means of talismans.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang cangyuan shanglu 洞真太上倉元上錄

7 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1340 (fasc. 1031)

“Superior Register of the Azure Origin.” This title is mentioned in the biography of Pei jun 裴君 (YJQQ 105.8a, 23a) and in 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 2.7a–b. The oldest quotation from our work (4b) is found in 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 2.2b.

Although it borrows its title from the Shangqing school, our work certainly appeared later than the revelations to YANG XI (364–370). It reveals that the doctrine of the Sandong had already attained an elaborate stage of development (4a–b). In addition, the influence of the Lingbao doctrine can be seen clearly in references to the Twenty-eight Heavens, the Daluo Heaven (1b and 2b), and the Three Primordial Qi (4a).

The Three Vehicles into which sacred texts were classified led the adept to aban-

don progressively his or her family, the world, and even the sacred texts themselves. This scheme reflects the evolution of Taoism, under the influence of Buddhism, toward an increasing emphasis on meditation. It is virtually unknown before the Tang period.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing yuanshi gaoshang yuhuang jiutian pulu

上清元始高上玉皇九天譜錄

16 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1387 (fasc. 1045)

“Shangqing Register of the Jade Emperor of the Nine Heavens from the Most High Primordial Beginning.” This work is a register of Shangqing divinities, all of which are deities from 1393 *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangqing jiuling tai-miao Guishan xuanlu*. For example, 2a1–2 corresponds to 1393 *Guishan xuanlu* 3.20a; 2b1–2 corresponds to 1393 *Guishan xuanlu* 3.24a; 2b5–7 corresponds to 1393 *Guishan xuanlu* 3.25a; and so on. Many of these deities are the same as those in 168 *Yuanshi gaoshang yujian dalu*.

This register consists of elements of an ancient *sanyuan* 三元 (Three Principles) ritual stemming from the Shangqing movement. It is associated with the recitation of Shangqing texts, and it dates, at least in part, from the sixth century at the latest (see Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 2:216–24).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing jinzhen yuhuang shangyuan jiutian zhenling sanbai liushiwu bu

yanlu 上清金真玉皇上元九天真靈三百六十五部元錄

25 fols.

Attributed to Jinming qizhen 金明七真; early Tang (618–907)

1388 (fasc. 1045)

“Shangqing Register of the Three Hundred and Sixty-Five True and Divine Forces from the Nine Heavens in the Upper Origin of the Gold Zhenren Jade Emperor.” Among the texts of which the transmission is attributed to Jinming qizhen, the present work alone contains an explicit date: in 551, Jinming is said to have received on Mount Dailing 帶嶺 the final revelation of this register from Gaoshang tianbao yuhuang 高上天寶玉皇. This date is Yoshioka’s main evidence for dating the whole group of texts to the middle of the sixth century (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, “*Sandō hōdō kakai gihan*, 39–92). Yet, this dating remains open to doubt (cf. the articles on 674 *Wushang sanyuan zhenzhai linglu* and 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*). The fact that the present work first quotes Jinming (“Jinming says . . .”) and then continues in direct

speech (“I, Qizhen, received . . .”) could indicate that it was recorded by a disciple. On the other hand, 674 *Zhenzhai linglu* 16b, also attributed to Jinming qizhen, seems to refer already to the contents of our text (11a–19b).

Although a *Sanbai liushiwu bu lu* is not mentioned in 1125 *Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*, a closer look at the present register reveals that it was, like 674 *Zhenzhai linglu*, derived from a model of the Zhengyi tradition: the Register of the One Hundred and Fifty Generals (*Yibai wushi jiangjun lu* 一百五十將軍籙) was adapted here into a register of three hundred and sixty-five generals.

Like its model, the present register is composed of two parts (183 *shangling* 上靈 plus 182 *zhenling* 真靈) of a complementary nature (yang and yin). Transmitted successively, they form the complete register, called *zhilu* 治籙. Following the register, the text describes the ritual of transmission, which also adopts the structure of the Zhengyi liturgy: Invocation (*chuguan* 出官), Presentation (*biao* 表), and the Announcement of Merit (*yangong* 言功), followed by the composition of petitions written on wooden tablets (*baici* 白刺) and paper (*zhizhang* 紙章). Minor modifications include the wording of the *yalu* 發爐 and the signing of the documents (the so-called *taiqing* 太清; 24b–25a). This transmission ritual is followed by the program for another ritual, which, after the transmission of the register, can be held to obtain relief from calamities, and other events of misfortune. An exhortation not to separate the text, that is, the register and the liturgical part, concludes this work. We also learn here (24b) that Jinming’s organization was founded on thirty-six dioceses (*zhi* 治), in contrast to the set of twenty-four under the Heavenly Masters.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Shangqing gaoshang Guishan xuanlu 上清高上龜山玄籙

39 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1394 (fasc. 1048)

“Mysterious Register of Mount Turtle.” This text is a Shangqing register that borrows its title from 1393 *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao Guishan xuanlu*. The text also appears in juan 2 of the latter, and in 1385 *Shangqing dongzhen tianbao dadong sanjing baolu* 2. It is mentioned among the *Shangqing lu* in 1239 *Zhengyi xiuzhen liueyi* 17b, and in 304 *Maoshan zhi* 7b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing dadong jiuwei badao dajing miaolu 上清大洞九微八道大經妙籙

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1395 (fasc. 1048)

“Wonderful Register of the Great Scripture of the Universe.” The *jiuwei badao* 九微八道 is the cosmos. *Jiuwei* 九微 is equivalent to *jiuxuan* 九玄 (Nine Mysteries), *jiu tian* 九天 (Nine Heavens; cf. 2a), or *santian jiuwei xuandu* 三天九微玄部 (Mysterious Capital of the Nine Subtleties of the Three Heavens [arranged vertically]); *badao* 八道 is equivalent to the eight points of the compass. The expression *jiuwei badao* therefore designates the cosmos in its two dimensions, horizontal and vertical, and in terms of earthly and heavenly space.

The text is a fragment of *I203 Taishang santian zhengfa jing*, an ancient Shangqing text only partially preserved. A part of our work (3a–5a) is in fact quoted in WSBY 31.10b–11b and 32.10b–11b, under the title *Santian zhengfa jing* 三天正法經. The beginning of the present text is a shortened version of *I203 Zhengfa jing* 11a–b; further along, other titles, which also figure in *I203 Zhengfa jing*, are found.

This text is entirely devoted to exorcistic charms, some of which bear names derived from the Shangqing corpus (*hubao fu* 虎豹符; *shenhu fu* 神虎符); reference is also made (3b) to their transmission to the venerated saints of the Shangqing writings. The contents of this work derive mainly from *Santian zhengfa jing* material, but its form follows that of later works: the final pages (6a–b), for instance, refer to a ritual function, suggesting that this is a fragment of an ancient text (late fourth or early fifth century) later incorporated into a liturgical framework and adapted accordingly.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing hetu baolu 上清河圖寶籙

9 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1396 (fasc. 1048)

“Precious Shangqing Register of the River Chart.” This register is based on the secret names (*hui* 諱) of the Nine Sovereign Lords (*Jiu Huangjun* 九皇君)—that is, the nine stars of the Dipper (Beidou 北斗), seven of which are visible and two invisible)—and of their Ladies (*furen* 夫人). This nomenclature of the Dipper became current in Tang times, and the present register dates to that period. It is quoted in *I240 Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 5b by ZHANG WANFU.

The present text is incomplete, as it ends its instructions for transmission of the register (8a) with the words: “They present a memorial as follows . . .” The complete version of the present work is found in *I367 Shangqing hetu neixuan jing* 6a ff.

The register (1a–b) includes, for meditative purposes, the pictogram of the Nine

Palaces and the Nine Lords. A similar Hetu register is reproduced as part of 1209 *Tai-shang zhengyi mengwei falu yibu* 34b–38b.

Kristofer Schipper

Yuanshi gaoshang yujian dalu 元始高上玉檢大錄

12 fols.

Tang (618–907)

168 (fasc. 73)

“Great Register of the Jade Rule of the Most High Primordial Beginning.” This register combines other Shangqing texts or registers bearing the title “Great Register of the Jade Rule.” It is based on 354 *Shangqing sanyuan yujian sanyuan bujing* and in part duplicates that text.

Our work can be divided into three major parts. The first part corresponds to 354 *Sanyuan bujing* 4a–b. The second part presents the same pantheon (but gives only half the number of divinities) as that found in 1387 *Shangqing yuanshi gaoshang yuhuang jiutian pulu*. This is the Shangqing pantheon; the gods correspond to those in 1393 *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao guishan xuanlu*, to which are added the divinities of the Nine Shangqing Heavens. The third part of our text corresponds to 354 *Sanyuan bujing* 4b–11b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing zhongjing zhu zhensheng bi 上清衆經諸眞聖祕

8 juan

446 (fasc. 198–199)

“Secret Book of the Saints and Zhenren of the Shangqing Scriptures.” As the title indicates, this text is a systematic survey of all the Shangqing spirits and gods, compiled from the writings of that school. This pantheon is presented in tabular form and was probably intended for ritual purposes. The names of the spirits and divinities are often accompanied by charms representing the deities in graphic form. Each listing is preceded by the title of the work or method from which it derives. Despite frequent cross-references to avoid repetition, certain names appear several times under the title of one or more listings, as well as in the methods outlined. The work 166 *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* is included in these listings (5.3a–6b) and some of the Lingbao divinities are also named (7.12a).

The present text (8.12a) mentions Liang Qiuzi’s 梁丘子 commentary on the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 55–60) and therefore dates, at the earliest, from the second half of the Tang.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing huoluo qi yuan fu 上清豁落七元符

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)

392 (fasc. 185)

“Talismans of the Seven Principals of the Vast Clarity.” The expression *huoluo qi yuan* 豁落七元, a poetic name for the seven stars of the Dipper constellation, is anterior to the Shangqing scriptures and occurs in a great number of them. Sometimes it is explained as a name of the cosmic emanations that structure the universe (see YJQQ 9.2a).

Essentially, the present text contains the reproductions of the fourteen talismans that, together with the colophon, are also found in 1392 *Shangqing qusu jueci lu* 3b–6b.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing dongzhen tianbao dadong sanjing baolu

上清洞真天寶大洞三景寶籙

2 juan

1385 (fasc. 1044)

“Precious Registers [Corresponding to the Grade] of Disciple of the Three Luminaries of the Great Arcane, a Heavenly Treasure of the Shangqing Dongzhen Division.” The present work contains four registers to be transmitted as part of the initiation into the Shangqing canon, which marks the highest level of the Taoist hierarchy of the Tang period and corresponds to the ordination of disciple of the Three Luminaries of the Great Arcane (*dadong sanjing dizi* 大洞三景弟子), hence the title of our text. Each of the registers given here corresponds to a degree (*jie* 階) of initiation giving access to the (Shangqing) Dongzhen division of the canon, here called *Yuqing bu* 玉清部 (see note on page 1.1a, and similar notes on 1.9a, 1.26b, etc.). The four registers are:

1. Talismannic Register of the Golden Tiger (*Taishang dijun jinbu fulu* 太上帝君金虎符籙; 1.1a–9a), with its complement and counterpart, the Talisman of the Divine Tiger (*Taishang shenhu fu* 太上神虎符). Both registers have protective powers.

2. Register of the Flying Paces of the Void and Permanent [Stars] (*Taishang feibu kongchang lu* 太上飛步空常籙; 9a–26a), the practice of which comprises an elaborate choreography, allowing the adept to travel in the entire universe. An interesting diagram on pages 1.18b–19a shows this choreography in detail (fig. 45). There is also, on page 1.19a, the model of a sort of visiting card that the adept should carry on his or her head when traveling the stars. This ancient art is conducive to the status of True Being of Supreme Purity (Shangqing zhenren 上清真人).

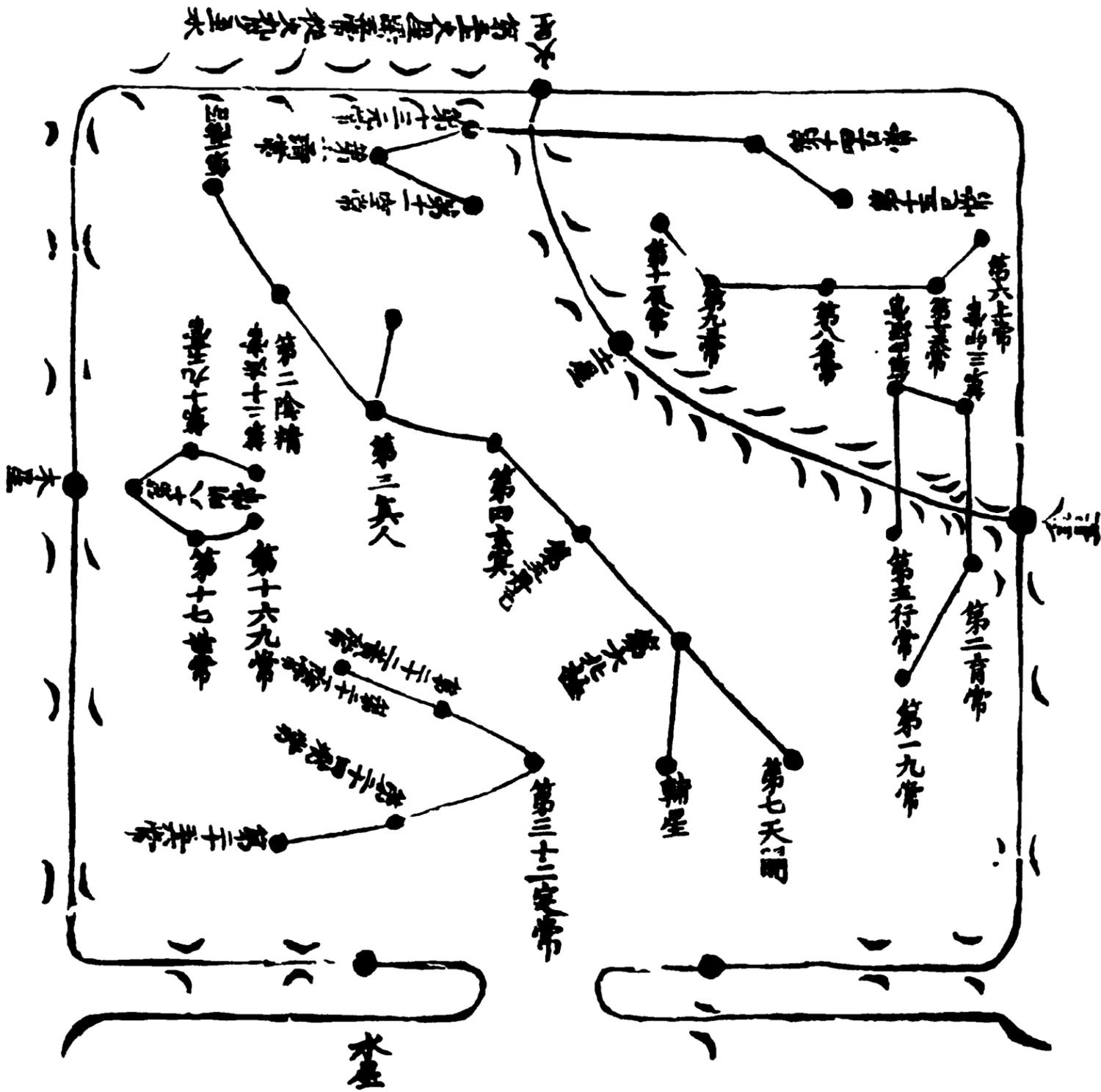


FIGURE 45. Choreography for the paces of the Kongchang stars (1385 I.18b–19a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1366)

3. Register for the Three Leaps to the Two Luminaries (*Taishang erjing sanben lu* 太上二景三奔籙; 1.26b–41a). The two luminaries are the sun and the moon, but a leap to the stars (*benchen fa* 奔辰法) is added.

4. Mysterious [read *xuan* 玄 for *yuan* 元] Register of the Turtle Mountain (*Taishang Guishan yuanlu* 太上龜山元籙). This document occupies the entire juan 2 and is subdivided into three parts (*pin* 品), each representing a degree.

All registers are derived, respectively, from the following well-known Shangqing texts: 1337 *Dongzhen taiwei jinhu zhenfu*, 1336 *Dongzhen taishang jinpian hufu zhenwen jing*, 324 *Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing*, and 1394 *Shangqing gao-shang Guishan xuanlu*, as well as from some minor texts (see Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 420–21)

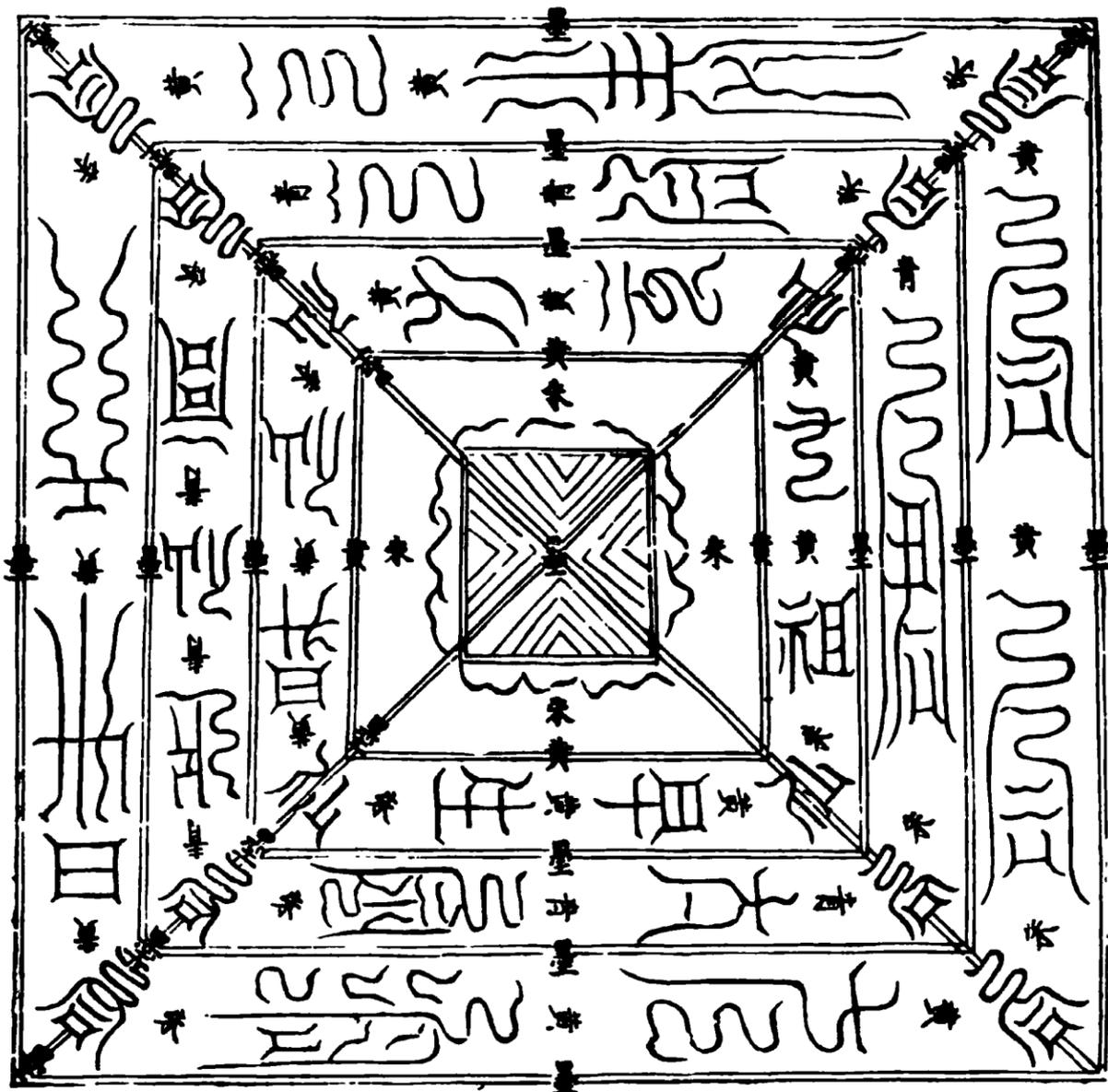


FIGURE 46. Mandala-like diagram (I386 2b-3a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/I367)

Shangqing dadong sanjing yuqing yinshu juelu 上清大洞三景玉清隱書訣籙
16 fols.

Tang (618-907)

1386 (fasc. 1045)

“Register for the Instructions for the Secret Writings of the Jade Purity of the Three Luminaries of the Great Arcane, a Shangqing Text.” Although the title refers to the highest stage of the Taoist hierarchy of the Tang period (the *dadong sanjing* degrees), this is in fact a simple prophylactic register with talismans, presumably for lay people. The talismannic secret writing are mandala-like diagrams, some of which resemble those found in 429 *Shangqing changsheng baojian tu* (fig. 46).

Other talismans are of a more particular kind. They are written with either green or red ink, and each line is carefully annotated as to the color that has to be used (pages 13a-15b).

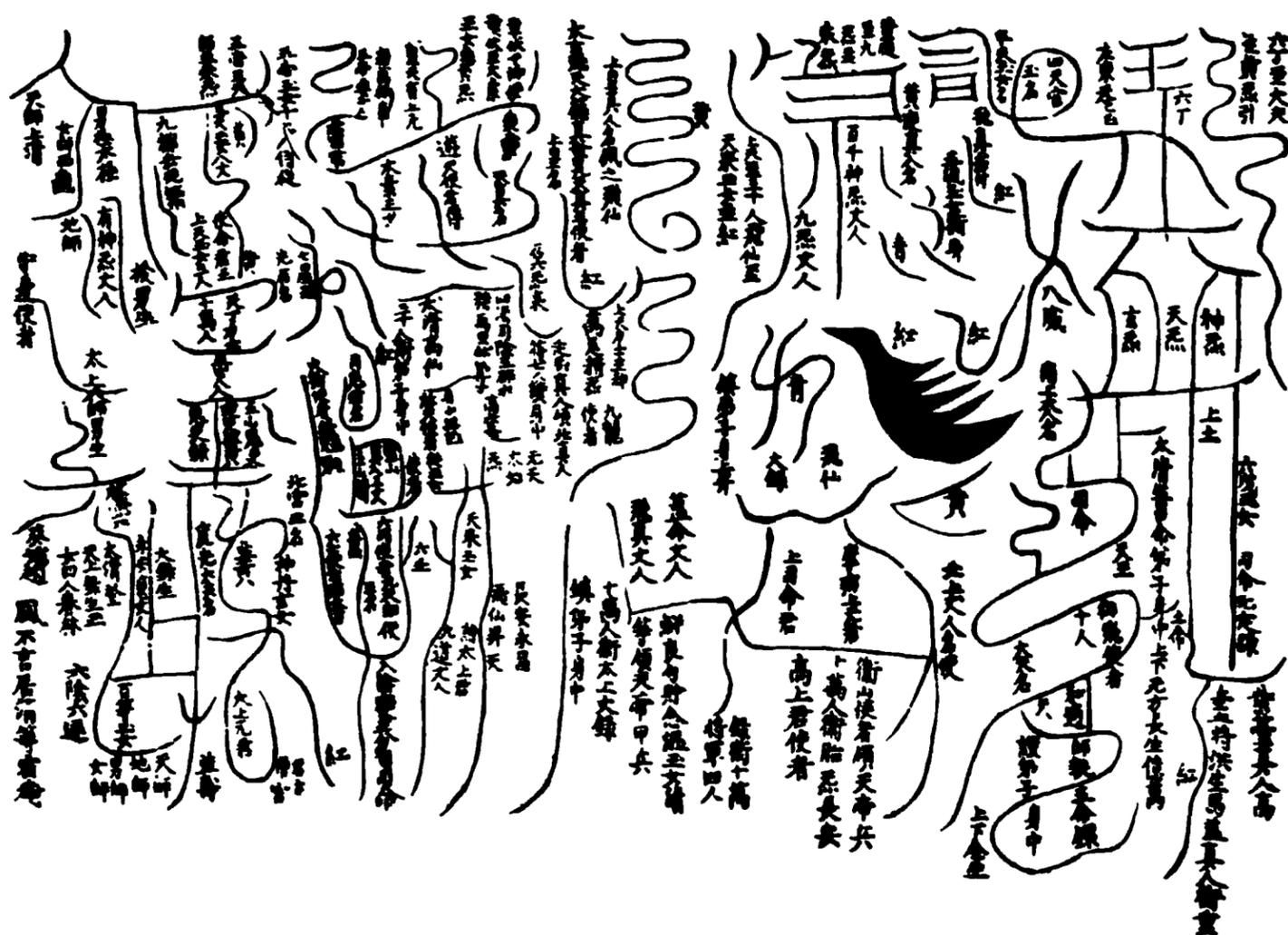


FIGURE 47. Talisman of the Register of the Nine Phoenix Ladies (1392 3a).
Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France
(Chinois 9546/1373)

Shangqing qusu jueci lu 上清曲素訣辭錄

24 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1392 (fasc. 1046)

“Register for the Instructions on the Emanations from the Labyrinth, a Shangqing Text.” This is an illustrated collection of registers, apparently for lay people, of different periods and origins. The first register, the *Qusu jueci lu* 曲素訣辭錄, which gives its name to the entire collection, is also no doubt the most ancient one. It is linked to 1372 *Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing* (where the meaning of the title is explained on 1a) and contains some parallel passages with it, including its legendary connection with Taiji zuo zhenren 太極左真人. The beginning of the present work corresponds to 1372 *Qusu shangjing* 10b–12a, but our text contains the original True Writ of the Mysterious Hill of the Phoenix Pneumata of the Nine Heavens (*Jiutian fengqi xuanqiu zhenshu* 九天鳳氣玄丘真書; 3a; fig. 47), a remarkable and, to judge by the names of the deities it contains, probably ancient document. This True Writ is missing from 1372 *Qusu shangjing*, where it has been replaced by a picture of nine heavenly ladies surrounding a major deity. From the context it would seem that this is a picture of the Most High True Lord of the Mysterious Hill with the Nine Phoenix Ladies. His presence here appears to be the result of an error by a copyist, who wrote “Xuanqiu taizhen jun 玄丘太真君” (10b) instead of *Xuanqiu dashu* 玄丘大書.

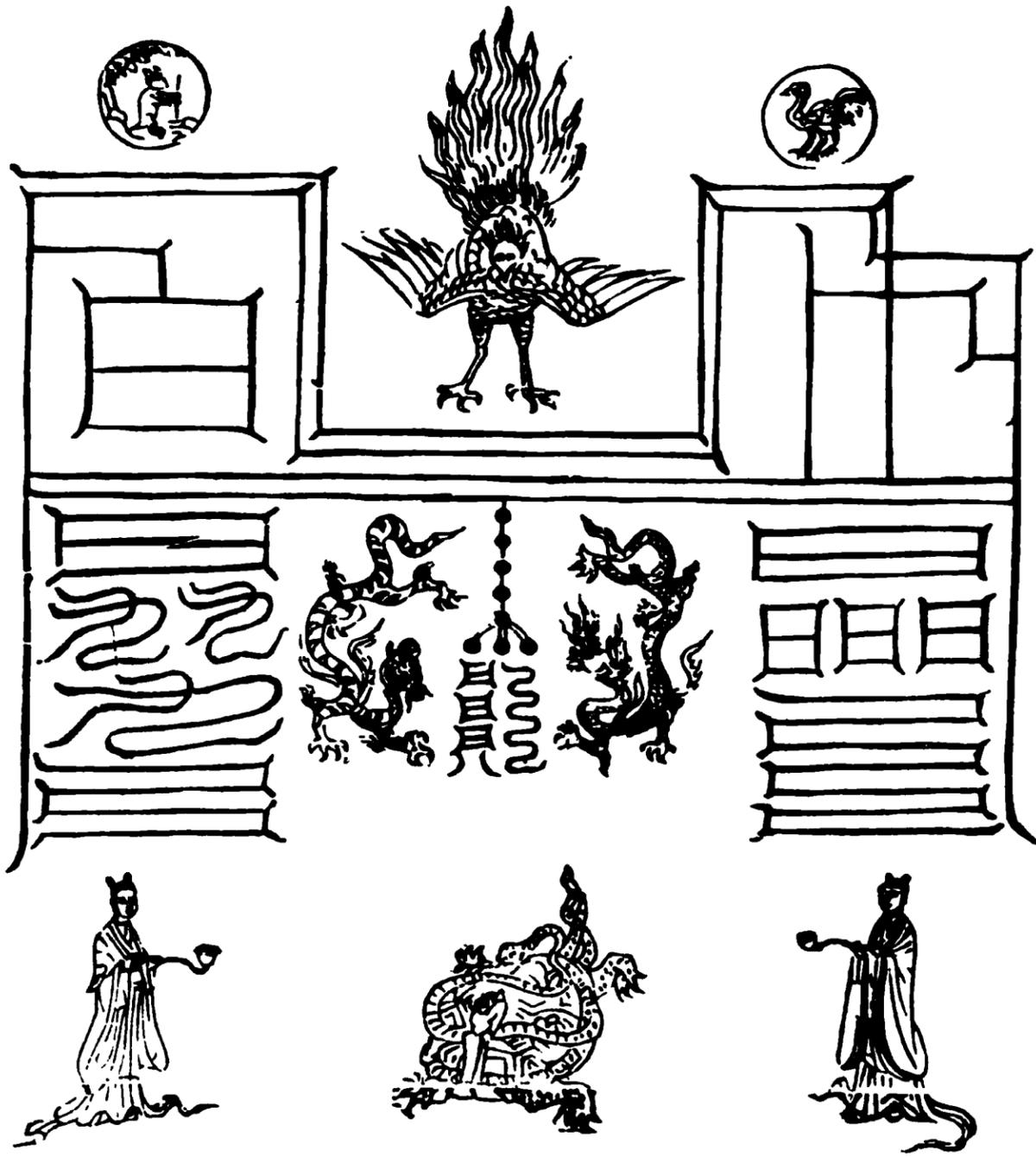


FIGURE 48. Cosmic diagram showing the emblematic animals of the four quarters, the sun and the moon, with a character for *dragon* in the center (1392 10b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1373)

Another instance of a garbled transcription is to be found on page 11a of 1372 *Qusu shangjing* (passage concerning the rites of transmission; see our text, 1a). The relationship between our text and 1372 *Qusu shangjing* shows that our text represents a more original, albeit incomplete, version of the Shangqing scripture.

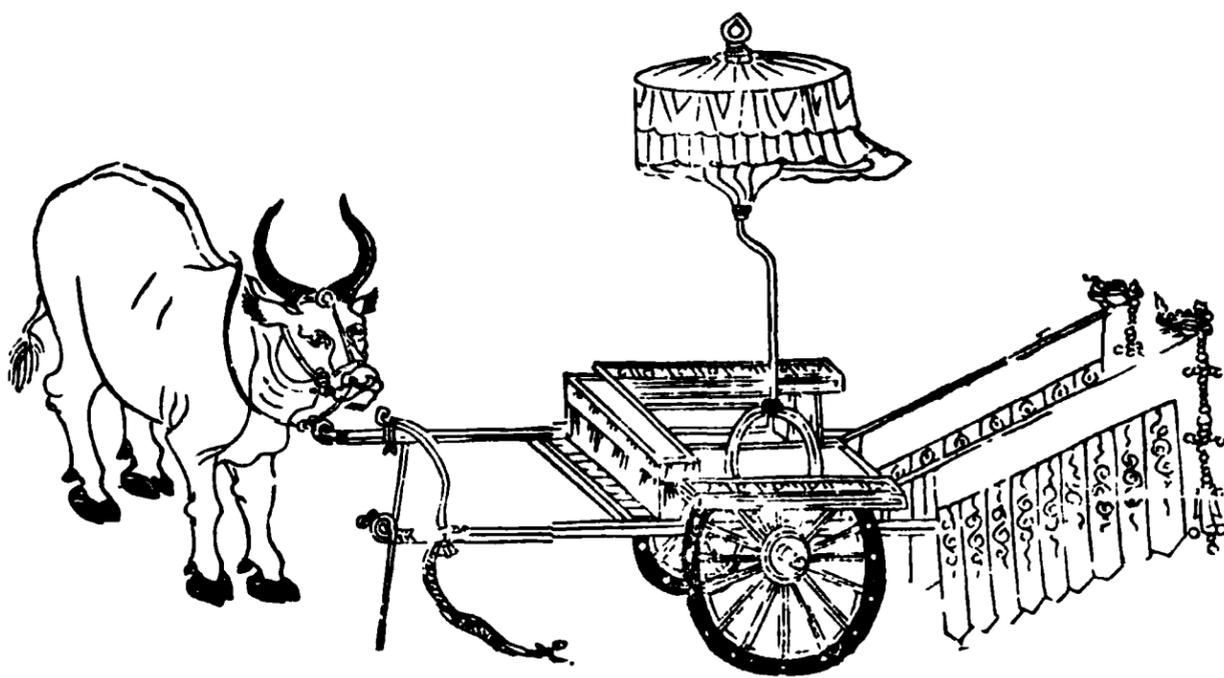
The next part of the present collection contains a series of talismans of the sun, the moon, and the Five Planets (*Huoluo qi yuan lu* 豁落七元籙) (fig. 48). These talismans are also found in 392 *Shangqing heluo qi yuan fu*. Another series of talismans follows, this time for calling up the dragons of the Ten Heavens (*Shitian zhaolong lu* 十天召龍籙) (fig. 49).

The final part of the text contains an important series of ritual symbols that belong to the highest stage of Shangqing initiation of the Tang period. Transmitted by a high *Shangqing dadong fashi* 上清大洞法師, this stage is characterized as the Final Way of the Return of the Chariot (*huiju bidao* 迴車畢道). Adepts would have reached this stage after having received the True Scriptures of the Great Arcane (*Dadong zhenjing*



FIGURE 49. Illustration of the Shangqing register for marshaling the dragons of the Ten Heavens (1392 7a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1373)

FIGURE 50. The chariot of the final return (1392 24a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1373)



大洞真經), that is, during the Tang, the complete corpus of Shangqing texts (cf. 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.1a–2b).

The registers transmitted at this stage are, respectively: (1) the Register for Invoking the Dragons of the Eight Powers (*Bawei zhaolong lu* 八威召龍錄; 10a), complete with tablets (*jian* 簡) and True Writs (*zhenwen* 真文) to be deposited (*tou* 投) in a sacred place when making offerings to the dragons; and (2) the Register of the Nine Stars of the River Chart (*Shangqing taixuan hetu jiuxing lu* 上清太玄河圖九星錄; cf. 1396 *Shangqing hetu baolu*).

A picture of the chariot of the final return marks the end of the registers (fig. 50).

2.B.8.c Manuals, Anthologies, and Encyclopedias

Assembled here are a number of secondary sources concerning the private and the liturgical practices of Shangqing Taoism. Most of these works are composed of citations from different sources, and many books are anthologies composed of passages taken from major Shangqing scriptures. Isabelle Robinet, in *La révélation du Shangqing*, has compiled a nearly exhaustive inventory of these anthologies and has traced the majority of the sources they quote.

Most of these texts are difficult to date with precision. In principle they could have been composed at any time between the end of the Six Dynasties period (after TAO HONGJING, 456–536) and the Southern Song (1127–1279). In fact it seems plausible to assign all of them to the Tang dynasty (618–907), because during that period Shangqing texts enjoyed a wide circulation among literati. Many of these texts were copied by famous calligraphers such as Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785) who were wont to make small collections of them for private reference or as collectors' items. As manuals for Tending Life techniques these anthologies became obsolete with the development of Inner Alchemy theories and practices at the end of the Tang and the Five Dynasties (907–960) periods.

2.B.8.c.1 Practices

Shangqing jinmu qiuxian fa 上清金母求仙上法

23 fols.

By Li Xuanzhen 李玄真; Tang (618–907)

391 (fasc. 185)

“Superior Methods of the Search for Immortality of the Golden Mother of Highest Purity.” The prefix does not indicate that this text belongs to the Shangqing canon; it is, rather, a general term for Taoist scriptures of the Tang dynasty. The author, who hails from Liaodong 遼東, identifies himself in the colophon (22a) as a Master Who Wanders in the Arcane of the Northern Peak (*beiyue youxuan xiansheng* 北嶽遊玄先生), a Six Dynasty and Tang title for daoshi who had been ordained and obtained the Lingbao registers (see 1130 *Daodian lun* 2.2a–4b and 1407 *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi sheng tujing* 19b). Moreover, Li states that he belonged to the Chongxuan guan 崇玄館 on Lushan 廬山. These establishments had been founded by Emperor Xuanzong in the second year of the Tianbao era (743). During the Five Dynasties and Song periods, they were renamed Chongxuan guan 崇玄觀.

This small text propounds the correct way to write a number of Lingbao talismans and to reveal their correct readings (*yin* 音). The talismans are the *Taisu yangsheng yishijiu fu* 太素陽生一十九符. They were, as stated at the beginning of the text, given

to Wang mu 王母 for her greater enlightenment. Li taught this method to his disciple Wang Yanzhen 王延真 and to many others during a seven-year period, beginning in the year *gengwu* 庚午 and ending in *bingzi* 丙子. These dates could correspond to 790 and 796, respectively.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing huachen sanben yujue 上清華晨三奔玉訣

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)

409 (fasc. 191)

“Precious Formulas of the Highest Pure [Canon] for the Threefold Flight to the Glistening Dawn.” This is not a Shangqing scripture, although it uses much of the vocabulary of these texts, but a later work concerning meditation on the seven stars of the Dipper constellation and the two invisible stars Fu 輔 and Bi 弼. These stars entered Chinese astrology in late Six Dynasties (220–589) and early Tang times, and they are presented here as a novelty. They are identified with the deities Taiping jinjue housheng dijun 太平金闕後聖帝君 and Taiwei tiandi 太微天帝. These two stars and the Pole Star together form the three stars of the Huagai 華蓋 constellation that dominated Heaven above all other constellations, first among which were the Dipper stars.

The meditation method prescribes the visualization of the gods of the three stars of the Huagai. Their light illuminated the inner landscape, so that the spirit might freely roam inside. Here we find the familiar imagery of the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭) and the Shangqing scriptures. A number of rhymed formulas and detailed instructions accompany the method.

A *sanben* 三奔 method was practiced by a daoshi called Hou Kai 侯楷 (d. 573). His biography in LZTT 30.12b has a note explaining that the term *sanben* was used originally to designate the sexual techniques of the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi sanben yunü zhi shu* 黃帝三奔御女之術), but that could not be the case here, where the meaning seems to be the Shangqing method of the high flight (*gaoben* 高奔) to the stars.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing xianfu qionglin jing 上清僊府瓊林經

24 fols.

1403 (fasc. 1050)

“Book from the Jade Forest of the Dwelling of the Immortals.” This is an anthology of excerpts, dealing mainly with meditation and Tending Life techniques. Most of the quotations are culled from different Shangqing scriptures (see Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 421), but other sources are also used, among them the Dongshen Divi-

sion (*Dongshen bu* 部; 7b) and the Lingbao canon (*Lingbao jing* 經; 8a, 10a). From page 18a onward, there are a number of citations from the 1016 *Zhen'gao*.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing taiji zhenren shenxian jing 上清太極真人神仙經

26 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1404 (fasc. 1050)

“Book of the Divine Immortals of the Great Principle.” This is an anthology of various meditation and Tending Life techniques taken exclusively from Shangqing sources (see Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 421). The first part (1a–4b) deals with the respiration techniques known as Cloud Shoots (*yunya* 雲芽), placed under the aegis of WEI HUACUN. The next fragment contains some practical instructions concerning the meditation on the divine partner, the Mysterious Zhenren (Xuanzhen 玄真). From page 7b to page 20a, we find various well-known methods for the absorption of stellar energies and the circulation of qi inside the body. The last part of the book contains practical information concerning physiology and personal hygiene.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing dongzhen jiugong zifang tu 上清洞真九宮紫房圖

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

156 (fasc. 68)

“Illustrations of the Purple Room and the Nine Palaces, according to the Shangqing Tradition.” The present text is divided into two parts: a number of illustrations of different aspects of the pantheon (1a–4a; see fig. 51), and a text called “Jiugong zifang san dantian jue 九宮紫房三丹田訣” (Formula of the Three Cinnabar Fields, the Purple Room, and the Nine Palaces; 4b–6b). This text gives a short description of the gods of the body. Titles similar to that of the present work are mentioned in various sources. The oldest is 671 *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shang jing* 2.12a, which mentions a *Jiugong zifang tu*.

The illustrations for this description of the interior world are lost; the present text is entirely unrelated to the preceding images, which, to judge from their content and captions, must have been part of 155 *Sancai dingwei tu*.

Kristofer Schipper

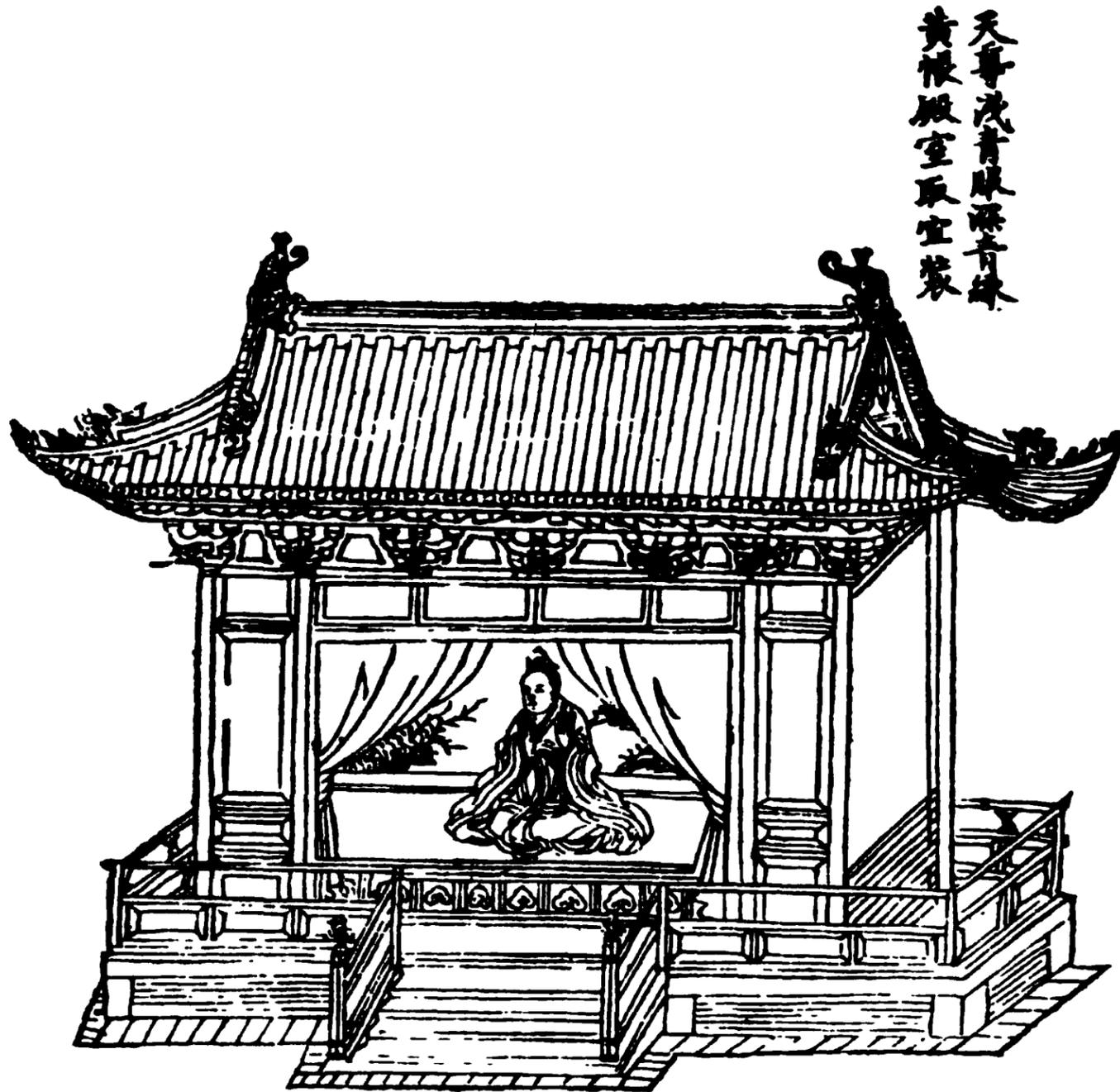


FIGURE 51. The Palace of the Mysterious Elixir in the body, dwelling of the Taiyi zhenren (156 3a–b, detail).

Shangqing taiyi jinque yuxi jinzhen ji 太清太一金闕玉璽金真紀
8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

394 (fasc. 185)

“Annals of the Golden Zhenren of the Jade Seal of the Golden Portal of the Supreme One.” This is an apocryphal text of the Shangqing school. The text as a whole is an amalgam of fragments clumsily clapped together. Its title is inspired by a title in the biography of Pei jun 裴君 (YJQQ 105.9b). The present text (5a) is quoted under a simplified title as *Taiyi jinzhen ji* 太一金真紀 in SDZN 5.4a and 3b, and in 1132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 2.1b. A passage on page 5a is quoted in TPYL 679.7b. Our text, therefore, existed under the Tang.

The greater part of the text is made up from quotations from the biography of Lord Pei mentioned above. There are, however, references to texts other than those of the Shangqing revelation, and one long passage (4b) is even alien to the Shangqing tradition.

Shangqing ziwei dijun nanji yuanjun yujing baojue

上清紫微帝君南極元君玉經寶訣

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

406 (fasc. 191)

“Precious Instructions of the Jade Scriptures by the Ziwei Dijun and the Nanji Yuanjun, from the Shangqing Canon.” This short text is almost entirely composed of quotations from the Shangqing scriptures; see, among others, 405 *Shangqing zijing jun huangchu ziling daojun dongfang shangjing* 4a–12a, which precedes this text in the *Daozang*. Only the subtitle (7a) has been added, as well as the few lines of instructions on the last page for the ritual of homage to be performed upon entering the Pure Room.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing pei fuwen qingquan jue 上清佩符文青券訣

10 fols.

412 (fasc. 192)

Shangqing pei fuwen boquan jue 上清佩符文白券訣

11 fols.

413 (fasc. 192)

Shangqing pei fuwen jiangquan jue 上清佩符文絳券訣

4 fols.

414 (fasc. 192)

Shangqing pei fuwen heiquan jue 上清佩符文黑券訣

3 fols.

415 (fasc. 192)

Shangqing pei fuwen huangquan jue 上清佩符文黃券訣

7 fols.

416 (fasc. 192)

“Instructions Concerning Shangqing Talismans.” Together, these five works form an anthology of excerpts from the major Shangqing scriptures (the sources are generally indicated) concerning protective talismans. Notwithstanding the orientation by color, which presupposes a specific classification according to direction or function, the excerpts under each category do not correspond to any particular criteria. These five texts do not appear to be linked to any ritual of liturgical transmission.

It is probable that the excerpts were originally accompanied by drawings of the talismans. This anthology appears to have been a collector’s item, probably dating

from the Tang dynasty. The five texts are mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe” (VDL 76).

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing sanzhen zhiyao yujue 上清三真旨要玉訣

20 fols.

Tang (618–907)

422 (fasc. 193)

“Jade Formula of the Essential Principles of the Three Zhenren.” This is a collection of fragments culled, for the most part, from various Shangqing writings. The first part of the text (1a–12b) is taken from 1319 *Dongzhen xi wang mu baoshen qiju jing* 5a–16a, whereas pages 17a–18a come from 1389 *Shangqing gaosheng Taishang dadao jun dongzhen jinyuan bajing yulu* 6b–7a. The final part of the work is found in 1016 *Zhen’gao* 15.1a–2b. The source of the fragment on pages 12b–17a has not been located, except for a passage on 16b that is found in Dunhuang manuscript Stein 6219. That text presents itself as a summary (*daoyao* 道要) based largely on a *Ziran jing* 自然經.

The text as a whole deals with practices such as massage, prayer, exorcism rites, and ritual interdictions.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing dongzhen jieguo jue 上清洞真解過訣

28 fols.

Tang (618–907)

423 (fasc. 194)

“Formula for the Absolution of Sins.” This work is composed mainly of Shangqing texts, and of texts inspired by that school. It can be divided into four parts.

The first part (1a–5b) contains a method of Lord Pei 裴君, which is found in his biography (YJQQ 105.5a–6b and 12a–15a). This method consists of confessing one’s faults to the Emperor of the North and of invoking the gods of the Three Principles on the days when these deities assemble to revise the registers of life, especially at the time of the autumn equinox.

A second part (5b–7b) contains three methods of Xu Hui 許翮, one of which is a variant on the *wutong* 五通 method found in 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 20a–25a. A second method is linked to the Zhaoling furen 昭靈夫人, one of the goddesses at the origin of the revelations to YANG XI. This method, which consists of invoking the planets, seems also to have been inspired by 426 *Basu zhenjing* 21b and 20a. The third method in this section corresponds to 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 10a–b.

In the third part, the text on pages 7a–8a corresponds to 1330 *Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing* 35b–37a, whereas 8b–9a is taken from an unknown work called the Annals of Master Liu (*Liu xiansheng ji* 劉先生記).

In the fourth part, from page 9a to the end of the work, we find a description of the *huiyuan* 迴元 method as originally given in 1377 *Shendan jue* 4b–10b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing xiuxing jingjue 上清修行經訣

29 fols.

Tang (618–907)

427 (fasc. 195)

“Formulary for Shangqing Practices.” This work is an authentic anthology of prescriptions belonging to the Shangqing school. Each practice is preceded by a title, with a gloss indicating the source of the chapter concerned. With the exception of the passage 10b–11b, which derives from a Lingbao scripture (352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 1.25b and 24a), all the other texts in this work originate from Shangqing writings: 1016 *Zhen’gao* (the first page; this source is not indicated in the present text); 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinjue dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing*; 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing*; 1380 *Shangqing taishang huangsu sishisi fang jing*; 1315 *Dongzhen shangqing qingyao zishu jin’gen zhongjing*; 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing*; 1378 *Shangqing jinzhen yuguang bajing feijing*; 1379 *Shangqing yudi qisheng xuanji huitian jiuxiao jing*.

The last paragraph of our text (25b to the end), which cites a *Xiaomo jing* 消魔經, is not found in extant works bearing that title but in YJQQ 47.10b–11a.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing xiushen yaoshi jing 上清修身要事經

30 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1269 (fasc. 1002)

“The Essentials of the Practice of Perfection.” This is the same text, under a different title, as 427 *Shangqing xiuxing jingjue*, with the exception of a fragment in 2b–3a on the technique of grinding one’s teeth.

Isabelle Robinet



FIGURE 52. Ascending to Heaven for an audience in midsummer (430 4a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/427)

Shangqing badao biyan tu 上清八道祕言圖

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

430 (fasc. 196)

“Chart of the Discourse on the Essentials of the Eight Directions.” This is an illustrated version of the *Badao biyan* 八道祕言 meditation exercise from 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiu zhen zhongjing* (1.11b–15b) (fig. 52).

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing hanxiang jianjian tu 上清含象劍鑑圖

9 fols.

Attributed to SIMA CHENGZHEN 司馬承禎 (647–735)

431 (fasc. 196)

“The Shangqing Diagrams of the Cosmic Signs Embodied in Mirrors and Swords.” This work is a compilation of six brief chapters dealing with three mirrors and one sword, artifacts rendered spiritually significant by virtue of the cosmic designs engraved upon them (fig. 53). Due to these engravings and by the unique power of the Technique of the Four Discs (*sigui zhi fa* 四規之法), the mirrors reveal the real form of all that they reflect (1a–4b; cf. 1126 *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* 2.8b; 1245 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi mingjing fa* 1b; 1206 *Shangqing mingjian yaojing* 2a). Two additional fu, yin and yang, endow the two faces of the sword with the forces of submission and attack

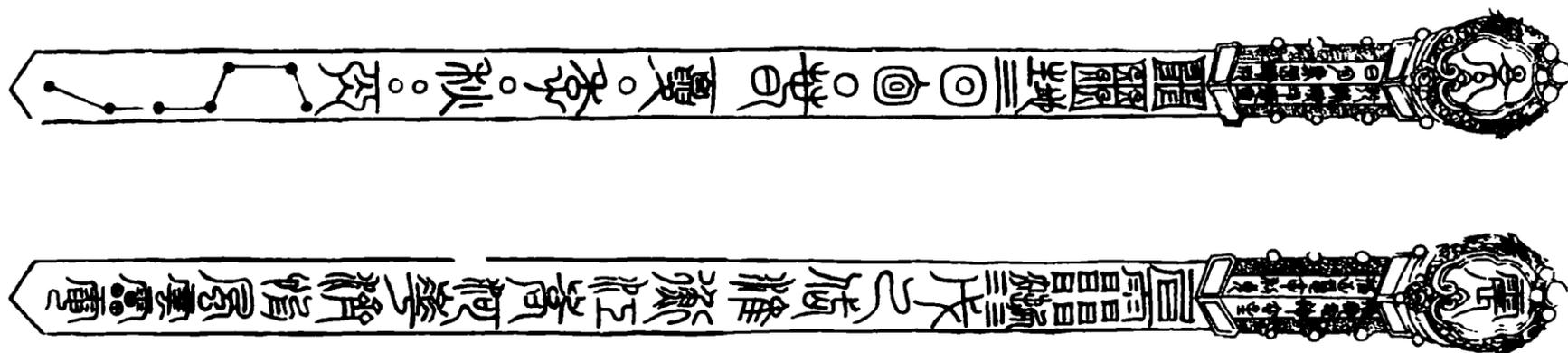


FIGURE 53. Magic swords (431 5a–6b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/428)

(4b–7a). Details of the fabrication and historical transmission of such artifacts (8b–9a) and a short formula for the smelting of silver from sand (9a–9b) close the text.

According to one chapter (7b–8a) this entire text and its accompanying diagrams were presented by SIMA CHENGZHEN to the Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), who responded with a brief poem, included in the text.

The memorial of presentation is signed Wu Ji 吳及 and dated 1005. Since Wu Ji lived from 1014–1062, either the attribution of this memorial or the date 1005 is erroneous.

Pauline Bentley Koffler

Shangqing changsheng baojian tu 上清長生寶鑑圖

4 fols.

Tang (618–907)

429 (fasc. 196)

“Shangqing Illustrations of Precious Mirrors of Long Life.” This work contains seven illustrations of magic mirrors adorned with various symbols and talismanic signs (fig. 54).

The title has *jian* 鑑 for *mirror* in deference to the Song taboo of the character *jing* 鏡 (see Chen Yuan, *Shihui juli*, 154). However, within the text the original character *jing* occurs (1a and 2b), indicating that the text dates from before the Song.

Kristofer Schipper

Qiyu xiuzhen zhengpin tu 七域修真證品圖

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

433 (fasc. 196)

“Diagram Demonstrating the Hierarchy of Degrees of the Practice of the True [Tao] and of the Seven Regions [of the Immortals].” This text contains (3a–5b) a list of Shangqing methods taken from 1016 *Zhen’gao* 5.3a–b. It establishes a hierarchy of the spiritual degrees of those who practice the school’s discipline. The description of

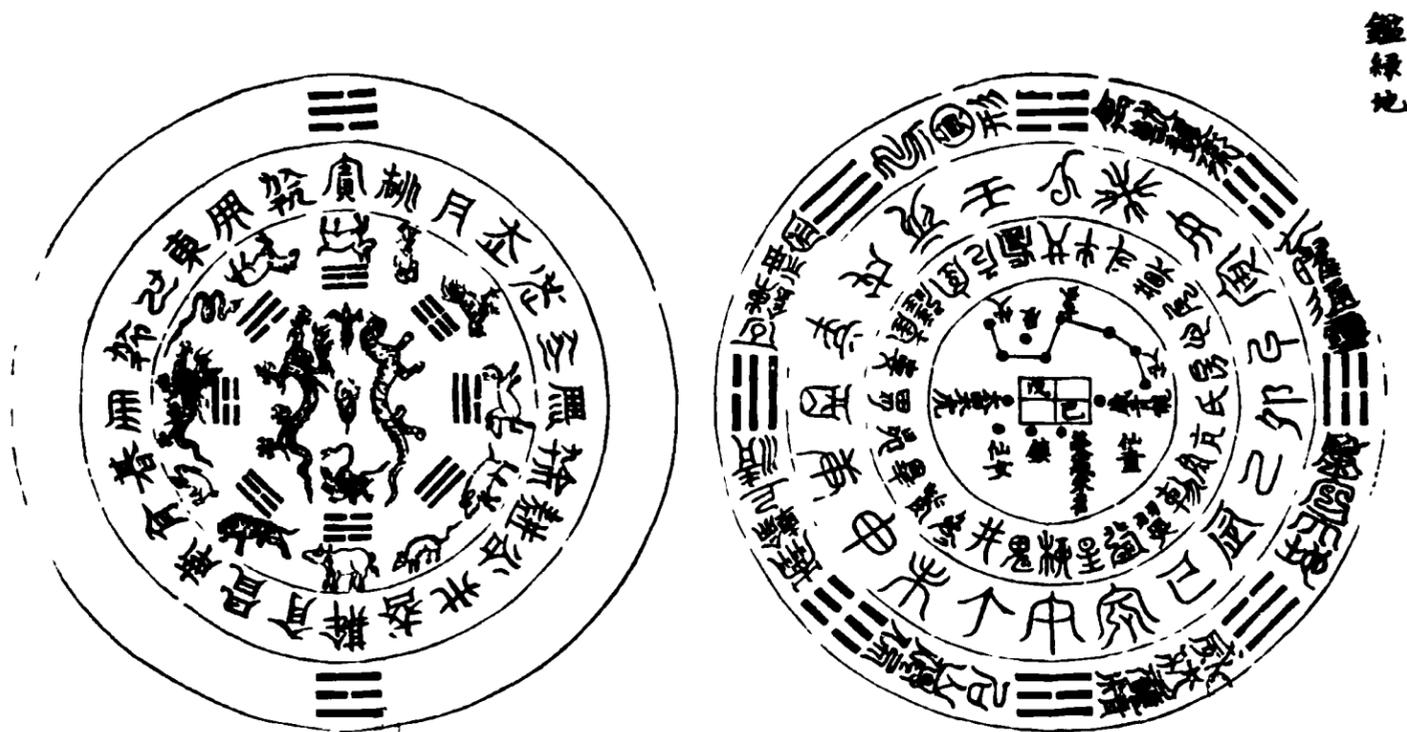


FIGURE 54. Magic mirrors (429 1a–2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/426)

these degrees follows the patterns laid down in 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* (4a–5b and 8a–b) and in 428 *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing* (2b–3a). According to these sources, the Seven Regions are: the Yuqing, Shangqing, Taiji, and Taiqing Heavens; the Nine Palaces of the celestial immortals; the Nine Palaces of the terrestrial immortals; and finally the cavern-heavens (*dongtian* 洞天). The last two “regions” found here are in addition to those listed in 426 *Basu zhenjing* and 428 *Jiuchen yujing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing zhongzhen jiaojie dexing jing 上清衆真教戒德行經

2 juan

458 (fasc. 203)

“Scripture on the Religious Precepts and the Practice of Virtue of the Multitude of the Zhenren of Shangqing.” This work is composed entirely of excerpts from 1016 *Zhen’gao*, especially juan 2, 4, 6, 10, 11, and 12.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing dadong jiugong chaoxiu bijue shangdao

上清大洞九宮朝修祕訣上道

9 fols.

Compiled by Zhou Deda 周德大

569 (fasc. 319)

“Superior Shangqing Method of Secret Formulas for Audience in the Nine Palaces of the Great Cavern.” This is a systematic presentation of the practices pertaining to the Nine Palaces of the brain. The practices are taken from 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaoqing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Ziting neibi jue xiuxing fa 紫庭內祕訣修行法

16 fols.

Tang (618–907)

874 (fasc. 580)

“Method for the Practice of the Secret Formula of the Purple Court.” The Purple Court (*ziting* 紫庭) is a celestial dwelling situated in the brain. The title here refers especially to the first part of the present text, composed entirely of excerpts from Shangqing scriptures, as well as from BPZ 17.

The opening pages (1a–5a) are devoted to methods described in 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwèn shangjing* 11a–12b and 8b–12b, and in 179 *Taiwei lingshu ziwèn xianji zhenji shangjing* 3b–4a. Our text occasionally gives variant terms and additional elaborations. The following pages (6a–8a) contain extracts from 1016 *Zhen’gao* 9.8a–17a. Page 9a to the end the present text is composed of passages from the BPZ 17.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangxuan gaozhen Yanshou chishu 上玄高真延壽赤書

16 fols.

877 (fasc. 581)

“Red Book of the Most Subtle Great Realized Yanshou.” This text is composed of passages from juan 9 and 10 of 1016 *Zhen’gao*. Yanshou 延壽 is an immortal who figures in the latter work (9.11a). The title “Red Book” is usually reserved for texts of the Lingbao school; page 2a of our text quotes 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1.22a.

The present text has been tampered with (words inserted on page 9a, and titles changed on 9a and 9b). Passages from 1016 *Zhen’gao* are often worded differently: in some places the actual *Zhen’gao* text is presented as a gloss (compare 4b with 1016 *Zhen’gao* 10.25a–b). Not all of the numerous textual variants are likely to be due to errors by the copyists. The *Zhen’gao* quotations are considerably at variance with the received version. Possibly the version from which our author drew his quotations was not the same recension of the *Zhen’gao* as the one we now know.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing jingyao sanjing miao jue

洞真太上八素真經精耀三景妙訣

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1320 (fasc. 1028)

“Wondrous Formula of the Three Heavenly Bodies of Essence from the True

Scripture of the Eight Purities Revealed by the Most High, of the Dongzhen Canon.” This is one of several texts connected with *426 Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* that postdate the Shangqing revelation. This work *426 Basu zhenjing* is probably one of the oldest texts of this group, for it appears under the title *Basu jing* in 1130 *Daodian lun* 29a (our text 4a).

The three heavenly bodies are, according to the first part of the work, the sun, the moon, and the Pole Star. In reality, this work consists of one method for absorbing the essence of the stars of the Dipper, and another for absorbing the essence of the Five Planets. At the end of the text (pages 4a–6a) there are three important paragraphs devoted to the worldly and spiritual discipline of Shangqing adepts.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing xiuxi gongye miaojue

洞真太上八素真經修習功業妙訣

14 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1321 (fasc. 1028)

“Wondrous Formula for Acquiring Merits from the True Scripture of the Eight Purities Revealed by the Most High, of the Dongzhen Canon.” This text is related to, but postdates, *426 Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* (cf. the references to Lingbao in 3b and 13b).

The work presents ritual precepts. The first of these precepts are attributed to 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing*, where, however, they are not now found. The other rules are quotations from the Ritual of the Most High (*Gaoshang ke* 高上科), an unknown work.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing sanwu xinghua miaojue

洞真太上八素真經三五行化妙訣

11 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1322 (fasc. 1028)

“Wondrous Formula for Practicing Transformation by the Three and the Five.” This work is related to *426 Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing*, but of much later date. Here, *the Three* refers to the three cognitions (*sanzhi* 三智) of Heaven, Earth and Humanity; *the Five*, to the five sagacities (*wuhui* 五慧) of Confucianism: benevolence (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), ritual comportment (*li* 禮), knowledge (*zhi* 知), and faithfulness (*xin* 信).

This Confucian element and a number of expressions of Buddhist origin (“reborn among men”; “greatest vehicle”; 3a) testify that this text does not derive from the same source as those texts revealed to YANG XI.

The present text (7a) is quoted in 396 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing jieyi* 2.3b, under the title *Basu jing* 八素經. The method for meditating on the Green Lad (Qingtong 青童) that is found at the end of our text (9a–11b) is similar to 1315 *Dongzhen shangqing qingyao zishu jin’gen zhongjing* 2.11a–12b.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing zhanhou ruding miaojue

洞真太上八素真經占候入定妙訣

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1325 (fasc. 1028)

“Marvelous Formula for Divining by the Stars and Entering into Meditation.” This text is related to 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* and presents methods of curing ills by meditation on the spirits of the body, and of expelling harmful influences (bad dreams, pollution) by massage. The names of the body spirits are those of the Shangqing tradition, but the style of the work bears little resemblance to the writings of that school.

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang dongzhen jing dongzhang fu 太上洞真經洞章符

8 fols.

Tang (618–907)

85 (fasc. 37)

“Talismans and Symbols of the Cavern, from the True Shangqing Canon.” This is a small collection of fu (some are missing), together with the spells and documents to be used alongside them. The first item is the *Dongzhang fu*, from which the collection takes its title, and which is used for expelling the *shi* 尸 demons in the body. This fu is to be practiced daily, morning, and evening.

The next item consists of a series of protective talismans to be used in conjunction with the famous *mingmo zhou* 命魔咒 (5a) also used in Lingbao liturgy (and that is here called *Miexie zhou* 滅邪咒). The final series of fu is related to the seven stars of the Dipper and to the god Taiyi 太一. All of these texts and talismans belong to the Shangqing canon.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongzhen taishang shangqing neijing 洞真太上上清內經

11 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1347 (fasc. 1033)

“Esoteric Shangqing Scripture of the Most High, of the Dongzhen Canon.” This small hybrid text reveals the secret talismans (or names) of the Nine Heavenly Zhenren, of the Nine Heavens where they dwell, and of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝), all for personal protection.

Kristofer Schipper

2.B.8.c.2 Liturgy

Shangqing tianbao zhai chuye yi 上清天寶齋初夜儀

10 fols.

216 (fasc. 84)

“Ritual of the First Night of the Retreat of the Heavenly Treasure of Superior Purity.” This ritual must be performed the night before the three audiences of a Heavenly Treasure Retreat (3b, 9a)—a Retreat that can be celebrated only for recipients of the Ultimate Method of the Superior Purity (*Shangqing bifa* 上清畢法; 1a), which is linked to the scriptures of the Dongzhen or Shangqing canon. The ritual is a Heavenly Treasure Retreat because of the relationship between the lord of the Heavenly Treasure and the Large Cavern in 318 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 1a. The present ritual includes a hymn in three stanzas (7a–8b). It is a modern addition—Ōfuchi dates it after the Yuan period (Ōfuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling Pao Ching,” 47)—to the same 318 *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing*.

After describing the revelation of the Shangqing literature to WEI HUACUN, 223 *Qingwei yuanjiang dafa* mentions a Retreat of the Heavenly Treasure and says that it is a form of the thunder method (*leifa* 雷法).

*John Lagerwey**Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 洞真太上太霄琅書

10 juan

1352 (fasc. 1034–1035)

“Peerless Book of the Empyrean.” This work is a collection of rules and regulations. Its title is borrowed from a Shangqing text: 55 *Gaoshang taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jing*, which provides the material for the first juan.

The numbering of the juan jumps directly from one to three although the numbering of the paragraphs remains consecutive. Juan 3 consists of extracts from 184 *Taizhen*

yudi siji mingke jing (juan 1, 2, 4, 5) and from 1409 *Taishang jiuzhen mingke* (similar to 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* 54a–65b).

The following juan are concerned with various ritual elements; Taoist clothing; rules to be observed in copying and preserving (chests, tables, hangings, etc.) sacred books; donations to be made on transmission; regulations for performing Retreats (*zhai* 齋); rules governing the relationship between master and disciple; and moral precepts (see 8.4b–5a, corresponding to YJQQ 38.13a–b).

Juan 5 is similar to 129 *Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jue*. Our text (8.11a–12b) reproduces a tomb contract from 1016 *Zhen'gao* 10.16a–17b. In the last juan (10.2b–5b), a number of hymns derive from 1328 *Dongzhen taishang badao mingji jing* 2.21a–23b, imitating the initial parts of it.

Isabelle Robinet

Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing dengtan fuzha miaojue

洞真太上八素真經登壇符札妙訣

14 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1324 (fasc. 1028)

“Wondrous Formula for Ascending the Altar and Dispatching Charms and Memorials, from the True Scripture of the Eight Purities.” This text is related to 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* and deals with the construction of the altar and the sacred area, and with the *chuguan* 出官 ritual for exteriorizing body deities that is characteristic of Zhengyi practices. Our text (4a–b) reproduces an invocation found in 1378 *Shangqing jinzhen yuguang bajing feijing* 14a–b and 4b–6b, a shortened form of the register (*lu* 籙) from 354 *Shangqing sanyuan yujian sanyuan bujing* 4.11b, and specifically names the latter work.

The present work is an example of the ritualization of texts related but posterior to the Shangqing revelations. A quotation (8b–9a) from 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 5.24a, in particular, points to a later date for our text.

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang feibu wuxing jing 太上飛步五星經

10 fols.

Tang (618–907)

637 (fasc. 341)

“Scripture of Pacing the Void and the Five Planets.” This is a small manual with excerpts from various Shangqing texts on the practices of pacing the Dipper stars and visualizing the planets by means of meditation.

The first part (1a–4b) derives from 876 *Taishang wuxing qi yuan kongchang jue*; the

remainder corresponds to 426 *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* (10a–18b, 21b, and 26b to end), with the exception of a passage on 8a–b of our text, which derives from 1016 *Zhen'gao* 3.17a–18b.

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang feibu nandou taiwei yujing 太上飛步南斗太微玉經

9 fols.

Tang (618–907)

638 (fasc. 341)

“Jade Scripture from the Taiwei on Pacing the Southern Dipper.” This scripture contains instructions on pacing the constellation Nandou 南斗. Transmitted by Chisong zi 赤松子, the True Lord of the Great Void (Taixu zhenjun 太虛真君), the present text is related to 637 *Taishang feibu wuxing jing*, to which it may be a sequel. The text explains that the adept needs to know the true names (*zhenming* 真名) of the six stars, and to carry the fu representing their real form (*zhenxing* 真形) on his or her body (or to ingest them) in order to pace the corresponding *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 stars and, finally, the constellation itself. After several years of practice, the adept becomes a zhenren of the Shangqing Heaven, and finally he or she ascends to the Yuqing 玉清 Heaven (1b–2a). Consequently, the text provides the fu that protect the adept during his or her ascent to the stars, followed by instructions for pacing the five *hun* and seven *po* stars and, finally, the six stars of the Nandou. For this practice, drawings of the stars connected by lines are prepared and laid out on the ground. Then the adept paces these stars while visualizing the divinities and reciting invocations. Our text concludes with a list of the pledges for the transmission of the scripture.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Shangqing zhuzhen zhangsong 上清諸真章頌

14 fols.

Tang (618–907)

608 (fasc. 334)

“Hymns of All the Zhenren of the Supreme Purity.” This work is a collection of hymns from both the original revealed scriptures and later works. The last hymns in this collection come from the early Lingbao canon.

The work contains, successively: (1) Hymns for Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛; 1a–2b), the texts of which are not found elsewhere; (2) songs extracted from 1372 *Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing* (2b–7b), 1328 *Dongzhen taishang badao mingji jing* (21a–23b), 1352 *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* (10.2b–5b), and 1458 *Taishang dongzhen huixuan zhang* (in extenso)—all of these are apocryphal; (3) the complete text of 1459 *Shangqing jinzhang shier pian*; and (4) hymns from

532 *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* (22b–23a), an early Lingbao scripture.

Isabelle Robinet

Zhongxian zansong lingzhang 衆仙讚頌靈章

13 fols.

Tang (618–907)

613 (fasc. 334)

“Marvelous Stanzas of the Hymns of the Immortals.” Here we find a number of poems revealed to YANG XI by the gods and goddesses who appeared to him. The poems are preserved in the 1016 *Zhen’gao*. The present text also contains a number of chants from the early Lingbao canon, such as the *Zhibui song* on pages 8a–9a. This hymn comes from 425 *Shangqing Taiji yinzhu yujing baojue* 18a–20a.

Isabelle Robinet

Zhuzhen gesong 諸真歌頌

22 fols.

Tang (618–907)

980 (fasc. 615)

“Hymns of the Zhenren.” This is a collection of poems, songs, ditties, and liturgical hymns from the corpus of Shangqing scriptures. The poems are mostly from juan 3, 4, and 13 of 1016 *Zhen’gao*. The songs on pages 7a–b derive from the story of the meeting between Xi wang mu 西王母 and Han Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.) in 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*. On pages 8a–10b, we find other hymns extracted from biographies of the Shangqing immortals, where they are sung by deities when the latter reveal themselves (compare WSBY 20.11b–12b, excerpts from the stories of WEI HUACUN and Lord Mao; see also YJQQ 96.12a–b).

The songs on pages 1a–b derive from 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* 66b–67b; those on pages 3a–b, from 1332 *Dongzhen taishang zidu yanguang shenyuan bian jing* 2a–b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing zhu zhenren shoujing shi song jinzhen zhang

上清諸真人授經時頌金真章

5 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1374 (fasc. 1041)

“Golden Hymns of the Zhenren of Supreme Purity, Sung on the Occasion of the Transmission of the Scriptures.” The title of this small collection is representative of its

contents. Especially prominent is the saint WEI HUACUN, who appeared to YANG XI and transmitted texts to him.

The present collection corresponds exactly to 608 *Shangqing zhuzhen zhangsong* 10b–14a, together with 1459 *Shangqing jinzhang shier pian*. The hymns have been copied from 1016 *Zhen'gao* 3.8a and 10b–11a, 1360 *Shangqing jiutian shangdi zhu baishen neiming jing* 9a–b, and 1330 *Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing* 1a–b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing wushang jinyuan yuqing jinzhen feiyuan buxu yuzhang
上清無上金元玉清金真飛元步虛玉章

6 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1375 (fasc. 1041)

“Superior Shangqing Stanzas of Pacing the Void, Flying to the Origin of the Golden Zhenren, in the Jade Purity [Mountain] of the Golden Origin.” Based on the model of the liturgical *buxu* 步虛 hymn of the Lingbao canon, as given in 1439 *Dongxuan lingbao yuqing shan buxu jing*, the present Shangqing version has the customary ten stanzas in five-character verse, followed by four stanzas in four-character verse. The vocabulary shows a marked Buddhist influence.

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang dongzhen huixuan zhang 太上洞真徊玄章

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1458 (fasc. 1064)

“Stanzas on the Return to Mystery.” This hymn is also found in 608 *Shangqing zhuzhen zhangsong* 8a–10b.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing jinzhang shier pian 上清金章十二篇

3 fols.

Tang (618–907)

1459 (fasc. 1064)

“Twelve Golden Stanzas of the Shangqing.” These verses are also found in 608 *Shangqing zhuzhen zhangsong* 10b–14a.

Isabelle Robinet

2.B.8.c.3 Encyclopedias

Shangqing wozhong jue 上清握中訣

3 juan

Attributed to TAO HONGJING 陶弘景 (456–536)

140 (fasc. 60)

“Shangqing Instructions to Be Kept in Hand.” While the work corresponds to the data listed in bibliographical sources from the Song dynasty (960–1279) on, there is no proof for the existence of a book of that title before the Tang (618–907). Moreover, the references to a *Wozhong jue* in 446 *Shangqing zhongjing zhu zhensheng bi* 7.1b–5a show that that work was far more voluminous than the text transmitted from the Song.

The ascription to TAO HONGJING seems to derive from a biography of uncertain date (quoted in TPYL 666.1b), according to which Sun Tao 孫韜 and Huan Kai 桓闓, both disciples of Tao, received from the master secret instructions to be kept in hand (*wozhong bijue* 握中祕訣).

The *Wozhong jue* does in fact bear close resemblance to TAO HONGJING’s confirmed works, particularly the 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*, but comparisons between parallel passages in both works reveal a degree of correspondence (not only in the main text but frequently also in the commentary) that can be explained only by extensive borrowing. These comparisons suggest that the *Wozhong jue* is not an original work but a condensed remake of Tao’s *Dengzhen yinjue* by a later author (cf., e.g., 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 1.3a–11b with our text 3.1a–2b).

The contents of the present text comprise excerpts from 1316 *Dongzhen shangqing taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing* (1.1a–4a; the beginning is lost); a number of methods transmitted in 1016 *Zhen’gao* 9–10 and in 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 2; and excerpts from the biographies of Su Lin 蘇林, the Mao 茅君 brothers, Wang Bao 王褒 (3.7b–9b; cf. 424 *Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue*), and WEI HUACUN (3.10a–b; cf. 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 3.1a and 3.23b–27b). All of these items were also topics of Tao’s original *Dengzhen yinjue*.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Shangqing dao leishi xiang 上清道類事相

4 juan

By Wang Xuanhe 王懸河 (fl. 683)

1132 (fasc. 765)

“The True Appearances of the Categories [Pertaining to] the Tao of the Highest Purity.” The title is indicative of the contents of this encyclopedia. For the author, see also SDZN. Intended as an aide-mémoire, this work lists the names and residences, with their localizations, of divinities, saints, and legendary and historical figures. These

residences are named *belvedere*, *palace*, *pavilion*, and so on. The deities Qingtong jun 青童君 and Xi wang mu 西王母, and the patriarch LU XIUJING, are among the figures included in this text. Its account of the residences does not attempt to be exhaustive (3.14a). Wang Xuanhe makes no distinction between the spheres of mythology and history.

The sources, always indicated, are mostly Shangqing texts dating from the Six Dynasties period (220–589). Other references are to the *Taiping jing* 太平經 (3.6a) and to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (1.7a). Wang Xuanhe's system of categories is consistently applied to his materials. The heavenly palaces contain the archives where the scriptures of the Shangqing tradition had been stored until their revelation to humanity. It may be that the divinities conferred their revelations by appearing in the recipient's worldly belvedere or palace, that is, in a temple.

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Florian C. Reiter

道藏通考

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Part 3

The Song, Yuan, and Ming

Introduction: Taoism in the Early Modern Era

The era starting with the advent of the Song dynasty in the second half of the tenth century may be considered the beginning of the modern age in the history of China. When compared to previous times, great changes in all aspects of China's civilization are manifest, and perhaps nowhere are these changes more visible than in the evolution of Taoism.

The rise of local political and religious lay organizations, especially in the regions south of the Yangzi River, is certainly one of the most important factors in this change. During the previous century, the division of the country into a great number of semi-autonomous regions greatly favored the emancipation of local societies, where Taoism had, and still has, its natural habitat.

We see, especially among the townspeople of the Jiangnan 江南 area, the rise of associations (*hui* 會) in honor of local saints. Apart from worship, these associations had many functions. The most important associations were often vocational groups comparable to European guilds and merchant corporations. Others were pilgrimage associations, maintaining networks between different localities. Still others had more precise aims, such as performing deeds of merit: keeping the temple and the locality clean, reciting scriptures and teaching literary skills, caring for the old and the sick by establishing hospitals and dispensaries, helping the physically and mentally disabled by housing them in the temples, liberating animals and advocating vegetarianism, printing and publishing, and even collecting old paper (any piece with writing on it was deemed sacred). Many associations ran schools and trained young people in the martial arts so as to be able to protect the community when the need arose. All these deeds were *gongfu* 功夫 (religious merit; a term we now associate with the Chinese martial arts as practiced within the context of temple associations). Because all these activities were performed as a service to the community, we call these associations “liturgical organizations.”

The temple-and-market network greatly developed in the Five Dynasties period (907–960). Formerly only a few Taoist saints had been officially recognized. Now, in the new and generally short-lived kingdoms that emerged, many local saints came into the limelight. The worship of the great saints of the Jiangnan area—such as Guandi 關帝, the embodiment of martial virtue; Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君, who became

the patron saint of the literati; Mazu 媽祖, the fisherman's daughter who became the protectress of seafarers; XU JINGYANG, the immortal official; and many more—developed greatly, and the associations that promoted them grew in power and wealth. Over time, these powerful nonofficial organizations distributed their own sacred literature. They attracted their own clergy and created rituals in which the veneration of their saint had a central position. Thus local Taoist lineages developed, and many scriptures in the present volume bear witness to this development.

The growing importance of local centers was reinforced by imperial patronage. Already at the beginning of the Tang dynasty, imperial patronage was obtained for the worship of XU JINGYANG, and this patronage was reinforced in later periods. Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang dynasty canonized Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the First Heavenly Master. This measure did not benefit the region of northern Sichuan, where the ecclesia originally came from, but a Taoist temple in honor of this patriarch that stood at an important junction of the trade routes that linked the Jiangnan area to the provinces of Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong. This place, on Longhu shan 龍虎山, was purportedly the spot where Zhang Daoling had obtained the Tao and where his descendants had continued to live. The emperor also recognized the chiefs of this lineage as the legitimate holders of the title of Heavenly Master. Thereby the new Zhengyi 正一 patriarchy of the Longhu shan was created, which would become vastly influential during the period under consideration here. Also toward the end of the Tang (618–907), other southern centers claimed their historical ancestry and established lineages of patriarchs. The Maoshan 茅山 lineage, going back to Lady WEI HUACUN, who had inspired YANG XI in writing the Shangqing texts, was construed by a Taoist named Li Bo 李渤 in the early ninth century (see YJQQ 5). As to the Lingbao tradition, it was claimed by a temple on Gezhaoshan 閣皂山 in Jiangxi province. The Lingbao declared GE XUAN, the ancestor of GE HONG and a famous Taoist of the Three Kingdoms period (220–265), its founder. During the Ming (1368–1644), the authority of the Longhu shan Heavenly Master lineage over the two other centers became predominant, so much so that the Maoshan and Gezhaoshan gradually lost their identity before being taken over by the Quanzhen order during the Qing period (1644–1911).

In the beginning of the Song period, the development of local and regional organizations could no longer be ignored by the central government. In a series of bold religious and political actions, Emperor Zhenzong (997–1022) of the Northern Song, after having first been sanctified as the representative of the Tao on Earth by the revelation of Heavenly Letters, undertook to create a network of officially sponsored Taoist temples called Tianqing guan 天慶觀. The Taoist priests who were appointed as keepers of the sanctuaries were recognized as government officials. The state retained control of the sanctuaries, but it allowed many local associations to participate in the

different activities related to them. In the Tianqing guan, not only the Yellow Emperor, the divine ancestor of the dynasty, was worshiped. Some of these deities—such as the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官)—belonged to the Taoist ecclesia; others were dynastic deities whose worship was an imperial prerogative, such as the Lord of Tai-shan. Soon, next to the Tianqing guan, and with imperial approval, shrines appeared to many other saints and gods. The modern temple was born, with its lay organization that replaced the ancient dioceses of the ecclesia of the Heavenly Master.

Throughout the Northern Song, emperors maintained important Taoist functions. Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) was actually titled Lord of the Tao (Daojun 道君). Yet we cannot speak of an “official religion.” The temple network of which the emperor was the head existed side by side with, but separate from, the official Confucian bureaucracy, although there were many institutional and also informal links.

At the beginning of the modern era, the interpenetration between the Three Teachings was strong. Among the Buddhist schools, Chan (Zen) Buddhism was influenced by Taoism. The other great movement, that of Pure Land Buddhism, in turn influenced Taoist ritual practice. Confucianism owed an immense debt to both Buddhism and Taoism, which had given it the transcendent dimension it was hitherto lacking. But as Taoism became more and more immersed in local society and popular culture, it became estranged from the other two religions, or, more exactly, Buddhism and Confucianism gradually distanced themselves from it. While the idea of the unity of the Three Teachings remained one of the cornerstones of the political discourse, in practice only Taoism continued to believe in the dialogue. The two other doctrines tended toward increased differentiation. The unity of the Three Teachings therefore became primarily a Taoist cause and was only actively supported by Confucianism and Buddhism at times when Chinese culture as a whole was threatened, as during the Mongol period.

The main challenge for Taoism, as reflected in the texts of the period under consideration here, were the great changes due to the emancipation of local cults. Many of these cults were survivals from antiquity, such as those that venerated the Earth God (*she* 社 or *tudi* 土地), the Thunder God (*leishen* 雷神), and many nature spirits. Others, already mentioned, were cults of local saints. Invariably, the deities of these cults manifested themselves through spirit mediums, according to the age-old traditions of Chinese shamanism. How were these deities and their priests to be assimilated within the framework of Taoist thought and practice? And even more challengingly, how were the rites performed by the shamans to be integrated with the Taoist liturgical organization?

As the texts in the *Daozang* show, the first challenge, that of incorporating the gods of ancient China and the saints of local temples into the Taoist pantheon and theology, was met simply by assimilating them with cosmic energies (*qi*), most often

represented by a star or a constellation. This sublimation was not unlike the translation of mortals into immortality, as already practiced through the liturgy of the great Taoist *zhai* 齋 and *jiao* 醮 services. Thus the canonization these deities had received from the imperial institution (*guofeng* 國封) was matched by the conferral of a Taoist investiture (*daofeng* 道封) to them. Far more complex, and therefore the subject of many treatises and discussions, was the profusion of rites related to these deities. These rites were by and large of an exorcistic nature, and the new saints, such as Lord Guan 關公, played an important role in them, first with the rank of general, then as marshal, and finally as a high celestial deity.

Exorcistic rites had, of course, always existed in Taoism, and many scattered references related to them may be culled from medieval source material. Some rites, like the exorcistic spells of the God of the North (Beidi 北帝), had been incorporated into the revelations of YANG XI (see 1016 *Zhen'gao* 10.10a–11b, 15.1a–4b and 53 *Taishang dongyuan beidi tianpeng huming xiaozai shenzhou miaojing*). Exorcism was also part of medical practice, as can be seen from the “Jinjing 禁經” in SUN SIMO’s *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方. However, exorcists had never gained high social recognition, and their rites had only rarely been put into writing.

All this was now to change. From the beginning of the Song dynasty onward, we are confronted with spirit-medium cults and related exorcist rituals that, although local in origin, gained wide recognition at court and obtained imperial favor (e.g., the worship of the Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖保德真君 at the imperial court; see 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan* by WANG QINRUO). The early tenth-century work 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* presents, in addition to the traditional Tang liturgical organization and its ordination grid, the first mention of a minor exorcistic order that practiced the Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法) of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi leigong fa* 北帝雷公法; 9a). Henceforth, many rites (*fa* 法) related to these exorcist practices became institutionalized and established their own initiations and lineage organizations, independent of the existing Taoist liturgical structures.

Modern Taoism distinguishes between the liturgical capability of the Taoist Scholar (*daoshi* 道士) and that of the Ritual Master (*fashi* 法師) or Ritual Official (*faguan* 法官). This distinction is again reflected in the differences in authority conferred by the register (*lu* 籙) and by the rite (*fa* 法). Among the sources that bear on this subject, the most complete and enlightening are the *Taishang tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格 and its sequel, *Taishang hundong chimen nüqing zhaoshu tianlü* 太上混洞赤文女青詔書天律 in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 249–52. In the latter, it is stated explicitly that “the *fa* has to follow the register [*lu*], and there can be no discrepancy between the two” (249.13b). As the regular Taoist clergy and the Ritual Masters worked side by side in the same environment, their mutual integration became a fundamental prerequisite and a continual process.

The above-quoted texts in the *Daofa huiyuan* derive from the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 lineage, which was, according to its own accounts, one of the earlier Song exorcistic lineages to obtain official recognition. Globally speaking, the Tianxin zhengfa appears to have been the first lineage to have been codified by means of a written corpus. It established a historical lineage beginning with TAN ZIXIAO in Fujian during the Five Dynasties and was well represented by DENG YOUGONG until the end of the Northern Song. The lineage claimed to be ultimately derived from the First Heavenly Master himself. During the Southern Song (1127–1279) and later, the Tianxin zhengfa was indeed considered to be a part, even a fundamental part, of the rites of the Way of the Heavenly Master. In fact, however, its exorcistic rites during which a demon is first captured and imprisoned, then interrogated and sentenced, are elaborations of ancient shamanistic séances.

Also comparatively early, and even more famous, were the Shenxiao 神霄 rites, which are said to have been introduced by the court Taoist LIN LINGSU (1076–1120) and his disciple Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153). Few precise facts can be found to link the Shenxiao texts preserved in the *Daozang* with the activities of these daoshi at the court of Song Huizong, as all of the relevant books can be shown to have been written or at least seriously reedited during the Southern Song period. The name “Shenxiao” refers to a supreme sphere in the heavenly universe, where higher deities than those hitherto recognized dwelled. This reference allowed for the establishment of a new list of nine Heavenly Worthies 天尊, the so-called Nine Sovereigns (Jiuchen 九宸), the first being the Original Saint Governor of the Heavens, the Heavenly Worthy of Long Life of the Southern Apex, Founder of the Myriad Rites of the Celestial Abodes of Shenxiao (Shenxiao tiangong wanfa zhi zong, Nanji changsheng tongtian yuansheng tianzun 神霄天宮萬法之宗南極長生統天元聖天尊). Next to the supreme god of the Shenxiao, the Taiyi jiuku tianzun 太乙救苦天尊 and the Leisheng puhua tianzun 雷聲普化天尊 represent the cosmic forces related, respectively, to death and life. These names are Taoist translations of the bodhisattva Kṣitigarba and Samantabhadra. The presence of two essentially Buddhist deities at the heart of modern Taoist ritual should not come as a surprise. The Lingbao ritual for the universal salvation of souls (*pudu* 普度) had since the late medieval period become more and more predominant, and with it the rites of sublimation (*liandu* 鍊度) that aim at forging an immortal body for the suffering dead. These rites involve the purification and divine rebirth of a spirit through the practice of Inner Alchemy by the officiant. Such Inner Alchemy techniques were combined with purification and exorcism rites that marshaled the forces of the thunder. These latter practices were by and large borrowed and adapted from Tantric Buddhism. Here much remains to be done in terms of research to elucidate the original Tantric antecedents of Song Taoist ritual. Tantrism, introduced in China during the late Tang, does not seem to have succeeded

at that time in establishing itself as an autonomous Buddhist school, but it did have an important influence on Taoism, and many Tantric practices found their way into Taoist liturgy.

During the Southern Song, the combination of the above-mentioned elements became consolidated into a large ritual synthesis that received the general appellation of the Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao (*Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法). Within this global framework, expounded in a number of important manuals and handbooks, we see the successive incorporation of different lineages, such as the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 of LU SHIZHONG. Lu, at the beginning of the Southern Song period, claimed to continue the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa, but by incorporating them into the Lingbao liturgy for the universal salvation of souls. Other influential currents were the Tongchu 童初 rites of Maoshan, the Jade Pivot (Yushu 玉樞) scriptures of BO YUCHAN, and finally the Qingwei school of ZHAO YIZHEN. But there are many other movements, especially related to *leifa*, that call for further research.

Owing perhaps to the rupture with its historical antecedents—the Heavenly Master ecclesia and the ancient scriptural transmission of the Lingbao and Shangqing canons—and perhaps also to the emancipation of local cults and their spirit-medium rites, Taoism in the modern age seems to increasingly lose a sense of its own historical reality. Zhang Daoling 張道陵 becomes the revealing spirit of the Tianxin zhengfa rites, while LÜ DONGBIN continues, century after century, to transmit his Inner Alchemy secrets and to write poetry. These and other divine patriarchs also write commentaries to sacred scriptures (e.g., 99 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing jizhu*). The great commentary to the *Yuhuang benxing jing* 玉皇本行經 by the Ming scholar Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504–1564) is also adorned with prefaces by saints such as Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君 (Wenchang 文昌), LÜ DONGBIN, QIU CHUJI, and the Heavenly Marshal Deng 鄧元帥. These saints are moreover the authors of a large part of the commentary (see 1440 *Huangjing zhujie*).

To all these changes in the Taoist traditions must be added the widespread use of printing, which made possible the dissemination of texts formerly transmitted to initiates only. Thus the exclusivity that formerly characterized the transmission of many liturgical texts could no longer be maintained. During the Yuan and Ming periods, some Taoist scriptures—such as 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* and 623 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miao*, or 1442 *Taishang sanyuan cifu shezui jie'e xiaozai yansheng baoming miaojing*—were among the most widely printed and distributed books in China, surpassing the circulation of Buddhist and Confucian works. In what respect are we then justified to maintain the heading “Texts in Internal Circulation” for this part?

Even while the old system was no longer universally adhered to, rules relating to transmission and ordination still appear to have been strictly applied. Some books

were circulated in a printed form, but they were by no means considered fit to be placed into anyone's hands. The printed versions of the successive *Daozang* were confined to Taoist centers and almost never shown to outsiders. Moreover, even popular scriptures of devotion, to be recited and venerated in people's homes, carried explicit warnings as to their exclusivity and as to the many rules to be observed when handling them. Finally, what certain scriptures may have lost in exclusivity as a result of their widespread circulation was largely made up for by the very secrecy that surrounded the new exorcist techniques of the Tianxin zhengfa and Shenxiao rites. All in all, the ritual texts of Taoism continued to be accessible for ordained daoshi and initiated practitioners only.

3.A Texts in General Circulation

3.A.1 Philosophy

3.A.1.a Commentaries on Ancient Philosophers

3.A.1.a.1 The *Daode jing*

Daode zhenjing lun 道德真經論

4 juan

By Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086)

689 (fasc. 373)

“Essay on the Way and Its Power.” This essay was originally entitled *Daode lun shuyao* 道德論述要 (“A Summary of the Discourses on the *Daode jing*”) and divided into two juan (VDL 153).

Sima Guang considers that the *Laozi* should not be divided into two books, one on the Tao, the other on the De. His commentary follows the traditional order of the chapters, with one paragraph per chapter, but without titles. Sima Guang was one of the first commentators (possibly the first) to punctuate after *you* 有 and *wu* 無 in the opening sentences of the *Laozi*: “*wu* [negation] is the name of the origin of Heaven and Earth; *you* [affirmation] is the name of the mother of the ten thousand beings; forever in the *wu* shalt thou contemplate the wonder, forever in the *you* shalt thou contemplate its fringes.”

But *wu* and *you* are here seen as only makeshift names. The Confucian virtues are here seen as upheld: *ren* 仁 (humanity) and *yi* 義 (duty) are contained within the Tao, which is why they make their appearance when the Tao declines; when *Laozi* rejects knowledge and *ren*, it is because in their time of decadence, these virtues are no more than simulacra of their true meaning.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei pian 道德真經藏室纂微篇

10 juan

By CHEN JINGYUAN 陳景元, *zi* Taichu 太初 or Taixu 太虛, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虛子 or Zhenjing 真靖; 1072

714 (fasc. 418–420)

“Subtleties Culled From the Storehouse of the Way and Its Power.” The term *pian* 篇 (text) has been added to this title to distinguish the text from the two commentaries that follow it as sequels in the *Daozang*. The author collected a great number of editions and commentaries of the *Daode jing* and kept them in a special room. In this work, he presents what he considers to be the subtle words of the ancient sages regarding the *Daode jing* (see the preface, 6b, and 9b–10a).

CHEN JINGYUAN (1024–1094) was a Taoist master from Tiantai who later resided at Lushan. He wrote numerous commentaries and other works, though only a few of these survive. As a disciple of Zhang Wumeng 張無夢 (952?–1051), he belongs to the lineage of CHEN TUAN.

The present work is preceded by (1) an introduction by the author devoted in the main to the mythology of the *Laozi*; (2) a “Dissertation on the *Laozi*” by Ge Bi 葛邲 (*zi* Cizhong 次中, *hao* Wenkang gong 文康公) from Lingying guan 靈應觀 in Shanshan 贍山; and (3) a preface by Yang Zhonggeng 楊中庚, dated 1258, stating that a printed edition of this commentary was presented to the emperor (in 1072, as specified in 715 *Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei kaiti kewen shu* 1.4b).

This commentary is noted in the bibliographies as consisting of two juan. It is also said that the same author wrote a *Daode zhu* 注, likewise in two juan (see *Song shi* 205.5178 and the biography of CHEN JINGYUAN in LZTT 49.5a). The question therefore arises whether CHEN JINGYUAN wrote two different commentaries on the *Laozi*.

The present commentary has been preserved, wholly or in part, in anthologies such as 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi* (which contains the shortest version), 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu*, 718 *Daode zhenjing gushan ji*, and 716 *Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei shouchao*. Some of these versions accord with each other (cf. 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu* 1.1a and 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi* 3.4a); others differ (cf. 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu* 2.17b–18a, 18b–19b, and 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi* 13.33a–34a). Occasionally, these versions correspond to the present text (e.g., 2.2b–3a and 718 *Daode zhenjing gushan ji* 2.4b–5a and 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi* 13.33a); sometimes they diverge (cf. 2.1b and 718 *Daode zhenjing gushan ji* 2.1b). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to consider the present text and its other versions as having issued from different sources. On the whole, they represent one and the same text, despite occasional variants. The present version of the text appears to have been abridged, especially when comparing it to quotations found in 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi*.

In his prefatory remarks (6b), the author reviews the fundamentals of his under-

standing of the *Daode jing*, which, as he states in his commentary, applies equally to governing the state and the self. CHEN JINGYUAN selects phrases from the *Laozi* that sum up his reading of the work, and he uses them to illustrate government by nonaction on the political level, a life of withdrawal without desires on the personal level, and, on the metaphysical plane, the ineffability of the Tao. His commentary is a work of recapitulation that provides a synthesis of interpretations of the *Daode jing*. It presents the distinctions between essence (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用), between the physical and metaphysical spheres, between the “root” and the “leaving of traces,” between the “I” and the “other,” between the notion of real nature received from Heaven (*xing* 性) and to which one must return without trespassing beyond its limits, and that of the passions (*qing* 情) that engender distinctions. All these distinctions must vanish in “total forgetfulness” and in “coalescent unity.”

Our commentary does not neglect the dialectics of *wu* and *you* (nonbeing and being), and presents the most representative of the interpretations of HESHANG GONG. CHEN JINGYUAN adopts the explanation of “nourishing the spirit and purifying the body” within the context of techniques applying to the circulation of qi and blood.

On various occasions he makes a distinction between the “ancient” interpretations inspired by Taoist practices and applicable to both the individual and the state—which include practices of breathing and visual meditation as well as cosmological speculations—and contemporary interpretations that do not go beyond the sphere of individual conduct and that fall within the category of ethical and mystical practices.

This commentary is also interesting for the way it links the *Daode jing* to the commentaries of diverse schools of Taoist texts and to the Confucian classics. Among the various schools we find that of Lu Xisheng 陸希聲. There are long fragments of the now lost parts of the commentary by YAN ZUN. The Taoist texts referred to are those of the *Zhuangzi* and, above all, the *Huainan zi* (cf. 1184 *Huainan honglie jie*), as well as 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*, 666 *Xisheng jing*, and so on. The most frequently quoted Confucian classics linked to the *Daode jing* are the *Yijing* (including many unattributed borrowed phrases and interpretations of the hexagrams), the *Lunyu*, the *Shijing*, and the *Mengzi*, whose flood-like breath (*haoran zhi qi* 浩然之氣) is assimilated to the median qi.

The cosmogonic system of our author is clearly inspired by YAN ZUN, and although Zhang Wumeng is not mentioned by name, Yang Zhongkeng in his preface states that CHEN JINGYUAN here transmits the essence of his master’s doctrine. We find indeed that Inner Alchemy constitutes an important element throughout the text. The spirit of synthesis characteristic of this current of thought pervades the work, and the vocabulary of this school is reflected in the many allusions and terms stemming from Inner Alchemy (see, for instance, 2.2a, 5.12b, 10.7b). Furthermore, the Taiji 太極 is constantly assimilated to the primordial qi, which would seem to confirm the ties that no doubt linked CHEN JINGYUAN to the CHEN TUAN school.

Finally, as the author of works of a philological nature, CHEN JINGYUAN introduces into this commentary observations concerning variants in the *Laozi* text, comparing the versions of WANG BI, HESHANG GONG, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), and an ancient manuscript (*guben* 古本).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing zhuan 道德真經傳

4 juan

By LÜ HUIQING 呂惠卿; 1078

686 (fasc. 369)

“Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” LÜ HUIQING (1031–1110) held high ministerial positions. This work was presented to the emperor in 1078. It is mentioned in the bibliographical catalogues as comprising two juan (VDL 104).

The commentary is placed in the traditional order, at the end of each chapter of the *Laozi* text, and not after each sentence or phrase. It is quoted in 718 *Daode zhenjing qushan ji* with important variants (compare 718 *Qushan ji* 1.2b–3a; 13b; 2.5b with our text 1.1b; 1.5a; 1.11b, respectively). It is also quoted in 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi* 1.22a, 24b, and elsewhere, with substantial divergences from our text (1.4a–b) as well as from 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* 5.20b–21a. The quotations in 718 *Qushan ji* and 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* also diverge: the commentary on chapter 1 of the *Laozi* is virtually the same in our text as in 724 *Zhenjing jiyi*, but it is different in 718 *Qushan ji* (compare 1.5a–b in the present text with 718 *Qushan ji* 1.13a and 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* 1.19b–20b).

Within each chapter, this commentary follows the development of Laozi’s thought phrase by phrase, providing constant examples from the *Daode jing* as illustrations, with the result that the text comments on itself. Allusions to the *Zhuangzi* are also oblique. Digressions are rare. The beginning of the commentary reveals a Mādhyamika influence. The pedagogical usefulness of the latter can be seen in the manner by which the commentary explains the negative formulas of the *Laozi* as instructions to avoid affirmation of any sort (1.19b, see also 1.18b).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing jizhu 道德真經集註

10 juan

Colophon by Liang Jiong 梁迥; 1098

706 (fasc. 395–398)

“Collected Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” The collection comprises the commentaries of HESHANG GONG, WANG BI, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang, and WANG PANG (1042–1076). The colophon by

Liang Jiong, military judge of Yingzhou 英州, explains that an official by the name of Zhang (his personal name is not given) had these commentaries printed after having them edited by a “worthy scholar.” There are many other editions of the first three commentaries in the present collection, but the fourth—by WANG PANG, the son of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), who also wrote an important commentary on the *Zhuangzi* (743 *Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan*)—survives only here in a complete version. The same commentary is partially preserved in 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi* and 718 *Daode zhenjing qushan ji*. The hypothesis put forward by Wang Zhongmin in *Laozi kao* attributing the present edition to Wen Ruhai 文如海 is untenable. Wen lived under the Tang (see VDL 138).

There are three prefaces. Those by Emperor Xuanzong and GE XUAN are well known. The third is by WANG PANG, who states that it was written in 1070.

A comparison of the WANG PANG commentary in our text with the fragments preserved in 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* shows that the present version, although generally complete, has been abridged in some places (compare our text 1.1a and 1.6a with 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* 1.25a and 1.27a–29b, respectively; the passage from WANG PANG’s commentary given in 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* 5.21b–22a is missing altogether in the present version).

The commentary by WANG PANG belongs to those that attempt a synthesis between the Three Teachings (*sanjiao*): Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Wang Pang often compares Confucianism to the seasons of spring and summer, Taoism to autumn and winter, these being the times of fruition, of harvest and gathering. Laozi brings all together and makes all things return to the One, to their “fundamental nature,” and to quiet peacefulness. It is this gathering that enables the renewal of blossoming in the following spring and summer (see WANG PANG’s preface, page 6b, and the passages on 3.19a, 4.7b, 5.24a, 6.18a). WANG PANG opposes WANG BI’s interpretation insofar as WANG PANG considers that Laozi recognized *wu* 無 (non-being) and *you* 有 (being) to be interdependent, but that Laozi’s thought concentrates on *wu*, whereas the Confucian scriptures are concerned with *you* (compare also 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* 1.28b–29b). WANG PANG follows the example of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) by placing punctuation, in the opening sentences of the first chapter of the *Daode jing*, after *wu* and *you*, and not after *yu* 欲 (desire), as is customary (see 689 *Daode zhenjing lun*).

WANG PANG’s commentary centers on the concept of *xing* 性 (nature), which has here the connotation of the “fundamental nature” of humanity, the vehicle of transcendence in human beings, identified by WANG PANG with the *pu* 樸, the “uncarved block” of the *Laozi* (see 5.8b, 8.21b). He also equates this concept of nature with the *haoran* 浩然 (the exaltation of the spirit), in Mengzi (see 10.9b). WANG PANG advocates humanity’s “return to its nature” (*fixing* 復性), an expression borrowed from

the Tiantai school of Buddhism and that Li Ao 李翱 (774–836) already had made the title of his famous essays, *Fuxing shu* 復性書. To “return” in this way is also “to examine the core of one’s nature” (*jinxing* 盡性), an idea that refers to the *Yijing* and that here becomes synonymous with *fuming* 復命 (return to destiny), an expression taken from Laozi. All throughout his work, WANG PANG juggles with these three expressions, each of which comes from one of the Three Teachings.

WANG PANG often quotes the *Zhuangzi* (see 1.8b and especially 3.32a, where he makes an interesting comparison between Laozi and Zhuangzi), as well as the *Yijing* and the *Mengzi*. He likewise quotes many Confucian classics: the *Lunyu*, the *Shujing*, the *Shijing*, the *Liji*, and others. He uses some Buddhist concepts, especially in the context of the dialectic discourse of the conciliation of the opposites *wu* and *you*, action and nonaction, unity and duality (see, for instance, 7.11a and 12a). Wang frequently pairs double negations to demonstrate the fact that these concepts mutually abolish and also complete each other (e.g., “appearances are neither illusory nor nonreal”; 7.12a). Several times, he uses the expression “things cannot move” (*wu bu neng qian* 物不能遷; 3.8b, 8.12a), which is reminiscent of the title of an essay by Sengzhao 僧肇 (374–414).

The Taoism of WANG PANG is essentially philosophical. For him, to “nourish life” is to “forget the I” and to become a “being without mind” (*wuxin* 無心; 3.34a, 35a, 35b). Thus humans can achieve “mystical identification” (*xuantong* 玄通; 3.33b), the coincidence of opposites such as *wu* and *you*, of the One and the ten thousand transformations (see 5.4a and 25a; 6.17a). There is virtually no mention of Taoist practices, although in 2.11a we find a reference to Taoist anthropology: the triad of essence (*jing* 精), spirit (*shen* 神), and pneuma (*qi* 氣) that form the human being. Wang rejects quietism (see 4.21a and 7.9b, 25b) as well as asceticism. He considers that the wish to escape from hunger and cold are part of human nature.

Wang’s commentary extols the role of the saint who “embodies the Tao” and “goes to the extreme of his own nature,” who “governs the world” (4.11a, 12a; 5.25a), who masters all transformations and is capable of all things (8.29a). In this spiritual achievement resides his longevity, which establishes a smooth harmony with transformations and vicissitudes, or a vision that transcends opposition between life and death (5.15a, 21a). Leader of the people, the saint enables the people to “follow their own nature” (10.9a–b, 29a, 31b).

In conclusion, WANG PANG, who remains above all a scholar, has created an intelligent synthesis of the Three Teachings. It seems that his commentary exerted an important influence on Su Che 蘇轍 (see 691 *Daode zhenjing zhu*).

Daode zhenjing zhu 道德真經註

4 juan

By Su Che 蘇轍; 1100

691 (fasc. 374)

“Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” Some of the Song editions of this commentary by Su Che were divided into two juan (VDL 107) and are said to date from 1100 (see *Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi* 1.9b). There were two editions printed in the thirteenth century that are no longer extant: one written in the calligraphy of Zhang Jizhi 張即之 in 1218 (cf. *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引 2398), the other produced in 1255 in Sichuan by the Taoist master Wang Daoli 王道立, zi Boxiu 伯修, and revised by his grandson in 1290 (see *Bisong lou cangshu zhi* 66.3a).

In this commentary, Su Che seeks to illustrate the fundamental unity linking Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. In a postface, dated 1108, he states that it was in order to prove to a Buddhist monk that the teachings of Confucianism were akin to those of Buddhism that he had undertaken to write this commentary on the *Laozi*. A more complete version of this postface is preserved in other editions. The present commentary is indeed particularly characterized by its Buddhist-oriented approach. Almost all the references to the Confucian classics are to the *Yijing*, on which Su Che wrote a separate commentary.

The dominant concept of the present work is *fuxing* 復性 (return to one's own nature). This expression, associated with the Tiantai school Buddhism, had already enjoyed a long history in both Confucianism and in Taoism, but Su Che gives it unusual prominence.

Like the Neo-Confucians and WANG PANG (706 *Daode zhenjing jizhu* 5.15a), Su Che uses a statement from the Book of Changes as a formula epitomizing individual asceticism: “By exploring the order of the world to its limits and examining their own nature, they arrived at [an understanding of] the decree [of Heaven]” (*qiongli jinxiang yi zhi yu ming* 窮理盡性以至於命; *Yijing*, “Shuo gua,” 1). In this way the expression *fuxing* connects with *fuming* 復命 (to restore the decree of Heaven) and a Buddhist concept can be linked to the *Yijing* (see the commentary to chapter 16, 1.19a–b).

Xing 性 is the ultimate reality, understood with the transcendental connotation that Buddhism attaches to it. It is the seat of the Tao in humanity (1.10a), so vast that it fills all Heaven and Earth; neither life nor death have power to alter it, nor can they in any way increase or diminish it (1.14b). *Xing* is also the primary source through which the senses experience the world and whence all beings originate (1.15a; 2.4a). *Xing* is attained not by a quietism leading to the immobility of “withered wood” but by a kind of immobility, a quiescence, that is radiant action (1.17b–18a). *Ming* 命 (decree of Heaven) is the *miao* 妙 transcendent, the wondrous aspect of *xing*. *Xing* remains in the realm of the word; *ming* transcends the word (1.19a).

On various occasions, Su Che makes a distinction between the metaphysical world and the world of forms (*xing*). The former is that of the immeasurable, ineffable Tao (2.12a, 4.10b), where there is neither negation (*wu* 無) nor affirmation (*you* 有); the latter is that which can be spoken of and measured (1.2a, 7b, 12b), that which encompasses Heaven and Earth “beyond the ten thousand beings” yet is finite (1.20a) and not self-engendered (1.8a).

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing jie* 道德真經解**

2 juan

By Chen Xianggu 陳象古; preface 1101

683 (fasc. 364)

“Explication of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” The present commentary on the *Daode jing* has a short preface dated 1101. The author was “gentleman of discussion” (*chengyi lang* 承議郎) at Song Huizong’s (r. 1100–1125) court (see *Song huiyao jigao* 4:3895). The commentary is quoted in 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu* by PENG SI, and in 710 *Daode zhenjing zhushu*, corresponding to 2.4b in the present text.

Chen treats the *Laozi* as a continuous text, without using the traditional chapter divisions. Thus, for instance, on 1.18a the last sentence of chapter 25 is followed directly by the first phrase of chapter 26.

The version of the *Daode jing* used here shows some textual differences in relation to the traditional HESHANG GONG and WANG BI editions. For example, the last sentences of chapters 48 (here on 2.7b) and 52 (here 2.10a) are lacking.

Chen’s glosses are short and do not develop any particular system. The explanations are sometimes rather original (see, for instance, the commentary on the sentence in chapter 13 (here on 1.9a): “If I had no body, how could I suffer?”, which reads: “Only when one no longer relies on the fact that one has a body, can the Tao operate its mysterious function in the body.”

Isabelle Robinet

***Song Huizong yujie Daode zhenjing* 宋徽宗御解道德真經**

4 juan

By Emperor Huizong 徽宗; ca. 1111–1118

680 (fasc. 359)

“Imperial Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power by Song Huizong.” This commentary dates from the Zhenghe period (1111–1118). It was engraved on stone and included in the *Daozang* after 1118 (VDL 105 and 44, note).

The main references used by Emperor Huizong are the *Yijing* and the *Zhuangzi*. Huizong punctuates the first sentences of the *Laozi* after *wu* and *you*, following the

example of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), and, like many commentators, he uses a phrase of *Zhuangzi* as his model. As a result, he places special emphasis on *changyou* 常有 and *changwu* 常無 (absolute existence and nonexistence), which are parallel to *zhiwu* 至無 (the supreme *wu*), *zhenwu* 真無 (the real *wu*), and *miaoyou* 妙有 (the transcendent *you*; 2.1a). This emphasis reveals the persistent influence of Mādhyamika and the commentators of the Chongxuan 重玄 school: the *wu* underlies and encompasses the *you*, and vice versa. Here, the *changwu* is associated with *li* 理 (the norm of the world), and the *changyou* with *shi* 事 (the mundane, affaires, i.e., Buddhist categories). Other Buddhist influences can be discerned in the text: “return to one’s nature” (*fluxing* 復性; e.g., 1.19b, 3.3b); “immobility of beings” (e.g., 1.5a,7a); “total forgetfulness” or “forgetfulness of contradictions” (e.g., 3.17b, 18a, 18b). The influence of Neo-Confucianism can also be seen, for instance, in the distinctions made by Huizong between the metaphysical and the physical world (e.g., 1.27a, 2.12b), in a leitmotiv borrowed from the *Yijing*—“to go to the limit of the norm of the world and to the extremes of one’s own nature in order to arrive at the decree [of Heaven]—and in his discussion on the nonabsolute (*wuji* 無極) and the absolute (*youji* 有極; 2.11b).

Isabelle Robinet

Song Huizong Daode zhenjing jieyi 宋徽宗道德真經解義

10 juan

Commentary by Zhang An 章安; before 1125

681 (fasc. 360–362)

“On the Meaning of Song Huizong’s Explication of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” This subcommentary to the commentary 680 on the *Daode jing* by Huizong (r. 1100–1125) was probably written during the emperor’s lifetime and addressed to him personally. It follows the “classical” pattern insofar as it echoes features from GUO XIANG’s commentary on the *Zhuangzi*.

Zhang An states that the fundamental tenet of the *Laozi* is to be found in Laozi’s doctrine of weakness and nonresistance (10.14a). On several occasions the commentator affirms that he also is a partisan of nonaction. He returns repeatedly to the theme of *feiyou feiwu* 非有非無 (neither being nor nonbeing) already elaborated by the Chongxuan 重玄 school of Double Mystery (see 745 *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu*) and to the formula that places the Tao in “forgetfulness of the self and of others.” The Tao resides in everything, and everyone possesses it within himself. Nature (*xing* 性) is the One (5.13b). The general system of thought underlying this commentary is summarized as follows: “to go to the very limits of one’s nature and thus reach supreme emptiness, forgetful of oneself and others. Those who forget that they have forgotten find that their destiny has returned to the Great Beginning (Taichu 太初). Thus, by

nonaction they rediscover the substance of the Tao, and since therefore there is nothing that is not done, they achieve the function of the Tao. At rest, they are saints; in action, kings” (7.7b).

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing shuyi* 道德真經疏義**

14 juan

By Jiang Zheng 江澂

694 (fasc. 378–383)

“Commentary with Explanations of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.”

This work, probably written during the lifetime of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125) and addressed to him, includes a commentary of the *Daode jing* by the emperor and a subcommentary by Jiang Zheng that repeats Huizong’s commentary and develops it phrase by phrase.

Jiang’s work presents the same themes that are found in the Huizong commentary, perhaps most frequently “neither being nor nonbeing” (*feiyou feiwu*), influenced by the commentators of the Double Mystery (Chongxuan) school: the absolute *wu* is the *wu* that is not *wu*, and the absolute *you* is the *you* that is not *you* (1.7a), that is to say, the transcendent *wu* that is the transcendent *you*, and the *you* that is the real *wu*.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing zhushu* 道德真經註疏**

8 juan

Attributed to GU HUAN 顧歡 (420–483) and others

710 (fasc. 404–406)

“Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” This is an anthology of twenty-three commentaries on the *Daode jing*. The editors of the Ming canon indicated GU HUAN, Recruit for Office from the Wu Commandery (*Wujun zhengshi* 吳君徵士), as the compiler. This attribution is plainly mistaken, as the present anthology can date only from the twelfth century at the earliest. The commentaries placed under the name of Chen are those of Chen Xianggu 陳象古 (see 683 *Daode zhenjing jie*) that were published in 1101.

The main commentary, marked *zhu* 註, is that of HESHANG GONG; the subcommentary (*shu* 疏) is by CHENG XUANYING. Among the other glosses, the most frequently quoted are (1) the *Jiejie* 節解 commentary by an unknown author, sometimes identified as GE XUAN; (2) a subcommentary to that of HESHANG GONG by a certain Wang, who may be identified as Wang Xuanbian 王玄辯, reported to have written such a subcommentary at the end of the eighth century (see 725 *Daode zhenjing*

guangsheng yi 1.3b); (3) a commentary by the above-mentioned GU HUAN; and (4) a commentary by Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang.

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Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing zhijie 道德真經直解

By Shao Ruoyu 邵若愚, *hao* Benlai zi 本來子; 1159

Revised by Zhang Zhixin 張知新, *hao* Qinghe jushi 清河居士
688 (fasc. 372)

“Straightforward Explication of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” This commentary has an introduction dated 1159 by Shao Ruoyu, a native of Qiantang 錢塘 (cf. the bibliography of Song commentaries *Song jiejing xingshi* 宋解經姓氏 appended to the preface of 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu*, 2a). It ends with an epilogue dated 1160, signed Chen Yuanqing 陳元卿, which records comments by Shao Ruoyu and states that this work had been previously printed. The commentary is accompanied by the glosses, usually textual, of Zhang Zhixin. It adopts its own division of the *Laozi*. Shao Ruoyu explains that for him the quintessence of the *Daode jing* can be summarized as: the absence of desire, corresponding to *youxuan* 又玄 (multiple mystery) and to the four final stages of asceticism in Buddhism, centering on the dialectics of *you* and *wu* until their ultimate dissolution in neither *you* 有 nor *wu* 無 (neither being nor nonbeing). This process, which is presented in the epilogue of the present text, and elaborated in the first chapter of the *Laozi*, corresponds to that of the Chongxuan 重玄 school (see 745 *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu*).

Shao Ruoyu chooses quietism and rejects all religious practices. He does however, distinguish four steps on the way to the Tao: these steps he links to the four Primal Stages of the *Liezi* (Taiyi 太易, Taichu 太初, Taishi 太始, Taixu 太虛), as well as to the words in the *Laozi*, “The Tao gives birth to the One, the One gives birth to the Two . . .” The step of the Three is that of “exterior virtue,” and the step of the Two, of “interior virtue” and of yin-yang. The step of the One is that of the Breath-of-the-One, the primordial *qi* that is the “uncarved block,” the “empty virtue,” and that is the origin of all things. The Breath-of-the-One in humanity is the heart-mind (*xin* 心), which is the name given to all the essential elements contained within the body and which characterizes the human being, the *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 souls, the spirit (*shen* 神), the essence (*jing* 精) or real nature (*xing* 性), and the passions (*qing* 情). The fourth step is that of *youxuan*, of *xin* without *xin*; it is the ultimate stage of the Tao and the Taiyi, the first of the Primal Stages of the *Liezi*.

Shao Ruoyu reconciles his interpretation of the *Daode jing* with the “four verities” of the Mādhyamika, as well as with *Zhongyong* 中庸 (the Doctrine of the Mean). He cites Mencius and the Analects, but more often the *Zhuangzi*, the Taoist texts of ZHANG BODUAN, and 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*. Nonetheless his efforts to establish a Three Teachings synthesis remain generally inchoate.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing quanjie 道德真經全解

2 juan

Attributed to Shi Yong 時雍, hao Xiaoyao 逍遙; preface 1159

696 (fasc. 385–386)

“Full Explication of the *Daode jing*.” The preface, dated 1159, is signed by Shi Yong of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), residing at Bo 亳, the birthplace of Laozi. The author recounts that he received an anonymous manuscript bearing this title from Xi Quhua 郤去華 and that he had it printed. The *Daozang* editors attributed the work to Shi himself.

Throughout the commentary, the author makes a distinction between the absolute Way, that of Heaven, and the Way of Earth. The absolute Tao is the state of fusion of yin, yang, and harmony—in other words, the state of Primordial Chaos. From this One are born yin and yang as well as Heaven and Earth. The One is the Absolute Name. The Tao of Heaven is without body, without desire, without action; it is the way of the Spirit and of the yang containing the yin.

The Tao of Earth is immobility and quiescence; it is the way of qi and of the yin containing the yang. The union of the Tao of Heaven and of Earth in humanity produces the harmony of the center. To incorporate the Tao of Heaven is to govern without action; to incorporate the Tao of Earth is to become female and concentrate qi; to incorporate the absolute Tao is to attain the state of primordial chaos and non-cognition, which comprises all things.

The *you* 有 is defined as matter (*xing* 形) and the *wu* 無 as spirit (*shen* 神); these definitions are similar to the interpretation Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) gives these terms: both are perfectly complementary.

Xuan 玄 is black blended with red (corresponding to the trigrams *qian* 乾 and *kun* 坤). The second *xuan* in chapter 1 of the *Laozi* lies in the heaven Dafan 大梵 (the supreme Heaven, according to certain Taoist texts) and governs the celestial palaces of the brain and heart (*nivan* 泥丸 and *jiangong* 絳宮), as well as the five qi and the one hundred spirits of the universe. Indeed, on several occasions our author uses terms and notions that are specifically Taoist: the Primordial Chaos results from the fusion of the essence (*jing* 精), breath (*qi* 氣), and spirit (*shen* 神); mention is also made of the Southern Palace and the Capital of Mystery.

The second juan has been reproduced entirely in 700 *Daode zhenjing jie*, as juan 3 of that work.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing jie 道德真經解

3 juan

Probably Southern Song (1127–1279)

700 (fasc. 388)

“Explication of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” The date of this anonymous commentary is not known. The last juan has been borrowed from 696 *Daode zhenjing quanjie*. The original final part of the present commentary is missing.

The commentary consists, for the most part, of lengthy reflections, partly mystical and partly poetical, on the state of the primordial One, or original chaos prior to differentiation. This is the state of *pu* 朴 (the uncarved block) and *su* 素 (undyed silk), the “real” state corresponding to the *qiwu* 齊物 (the identity of all things) of the *Zhuangzi* where there is neither image, nor sound, nor movement (*wuqian* 無牽, a term with Buddhist connotations), where *xing* 性 (nature) is undivided. Since it represents in humanity a state both primordial and ultimate, to which one must “return,” the notion of *xing* here is quite central.

The notions of *ti* 體 (substance) and *yong* 用 (function) are used to distinguish between, “absence”—or the transcendence of the Tao (which is nowhere), corresponding to the Void, to spontaneity, to the One, and to *xing*—and “presence”—or the immanence of the Tao (which is everywhere), corresponding to the original separation and dispersal into movement and action.

With the frequent use made of the notions of yin and yang, and in one instance of Inner Alchemy (1.16b: the “River Chariot,” “Purple Chamber,” and “stove”), this commentary displays a slight tinge of Taoism despite the fact that the term *ming* 命 (decree) is given a completely different significance from the one given to it in Inner Alchemy: in our text it is related to *wu* or nonbeing and contrasted with form (*xing*; 1.18b).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing qushan ji 道德真經取善集

12 juan

By Li Lin 李霖, *zi* Zongfu 宗傅, Hermit of Raoyang 饒陽; preface 1172

718 (fasc. 424–427)

“Select Anthology of *Daode jing* Commentaries.” This anthology contains an undated preface by Li Lin, written in his later years, and a second preface by Liu Yunsheng 劉允升 dated 1172, according to which the work was divided into six juan and printed.

The anthology joins together fifty-four authors from different periods. The most

frequently quoted are Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125) of the Song and WANG PANG. The eclectic selection includes, in addition to the commentaries of WANG BI and HESHANG GONG, several commentaries belonging to the Chongxuan 重玄 school, some of which are now lost. Among these are the commentaries by Sun Deng 孫登, Zang Xuanjing 藏玄靜, Liu Jinxi 劉進喜, CHENG XUANYING, Cai Zihuang 蔡子晃, and Li Rong 李榮. The anthology also contains extracts from other lost commentaries, such as the one attributed to Kumārajīva (344–413). Certain commentaries date back to the Jin (265–420) and the Sui (581–618) dynasties, for example those by Zhong Hui 鍾會 and the Taoists GU HUAN, TAO HONGJING, and Pei Chuen 裴楚恩 (on the latter, see 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*, preface, 3a). Other texts date from the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279), such as those by Che Huibi 車惠弼, the Taoist Zhang Junxiang 張君相 (1254–1322), WU YUN, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), Liu Zhongping 劉仲平 (who signs his name Liu Ji 壑 in 707 *Daode zhenjing zhu*), Lu Dian 陸佃 (under the name of Lu Nongshi 陸農師 in 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi*), Li Tian 李旼, Lü Jifu 呂吉甫 (i.e., Lǚ HUIQING; cf. 686 *Daode zhenjing zhuan*), and the female Taoist Cao Daochong 曹道冲 (cf. 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu*, preface, 7b). The date of the commentary by the Immortal from Songling 松靈仙人 is unknown (cf. 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*, preface, 3a). There are also a half dozen commentaries that are completely unknown and not mentioned elsewhere; among these, the most quoted in our text are those by She Wang 舍王 and Ma Juji 馬巨濟. The quotations from Lü Jifu are often at variance with 686 *Zhenjing zhuan*. The remaining quotations accord on the whole rather well with this text.

Throughout the present text, which is divided into the traditional chapters of the *Daode jing*, Li Lin adds his own personal commentary to each of the commentaries he has chosen. He reveals a tendency toward Quanzhen 全真 Taoism, especially in relation to Inner Alchemy. He states that he who attains the Tao is a Quanzhen person who perfects his essence (*jing* 精), his breath (*qi*) and his spirit (*shen* 神). This statement is an explicit reference to the works on Inner Alchemy mentioned in 2.11a. However, Li Lin's concepts are his own: *jing* is the prime element and carries a cosmological meaning; sublimation seems to occur from the *jing* to the *shen* without the *qi* playing an important part (cf. 6.14a–b). On the other hand, the *jing* is the basis of *xing* 性 (real nature) in contrast to the *qi* (which in this context is cosmological). The *qi* is the basis of the body (*xing*); indeed the *jing* sometimes forms one common entity with the spirit (*jingshen* 精神) as described in the *Huainan zi*.

Our text ends with a brief Essay on the Unifying Coalescence of the Tao and the De, where Li Lin insists on the fundamental unity of the Tao “prior to forms,” and of the De 德 “after the appearance of forms.” Quoting Sima Guang, he seems to decry the division of the *Daode jing* into two distinct books.

Daode zhenjing sizi gudao jijie 道德真經四子古道集解

10 juan

By Kou Caizhi 寇才質; preface dated 1179, postface dated 1180
684 (fasc. 365–67)

“Collected Explications of the Ancient Teachings of the Four Masters on the *Daode zhenjing*.” The original title of the work, as stated in the author’s preface and in the postface by Liu E 劉譔 of Fanzhi 繁峙 (Shanxi), was *Sizi gudao yi* 四子古道義 (Interpretations according to the Ancient Teachings of the Four Masters).

Neither preface nor postface contain much factual information on the identity of Kou Caizhi. Apparently, he also authored a *Jingshi shu* 經史疏 in ten juan, which was lost by the time the *Siku quanshu* was compiled.

Kou describes himself as an obscure rustic who spent his early manhood indulging in simple pleasures. He first studied works on *neidan* 內丹 and divination. Only at a later age did he discover the ancient Taoist works and their commentaries. Frustrated with the way lecturers on the Tao all seemed to ignore the basis of Laozi’s teachings and to restrict themselves to theories relating to *kongxing* 空性 (*sūnyāta*), Kou decided to elucidate his own understanding of the *Daode jing*, drawing solely upon material culled from the works of the four masters that both Kou and Liu E considered to be the direct disciples of Laozi: the *Nanhua jing* 南華經 (Zhuangzi), *Chongxu jing* 沖虛經 (Liezi), *Tongxuan jing* 通玄經 (Wenzi) and *Dongling jing* 洞靈經 (attributed to Gengsang Chu). The present text has been preserved only in the *Daozang*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Daode zhenjing jizhu 道德真經集註

18 juan

By PENG SI 彭耜, *hao* Helin zhenyi 鶴林真逸; preface dated 1229
707 (fasc. 398–402)

Daode zhenjing jizhu shiwen 道德真經集註釋文

1 + 21 fols.

708 (fasc. 403)

Daode zhenjing jizhu zashuo 道德真經集註雜說

2 juan

709 (fasc. 403)

These three works by PENG SI, disciple of BO YUCHAN, are complementary. The preface to 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu* (An Annotated Anthology of the Commentaries on the *Daode jing*) is dated 1229 and signed by PENG SI. In a preface missing from the Yiwen edition of the *Daozang* but present in both the Commercial Press edition

and *Daozang jiyao*, “Xin 心” 6.1, PENG SI presents himself as the successor to CHEN JINGYUAN (1025–1094).

The commentaries included in 707 *Zhenjing jizhu* do not reflect Peng’s predilection for alchemy. The compiler does not cite his own master, although BO YUCHAN also wrote a commentary on the *Laozi*. Twelve of the score of authors Peng does cite have much fuller versions of the commentaries in 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi*. Most of these commentaries date from the Song (960–1279), and apart from those by CHEN JINGYUAN, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), Su Che 蘇轍 (see 691 *Daode zhenjing zhu*), and Chen Xianggu 陳象古, the majority are lost. The commentaries by Li Wenhe 李文和 and Lin Dong 林東 are found exclusively in the present work.

The 708 *Daode zhenjing jizhu shiwen* is a philological study of the *Laozi* in which PENG SI compares textual variations and glosses, relying to a large extent upon Lu Deming 陸德明 (ca. 550–630) and CHEN JINGYUAN, and includes data taken from 707 *Zhenjing jizhu*.

The 709 *Daode zhenjing jizhu zashuo* offers “Various Observations” as an addition to the anthology 707 *Zhenjing jizhu* and reports instances where the *Laozi* was quoted, often by emperors, going back as far as the Han. It provides information about certain commentaries or anthologies of commentaries, occasionally quoting from them. There is interesting information to be gathered from these observations. For instance, the mention of a lost catalogue of the *Daozang* that describes the contents of the anthology by Zhang Daoxiang 張道相 (also known as Zhang Junxiang 張君相, 1254–1322), now no longer extant, adds another fragment to the case history of that controversial matter (1.2a–3a).

The author’s various sources are nearly always indicated: official dynastic histories, local gazetteers, literary works, and commentaries.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing jijie 道德真經集解

4 juan

By Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (fl. 1185–1232)

695 (fasc. 384–385)

“Collection of Commentaries on the *Daode jing*.” This work is attributed to Scholar Zhao (Zhao xueshi 學士). This appellation is identified by the *Guiqian zhi* 1.5–6 and 9.97–98 with Zhao Bingwen, who was named academician in 1217 (his biography appears in the *Jin shi* 110.2426–29). Zhao was the author of numerous commentaries on the classics. Oddly, however, this collection includes individual commentaries attributed by name to Zhao Bingwen; his name is not placed at the beginning or end of individual commentaries as is customary for the authors of compilations.

The collection consists of seventeen commentaries by different authors, including extracts assigned to Kumārajīva (344–413) and Sengzhao 僧肇 (374–414). The first anonymous sentences of each commentary are in fact taken from the commentary by Su Che 蘇轍, 691 *Daode zhenjing zhu*. The commentaries given under the name Juji are by Liu Juji 劉巨濟 of the Song (960–1279; 723 *Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi* 1.10a; cf. our text 1.12b with 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi* 20.11a). Those attributed to Lu are by Lu Xisheng 陸希聲 (compare the present text 1.10ab with 685 *Daode zhenjing zhuan* 1.5b). The commentaries attributed to Ye are by Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148; compare the present text 2.3a–b with 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu* 6.4b), the author of various commentaries on the classics.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing jijie 道德真經集解

4 juan

By Dong Sijing 董思靖; preface dated 1246

705 (fasc. 393–394)

“Anthology of Explications of the *Daode jing*.” A long preface by the author precedes this work. A list of commentators on the *Laozi* is given here (1.2b–4a), drawn in part from the preface by DU GUANGTING to 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*. Added to this list is a good deal of valuable information concerning subsequent commentaries and the number of characters contained in the various editions of the *Daode jing*.

Our anthology ends with postfaces. One is signed Xie Zhi 謝壘 and dated to the Baoyou period (1253–1259; the cyclical dates given in the text appear to be erroneous); the other is signed by Huang Bichang 黃必昌, *zi* Jingfu 景父, and dated 1257. The latter was a scholar from Quanzhou, the native place of Dong Sijing.

A reedition of this commentary in the *Shiwan juan lou congshu* 十萬卷樓叢書—revised and corrected by Liu Ruoyuan 劉若淵, *zi* Yuanran 淵然, with apparently only minor typographical differences in the text—carries a preface by Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1893).

This commentary is also quoted in 712 *Daode zhenjing jiyi* (e.g., 1.5b, 10a), under the name of Dong Sijing, with the variant character 靜.

Despite its title, the book is not really a “collection” of commentaries. The author limits himself to quoting a number of commentators, among them, in particular, Su Che 蘇轍 (referred to by his *zi* Wending 文定), Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), and the emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), as well as some authors known from other compilations whose works have not survived independently. Dong Sijing also discusses the various interpretations given to certain passages or phrases (particularly 1.3b–4b, 10a–11b, 16a–18a, and 3.20a–21b). He provides an

account of interpretations of the *Daode jing* in terms of Taoist practices going beyond the commentaries themselves.

A major place, however, is devoted to his own interpretations. On two occasions the author sums up the meaning of the *Daode jing* in a few formulas: ataraxy, nonaction, spontaneity, responding to events with the Void, noncompetitiveness (preface, 4a, 7a). For him the Tao is everywhere and therefore immanent, yet at the same time it is transcendent since it is “beyond and anterior to all things.” The Tao is the “substance” of which qi is the “function.” The Tao is indefinable (nameless) and metaphysical; qi is definable (named) and physical. Tao and qi do not exist one without the other, and they share the same origin (1b, 3a, 4a). Chapter 3 of the *Laozi*, according to the author, deals with “the substance and function of the Tao” and “the yin and yang of qi.” The Spirit of the Valley is a term that stems from *li* 理 (principle), which is empty; the “obscure female” denotes yin and yang and originates from qi; “Heaven and Earth,” in the same paragraph, belong to the world of matter.

This is a work that assembles commentaries based on purely Taoist interpretations of the *Laozi* and at the same time borrows heavily from Neo-Confucian concepts.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei kaiti kewen shu

道德真經藏室纂微開題科文疏

5 juan

By Xue Zhixuan 薛致玄, *zi* Yongqi 庸齊, *hao* Taixia laoren 太霞老人; prefaces

1249

715 (fasc. 420–421)

Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei shouchao 道德真經藏室纂微手鈔

2 juan

716 (fasc. 421)

This commentary on CHEN JINGYUAN’S commentary on the *Daode jing* (714 *Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei pian*) is divided into two parts: 715 *Kaiti kewen shu* (An Analysis of the Introduction) and 716 *Shouchao* (A Hand Copy). The author of both parts is Xue Zhixuan (see the prefaces to the first of the present texts and to 114 *Zuanwei pian*, 1.11a).

The first part, 715 *Kewen shu*, is preceded by three prefaces—signed by Li Ting 李庭 from Fuyang 浮陽, by Guo Shizhong 郭時中 (dated 1249), and by Feng Fu 馮復 (of the same year)—that state that both parts had been printed. It deals in the main with the mythology concerning Laozi, his birth and reincarnations. It includes a long biography of CHEN JINGYUAN (1.3b–8b).

The second part, 716 *Shouchao*, refers almost entirely to the many quotations from the classics made by CHEN JINGYUAN in his commentary and gives their sources. It contains only the second half of the *Daode jing*, namely the *Dejing*, as the first half is missing.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing kouyi 道德真經口義

4 juan

By LIN XIYI 林希逸, *hao* Juanzhai 虜齋; 1261

701 (fasc. 389)

“Oral Explanations of the *Daode jing*.” LIN XIYI also wrote commentaries on the *Zhuangzi* and the *Liezi*. The present work was printed in Fujian in 1261, together with the latter. The original edition in two juan was frequently reprinted but seems no longer extant.

Perhaps because of its “oral” nature, the commentary is clear and simple. It proceeds from chapter to chapter, analyzing each sentence in turn and often providing a summary at the end of a chapter. The passages on the art of government are interpreted as metaphors on the art of self-conduct. There is no mystical terminology. There are a number of comparisons with Neo-Confucian themes and with terms used in the *Yijing* and the *Zhuangzi*. Particular account is taken of the language of the *Laozi*, which for the most part is deemed metaphorical or deliberately paradoxical and is on many occasions compared to the language of the *Zhuangzi*. LIN XIYI examines the special meaning that, in his view, the *Laozi* gives to words and then suggests that the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* can be read only by applying criteria and values that are different from those appropriate to Confucian texts. He also takes into consideration what he calls Laozi’s rhetorical style and sometimes situates the *Laozi* within the general context of Chinese culture in order to attenuate the paradoxes or lessen their novelty. He summarizes the whole system of the *Laozi* as “knowing how to be full and empty,” “have and have not,” or as “being” (*you* 有) and “not being” (*wu* 無), that he calls “to preserve the feminine and the black.” He returns often to the need to have a heart-mind that is nonoccupied.

On the whole, this is a kind of translation of the *Laozi* that effaces the difficulties of the thought and of the text, as it also obliterates its riches.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing yijie* 道德真經義解**

4 juan

By Xizhai daoren 息齋道人

721 (fasc. 429–430)

“Explications of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” The *Yuan shi yiwen zhi*, 5:41–42, mentions two Xizhai daoren as authors of a *Laozi jie*. One is Li Rong 李榮 (*Laozi jie* in four juan), the other Li Kan 李衍 (*Laozi jie* in two juan).

Li Rong, *zi* Jiamou 嘉謀, was a Taoist master who also commented on 3 *Yuanshi shuo xiantian daode jing zhujie* in the Baoyou period (1253–1259). The inspiration and the references that characterize that work are very different from those dominating the present commentary. This work 3 *Daode jing zhujie* has definite particularities, among them a theory of primordial origins and precise references to Inner Alchemy, as well as a propensity to make comparisons with Buddhism. The references in our text, by contrast, are mostly to the Confucian classics and especially to the *Mengzi*. It is true that Chinese authors frequently change the tenor of their writing as they comment on different works, but in this case the commentaries are on quite similar texts. In the commentary on *Laozi* 25, for instance, there is, surprisingly, none of the mystery of the origin that pervades 3 *Daode jing zhujie*; on the other hand, the rare references made in the latter to the *Mengzi* reflect none of the observations made in the present commentary.

Indeed, our commentator, to judge by his references to Confucianism and his tendency to use the term *li* 理 in the sense of “ultimate truth,” can probably be identified as Li Kan. Li Kan (fl. 1312), *zi* Zhong Bin 仲賓, posthumous name Wen Jian 文間, was born in Ji Qiu 薊邱. He was also the author of a *Zhupu xiangji* 竹譜詳集 in one juan.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode huiyuan* 道德會元**

2 juan

By LI DAOCHUN 李道純, *hao* Qing'an 清庵; Yingchan *zi* 瑩蟾子; preface dated 1290

699 (fasc. 387)

“Return to the Source of the Meaning of the *Daode jing*.” The author states that having read BO YUCHAN’s commentary to the *Laozi*, he felt he should write his own. He reproaches the previous commentators for having developed a particular viewpoint, be it theoretical, alchemical, or other, whereas his own explanation wells up from the very source of the spirit of the work and tends to give a global interpretation, while stressing the link that unites the different chapters.

The present commentary is divided into three parts: a literal gloss of the text, sentence by sentence; a commentary at the end of each chapter explaining its general meaning; and, also for each chapter, a poem in the Chan Buddhist style.

According to the preface, LI DAOCHUN adopted the HESHANG GONG version of the text of the *Daode jing*. He furthermore compares this edition with two others, including BO YUCHAN's commentary, now preserved in the *Taishang daode baozhang yi* 太上道德寶章翼 (*Daozang jiyao*, "Xin 心" 3-4). He considers the latter to be the best edition. Li discusses the variants between the three editions in his introduction (*xuli* 序例).

LI DAOCHUN transmitted the *Daode huiyuan* to Zhao Daoke 趙道可, *hao* Dingan 定庵, who was one of his closest disciples (cf. 1060 *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 2.1a). A Yuan edition of the present work, dated 1350, is preserved at the Sichuan Provincial Library (see Yan Lingfeng, *Zhou Qin Han Wei zhuzi zhijian shumu*, 1:138)

Catherine Despeux

Daode zhenjing san jie 道德真經三解

4 juan

By Deng Yi 鄧錡, *hao* Yubin zi 玉賓子; preface 1298

687 (fasc. 370-371)

"Three Explications of the *Daode jing*." These explications are preceded by four introductory texts, including a preface by the author, dated 1298. One of these four texts is a genealogical presentation of the transmission of Inner Alchemy; this text was originally a separate work entitled *Dadao zhengtong* 大道正統 (Authentic Transmission of the Supreme Tao) written by Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝, disciple of PENG SI and author of juan 9-13 of 263 *Xiuzhen shishu*. In this latter text, which was printed by the author in 1260, he describes ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN as the masters of Haichan zi 海蟾子 (LIU CAO 劉操), from whom the two schools of ZHANG BODUAN and WANG ZHE are said to have descended. Another of the introductory essays, the *Dadao lishu* 大道歷數 (Chronicle of the Great Tao), bears the signature Qingcheng zhenren 青城真人 (the zhenren of the Green City), who may possibly be identified as Zhang Yun 張氲 (635-745; cf. 781 *Xuanpin lu* 5.6a).

Throughout this commentary there are three levels of explanation. The first level, the *jing* 經, which explains the text itself. The second level explains the Tao 道 from an overall point of view often related to cosmology or based on general practices. This level includes frequent allusions to the *Yijing*; for example, the thirty spokes around the hub of the wheel (*Laozi* 11) symbolize the twenty-eight stars around the Pole Star, and the doors and windows of a room symbolize the sun and moon. The third level refers to the practices of the De 德, for the most part alchemical exercises, with frequent references to ZHANG BODUAN and LÜ DONGBIN. The phrase "the Tao gives

birth to the One, which gives birth to the Two” (*Laozi* 42) is explained on the level of the Tao as meaning that the One, the Great Ultimate Taiji, has given birth to the Two (the Four Emblems), which have given birth to the Three (the Eight Trigrams). Explained on the level of the De, however, the reference is to the Void that gave birth to the two qi that gave birth to nature (*xing* 性). Deng’s interpretation of *Laozi* 50 gives rise, on the level of the Tao, to speculation about cosmic numbers, with reference to SHAO YONG; on the level of the De, he offers an alchemical interpretation. “Know the male but preserve the female” (*Laozi* 28) means, on the level of the Tao, knowing that the hexagram *qian* 乾 represents the Great Beginning, and *kun* 坤 the Completion, while on the level of the De it signifies the ascendancy of mercury over lead and of wood over metal.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi 道德真經集義大旨

3 juan

By Liu Weiyong 劉惟永, Ding Yidong 丁易東, and others; 1299
723 (fasc. 431)

Daode zhenjing jiyi 道德真經集義

17 juan

By Liu Weiyong 劉惟永, Ding Yidong 丁易東, and others; 1299
724 (fasc. 432–439)

The 723 *Daode jing dazhi* (General Purport of the Anthology of Commentaries on the *Daode jing*) contains various prefaces and diagrams and, as the title indicates, serves as an introduction to 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi*, the anthology proper.

The first nine pages of 723 *Jiyi dazhi* are devoted to diagrams illustrating phrases from the *Laozi* in terms of cosmology and Taoist techniques (fig. 1). Thus the Spirit of the Valley (*Laozi* 6) is described as designating the abode where the spirits of the viscera are hidden; the thirty spokes of the wheel (*Laozi* 11) correspond to the number of the viscera (1.1b); the Mysterious Female (*Laozi* 6) denotes the left and right kidneys. The diagram on 1.8b–9a is also found in 688 *Daode zhenjing zhijie* (preface, 6b).

Although 723 *Jiyi dazhi* provides a list of the eighty-one authors cited in the anthology (1.9b–12b), it also gives the number as seventy-eight (3.26a–26b), and sometimes provides the date of the commentaries, most of which belong to the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. The passages from these commentaries were selected from earlier anthologies. The prefaces (723 *Jiyi dazhi*, from 1.12b to the end) are the same as those preceding the commentaries in the anthology 724 *Zhenjing jiyi*. Introductions also taken from the commentaries are found in 723 *Jiyi dazhi* 2.1a–3.21b. They include one by Wang Yuanze 王元澤 (i.e., WANG PANG) that is missing from 706

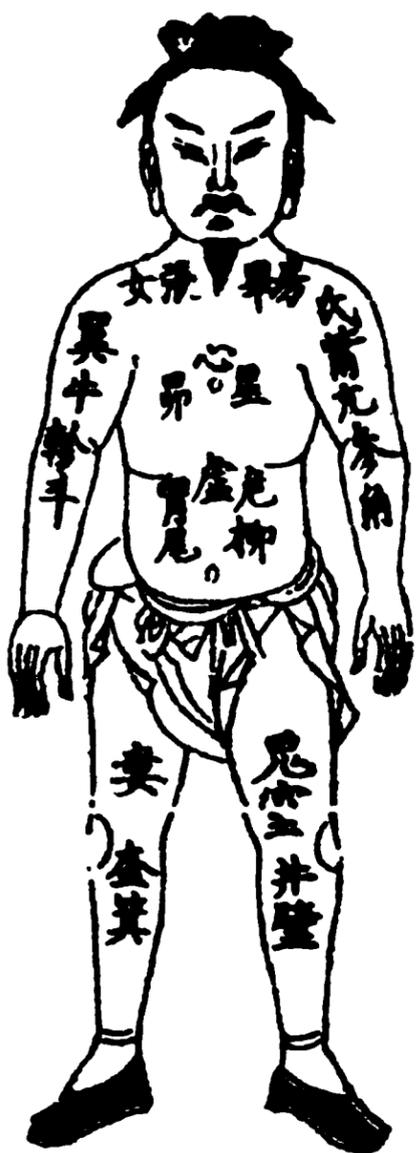


FIGURE 1. Projection of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions onto the human body (723 1.6a)

Daode zhenjing jizhu, although the latter work contains the most extensive extant extracts from his commentary.

723 *Jiyi dazhi* 3.21b–27a contains a number of colophons or postfaces dating from the end of the thirteenth century, signed by Yang Ke 陽恪 (1296), Liu Weiyong (1299), Su Qiwen 蘇起翁, Yu Qingzhong 喻清中, and by the Heavenly Master Zhang Yucai 張與材 (1300). Liu Weiyong explains that his anthology and that of Ding Yidong were amalgamated. Ding's commentary is included in our anthology under the name of Shitan 石潭. Yu Qingzhong, in his postface, mentions the “new edition” of this commentary, which included his own commentary, in collaboration with his master Ding Yidong.

The anthology 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* originally comprised a total of thirty-one juan, of which only the first seventeen remain. It now ends at chapter 11 of the *Laozi*; the first four chapters of the anthology are devoted to chapter 1 of the *Daode jing*. The commentators are presented in 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* more or less in the same order as the list given in the introduction (723 *Jiyi dazhi* 1.9a–11b). Quotations of the commentaries are in extenso. The commentary by Wang Yuanze in our anthology is much more complete than the text given in 706 *Daode zhenjing jizhu*. Each chapter of 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* ends with a commentary by Shitan.

Many of the commentaries in 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* are uniquely preserved here, for example, the commentary by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and several other commentaries also found in 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu* (in eighteen juan), but in much abridged form. The latter include a commentary by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) that is otherwise lost, as well as numerous commentaries by Taoists: ZHAO SHIAN, whose commentary dates from 1152 and is the longest in the book; BO YUCHAN (1194–1229); Yang Zhiren 楊智仁 (1287), using the vocabulary of Inner Alchemy; and Niu Miaozhuan 牛妙傳 (1280). BO YUCHAN's approach is mystical: “It is I who am the Saint,” he writes; “the ten thousand beings become one with me. . . . I am Heaven and Earth, Heaven and Earth are I” (12.25a). He identifies himself with the cosmos (10.30a); the root of the cosmos is *xin* 心 (heart-mind 11.27b). Xie Tu'nán 謝圖南 (1246) explains the *Daode jing* in terms of the *Yijing* (11.30b; 12.27a), Zhang Chongying 張沖應 (1253) interprets the *Laozi* in terms of Tending Life and breathing exercises (5b; 11.26b, 27a; 15.1a).

Zhao Shian, whose personal name was Daosheng 道昇 and who was known for his practice of the Yellow Register Retreat (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋; see 219 *Lingbao wuliang*

duren shengjing dafa 49.18b; 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 34.4a), distinguishes three possible practices of the *Daode jing* (723 *Jiyi dazhi* 2.17a): first, following the way of *wuwei* 無爲 or nonaction, which is that of “total forgetfulness” (724 *Zhenjing jiyi* 14.13b); second, using techniques to achieve longevity (see 724 *Zhenjing jiyi* 7.3b, where he states that the *Laozi* is the origin of methods for attaining longevity); third, applying of the *Daode jing* to government. The Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong* 中庸) is presented as complementary to the *Laozi* (723 *Jiyi dazhi* 2.15a–b), and the “flood-like breath” of the *Mengzi* becomes the principal springboard for techniques of longevity. In 724 *Zhenjing jiyi*, Zhao uses a Neo-Confucian vocabulary (2.1a–b) and can be considered a pioneer of the Heart-Mind school (*Xinxue* 心學): the *xin* is the Tao (13.18b) and the fundamental nonbeing (*benwu* 本無 14.12b), while the *xing* 性 (nature) is the first qi and the Spirit of the Valley (11.13a). Zhao Shian also employs Buddhist terminology: *zhenwu* 真無 (real nonbeing) and *zhenkong* 真空 (real void; 2.4a, 9a–b, 19b). He uses the concepts of *wu* 無, and *you* 有 (being and existence) are dealt with according to the tenets of the Double Mystery school (*Chongxuan* 重玄); and he approaches the question concerning gradual or sudden enlightenment in the same vein (2.16a, 17a; 5.27a); the negation of negations follows the Mādhyamika doctrine (2.16b). Nevertheless, references to Inner Alchemy are also present (2.18b, 19a; 7.36b; 12.15a). The Spirit of the Valley and the Mysterious Female are interpreted in various ways, but always within the framework of breathing techniques (11.12a–17b).

A comparison of all the commentaries in this anthology gives rise to the following observations:

1. A distinction can be made between those commentaries that give precedence to *xin* (heart-mind) or to *xing* (real nature). For BO YUCHAN, *xin* is the “root of the universe” (11.27b); for Yu Qingzhong, *xin* existed before the universe (12.34a; see also Shao Ruoyu 邵若愚, 688 *Daode zhenjing jijie* 1.12a: the one qi of chaos is the *xin* of humanity). As for the commentaries that give precedence to *xing*, the text by Chu Boxiu 褚伯秀 states that *xing* is the Taiji 太極, the Supreme Pole (11.35a), while in the commentary by Xiuxiu an 休休庵, dated 1288, the *xing* precedes the Taiji (12.30a).

2. There are two distinct ways of understanding the first chapter of the *Daode jing*, depending on whether it is punctuated before *wu* and *you*, or after *ming* 名 (name) and *yu* 欲 (desire). To punctuate before *wu* and *you*, as does Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086; cf. 689 *Daode zhenjing lun*), is to place emphasis on the *changwu* 常無 and *changyou* 常有 (the absolute nonbeing and absolute being). Several commentators in our anthology follow this interpretation, including Cheng Taizhi 程泰之, an author with Confucian leanings (2.32a; commentary dated 1069); the Taoist Niu Miao zhuan; Lin Juanzhai 林虜齋 (i.e., LIN XIYI; 3.11b; commentary dated 1261); BO YUCHAN (3.3a); Su Jingjing 蘇敬靜 (4.7b); Wang Anshi 王安石 (1.19a–b); Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (4.14a); Lu Dian 陸佃 (1.24b); and Liu Zhongping 劉仲平 (1.31a–b). There are

also differences in the first phrase of the *Laozi*: some commentators read it as “The Tao that can be spoken of is not the absolute Tao,” while others take it to mean “The Tao I speak of is not the ordinary Tao.”

3. The Mysterious Female is explained either in terms of *wu/you* (by Lü Jifu 呂吉甫, i.e., LÜ HUIQING, II.7b–8a), or as the Void (by Benyian jushi 本一庵居士, II.45b; WANG PANG, II.9a; Shao Ruoyu, II.18a–b; Wang Zhiran 王志然, II.18b, commentary dated 1069), or in terms of Tending Life and Inner Alchemy (by HESHANG GONG, II.2a–b; Liu Ji 劉驥, II.11a–12b, commentary dated 1146; Zhao Shian, II.12a–13b; Zhang Chongying 張冲應, II.41b; and Wu Huanzhong 吳環中, II.43b).

4. In chapter 7 of the *Daode jing*, the sentence “*Yi qi bu zisheng*” has engendered two conflicting interpretations: in one case it is translated “They do not exist for themselves,” in another, “They do not exist of themselves.” Advocates of the former translation include the emperor Xuanzong, Lu Dian, and Liu Ji; among those who prefer the latter translation are Su Che, Huang Maocai 黃茂材 (commentary dated 1179), and Xue Yongzhai 薛庸齋.

5. A number of commentators believe that the thirty spokes of the wheel, in chapter 11 of the *Laozi*, symbolize the thirty days of the month (see, e.g., 17.30a, 33b, 35a, 37a); others see the figure 30 as the earthly Five Elements multiplied by the celestial Six Breaths (17.24a–b, 38a).

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing yanyi shouchao* 道德真經衍義手鈔**

20 juan (juan 1 and 2 are missing)

By Wang Shouzheng 王守正, *hao* Wufeng Qing'an yishi 五峰清安逸士; early Yuan (1279–1368)

717 (fasc. 422–24)

“*Daode zhenjing* with Elaborations of Its Purport, Copied by Hand.” This work is no longer fully extant. The first two juan, corresponding to the first eight *Daode jing* chapters with their commentaries, are lost. The book, attributed to a certain Wang Shouzheng (the Pure and Quiet Recluse from the Five Peaks [Wufeng Qing'an yishi]), is clearly the work of two authors. The *yanyi* 衍義 section, ascribed to Wang Shouzheng, offers elucidations on the text of the *Daode jing*. Each paragraph of *yanyi* is followed by a further explanatory paragraph headed by the character *chao* 鈔, and ascribed to a disciple of Wang Shouzheng. An interesting document in this context is a preface by Wang Yun 王惲 (d. 1304), the “*Laozi yanyi xu* 老子衍義序.” It relates his meeting in 1292 in the capital with an old Taoist master from the Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (one of the leading Quanzhen temples in modern Shaanxi) named Wang, a native of Shu, and obviously the real author of our work. As the title of Wang Yun’s

preface suggests, the *chao* sections were later additions to Wang Shouzheng's original *Laozi yanyi* (see *Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji* 42.IIb–I2a).

The sources quoted most often in the *yanyi* sections are the *Zhuangzi* and the Book of Changes. The *chao* sections, mostly considerably longer than the *yanyi*, draw upon a wide variety of sources, including all of the Confucian classics, philosophical works such as the *Han Fei zi* 韓非子 and Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 B.C.–A.D. 18) *Fayan* 法言, historical works such as the *Shiji*, and more recent commentaries such as DU GUANGTING's 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*. The present text is uniquely preserved in the *Daozang*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Daode xuanjing yuanzhi 道德玄經原旨

4 juan

By DU DAOJIAN 杜道堅, *zi* Chuyi 處逸, *hao* Nangu zi 南谷子; 1305
702 (fasc. 390)

“Original Meaning of the Mysterious Scripture of the Tao and the De.” This work is introduced by several prefaces, each signed by scholars of the same period. The first two prefaces are dated 1305.

DU DAOJIAN (1237–1318), a native of Dangtu 當塗 in Anhui, was a Taoist master who entered the order at fourteen years of age and later became abbot of several monasteries, including that of Shengyuan in Huzhou 湖州. He also wrote a commentary on the *Wenzi* 文子 and was the master of Li Taiwu 李太無.

He compares the teaching of the *Laozi* with that of the *Yijing*. The Spirit of the Valley in the *Laozi* is the Taiji 太極 of the *Yijing*. The *Laozi* is explained in terms of *you* and *wu* (existence and nonexistence), and the *Yijing* in terms of mobility and quiescence. The antithesis between *wu* and *you* in the *Daode jing* is illustrated in the *Yijing* by the Taiji, which gives birth to the two principles. For DU DAOJIAN the term *wuji* 無極, which Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073) associates with the Taiji, does not mean “that which has no pole” but instead designates the Supreme Void (*taixu* 太虛) that precedes the Taiji. Here our author enters into the controversy surrounding these terms and joins the ranks of many Taoists who disagree with Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). DU DAOJIAN punctuates the first phrases of the *Laozi* after *wu* and *you* in the same way as Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) and interprets the absolute *wu* as “prior to Heaven” (*xiantian* 先天) and the absolute *you* as the “posterior to Heaven/world of phenomena” (*houtian* 後天). He also supports the theory held by the alchemists that *xing* 性 (nature) and *ming* 命 (the physical pole of life) are complementary.

He joins those who equate the heart-mind (*xin*) with the Tao in humanity: the heart-mind is the root, the pivot of the Tao that existed before Heaven and Earth; to be resonant, it must be totally empty, like the valley.

The teachings of the *Daode jing* are addressed to the Superior man (*junzi* 君子) and give special importance to the way of the August Ones and to the power of emperors. In this text, DU DAOJIAN borrows the *Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世 classification used by SHAO YONG: the Three August Ones, the Five Emperors, the Kings and Hegemons. Throughout his commentary, he makes references to the exemplary conduct of Confucian heroes—Yao, Shun, Yu the Great, etc.—advocating government by nonaction. He also adopts the equally Taoist and Confucian precept according to which governing one's own body is on a par with government of the family and of the country.

Isabelle Robinet

Xuanjing yuanzhi fabui 玄經原旨發揮

2 juan

By DU DAOJIAN 杜道堅; 1306

703 (fasc. 391)

“Dissertation on the Original Meaning of the Mysterious Scripture.” This text, in twelve sections, is a complement to 702 *Daode xuanjing yuanzhi*, as the title implies. It opens with a preface by the author, dated 1306, followed by two other prefaces: one by Huangshi weng 黃石翁 (Old Man of the Yellow Stone) and the other, also dated 1306, by Ren Shilin 任士林, a disciple of the author.

As he explains in his preface, DU DAOJIAN proposes to gloss the *Laozi* with the aid of the *Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世 by SHAO YONG. In the first six sections of our text, DU DAOJIAN uses the categories and computations of SHAO YONG to recast a cosmic chronology that begins with the manifestation of Heaven and continues with the Five Greats (of the *Laozi*). These “greats” are the four beginnings of the *Liezi*, to which the author adds the Taiji, corresponding to chaos in the *Liezi*. The chronology continues, using the same categories as SHAO YONG: three times Three August Ones, then the Five Emperors, followed by the Kings and Hegemons. His aim seems to be to introduce the Taiji into this cosmology.

The six final sections are devoted to the transmission of the *Daode jing* and to the legend of the reincarnations of Laozi. The last section is an index of key terms of the *Laozi*.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing zhu 道德真經註

4 juan

By WU CHENG 吳澄, *zi* Youqing 幼請, *hao* Caolu 草廬 (1249–1333)

704 (fasc. 392–393)

“Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” WU CHENG is also the author of a commentary on the *Yijing* and of a critical edition of the *Zhuangzi*

(741 *Nanhua neipian dingzheng*). Wu, one of the foremost scholars of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), was a disciple of Lu Xiangshan 陸象山 (1139–1193). He divides his commentary into sixty-eight sections, devoting much of his work to textual and philological analyses.

For WU CHENG, the essence of the *Laozi* is that every concept evokes its opposite and that these opposites are mutually dependent and even reinforce each other. Asserting this opinion (3.12a), he states that the second chapter of the *Laozi* presents in itself a complete summary of the *Daode jing* (1.5a). Elsewhere he takes the view that “to act by nonaction” is equally a major concept in Laozi’s work. The Tao is seen as a metaphysical entity. It is the *li* 理—the “norm” of the thought of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200)—not yet infused with qi, and it corresponds to the “eternal nonbeing” of the *Zhuangzi*.

The De, on the other hand, is a physical entity in which *li* is infused with qi; it corresponds to Taiyi 太一 (the Great Unity) of the *Zhuangzi*. This “eternal non-being” is designated by Laozi as the “root of Heaven and Earth” and is the “ancestor of the original beginning (*yuanshi* 元始) of Prior Heaven.”

The Great Unity is named the Mysterious Female and the Spirit of the Valley and is the Primordial Qi and the “source of the Lingbao of Prior Heaven.” It is clear that the commentator establishes equivalents between the *Laozi*, the *Zhuangzi*, and a number of terms associated with religious Taoism.

The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 146 indicates, on what appears to be inconclusive evidence, a similarity between this commentary and that of Su Che 蘇轍 (q.v.).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing zhangju xunsong 道德真經章句訓頌

2 juan

By Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (d. 1343); preface dated 1322

698 (fasc. 387)

“Admonitory Hymns to the Chapters of the *Daode zhenjing*.” As Judith Boltz has noted (*A survey of Taoist literature*, 223) this text constitutes the only *Daode jing* commentary in the *Daozang* linked to the Heavenly Master hierarchy. Its author, Zhang Sicheng, was the thirty-ninth Zhengyi patriarch.

Similar to a number of older Taoist masters who had produced exegetical works on the *Daode jing*, Zhang composed the “Admonitory Hymns” mainly because of his frustration with the widespread ignorance of his contemporaries, including those who considered themselves Laozi’s followers, regarding the master’s teachings. As Zhang states in his preface, reciting these hymns not only will enhance insight into the true meaning of the classic, but also will enable one to cultivate one’s person, regulate the family, rule the people, and bring peace to the realm, literally echoing the Confucian *Daxue*.

The effects of the recitation described above are, as Zhang concedes, only the coarser aspects of the message of the *Daode jing*. True wisdom must be sought in the cultivation of *jindan* 金丹.

Thirteen of the eighty-one hymns, written in four-, five-, and seven-character lines, are enlarged with extra commentary. In this text, one can find elucidations of the nature of the Tao in terms of principle (*li* 理), qi, nature (*xing* 性), and life (*ming* 命) (1.1b), as well as Zhang's opinion regarding HESHANG GONG's division of the original text of the *Daode jing* into eighty-one chapters (1.19a).

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Daode zhenjing zhu* 道德真經註**

2 juan

By Lin Zhijian 林志堅, *zi* Renzhai 仁齋, *hao* Xuanmen kaizhen hongjiao da zhenren 玄門開真弘教大真人; preface 1354

720 (fasc. 429)

“Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” Lin Zhijian, from Guanglin 廣林, must have been an important Taoist master at the end of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). He is not otherwise known. His commentary, which was printed during the Yuan dynasty, consists of short sentences taken from the *Daode jing* itself.

Isabelle Robinet

Da Ming Taizu gao huangdi yuzhu Daode zhenjing

大明太祖高皇帝御註道德真經

2 juan

By Emperor Taizu 太祖 of the Ming dynasty; 1374

676 (fasc. 354)

“Imperial Commentary on the *Daode jing* by Ming Taizu” (see also the entry in *Ming shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 74.2451). The author states in his preface that this commentary on the *Daode jing* was written in 1374. The *Laozi* text is presented in an unusual format of sixty-seven chapters. It is inspired by the WU CHENG commentary 704 *Daode zhenjing zhu*, which it follows closely and quotes frequently (the latter consists of sixty-eight chapters, of which chapter 65 is not included in the present text).

Some emphasis is laid upon breathing techniques (cf. the interpretation of the Spirit of the Valley; 1.6b and 1.10a) and upon the importance of the mind as the dwelling place of the souls, the spirit, and the Tao. But this commentary primarily views the text in political and governmental terms. The saint governs by peaceful means, bringing aid and benefit to all creatures, a phrase that occurs repeatedly. The preface strongly opposes any alchemical interpretation of the *Daode jing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing cijie 道德真經次解

2 juan

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

697 (fasc. 386)

“Ordered Explications of the *Daode zhenjing*.” According to the preface, the impetus for writing this text was the author’s visit to the Longxing guan 龍興觀 (in Suzhou 遂州, near Yizhou 易州, south-west of modern Peking). This temple housed a stele that carried the texts of the *Dao jing* 道經 and the *De jing* 德經. If this is the same stele as the one from the Longxing guan in Yizhou referred to in Chen Yuan’s *Daojia jinshi lue* (98–99), it would date from the second year of the Jinglong period (708). When the author read the text on the stele, he found it to differ substantially from the text of the *Daode jing* current in his own day, occasioning major discrepancies in the interpretation. Thereupon he decided to produce a commentary to the classic and to systematically note all textual variants found on the stele. These variants (sixty-nine instances in the case of the *Dao jing* and seventy for the *De jing*) are grouped in two different chapters, added to the two parts of the annotated classic.

In the writing of the commentary, the author claims not to have followed any other interpretations, instead forming a school of his own. In reality, some of the explanations are rather bland. The value of the *Daode zhenjing cijie* lies not so much in its qualities as commentary as in the fact that it preserves the text of the Longxing guan stele.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Daode zhenjing jiyi 道德真經集義

10 juan

By Wei Dayou 危大有; 1387

712 (fasc. 414–416)

“Collected Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power.” This collection of commentaries on the *Daode jing* is preceded by two prefaces. One is by the Heavenly Master ZHANG YUCHU and dated 1393, the other, dated 1387, is by the author. In the latter, the author states, in agreement with the *zhishen zhiguo* 治身治國 school of commentaries, that the *Daode jing* was a text as relevant to self-cultivation as to governance. This interpretation explains the choice of commentators in the present work, ranging from HESHANG GONG to contemporaries of the author. This second preface ends with a list of the authors included in the collection; to this list should be added Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072; 1.7b), Sima 司馬 (4.10a; this is not Sima Guang 司馬光), WANG BI (5.1b and 9.20b), and Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), a total of sixteen authors.

Many of these authors, however, are quoted only in passing. Among the most cited authors are LIN XIYI; WU CHENG; He Xinshan 何心山, *zi* Chuyin 處尹 (fl. 1387);

LI DAOCHUN; and Lü Zhizhang 呂知常, the author of a *Laozi jiangyi* 老子講義 in twelve juan (VDL 107), of which a sixteenth-century copy is preserved in the National Library of Peking.

He Xinshan frequently quotes the *Zhuangzi*, the *Liezi*, and the *Yijing*. The explanations he provides are inspired by Inner Alchemy (1.11b: the husbanding of essence and qi, the method of the eruption of the trigram *li* 離 and the filling of *kan* 坎; see also, e.g., 2.8a. 8.3a).

The commentary by Lü Zhichang was presented to the throne in 1188. He quotes the *Xisheng jing* (see 666 *Xisheng jing* and 726 *Xisheng jing jizhu*) and the *Huangting jing* (see 332 *Taishang huangting waijing yujing* and 331 *Taishang huangting neijing yujing*) repeatedly and tends to explain the *Laozi* in terms of Taoist practice (e.g., 1.4a, 5a, and 20a–21b).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing song 道德真經頌

13 fols.

By Jiang Rongan 蔣融庵; Ming (1368–1644)?

978 (fasc. 615)

“Hymns on the *Daode jing*.” Of the otherwise unknown author, the only detail is given in his signature: “from Maoshan.” The present collection of eighty-one poems, one for each chapter of the *Daode jing*, has been preserved only in the *Daozang*. The ideas expressed in the four-line, seven-character poems bear no direct relationship to the content of the chapters of the book under which they are classified.

Kristofer Schipper

Laozi yi 老子翼

6 juan

By Jiao Hong 焦竑, *zi* Ruohou 弱侯, *hao* Danyuan 澹園 (1541–1620)

1486 (fasc. 1115–16)

“Wings to the *Laozi*.” This text is by the Ming scholar and bibliophile Jiao Hong and is the next to the last work of the supplement *Xu Daozang* 續道藏, which was added to the Zhengtong canon in 1607. To realize the extent to which the original work was truncated by the editors of the canon, it is useful to compare the text of the *Xu Daozang* with two other easily accessible versions: the original Wanli print (copied into the *Daode jing mingzhu xuanji*) and the version in the *Siku quanshu*.

Both the Wanli and the *Siku quanshu* editions open with Jiao Hong’s own preface, dated 1587, and with a list of the sixty-four *Daode jing* commentaries used by Jiao in establishing his own critical commentary. Despite the interest of these items, they were excluded from the *Xu Daozang* edition. In the main body of the work as

found in the Wanli and Siku editions, the text of each *Daode jing* chapter is followed not only by a glossary of terms, but also by abundant quotations from older commentaries, including the now lost commentary by Shao Bian 邵弁 (twelfth century). Most numerous are quotations from the writings of Su Che 蘇轍, Lü Jifu 呂吉甫, Li Jiamou 李嘉謀, Lu Xisheng 陸希聲, Wang Yuanze 王元澤 (i.e., WANG PANG), and Cheng Ju 程俱. In the *Xu Daozang*, however, all this wealth has been reduced to quotations from the Su Che commentary, with only one exception, where Lü Jifu is quoted.

Eighteen of the *Daode jing* chapters also carry Jiao Hong's own notes (*bicheng* 筆乘). Fortunately, in the *Xu Daozang* these have been retained almost entirely.

The last two juan of the *Laozi yi* (corresponding to juan 3 in the Wanli and *Siku* editions) are formed by supplements consisting of quotations from historical, epigraphic, and other sources. These juan deal with the life of Laozi and the history of the *Daode jing*, and they contain chronologically arranged notes on a host of *Daode jing* commentators. Some of these notes concern commentators whose commentaries have long been lost, such as Qin Xi 秦系 (eighth century). Other commentators, like WU YUN, were included in recognition of brief but remarkable comments they made about the *Laozi*.

Jiao Hong's work concludes with observations on textual variants in the *Daode jing* ("Laozi kaoyi 老子考異"), drawing on a dozen or so different redactions of the text, including the one on a stele in the Longxing guan 龍興觀 (see 697 *Daode zhenjing cijie*).

Jan A. M. De Meyer

3.A.1.a.2 The *Zhuangzi*

Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan 南華真經新傳

20 juan

By WANG PANG 王雱, zi Yuanze 元澤 (1044–1076)

743 (fasc. 503–506)

Nanhua zhenjing shiyi 南華真經拾遺

8 fols.

744 (fasc. 506)

"New Exegesis of the *Zhuangzi*." The qualification of this commentary as "new" may be explained by the fact that the author wrote another commentary to the same book in ten juan (see VDL 67), now lost, which is quoted in 734 *Nanhua zhenjing yihai zuanwei* 3.7b and 4.12b. The short 744 *Nanhua zhenjing shiyi* is a supplement that is also given, under the title *Zashuo*, in the appendix of 1487 *Zhuangzi yi*.

Wang was the son of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) and assisted his father in his work; he thus attained a great erudition.

There is an unsigned preface, dated 1096, that explains that the present text was found in Sichuan during the years 1075–1085 and thereupon edited and printed. Although this version claims to be more complete than those current at the time of its discovery, the commentary on chapters 7 to 13 is lacking, as well as that on part of chapter 22. In a unsigned colophon to the preface, the author says that before him the *Zhuangzi* had never been properly understood.

The text of the *Zhuangzi* used here can be identified as the “old manuscript” (*jiuben* 舊本) edited by ZHANG JUNFANG and described by CHEN JINGYUAN in his 737 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi*.

WANG PANG’s exegesis is not based on philology. His aim is to explain Zhuangzi’s thought through the words of Zhuangzi himself, without imposing his own philosophy. He demonstrates the articulations of Zhuangzi’s thought and analyzes its progression from chapter to chapter. At the beginning of each chapter, the link with the preceding one is explained. At the end of each chapter, its different parts are discussed. The explanations are almost always based on citations from the book itself, confronting one passage with another, and using only the terminology and the metaphors of Zhuangzi himself. Laozi is rarely quoted, and Buddhist or Confucian terminology is even less in evidence. There are a few instances where Neo-Confucian terminology is used, as well as the concepts of *ti* 體 and *yong* 用 (substance and function; see, e.g., 6.6b and 9b; 10.20b–21a). The concepts of *zhiming* 至命 (to go to the utmost of one’s destiny) and *jinxing* 盡性 (to examine the core of one’s nature) are often mentioned (see, e.g., 4.2b; 6.12a and 18b). The text of the *Zhuangzi* itself remains, however, the basic material on which WANG PANG builds his exegesis.

There are several characteristic aspects of this exegesis. There is almost no mysticism, as becomes clear when one examines the way the famous passage on the Fast of the Heart and the “whiteness” that rises up from the “empty chamber” are interpreted (1.13b–14a). On the other hand, the exegesis occasionally evokes WANG BI (see, for instance, 3.1a). The foremost characteristic seems to be the rejection of the body and the material world. The body is only a temporal abode (it is merely “borrowed” [*wei* 委]; 4.12b). The body is “the branch” (3.3b); it should not be “nourished” (3.4a). The corporeal principle is the origin of all differences and multiplicity, whereas “forgetting the body” allows the practitioner to merge into unity (*yi* 一; 2.18b, 4.19a) and become one with the ten thousand beings (6.2b). Diversity is our lot (*fen* 分), whereas unity is our natural destiny (*ming* 命), the heavenly order. The material world (*xingqi* 形器) and the world of humans (*jingshi* 經世) are forever opposed to the Tao. WANG PANG considers that Confucianism is limited to the material world (see 734 *Nanhua zhenjing yihai zuanwei* 4.12b).

WANG PANG uses several expressions and concepts borrowed from GUO XIANG, including “spontaneous realization” (*zide* 自得; 1.1a; 4.3b), “coincidence” (*dang* 當; 1.8a; 4.12a), and to “plunge to one’s limit” (*ming qi ji* 冥其極; e.g., 1.4b; 2.14b). Like Guo, Wang emphasizes the attainment of truth and the accomplishment of the self through spontaneity (*zi* 自; 10.23b). Wang reproaches GUO XIANG, however, for having reduced the “free wandering” (*you* 遊) of Zhuangzi to a state of simple contentment with one’s lot (1.1b). In 743 *Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan*, Wang frequently quotes the expression of Zhuangzi, “Go along with things and let the mind wander freely 乘物以遊心” (3.20b; see also 4.16a; 6.2b and 17a). This phrase clearly means to him to “wander beyond the material and multiple world.” That is the core of his commentary.

Isabelle Robinet

***Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* 南華真經章句音義**

14 juan

By CHEN JINGYUAN 陳景元, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虛子; 1084
736 (fasc. 495–96)

***Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* 南華真經章句餘事**

20 fols.

737 (fasc. 497)

***Nanhua zhenjing yushi zalu* 南華真經餘事雜錄**

2 juan

738 (fasc. 497)

The three works of CHEN JINGYUAN are philological notes to the *Zhuangzi*. The main text is the 736 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* (“Phonetic and Semantic Glosses”). The two shorter works, the 737 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* (“Additional Notes”) and the 738 *Nanhua zhenjing yushi zalu* (“Miscellaneous Documents”), contain additions and complements.

CHEN JINGYUAN (1025–1094) compares different editions of the *Zhuangzi*. His basic text is the official Guozi jian 國子監 edition of 1007. To the printed editions he adds eight manuscripts (see the list in 737 *Zhangju yushi* 20b). One of these manuscripts was collated by Xu Lingfu 徐靈府, *hao* Moxi zi 墨希子, a scholar who lived at the end of the ninth century and who wrote a commentary on the *Wenzi* 文子 (see LZTT 40.5a). Three other manuscripts contain versions of the *Zhuangzi* revised by ZHANG JUNFANG. Another manuscript is by Liu Deyi 劉德一, who lived at the beginning of the eleventh century. Although Chen does not explicitly say so, a good number of his glosses are borrowed from the *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 by Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627).

The “additional notes” of 737 *Zhangju yushi* contain the tables of the divisions that CHEN JINGYUAN made in the book of *Zhuangzi*. He also lists errors discovered in the Guozi jian edition.

The “miscellaneous documents” of 738 *Yushi zalu* originally comprised three chapters on the *Gongsun Long zi* 公孫龍子 (see the preface of 763 *Zhangju yinyi* [2b]). Only two of these chapters are preserved in the *Daozang* version. The commentary in 738 *Yushi zalu* is the same as the one found in 1172 *Gongsun Long zi* 1.4b–8a, 2.1a–2b. Among these miscellaneous documents, Chen also gives the texts of the prefaces to the *Zhuangzi* by GUO XIANG and by CHENG XUANYING (1.9a–10a and 1.10a–12b, respectively), and the text of the imperial edict conferring official titles on the *Zhuangzi* and the *Liezi*. Finally, he gives the *Jiuzheng xinjie* 九證心戒, an essay by Yang Sifu 楊嗣復 dated 827. This essay is based on the Nine Tests (*guan* 觀) explained by Kongzi in chapter 32 of the *Zhuangzi*.

Isabelle Robinet

Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin 南華真經直音

2 + 12 fols.

By JIA SHANXIANG 賈善翔; preface dated 1086

739 (fasc. 497)

“Phonetic Gloss of the *Zhuangzi*.” This text is mentioned under the title *Zhuangzi zhiyin* in *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 5.3a (VDL 137). In the preface, JIA SHANXIANG, author of the *Gaodao zhuan* and other works, states that it was his intention to help readers of the *Zhuangzi* who might not be familiar with some of its more abstruse vocabulary.

The title of this work suggests that the pronunciation of each character is indicated by citing another, homophonous character (*zhiyin*). This rule is only partly applied. In many instances, the *fanqie* 反切 method is used in order to provide the pronunciation, and sometimes only the tone of the character is given.

The *Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin*, which is now found only in the *Daozang*, has not been preserved in its entirety: the text breaks off after the fourteenth *Zhuangzi* chapter (“Tianyun 天運”). In all, more than one thousand characters are provided with pronunciation or tone. It should be noted that the present edition is not flawless. A number of misprints obstruct the determination of the correct pronunciation.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Nanhua miao* 南華邈**

3 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)

740 (fasc. 497)

“Profundities of the *Zhuangzi*.” The title of this short work first occurs in small characters beneath the title of the previous work, 739 *Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin*, to which it is appended. The *Daozang mulu xiangzhu* (3.20a) considers it to be the work of JIA SHANXIANG, but the present text, which is devoid of preface or colophon, does not allow such a conclusion. In the bibliographic chapters of the *Song shi* (205.5180), a *Zhuangzi miao* 莊子邈 is mentioned, with Wen Ruhai 文如海 as the author. Wen Ruhai presumably lived in the eighth century and also authored a *Zhuangzi zhengyi* 莊子正義 in ten juan. Whether Wen Ruhai’s *Zhuangzi miao* is related to the work now found in the *Daozang* is impossible to ascertain.

The full text of the *Nanhua miao*, which offers explanations of the titles of the chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, has not been preserved. What remains are explanations to the following chapter headings: “Tiandi 天地,” “Tiandao 天道,” “Tianyun 天運,” “Keyi 刻意” (incomplete), “Shuo jian 說劍,” and “Yufu 漁父.” Of the explanations to the “Lie Yukou 列禦寇” chapter, only the title is left. Apart from the *Daozang* version, no other editions of this text have been transmitted.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Nanhua zhenjing kouyi* 南華真經口義**

32 juan

By LIN XIYI 林希逸, *zi* Suweng 肅翁, *hao* Zhuqi 竹溪 (ca. 1210–ca. 1273);

postface by Lin Jingde 林經德; dated 1260

735 (fasc. 488–494)

“Colloquial Interpretation of the *Nanhua Zhenjing*.” According to Lin Jingde, LIN XIYI’s aim in writing this text was “to cleanse Guo Xiang’s 郭象 filth off the Old Immortal Nanhua” (“Houxu,” 1.b; see GUO XIANG). The same postface, moreover, explains that LIN XIYI chose the term *kouyi* 口義 (oral interpretation) in order to make clear that literary style was not his main concern in making this commentary. In effect, the language Lin uses is simple and unadorned and contains many instances of Southern Song vernacular.

The present version in the *Daozang* is the oldest edition of our text. A ten-juan edition can also be found in the *Siku quanshu*, under the title *Zhuangzi kouyi*.

LIN XIYI was first and foremost a Confucian scholar-official, but his *Zhuangzi* commentary betrays a better-than-average knowledge of Buddhism, in particular the Chan Buddhist style of discourse. At the same time, and contrary to many of his fellow Confucians, Lin’s interpretations reveal a genuine sympathy for the *Zhuangzi*, as for

the *Daode jing* and the *Liezi*, to which Lin also wrote colloquial interpretations (701 *Daode zhenjing kouyi* and 729 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing Juanzhai kouyi*).

In his own introduction (“Zhuangzi kouyi fati 發題”), LIN XIYI elaborates on five types of difficulty that obstruct our correct understanding of the *Zhuangzi*, a book that “deserves its place under Heaven despite its not being a Confucian classic” (“Fati” 1.b). He seems to have regarded WANG PANG’s and LÜ HUIQING’s views on the *Zhuangzi* as especially detrimental to the book’s reputation (“Fati,” 2.b). In establishing his own commentary, LIN XIYI draws upon a wide variety of texts and commentators, among them the *Mengzi* 孟子, the *Zhongyong* 中庸, Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra*, and Lin’s own teacher Chen Zao 陳藻.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Nanhua zhenjing yihai zuanwei 南華真經義海纂微

106 juan

By Chu Boxiu 褚伯秀, *zi* Xueyan 雪巖; preface dated 1265

734 (fasc. 467–487)

“Collected Subtleties from the Sea of Meanings of the True Scripture of Southern Florescence.” This is a collection of commentaries on the *Zhuangzi* with an additional interpretation by the editor, Chu Boxiu. Chu, who was born in 1230 and must have died after 1278, was a native of Wulin 吳林. In 1246, he met Fan Yuanying 范元應—a Taoist master from Sichuan, abbot of the Shouning guan 壽寧觀 on Hengshan 衡山, and author of a still extant *Laozi daode jing guben jizhu* 老子道德經古本集注—during the latter’s stay at the capital. Chu studied the *Zhuangzi* with Fan during two years. Afterward, following his master’s instructions, Chu continued studying by himself for seven years; he then compiled the present edition and had it printed. There are three prefaces, by Liu Zhensun 劉震孫 (1197–1268), Wen Jiweng 文及翁 (fl. 1279), and Tang Han 湯漢 (ca. 1198–1275), all dated 1265. They are followed by a note (preface, 4a–6a) by the editor, which shows that Chu based himself on CHEN JINGYUAN’s edition of major commentaries in 736 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* (compare also the list in Chen’s 737 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* 20b), but he added a number of other interpretations. Most of the commentaries listed are, however, quoted only sporadically, as is the case of the glosses by Chu’s master Fang Yuanying and by WANG PANG. The commentary by WANG PANG as given here appears, moreover, to be different from Wang’s 743 *Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan* and may represent another commentary by the same author, now lost. The commentary by Li Yuanzhuo 李元卓, *alias* Li Shibiao 李士表, also differs from Li’s work in 1263 *Zhuang Lie shilun*.

Only six commentators out of the seventeen listed by Chu are in fact included in the present anthology. They are, in the order as listed:

1. GUO XIANG (252–312). His commentary is quoted here from a Wumen official edition (*guanben* 吳門官本), corrected through the critical notes by CHEN JING-YUAN. This version of GUO XIANG's text differs from that of 745 *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu* and also from that used by Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627).

2. LÜ HUIQING (1031–1110). This text is quoted here from a Sichuan edition. Lü is also the author of 686 *Daode zhenjing zhuan* and of 965 *Song dong Taiyi gong beiming*. According to the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* (see VDL 138), his commentary to the *Zhuangzi* in ten juan was presented to the throne in 1084. The work is listed as lost in 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 2.20b. In 1920, a copy was found in Khara-khoto (Karakorum) by P. K. Kozlov (see his *Comptes rendus and Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto*). From this copy, it could be ascertained that Chu Boxiu had not quoted the complete text. Until then, the work was extant only in the form of the long citations made by Chu, which were used by Jiao Hong 焦宏 (1541–1620) in his 1487 *Zhuangzi yi*.

3. Lin Yidu 林疑獨 (fl. 1268). Chu quotes his commentary from a printed edition from Masha 麻沙 in Fujian. Lin gives a hermeneutic and symbolical reading of the *Zhuangzi*, which emphasizes the limits of human language. According to Lin, the *Zhuangzi* uses metaphors and symbols in the same way as the *Yijing* uses images (*xiang* 象; see 95.7a). Lin Yidu often refers to the dialectics of *wu* 無 (nonbeing) and *you* 有 (being). He clearly dissociates himself from Taoist interpretations of the book of *Zhuangzi* in terms of bodily exercises (see, for instance, 5.16b). The most remarkable aspect of his commentary, however, is his emphasis on the concepts of *ming* 命 (mandate), *xing* 性 (nature), and *li* 理 (principle), which he takes here from the famous words of the *Yijing*: “to explore *li* to its limits, to examine the very core of one's *xing*, so as to reach [an understanding of] *ming*.”

Lin distinguishes three levels of explorations. “To explore *li* to its limits” corresponds to ordinary life and therefore means “to listen with one's ears.” “To examine the very core of one's *xing*” corresponds to “listening with one's heart” and to “reverse hearing.” Finally, “to reach [an understanding of] *ming*” consists in “listening with the *qi*, or with the Void” (see 8.4b and 99.3b). These interpretations are related to the meaning Lin gives to the three concepts: *Ming* existed before life and also constitutes the very substance of life (see 36.10a and 74.4a); it thus stands for the Origin in terms of the Void. The *ming* as attribute of an individual is subjective, and thus plural. This subjective and plural aspect of the *ming* is the *xing*, which appears here following the spirit. *Xing* is the “true nature,” a particular aspect of the *ming* that one has to retrieve. The *li*, finally, is the objective (*zaiwu* 在物) aspect of the *xing* and thus opposed to the subjective *xing*. The ultimate stage of the Tao is therefore the *ming* as origin of all beings and as the point at which they all are still undifferentiated (to illustrate this stage, Lin Yidu uses the term *qiwu* 齊物 of the *Zhuangzi*, that is, the fusion into unity of all

beings). This stage is superior to “the answer” given to the exterior world (see 8.4b; 99.3b; 74.4a; 36.9b–10a; 105.5a, 106.10b). However, the relationship between *ming* and *xing* is the same as that between Heaven (here equated with *ming*) and humanity (here equated with *xing*), as well as that between yang and yin. In other words, *ming* and *xing* are complementary and both necessary.

4. Chen Xiangdao 陳詳道, *zi* Yongzhi 用之 (1053–1093). Chen was from Minqing 閩清 in Fujian, a Confucian scholar, and author of a Book on Ritual (*Lishu* 禮書) and of a commentary to the Analects (*Lunyu* 論語). His commentary is quoted only in the first half of Chu Boxiu’s anthology.

5. CHEN JINGYUAN is the author of the *Zhuangzi* commentary 736 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi*. The text quoted here under his name is, however, another commentary, otherwise unknown. Chen’s interpretation is more mystical than others and recommends renunciation and forgetting.

6. The next commentary is that of LIN XIYI, which corresponds, with many variants, to Lin’s 735 *Nanhua zhenjing kouyi*. The edition quoted here was printed in Fujian.

7. Chu Boxiu’s own commentary comes last. Chu adds to his interpretation a general conclusion for each chapter. He often uses philological methods, compares variant readings, avows the difficulties in understanding certain terms, compares passages, and so on. Chen, however, also proposes his own system of interpretation, centering on the notions of *yangxing* 養性 (to nourish one’s nature) and *fuxing* 復性 (to return to one’s nature). This return can be accomplished through “total forgetting” (*jianwang* 健忘), which is the “nonmental” (*wuxin* 無心). Because of this *wuxin*, Chen rejects the qi techniques and also criticizes Inner Alchemy. He declares that the “I” (*wo* 我) that is eternal is not the body of flesh but the “marvelous void,” which is colorless and cannot be seen. Chen therefore is also opposed to all Taoist techniques of visualization. He reconciles Taoism and Confucianism and declares that Zhuangzi reveals “the heart” of the teachings of Confucius (98.10a). For him, Confucianism proposes the “inner learning” that culminates in the “outward learning” of Taoism (49.7a–b). He quotes the *Ximing* 西銘 of Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1076) as being close to the spirit of Zhuangzi (19.13a), and he often quotes the famous words of the *Yijing*, also regularly adduced by the Confucians: “to explore *li* to its limits, to examine the very core of one’s *xing*, so as to reach [an understanding of] *ming*.” He sees, for instance, a connection between these three concepts and the three first chapters of the *Zhuangzi* (see 5.5a).

***Zhuang Lie shilun* 莊列十論**

29 fols.

By Li Yuanzhuo 李元卓, *zi* Shibiao 士表; Song (960–1279)

1263 (fasc. 1001)

“Ten Discussions on the *Zhuangzi* and the *Liezi*.” This is a collection of short essays on particular passages of these works, nine having been taken from the *Zhuangzi* and one from the *Liezi*.

The author is identified as instructor of the Imperial College (Taixue jiaoshou 太學教授). He appears not to be known elsewhere. The work is mentioned in several Song catalogues under the title *Zhuangzi shilun* 莊子十論 (VDL 137). The ten essays concern:

1. The dream of Zhuangzi (*Qiwu lun* 齊物論)
2. Bao Ding (*Yangsheng zhu* 養生主)
3. Hiding the boat (*Da zongshi* 大宗師)
4. Yan Hui’s meditation (*Da zongshi* 大宗師)
5. Hu Zi and the shaman (*Ying diwang* 應帝王)
6. The Mysterious Pearl (*Tiandi* 天地)
7. Zhuangzi and the fishes (*Qiushui* 秋水)
8. The drunk who fell from the cart (*Dasheng* 達生)
9. The Tao of old (*Tianxia* 天下)
10. The story of Songhua zi (*Zhou Muwang* 周穆王)

Nine topics come from the *Zhuangzi* and one from the *Liezi*. The work is quoted by Jiao Hong 焦宏 (1541–1620) at the end of his 1487 *Zhuangzi yi* (“Fulu 附錄,” 22a ff.) under the title *Zhuangzi jiulun* 莊子九論.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Zhuangzi neipian dingzheng* 莊子內篇訂正**

2 juan

By WU CHENG 吳澄 (1249–1333)

741 (fasc. 497)

“*Zhuangzi*’s Inner Chapters Correctly Arranged.” When WU CHENG produced his commentary on the *Daode jing* (704 *Daode zhenjing zhu*), he rearranged the traditional eighty-one paragraphs into sixty-eight larger units. Apparently acting on the same impulse, Wu composed this text. As indicated by the title, WU CHENG’S OWN contribution limits itself to providing paragraph divisions for the *Zhuangzi*’s seven Inner Chapters.

Similar to his treatment of the text of the *Daode jing*, WU CHENG’S tendency is to concentrate more material into one paragraph than is customary today. Thus,

clearly separated subdivisions of the original text are often found together in one new paragraph, which in itself is not problematic. WU CHENG's idiosyncratic approach becomes objectionable, however, where subdivisions of the *Zhuangzi* that form one logical unity are divided over two new paragraphs, as in the final section of the fifth *Zhuangzi* chapter ("Dechong fu 德充符," 2.6a–b).

The *Zhuangzi neipian dingzheng* has been preserved only in the *Daozang*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Nanhua zhenjing xunben* 南華真經循本**

30 juan

By Luo Miandao 羅勉道 (d. 1367), collated by his disciple Peng Xiang 彭祥

742 (fasc. 498–502)

"Fundamental *Zhuangzi*." The author explains the title of his work in the short prefatory essay "Nanhua zhenjing xunben shiti 釋題." According to Luo Miandao, the *Zhuangzi* was misinterpreted on numerous occasions by commentators who sought to explain the text in Pure Conversation (*qingtan* 清談), Chan Buddhist, or Confucian terms. What all these commentators lacked was a profound knowledge of the language and culture of the Late Zhou period, which spawned the *Zhuangzi*. Luo Miandao, on the other hand, claims to have succeeded in interpreting the text "in accordance with its basic purport" (*xun qi benzhi* 循其本指), hence the term *xunben* 循本 in the title.

Luo Miandao's commentary does not extend to all of the *Zhuangzi*'s chapters. Juan 28, 29, and 30 of the *Nanhua zhenjing xunben* limit themselves to reproducing the text of six of the *Zhuangzi waipian* chapters that Luo Miandao judged not to have been written by Zhuang Zhou 莊周 himself. These chapters are: "Keyi 刻意," "Shanxing 善性," "Rangwang 讓王," "Daozhi 盜跖," "Shuojian 說劍," and "Yufu 漁父." Apart from a few critical remarks, Luo Miandao considers these chapters unworthy of commentary.

The *Nanhua zhenjing xunben* exerted quite some influence on later commentators. It is, for instance, one of the five *Zhuangzi* commentaries quoted most often in Jiao Hong's 1487 *Zhuangzi yi*. The *Nanhua zhenjing xunben* is preserved only in the *Daozang*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Zhuangzi yi* 莊子翼**

8 juan

By Jiao Hong 焦竑, *zi* Ruohou 弱侯, *hao* Danyuan 澹園; (1541–1620) preface dated 1588

1487 (fasc. 1117–1120)

"Wings to the *Zhuangzi*." This text by the Ming scholar and bibliophile Jiao Hong, is the last work printed in the *Xu Daozang*, the 1607 addition to the Zhengtong canon.

As in the case of Jiao Hong's 1486 *Laozi yi*, the *Daozang* edition of the present work is a severely abridged version of the original 1588 print by Wang Yuanzhen 王元貞, which can be conveniently consulted in the *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* 中國子學名著集成 edition.

In Wang Yuanzhen's print, the main body of the text is preceded by Jiao Hong's own preface (dated 1588), Wang Yuanzhen's preface of the same year, the original table of contents of the *Zhuangzi yi*, the list of commentaries and other works consulted by Jiao Hong, and an essay "On Reading the Zhuangzi" ("Du Zhuangzi 讀莊子"). These items are not without interest. Jiao Hong's preface, for instance, contains his views on the relation between Zhuangzi, Laozi, Confucius, and Mencius. However, none of the introductory items are to be found in the *Daozang* edition.

In compiling this text, Jiao Hong consulted a total of forty-nine works dealing with the *Zhuangzi*, including commentaries and works on textual criticism and the pronunciation of the *Zhuangzi*'s more obscure vocabulary. The commentaries quoted most often by Jiao Hong are those by GUO XIANG, LÜ HUIQING (1031–1100), Chu Boxiu 褚伯秀 (thirteenth century), Luo Miandao 羅勉道 (fourteenth century), and Lu Xixing 陸西星 (sixteenth century). Other works quoted regularly include Hong Mai's *Rongzhai suibi* and JIA SHANXIANG's 739 *Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin*. In the *Daozang* edition, however, almost all commentaries, with the exception of the one by GUO XIANG and Jiao Hong's own notes (*bicheng* 筆乘), have been excised. Similarly, CHEN JINGYUAN's *Zhuangzi quemu* 莊子闕誤, which in Wang Yuanzhen's edition is inserted between the main text and the appendixes, is omitted in the *Daozang* edition.

Only in the appendixes does the *Daozang* match Wang Yuanzhen's edition. The appendixes include Zhuang Zhou's *Shiji* biography; Ruan Ji's 阮籍 (210–263) "Zhuang lun 莊論"; Wang Anshi's 王安石 (1021–1086) "Zhuangzi lun 莊子論"; Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1036–1101) "Zhuangzi citang ji 莊子祠堂記"; Li Shibiao's 李士表 "Zhuangzi jiulun 莊子九論" (the nine chapters dealing with the *Zhuangzi* in Li's 1263 *Zhuang Lie shilun*); and a "Farewell Address" ("Zengbie 贈別") by the obscure Five Dynasties Pan You 潘佑. WANG PANG's (1042–1076) "Zashuo 雜說" can also be found in 744 *Nanhua zhenjing shiyi*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

3.A.1.a.3 The *Liezi**Liezi chongxu zhide zhenjing shiwen* 列子冲虚至德真经释文

2 juan

By Yin Jingshun 殷敬顺; Tang (618–907); supplemented by CHEN JINGYUAN

陳景元, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虚子; 1069

733 (fasc. 466)

“Textual Explanations of the *Liezi*.” In his preface dated 1069, CHEN JINGYUAN provides details on the origin of the work: he based himself on an already heavily damaged manuscript in two juan. The manuscript was in the calligraphy of Moxi zi 墨希子 (Xu Lingfu 徐靈府; fl. 815) and contained textual explanations of the *Liezi*; it was compiled by the assistant prefect of Dangtu 當塗 county, Yin Jingshun of the Tang (apparently a contemporary of Xu). In addition, Chen used another manuscript in Xu’s calligraphy, the *Liezi* with a commentary by Lu Chongxuan 廬重玄 (see 732 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie*), as well as the *Liezi* edition printed in 1007 by the Directorate of Education (*guozi jian* 國子監). After having compared the different readings, he compiled a list of 106 variant characters in one juan, which he added as a supplement to Yin’s explanations.

In the present text, Chen’s list is no longer found as a separate appendix but is incorporated into Yin’s explanations. Thus in most cases it is no longer possible to distinguish the provenance of the individual notes. They are limited to phonetic and semantic explanations and point out more than 200 textual differences that concern not only the text of the *Liezi*, but also the commentary by Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 370) and the report by Liu Xiang 劉向 (see the article on 668 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing*).

*Hans-Hermann Schmidt**Chongxu zhide zhenjing jie* 冲虚至德真经解

20 juan

By Jiang Yu 江通; ca. 1110

730 (fasc. 457–460)

“Explanations of the *Liezi*.” The title of the otherwise unknown Song author—scholar of the Inner College at the Prefectural Academy in Hangzhou (*Hangzhou zhouxue neishe sheng* 杭州州學內舍生)—allows a rather precise dating of his work: an examination system in three grades (*sanshe* 三舍), introduced under Shenzong for the National Academy in the capital (Taixue 太學), was also applied to the academies on the prefectural level (Zhouxue 州學) in the period between 1099 and 1121 (*Huang Song shichao gangyao* 14.6b; 18.9b).

Judging from the formula at the beginning of the text, this work was meant to be presented to the court. The *Siku quanshu zongmu* 146.1245 notes that Jiang Yu relies

on the style of GUO XIANG's *Zhuangzi* commentary—without philological annotations and with intuitive understanding. His explanations are highly praised for their elegance of style and thorough textual understanding, and are placed above LIN XIYI's commentary to the *Liezi*.

The present edition has some lacunae (4.25a; 9.1b; 20.11a) that are also found in the *Daozang jiyao* edition (in three juan) as well as in the *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 edition (in eight juan).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Chongxu zhide zhenjing yijie 冲虚至德真經義解

6 juan

By Song Huizong 宋徽宗; 1118

731 (fasc. 460)

“Explanation of the Meaning of the *Liezi*.” The imperial text, in the present form, is fragmentary and treats only half of the *Liezi*. In Song bibliographies, Huizong's *Liezi* commentary is listed as comprising eight juan (VDL 101). His explanations were also included unabridged in the collection 732 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie*, where the complete commentary has been preserved. The part missing here begins in juan 12 of the latter work. Huizong's preface of 1118 has also been preserved only in that collection. In this preface, the emperor writes that after having commentated the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, it would be impossible not to expound the *Liezi* (an edict to have the imperial commentary to the *Liezi* printed by the Directorate of Education and to distribute it to scholars was issued in 1123; see *Tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 127.9b–10a). Huizong does not linger over philological details but gives an elegant exegesis of the philosophical thought of the work. The main text does not show any substantial textual variants but contains interspersed information about variant readings that come from Zhang Zhan's 張湛 (fl. 370) commentary.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie 冲虚至德真經四解

20 juan

Compiled by Gao Shouyuan 高守元, *zi* Shanzhang 善長, *hao* Heguang sanren 和光散人; 1189

732 (fasc. 461–466)

“Four Explanations of the *Liezi*.” Little is known about the life of the compiler. The *Jin shi* 131.2813 mentions that he held the position of a collator in the Imperial Library (*jiaoshu lang* 校書郎) during the Tiande period (1149–1153). His compilation contains four commentaries together with their prefaces, a brief biography of Liezi (from 163

Xuanyuan shizi tu), Liu Xiang's 劉向 report, and a preface to Gao Shouyuan's compilation, written by Mao Hui 毛麾 in 1189.

The authors of the four commentaries, the first three of which are listed as independent works in Song bibliographies (see VDL 101), are as follows:

1. Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 370). For his preface, in which he gives an account of the textual history, see Graham, "The date and composition of the Liehtzyy" (144 ff). His commentary in the present edition differs only slightly from the Song print reproduced in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊.

2. Lu Chongxuan 盧重玄 (fl. 735; cf. 295 *Xu xian zhuan* 2.4b–5a). According to his preface, he wrote his explanations of the *Liezi* at the behest of Xuanzong (r. 712–756). From the title—Kaiyuan shengwen shenwu huangdi 開元聖文神武皇帝, by which he refers to the emperor—it can be concluded that this commentary was written between 739 and 742 (cf. *Jiu Tang shu* 9.210; 9.215).

3. Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1125). For his commentary and preface dated 1118, see 731 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing yijie*.

4. Fan Zhixu 范致虛. He was the executive assistant of the Left in the Department of State Affairs (Shangshu zuocheng 尚書左丞); the preface to his explanations is by Wu Shizhong 吳師中 and dated 1119.

Like Zhang Zhan's and Huizong's explanations, the two other commentaries were probably also included unabridged, so that in this collection four of the oldest *Liezi* commentaries have been preserved virtually complete (in juan 18, Lu's annotations are missing).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Chongxu zhide zhenjing Juanzhai kouyi 冲虛至德真經麴齋口義

8 juan

By LIN XIYI 林希逸, *hao* Juanzhai 麴齋; ca. 1260

729 (fasc. 455–456)

"Colloquial Explanations of the *Liezi*." Apart from this work, LIN XIYI wrote commentaries in the same style on the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. To the latter, a postface by Lin Jingde 林經德 dated 1260 has been preserved (see 735 *Nanhua zhenjing kouyi*); it contains an explanation of the term *kouyi* 口義 as well as biographical information about LIN XIYI, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the present work was also written around that year.

Lin's explanations are preceded by a brief biography of Liezi (from 163 *Xuanyuan shizi tu*) and by Liu Xiang's 劉向 memorial (see 668 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing*). Lin, who repeatedly calls himself a (Neo-) Confucian (*wuru* 吳儒; 7.11b), consistently indicates text parallels to the *Zhuangzi*, *Huainan zi*, and elsewhere, and he frequently points out relations to (Zen) Buddhism (e.g., 4.24a–25a). In text-critical notes he specifies

which passages in the *Liezi* he considers authentic, and which portions he discounts (e.g., 8.26b).

In the 1574 Jingyi tang 敬義堂 edition of the *Sanzi kouyi* 三子口義, Lin's commentary is divided into two juan but does not show substantial textual differences.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

3.A.1.a.4 Others

Xisheng jing jizhu 西昇經集註

6 juan

By CHEN JINGYUAN 陳景元, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虛子 (1025–1094)

726 (fasc. 449–450)

“Collected Commentaries on the Scripture of the Ascent to the West.” The scripture contains the teachings that Laozi left to the Guardian of the Pass, Yin Xi 尹喜, when Laozi headed west. Its contents rely heavily on the *Daode jing*. For individual practice, the importance of *yangshen* 養身 (nourishing the body) and *shouyi* 守一 (holding the One) are emphasized. The latter is to be preferred to alchemical practices (3.19b). The scripture is divided into thirty-nine sections with large portions rhymed—mostly in mnemonic verses of eight or ten syllables (sections 5–14).

Possibly the work was written before the mid-fourth century, as its opening sentences are cited (without, however, explicitly naming the source) in *Zhengwu lun* 1.7b (see Zürcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, 311–12 and 436 n. III). These very opening and concluding passages were repeatedly the object of Buddhist polemics in the course of the *huahu* 化胡 disputes, since by small textual modifications it could be proven either that the Buddha was Laozi's teacher or the reverse (for the Buddhist argumentation, see *Zhenzheng lun* 2.564c–565a; for the Taoist view, see also 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 3.8a–b and 954 *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 22a–b). Laozi's biography in *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 also mentions a *Xisheng jing*.

There is no reason to doubt that the present work is identical with the *Xisheng jing* frequently cited and attacked in the historical texts in the Buddhist Canon, as all citations—with minor textual variants and apart from one probably erroneous ascription—can be found in today's text. Similarly, all the citations in early Taoist compilations (e.g., WSPY, 1129 *Daojiao yishu*, 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*), correspond closely to the present text.

For his collection, CHEN JINGYUAN used five originally separate commentaries, which he verified before producing his definitive main text. Within the work, Chen limits himself to pointing out textual variants.

The five commentaries are by (1) Wei Jie 韋節, *zi* Chuxuan 處玄, who probably lived during the years 497–569 (cf. LZTT 29.4a–5b; read Tianhe 天和 for Taihe 太

和). (2) Xu Daomiao 徐道邈, who was, together with PAN SHIZHENG (585–682), a disciple of Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知 (LZTT 25.2b). (3) Chongxuan zi 沖玄子, whose identity remains a mystery. (4) Li Rong 李榮, known as a Taoist from Sichuan who in the years 658–663 took part in the Buddho-Taoist debates before the emperor (see *Ji gujin fodaolunheng* 4.387b–394c). He also left a commentary to the *Laozi* (722 *Daode zhenjing zhu*). (5) Liu Renhui 劉仁會, who lived during the Wei dynasty (386–556) and is also known to have written a commentary on the *Daode jing* (see 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*, preface).

The explanations of the individual commentators, originally amounting to a total of thirteen or fourteen juan (cf. VDL 103–104), were used only selectively by Chen (see also 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 3.8a for a citation from Chongxuan zi's commentary, which is not found in our text).

The present edition is faulty: for printing 維七, 7 (for 4.8b–9b), the block of 維四, 7 (727 *Wenshi zhenjing zhu* 1.7a–8a) was used.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Xisheng jing 西昇經

3 juan

Commentary by Song Huizong 宋徽宗; ca. 1117

666 (fasc. 346–347)

“Scripture of the Ascent to the West.” Contrary to its title and its placement in the division entitled *benwen* 本文 (fundamental scriptures), this work is an edition with a commentary by Song Huizong. It is preceded by an imperial preface from the Zhenghe period (1111–1118) in which the *Xisheng jing* is said to be complementary to the *Daode jing*.

Compared to 726 *Xisheng jing jizhu*, which is also divided into thirty-nine sections, our main text shows numerous textual differences, especially at the end of section 22.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Wenshi zhenjing zhu 文始真經註

9 juan

By Niu Daochun 牛道淳, hao Xiaoyao zi 逍遙子 (fl. 1296)

727 (fasc. 450–452)

“Commentary on the True Scripture of Wenshi.” The author of this commentary on the *Guanyin zi* 關尹子, a Quanzhen Taoist, is known to us through another work, 276 *Zheyi zhimi lun* (preface dated 1296).

The brief biography of Yin Xi 尹喜 (cf. 667 *Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing*) is followed by a preface (probably by the commentator himself) to the present “direct explanations” (*zhijie* 直解). A postface to the *Wenshi zhenjing*, dated 327 and attributed to GE HONG, praises this work, which Ge is said here to have received from his master Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN).

The nine *pian* 篇 of the main text are divided into 170 sections (*zhang* 章). The work is commentated sentence by sentence, and the contents are again summarized at the end of each section. Niu’s explanations are indeed “direct” and occasionally have a colloquial tinge.

Niu repeatedly refers to two otherwise unknown editions of the *Guanyin zi*. The textual passages that he cites as coming from Guo Ziqian’s edition 郭子謙本 (4.15b; 7.16b; 8.3a) are all found in 667 *Wenshi zhenjing* but not in 728 *Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi*, whereas the passage from the edition by Xixuan zi [surnamed] Jia 希玄子賈本 (4.6b) is found in the latter but not in the former text.

On the whole, the three *Guanyin zi* versions contained in the *Daozang* hardly differ in their main text. Most textual variants occur between the present text and 667 *Wenshi zhenjing*.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi 文始真經言外旨

9 juan

By CHEN XIANWEI 陳顯微, *hao* Baoyi zi 抱一子; 1254

728 (fasc. 453–454)

“Meaning of the *Guanyin zi* beyond Its Words.” In the preface to this interpretative commentary (dated 1254), CHEN XIANWEI from Yangzhou 揚州 defends the text against the suspicion that it was forged by a scholar in Han times; he also gives a numerological explanation of the titles of its nine *pian* 篇. A note points out that Chen’s original commentary in three juan was divided into nine juan for the present edition. Wang Yi 王夷, a disciple of Chen’s, states in his preface that he received this work from Chen and had it printed. This preface is followed by a memorial (dated 15 B.C.) in which Liu Xiang 劉向 gives an account of his collation of the text and its previous transmission. This memorial is not mentioned elsewhere before the Song (960–1279); most likely it was forged together with, or slightly after, today’s *Guanyin zi*.

An edition of Chen’s commentary prior to that in the *Daozang* is described in *Bisong lou cangshu zhi* 66.5b–12a, where it is said that in 1293 Ji Zhirou 姬致柔 had a *Bichuan Guanyin zi yanwai jingzhi* 秘傳關尹子言外經旨 in three juan newly printed in Hangzhou.

A Chronicle of the Emergence of the *Guanyin zi*, written by Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 in 1281 as a preface to Baoyi zi’s explanations was not included in the Hangzhou

edition, nor in the *Daozang* edition. It probably originally introduced yet another printed edition. Today, this preface is most accessible in the *Shoushan ge congshu* 守山閣叢書 edition, which, moreover, contains a strongly modified version of Wang Yi's preface.

A version of Chen's commentary in two juan that can be traced back at least to 1591, due to the *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集 edition, is found in the *Daozang jiyao*. There, each *pian* concludes with a summary from the brush of Zhu Xiangxian (and, without doubt, from his edition of 1281). Repeatedly, textual variants in the edition of Guo 郭 (that correspond with the text of 667 *Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing*; see also 727 *Wenshi zhenjing zhu*) are pointed out. Two other annotations (1.22b; 2.17b) cannot be identified. The preface by Wang Yi is missing completely, that of the commentator has been abridged by about 460 characters, as compared to both other editions. Zhu's chronicle is abridged in the final sentence, but it does not have the lacunae of the *Shoushan ge* edition.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Tongxuan zhenjing zuanyi 通玄真經續義

12 juan

By DU DAOJIAN 杜道堅, hao Nangu zi 南谷子; ca. 1310

748 (fasc. 523–524)

“Received Meaning of the True Scripture of Communication with Mystery.” This version of DU DAOJIAN's commentary on the *Wenzi* 文子 includes a brief biography of *Wenzi* by ZHAO MENGFU (1254–1322; cf. 163 *Xuanyuan shizi tu*) and prefaces by WU QUANJIE (dated 1310), Huang Shiweng 黃石翁 (1310), and DU DAOJIAN himself.

Du, who from 1303 on was Taoist registrar (*daolu* 道錄) of Hangzhou 杭州, revised an old, unspecified edition of the *Wenzi*. He arranged the contents into sections, at the end of which he added his own interpretations stressing the analogies between socio-political conditions and cosmic events. Compared to Xu Lingfu's 徐靈府 version (cf. the article on 746 *Tongxuan zhenjing*), this text shows numerous corrections that are clearly by DU DAOJIAN himself, as are the phonetic explanations that conclude the work.

As pointed out by Yu Jiayi (*Siku tiyao bianzheng* 19.1196–99), the compilers of the *Siku quanshu* not only erroneously assumed that Du was active under the Song, but also failed to notice the *Daozang* version and relied on the fragmentary edition in the *Yongle dadian* (with juan 1, 3, 5, 10, and 12 missing completely, and juan 8 lacking Du's commentary). This edition contained, in addition to Du's interpretations, a so-called “old commentary” (in juan 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 11 identical with Xu Lingfu's commentary, while the annotations in juan 9 are by a different author). From this commentary, the compilers concluded that Du had originally formulated his “appended interpreta-

tions” as a subcommentary to a selection of annotations by Xu Lingfu and Zhu Bian 朱弁 (see the article on 749 *Tongxuan zhenjing*). For the *Wuying dian* 武英殿 edition of 1780, this text was supplemented by a Ming printed edition without commentary and by Mou Yan’s 牟巘 (1227–1311) preface to the original edition, taken from his collected literary works. The preface by Mou Yan is not found in the *Daozang* version.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Heguan zi 鶡冠子

3 juan

Commentary by Lu Dian 陸佃 (1042–1102)

1175 (fasc. 842)

“Master Pheasant Cap.” This philosophical work in which Taoist, Confucian, Legalist, and military-philosophical ideas are interwoven is attributed to a hermit from Chu 楚 who wore a cap made of pheasant feathers (see *Han shu* 30.1730, containing the earliest bibliographic mention of a work with this title). In its present form, however, the work has existed only since the seventh century, after its oldest parts, dating from the fourth century B.C., had been supplemented, mainly in Han times but also in subsequent centuries (see Needham, “History of scientific thought,” 547). The inconsistent information about the size and division of earlier, uncommentated versions of the text remains unexplained: between Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) times the number of *pian* 篇 is given as fifteen, sixteen, or nineteen (see the preface and VDL 167). Since the Ming (1368–1644) dynasty, however, there seem to have existed only editions in nineteen *pian*.

In this oldest preserved commentary, Lu, who in an eventful career rose to the position of executive assistant of the Left in the Department of State Affairs (Shangshu zuocheng 尚書左丞), mainly paraphrases the text and cites the Confucian classics as well as the Taoist philosophers. He regularly indicates variant readings but only in one instance specifies “the edition of Su” (*Suben* 蘇本; 2.14a). The present edition has numerous lacunae, mostly in the main text, but also in the commentary (1.2a). A Ming facsimile of a Song print (*Ming fu Song kanben* 明覆宋刊本) of Lu’s explanations, reproduced in the *Sibu congkan*, has somewhat fewer lacunae than the *Daozang* edition.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangshi gong sushu 黃石公素書

23 fols.

Preface and commentary by Wei Lu 魏魯

1178 (fasc. 849)

“Book of Simplicity by the Duke of the Yellow Stone.” This version of the *Sushu* is not listed in the Song bibliographies. About Wei Lu nothing is known apart from the position (prefect of Baoxin 褒信, in today’s Henan) and title indicated here.

For the contents of the text, Wei sees a division into three parts: the practice of ruling the empire by *Dao* and *De* 德; techniques for maintaining physical existence and preserving one’s life; principles for the undertakings of the sovereigns and for putting the country in order. Both Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 187 B.C.) and Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234) are said to have received the *Sushu* and to have practiced it with great success.

Between the present text (1,117 characters) and 1179 *Huangshi gong sushu* there are, in addition to numerous minor variants, considerable textual differences: 11b10; 12a2–6; 16b5 of our version are missing there, and 1179 *Sushu* 12a–14a is not found in the present text. Also 1179 *Sushu* 18b ff. does not correspond at all with our text 19b ff.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Sunzi yishuo 孫子遺說

22 fols.

By Zheng Youxian 鄭友賢; late eleventh or early twelfth century

1181 (fasc. 854)

“Gleanings of Sunzi’s [Art of War].” The first bibliographic mention of this work is found in *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 68.7a. All that is known about Zheng Youxian is that he was a native of Yingyang 螢陽 (Henan).

In the present edition, Zheng’s work is preceded by two older texts: Wei Wudi’s preface to the separate *Sunzi* edition commentated by him (*Wei Wudi zhu Sunzi* 魏武帝註孫子) and Sun Wu’s 孫武 biography (from *Shiji* 65). In a Song printed edition of the “Eleven Commentaries to the *Sunzi*,” dating from Ningzong’s reign (1195–1224; cf. 1180 *Sunzi zhujie*), the biography of Sun Wu and Zheng’s work figure as an appendix, while Wei Wudi’s preface has not been included.

In his preface, Zheng explains that in terms of philosophical depth the *Sunzi* has the same standing for those who are concerned with the art of warfare as the *Yijing* does for Confucian scholars. Since its meaning has not been treated exhaustively by the ten commentators, he now proposes to answer remaining questions in a fictitious dialogue under the title “Gleanings of the Ten Commentaries.” Thus Zheng unfolds his explanations in thirty points, often supporting them with quotations from other military treatises and exemplifying them by historical events.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Zihua zi 子華子

10 juan

Attributed to Cheng Ben 程本, *zi* Zihua 子華, of the Spring and Autumn period (770–475 B.C.); late eleventh or early twelfth century

1174 (fasc. 841)

“Master Zihua.” The earliest mention of this philosophical work, which is usually counted among the works of the school of Eclectics (*zajia* 雜家), is found in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* 12.511. In Chao Gongwu’s 晁公武 opinion it was written by an examination candidate (*juzi* 舉子) after the Yuanfeng period (1078–1086). The *Zhongxing guange shumu* (in *Yuhai* 53.10a–b), which ascribes the text to the Confucian school, confirms that the existence of a *Zihua zi* was attested under neither the Sui nor the Tang; nor was it listed in the Song bibliographies.

The work is made up of fictitious dialogues in which Master Zihua elucidates his ideas to “contemporaries” such as Yanzi and Confucius. The first six juan mainly present Confucian concepts in a Taoist guise, and juan 7–10 essentially deal with cosmology and metaphysics. The preceding report by Liu Xiang 劉向 on the collation of the *Zihua zi* was, like the work itself, probably forged.

By the late twelfth century, the book must have found a certain recognition, as Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) refers in his critique of the work to an “official edition from Guiji” (*Guiji guanshu banben* 會稽官書版本) that, in contrast to the present edition, had three prefaces or postfaces (“Oudu manji 偶讀漫記,” *Zhuzi daquan* 71.8a–9a). Passages from all ten juan of the text in *Shuofu* 46.12b–14b correspond to our text. The text of the *Zihui* edition of 1576–1577 is identical but is arranged into two juan only.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

3.A.1.b Commentaries on the *Yinfu jing****Huangdi yinfu jing shu*** 黃帝陰符經疏

3 juan

Attributed to Li Quan 李筌, *hao* Daguan zi 達觀子 (fl. 713–741); eleventh century?

110 (fasc. 55)

“Extended Commentary on the Yellow Emperor’s Scripture of the Hidden Contracts.” This commentary is based on oral instructions that Li Quan reportedly received from the Old Woman of Lishan 驪山 (see preface). Since the commentary mentions the rebellion by An Lushan 安祿山 and Shi Siming 史思明 (19b), this text was written after 750. Each commentary is headed by an unsigned introduction. This work combines the traditions concerning the *Yinfu jing* and the Old Woman of Lishan that became current under the Song dynasty.

This *Yinfu jing* commentary is wrongly attributed to Li Quan. In fact these are Yuan Shuzhen's 袁淑真 (eleventh century?) explanations (see 127 *Huangdi yinfu jing jijie*). The preface giving an account of Li Quan's meeting with the Old Woman of Lishan, from whom he is said to have received the *Yinfu jing*, is an embellished version of the narrative of the revelation in 592 *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 1.11a–13a (see Verellen, "Encounter," 377–79).

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Florian C. Reiter, with an addendum by Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing jijie 黃帝陰符經集解

3 juan

By Yuan Shuzhen 袁淑真 (eleventh century?)

127 (fasc. 58)

"Collected Explanations of the Yellow Emperor's *Yinfu jing*." The title does not correspond to the contents of this work, since all explanations here are marked as being by Shuzhen. Yuan, who was a registrar of the Changsha district (Hunan), presumably lived in the eleventh century. In the Song catalogues he is not listed with reference to the present title but in connection with a commentary (*zhu* 注) in one juan and a subcommentary (*shu* 疏) in three or one juan to the *Yinfu jing* (cf. VDL 141).

The present work is—apart from differences listed below—identical with 110 *Huangdi yinfu jingshu*, attributed to Li Quan 李筌. The *Zhongxing guange shumu* (in *Yuhai* 5.21a) notes that Yuan's subcommentary also contained a preface and hymns. Here in his preface, Yuan announces that he would point out the basic ideas of the text before giving a detailed subcommentary. Such a formal division has not been maintained in the present text but only in 110 *Yinfu jingshu*, where each of the three juan is also concluded by a hymn. Moreover, in his preface Yuan criticizes Li Quan for having failed to divide the text into three sections as indicated by the explanations of the Mother from Mount Li. The above considerations clearly show that only 108 *Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu*, and not 110 *Yinfu jingshu*, can be ascribed to Li Quan.

Yuan keeps neither to the long nor to the short textual tradition; he includes the disputed last part, abridged and without commentary. Counting the characters for each of the three sections (bearing the headings given in the legend of the Mother from Mount Li), Yuan claims the numbers 105, 92, and 103 (adding up to the ideal number of 300); in fact, we find 121, 89, and 104 characters here.

Textual differences between the two versions of Yuan's commentary: The present work contains two citations (2.4a–b) from the *Laozi* that are missing in 110 *Yinfu jingshu*. The passages 1.1a3–4; 1.8b9–9a,3; 1.10a; 2.7a6–8; 3.8a7; 3.10b10–11a3; and 3.11a9

in that version are not found in the present text. And in 110 *Yinfu jingshu* the last part of the text is commentated (3.11a–b).

A summary of the present explanations to the *Yinfu jing* is given in Rand, “Li Ch’üan and Chinese military thought,” 120–33.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing jijie 黃帝陰符經集解

3 juan

By Cao Xiyun 曹希蘊, *zi* Daochong 道冲 (eleventh century)

111 (fasc. 55)

“Collection of Explanations Concerning the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” This collection contains commentaries by Chisong zi 赤松子, Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 187 B.C.), GE XUAN, XU XUN, ZHONGLI QUAN, LÜ YAN, SHI JIANWU, Cui Minggong 崔明公, Liu Xuanying 劉玄英 (i.e., LIU CAO 劉操), and Cao Daochong. The latter name stands for Cao Xiyun, the Taoist poetess who compiled this work (also *Quan Song ci* 2:700 and *Song shi* 208.5388, “Cao Xiyun geshi houji 曹希蘊歌詩后集,” two juan).

The text of the short version, comprising some 300 words, is divided into three paragraphs (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*). The commentaries also deal with the title of the scripture itself and explain the three subtitles. The *Yinfu jing* has been understood as referring to questions of individual self-cultivation and the spheres of the family and the state. Several commentaries use lyrical forms.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing jie 黃帝陰符經解

21 fols.

By Jian Changchen 蹇昌辰, *hao* Baoning dashi 保寧大師 (eleventh century)

113 (fasc. 55)

“Explanations Concerning the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” These explanations were written by the court Taoist Jian Changchen. His preface emphasizes their novelty. In the section following the preface, titled “The Traces of the *Yinfu jing*,” Jian explains the discrepancy between the approximately 300 words that the *Yinfu jing* is traditionally said to comprise and those versions that have about 400 words. The Queen Mother of the West, he says, revealed the text to Huangdi, and Huangdi in turn added his own commentary, accounting for the difference of about 100 words. Jian separates what is believed to be Huangdi’s commentary and inserts the title “Expositions about the *Huangdi yinfu*” (15b–19a). This is the only version that divides the whole text into four paragraphs.

The commentary is based on the assumption that the effects of “hidden correspondences” can be detected in the heavenly forces that find their visible expression in signs

(*xiang* 象) and, especially, in the mirror of the heart or mind. In this sense, the interpretations focus on the heart or mind. A few quotations are taken from philosophical books, including the *Zhuangzi* and *Liezi*.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing zhujie 黃帝陰符經註解

20 fols.

By Ren Zhaoyi 任照一; Northern Song (960–1127)

114 (fasc. 56)

“Commentaries and Explanations Concerning the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” This work deals mainly with the Tao of Heaven and humanity and with the principles of the moving forces that lead to their “hidden correspondence” (*yinfu* 陰符). The author is said to have written this work on the basis of instructions by unnamed *zhenren* (see the preface).

The scripture is given in its short version of about 300 words. The three subtitles (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*) are incorporated into the commentaries. The commentaries show a strong emphasis on the concepts and terminology of the *neidan* school of the Song period. They feature the cultivation of human nature and the microcosmic and macrocosmic processes that are produced by yin and yang and result in life and death.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經註

12 fols.

By Huang Juzhen 黃居真, *hao* Xujing dashi 虛靖大師; Northern Song (960–1127)

115 (fasc. 56)

“Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” The author of this commentary was a court Taoist. The Queen Mother of the West (Xi wang mu), wishing to help humanity, revealed these instructions to the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), who shaped them in this book. *Yinfu*, meaning “hidden correspondences or contracts,” designate the consensus that characterized the meeting of Xi wang mu and Huangdi (see the preface).

The text of the scripture in its short version, in some 300 words, is not subdivided, and the three subtitles (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*) appear as integral parts of the commentary. The commentary provides brief definitions of the terminology.

Florian C. Reiter

***Huangdi yinfu jing zhu* 黃帝陰符經註**

8 fols.

By Shen Yafu 沈亞夫 (eleventh or early twelfth century?)

116 (fasc. 56)

“Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” Nothing is known about the author of this commentary, except his title of supervising secretary (*jishi zhong* 給事中; 1a). Since bibliographic mention of the work is found in *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 5.4b, it may be assumed that Shen lived in the eleventh or early twelfth century. The preface bears no attribution but is most likely by Shen himself. It relates the *Yinfu jing* to *neidan* 內丹 theories, which Shen also uses later in his explanations.

The text on which Shen commentates is the short version of the *Yinfu jing* (316 characters) with the well-known threefold division.

*Hans-Hermann Schmidt****Huangdi yinfu jing zhu* 黃帝陰符經註**

9 fols.

By Cai shi 蔡氏 (twelfth century)

117 (fasc. 56)

“Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” This text contains Zhu Xi’s 朱熹 (1130–1200) commentary on the *Yinfu jing*, which has also been attributed to his student Cai Yuanding 蔡元定. This text is the same as 124 *Huangdi yinfu jing zhuji* 1a–8a (q.v.).

*Florian C. Reiter****Huangdi yinfu jing jieyi* 黃帝陰符經解義**

23 fols.

By Xiao Zhenzai 蕭真宰 (twelfth century)

118 (fasc. 56)

“Explanations of the Meaning of the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” The author of this text was an official in Sichuan. According to *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 5.4b, this work originally comprised three juan (VDL 140).

The short version of the scripture, in approximately 300 words, is divided into three paragraphs (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*). The commentary for the first paragraph is no longer extant, as remarked by the unknown editor (1b). The commentaries for the second and third paragraphs are quite extensive. They mainly quote philosophical and classic books, including the *Zhuangzi*, *Liezi*, *Lunyu*, and *Mengzi*.

Xiao Zhenzai criticizes the long version of the *Yinfu jing*, comprising about 400 words (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*), which he believes to be incorrect (23b).

Florian C. Reiter

Yinfu jing sanhuang yujue 陰符經三皇玉訣

3 juan

Eleventh or twelfth century (?)

119 (fasc. 57)

“Jade Instructions on the *Yinfu jing* by the Three August Ones.” This commentary is mentioned neither in the Song catalogues, nor on the list of *Yinfu jing* versions given by Gao Sisun (*jinsi* 進士 1181) in his *Zilüe* (1.1b–2a); it is, however, cited with some textual variants in the late twelfth century by Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵 (1061 *Shangqing Taixuan ji* 4.11a).

In his preface, the Yellow Emperor gives an account of his discovery of the text and of his search for a capable exegete, which led him to Guangcheng Zi 廣成子 on Mount Kongtong 崆峒 and to Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人 on Mount Emei 峨嵋 (cf. 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.17a–18a). The work now contains the explanations that Huangdi received from these two figures. The *Yinfu jing*, in its short version of 324 characters, is expounded sentence by sentence, and also the question of its practical applicability is discussed. The interpretations depict the human body as a reflection of the macrocosm (e.g., 1.5b) and point to the relation of the *Yinfu jing* with the physiological alchemy that aims at regaining the pure yang (*chunyang* 純陽 1.1b–2b). The Three August Ones signify the three cinnabar fields within the human body.

A much abridged version of our present text is found with some textual variants in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 3.4b–10a under the title “Essentials of the *Yinfu jing*.”

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經註

18 fols.

By LIU CHUXUAN 劉處玄, *hao* Changsheng zi 長生子; preface dated 1191

122 (fasc.57)

“Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” This commentary was written by the Quanzhen patriarch LIU CHUXUAN. There is a preface (dated 1191) by Fan Yi 范懌, written at the request of Bi Shouzhen 畢守真. The preface sketches the history of the transmission of the scripture, beginning with Huangdi. It does not mention the traditions concerning the Mother from Mount Li (see 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu*).

The short version of the text, in approximately 300 words, is divided into three paragraphs (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*). The commentary is based on concepts typical of the Quanzhen 全真 school. The composition of the *Yinfu jing* is said to be the result of Huangdi’s efforts to comprehend the Tao. LIU CHUXUAN compares Huangdi’s success with Śākyamuni’s enlightenment and existence as Buddha. Therefore, the

revelation of the *Huangdi yinfu jing* could be compared with the composition of the Diamond Sūtra (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛經).

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Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi 黃帝陰符經講義

4 juan

By Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎, *zi* Zongyu 宗禹, *hao* Yunfeng sanren 雲峰散人; 1227
109 (fasc. 54)

"Discussions about the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." These discussions have a preface by Lou Fang 樓昉, dated 1226. Lou Fang at one time held a position in the military administration of Xinghua 興化 (Fujian). Xia Yuanding of Zhejiang went to see him. He brought along his explanations concerning the *Yinfu jing*. These explanations, however, had been based on the instructions of an (unnamed) adept, whom he had met on Mount Heng.

The long version (approximately 400 words; see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*) of the text is not divided into three paragraphs (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*). The commentary represents *neidan* 內丹 traditions of the Song period (960–1279), as demonstrated by its quotations. The author cites the present work in 146 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi* 5.9b, using the *Yinfu jing* to comment upon the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇. Juan 4 of the present text is entitled "Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi tu shuo 圖說." It contains twelve texts, some of which are illustrated with charts. These texts deal with *neidan* theory, but they do not seem to be connected with the *Yinfu jing* in a direct way. This juan 4 also contains three prefaces or postfaces that partly refer to a commentary by Xia Yuanding concerning the text *Cui gong ruyao jing* 崔公入藥鏡. This text is no longer extant (see 4.10–12a, "Yunfeng ruyao jing jian xu 雲峰入藥鏡箋序," by Liu Yuanliang 留元兩, dated 1226). There is a postface by Wang Jiuwan 王九萬 (4.14b–16b), dated 1227. Most texts in juan 4 either were written by Xia Yuanding or refer to him and his Three Books on the Gold-Elixir (*Yunfeng jindan sanshu* 雲峰金丹三書). There is no obvious connection between that title and 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*.

Florian C. Reiter

***Huangdi yinfu jing zhu* 黃帝陰符經註**

2 juan

By Tang Chun 唐淳, *hao* Jinling daoren 金陵道人; preface dated 1229

121 (fasc. 57)

“Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” This text has a preface by Meng Chuo-ran 孟綽然 (dated 1229). The preface says that Zhou Zhiming 周至明 organized the printing of this work.

Several commentators, including HESHANG GONG and Lü Zhenren 呂真人, make their statements on the scripture in its short version of some 300 words and also on the three subtitles (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*). The selected quotations deal with aspects of meditative self-cultivation. The second chapter introduces the commentaries of the Old Mother (Laomu 老母). However, there is no evidence identifying the latter with the well-known Old Woman of Lishan 驪山 (see 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu*). The *Yinfu jing* is said to deal exclusively with individual self-cultivation, despite its analogies taken from military philosophy (2.6a–6b).

Florian C. Reiter

***Huangdi yinfu jing xinfa* 黃帝陰符經心法**

3 juan

By Xu Yuanyi 胥元一, *hao* Liuxu sanren 六虛散人 (fl. 1291)

120 (fasc. 57)

“*Yinfu jing* by the Yellow Emperor as a Method of Spiritual Cultivation.” About its author, a native of Tongchuan 潼川 (Sichuan), nothing is known except that in 1291 he wrote a commentary to the *Laozi* (cf. 723 *Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi* 1.11a) that was included in the collection 724 *Daode zhenjing jiyi*.

In the present work, Xu interprets the *Yinfu jing* as a method for the cultivation of the mind (*xinfa* 心法). The main text comprises 441 characters, divided into three parts, each with a separate heading. As stated by Xu, cultivating the Tao is the same as cultivating one’s mind (*xiudao ji xiuxin* 修道即修心; 1.2b). His explanations are clearly Neo-Confucian in outlook.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Huangdi yinfu jing zhu* 黃帝陰符經註**

9 fols.

By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; Jurchen Jin (1115–1234)

123 (fasc. 58)

“Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” This work has a preface of unknown origin. It states that yin 陰 and fu 符 represent the internal and external phenomena of human nature. The moving forces of life and the ways and means to control

or direct life are all human faculties. Hou Shanyuan lived on Mount Gushe 姑射 (Shanxi).

The long version (about 400 words; see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*) of the text has not been subdivided into paragraphs. The commentaries consist of short sentences that intend only to clarify the diction of the scripture.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing zhujie 黃帝陰符經註解

10 fols.

Attributed to Zou Xin 鄒訢 (Zhu Xi 朱熹 [1130–1200]); ca. 1305

124 (fasc. 58)

“Commentary on the *Yinfu jing*.” The heading attributes this commentry to Zou Xin, a Taoist from Kongtong 崆峒. Kongtong was the mountain on which the Yellow Emperor discoursed with Guangcheng zi 廣成子 on the meaning of the *Yinfu jing* (cf. the preface to 119 *Yinfu jing sanhuang yujue*). Zou Xin is a pseudonym for Zhu Xi: during the Warring States period, Zou was the name of a state that earlier had been called Zhu 邾; and *xin* 訢 is synonymous with *xi* 熹 (cf. 1001 *Zhouyi cantong qi* 3.8a). The present work is identical with the commentary in Zhu Xi’s *Yinfu jing kaoyi* 陰符經考異.

The real author of this commentary is named by Huang Ruijie 黃瑞節 in his compilation *Zhuzi chengshu* 朱子成書 (preface dated 1305). According to Huang, the explanations to the *Yinfu jing* are not by Zhu Xi himself (he only revised the text), but by his friend and collaborator Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1139–1198). This statement by Huang also answers the question about the identity of the Mr. Cai (Caishi 蔡氏), who is named as the author of an identical commentary that figures separately in the *Daozang* (117 *Huangdi yinfu jing zhu*).

Cai used the long version of the *Yinfu jing* (446 characters), which he divided into three *pian* 篇. The disputed last part of the text is left uncommentated by him. In supplementary notes, Huang Ruijie, whose name is not given in the present edition, quotes additional sources and points out textual variants in four different versions (8a) of the *Yinfu jing*.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing jiasong jiezhu 黃帝陰符經夾頌解註

3 juan

By WANG JIE 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子 (fl. 1331)

126 (fasc. 58)

“Commentary on the *Yinfu jing*, with Hymns Inserted.” This commentary is by the prolific Quanzhen adept from Nanchang 南昌. In his undated preface, the author

gives his own interpretation of the term *quanzhen* 全真 by stating that it means the completeness of essence (*jing* 精), breath (*qi* 氣), and spirit (*shen* 神). In keeping with this theory, the commentary is largely centered on cosmological and *neidan* 內丹 considerations. The authority for cosmological theory is SHAO YONG, for Inner Alchemy both ZHANG ZIYANG and the patriarchs of the Xishan tradition (e.g., SHI JIANWU; 3.5b). At the end of each paragraph of the commentary there is a hymn.

Kristofer Schipper

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經註

12 fols.

By YU YAN 俞琰, *hao* Linwu shanren 林屋山人, *hao* Yuwu sou 玉吾叟; preface dated 1348

125 (fasc. 58)

“Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*.” The preface by Shi Yu 師餘 is dated 1348. It praises YU YAN (1258–1314), a specialist on the *Yijing* (see 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*). This work was published after the death of YU YAN (preface).

The text is presented in its short version of some 300 words (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*). In doing so, YU YAN explicitly (11a) follows Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), who thought that the additional sentences making up the long version (approximately 400 words) were in fact commentaries. Concerning this notion, compare 113 *Huangdi yinfu jing jie*. YU YAN gives philological and naturalistic explanations about the world of humanity.

Florian C. Reiter

Hunyuan yangfu jing 混元陽符經

1 fol.

32 (fasc. 27)

“Positive Covenant with Undifferentiated Beginning [i.e., Laozi].” This short text, 140 characters long, is a counterpart, and a possible appendix, to 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*. Its cryptic wording refers to the flow of energies in the body. It is intended as an aid for concentration during meditation.

Kristofer Schipper

3.A.1.c Commentaries on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* and Related Scriptures

Zhouyi cantong qi 周易參同契

3 juan

By Zhu Xi 朱熹, alias Kongtong daoshi Zou Xin 空同道士鄒訢 (1130–1200);

edited by Huang Ruijie 黃瑞節

1001 (fasc. 623)

“Concordance of the Three According to the Book of Changes.” This is a commentary on the *Cantong qi* by the great Confucian thinker of the Southern Song. The work is mentioned in the “Yiwen zhi” of the *Song shi*. The *Zhizhai shulu jieti* lists it under the title “Critical Edition” (*Cantong qi kaoyi* 考異; VDL 112). In the present edition, the title is followed by the words, “With Additional Remarks by the Disciple Huang Ruijie of Luling 廬陵 [near Nanchang, in modern Jiangxi].” Huang’s remarks (*fulu* 附錄) are given in small print between paragraphs and at the end of the work.

The work is signed at the end by the author, who calls himself Kongtong daoshi Zou Xin (3.8a). Huang explains in his long commentary that follows that this pen name was chosen by Zhu Xi because the state of Zou in ancient China was the home of the sage Zhuzi 邾子. As to Xin 訢, this name was glossed by the commentators of the classics as a synonym of *xi* 喜 (熹; see 3.8a).

In his later years, Zhu Xi turned to the study of the *Yijing* and also became interested in the *Cantong qi*. At the time, Zhu Xi had retired to Kaoting 考亭 in Jianyang 建陽 county in northern Fujian. His former disciple, assistant, and intimate friend Cai Yuanding 蔡元定, *zi* Jitong 季通 (1135–1198), came to see him in 1197 when Cai was on his way to his place of exile in Henan (Cai had been condemned following accusations of heterodoxy by court officials against Zhu Xi and his students). According to the narrative, the two men remained together a whole night discussing the text of the *Cantong qi* and establishing correct readings, thus finalizing the work.

Zhu Xi compared several editions of the *Cantong qi*, though he mentions explicitly (and at times amends) only the edition of PENG XIAO (see 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*). For example, Peng’s version (1.4b) has the sentence “The Five Agents obtain their principle 五行得其理,” which Zhu changed into “The Five Agents obtain their sequence 五行得其序.” The amendments are relatively minor. On the whole, Zhu Xi’s glosses do not show great penetration of the text; YU YAN criticized them, saying that Zhu’s commentary comprised many doubtful passages and was in some places obscure (see 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*, preface). The work remained influential, however, in that it established a dialogue between Taoists and Confucians. Thus Zhang Yucai 張與材, Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, in his preface

to the above-mentioned edition by YU YAN, says that Zhu Xi in his old age aspired to immortality and therefore took up the study of this text.

Yuan Bingling

***Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契註**

3 juan

Twelfth century or later

1000 (fasc. 622)

“Commentary on the *Cantong qi*.” This anonymous commentary on the *Cantong qi* follows the main text as edited by PENG XIAO (see 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*) in ninety chapters (*zhang* 章). It must therefore be later than PENG XIAO’s edition (947). This later date is also suggested by other evidence: page 3.16b quotes a “Zihua zi” corresponding to 1174 *Zihua zi* 1.2a–2b. The latter work is of the Southern Song period (1127–1279). In many places, the commentary seems to be missing (chapters 48 to 58).

The commentary stresses the correspondances between Outer and Inner Alchemy. Most glosses explain the contents of the work in terms of the human body and physiological, notably sexual, functions; see, for instance, the comments on chapter 60 where sexuality is metaphorically addressed. The Book of the Yellow Court (*Huangting jing* 黃庭經) is quoted in many places.

Yuan Bingling

***Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解**

3 juan

By CHEN XIANWEI 陳顯微, *zi* Zongdao 宗道, *hao* Baoyi zi 抱一子; 1234

1007 (fasc. 628)

“Elucidation of the *Cantong qi*.” The author was a daoshi from the Huai 淮 region who later in life moved to the Yousheng guan 佑聖觀 in Lin’an 臨安 (Hangzhou). There he instructed his students in practice of the *Cantong qi*. There are three prefaces and postfaces. The first (*xu* 敘), at the beginning of the text, is signed Zheng Boqian 鄭伯謙 and dates from the fifth moon of the year 1234. The second and third are printed at the end of the work: a *houxu* 後敘 (3.18a–19b) by an anonymous disciple, dated 1245, and a “*youxu* 又敘” (3.19b–21a) by Wang Yi 王夷, *hao* Xiwei zi 希微子, dated from the first month of 1234. In fact, the *youxu* terms itself a colophon (*ba* 跋). This sequence is problematic. Since it is uncertain how the original of the present *Daozang* version was organized, it will be useful to look more closely at the chronology.

The colophon by Wang Yi starts out by stating that he was the oldest disciple of CHEN XIANWEI. In Zhejiang, the *Cantong qi* was popular at that time, and PENG XIAO’s edition was widely published, even by government authorities. Yet a number

of scholars had expressed their doubts as to the authenticity of the work. At first, Wang himself was uncertain, but when Chen arrived in Hangzhou, and all the scholars went to see him to discuss the authenticity of the *Cantong qi*, he explained to them that WEI BOYANG was in fact a reincarnation of Laozi and that, based on the text's archaic and pure classical style, it had to be the work of the sage himself. Chen did not, however, wish to write a commentary. Therefore, Wang assiduously asked for his elucidations, wrote them down, and composed them into the present work. Then he had it printed in early 1234.

The second preface, by Zheng Boqian, seems to contradict this account. It states that CHEN XIANWEI, in 1223, met with a "superior person" who taught him the true alchemical method. This method allowed him to gain a profound understanding of the *Cantong qi*, the very day this work came into his hands. Retiring from the world, Chen then practiced the *Cantong qi* diligently, wrote the present commentary, and gave it to his disciples.

The third preface, by the disciple who came from the Tiantai 天台 mountains, states that he met CHEN XIANWEI in 1244 in the Yousheng guan at Hangzhou. Master Chen said that he had made an edition of the *Cantong qi* at the request of a friend and suggested that the disciple have it printed as a meritorious deed, which he did the following year.

The commentary contains many references to the works of CHEN TUAN, LIU HAICHAN, and ZHANG BODUAN. It thus may be considered to follow the so-called Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) of Song Taoism.

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi 周易參同契釋疑

3 + 25 fols.

By YU YAN 俞琰; author's preface dated 15 September, 1281

1006 (fasc. 627)

"Resolving the Doubtful Passages of the *Cantong qi*." This is the earliest work on the *neidan* 內丹 scriptures by the great Yuan scholar. In his preface, he explains that he was appalled by the numerous errors he found in the current versions of the *Cantong qi*. He appreciates the work of PENG XIAO (see 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*) and considers the general division into ninety chapters by the latter useful, although he questions several specific chapter divisions. By his time, however, many errors had found their way into the text. Moreover, he queries PENG XIAO's wisdom in giving a place apart, in an appendix, to the Song of the Tripod (*Dingqi ge* 鼎器歌). He also criticizes Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and his commentary 1001 *Zhouyi cantong qi* as superficial and obscure.

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi fabui 周易參同契發揮

9 juan

By YU YAN 俞琰; author's preface dated 30 April 1284

1005 (fasc. 625–627)

“Explanations of the *Cantong qi*.” This is one of many commentaries in the *Daozang* by the great Yuan scholar YU YAN. The author's preface is preceded by three other prefaces: by Ruan Dengbing 阮登炳 (dated 1284), by the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (dated 1310), and by DU DAOJIAN (1237–1318), respectively. According to *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 146, the book was printed by Zhang Yucai in the year (1310) of his preface. The present edition must therefore be based on that printed edition.

Yu's reasons for studying the *Cantong qi* are more amply explained in his earlier 1006 *Zhouyu cantong qi shiyi* (q.v.). The present detailed commentary is a continuation of the work of PENG XIAO (see 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*) and relies on different printed editions from Fujian, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang.

Yu stresses repeatedly that the text of the *Cantong qi* was to be understood entirely in a metaphorical sense. He glosses *santong qi* as the “concordance of the three different kinds.” These three different kinds (*lei* 類) are the three discourses: of the *Yijing*, of Huang-Lao Taoism, and of laboratory alchemy (literally, “fire-phasing [*huohou* 火候])

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi zhu 周易參同契註

3 juan

By Chu Huagu 儲華谷; Southern Song (1127–1279)

1008 (fasc. 629)

“Commentary on the *Cantong qi*.” The author is unknown elsewhere. This text follows the PENG XIAO edition (see 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*). The short and laconic commentary often quotes ZHANG BODUAN, making it an exponent of the so-called Southern school (Nanzong 南宗). It can therefore be considered to date from the Southern Song period.

Yuan Bingling

Guwen longhu jing zhushu 古文龍虎經註疏

3 juan

By Wang Dao 王道; presented to the throne in 1185

996 (fasc. 620)

“A Commentary and a Subcommentary to the Dragon and Tiger Book in Ancient Characters.” The author—according to the presentation memorial, a petty officer in

the guard of one of the princes of the imperial family—met a Taoist master in 1152, who instructed him about the true meaning of lead and mercury in the human body. He began his Inner Alchemy practice in the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 in Guiji 會稽. After many setbacks, he met another master in 1164, who gave him different instructions, but again he was not successful. Only in 1173 did he finally meet a genuine master who told him that true lead and all the other alchemical ingredients he needed were produced by his own body. The refining of the effulgences of the sun and the moon would suffice to make the elixir. Having completed his commentary, he was able, thanks to the services of a fellow Taoist named Zhou Zhenyi 周眞一, to present his work to Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1163–1189) of the Southern Song dynasty, who invited him for a audience at court. Afterward, he had the book printed.

The commentaries are simply phrased but detailed. Wang makes frequent use of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (in the 1002 edition by PENG XIAO) in order to make comparisons. Among other sources, the *Yinfu jing* is also often quoted. At the end, Wang gives two diagrams taken from the *Cantong qi*.

His undated colophon concerns the printed version of the book. He defends his system, especially against those who find his glosses too accessible for noninitiates.

Yuan Bingling

Guwen longhu shangjing zhu 古文龍虎上經註

16 fols.

Song?

997 (fasc. 620)

“Glosses on the Dragon and Tiger Book.” The work is undated and does not mention its author. The *Cantong qi* is quoted almost exclusively as the source for the commentary. It is difficult to give any assessment as to the date and diffusion of this short work.

Yuan Bingling

Du longhu jing 讀龍虎經

2 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

998 (fasc. 620)

“How to Read the Dragon and Tiger Book.” These two folios of instructions appear to be a sequel to 997 *Guwen longhu shangjing zhu*. They contain a few glosses on the technical terms of Inner Alchemy.

Yuan Bingling

***Longhu shoujian tu* 龍虎手鑑圖**

5 fols.

153 (fasc. 68)

“Diagram of the Hand-Mirror of the Dragon and the Tiger.” This is a brief *neidan* 內丹 text commenting on the diagram that opens the text. This diagram is a cosmic compass that relates the *Yijing* trigrams to the denary cycle of the calendar. In the center of the diagram and around its perimeter there are texts that use alchemical equivalences to refer to the fusion of mercury with iron through the agent of fire. There is no indication of authorship.

The first part of the text consists of brief commentaries taken from the opening of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, mentioning WEI BOYANG, traditionally the author of that work, as well as Xu *congshi* 徐從事, who, it is said, was responsible for its transmission (cf. 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 9.15b–21a and Fukui Kōjun, “*Chou-i Ts’an-t’ung ch’i*,” 23–24).

The last part of the present work consists of a short series of seven-character verses. Each verse is an explanation of the two-word alchemical term that forms its title. These verses recall others found in 1003 *Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu* by PENG XIAO, but are much simpler in form.

Pauline Bentley Koffler

3.A.1.d Commentaries on Zhengyi, Shangqing, and Lingbao Scriptures

***Yuanshi shuo xiantian daode jing zhujie* 元始說先天道德經註解**

5 juan

Commentary by Li Jiamou 李嘉謀; *jinsshi* 進士, 1166; edited by Zhang Shanyuan 張善淵, *hao* Guifu daoren 癸復道人 (fl. 1280–1294)

3 (fasc. 13–14)

“Explanations of the Scripture of the Way and Its Power of the Anterior Heaven, Revealed by the Primordial Beginning.” Yuanshi 元始, the Primordial Beginning, speaks of himself as the undifferentiated being that existed before phenomena originated, a being that can be named by the terms *miao* 妙, *yuan* 元, *shen* 神, *zhen* 真, and *dao* 道, but that cannot be grasped in its full reality. In the philosophical discussion of the present text, a separate section (*pian*) is dedicated to each of these five terms. Each *pian* comprises one juan of 1,000 characters and is divided into nine subsections (*zhang* 章).

The date and provenance of the text are uncertain. It is worth noting that a passage (4.12b) corresponds—with slight differences in text and number of characters—to a passage cited (ca. 1226) by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎 under the title *Yuanshi biyan* 元始秘言 (109 *Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi* 4.9a).

According to the preface by Zhang Shanyuan, a Taoist master of Suzhou, Li Jiamou wrote a commentary on the text and had it printed in Sichuan. By 1257, Xie Tu'nan 謝圖南 could obtain only a handwritten copy of that edition. This manuscript was passed from Xie, together with a preface of his own, to Li Zengbo 李曾伯 (b. 1198), who for his part wrote an introduction to the work before passing it on to Li Kejiu 李可久, a daoshi from Jiaying (Zhejiang), for printing. Li Kejiu supplemented the version with another text, entitled *Bawei longwen* 八威龍文 and transmitted separately as 30 *Yuanshi bawei longwen jing* (compare 2a there with 4.12b in the present text).

In his preface, Zhang Shanyuan, thus presenting a new edition of the text, severely criticizes the interpretation of Xie Tu'nan and Li Zengbo, who related the text with its five pivotal terms to the Red Writings and Jade Characters in five sections revealed by Yuanshi tianzun in order to fix the universe (see 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1.10b). According to Zhang, these five sections were identical with five talismans prominent in the Shenxiao and (Tiantai) Lingbao traditions of the Song dynasty (see, e.g., 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing miaojing futu* 3.12a–15b, and 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 69.15a–25a), whereas the origin and transmission of the present text could be seen solely in relation to the *Daode jing*.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu

玉清無極總真文昌大洞仙經註

10 juan

Commentary by Wei Qi 衛琪, hao Zhongyang zi 中陽子; 1309

103 (fasc. 51–53)

“Commentary on the Great Cavern Scripture according to Wenchang.” This is a commentary to 5 *Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing*. The author, Wei Qi, was a daoshi from Penglai shan 蓬萊山 in Sichuan. According to his preface, he received this book as a young boy and studied it for thirty years before making this new critical edition and commentary. He went to the capital to have it printed. The book was presented to the throne in 1310 and published with prefaces from the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材; the Hanlin scholar Zhang Zhongshou 張仲壽; and the academician Zhao Bian 趙抃.

In his long preface, Wei Qi gives a presentation of the *Dadong zhenjing* and its history. The version here is from Sichuan and was first revealed to the saint Wenchang, whose name in this world was Zhang Tongzhen 張通真, at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1050–221 B.C.). Later, the book was revealed once more to WEI HUACUN as part of the Shangqing scriptures. The patriarch LU XIUJING is said to have edited the *Dadong zhenjing* in three parts and to have placed them under the aegis of Diyi 帝一 (Ancestral One), Ciyi 雌一 (Female One), and Xiongyi 雄一 (Male One),

respectively, recomposing the text in verses of three or four characters. Later, under the Tang, the patriarch Wang Baohe 王保和 made, on imperial order, a critical edition in thirty-nine sections. Wei also mentions the Song editions by ZHU ZIYING (see 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*) and ZHANG SHANGYING, which were presented to the throne in 1111. Wei states further that the original version of the text comprised no less than one hundred and twenty juan, but it had been reduced to three juan and subdivided into thirty-six sections by Yuchen daojun 玉宸道君, the deity who revealed it in the world. Later (3.4a) Wei explains that in addition to this version, there existed two other current versions of the scripture, one of Maoshan 茅山, one of Longhu shan 龍虎山 (see 7 *Dadong yujing*), both in thirty-nine sections.

Wei Qi considers the *Dadong zhenjing* superior to the *Duren jing* 度人經, the *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 九天生神章經, and the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 because the present scripture reveals the esoteric names of the celestial beings and their correspondences with the spirits and energies of the human body. It teaches how to connect the superior and inferior spheres of the universe and to link the inner and the outer worlds.

The first two juan, and also part of the third, contain introductory material about the scripture and its divine author. In the first juan, Wei Qi exposes in a methodical way his cosmological system, which is very much influenced by Neo-Confucian thought and Inner Alchemy. (See fig. 2.)

The second juan gives a general presentation of the scripture. It explains the title as well as the symbolical numbers that are common to the *Yijing* and the *Dadong zhenjing*. It records (17a–21a) the “preface” by Wenchang, the divine revealer of the text (compare 5 *Dadong xianjing*), and it gives a list of deities and legendary persons to be invoked. There is also a ritual for the recitation of the text, which is similar to that in 5 *Dadong xianjing* 5b–9a.

The main text of the scripture starts at 3.13a and ends on 10.30b. It is essentially the same as 5 *Dadong xianjing*. Wei Qi indicates (3.13b) the differences between this revealed version and the traditional *Dadong zhenjing* of the Shangqing school: they are mainly textual and concern the order of the sections. This judgment is borne out by the comparison of the present version with 6 *Dadong zhenjing*, edited by Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛. The present version, writes Wei, was originally divided into three juan. It has thirty-four sections (and not thirty-eight, as does 5 *Dadong xianjing*, or thirty-nine, as does 6 *Dadong zhenjing*). The order in which sections 15 to 21 are placed here is different from all other editions.

In the beginning of each juan, there is a short preface (*xujing* 序經) beginning with the words: “The Tao speaks . . .” There is also a conclusion at the end of each juan.

Each of the thirty-four sections, moreover, begins with a text spoken by Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王, explaining the multiple correspondences between the given sec-

This is a profound, multifaceted, and subtle technique of interpretation. The much-used but rather negative term syncretism does not do justice to the virtuosity of Wei Qi's technique of using multiple and interchanging systems of interpretation. This technique is able to demonstrate the manifold meanings of concepts; and it is precisely this diversity of meaning that often constitutes the foundation of Taoist language.

Combining a thorough knowledge of Shangqing and Inner Alchemy Taoism with a solid classical training, Wei Qi brilliantly succeeds, through his commentary, to counter the Neo-Confucian tendency to marginalize Taoism. He most skillfully uses the terminology of Neo-Confucianism, in particular concepts borrowed from Mencius: "conscience" (*liangzhi* 良知; 3.25a) and "all beings are fully present in me" (*wanwu jie bei yu wo* 萬物皆備于我; 8.25b). Wei discusses, in the manner of the Neo-Confucians, the question of the inborn nature and the destiny (*xingming* 性命) of humanity, referring to the classics (7.11a and 12b; 5.4a–b). He also uses the term "Tao of the middle" (*zhongdao* 中道) in the Confucian and not in the Buddhist sense (7.27b). Against those like Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) who aimed to reject Taoism, Wei turns their own weapons and shows the natural links that existed between the Taoist religion and the cultural foundations of ancient China.

Isabelle Robinet

***Taishang datong jing zhu* 太上大通經註**

4 fols.

Commentary by LI DAOCHUN 李道純 (d. 1306)

105 (fasc. 54)

"Commentary on the Book of Great Communication of the Most High." This text is identical with 327 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo datong jing*, the only difference being the character *song* 頌 (hymn) in the place of *ji* 偈 (*gāthā*).

After having explained the title of the work, LI DAOCHUN glosses each sentence; he then addresses the general meaning of the three paragraphs and the final hymn. He draws on sources like the *Zhongyong* 中庸 and the *Mengzi* 孟子, as well as on 106 *Taishang chiwen donggu jingzhu* (see page 4b of the latter), a short text also commentated by Li.

Catherine Despeux

***Yuanshi tianzun shuo taigu jing zhu* 元始天尊說太古經註**

11 fols.

By Master Fish Trap, Changquan zi 長筌子; thirteenth century

102 (fasc. 50)

"Commentary on the Book of Highest Antiquity, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning." The present work, including the preface, is nearly identical

with *106 Taishang chiwen donggu jingzhu* by the same author, who is otherwise unknown (see *1064 Dongyuan ji*).

The text exposes the way to obtain immortality and to accede to Great Mystery (*taixuan* 太玄) through cutting oneself off from (outer) vision and audition. It is divided into three parts, beginning each time with the words “The Tianzun says . . .” and ending with a poem.

Catherine Despeux

Taishang chiwen donggu jing zhu 太上赤文洞古經註

7 fols.

Commentary by Master Fish Trap, Changquan zi 長筌子; thirteenth century
106 (fasc. 54)

“Book of Arcane Antiquity, Red Writ of the Most High.” This short text explains the way to immortality and supreme mystery through the abolition of hearing and vision.

Despite the different titles, this is a duplicate of *102 Yuanshi tianzun shuo taigu jing zhu* and *107 Wushang chiwen donggu zhenjing zhu*. Like the latter, the present version introduces each of three parts with a different title: “Mastering Truth” (*caozhen* 操真), “Entering Sainthood” (*rusheng* 入聖), and “Living in the World” (*zhushi* 住世).

Catherine Despeux

Wushang chiwen donggu zhenjing zhu 無上赤文洞古真經註

6 fols.

Commentary by LI DAOCHUN 李道純 (d. 1306)
107 (fasc. 54)

“True Book of Arcane Antiquity, Ultimate Red Writ.” This short text explains the way to obtain immortality. The main text is identical with *102 Yuanshi tianzun shuo taigu jing zhu* and *106 Taishang chiwen donggu jing zhu*, both signed Master Fish Trap, Changquan zi 長筌子.

LI DAOCHUN’s commentary draws on Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist sources. The term *chiwen* 赤文 (red writ) in the title refers to the revealed Lingbao texts, where it designates the luminous and spontaneous script that emerged from Chaos (see *87 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 2.6a) But here, LI DAOCHUN uses the term with reference to Inner Alchemy and Tantric Buddhism, where red is the color of the qi of the Void (1b). Li specifies that in Buddhism red is the symbol of the “empty body.”

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Catherine Despeux

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu

元始無量度人上品妙經四註

4 juan

Edited by CHEN JINGYUAN 陳景元; preface dated 1067

87 (fasc. 38–39)

“Four Commentaries on the Book of Salvation.” These commentaries on the *Duren jing* 度人經 are preceded by three prefaces: the first by Emperor Zhenzong (see VDL 134); the second, dated 1067, by the compiler of the present text, CHEN JINGYUAN (1025–1094); and the third, dated to the year *jiawu* 甲午 (754), by Xue Youqi 薛幽棲 (fl. 754). The paragraph on the divisions of the *Duren jing* and the phonetic glosses at the end of the book are based on those in Zhang Wanfu’s 95 *Dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren jingjue yinyi* (7b–9b).

The oldest of the four commentaries used by CHEN JINGYUAN is that of Yan Dong 嚴東 (fl. 485; see LZTT 28.14b–15a). Although his commentary is not cited in juan 1, which contains the preface of the *Duren jing*, he refers to the events described in that preface elsewhere in his commentary (2.58a). Yan Dong does touch on cosmological matters, but the primary aim of his commentary would seem to be the definition of the words of the text.

The three remaining commentaries are those of Li Shaowei 李少微, CHENG XUANYING (fl. 640), and Xue Youqi (see LZTT 39.10b–11b). Li Shaowei appears to have written prior to CHENG XUANYING, as the latter seems to cite him (cf. the citations of a “commentary” at 3.9a, 9b, with Li’s commentary at 3.11b).

Of the four commentaries, Li’s is not only the most frequently used, but also the most interesting. He cites a great number of texts, from the Dongshen canon in particular, in order to provide a clear description of the Three Offices (2.32b–36b) and the Five Spirits of the body (3.20a–21b). He mentions a Contract for the Ascension to Heaven (2.59b), which a Taoist must have if the liquid part of his body is not to be retained by the Aquatic Officers, and the solid by the Terrestrial Officers; without this contract, the Celestial Officers will not open the Gate of Heaven. Li describes the Thirty-two Heavens both as a moral hierarchy and as a cycle whose components are linked to The Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions. Contrary to Yan Dong, who places the starting point of the cycle of heavens in the east (2.43a), Li places it in the northwest, at the Gate of Heaven.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhu 元始無量度人上品妙經註

3 juan

Commentary by Donghai Qingyuan zhenren 東海青元真人; hymns by Qinghe laoren 清河老人; edited, with eulogies, by Jingming daozi Guo Wangfeng 淨明道子郭罔鳳

88 (fasc. 40–41)

“Commentary on the Book of Salvation.” In his undated preface, Qinghe laoren states that he had decided to publish the commentary by Qingyuan zhenren because it represented a breakthrough in the understanding of the *Duren jing*. A short postface to the text, presumably added by Guo Wangfeng, contains five tales aimed at demonstrating the efficacy of the recitation of the *Duren jing*. These tales are dated between 1174 and 1204. Judith Boltz nonetheless suggests a late-thirteenth century date for this text because the district of Qinghe 清河 (Huaian prefecture, Jiangsu) was created around 1270 (*A survey of Taoist literature*, 328, n. 572). She also notes that Donghai 東海 was in the same prefecture.

Qingyuan includes in his version of the *Duren jing* not only the *Yuanshi lingshu shang / xiapian* 元始靈書上 / 下篇 and the hymn of Taiji zhenren (3.21b–22b, 45b–46b) found already in the Shenxiao edition (*1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1.15a–16a, 18a–20b), but also a “fourth” *Yuanshi lingshu*, called *Shangpian longzhang fengzhuan wen* 上篇龍章鳳篆文 (3.22b–23b). According to a note by Guo: “The Shu 蜀 edition places [this writ] after the *Lingshu xiapian*, but given the fact that it is entitled *Shangpian zhangzhuan*, it is more appropriate to put it with the *Shangpian*. Other editions have placed it after the *Shangpian*, and we have done likewise” (3.22b). The only other edition of the *Duren jing* in the *Daozang* to include this supplementary stanza is that of Chen Guanwu 陳觀吾 (*91 Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 3.22b–23a; dated 1336), and Chen, in his discussion of this addition (2.20a), refers to Qingyuan’s arguments as presented by Guo.

Qingyuan simply comments on the original text, line by line and word by word. Although he never describes his system of interpretation as such, its key lies in the linking of each element of the text to an aspect of the Taoist body. The three categories of listeners in the Heavenly Court, for example, are identified with the essence, the qi, and the spirit in the body (1.5b). Since the chariots of the gods are “the product of the yang-essence” and the dragons and birds who pull these chariots are “born of the qi of the yin-essence,” the saint creates them himself by breathing in and out (2.12b–13a). The fu and registers held by Taokang 桃康 represent (*yu* 喻) the qi and the blood (3.8a).

Qingyuan’s text is also rich in allusions both to Taoist practice and to the Taoist world of the imagination. He mentions a form of “corpse liberation” by suicide (1.24b) and describes, in a most concrete manner, the redemptive mechanism of scripture recitation (1.27b–28a). He further compares celestial writs, composed of qi, with

“traces of ink,” their poor terrestrial cousins (2.6a). He links the Yujing shan, celestial origin of the *Duren jing*, to Mount Kunlun here below (2.9a). Also worthy of note are his reference to “nature and destiny” (*xingming* 性命; 1.10b) and his use of the demonstrative *zhege* 這箇 (1.7b; Qinghe laoren also uses it: 1.16a, 2.17a, etc.).

Guo Wangfeng’s commentary makes frequent use of the concept of *xingming* (1.3a, 16a, 3.44b, etc.) and refers often to both Confucian (1.3a, 16b, etc.) and, above all, Buddhist (especially juan 2) texts. Guo even states himself (2.35a) that whereas Qingyuan insists on inner work (*neigong* 內功) and outer practice (*waixing* 外行), he is primarily interested in comparing Taoist with Buddhist texts. Among the Taoist texts he uses are 318 *Daoxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* (2.11a, 32b) and 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhusu* (3.9b). The fact that Guo belongs to the Jingming school is visible not only in his *hao*, *Jingming daozi*, and in the features just mentioned, but also in his direct use of 563 *Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa* (1.28a ff. is the same as 563 *Duren jingfa* 1.17b ff.). No doubt Guo inserted the stanza on 1.32b, for it is also found in the 563 *Jingming jingfa* (1.24a–b), and Qingyuan does not comment on it.

John Lagerwey

Yungong fayu 雲宮法語

2 juan

Wang Kesun 汪可孫; 1298

1049 (fasc. 725)

“Dharma Words from the Cloudy Palace.” This work is a compilation of quotations from the classics of the Three Teachings, with a few comments by the author. In his preface, he explains that *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 are the common focus of all three teachings. Although a Confucian himself, Wang was aware of the necessity of cooperation between Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism in order to return to the Tao (preface 1b). He compiled the present text to prove this point. Cloudy Palace (*yungong* 雲宮) is the name Taoists give to the sanctuary of the inner retreat (preface, 2a).

The text itself is divided into seven items (*pin* 品): Former Heaven (*xiantian* 先天), Later Heaven (*houtian* 後天), Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生), Explaining Virtue (*mingshan* 明善), Keeping the Methods (*chiyong* 持用), Creating the Subtle (*zaowei* 造微), and Divine Transformation (*shenhua* 神化). A large number of books are quoted, sometimes implicitly. For instance, the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 is extensively cited but not named (1.7a, 1.10a, 2.7b). The Lixue 理學 philosophers are prominent, including Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, SHAO YONG, Zhang Zai 張載, Cheng Yi 程頤, and Zhu Xi 朱熹. A variety of pre-Han, Han, and early medieval works are also used. Buddhist scriptures (*Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*) and the Chan Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能 are more marginally represented.

The text is loosely structured and down to earth. It reads like a point-for-point demonstration that Confucianism had developed its own practice of *xing* and *ming*, a practice wholly consistent with Taoist and Buddhist theory, but with more concrete objectives. There seems to be little influence of *neidan* 內丹. Little is known about Wang Kesun; (*Hongzhi*) *Huizhou fuzhi* 弘治徽州府志 9.50b indicates that he was a scholar from Jixi 績溪 (modern Anhui) who declined to hold office under the Yuan.

Vincent Goossaert

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing tongyi

元始無量度人上品妙經通義

4 juan

By Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410)

89 (fasc. 41–42)

“Comprehensive Interpretation of the Book of Salvation.” This text by the Forty-third Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu, draws on virtually all earlier commentators, from Yan Dong 嚴東 to Xue Jizhao 薛季昭. As an interpretation it is derivative, relying heavily on Xiao Yingsou’s 蕭應叟 90 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* and on an otherwise lost commentary by Lei Moan 雷默庵 (see article on 92 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie*).

Although Zhang first mentions Xiao Yingsou by name only on page 1.15b, his interpretation of the first part of the text in terms of Inner Alchemy derives almost entirely from Xiao (cf. 1.5a–15b and 90 *Miaojing neiyi* 1.10b–2.6a). In addition to Zhang’s identified borrowings from Lei Moan, it seems likely that the prefatory diagrams not taken from Xiao’s *Neiyi*, and that link the *Duren jing* to thunder, also derive from Lei. At one point, in excluding the *Yuanshi lingshu shang / xiapian* 元始靈書上 / 下篇 (4.2a), Zhang invokes the joint authority of Lei and Xiao. The direct citations from Lei’s commentary are on the whole unremarkable.

Zhang concludes his text with a postface to Lei Moan’s edition of the *Duren jing* originally revealed by the Celestial Lord Xin during a séance in a *gengyin* 庚寅 year (1290?). After recalling his revelation of the Hunyuan 混元 Thunder rites to Lei, Xin launches into an encomium on the *Duren jing*. It is the only text, says Xin, that survives all final cataclysms, safe in the Jade Capital. It contains within it the entire “mystery of Hunyuan”: the precious pearl at the beginning of the text is the human heart, and the Yuanshi tianzun is the “primordial spirit.” Therefore, “when one recites this text with appropriate concentration, it is the Primordial Beginning who recites.” Those who do not understand the scripture’s meaning can save neither themselves nor others. Most of these points are cited once again in Zhang’s commentary (1.15a, 23a–24b).

The information furnished by this postface complements perfectly that given in Lei Moan’s biography in 297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5.11b–14a: It was while he

was reciting the *Duren jing* that the Hunyuan method was originally revealed to Lei. Seven days later, the Celestial Lord Xin appeared to Lei to tell him that “this teaching is based entirely on the *Duren jing*.” Finally, Lei’s last request before writing his testamentary poem and expiring was that his disciples recite for him the *Duren jing* one last time.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi

元始無量度人上品妙經內義

5 juan

By Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟; 1226

90 (fasc. 43–44)

“Esoteric Interpretation of the Book of Salvation.” This interpretation is preceded by four separate texts. The first text—a memorial for liturgical use by Xiao Yingsou, dated 1226—states that the *neiyi* was originally printed separately as a book in two juan, but that it had then been separated into an interlinear commentary for the present edition. Xiao signs the memorial with his ritual title, Shangqing dadong xuandu sanjing fashi 上清大洞玄都三景法師.

The second text, also dated 1226, is an essay by Xiao on the “meaning of the scripture.” The creative forces captured in the names of the scripture, says Xiao, are in no way different from the “drop of essence of True Yang” at the origin of each person’s life (2b). “The alchemical way and the meaning of the scripture are identical” (6a; cf. 1.5b, where it is the “numinous treasure” [*lingbao* 靈寶] and the elixir [*jindan* 金丹] that are equated; also 2.8a, where the “scripture method” [*jingfa* 經法] is equated with the alchemical way).

The third text is a description, built around cosmological diagrams, of how the universe is born from the “Red Writ of Chaos” (*hundong chiwen* 混洞赤文; 7a). The final text is entitled “Instructions for the Recitation of the Scripture.” In this text, there is a most interesting illustration of the Inner Landscape, showing the circulation of yin and yang energies in the body (fig. 3).

Starting with the literal meaning of the text—for this meaning, Xiao relies on the four commentaries edited by CHEN JINGYUAN (87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*; cf. here, 6a)—Xiao then deepens this interpretation by means of a numerological and cosmogonic metaphorization of key elements. For the latter, Xiao relies principally on the *Yijing* and the tradition of Inner Alchemy as represented by 997 *Guwen longhu shangjing zhu*, 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, and 999 *Zhouyi cantong qi*. ZHONGLI QUAN, PENG XIAO, ZHANG ZIYANG, SHAO YONG, and Cheng Yi 程頤 are all mentioned more than once. The ultimate inspiration of Xiao’s hermeneutical method may well be the “scripture method,” whose name derives from



FIGURE 3. The circulation of yin and yang in the body: A metaphorical representation of the Inner Landscape (90 “biao,” 8a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/88)

the title of 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*, cited several times in the present text: 1.1a corresponds to 219 *Duren shangjing dafa*, 1.4b–5a; 1.12b to 8.2a; and 2.5b to 8.10a. The latter two passages are attributed in the *Neiyi* to the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師; two other passages attributed to him, at 3.15b and 4.5b, are to be found in 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 4.38b and 36a). These passages are of particular interest here because in the *Duren dafa* the first one is preceded by the phrase, “explained in terms of the interior,” and the second by the phrase, “explained in terms of the marvelous way of the internal landscape.” This “marvelous way” is then compared with the ways of the “grand method”—exorcism—and scripture recitation. The present text may be said to go beyond mere comparison to the synthesis of these ways.

The numerological metaphorization of the text is unevenly distributed, with heavy concentration on the first lines of the *Duren jing* and on its tenfold recitation (1.6b–8b, 1.14a–2.4a). But the keystone of this system of interpretation is the *Lingshu zhongpian* 靈書中篇, whose 256 characters (eight times thirty-two) are linked to the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing* (5.3a–27b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie

太上洞玄靈寶無量度人上品妙經註解

3 juan

By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; preface

1336

91 (fasc. 45–46)

“Commentary on the Book of Salvation.” In a preface dated to midautumn of 1336, CHEN ZHIXU states that one must have both “inner practice and outer merit” in order to obtain immortality. He therefore interprets the *Duren jing* in terms of both the “worldly method” (*shifa* 世法) of recitation and prayer and the “Taoist usage” (*daoyong* 道用) of Inner Alchemy. Sexual desire, writes Chen, leads men to squander their “qi of true unity”; proper practice using the *Duren jing* leads to its recovery and sublimation.

Chen also suggests in his preface that his interpretation is primarily indebted to the commentaries compiled by CHEN JINGYUAN (87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*) and that of Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟 (90 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi*), as well as to what he learned from his master, Zhao Youqin 趙友欽 (fl. 1329; cf. 1069 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi* 8b–9a). An examination of the commentary itself reveals that Chen borrows heavily indeed—far more than would appear from explicit citation—from Xiao Yingsou (especially in 1.2b–2.18b), but likewise from Qingyuan zhenren 青元真人 (88 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhu*; especially 2.20b–30b, 38b–41b, 3.23b–36b). Chen also refers three times to his own master (1.42a, 2.42a–b, 3.2a–b) and frequently to earlier masters of his alchemical lineage such as ZHANG BODUAN. He would seem, finally, to have known Xue Jizhao’s 薛季昭 commentary (cf. 2.35a and 92 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 2.23b).

Although Chen’s implicit criticism of Xiao Yingsou for not paying equal attention to “nature and vitality” (*xingming* 性命) is unjust (cf. 1.2a, 7a, 8b with 90 *Miaojing neiyi* 1.4a, 13a, 13b–14a), it does reveal one of his primary concerns. At 1.8b, for example, Chen insists on identifying the “primordial spirit” of the heart with the “true nature,” and he says that “taming the heart is like taming a wild animal.” Part of the difficulty of taming the heart is no doubt due to the fact that “the hearts of those who believe in the Way are rarely solid, while the unbelieving hearts of those who do not believe are solid as metal and rock” (1.10a; cf. 2.42b). But the real difficulty for Chen is clearly that “as soon as the root of desire stirs, hell emerges” (2.45b; Xiao Yingsou, in 90 *Miaojing neiyi* 4.32a [borrowed by Chen, 3.18b], says that the most urgent of all interdictions is that against sexual desire, but he does not insist on the point as much as Chen).

For Chen, the solution is to “cut off all thought of desire” and to practice the Way of Inner Alchemy. To do this, one must first find a teacher (1.41a; cf. 2.51b, where even Huang-Lao is said to have needed a teacher). In Chen’s own case, if his interpretation

of the *Duren jing* is indebted in the first place to that of Xiao Yingsou, it would appear that his teacher led him to translate that interpretation into personal alchemical experience: when Chen glosses the “Red Writs of Chaos” (*hundong chiwen* 混洞赤文) as the “true nature” and the “primordial spirit” (2.4b), he is paraphrasing Xiao’s *Neiyi*, 3.3a, 4a; but when he responds to his teacher’s inquiry (2.42a–b), he says of this term that it is “the cold sweat that covers the body.” Apparently Chen understands the *hundong chiwen*, revealed at the beginning of time, to be comparable to the cold sweat that covers the microcosm of the adept’s body when he or she is subliming the elixir. Chen goes on, then, to describe the parallels between physical and spiritual embryogenesis (2.43b).

Zhao Youqin’s metaphoric comparison of the earth to a large plank afloat on the waters, themselves a portion of the “heavenly carpet” (3.2b), proves to be the occasion for one of the most remarkable developments in Chen’s commentary. “This metaphor,” says Chen, “comes very close to the matter”; he then launches into a long description of contemporary versions of the ancient *huntian* theory 渾天論 of the cosmic egg (3.2b–10a, 13b–18a). Although the relevance of this description to his alchemical interpretation of the *Duren jing* is not clear, it is significant that CHEN ZHIXU felt the need to relate his alchemical experiences to the most recent scientific discussions concerning the nature of the universe.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing zhujie

元始無量度人上品妙經註解

3 juan

By Xue Jizhao 薛季昭, *hao* Xianweng 顯翁; presented 1303 or 1304

92 (fasc. 46)

“Commentary on the Book of Salvation.” This commentary by Xue Jizhao, a Taoist master from Lushan 廬山 in possession of the Shangqing dadong baolu 上清大洞寶籙 register (3.22b), is preceded by a liturgical memorial with the discrepant dates Dade 7 (1303) and *jiachen* 甲辰 (1304). Here the author humbly presents his work to the Jade Emperor: “Many people recite this book, but few understand it. It is not that earlier worthies have not written commentaries, but they tend to be obscure, and latter-day adepts have difficulty understanding them.” Xue presents himself as one who, having received the “heart-seal transmission of the master,” is in charge of the Altar for the Manifestation of Thunder (*xianlei tan* 顯雷壇). He hopes to earn merit and so to compensate for his own sins by writing as straightforward a commentary as possible. In point of fact, Xue’s commentary is comparatively unencumbered by esoteric readings and descriptions of the spiritual bureaucracy.

A series of postfaces recount the circumstances surrounding the publication of

Xue's work. According to one Li Yueyang 李月陽, also of Lushan and writing in 1305, Xue's reticence to publish his commentary had been overcome: first by a local layman's decision to finance the carving of the blocks, and then by the words of encouragement uttered by the divine Marshal Wang on the Thunder Altar of Anterior Heaven in West Market five days after the completion of the carving had been liturgically announced (3.19a–20a). In 1308, according to a postface by Xue (3.20a–22a), he spent a night on this same altar. During the night, the “ancestral master” Lei Moan 雷默庵 (see article on 89 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing tongyi*) came to him in a dream with two announcements: first, that Xue's name had been registered in the Shenxiao celestial offices because his “merit in explaining [the *Duren jing*] is equal to mine”; second, that a text was about to be revealed to him (this is presumably the heart-seal transmission mentioned in the preface). Eight days later, as predicted, a text is revealed to Xue by none other than Xin Zhongyi 辛忠義, the divine Clerk of the Thunder Clap who had originally revealed to Lei Moan the Hunyuan 混元 Thunder rites (297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5.12b; cf. Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature*, 47, 209–11). A final text, also by Xue, tells the history of the revelation and transmission of the “precious declaration of the Primordial Beginning,” a declaration that Xue wrote out on the Scriptural Altar of the Sea of Snow Heart-Mirror in 1316.

The commentary produced in this context of dream revelation and automatic writing is anything but visionary. Indeed, Xue states explicitly that his commentary is intended for religious novices (*chuzhen dedao zhe* 初真得道者, 2.24b; cf. 3.4b, 21b), whether or not they have received a ritual register (*falü* 法籙; 1.18a, based on 90 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi*, 2.31a). Xue simplifies the *Duren jing*, in part, as he explains in an undated postface (3.18a–19a), by going counter to contemporary practice and excluding the *Lingshu xiapian* 靈書下篇 and the *Taiji zhenren houxu* 太極真人後序. More generally, he simply takes from his predecessors the bare minimum of what he deems necessary for an understanding of the text. To this end, he borrows regularly from the commentaries of Guo Wangfeng 郭罔鳳 and Li Shaowei 李少微. He borrows from the former especially in juan 2 (cf. 2.3a on Kunlun with 88 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhu* 2.9a), and from the latter primarily in juan 3 (from 87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*). He shares with Xiao Yingsou's 蕭應叟 *Neiyi* both the mode of liturgical presentation and the *zhifu* 直符 (3.18a; 90 *Miaojing neiyi* 5.36a), and he alludes once to Shenxiao literature (2.29b).

What is unique to Xue's commentary is not only its relative simplicity, but also his references to the ritual context of the recitation of the *Duren jing*: where, for example, Yan Dong 嚴東 interprets the phrase “today there is the joy of transmission” as a reference to the transmission of the *Duren jing* to the Lord of the Tao by means of Yuanshi tianzun's recitation as described in the text itself (87 *Miaojing sizhu* 2.58a), Xue interprets the phrase as a reference to a religious initiation: “today so-and-so is being initiated” (2.20b–21a). In similar fashion, astral bodies and other cosmic entities

In addition to the Lingbao dafa texts and to the traditional commentaries compiled by CHEN JINGYUAN (87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing sizhu*)—whom he cites frequently, though sometimes implicitly—Chen Chunrong also uses an imperial commentary (probably that of Huizong; see VDL 134) and the Shenxiao writings (compare 2.47a–50b and 3.2b–3b with 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangbin miaoqing futu* 3.1a–10a and 12a–15b). For the *Lingshu zhongpian* 靈書中篇 (4.4b–29b), he uses the correspondences with the hexagrams found for the first time in Xiao Yingsou’s 蕭應叟 90 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing neiyi*. It may be, however, that Chen took this part of his commentary not from Xiao but from Xiao’s source, for in the rest of his commentary, whenever Chen cites a passage that may be found in Xiao’s work, he almost invariably attributes it to a (*Lingbao*) *neixiang danzhi* 內象丹旨 (compare 1.6a, 2.40b, 41b, and 44a with 90 *Miaoqing neiyi* 1.12b, 3.39b, 40a, and 40b).

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao duren jing dafan yinyu shuyi

洞玄靈寶度人經大梵隱語疏義

22 fols.

94 (fasc. 48)

“Explanation Concerning the Esoteric Speech of Great Brahma [*Dafan yinyu*].” The title refers to the paragraph at the end of the *Duren jing*, which also constitutes the primary subject of 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*. This paragraph consists of 256 characters, a number corresponding to that of the Thirty-two Heavens multiplied by eight. The paragraph was singled out for special attention in the Shenxiao and Lingbao dafa traditions of the Southern Song. It is likely that the present text was transmitted separately for that reason (cf. the warning against “divulging [the esoteric sounds] to lay people” in 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 26.26b).

In addition to separate paragraphs of explanation for each of the Thirty-two Heavens, all of which essentially reproduce Li Shaowei’s 李少微 commentary, this text contains three introductory and two concluding paragraphs: the former explain the terms *zhutian dafan* 諸天大梵, *yinyu* 隱語, and *wuliang* 無量; the latter explain the final paragraph of the *Duren jing* as a postface to the “esoteric sounds.” It is noteworthy that this text devoted to the Sanskrit-like quality of the sounds nonetheless insists that they were Chinese (1b, 20b).

John Lagerwey

***Wuliang duren shangpin miaojing pangtong tu* 無量度人上品妙經旁通圖**

2 juan

Compiled by Liu Yuandao 劉元道, *hao* Shouyi dashi 守一大師

148 (fasc. 67)

“Chart for Analyzing the Wonderful and Superior Book of Salvation.” The term *pangtong* in the title—meaning “penetrating to the very limit” and, hence, “thorough analysis”—is borrowed from *Yijing* studies, where it refers to the analysis of a hexagram as a whole. The present text was originally in three juan, but the first juan is lost.

According to the biography of Liu Yuandao in LZTT 51.4b–5a, he was associated from the beginning with Emperor Huizong’s project for the compilation of a *Dao-zang*. His vast book learning earned him a series of promotions, and finally he was appointed head of the Taoists in the capital. It is undoubtedly at this time that he lived at the Taiqing chuqing gong 太清儲慶宮 (see 1.1a) and compiled the present text.

Relying heavily on the commentaries compiled by CHEN JINGYUAN (87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*), Liu Yuandao attempts, in juan 2, primarily to link the Thirty-two Heavens of the *Duren jing* to the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions. In juan 3, he describes the ritual for the recitation of the *Duren jing* and the *Dafan yinyu* 大梵隱語, a text found both in the *Duren jing* and in 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*. Liu also describes the celestial origins of these two texts.

Liu not only notes the source of his comments in virtually every paragraph, but also provides a list of his sources at the end of his work. The authors of 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* and 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* make considerable use of Liu’s work, but they eliminate all source references (compare the present work 2.1a–8a and 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.11b–13a, 15b–25b; also 3.1a–7b and 219 *Duren dafa* 3.13b–17a, 22a–23b, 2.8a–9b). JIN YUNZHONG was no doubt thinking of these imitators when he wrote that “irresponsible people have recently borrowed from such books as the *Pangtong tu* 旁通圖, the *Wuwei jing* 武威經, and the *Beidou lu* 北斗籙 and, after completely changing the names, have fabricated the Xuanji method 璇璣法” (1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 27.10b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shengxuan shuo xiaozai huming miaojing zhu

太上昇玄說消災護命妙經註

12 fols.

By WANG JIE 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子; Yuan (1279–1368)

100 (fasc. 50)

“Commentary on the Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery Protecting Life and Averting Disaster.” In the main part of his commentary, WANG

JIE explains the words and the reasoning of the text without pursuing a systematic exegesis. His definition of key terms to some extent alters the fundamental message of the scripture, replacing an epistemological sequence—the experience of reality, the unreal nature of this reality, the identity of both perceptions and the ultimate reality of the “marvelous sounds”—with ontological dialectics. This shift appears to be due to the influence of the Neo-Confucian dialectics of “substance” as opposed to “function” (see page 6a). Another influence may be attributable to the author’s alchemical preoccupations. Apparently taking as a point of departure the suggestion of an esoteric meaning of the text made by LI DAOCHUN in 101 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaoqing zhu* 2a (compare our text 1b), Wang contrasts this interpretation, to which he gives the name of “the use of the Tao” (*daoyong* 道用), with a religious and literal interpretation that he terms the “method of the age” (*shifa* 世法; see pages 2a, 3a, and 10b; cf. the article on 91 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing zhujie*). The alchemical terminology used by Wang is that of the Quanzhen school 全真 (compare 10a6 in the present text to 25 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo dedao liaoshen jing* 3a10).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaoqing zhu

太上昇玄消災護命妙經註

5 fols.

By LI DAOCHUN 李道純 (d. 1306)

101 (fasc. 50)

“Commentary on the Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery Protecting Life and Averting Disaster.” In comparison with the standard versions of the scripture, as given in 19 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaoqing* and in the Dunhuang manuscripts, we find here, on page 4a, an additional phrase of four characters: *suishen gongyang* 隨身供養, that is, “worship wherever you are.”

LI DAOCHUN’s commentary is divided into three parts. It proposes an alchemical interpretation of the text. The *Yuanshi tianzun* symbolizes the ancestral qi, and the Palace of Five Colors where he preaches is equated with the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭), whereas the Forest of the Seven Jewels is said to refer to the Three Origins (*sanyuan* 三元) and the Four Emblems (*sixiang* 四象). In the second part of his commentary, LI DAOCHUN quotes the *Hṛdāya-sūtra* (*Xinjing* 心經).

Catherine Despeux

Shengtian jing songjie 生天經頌解

6 fols.

By Wang Jichang 王吉昌, *hao* Chaoran zi 超然子; early thirteenth century
313 (fasc. 162)

“Hymns in Exegesis of the Book of Birth in Heaven.” This work comprises thirty-seven poems explaining and expanding upon the meaning of the short Tang scripture 24 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing*. The general tenor of the commentary is that of spiritual alchemy, in keeping with the teachings of Wang, the author of 247 *Huizhen ji*.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing jieyi

洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經解義

4 juan

By Dong Sijing 董思靖, *hao* Guishan 圭山; 1252
396 (fasc. 186)

“Commentary on the Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens.” In the preface, Dong, a Taoist from the Tianqing monastery 天慶觀 at Qingyuan 清源 (Shanxi), divides the text according to its contents and gives explanations regarding the five kalpas and the Nine Heavens on the basis of numerical correspondences.

In his postface, dated 1252, Dong Sijing presents a discourse in which he convinces a skeptic of the contents of this scripture and the Taoist teaching. In his explanations, Dong refers to a great number of Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures and cites a total of seven different editions of the *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 九天生神章經 (3.1a–29a), of which only the commentary from Sichuan (*Shuzhu* 蜀註; i.e., 397 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie*) can be identified.

Zhang Yuchu’s 張宇初 (1361–1410) preface to Dong’s commentary can be found in 1311 *Xianquan ji* 2.17a–19a.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie

洞玄靈寶自然九天生神玉章經解

3 juan

By Wang Xichao 王希巢, *zi* Yinxian 隱賢; 1205
397 (fasc. 187)

“Explanations of the Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens.” As Wang Xichao—a Taoist from the Chongxu monastery 冲虛觀 in Mianzhou 綿州 (Sichuan)—states in his preface (dated 1205), he wrote this commentary at the suggestion of a

certain Ren Xianliang 任賢良, who deemed the previous explanations by Yuchan zi 玉蟾子 (surnamed Zhao 趙) to be incomplete.

Wang's commentary is unusually detailed and precise in its textual criticism (e.g., 1.5b–6b). The two hymns by Taiji zhenren 太極真人 at the end of this text are left uncommentated.

In his supplement to the *Junzhai dushu zhi*, Zhao Xibian lists a *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* in three juan, with explanations by Wang Xichao, a preface by Cheng Gongxu 程公許 (fl. 1211), and a colophon by Zhao Rixiu 趙日休. Neither that preface nor the colophon are reproduced in the present edition.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing zhu

洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經註

3 juan

By Hua Yangfu 華陽復; preface by ZHANG SHOUQING 張守清, dated 1332
398 (fasc. 188)

“Commentary on the Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens.” Nothing is known about Hua Yangfu except that it can be concluded from his work (1.4b5) that he lived under the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). The preface to this commentary was written by ZHANG SHOUQING, a Taoist residing on Wudang shan 武當山 (Hubei). Zhang had been active establishing temples there as early as 1284. His title, Tixuan miaoying taihe zhenren 體玄妙應太和真人, which he uses in the preface, had been bestowed on him by the emperor in 1314 (962 *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 2.1b; 961 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 6a). Zhang regrets that he knew the old Tang commentaries by Xue Youqi 薛幽棲, Li Shaowei 李少微, and CHENG XUANYING only by hearsay and states that he was shown Hua's commentary by a visitor from Wu 吳.

Hua's commentary is by no means original; it draws heavily on the explanations by Wang Xichao 王希巢 (compare, e.g., 1.12b–14b with 397 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie* 1.22b–26a) and frequently cites commentaries by Xiao Zhenyou 蕭真祐 and Zhen Shuai 真率 that otherwise have not been preserved. Appended to the text we find a folio of phonetic explanations.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo jiuku miaojing zhujie

太上洞玄靈寶天尊說救苦妙經註解

27 fols.

By [Lü 呂] Dongyang zi 洞陽子 of Tongshen an 通神庵; preface by Zhou Zhun 周準, hao Baozhen zi 葆真子

399 (fasc. 189)

“Annotations to the Scripture for the Salvation from Distress.” This commentary on 374 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing* is preceded by a preface by a certain Zhou Zhun of Jinjiang 錦江 (Shangrao 上饒 district, Jiangxi), in which we learn that Dongyang zi was the hao of a Mr. Lü 呂氏 of Siming 四明, a mountain range in Zhejiang. Lü announces to Zhou his intention to write a commentary on the *Jiuku jing* 救苦經 which, he says, contains “the secret meaning of the Great Cavern.”

Lü, citing 529 *Lingbao wujing tigang*, defines the *Jiuku jing* as an “esoteric exposé of sublimation [*liandu* 鍊度] rites” (17b). Salvation by sublimation is to be accomplished by “setting fire” (*xinghuo* 行火) to the *sanmei* 三昧, that is, by the “fires of the lord (the heart), the minister (the kidneys), and the people (the bladder)” (24a; cf. 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 15.1b, 3a). Lü identifies the Taoists’ “primordial spirit” with the “true nature” of the Confucians and the “origin” (*benlai* 本來) of the Buddhists (2a). The *ling* 靈 of Lingbao is identical with the spirit (*shen* 神) and the nature (*xing* 性), and the *bao* 寶 with the breath (qi) and life (*ming* 命; 4b–5b). Adepts of Chan understand the heart and the nature but are too much “attached to their discourses on Emptiness” (10b). One must also create the Lords of the Three Treasures by transforming the qi, the spirit, and the essence (*jing* 精; 13a).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing song

太上昇玄消災護命妙經頌

7 fols.

By Zhang Bo 張白, zi Xubo 虛白, hao Boyun zi 白雲子 (fl. second half of tenth century)

312 (fasc. 161)

“Hymns on the Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery Protecting Life and Averting Disaster.” This is a rhymed commentary to the Tang scripture 19 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing*. The *Daozang* edition indicates Zhenyi xiansheng Sima Ziwei 貞一先生司馬子微 of the Tang as the author of this work, referring to SIMA CHENGZHEN (647–735). This attribution is an error. According to the biography of Zhang Bo in LZTT 47.15a, the latter wrote a rhymed commentary on the work in question. The biography quotes the first and last lines of this commentary, showing clearly that it corresponded to the present text. The confusion with SIMA

CHENGZHEN may have resulted from the fact that both he and Zhang Bo had the *hao* Boyun zi.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註

7 fols.

By LI DAOCHUN 李道純, *hao* Qing'an 清庵, Yingchan zi 瑩蟾子 (fl. 1290)

755 (fasc. 532)

“Commentary to the Scripture on Perpetual Purity and Tranquility.” For biographical details about the Quanzhen 全真 Taoist LI DAOCHUN, see 1060 *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu*. The main part of the present text is identical with 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*; the latter's epilogue, however, has not been included here. In his exegesis, Li mostly limits himself to strict textual interpretation, citing only occasionally the *Daode jing* and *Yijing* for explanation.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註

63 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)?

756 (fasc. 532)

“Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility.” This anonymous commentary probably dates from the Yuan dynasty (see 60a: “Earlier, in the year 1068 of the Song . . .”). Compared to 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, the main text of the present work has been abridged by more than one third: pages 1b10–2a8 of that text are missing here, as is the epilogue. After the individual sections of the text, the commentator first gives his own explanations and often cites commentaries on the *Qingjing jing* by Wenzhong zi 文中子 and Boyun weng 白雲翁 (not identified). Then—without indicating his sources—he narrates stories that illustrate the efficacy of the recitation of this scripture. He goes on to summarize in a final remark (*lun* 論) the relation between the individual episode and the preceding section of the text. As for the sources of the stories that can be traced, they are mostly Tang works like the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, the *Baoying ji* 報應記, and the *Guangyi ji* 廣異記 that attest to the efficacy of the Diamond Sūtra (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛 [般若] 經). Our commentator in some places remained faithful to the original story (compare, e.g., 5b with *Baoying ji* [in *Taiping guangji* 103.695], but sometimes he modified them heavily, to the point of changing the names of the protagonists (compare, e.g., 52b–58b with *Xu xuanguai lu* 續玄怪錄 [in *Taiping guangji* 16.109–12]. In all cases, the title *Jin'gang jing* has been replaced by *Qingjing jing* 清靜經.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註

24 fols.

Arranged and revised by BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾, *hao* Qiongguan zi 瓊瑄子; commentary by Wang Yuanhui 王元暉, *hao* Yinwei zi 隱微子, dated 1312 757 (fasc. 532)

“Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility.” In a brief postface, Wang Daxu 王大敘 (*hao* Gouqu shanren 句曲山人) writes that he came into possession of a *Qingjing jing*—commentated by SIMA CHENGZHEN and divided into sections and revised by BO YUCHAN—and that he was preparing to have the work printed. Jiang Huazi 蔣華子 (*hao* Siqing weng 四清翁) confirms in his preface (dated 1312) that the diagrams at the beginning of the text are by BO YUCHAN. Since no explicit information on the commentary nor on the identity of Wang Yuanhui (from Zhongnan 終南) is given, we can only assume that Yuanhui is the *zi* of Wang Daxu.

Our main text, divided into five sections, is the same as 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, the epilogue of which has been compiled here with an account of Laozi’s incarnations and manifestations, the diagrams by BO YUCHAN, and various poems to form a separate prolegomenon. The commentary is mainly a conglomeration of citations from all kinds of sources. Variant readings are indicated.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註

24 fols.

By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子 (Jin dynasty, second half of twelfth century); preface by Mao Hui 毛麾 (fl. 1187) 758 (fasc. 533)

“Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility.” From the preface by Mao Hui (cf. “Yizhen chongxu zhenren Mao zunshi tuihua ming,” 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 7.6b), we can conclude that Mao and Hou were contemporaries. The text itself links the place name Gushe shan 姑射山 (Shanxi) to the commentator’s name, whereas according to Mao Hui, Hou lived on Lishan 驪山 (Shaanxi).

In comparison to 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, the present main text shows only a few minor differences. Usually the commentary limits itself to a terse paraphrase of the individual paragraphs, followed by a hymn in eight five-character verses. The epilogue is not commentated.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing zuantu jiezhu

太上老君說常清靜妙經纂圖解註

23 fols.

By WANG JIE 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子 (first half of fourteenth century)

760 (fasc. 533)

“Explanations and Commentary with Illustrations to the Wonderful Scripture on Perpetual Purity and Tranquility.” The present main text is the same as 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*. The Eulogies of the Zhenren (“Zhenren zan 真人讚”) form a separate epilogue here.

In his commentary, WANG JIE presents himself as an adherent of the Quanzhen 全真 tradition by citing Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian works, by depicting the Three Teachings on a par with each other in a diagram (12b), and by postulating the cultivation of one’s nature (*xing* 性) and physical existence (*ming* 命; 13b; 23a). Interspersed, we find references to Inner Alchemy. Each commentated section is supplemented by a diagram, illustrating the interrelations and interdependences of the definitions and terms employed.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu 太上老君說常清靜經頌註

8 fols.

By Liu Tongwei 劉通微, *hao* Moran zi 默然子 (1167–1196)

974 (fasc. 614)

“Psalmic Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility.” The author, who signed this commentary only with his byname, was a 全真 Quanzhen Taoist. According to 955 *Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 1.4a–5b, Liu was a native of Yecheng 掖城 in Shandong. In 1167 he met WANG ZHE there, from whom he also received his byname. After meetings with four of Wang’s disciples, Liu was summoned, at the beginning of the Mingchang period (1190–1196), to the Jin court, where he conversed with the emperor Zhangzong on Taoist themes (among others, *qingjing* 清靜). He died in 1196, not long after leaving the court. The present work is not mentioned in his biography.

The main text has similar variant characters as 758 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu*; the epilogue, however, is missing in our work. Liu’s hymns consist of eight five-character verses each, which are more in the nature of a poetic paraphrase of the main text than an explanatory commentary.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing zhu 太上太清天童護命妙經註
10 fols.

By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; Jurchen Jin (1115–1234)
762 (fasc. 533)

“Annotations to the Life-Protecting Book of the Heavenly Lords of Utmost Purity.” This short commentary on 632 *Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing* is similar in form to Hou’s commentary 758 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu*.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang kaiming tiandi benzhen jing 太上開明天地本真經
4 fols.

Transmitted by Renshou, Meishan Master Who Penetrates the Mystery of the Three Teachings 通玄三教眉山師仁壽
34 (fasc. 27)

“Explication of the Most High of the Original Truth of Heaven and Earth.” After stating that humanity lost its “original truth” in the Tao by the development of knowledge, the author explains the birth of the Three Teachings (*sanjiao* 三教) as a response to this situation. Each has its special area of competence—morality, dialectics, alchemy (note the use of the term *gongfu* 功夫)—but each “embraces heaven and earth” in its teaching. Nowadays, regrettably, these Three Teachings have lost their original truth. It is therefore the task of those who would “penetrate the Mystery of the Three Teachings” to explain (*kaiming* 開明), out of compassion for the living and the dead, that there is no Heaven higher than human nature (*xing* 性), nor an Earth more stable than the human heart. All paths to salvation depend on the body, but in order to recover the “true origin,” one must “recite the True Book that is hidden from human eyes.” In other words, one must find a “superior man” who can teach one “the way of the scriptures,” for “it is necessary to know that the True Book of the Great Way depends on oral transmission and the seal of the heart [*xinyin* 心印].”

John Lagerwey

Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu
太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經註
5 juan

By Xu Daoling 徐道齡, *hao* Xuanyang zi 玄陽子; corrected by Xu Daoxuan 徐道玄, *hao* Qianyang zi 乾陽子; 1334
750 (fasc. 527–528)

“Commentary on the Dipper Scripture.” According to his postface, written on the occasion of the printing of this work in 1334, Xu Daoling composed this text in divine

inspiration while occupying a sinecure post in Suzhou. Concerning Xu Daoxuan, the corrector, no information is provided.

Although Xu Daoling states that he relied on the “instructions of previous sages,” he does not specify any particular text model. Numerous parallels, however, point to 752 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* (q.v.) as a possible source.

One of the characteristics of the present work is its obvious relation to the spirit-writing cult of Zitong dijun 梓童帝君: a prefatory note (*Beidou jing tici* 北斗經題辭) and a petition to the Jade Emperor (5.1a–2a) are attributed to this deity. Text and commentary are thus set in a ritual frame: the prefatory note gives instructions for the visualization of the deities of the Big Dipper to be practiced before the recitation of the scripture, and for the prayers to be pronounced at the beginning of the ritual. More formulas and a series of ten benedictions come after the text (4.13b–17b). Juan 5 includes, after Zitong dijun’s petition and some technical instructions, a set of fu that stand for the individual deities of the constellation (cf. 752 *Beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.9b–19a) and for certain parts of the scripture itself (4.11a–12b; 2.1a–9b).

Xu Daoling, who tries to give the *Beidou jing* a valid position within the Three Teachings, frequently refers in his commentary to Buddhist and Confucian sources (e.g., *Jin’gang jing* 金剛經, *Sishier zhang jing*, *Mengzi* 孟子, *Daxue*). As for Taoist sources, he clearly prefers 16 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*, but he also cites 623 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing* (2.13a), 10 *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* (4b), and others.

Xu attempts to interpret from an exalted view of self-cultivation several passages of the main text that originally dealt only with conditions of everyday life in the home. The main text sometimes has variant readings (compare, e.g., 2.9b3, 2.9b8, and 4.10a1 with 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 3b5–6, 8a9).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhujie

太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經註解

3 juan

By Xuanyuan zhenren 玄元真人 from Kongtong shan 崆峒山

751 (fasc. 528)

“Commentary on the Dipper Scripture.” This commentary on 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* is by an unknown author with the byname Xuanyuan from Kongtong; it is accompanied by a preface attributed to Li Bo 李白 (701–762) and a postface signed “Su Shi 蘇軾” (1036–1101). These attributes may indicate a connection with a spirit-writing cult.

In the work itself, we find a single instance (1.18b–19a) of a parallel to Xu Daoling's 徐道齡 (fl. 1334) commentary in 750 *Tai shang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu* 1.23b–24a. This parallel could, however, derive from a common source.

In his commentary, Xuanyuan zhenren establishes a threefold division of the individual paragraphs: (1) a tersely phrased explanation that remains close to the main text, followed by (2) a comprehensive, easily understandable interpretation (*dazhong* 大眾), which is then completed by (3) a hymn comprising eight seven-character verses and resuming the theme metaphorically.

We also find *fu* in this text (2.11b–15b), corresponding to those in Xu Daoling's commentary (5.3b–6b) as well as to those in Fu Dongzhen's 傅洞真 (752 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.9b–19a), along with figurative depictions of the astral deities.

The commentator, who relies mainly on the authority of the 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing* and 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*, advocates the concept of the Three Teachings (*sanjiao* 三教; 1.10a–b) and the graded teaching in the Three Vehicles (*sancheng* 三乘; 2.23b). The action of the Beidou 北斗 as a universal regulator of cosmic events stands as a paradigm for the Tao or the Void “lying before one's eyes,” as well as existing within humanity itself (2.1a–2a). Through continued meditation (2.29b), introspective contemplation of the mind (*xin* 心, i.e., Beidou), shutting oneself off from the illusory exterior world (1.17a), and restraining the Horse of the Will (*yima* 意馬) and the Monkey of the Mind (*xinyuan* 心猿; e.g., 3.2b), the practitioner finally achieves sudden enlightenment (*dunwu* 頓悟; e.g., 1.8a), realizing the true void of the great Tao (2.30a). The principle of true nature (*xing* 性) is rated higher than life, with its span limited by time (*ming* 命; 1.16b). Allusions to *neidan* 內丹 practices (e.g., 1.15a) are mostly metaphorical.

The style is rhetorical, reminiscent of the genre of recorded conversations (*yulu* 語錄), and the phrasing is poetic and metaphorical.

The prevalence of Chan ideas suggests that the commentary was produced among the later Quanzhen Taoists, who understood their tradition as a synthesis of the so-called Northern and Southern schools. The formal terminological and stylistic similarities with a text like 1065 *Xuanjiao da gongan* should also be pointed out in this context.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu

太上玄靈北斗本命延生經註

3 juan

By Fu Dongzhen 傅洞真

752 (fasc. 529)

Beidou qi yuan jin xuan yu zhang 北斗七元金玄羽章

Appendix to 752 *Yansheng jing zhu*

9 fols.

753 (fasc. 529)

“Commentary on the Dipper Scripture.” Fu Dongzhen, who is otherwise unknown, intended his commentary on 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* to serve as a vindication for that popular scripture. Because of its parallel style, the *Beidou jing* was often considered a forgery, by either DU GUANGTING or Zhang Daoling 張道陵, rather than a revelation. It was, moreover, decried as trivial. On the basis of the teachings of the scriptures and statements by earlier masters, Fu wanted to elucidate the *Beidou jing* and prove the deeper meaning of its simple words (see the preface).

Fu’s commentary is probably later than the Song (960–1279; 2.25b). It is quoted in Chen Zhong’s commentary in 754 *Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benchuan shenzhou miaojing* 2.8a. Furthermore, both citations of a *Doujing shi* 斗經釋 in 1049 *Yungong fayu* 2.1b (preface dated 1298) correspond, in slightly modified form, to 3.12a–b and 3.7b, respectively, of the present work, which was probably also one of the sources for Xu Daoling’s 徐道齡 commentary in 750 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu*.

A general characteristic of Fu’s commentary is the author’s high degree of technical knowledge about liturgical practice and divinatory calculation. Although he also uses some Buddhist terms — the origin of which he traces back to the Huahu theory — on a philosophical level, he rarely refers to Buddhist or Confucian works (for an exception, see 2.1a). As basic Taoist writings, he names 641 *Taishang laojun neiguan jing*, 400 *Dongxuan lingbao dingguan jing*, 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, and 1036 *Zuowang lun*. Another important source was a *Pangtong tu* 旁通圖, i.e., probably the *Beidou* (or *-di*) *qi yuan shengwei pangtong tu* 北斗 (帝) 七元聖位旁通圖. This work may have been the focus for the so-called *xuanling* 玄靈 or *xuanji* 玄璣 methods, to which Fu alludes repeatedly (see also 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, preface 6b, 10.7b).

The numerous interspersed textual criticisms (e.g., 2.28a) show that Fu had compared different versions of the main text.

The appendix, 753 *Beidou qi yuan jin xuan yu zhang* (Winged Stanzas on the Golden Mystery), contains seven stanzas addressed to the seven primary stars of the Beidou

and the talismans pertaining to them (cf. 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 8.17b–21a). It also contains rules for sacrifices to the individual stars of fate, and further ritual recommendations and explanations related to the recitation of the *Beidou jing*. Incidentally, the instructions concerning the accompanying visualization are clearly similar to the method of meditation described in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 285.1a under the title *Xuanling mochao neisong* 玄靈默朝內誦.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

***Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang* 北斗七元金玄羽章**

3 fols.

975 (fasc. 614)

“Winged Stanzas on the Golden Mystery.” Although not directly related in contents, the present text may have originally formed an appendix to the hymns to the *Qingjing jing* by Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (974 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu*). It contains the same hymns as those found in 753 *Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang*.

The title is borrowed from Shangqing literature, where it signifies the songs or prayers to be intoned against the temptations of the demon rulers from the eight directions (see 1358 *Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu jing* 9b–17b). In the present text, hymns of the same title describe the specific characteristics and functions of the individual stars of the Big Dipper. The prayers addressed to the seven primary stars are also found, *mutatis mutandis*, in 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 8.17b–21a as citations from a *Beidou jinxuan yuzhang* 北斗金玄羽章. Our text, however, comprises nine stanzas, of which the last two, songs addressed to the accompanying stars Fu 輔 and Bi 弼, may be later additions. The fu provided by 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* in this context are missing here.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

3.A.1.e Treatises and Essays

***Taishang xiuzhen tiyuan miaodao jing* 太上修真體元妙道經**

21 fols.

Revealed to Liu Yuanrui 劉元瑞; colophon by Dong Zhengguan 董正觀, dated 1261

41 (fasc. 29)

“Most High Scripture of the Marvelous Way of Incarnation of the Origin for the Cultivation of the True [Self].” In his colophon, Dong Zhengguan relates that a deity named Yuansu zhenjun 元素真君 — Lord of the Teaching of the Holy Thunder Mountain of the Ultimate North (Beiji leiyue jiaozu 北極雷嶽教主) and incarnation

of the [Lord of the] Gold Portal (Jinque huashen 金闕化身)—revealed the present scripture to an adept named Liu Yuanrui by means of “descending into the brush” (*jiangbi* 降筆), that is, spirit-writing. Liu refused to divulge the text—in the last paragraph of the scripture, the deity enjoins Liu not to show it to unworthy people—and thus it was only after his death that Dong could obtain a copy and print it.

The scripture is divided into twenty-four sections, each of which ends with a short, rhymed abstract (*jue* 訣). The deity teaches those who “seek to perfect themselves” the “marvelous way of incarnation of the origin.” In the beginning, the Tao was without words (page 1a) and the body of the universe was “pure yin” (*chunyin* 純陰; 3b). The image of this pristine perfection is the child who “in triple silence follows the body” of its mother and breathes in harmony with her respiration (8b–9a). This silence is triple because the qi of Heaven, Earth, and humanity intermingle in it (*hun zhi* 混之). One must therefore forget all distinctions and return to the Primordial Chaos (*hundun* 混沌; 13a). One should no longer be preoccupied with the dragon or the tiger, with lead or mercury, and even less with offerings (14a and 17b). One has only to “Hold the One” (13b and 15a), and thus, as said on 15b and 19b, “one can tally without fu” (*bu fu er ke fu* 不符而可符) and command [the spirits] without spells (*bu zhou er ke zhu* 不咒而可囑).

John Lagerwey

Jindan fu 金丹賦

47 fols.

Commentary by Ma Lizhao 馬蒞昭; Yuan (1279–1368)

261 (fasc. 121)

“Ode on the Gold-Elixir.” This work is a counterpart to the *Neidan fu* by TAO ZHI (cf. 259 *Tao zhenren neidan fu*). The commentator, Ma Lizhao, who refers to himself as a disciple of the Great Tao 大道弟子, presumably lived during the Yuan period, as he writes: “Since Jin, Tang, and Song times 晉唐宋以來 . . .” (preface, 1a).

According to the preface (1b), Ma’s copy of the *Jindan fu* lacked any indication as to the work’s authorship, and since Ma does not mention any older commentaries, it is likely that he simply possessed the poem.

Ma’s interpretation of the *Jindan fu* is philosophical in nature and greatly influenced by the works of the Tang Taoist WU YUN. He discourses on the Tao, the interaction of yin and yang, and the universal order, with examples from the *Yijing*, and from the *Xuangang lun* 玄綱論 and other philosophical treatises by WU YUN.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Qianyuan zi sanshi lun 乾元子三始論

3 fols.

268 (fasc. 132)

“Master Qianyuan’s Discourse on the Three Beginnings.” This is a short treatise of unknown date. The name “Qianyuan zi” is based on that of a celestial immortal (*tianxian* 天仙), master of one of Chisong zi’s 赤松子 teachers (cf. 883 *Taiqing jing tianshi koujue* 5b). The treatise comprises four short paragraphs: in this text, *taiyi* 太易 (Great Change) is considered the equivalent of *hundun* 混沌 (Chaos); Taichu 太初 (Great Beginning), Taishi 太始 (Great Commencement), and Taisu 太素 (Great Simplicity) are the beginning of *qi*, *xing* 形 (form), and *zhi* 質 (matter), respectively. The author was directly inspired by a Han apocryphal text (the *Qianzuo du* 乾鑿度) and the first chapter of the *Liezi* 列子.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing 無上妙道文始真經

36 fols.

Twelfth century

667 (fasc. 347)

“True Scripture of Wenshi.” The title is derived from the byname Wenshi xiansheng 文始先生, for the Guardian of the Pass, Yin Xi 尹喜, to whom this work is attrib-

關
尹
子

FIGURE 5. Portrait of Yin Xi (667 1a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/662)

uted. Although a *Guanyin zi* 關尹子 in nine *pian* 篇 is listed already in the bibliographic chapters of the *Han shu* 30.1730, the existence of the present text is not attested before the early Southern Song period (1127–1279). The first bibliographic mention of the text that has come down to us is found in *Suichu tang shumu* 23b. According to *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 9.288, Xu Zang 徐藏 (var. Chan 葺, *zi* Zili 子禮; fl. 1167) received this text from Sun Ding 孫定 of Yongjia 永嘉 (Zhejiang). Thereafter the *Guanyin zi* seems to have circulated widely within a short time, as can be seen from citations in 90 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing neiyi* 1.7a; 4.21a.

In the Quanzhen tradition, the year 1233 is celebrated as the date when the text, lost for more than one thousand years, reappeared and came again into the hands of a descendant of the Yin clan. In that year, it was brought by a certain Zhang Zhongcai 張仲才, who had obtained it in Zhejiang, to the patriarch Yin Zhiping 尹志平 on Zhongnan shan 終南山, the ancient dwelling place of Yin Xi (see

“Da Yuan chongxiu gu Louguan zongsheng gongji,” 957 *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 1.15a–b). In his chronicle about the appearance of the *Guanyin zi* (cf. 728 *Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi*), Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 states in 1281 that on the occasion of the printing of the *Daozang*, Huizong had ordered a search for Taoist texts, which produced no copy of the *Guanyin zi*. Only when the Taoist canon was newly edited under SONG DEFANG was the work included in the library under the title *Wenshi zhenjing*.

The present work is preceded by a brief biography and a depiction of Yin Xi (fig. 5), both derived from 163 *Xuanyuan shizi tu*. The same arrangement is also found with the texts of Zhuangzi and Liezi. Moreover, the first commentary in the *Daozang* to the work each of the three philosophers is preceded by the same biography, but without the illustration.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Taishang laojun yuandao zhenjing zhujie* 太上老君元道真經註解**

16 fols.

By Yin Zhi 隱芝, zi Neixiu 內秀, hao Heming zi 合明子 (fl. thirteenth century)
761 (fasc. 533)

“Commentary on Taishang Laojun’s Veritable Scripture of the Original Tao.” For the scripture, see 1423 *Taiqing yuandao zhenjing*. The commentator, Yin Zhi, was a contemporary of BO YUCHAN (see 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 84.17b–21a). The commentary mainly quotes the *Laozi*, the *Zhonghuang zhenjing*, and the *Huangting jing*, often giving a paraphrase in the place of the original text (see, e.g., the quotation of the *Zhonghuang zhenjing* on 14a). The entire passage of the commentary on 14b–15a forms part of the main text in 1423 *Taiqing yuandao zhenjing*. The hymn (*zan* 贊) at the end of the text is missing in the other version.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Dadao lun* 大道論**

24 fols.

By Zhou Gupu 周固樸; Song (960–1279)
1037 (fasc. 704)

“Discourse on the Great Tao.” This work is a short, well-written philosophical treatise of the Chongxuan 重玄 school, whose author is not known elsewhere. The work is, however, listed under his name in the *Suichu tang shumu* by You Mao (1124–1193; see VDL 78). The text quotes many different sources, one of which is 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* by DU GUANGTING (see the present text 12a1, corresponding to 725 *Guangsheng yi* 2.2b6). It also observes the Song taboo of the character *kuang* 匡 (see 20b8).

The treatise is divided into eighteen chapters (*zhang* 章) devoted to traditional subjects, such as obtaining or losing the Tao, the quality of the master, and so on. Some of the chapters are annotated. The tone is philosophical throughout, with an emphasis on the logical explanation of Laozi's and Zhuangzi's thought. One of the important distinctions the author makes is that between true learning (*zhenxue* 真學) and vulgar learning (*suxue* 俗學).

The early Tang Taoist scholar YIN WENCAO (d. 688) is credited with writing a book with the same title (see 956 *Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* 17a), but whether the two works are related is unclear.

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Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Hongdao lu 弘道錄

56 juan

By Shao Jingbang 邵經邦 (1491–1565)

1464 (fasc. 1067–1080)

"Record of the Boundless Way." This book, despite the word *dao* 道 in its title, has nothing to do with Taoism. It is concerned with the Great Way of Confucianism, in particular with Neo-Confucian ethics. As the author declares, "Since the school of Confucius, men of learning became acquainted with the ways of wisdom and have sought to abide by them" (56.5b). Shao is better known for his similarly titled *Hongjian lu* 弘簡錄 and *Hongyi lu* 弘藝錄. The Harvard Yanjing Library preserves a rare edition of the *Hongdao lu*, which otherwise seems to be extant only in the *Daozang*.

Inspired by the *Daxue yan yi* 大學衍義 (dated 1229) of Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (10.16b), the author composed his book in five principal parts corresponding to the Five Virtues of Confucianism. Each principal part is again subdivided into five parts corresponding to the five social relationships. The subdivisions provide examples of model behavior and speeches by individuals from antiquity up to the author's period. Shao's personal remarks follow. The book must have been compiled after 1522, during the reign of the Ming emperor Shizong, whom Shao refers to as the "present Emperor"—a model of filial piety for his conduct at the time of Wuzong's funeral in 1522 (6.21b).

The text's regular structure shows up numerous incoherences and lacunae. The work was revised and edited by Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, the compiler of the supplement to the *Daozang* at the imperial behest in 1607 (25.22b).

Kwong Hing Foon

Taixu xinyuan pian 太虛心淵篇

8 fols.

1047 (fasc. 725)

“Essay on the Depths of the Mind [in the State of the] Great Void.” This is a short text with a section of interpretative lyrics attached to it. Most of the sentences of the actual essay are interpreted in poems of twenty words each.

The poems speak of the enlightenment that characterizes the original state of being (*zhenxing* 真性). They also discuss the encroachments of the outside world that diminish the original potential. Finally, they deal with the possibility of returning to the original state of existence. This work aims to instruct those who would be willing to “cultivate their existence” (7b). The poems have neither titles nor attributions, making it difficult to identify the work precisely.

Florian C. Reiter

Taishang ganying pian 太上感應篇

30 juan

By Li Changling 李昌齡 (937–1008)

1167 (fasc. 834–839)

“Treatise on Retribution of the Most High.” This most famous of the “morality books” (*shanshu* 善書) is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* (VDL 89), which implies that it existed already during the Northern Song (960–1127). The *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” gives Li Changling as the author. Zhao Xibian 趙希弁, in his appendix to the *Junzhai dushu zhi* (dated 1249), lists an edition in eight juan. He adds that Li, the author, was a hermit of the “Han and Jiashan jiang 漢嘉夾江” region. This designation appears to be an error for “Han and Jialing jiang 漢, 嘉陵江,” since the Jialing River is a tributary of the Han in Shaanxi and Sichuan. Zhao indicates, moreover, that his own father wrote a preface to the work, extolling its Confucian virtues. Since the book had eight juan and the text of the *Taishang ganying pian* itself is short, this edition must have also comprised a commentary by Li Changling.

The *Daozang* edition gives Li Changling as the author of the narrative commentary (*zhuan* 傳). This attribution must be an error, since the commentary contains numerous dates from the Southern Song period, the latest being 1172 (1.5b). The commentary is, moreover, distinctly Taoist, whereas the main text is fundamentally Confucian (see below). The narrative commentary is followed by eulogies written by the scholar-official Zheng Qingzhi 鄭清之, *zi* Anwan 安晚 (1176–1251).

The present version begins with a presentation memorial to the throne (dated 1233, i.e., addressed to Emperor Lizong 理宗). It is signed by Hu Yingwei 胡瑩微, whose title *youjie jianyi zhuguan jiaomen gongshi Taiyi gong fenxiu* 右街鑒義主管教門公事太一宮焚修 indicates that he was a Taoist official in the capital and the head of

an imperial Taoist shrine, the Taiyi gong 太一宮. The edition to which Hu refers in his presentation comprised eight juan, like the edition seen by Zhao Xibian. Hu had found it in the Taoist canon.

It follows from the information in the abundant prefatory matter in the present edition (no less than ten prefaces and an undated Chronicle of Miracles [*Jishu lingyan* 紀述靈驗]) that after the presentation of the book by Hu Yingwei, the Taiyi gong produced a printed edition that enjoyed a wide circulation. The edition was enhanced by the calligraphy of Emperor Lizong, who wrote the last two lines of the text: “Do not commit evil deeds, but devote yourself to doing good 諸惡莫作, 衆善奉行.” It also included the eulogies by Zheng Qingzhi 鄭清之 preserved here and a colophon by the Confucian scholar Zhen Dexiu 真德秀, *hao* Xishan xiansheng 西山先生 (1178–1235). The colophon has also been preserved here and is dated 1235.

Other local editions must have been made at the same time and during subsequent years. To print and distribute the *Taishang ganying pian* was a work of great religious merit. Many scholars followed suit and published editions with their own prefaces, some of which are assembled here: those are by Chen Huangzi 陳奐子 (dated 1233), Gong Youcai 龔幼采 (dated 1235), Zheng Dahui 鄭大惠, Xian Ting 先挺 (dated 1238), Ye Yingfu 葉應輔 (dated 1235), and Ying Chen 應辰 (dated 1238). Most of these prefaces mention that Li Changling wrote the text as well as a commentary, said by Gong Youcai to have amounted to 100,000 characters. Gong severely criticizes Li, saying that his long-winded glosses served only to complicate a perfectly straightforward text. This remark is important, as it shows that Li’s commentary was of a philosophical nature, and not a narrative commentary as we have here.

Of far later date is the preface by Feng Mengzhou 馮夢周, here printed immediately after the presentation. Feng was a Yuan official in South China. He was asked to write this preface by a man from Jiangsu named Wen Huairan 溫懷仁, who undertook the reprinting of the Taiyi gong edition in 1347, completing it two years later. In Wen’s own undated preface, which follows Feng’s, he confirms that the version of the *Taishang ganying pian* in his possession originally derived from the *Daozang* and was printed at the Taiyi gong in Hangzhou; he identifies the priest responsible for the printing as Zongji 宗季. Neither Feng nor Wen specify the number of juan in their edition.

What remains, then, is the problem of the narrative commentary. The undated Chronicle of Miracles that follows the above-mentioned prefaces is very close in style and in intent to the *zhuan* that follows the main text. That this work cannot be the famous commentary by Li Cangling is certain, but there is no indication who wrote it, nor where it came from.

The main text of the *Taishang ganying pian* comprises only some 1,200 characters. It frequently refers to popular worship and repeatedly commends the cult of the Stove God (Siming Zaojun 司命灶君; e.g., 28.2b). In Song times the worship of the Stove

God does not seem to have been recognized as a Taoist practice. The text states that one should not kill animals for sacrifices unless prescribed by ritual (*feili xiangzai* 非禮享宰; 17.7a). Medieval Taoism strongly condemned animal sacrifice and sacrificial banquets. The narrative commentary changes the meaning of the text to “do not kill animals without reason” (*feili xiangzai* 非理享宰; 17.9b2) and thus avoids the issue of the ritual sacrifice of animals. This alteration and many others point toward discrepancies between the main text and the narrative commentary. Whereas the former is a mixture of Confucianism and Taoism, the latter is purely Taoist.

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Kristofer Schipper

Tianyuan fawei 天原發微

18 juan

By Bao Yunlong 鮑雲龍, *zi* Jingxiang 景翔 (1226–1296); edited by Fang Hui 方回, *zi* Wanli 萬里 (1227–1307)

1182 (fasc. 855–859)

“Uncovering the Finer Points of the Fundamentals of Nature.” This work is a philosophical study in cosmology. The author, Bao Yunlong, became a presented scholar (*jinshi* 進士) in 1258 on the recommendation of the scholars in his region (*xianggong jinshi* 鄉貢進士). When the Mongols conquered the south, he retired from office. The present book is the only extant work attributed to him. It must, however, have been quite influential, as many scholars of later periods reedited and republished it. The present edition has neither prefaces nor colophons, although Bao himself produced several of these (see *Tongjiang xuji*, by Fang Hui, 34.1a and 6a). Fang Hui was a contemporary of Bao who obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1262. He is identified here as the editor of Bao’s work. According to the authors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 108.5a, all the prefaces and colophons were included in the Yuan edition of the Yuanzhen period (1295–1297), which must have served as the model for the *Daozang* version; they were also included in the early Ming edition by Bao Ning 鮑寧, a descendent of Bao Yunlong.

The work is of an encyclopedic nature. A number of key concepts—such as Taiji 太極, (the whole first juan), *dongjing* 動靜, *jingdong* 靜動, and *bianfang* 邊方—are elucidated by quotations from numerous authors, mostly Confucians and Neo-Confucians. The most frequently quoted authority is SHAO YONG. The fact that the latter’s work is also transmitted by the *Daozang* may have prompted the inclusion of the present text.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Sanyao dadao pian* 三要達道篇**

2 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)?

1260 (fasc. 999)

“Tract on the Realization of Tao by Means of the Three Essentials.” This work addresses practitioners of self-cultivation. The contents suggest that the work was inspired by the body of Quanzhen 全真 literature that emerged during the Yuan period.

Whoever attempted to practice self-cultivation should renounce all profane ways. The practical points of reference are the Three Essentials (*sanyao* 三要). This term is quoted from the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經. The unknown author explicitly mentions this text. Compare 108 *Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu* 4a, which identifies *sanyao* with “the ears, eyes, and mouth.” This interpretation is also applied in the present work. Concerning self-cultivation, it was considered important to control these Three Essentials in order to seal the interior spheres of the body against influences of the profane world.

Florian C. Reiter

***Liugen guidao pian* 六根歸道論**

3 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)?

1261 (fasc. 999)

“Tract on the Return to the Tao by Means of the Six Causes.” This text deals with the necessary conditions to effect the return mentioned in the title. The author is unknown. The Six Causes are, in Buddhist terminology, the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind. In this text, the term *liugen* 六根 is also used in this way. The present text recommends that first the mind should be firmly controlled, then the body. This recommendation reflects the realities of the two spheres: inside and outside. If the Six Causes are in the condition of tranquillity and purity, then the Great Tao is present.

Florian C. Reiter

***Tang taigu miaoying Sun zhenren fushou lun* 唐太古妙應孫真人福壽論**

4 fols.

Attributed to SUN SIMO 孫思邈 (fl. 673)

1426 (fasc. 1055)

“Discourse on Felicity and Longevity, by the Tang Zhenren Sun, Marvelous Response of High Antiquity.” This is a famous little treatise on morality and divine retribution, listed in Song catalogues under the title “Discourse on Felicity and Longevity of the Nine Realms of Darkness” (*Jiuyou fushou lun* 九幽福壽論; see VDL 121). The present title can be explained by the fact that in 1103 SUN SIMO was canonized by Song Huizong as Miaoying zhenren 妙應真人.

This text was engraved on stone by a certain Yang Cong 楊聰 (cf. *Jinshi cuibian* 47.24a–27b).

Catherine Despeux

***Daoshu yuanshen qi* 道書援神契**

7 fols.

Compiled 1305

1231 (fasc. 988)

“Key to the Sacred Foundation of Taoist Scriptures.” This is a short treatise that attempts to prove the classical and orthodox background of Taoist ritual. The title may well be an adaption of that of the famous *weishu* 緯書 commentary, the *Xiaojing yuanshen qi* 孝經援神契. This adaption, in turn, might indicate that the author was a man of some learning.

In his dated but unsigned preface, the author stresses the common origin of Confucian and Taoist rites and notes that Confucius took Laozi as master in this respect. Later, the followers of Confucius adapted their clothing to the fashions of the age, whereas the Taoists did not change theirs, but continued to wear antique robes. Their present practice is the direct continuation of the rites of ancient China. The author gives thirty-four convincing examples, ranging from the form and setting of the altar to ritual instruments and rites such as praying for rain.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo datong jing

太上洞玄靈寶天尊說大通經

1 fol.

Song (960–1279)

327 (fasc. 167)

“Scripture of the Sermon of Lingbao Tianzun on the Great Communication.” The three short paragraphs and the verse that compose this scripture describe the “great communication.” “True emptiness” is “inconceivable and indescribable” because it has no form. Human beings are the locus of an alternation between rest (their nature) and activity (their heart), and they must learn to harmonize these two aspects of their existence. The Great Way has no image, nor is there any activity in one’s true nature. Those who attain to that rest in which there is no activity will illumine the world with their wisdom. The vocabulary is cognate with Song philosophical concepts, especially those of the Confucian School of Principle (*lixue* 理學).

John Lagerwey

***Taishang dongxuan baoyuan shangjing* 太上洞玄寶元上經**

21 fols.

368 (fasc. 180)

“Superior Scripture of Treasuring the Origin, of the Dongxuan Canon.” A commentary on the title announces the variant titles *Yuanyi miaojue* 源一妙訣 and *Ziran ching* 自然經. This is a doctrinal treatise based on the *Daode jing* and unknown elsewhere. It deals with Heaven, Earth, and humanity, before giving an esoteric interpretation of the liturgical title of Taishang laojun: *Wuji dadao zhizhen taishang laojun gaohuang tianzun yudi bixia* 無極大道至真太上老君高皇天尊玉帝陛下. The author divides this title into ten segments, as so many interior names (*neihao* 內號) of the god. The date of this work is uncertain.

*Kristofer Schipper****Taishang laojun shuo liaoxin jing* 太上老君說了心經**

1 fol.

642 (fasc. 342)

“Scripture on Total Comprehension of the Mind, Enunciated by Taishang Laojun.” The scripture is quoted in a collection of commentaries to the *Laojun qingjing jing* 老君清靜經 published during the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty (757 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu* 17a). It mainly emphasizes the importance of ataraxy in the practice of meditation, an idea commonly encountered in texts such as the “Guankong pian 觀空篇” or the “Taixi pian 胎息篇” (see 1017 *Daoshu* 10.10a and 14.8b).

*Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein****Shuijing lu* 水鏡錄**

16 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

1479 (fasc. 1107)

“Water Mirror Record.” This is a small collection of moral tracts of the morality book (*shanshu* 善書) genre. It is undated and unsigned and unknown outside of the canon. The work begins with the text of 1167 *Taishang ganying pian*. Next follow two texts of the *Zitong dijun jie shizi wen* 梓潼帝君戒士子文. The *Yinde yanshou lun* 陰德延壽論 comes from 851 *Sanyuan yanshu canzan shu* by Li Pengfei 李鵬飛, hao Jiuhua chengxin laoren 九華澄心老人, published in 1291. The final three short texts are for the preservation of animal lives: the *Fangsheng wen* 放生文 for the liberation of animals, the *Shasheng qijie* 殺生七戒 against the killing of animals, and finally the *Quan shaniu ge* 勸殺牛歌, which opposes the slaughter of oxen and eating of beef.

Kristofer Schipper

3.A.2 Divination and Numerology

Zhouyi tu 周易圖

3 juan

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

157 (fasc. 69)

“Diagrams of the Book of Changes.” The author is unknown, but the present work was in any case written after 1180, the year the *Rongzhai suibi* by Hong Mai (1123–1203) was published. Our text explicitly cites the *Rongzhai suibi* (1.28b–30b) in a passage concerning the *Zhouyi juzheng* 周易舉正 (a book from the Tang dynasty). Hong Mai states in this passage that he presented the *Zhouyi juzheng* to the throne, after having discovered its existence in a copy of the Taoist canon preserved in Fuzhou (significantly, these details were deleted from the standard edition of the *Rongzhai suibi*, reproduced in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊, *xupian*). Concerning the dating *ante quem* of the present work, the fact that there are no references at all to persons living after the

second half of the twelfth century suggests that the diagrams were compiled some time between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Liu Shipei brought forward the evidence on this question in *Du Daozang ji* 7b–9a. See also the colophon by Chen Hongxu 陳弘緒 (1597–1665) in *Jingyi kao* 41.11b–12b.

The *Zhouyi tu* contains a total of 114 diagrams, beginning with those related to the Supreme Pole Taiji 太極, the Great Ultimate (fig. 6).

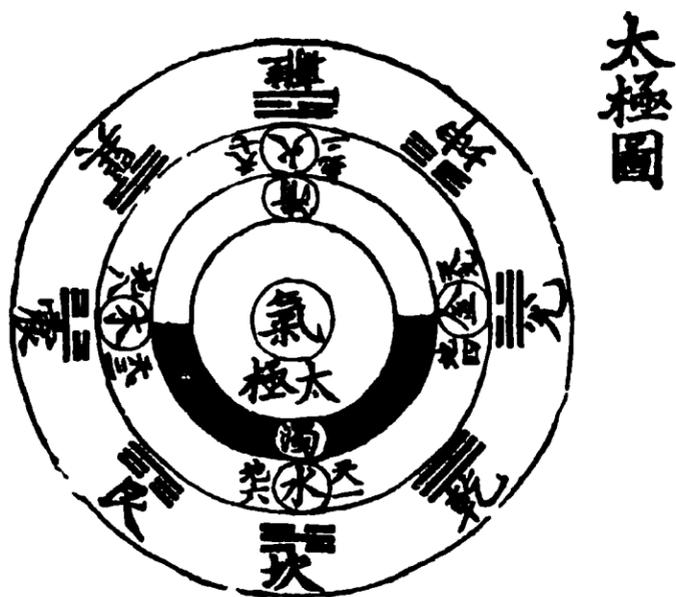


FIGURE 6. An integral representation of the Great Ultimate (157 1.1a)

cerning the laws of numbers and the structure of hexagrams are discussed. Almost every diagram is explained. More than half of the text is in fact a long excerpt from the works of Zheng Shaomei 鄭少梅 (alias Zheng Dongqing 東卿; middle of the twelfth century; see *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 1.18–19). Zheng is, moreover, either the author or the commentator of a great number of the diagrams in juan 1. In *Du Daozang ji*, Liu Shipei published an annotated table of contents of the present work.

Marc Kalinowski

Dayi xiangshu goushen tu 大易象數鉤深圖

3 juan

158 (fasc. 70)

“Charts for Exploring the Deep Meaning of Symbols and Figures of the Book of Changes.” This work is a compendium of figures and charts with comments pertaining to the symbolism of the hexagrams and arithmetical models of the Book of Changes (fig. 7). The present work contains 139 charts and is an expanded version of the section on the *Yijing* (featuring 70 charts) in the *Liujing tukao* 六經圖考. The latter was com-

圖 日 七 復



FIGURE 7. A cosmological representation of the Hexagram *fu*, “Regeneration” (158 2.25a)

know were composed by Zheng Dongqing 鄭東卿 (157 *Zhouyi tu*); and thirteen charts of various origin, mostly inserted at the beginning of the first juan.

Marc Kalinowski

Yishu gouyin tu 易數鉤隱圖

3 juan

By Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–1064)

159 (fasc. 71)

“Charts for Probing the Hidden Meaning of the Figures of the Book of Changes.” This work is an important source on the school of *Yijing* exegesis (the School of

compiled by Yang Jia 楊甲 between 1131 and 1162 and revised by Mao Banghan 毛邦翰 between 1165 and 1173. The title is already present in the original: see the Ligeng tang 禮耕堂 reedition, based on a Southern Song edition.

The *Liujing tu* went through a second redaction sometime between the end of the twelfth century, when the former versions were completed, and the middle of the thirteenth, when the catalogue that first recorded it was compiled (*Zhizhai shulu jieti* 3.82–83). Its author, Ye Zhongkan 葉仲堪, nearly doubled the number of charts concerning the *Yijing*. Thereafter the *Dayi xiangshu goushen tu* contained 130 charts altogether. It is therefore certain that Ye Zhongkan’s version is the same as our present text, or at least its direct source.

Needless to say, the attributions to Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–1064; *Daozang mulu xiangzhu* 1.23a) or Zhang Li 張理 (fl. 1314–1364; *Shoujing tu* 授經圖 4.15b) are fictitious. For further details, see Liu Shippei, *Du Daozang ji* 9b–12a.

The 139 charts can be classified into three groups: the 70 original ones, in the same order as the Ligeng tang edition; 56 charts forming a homogenous set (2.12a–b), which we

Figures). This school flourished during the early Song, under the reign of Song Renzong (1023–1064).

Together with his contemporary SHAO YONG, Liu Mu is the only member of this school whose works have reached us in complete form. The text is mentioned by the *Junzhai dushu zhi* 1.33–34 and has an entry in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 2.1a–b. Our edition is also included in the *Tongzhi tang jingjie* 通志堂經解: its editor's preface describes the text's transmission under the Song. We also know that old editions had a preface by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) that was later deleted because it was considered likely to be spurious.

The present work contains fifty-five charts, which are numbered and usually accompanied by a comment. The last part (3.4a–9b) has no chart. The first two juan comprise the charts pertaining to the *Yijing* itself, while the third refers to the *Hetu* 河圖 and the *Luoshu* 洛書. A short preface by Liu Mu himself introduces the work as a whole.

Marc Kalinowski

Yishu gouyin tu yilun jiushi 易數鉤隱圖遺論九事

14 fols.

By Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–1064)

160 (fasc. 71)

“Nine Supplementary Items to the Charts to Probe the Hidden Meaning of the Figures of the Book of Changes.” This text is a supplement to 159 *Yishu gouyin tu*. It was published posthumously (*yi* 遺), after Liu Mu's death. It was already included as an appendix in Southern Song editions (*Junzhai dushu zhi* 1.134). The reason the “Nine Supplementary Items” were not included in the main text from the beginning are not clear. They date from the same period.

Marc Kalinowski

Yixiang tushuo neipian 易象圖說內篇

3 juan

By Zhang Li 張理 (fl. 1314–1364)

161 (fasc. 71–72)

“Inner Volume of the Discourse on Symbols and Charts of the Book of Changes.” This text forms a set with the “outer volume,” 162 *Yixiang tushuo waipian*.

The first preface (1a–2b) was written by Huang Zhencheng 黃鎮成 in 1357. From its content and the way it quotes the title (“Discourse on Symbols and Charts of the Book of Changes in One Volume” [*Yixiang tushuo yipian* 易象圖說一篇]; prefaces, 1b), it seems that it refers solely to the *neipian*. It is therefore likely that this inner volume circulated independently already by that time.

The second preface (2b–5a), dated 1364 and signed by Zhang Li himself reinforces this hypothesis. It was clearly composed for the achievement of the second part of the *Yixiang tushuo*, namely, the outer volume. This preface was indeed written seven years after the first preface. Moreover, although it does not name the work thus prefaced, its contents essentially introduce the topics of the outer volume. The *Yixiang tushuo* has an entry in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 108.23a–24a.

In the present work, Zhang Li first exposes CHEN TUAN's theory on the *Hetu* 河圖 and comments on some passages of the Book of Changes (juan 1). He then proceeds to an explanation of the origins of the sixty-four hexagrams (2.1a, 3.7a) with ten charts. Last come divinatory calculations using milfoil.

Marc Kalinowski

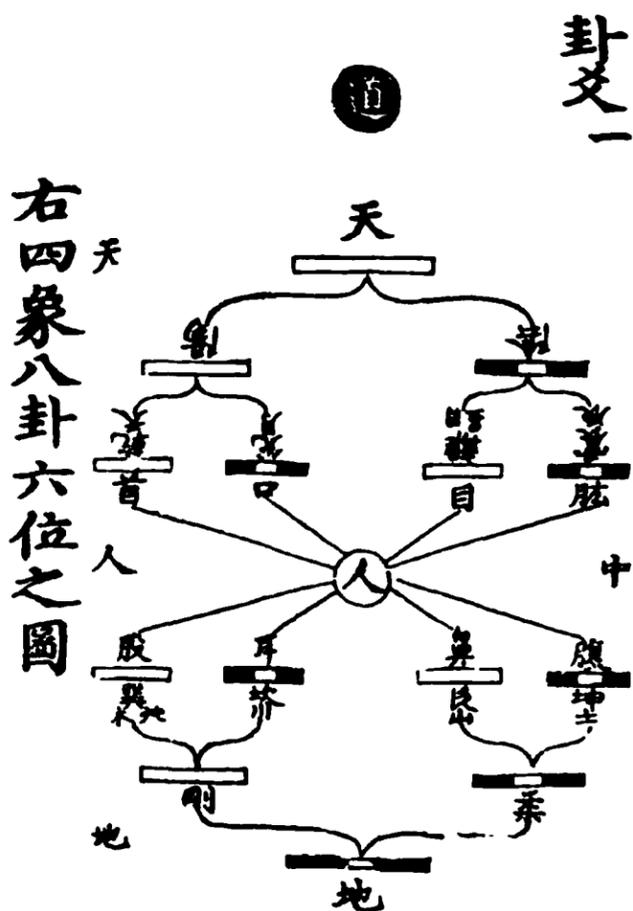


FIGURE 8. Man positioned between Heaven and Earth (162 2.1a)

Yixiang tushuo waipian 易象圖說外篇

3 juan

By Zhang Li 張理 (fl. 1314–1364)

162 (fasc. 72)

“Outer Volume of the Discourse on Symbols and Charts of the Book of Changes.” This text is the second part of 161 *Yixiang tushuo neipian*. The first juan contains six charts illustrating the numerical symbolism of the Book of Changes. The second juan is concerned with the internal structure of the hexagrams (eight charts; see fig. 8), and the third juan discusses their astrological and calendrical background as well as their geopolitical interpretation.

Marc Kalinowski

Yishi tongbian 易筮通變

3 juan

By Lei Siqi 雷思齊 (1223–1301)

1011 (fasc. 630)

“On Penetrating the Transformations Based on the Mantic Procedures of the Book of Changes.” This is a treatise on milfoil divination (*shi* 筮), that is, the technique of drawing a hexagram from the Book of Changes through the manipulation of the milfoil. In the preface written in 1300 for the completion of 1014 *Yitu tongbian*, Lei Siqi mentions a treatise on milfoil method (*shifa* 筮法) that he composed for inclusion as an appendix to the former work (1012 *Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu* 4a). It seems almost certain that he refers to the present work. Moreover, allusions to the

Yitu tongbian in prefaces written for the introduction of Lei's work to the court in 1331 combine both titles as *Yi tushi tongbian* (1012 *Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu* 1b, 2b). Of the several works by Lei Siqi that were presented on that occasion, only the *Yitu tongbian* and the *Yishi tongbian* are still extant. Their entries in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (3.56a–57a) are gathered under a single heading. The origin and dating of the present work are thus identical to those of the *Yitu tongbian*.

The present work's three juan are divided into five chapters. The first two chapters deal with archaic conceptions of milfoil divination, with examples drawn mostly from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. The last three chapters focus on the analysis of the hexagrams' inner structure, on transformations, and on numerical rules pertaining to the actual use of the milfoil.

Marc Kalinowski

Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu 空山先生易圖通變序

5 fols.

By Lei Siqi 雷思齊; 1300

1012 (fasc. 630)

“Prefaces [to the Treatise] on Penetrating the Transformations Based on the Charts of the Book of Changes.” The treatise was completed in 1300 by the Kongshan master Lei Siqi (1223–1301). It forms a set with its introductory charts (1013 *Hetu*) and the text itself (1014 *Yitu tongbian*).

The first preface (1a), dated 1286, is by the Thirty-sixth Heavenly Master Zhang Zongyan 張宗演, who promoted Lei Siqi during the early Yuan period (1279–1368; 2b). It is not concerned with the *Yitu tongbian* but with the *Laozi benyi* 老子本義, a work also mentioned by the other prefaces. The fact that it is not connected with the *Yitu tongbian* might explain why it is fourteen years earlier than Lei's own preface.

The second preface (1b–2a), dated the third month of 1332, was composed by the eminent Hanlin academician Jie Xisi 揭傒斯 (1274–1344) for the presentation of Lei's works (including the *Yitu tongbian*) to the court in 1331. The two disciples of Lei who came to the capital for presenting their master's works also obtained a preface from the Taoist patriarch WU QUANJIE (1269–1346). Wu's text, the third in the present work (2a–3b), dated the sixth month of 1332, is similar to Jie's preface, adding only some extra details on Lei's Taoist activities. WU QUANJIE thereby honored his former teacher.

Lei Siqi's own preface (3b–4a), fourth and last, deals mainly with the *Yitu tongbian* and his three-juan extension (1011 *Yishi tongbian*). The date of Lei's preface, 1330, can be considered as the time when these two works were finally put together.

Marc Kalinowski

河圖十四徽之圖

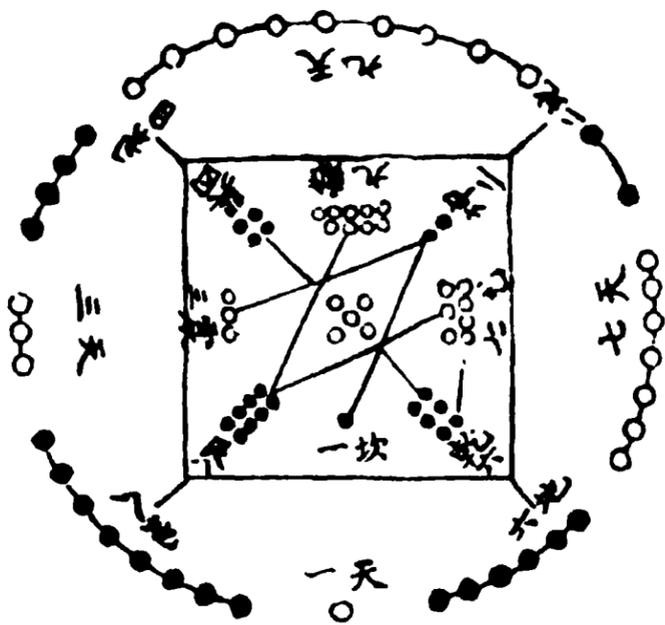


FIGURE 9. The River Chart, a drawing by Lei Siqi (1013 1a)

Hetu 河圖

2 fols.

1013 (fasc. 630)

“River Chart.” This work should be understood in the sense that it definitively acquired under the Song, that is, as a graphical representation of the first nine numbers.

The present small work is actually an introduction to 1014 *Yitu tongbian*; for its origin and dating, see 1012 *Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu*.

The four diagrams in the present work were composed by Lei Siqi 雷思齊 (1223–1301; see fig. 9). His aim was to introduce in an abridged form his theory of the genesis of symbols and figures of the

Book of Changes. He was thus conforming to the use current from the Song onward. The diagrams are systematically analyzed in the first two juan of the *Yitu tongbian*.

Marc Kalinowski

Yitu tongbian 易圖通變

5 juan

By Lei Siqi 雷思齊; completed in 1330

1014 (fasc. 630)

“On Penetrating the Transformations Based on the Charts of the Book of Changes.”

The charts mentioned by the title are actually gathered in the introductory matter to the present work, 1013 *Hetu*.

Lei Siqi’s preface (in 1012 *Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu*) shows that compilation of the *Yitu tongbian* was finally completed in 1300. It appears from the information provided by the other prefaces that an edition of this work was presented to the court in 1331. This edition was probably the basis for the present *Daozang* edition. Another independent edition circulated in the seventeenth or eighteenth century (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 3.56a–57a).

The first two juan provide a detailed analysis of the charts edited in 1013 *Hetu*, as well as some explanations. Juan 3 discusses the cosmological conceptions and numerical rules of the Book of Changes. In the last juan, Lei Siqi traces the history of the charts provided at the beginning of his work. He focuses on the traditions that appeared under the Song and that distorted the form and original meaning of the *Hetu*. The theories of CHEN TUAN, Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–1064), and Li Gou 李覲 (1009–1059) are discussed in detail.

Marc Kalinowski

Huangji jingshi 皇極經世

12 juan

By SHAO YONG 邵雍 (1011–1077)

1040 (fasc. 705–718)

“The August Ultimate through the Ages.” This is a major treatise of symbolic chronology. It is based on the complex intermingling of the decimal and duodecimal indexes of the sexagesimal cycle. In its computation, one era (*yuan* 元) is the equivalent of twelve conjunctions (*hui* 會), 369 revolutions (*yun* 運), and 4,320 generations (*shi* 世). One generation corresponds to 30 years; one era thus comprises 129,600 years.

The computations discussed in the present work are said to have been transmitted from master to disciple, from their putative author, CHEN TUAN, down to SHAO YONG, who finally compiled them. It is generally considered that the last juan, which our edition attributes to SHAO YONG himself, was actually written by his son, Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057–1134), or one of his disciples.

Several editions have been preserved, among which those by Zhang Xingcheng 張行成 (twelfth century; *Yongle dadian* edition, reproduced in *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 1, entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu* 108.11b–12b) and Wang Zhi 王植 (seventeenth or eighteenth century; *Siku quanshu zhenben* 4, entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu* 108.16a–17b) are most representative. All of these editions were reorganized and supplemented by further writings and comments, making it difficult to identify SHAO YONG’s original work. Our *Daozang* edition is no earlier than the Ming, since the last date mentioned in the chronologies is the founding of that dynasty in 1368 (4.38a). This edition comprises twelve juan, each divided into three parts for the first ten juan, and two parts for the last two juan. The text is, moreover, divided into numbered chapters (*pian* 篇, also called *guanwu* 觀物, “investigating phenomena”); their contents can be grouped into four parts: (1) the chronological tables themselves (juan 1–6, chapters 1–34); (2) tables on consonants (*sheng* 聲) and vowels (*yin* 音; chapters 38–40), as well as their equivalents in the previous tables (juan 7–10, chapters 35–50, see 11b.11a–12b); (3) general considerations and explanations on the overall system of the *Huangji jingshi* (juan 11, chapters 41–52, which must be a numbering mistake for 51–62); and (4) two unnumbered chapters titled “outer chapters on investigating phenomena” (*guanwu waipian* 觀物外篇). These chapters contrast with the first sixty-two chapters, which are usually called “inner chapters on investigating phenomena” (*guanwu neipian* 觀物內篇). The first of these two “outer chapters” (juan 12A) applies the chronological principles to the formal structure of the Book of Changes; the second (juan 12B) is a miscellany of philosophical and historical musings of Neo-Confucian inspiration.

Among the extant editions, the *Daozang* is the closest to the original disposition as described in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 1.16–17 and in more detail in later sources (see, for

instance, the Wang Zhi edition, *liyan* 例言 1a). Other noteworthy characteristics of the present edition include the complete absence of any commentary, the considerable amount of historical material inserted in the chronologies, the lack of any reference to the hexagrams of the Book of Changes in the first ten juan, and the lacunal and confused presentation of the last juan (especially 12B).

Marc Kalinowski

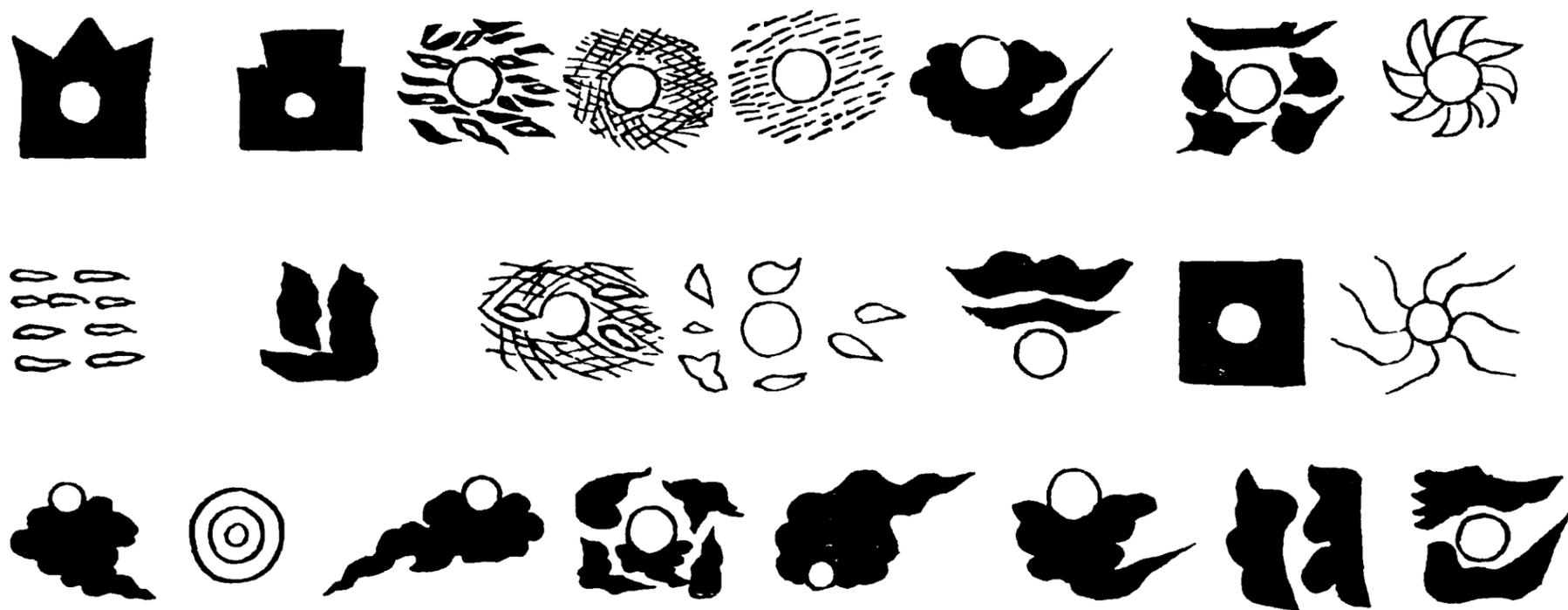


FIGURE 10. Cloud formations and haloes for meteorological forecasts (1275 3b–4a, 4b–5a, and 5b–6a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1257)

Yuyang qihou qinji 雨暘氣候親機

16 fols.

1275 (fasc. 1004)

“On Atmospheric Agents [Causing] Sunshine and Rain.” This is a meteorological treatise dealing mainly with precipitations. Most of its previsions are based on empirical observations: celestial movements, form and color of the clouds, force and direction of the winds, among others. It also occasionally uses calendrical computation (8b–9a). Some religious elements are concentrated in a long poem in seven-character verse (11a–16a). There is no reference to the military and administrative domains.

The date of the present text is uncertain. It differs from 1276 *Pantian jing* in its less scholarly style and its emphasis on prognostication as opposed to analysis. The presence of religious elements and concrete allusions to weather-inflicted calamities (destroyed temples, killed cattle, uprooted trees, human casualties) identify it as a specimen of the popular manuals used by specialists of meteorological prediction and of conjuration of evil influences caused by climatic changes.

Marc Kalinowski

Pantian jing 盤天經

15 fols.

1276 (fasc. 1004)

“Book of Celestial Movements.” This is a short treatise of meteoromancy based mainly on the observations of clouds and winds. The analysis of these observations also includes calendrical speculations. The work is composed of rather obscure formulas followed by comments that take up the larger part of the text.

Among the works quoted by the commentary is the *Shenshu lingxia jing* 神樞靈轄經 by Yue Chan 樂產 (Chen dynasty, 557–587). The latter work is referred to as *Shenshu lingxia* in the bibliographic treatises of both Tang histories. The longer title including the character *jing* 經 appeared only in the Song (*Song shi* 206.5246, 5255). Pending further evidence, the commentary at least seems to date to the Song (960–1279).

Marc Kalinowski

Lingxin jingzhi 靈信經旨

8 fols.

Song (960–1279)

1425 (fasc. 1055)

“Instructions from Canonical Books on Miraculous Signs.” This is a short treatise on divination, especially on natural and physical responses to particular situations, allowing one to have a foreboding of future events. The book is listed in Song bibliographies (see VDL 169).

The unsigned and undated introduction proclaims that this text contains the gist of all important works on the subject. The treatise begins with a rhymed part that introduces the different kinds of signs. A text in prose follows, called the *Liu Gen zhenren lingxin jing* 劉根真人靈信經. Liu Gen is an immortal whose biography was originally included in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, where he is described as a healer (see 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 7.14a).

Kristofer Schipper

Rumen chongli zhezhong kanyu wanxiao lu 儒門崇理折衷堪輿完孝錄

8 juan

Between 1583 and 1607

1471 (fasc. 1089–1091)

“Annals of Perfect Filial Piety for Scholars, on the Critical Use of Topomancy.” The author probably hailed from Fujian, since he alludes to the local traditions of this region (8.9b). He introduces himself as a mere compiler of topomantic classics (“Fanli,” 1a–b), of which he gives an excellent abstract in the first juan, but above all of the related mantic theories, of which he provides an outline in the form of a commentary.

The work features numerous debates where the conceptions of contemporary physicians (*yijia* 醫家), calendarists (*lijia* 曆家), astronomers (*xingjia* 星家), hemerologists (*xuanze jia* 選擇家), and diviners (*mingjia* 命家) are juxtaposed. The author was also a reformer of the almanac (*tongshu* 通書) and attacked Lü Cai's 呂才 (d. 665, 2.1a, 11a) positions in this regard.

The present work must have been compiled between 1583 (the latest date mentioned, 3.4a–b) and 1607, when the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏 was published. The contents can be considered to spring from the official reform of the hemerological tables (*xuanze lishu* 選擇曆數) promulgated in 1376, in the early years of the Ming dynasty (2.11a–b).

A detailed table of contents with its own pagination comes before each *juan*, with the exception of the first three *juan*, whose contents are collected at the beginning of *juan* 1. The whole work is introduced by a foreword (“Fanli,” 1a–2a) in four headings. The text itself can be divided into eight parts. The first four parts contain treatises on topomancy (*juan* 1), on theoretical and applied hemerology (*juan* 2 and 3, respectively), and various tables and diagrams (*juan* 4). Next comes the system of the Five Cycles and Six Breaths (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣) according to the *Tianfu zhengjing* 天符正經, with the comments of CHEN TUAN and the anonymous author of the present work (*juan* 5). *Juan* 6 is devoted to the method of Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲), according to the theories of a Mr. Xu 許氏. *Juan* 7 discusses astrology on the basis of the computation introduced in *juan* 2 and 4. Last comes an essay on funerary practices (*juan* 8), embellished with many quotations from Neo-Confucian masters and ending with the funerary inscription composed by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) for the moving of his father's tomb (cf. *Zhuzi daquan* 94.22b–23b).

Marc Kalinowski

Yiyin shangxia jing 易因上下經

6 *juan*

By Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602)

1473 (fasc. 1097–1100)

“Guide to the Book of Changes.” The expression *shangxia jing* 上下經 refers to the traditional division of the Book of Changes into two parts: the First Book (*shangjing* 上經), containing thirty hexagrams, and the Second Book (*xiajing* 下經), containing thirty-four hexagrams.

It is well known that Li Zhi is the author of this work. His preface, however, was not included in the *Daozang*, the only extant edition of the present text. This preface has been transmitted separately in *Jingyi kao* 55.4a. It explains how Li Zhi composed the “Guide” in his old age and that the title *Jiuzheng Yiyin* 九正易因 (Guide to the Book of Changes Corrected Nine Times), under which the work appears in bibliographical catalogues (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 7.33a–b), was suggested afterward by

his friend Ma Jinglun 馬經綸. The *Daozang* edition therefore presents the original title as conceived by the author. The text itself must have been composed in the last years of the sixteenth century.

The *Yiyin* is shaped as a commentated edition of the Book of Changes. Li Zhi uses this form to expound his vast knowledge in the study of this classic. He uses nearly eighty commentaries, some of them authored by contemporaries such as Fang Shihua 方時化 (late sixteenth century), which is the most often quoted one, and Wang Ji 王畿 (1497–1582), who was his master. Earlier authors, notably from the Song and Yuan, are also quoted extensively.

Marc Kalinowski

Guyi kaoyuan 古易考原

3 juan

Early sixteenth century

1474 (fasc. 1100)

“Research on the Origins of the Ancient Forms of the Book of Changes.” This work was authored by Mei Zhuo 梅鷲 (see *Ming shi* 96.2346). Mei appeared on the public scene between 1506 and 1521. The present work must therefore date from the early sixteenth century. It has an entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 7.20a–b.

The *Guyi kaoyuan* is part of the school of exegesis of the Book of Changes that developed from the Song onward. Its author develops personal views on the structure and ordering of the sixty-four hexagrams (juan 1) and their origins in the Supreme Ultimate (juan 2). He finally raises the question of the primeval forms of the Book of Changes (juan 3).

Marc Kalinowski

Taichu yuanqi jieyao baosheng zhi lun 太初元氣接要保生之論

6 fols.

1477 (fasc. 1107)

“Treatise on the Simple [Reading 輯 for 接] Essentials of Protecting Life through the Original Energy of the Very First Beginning.” This treatise presents a method of breathing exercises modeled on the annual cycle, with indications of the practice required at each season and each month. It uses the metaphors of Inner Alchemy, but sparingly. On page 1b, Wang Ding zhenren 王鼎真人, a legendary immortal of the Song (960–1279) period (see LZTT 50.6a–b), is quoted. In the lineage of Taoist patriarchs established by Li Jianyi 李簡易 (*hao* Yuqi zi 玉谿子, fl. 1264) in his “Hunyuan xianpai zhi tu 混元仙派之圖” (see 245 *Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao*), Wang Ding occupies the same rank as LÜ DONGBIN, as a direct disciple of ZHONGLI QUAN.

Kristofer Schipper

Xu zhenjun yuxia ji 許真君玉匣記

7, 2, 6 fols.

Preface dated 1433

1480 (fasc. 1108)

“Notes from the Jade Coffer of the True Lord Xu.” This short liturgical calendar is ascribed to the third-century saint XU XUN. It features a preface (“Xu”; 1a–2b) dated 1433 and signed by a Mr. Wu 吳 (surnamed Gengbi zhai 耕筆齋), and was probably compiled not long before this date.

The calendar gives the auspicious days for sacrifices according to the localization of the deities (*zhushen* 諸神). It is integrated within the framework of the revelations of the Jade Emperor (6a).

The table of contents (“Mulu,” 1a–b) has seventeen entries, including treatises extant in the following work, 1481 *Fashi xuanze ji*. The latter work and the present text form a single book (see 1481 *Fashi xuanze ji* 44a), of which the *Yuxia ji* is the second entry. The first entry is actually merged with the table of contents (“Mulu,” 1b–7a) and lists the anniversaries of a number of deities belonging to the Taoist, Buddhist, and popular pantheons. The Buddhist deities play the major role, as can be seen from their number and from the many allusions to the recitation of sūtras.

The author seems to have been inspired by an earlier work, the *Xitian yujing* 西天玉經 (“Mulu,” 4a). The mention of the anniversaries of the Ten Kings of Hell is completed by the story of their transmission. This story details how the dates were revealed in 1455 by the King of Hell himself to Li Qing 李清, a Shandong scholar.

Marc Kalinowski

Fashi xuanze ji 法師選擇記

44 fols.

Postface dated 1488

1481 (fasc. 1108)

“Hemerological Notes of the Ritual Master.” This is a short liturgical calendar concerning various deities, most of them Buddhist. Its transmission can supposedly be traced back to Xuanzang 玄奘 (Sanzang heshang 三藏和尚), who composed it in 627 at the behest of the Tang emperor Xuanzong (1a). The Ritual Master of the title probably refers to Xuanzang. The author claims to have used a work from the Buddhist canon, the *Rulai xuanze ji* 如來選擇記 (1a).

The present work is comparable to 1480 *Xu zhenjun yuxia ji*. It can be considered a Buddhist equivalent of the Taoist liturgical doctrine found in 1480 *Yuxia ji*. This is the opinion of the postface’s author (4b–5a). This postface was dated 1488 and attributed to a Yanling 延陵, Xuanxuan daoren 玄玄道人. Both works were then edited in a single volume (see 1480 *Xu zhenjun yuxia ji*).

The *Xuanze ji*, properly speaking, is the third of the seventeen entries forming the table of contents of 1480 *Xu zhenjun yuxia ji* (“Mulu,” 1a–b). The remaining fourteen entries are a description of hemerological and astrocalendrical procedures transcribed from various sources. Entries 8 to 10 form a comprehensive set reproduced from 1267 *Jiutian shangsheng bichuan jinfu jing* 1b–11b. Entry 13 (29a) is indicated as copied from a *Biyu jing* 碧玉經.

Marc Kalinowski

Ziwei doushu 紫微斗數

3 juan

1485 (fasc. III4)

“[Treatise] on the Calculus of the Bushel in Purple Sublimity.” The realm of Purple Sublimity (*Ziwei yuan* 紫微垣) is a common name for the central part of the Sphere of the Fixed (see *Jin shi* 20.433), on the border of which lies the Northern Bushel constellation. The present text is a divination treatise based on the layout of eighteen partly imaginary stars on a mantic matrix comprising twelve divisions. These twelve divisions fit the twelve branches of the sexagesimal cycle. The layout of the stars on the matrix depends mainly on the inner symmetries within the cycle and on symbolic connotations of its elements (the ten stems and the twelve branches). This procedure is used for the interpretation of individual horoscopes (*bazi* 八字; 1.1a) also computed by means of the sexagesimal calendar.

The present work was never listed in bibliographical catalogues. The Purple Sublimity method has nonetheless been known for a long time and still plays a large part among contemporary calendrical systems. All the modern texts can be traced back to the *Ziwei doushu quanshu* published under the Ming by Luo Hongxian (1504–1564). Although both texts share the same computation and overall structure, the present work represents a distinct tradition. Its names for the eighteen stars (excluding *Ziwei* 紫微, which gives its name to the work, and *Wenchang* 文昌) and the ordering of the mantic values conferred upon the twelve divisions of the sky (the twelve palaces [*gong* 宮]; 1.20b–33a) are altogether different from those in modern use.

The present text exhibits, under various angles, an archaic stage of the method. The description of the stars and palaces (2.14a–3.26a) is suffused with elements borrowed from Greek astrology, a dimension absent from Luo Hongxian’s book. Meanwhile, there is no reference to the Northern Bushel, despite the allusion to it in the title. A more fitting title would therefore be “[Treatise] on the Eighteen Stars of the Purple Sublimity (or Cavern).” The text also includes noteworthy archaisms, such as Cavern Sublimity (*dongwei* 洞微) instead of *Ziwei* (2.14a.9), and the Four Masters [of Fate] (*sizhu* 四主) instead of the Four Pillars (*sizhu* 四柱; 2.11a.6).

On the other hand, Luo Hongxian's work shows many characteristics of a later edition. The number of stars has increased dramatically and includes the mantic appellations of the stars of the Northern Bushel and other imaginary stars also present on a geomancer's compass; their total number exceeds 30. Today it has reached 115, covering several categories (*ji* 級). It may be noted that astronomers had previously identified fifteen stars within the realm of the Purple Sublimity (*Jin shi* 290). The method itself also produced new computations that are absent from the present work.

The antiquity of the present work probably made it difficult for practitioners to use. From the Ming onward, they therefore chose to work with the revised edition by Luo Hongxian. Internal criticism thus tends to suggest an early date for the present work: Yuan (1279–1368) or, more likely, Song (960–1279). As there are no external criteria for dating the work, however, there can be no definitive conclusion on this point. Luo Hongxian's edition, besides frequently citing CHEN TUAN, the putative author of the Purple Sublimity method, also quotes comments by BO YUCHAN.

Marc Kalinowski

Lingbao liuding bifa 靈寶六丁祕法

16 fols.

581 (fasc. 322)

“Secret Lingbao Method Concerning the Spirits of the Six *Ding* Days.” The ritual devoted to the spirits mentioned in the title is practiced individually. In general, it serves a propitiatory function (see, e.g., 8a–b) but may also be performed as a spiritual exercise (e.g., 10a–b).

The present method bases itself on a certain *Liuding jue* 六丁訣, which also underlies the ritual described in juan 2 of 586 *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue* (q.v.). The latter text appears to be regarded as authoritative. It is mentioned twice, each time with both a succinct but accurate description of its table of contents in three juan and an account of the transmission of the method. In the first account, the transmission takes place from the Dark Maiden (Xuannü 玄女) to the Yellow Emperor (4a); in the second account, it is passed to a certain Zhang Qun 張群, through the intermediary of the goddess of the *dingchou* day (*dingchou shennü* 丁丑神女; 10a). The second account is reproduced in a more detailed but less careful version in 588 *Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue* (q.v.). The reference to the *Liuding jue* there is replaced by one to a *Taiyin xuannü jing* 太陰玄女經.

The two citations of a *Xianjing* 仙經 in 586 *Rushi jue* are also found in the present text. The first citation (2.7b) occurs, on the one hand, in abridged form with a reference to the *Xianjing* (7b); on the other hand, it appears in extenso but is ascribed to

the Yellow Emperor (15b). The second citation is embedded in a larger citation of the Yellow Emperor (1b–2a).

The end of this brief work records a method of corpse liberation (*shijie* 尸解) by means of embryonic breathing (14a–15a).

Although the present work is close to the two above-mentioned treatises in the *Daozang*, it differs from them in the following respects: its style is more refined; the ritual is essentially devoted to goddesses of the six *ding* days; whereas in 586 *Rushi jue* several other deities are involved in the transmission and instruction of the text by the Jade Maiden (Yunnü 玉女) or the Dark Maiden, in the present text only the Yellow Emperor figures in that role; finally, while the mantic system of the Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲) here underlies parts of the ritual sequence, its role in the two related works is more explicit.

Marc Kalinowski

Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue 黃帝太乙八門入式訣

3 juan

586 (fasc. 323)

“Instructions Transmitted by the Yellow Emperor for Penetrating the Order of the Eight Gates of the Great One.” This work is a collection of ritual instructions centered on the cult of the spirits of the six *ding* days (*liuding* 六丁) in the sexagesimal cycle (juan 2). The ritual itself is based on the authority of a *Liuding shenjue* 六丁神訣 (2.2a), which is also mentioned and described in 581 *Lingbao liuding bifa* (q.v.). The ritual is preceded (juan 1) by a fragmentary discussion of mantic methods involving Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲). These methods are characterized by the order of the Eight Gates and Nine Palaces, to which the title refers. The beginning of this introductory part is in seven-character verse (1.1a–3a). The work ends with a series of closing rites: the surveying of constellations and propitiatory invocations of the five sectors and six directions (juan 3).

Apart from the Jade Maiden (Yunü 玉女), who is served by the spirits of the *ding* days as acolytes (2.3b), the instructing deities are the Most High Lord Lao and Sanhuang da tiandi 三皇大天帝. The divinatory ritual described in 1.4a–6b shows traces of Buddhist terminology. A *Damo taixi jing* 達磨胎息經 is cited in the short passage devoted to embryonic respiration (1.3a–4b).

The present text is one of three related liturgical texts; the other two texts are 587 *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue* and 588 *Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue*, which follow immediately after the present text in the *Daozang*. Besides the similarity of their titles, these three texts share a number of passages in common, including two citations of a *Xianjing* 仙經 that can also be found in 581 *Lingbao liuding bifa*.

Marc Kalinowski

Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue 黃帝太一八門入式秘訣

18 fols.

587 (fasc. 324)

“Secret Instructions Transmitted by the Yellow Emperor for Penetrating the Order of the Eight Gates of the Great One.” As in 586 *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue*, the title here refers to the spatial order of the Eight Gates and Nine Palaces of the mantic method of the Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲). The spirits of the six *ding* days (*liuding* 六丁) in the sexagesimal cycle, however, play a less important role in the present text than in 586 *Rushi jue*. Here they are replaced by the six *wu* 戊 days, for which the text provided talismans, seals, and instructions regarding their use (5b–9a). The ritual is constructed around a procedure titled Concealed Return of the Jade Maiden (12a), which is also described in 588 *Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue* under the slightly different title Hidden Form of the Jade Maiden (2b). The version found in the present text seems to have been current at least under the Song. See the *Dunjia fuying jing* (written at the imperial behest between 1034–1038).

The *Dunjia fuying jing* (3.14b) contains a passage that is identical to 14b.1–5 in the present work and to 586 *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue* 3.2b; it also continues most of the ritual described in the present text (see *Dunjia fuying jing* 3.9b ff. for the Concealed Return of the Jade Maiden, and 3.15b ff. for the spirits of the six *ding* days). Indeed, the *Dunjia fuying jing*, primarily a deductive divination treatise for the Hidden Days method, provides the theoretical model for the structure of the ritual. The imperial officers responsible for the composition of the *Dunjia fuying jing* devoted fully one third of the text to the method of the Hidden Days. The transmission of that method, which first appeared in 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 17.5b, seems closely tied to that of the kind of rites found in the present work. It may be noted that Emperor Renzong’s (r. 1023–1064) preface to the *Dunjia fuying jing* states that the undertaking was the result of a discovery of “Secret books on the [method of the] dragon days” (*Longjia bijing* 龍甲秘經) in a secluded dwelling on Mount Peng 蓬山 (preface, 1a).

Marc Kalinowski

Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue 黃帝太一八門逆順生死訣

27 fols.

588 (fasc. 324)

“Instructions Transmitted by the Yellow Emperor Concerning Progression and Regression of Birth and Death through the Eight Gates of the Great One.” This text constitutes the last of the series of three consecutive works in the *Daozang* (see also 586 *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue* and 587 *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue*). The titles, form, and content of these works suggest that they belong to the same liturgical

context. Unlike the other two, however, the present text is not structured around a principal rite.

The work's constituent elements can be distinguished as follows. Page 1a: a table of the six decades of the sexagesimal cycle and their correspondences with the Eight Gates and the method of divination by Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲; *s86 Rushi jue* opens with a similar mantic table). Page 2b–4a: method of the hidden form of the Jade Maiden (described in identical terms in *s87 Rushi bijue* [q.v.]). Page 6b–11a: method of the Orphan and the Void (*gu xu* 孤虛), including an account of its transmission by the Dark Maiden (Xuannü 玄女) to Li Jing 李靖 in 628 (also found, with significant variants, in *s86 Rushi jue* 1.7a–11b). Page 14b–22a: Book of the Dark Maiden of Great Yin (*Taiyin xuannü jing* 太陰玄女經), a ritual centered on the cult of the spirits of the six *ding* days of the sexagesimal cycle. Titled “unique method among ten thousand” (*wanyi fa* 萬一法; the complete title is given in *s81 Lingbao liuding bifa* 9b), its transmission to a certain Zhang Qun 張群 is due to the goddess of the *dingchou* day (*dingchou shennü* 丁丑神女; 15a). The whole of this ritual is reproduced almost identically in *s81 Lingbao liuding bifa* 9b–14a, with the exception of the final section in the present work (20a–22a), for which *s81 Lingbai liuding bifa* substitutes the description of a method of embryonic respiration. Page 22a–25a: a complement to the preceding part, providing instructions for the fabrication and use of the six talismans of the Yin spirits (the six *ding* days) of the six decades of the sexagesimal cycle (*liujia yinfu* 六甲陰符). These instructions are also partially included in *s81 Lingbao liuding bifa* 12b–14a and, in a more detailed version, in *Dunjia fuying jing* 3.18a–19b.

Finally, we may point out a series of recipes for diverse potions (1a–b and 11a–14b). The series on 11a–b is also found in YJQQ 77.13a, with the same transmission account.

Marc Kalinowski

Bizang tongxuan bianhua liuyin dongwei dunjia zhenjing

祕藏通玄變化六陰洞微遁甲真經

3 juan

Song (960–1279)

857 (fasc. 576)

“Book of the Six Yin of the Sublime Grotto [*Liuyin dongwei jing*], Veritable Scripture of the Hidden Days [*Dunjia zhenjing*].” This title corresponds to two treatises combined. The Six Yin are the spirits of the *ding* 丁 days of the six decades in the sexagesimal cycle, while its *jia* 甲 days are Yang spirits (2.2a). The mantic method of the Hidden Days constitutes the formal framework of the cult of the Six Yin (1.11a). This method does not feature directly in the present work, however, except in the introduction (see below).

Two documents are inserted at the end of the first juan. The first document (8a–10a) is in the form of a deed written in 971 by the Song official Zhao Pu 趙普 (921–991), on the occasion of the registration of a writ in the Department of Forbidden Books of the Imperial Library (*bishu ge* 秘書閣). The expression *bizang* 祕藏 (kept in the imperial library) in the title of the present work suggests that it was the object of the deed. The work may thus date to the second half of the tenth century. The author indicates having obtained it from a recluse named Liu Han 劉罕 on Luofu shan 羅浮山.

The second document (10b–12a) is the preface to a *Dunjia shenjing* 遁甲神經 (or *fujing* 符經) in three juan. The account of its transmission is assimilated with that of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (1.11a).

The contents of the present work are related to the tradition of the secret method of the six *ding* (*liuding bifa* 六丁秘法; 2.3a). Like the other texts produced by that tradition, it bases itself on the first chapter of a *Liuding jue* 六丁訣 in three juan (cf. 581 *Lingbao liuding bifa* 4b, 10a) and is essentially devoted to ritual.

The first two juan describe the central ritual of the cult of the six *ding* spirits. The second juan repeats in greater detail what is said in the first. The main ritual, or Sacrifice of the Great Assembly (*dahui ji* 大會祭), was held six times per year, on the *jiazi* 甲子 days; the secondary ritual, or Sacrifice of the Small Assembly (*xiaohui ji* 小會祭), was held thirty-six times per year, on the *ding* days. Noteworthy is the importance assigned to the northern warrior Zhenwu zhenjun 真武真君, Lord of the North (2.2a) or of the Center (3.7a). The third juan is, apart from a brief résumé (1a–2a) of 2.6a–8a, entirely devoted to talismans used in the ritual.

Marc Kalinowski

Xuanjing bixia lingbao juxuan jing 玄精碧匣靈寶聚玄經

3 juan

Song (960–1279)

984 (fasc. 618)

“Book of the Mysterious Aggregates of the Marvelous Jewel, from the Jade Casket of Mysterious Essence.” This is a manual of divination according to the ancient system of Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲). The idea of “aggregates” here refers probably to the fact that the present work endeavors to combine different forms of computation and time calculation, notably those of *dunjia* and *liuren* 六壬, as in the twenty-second chapter (3.12b). The style of the work is abstruse in the extreme, and there are many missing parts on each page.

The contents can be compared with those of the most ancient manual of this mantic art, the *Dunjia fuying jing*, which was composed on imperial order in the years 1034–1038. The present treatise could represent a sibylline version of the latter. In this respect we do have here an important document for the study of the social

currents that contributed, during the Song dynasty, to the continuation of the mantic techniques related to the Hidden Days method.

Each juan is subdivided into twenty-four rubrics (*bu* 部). The first two juan are mostly dedicated to *dunjia*, while the third makes extensive use of the *liuren* and *feng-jiao* 風角 techniques.

Marc Kalinowski

Yiwai biezhuān 易外別傳

25 fols.

By YU YAN 俞琰; ca. 1284

1009 (fasc. 629)

“Extraneous Commentary to the *Yijing*.” The title of the present work can be explained by the wish of the author to make this text into an appendix of his *Zhouyi jishuo* 周易集說 (Collection of Interpretations of the *Zhouyi*; see 1010 *Xuanpin zhi men fu*). He also considers that the present work contains marginal developments with respect to the theoretical foundations of the Book of Changes. The expression *yiwai biezhuān* appears to have been introduced by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; see *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 4.15b). The present work is reviewed in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 146.54b–56a.

The preface of YU YAN (fl. 1253–1296) contains little concrete information except the date of 1284, by which the work was presumably completed. More information about the scope and the form of the present work can be found in the two colophons appended to 1010 *Xuanpin zhi men fu*. The work presents itself as a commenatry on certain tenets of metaphysical and alchemical thought as expressed in works like the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, on both of which YU YAN himself wrote glosses (1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* and 125 *Huangdi yinfu jing zhu*).

The present commentary is certainly tainted with Taoism, but its overall orientation is Confucian, as can be seen from the numerous references to the theories of SHAO YONG, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), and others.

Marc Kalinowski

Xuanpin zhi men fu 玄牝之門賦

4 fols.

By YU YAN 俞琰; between 1284 and 1296

1010 (fasc. 629)

“Rhapsody of the Gate of the Dark Female.” The title corresponds to that of the prose poem (*fu*) at the beginning of this short text. The allusion to the famous passage of the sixth chapter of the *Daode jing* is understood here as a reference to the alchemical process. Moreover, the present opusculé contains a short poem dedicated to LÜ DONGBIN.

The colophon by YU YAN (fl.1253–1296) does not refer to the poems presented here, but concerns mostly the preceding 1009 *Yiwai biezhuān*. The author explains the general organization of the work and the sources he used. It appears that Yu intended to append the *Yiwai biezhuān* to his collected interpretations of the *Zhouyi* (*Zhouyi jishuo* 周易集說; compiled between 1284–1296; see the preface by YU YAN to this work in the *Tongzhi tang jingjie* 通志堂經解). As the preface of the *Yiwai biezhuān* is dated 1284, it is reasonable to suppose that the pieces contained in the present small collection were also written between that date and 1296.

A second colophon is by YU YAN's son and was written on the occasion of his printing of the *Xuanxue zhengzong* 玄學正宗 in 1356. Yu Zhongwen 俞仲溫 states that his father integrated the *Yiwai biezhuān* into the *Zhouyi jishuo* (this is no longer the case in the *Tongzhi tang jingjie* edition) and that the *Xuanxue zhengzong* originally contained three works by YU YAN: the *Yiwai biezhuān*; a commentary on the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (probably 125 *Huangdi yingfu jing*); and his commentary to the *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 by LÜ DONGBIN (136 *Lu Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*).

The authors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (147.30a–30b) considered that the placement of the colophons to the *Yiwai biezhuān* at the end of the present collection indicated that these two texts were edited as one work in the now lost *Xuanxue zhengzong*.

Marc Kalinowski

3.A.3 Medicine and Pharmacology

Tujing yanyi bencao 圖經衍義本草

5 + 42 juan

Compiled by Kou Zongshi 寇宗奭; 1116; revised by Xu Hong 許洪 (fl. 1208)

768–769 (fasc. 535–550)

“Enlarged and Illustrated *Materia Medica*.” This work is edited in two parts, beginning with a head-scroll (*shangjuan* 上卷) divided into five juan and containing prefatory texts, followed by the *Materia Medica* (*bencao* 本草) itself, in forty-two juan.

The first part (*shangjuan*) contains a great number of prefaces to various previous *bencao* that were incorporated into the present handbook: the preface to the *Jiayou bencao* 嘉佑本草 of 1061 by Zhang Yuxi 掌禹錫 (1.1a–5b); the preface to the *Tujing* 圖經 [*bencao* 本草] of 1062 by Su Song 蘇頌 (1.5b–9a); the preface to the *Kaibao chongding bencao* 開寶重定本草 of 973 (1.9a–11a); the preface to the so-called *Tang*

ben [bencao] 唐本本草 of 659 by Kong Zhiyue 孔志約 (1.10b–12b); and the preface of TAO HONGJING to his *Materia Medica*, commentated by Zhang Yuxi (1.13a–26a).

The second juan of the *shangjuan* opens with an introduction (*xuli* 序例) on the art of picking and preparing medicinal herbs (2.1a–10b). Zhang Yuxi then turns to the history of Chinese *bencao* and presents prefaces of ancient works that he and others collected: the *Yaodui* 藥對 of Xu Zhicai 徐之才; the *Qianjin fang* 千金方 by SUN SIMO; the *Bencao shiyi* 本草拾義 by Chen Zangqi 陳藏器; the *Chongguang buzhu shennong bencao bing tujing* 重廣補註神農本草并圖經 of 1092 by Lin Xi 林希; and the *Leigong paozhi lun* 雷公炮炙論 (*shangjuan* 2.10b–20b). Juan 3 of the *shangjuan* opens with the preface to the *Bencao yanyi* 本草衍義 by Kou Zongshi himself (dated 1116). This preface is followed by the continuation of the introduction (*xuli*) that began in the previous juan. The last two juan of the *shangjuan* still continue the introduction and deal with the classification of medicinal herbs and animal and mineral substances.

The above summary illustrates the confused arrangement of the present edition, in which some parts—for example, the table of contents—are missing. It is nevertheless possible to reconstitute the successive strata of which the present handbook is composed.

The most fundamental *Materia Medica* is the *Shennong bencao* 神農本草 of the late Han period. Its title appears for the first time in the *Qilu* 七錄 of the Liang dynasty (see *Ruan shi Qilu*). This work listed the symbolic number of 365 medicinal ingredients (there are in fact more in the extant editions). It was enlarged and annotated by TAO HONGJING, and edited as the *Shennong bencao jing jizhu*, listing 720 ingredients. Of this work only fragments survive (see the edition by Mori Rishii listed in the general bibliography). In the present text, quotations of the work of TAO HONGJING are introduced with the words: “Tao the Hermit says (*Tao yinju yue* 陶隱居曰).”

In 657, an imperial edict ordered a group of twenty-two scholars under the direction of Su Jing 蘇敬 (fl. 656–660)—or, according to other sources, under Kong Zhiyue—and Li Ji 李勣 (594–669) to compile a new *Materia Medica* (cf. *Jiu Tang shu* 79.2726–27). The work was completed in 659, and its study became mandatory for physicians under the Tang. The new *bencao* was based on the book of TAO HONGJING, enlarged by 114 new descriptions of remedies. Called *Xinxiu bencao* 新修本草 or *Tangben [bencao]*, the handbook had fifty-three or fifty-four juan (see *shangjuan* 1.12b), of which twenty-five were devoted to pictures and seven to text with illustrations. Because of an imperial taboo of the Daguan era (1107–1110), Su Jing’s name was written Su Gong 蘇恭, as is the case here. The Tang official *bencao* is quoted in our handbook under the heading “*Tang ben zhu* 唐本註.”

Somewhat later appeared the *Shu bencao* 蜀本草 in twenty juan, a revised edition of the official handbook of 659, by Han Baosheng 韓保昇 of Sichuan. This book is quoted here under the heading “*Shu ben yun* 蜀本云.” There are also quotations here

of a *Shu ben tujing* 蜀本圖經, but there is no conclusive evidence that this is the same work.

A slightly later *Materia Medica* was the *Rihua zi zhujia bencao* 日華子諸家本草 which reportedly had twenty juan and was compiled by a certain Rihua zi, reputed to have lived during the Kaibao era (968–976). Nothing else is known of him. This work is often quoted here.

In 973, a new imperial edict ordered the medical doctors to revise the extant *Materia Medica*, to incorporate the important elements of the *Bencao shiyi* 本草拾義 (completed in 739) of Chen Zangqi 陳藏器 and the *Bencao yinyi* 本草音義 of LI HANGUANG, and to add new findings. This work was completed by Liu Han 劉翰, the Taoist Ma Zhi 馬志, and Wang Guangyou 王廣祐. It is known under the title of *Kaibao bencao* 開寶本草. Again under imperial supervision, this work was revised by Li Fang and reedited under the title *Kaibao chongding bencao* 開寶重定本草. This collection contained descriptions of 983 ingredients. The material from the *Tangben* of 659 was marked “Tang fu 唐附,” and the new additions “jin fu 今附.”

Later, under the Song, a new *Materia Medica* was compiled at imperial behest and under the direction of Zhang Yuxi 掌禹錫, Lin Yi 林億, Zhang Dong 張洞, and Su Song 蘇頌. This work was presented to the throne in 1061 under the title *Jiayou buzhu Shennong bencao* 嘉祐補註神農本草. Its main sources were the above-mentioned *Kaibao chongding bencao* and the *Shu bencao*. The new additions were marked “xin bu 新補.” The quotations of the *Tang ben* were introduced as “Tang ben zhu 唐本註” and those of the *Kaibao bencao* as “jin zhu 今註.” Entirely new materials added in this handbook were marked “xinding 新定.” There are only seventeen such items. This *Jiayou bencao* listed no less than 1,082 ingredients.

A year later, illustrations were added to the *Jiayou buzhu Shennong bencao*. Henceforth it was thus entitled *Bencao tujing* 本草圖經. Another ninety-eight descriptions were added on that occasion; these were marked “benjing wailei 本經外類.” As told in our present work (*shangjuan* 1.6a), under the Tang there had been two illustrated *bencao*: that of Su Jing (see above) and the *Danfang yaotu* 單方藥圖 of the Tianbao era (742–756). Both works were lost by the time of Su Song, who could procure only the last juan of the *Danfang yaotu*.

In 1092, Chen Cheng of Sichuan arranged the *Jiayou bencao* of 1061 and the *Tujing* of 1062 into one single book. He added a few new elements, marked “bie shuo 別說.” This work is the *Chongguang buzhu Shennong bencao bing tujing* 重廣補註神農本草并圖經. The title is mentioned in the Ke edition of the *Jingshi zhenglei daguan bencao*, which also includes all the material from the *Jiayou bencao* and the *Tujing*. Perhaps this is the same work under a different title.

Finally, in 1116, Kou Zongshi compiled a *Bencao yanyi* with the aim of correcting the errors of the *Jiayou bencao* and the *Tujing*. His work was published three years later.

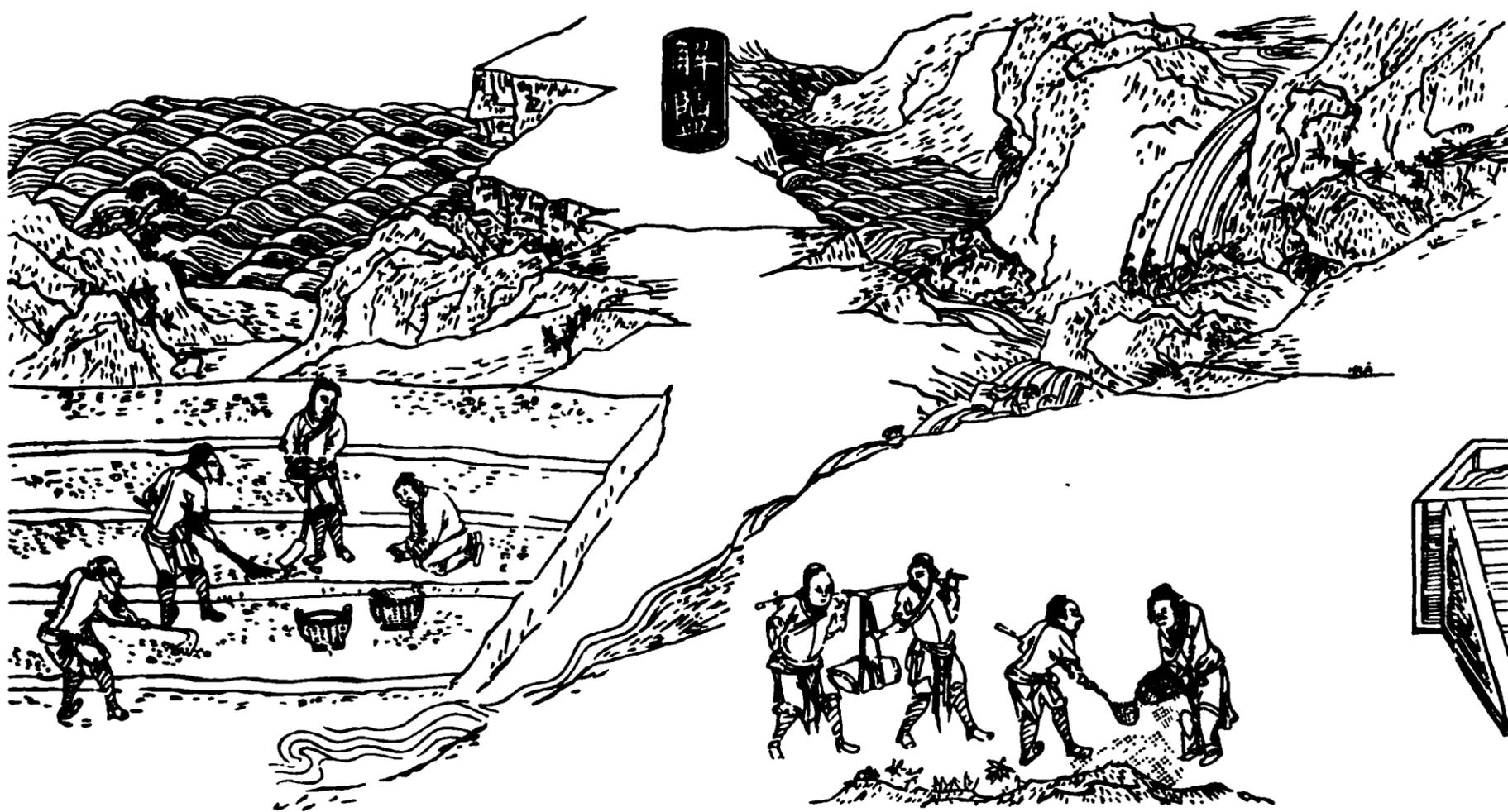


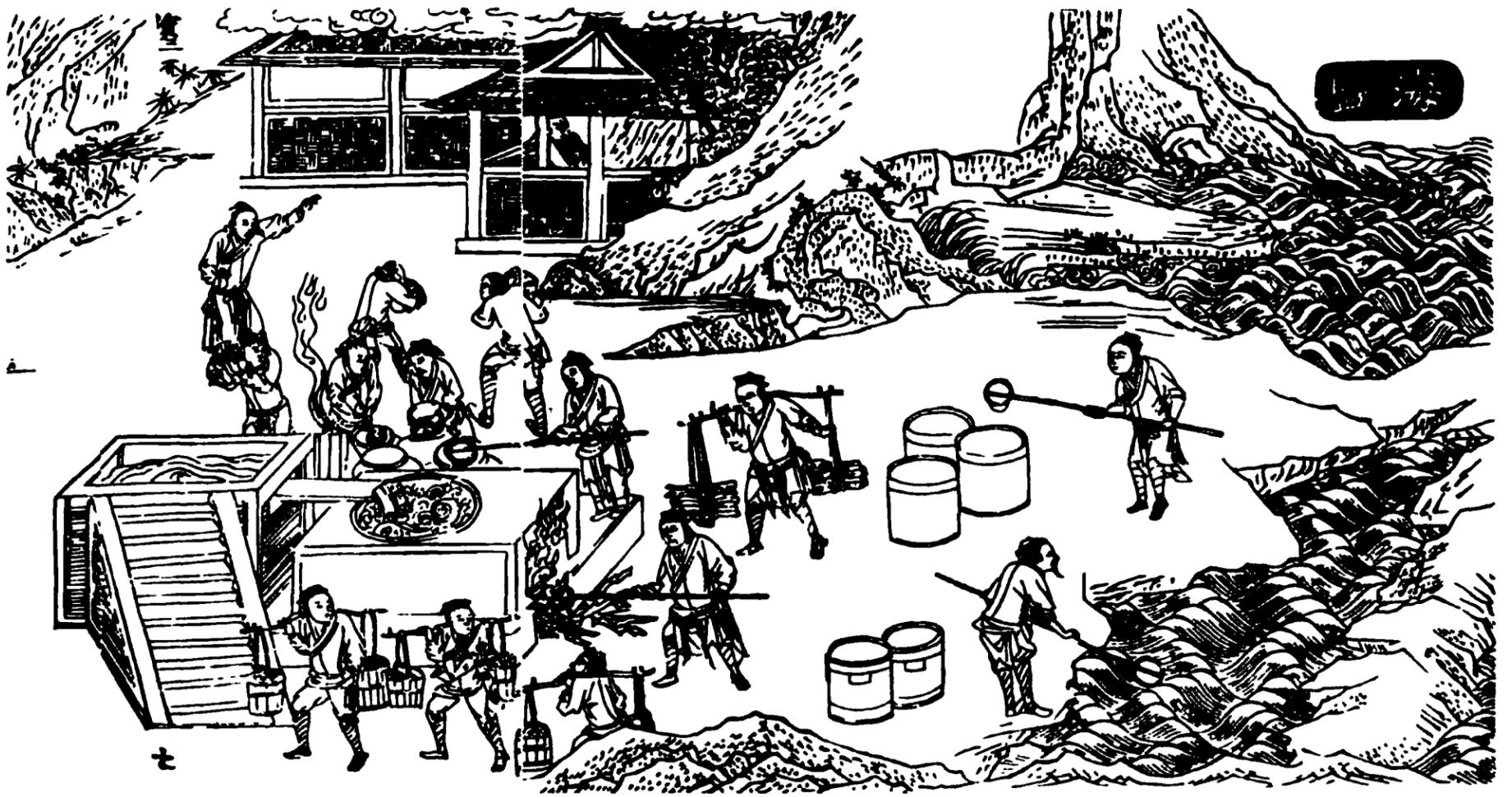
FIGURE II. (above and opposite) Two techniques for winning salt from seawater: Salt-making by evaporation in a cauldron and in a salt marsh (769 3.7b-9a and 9a-b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/761)

Until 1195, the title of this new handbook was *Bencao guangyi* 本草廣義; it was then changed into *yanyi* 衍義 in avoidance of the personal name of Emperor Ningzong (r. 1195-1224). In 1249, the book was edited as a supplement to a new edition of the *Daguan bencao*, called the *Chongxiu Zhenghe bencao* 重修政和本草. The arrangement of the prefaces and their texts is identical with that of the present work.

It appears, therefore, that the present *Tujing yanyi bencao* corresponds to the *Chongguang buzhu shennong bencao bing tujing*, to which was added the text of the *Bencao yanyi* of Kou Zongshi at the end of each rubric. The contents of the present text are identical with the *Chongxiu Zhenghe bencao*, but the quotations are given here in a different order.

The present work is in many respects similar to the *Leibian tujing jizhu yanyi bencao*. This work appears to be based on a *Xinbian leiyao tuzhu bencao* 新編類要圖註本草, of which there were several printings during the Song and the Yuan. Some of these editions name a certain Liu Xinfu 劉信甫 (early thirteenth century) as having carried out the revisions (see *Yiji kao* 醫籍考 of *bencao* 3, p. 146).

In a colophon to the *Bencao yanyi*, of which he had obtained the Yuan printing blocks, Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 says that this work was included in the Taoist canon by a certain Boyun zi 白雲子 (see *Pushu tingji* 曝書亭集, 55). Boyun zi is most likely Qi Zhiyuan 綦志遠, a Quanzhen 全真 Taoist and a close friend of SONG DEFANG, who directed the edition of the Taoist canon of 1246. The title *Bencao yanyi* may designate



銀水銀爐

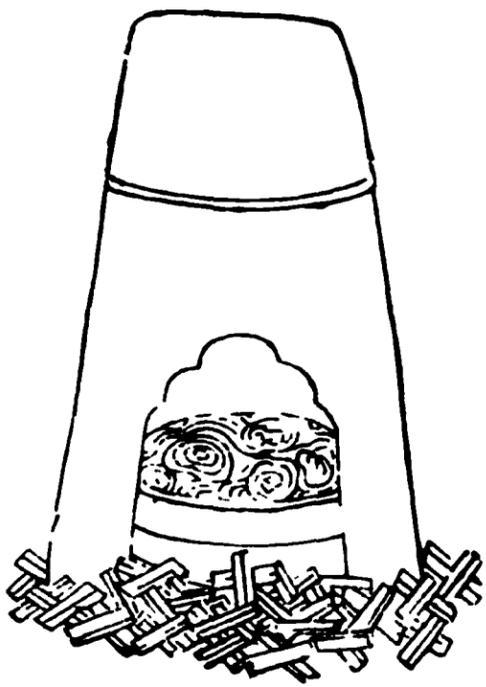


FIGURE 12. A furnace for making mercury (769 3.22b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/761)

the original twenty-juan work by Kou Zongzhi or the present handbook, which is sometimes quoted under this abbreviated title.

The present *Materia Medica* gives more than 1,000 descriptions classified in eight categories: minerals (juan 1–6), herbs (7–20), shrubs (21–25), ingredients of human origin (26), quadrupeds (27–29), birds (30), fish and insects (37–39), vegetables and spices (40–42). Each medicinal ingredient is minutely described: its taste, toxicity, place of origin, the best time for its harvest, its therapeutic uses, its combination with other remedies, and sometimes the mode of preparation.

More than 120 different works are quoted. The *Shennong bencao jing*, however, remains the fundamental text. For the mineral ingredients, some alchemical works are cited, such as 925 *Danfang jianyuan* and 930 *Sanshiliu shuifa*. In general, the name of the ingredient is given in white in a black frame. For each item there are one or more illustrations with indication of the place of origin of the variant. There is also an illustration of salt fabrication (3.7b–9a; see fig. 11) and of a furnace for making mercury (3.22b; see fig. 12).



FIGURE 13. Fabulous mushrooms of immortality: Red Jade, China Root, Zuo Spirit with female guardian, Metal Essence (1406 2a, 21b, 30a, 62a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1387)

Taishang lingbao zhicao pin 太上靈寶芝草品

64 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

1406 (fasc. 1051)

“Catalog of Mushrooms of Immortality.” This work contains illustrations, with short descriptive texts, of 127 mushrooms or herbs of Long Life. Neither the anonymous preface nor the text give any indication of the provenance or date of the work.

The *zhi* 芝 fungus plays an important role in the Shangqing tradition (five kinds of *zhi*-mushrooms were said to grow on the Maoshan 茅山) as well as in the Lingbao corpus. A text with the title *Dongxuan lingbao zhi pin* 洞玄靈寶芝品 is listed in the catalog of the Lingbao canon in 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 1.6b. Well before that, the importance of the *zhi*-plant had been stressed in 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 15b and passim, and a large part of chapter 11 of the BPZ is also dedicated to this plant. Numerous texts concerning *zhi* are listed in Song bibliographies, and many of these were illustrated (see fig. 13). A *Taishang lingbao zhi pin* 太上靈寶芝品 is listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* (VDL 89).

With respect to the description of individual *zhi*, the present work has no direct relationship with chapter 11 of the BPZ, nor with 933 *Zhong zhicao fa* (compare also 1206 *Shangqing mingjian yaojing* 8b–13a, which refers to “illustrations”). Texts containing descriptions that can be related to those in the present work are found in *Yiwen leiju* 98 (a description of nineteen *zhi*, giving *Baopu zi* as source), in *Taiping yulan* 986 (a description of thirty-two *zhi*, quoting a *Xianren caizhi tu* 仙人採芝圖 as source; compare the quotation of a *Caizhi tu* 採芝圖 in *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 28), again

in *Taiping yulan* 345 (quoting a *Dunjia kaishan tu* 遁甲開山圖), and so on. A detailed list of this kind of *zhi* is given in 855 *Taiqing jinque yuhua xianshu baji shenzhang sanhuang neibi wen* 太清金闕玉華仙書八極神章三皇內祕文 2.7a ff. These sources, all but the last of an early date, may have provided the models on which the descriptions in our present text are based.

Alfredo Cadonna

***Huangdi neijing lingshu lue* 黃帝內經靈樞略**

9 fols.

1019 (fasc. 661)

“Abbreviated Divine Pivot of the Internal Canon of the Yellow Emperor.” This text is composed entirely of quotations from chapters 24, 8, 47, 30, 18, 17, 71, 9, 75, 81, 80, and 69 of the *Lingshu* 靈樞. These quotations are arranged into four groups, concerning the general structure of the body; the Six Qi (essence, breath, the yang humors [*jin* 津], the yin humors [*yi* 液], the blood, and the blood vessels); dementia; and aphonia.

Before 1093, the year when Korea presented an edition of the *Lingshu* to China, this book was rare in its country of origin. The present abridged edition, by an unknown author, must be posterior to that date. The present book is mentioned in Song catalogues (see VDL 146).

Catherine Despeux

***Suwen rushi yunqi lun'ao* 素問入式運氣論奧**

3 juan

By Liu Wenshu 劉溫舒; 1099

1022 (fasc. 664)

“Discussion on the Arcana of the Circulation of Qi in the *Suwen*.” This book is composed of thirty-one essays (only thirty are numbered), accompanied by twenty-seven drawings. There are also two “formulas” (*jue* 訣), which are in fact drawings of a hand with the emplacements of the cyclical signs of the Ten Trunks and Twelve Stems (fig. 14).

The work studies the correspondences between the five cycles of the Five Agents (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water) and the Six Qi (heat, humidity, drought, coldness, wind, and warmth) during the sexagesimal cycle, on the one hand, and the circulation of qi in the energy tracts of the human body, on the other. The author considers the circulation of qi to be the very principle to be mastered for the application of the techniques of tonification and dispersion (preface, 1a). The present treatise examines in a more detailed way the subjects of chapters 66 to 74 of the *Suwen*, which are attributed to WANG BING by Lin Yi 林億 (1058–1064). The work was presented to the emperor (see *Junzhai dushu zhi*).

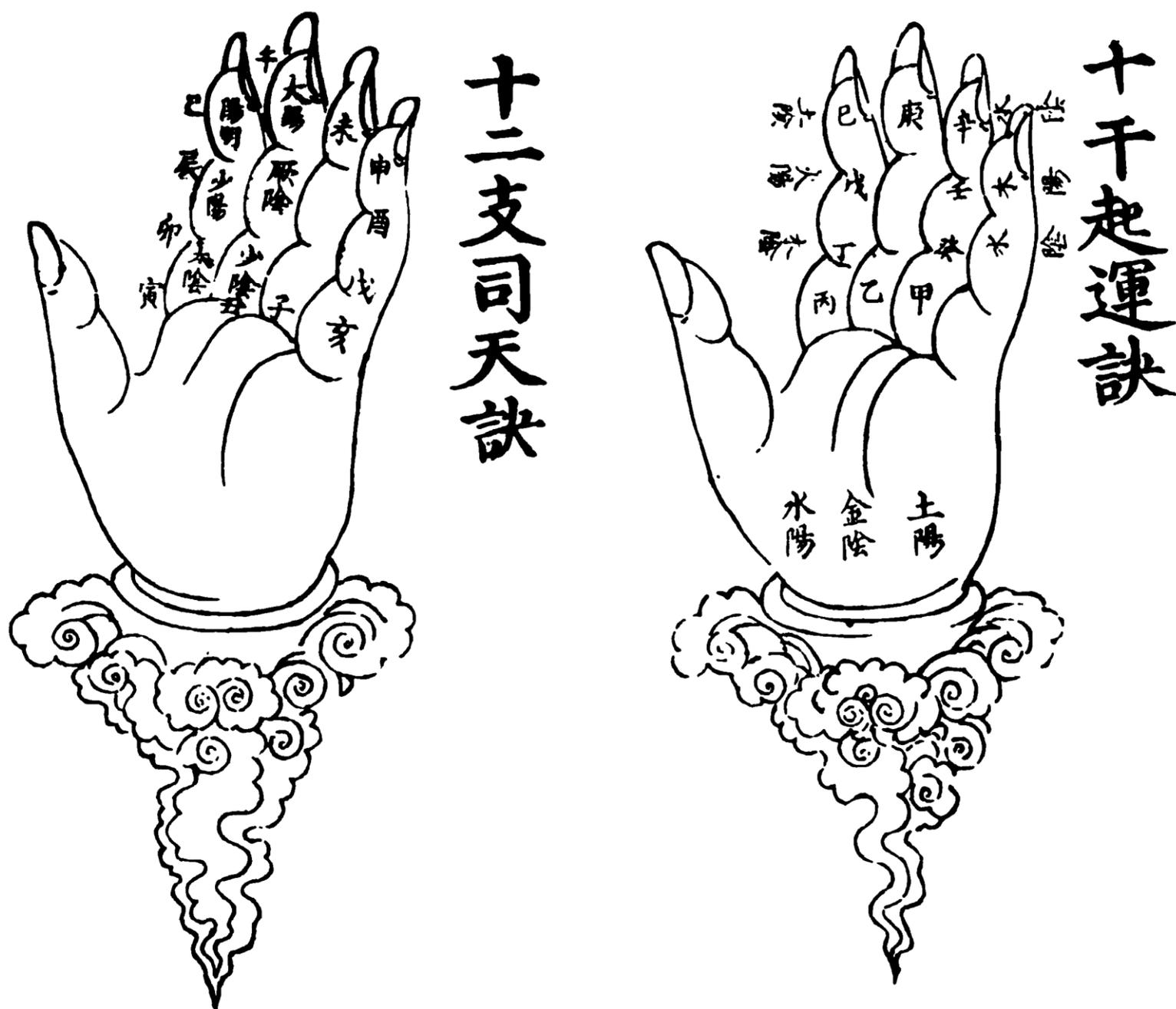


FIGURE 14. Arrangement of the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches on the hand: A mnemonic aid for counting in the sexagesimal cycle (1022 1.2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1010)

The text itself is preceded by a preface of the author (dated 1099) and a table of contents. Of Liu Wenshu, we know only that he was a physician at court (preface, 1a).

The title of this work is listed in the bibliographical chapter of the *Song shi* (207.5319) as having four juan. In other catalogues that describe Song editions, the present book is listed as comprising three juan, followed by 1021 *Huangdi neijing suwen yipian* (in one juan), also attributed to Liu Wenshu (see Okanishi Tameto, *Song yiqian yiji kao*, 60–61).

Catherine Despeux

Huangdi bashiyi nan jing zuantu jujie 黃帝八十一難經纂圖句解

7 juan

By Li Jiong 李駟, *zi* Ziye 子埜, *hao* Xifan zi 晞范子; preface dated 1269

1024 (fasc. 668–670)

“Phrase-by-Phrase Glosses of the Eighty-one Difficulties of the Yellow Emperor’s Canon.” The author, a native of Linchuan in Jiangxi, also wrote a *Wang Shuke maijue jijie* 王叔和脈訣集解 and a *Youyou ge jujie* 幼幼歌句解 (see preface, 1a).

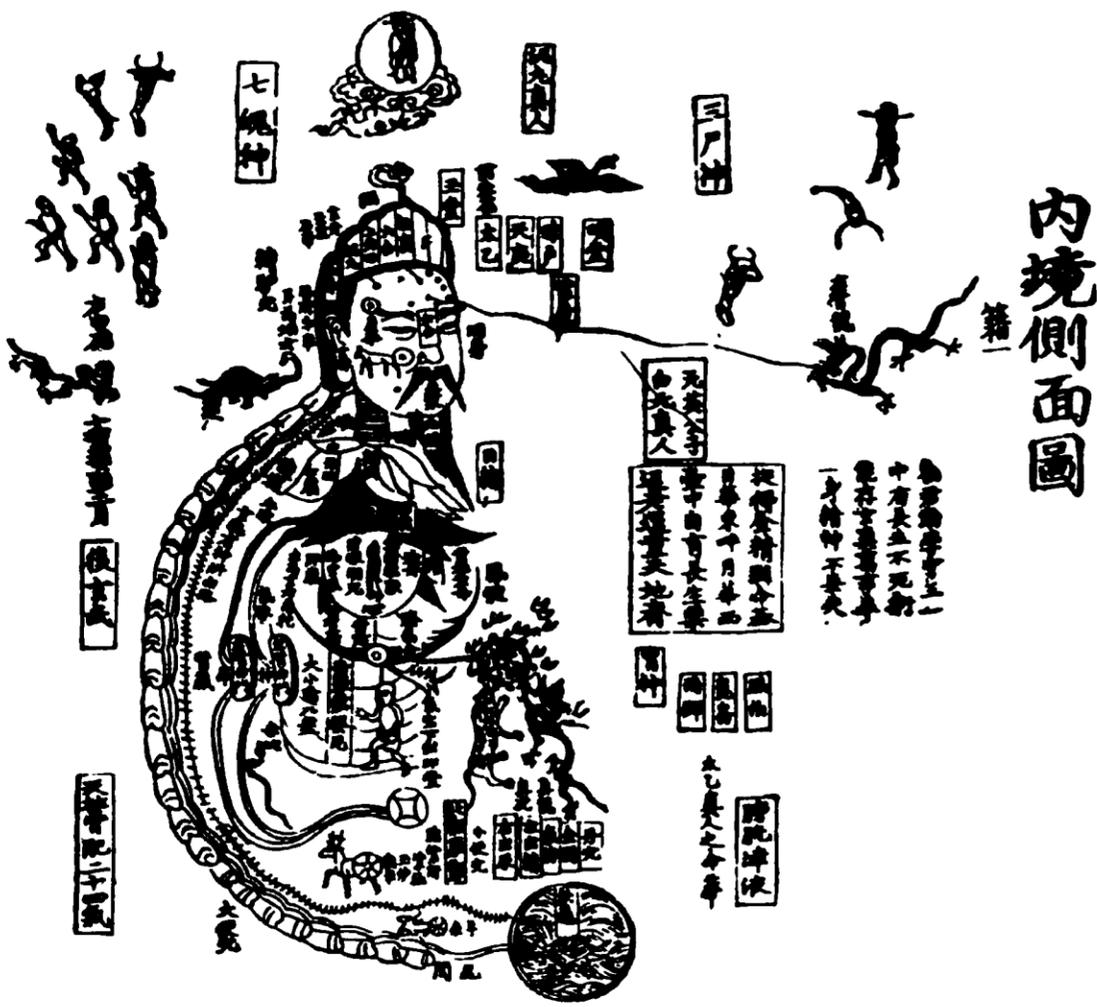


FIGURE 15. The Inner Landscape (1024 "Xulun," 4a-b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1012)

the beginning of the Tang (618–907). The *Nanjing benyi* 難經本義 states that he was commander of the garrison of She county 歙縣尉.

The preface is dated 1269 and is followed by an illustrated introduction to the text, entitled "Introductory Illustrated Treatise on the Meaning and Commentary of the Eighty-one Difficulties." Before Li Jiong, Ding Deyong 丁德用 wrote an illustrated commentary called the *Buzhu nanjing* 補注難經 in five juan, dated 1062 (see *Junzhai dushu zhi*). The illustrations concern the first, second, third, eighth, and sixty-seventh difficulties, associated with the pulse and the ancient points of the energy tracts. They apply the theory of the Five Cycles and Six Qi (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣) and establish a relationship between the twenty-four qi of the annual cycle and the twenty-four qi that are positioned on the body, from the head to the feet, or again on the radial artery on the wrist. Mention should be made of the representation (side view) of the Inner Landscape of the human body, (page 4a–b) with captions on the alchemical concepts and the topology of the body as found in the Shangqing scriptures (fig. 15).

This introduction is followed by the main text, with glosses for each sentence. The *Nanjing* selects difficult passages in the *Suwen* for explication. Using the form of a dialogue, it discusses the pulse, energy tracts, organs, certain diseases, the points used by the ancients, and the methods for puncturing. The simple commentary is mainly of philological interest. Once or twice Li Jiong notes his emendations of erroneous characters.

In spite of the great number of commentaries written on the *Nanjing* prior to his own, Li Jiong quotes only two: those of Lü Guang 呂廣 and Yang Xuancao 楊玄操 (see preface, *Huangdi bashiyi nan jing zhuyi tu xulun* 黃帝八十一難經註義圖序論, 1a–b). The commentary by Lü Guang is quoted in *Suishu* 34.1040, which reports that the Liang catalogue listed a *Huangdi zhongnan jing* 黃帝衆難經 (lost in the interim), annotated by Lü Bowang 呂博望. This was probably a byname of Lü Guang. Yang Xuancao lived at

A Yuan edition is described as having eight juan, preceded by nineteen folios of illustrations and an appendix in two folios with notes on the pronunciation of characters (see *Yigu tang ji* 17.12a). The present edition has only seven juan and seventeen folios of illustrations; the two folios on the pronunciation of characters are missing, as is the indication “corrected by Wang Weiyi” featured in the Yuan edition.

Catherine Despeux

***Huangdi neijing suwen yipian* 黃帝內經素問遺篇**

5 juan

1021 (fasc. 663–664)

“Lost Chapters of the *Suwen* of the Canon of the Yellow Emperor.” This is an annotated edition of chapters 72 and 73 of the “Basic Questions” (*Suwen* 素問), entitled “On the Techniques of Puncture,” and “On Fundamental Diseases.” These two chapters were lost in WANG BING’s time. The poorly written text is for the most part composed of passages from other chapters of the *Suwen*. Without any doubt, this is a forgery (see Yu Jiayi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng*, 667)

Under the Song, this work was edited as a supplement to 1022 *Suwen rushi yunqi lun’ao*, by Liu Wenshu, and many catalogues attribute it to Liu.

Catherine Despeux

***Jijiu xianfang* 急救仙方**

11 juan

Compiled 1444–1445

1164 (fasc. 821–822)

“Formulas of the Immortals for Relief of Emergencies.” The eleven juan so titled are actually parts of four or five unrelated books of different periods, conflated by the *Daozang* editors and given the title of a work to which they are unrelated. This confusion was probably wrought by the Ming editors. The title is not mentioned in Song catalogues (see VDL). The massive and oft-reprinted Korean *Uibang yuchwi* 醫方類聚 contains a number of quotations from the original *Jijiu xianfang*. The quotations on obstetrics and gynecology are found in *Yifang leiju* 209.87, 212.46, 219.354, and 229.591 and 602. Not only do these quotations differ from the *Daozang* text, but formulas with the same title in the two books contain different ingredients (e.g., compare *Ji yin dan* 濟陰丹 4.11a with *Yifang leiju* 146).

The preface describes *Jijiu xianfang* as a book on childbirth, a description that fits only the first five juan. It is clear, however, that these five juan are not one book but two, or more probably three. The fourth book included under this title is an important work that circulated widely among physicians. These four writings are not related to immortality practices or Taoism. They include no more symbolic therapy (that is,

religious and magical remedies) than is normal in early medical formularies. The fifth book, however, is by a Taoist master and concerns what might be called dysfunctions of the Inner Gods. The works in this collection are best analyzed separately:

1. Original title unknown: a book on difficulties of pregnancy and childbirth with a preface by Xu Shouzhen 徐守真 in one folio and three juan. This is a conventional formulary, unusual only in that it does not include a broad range of women's problems. The original text and its title have not been identified, nor is the preface found in any extant work before the mid-fifteenth century. A book entitled *Taichan* 胎產 with the same preface by Xu is cited by Tamba no Mototane in *Iseki kō* 51.1247. Tamba gave this title to a book in three juan, listed in the collection *Qingnang zazuan* 青囊雜纂 (ca. 1459), which actually cited the book as “Xu shi Taichan fang 徐氏胎產方.” It is likely that about half of the titles, including this one, were copied from the *Daozang* version of *Jijiu xianfang*. This lineage is not certain because the compiler was Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (d. 1462), a disciple of LIU YUANRAN, himself a disciple of ZHAO YIZHEN. Zhao was the author of 1165 *Xianchuan waike bifang* and a number of Taoist liturgical works.

Hu Yujin 胡玉縉, in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao buzhen*, 816, attempts to identify the *Jijiu xianfang* with Liu's lost *Jiuji xianfang* 救急仙方, which is not recorded in the standard histories. Zhao's collection includes both *Jijiu xianfang*, under separate titles assigned to its parts, and *Jiji xianfang* 濟急仙方, proving that the two books are distinct.

The prescriptions in this formulary, like those in most similar books from the Song on, are, broadly speaking, developed and elaborated from those associated with the Han classic *Jingui yaolie* 金匱要略 (196/220 A.D.). Because the prescriptions were copied from one book to another with minor variations, they do not provide a simple basis for dating. For instance, the first prescription in juan 1 is found, with minor variations of wording, in the *Xuanming lunfang* 宣明論方 (1172), attributed to Liu Wansu 劉完素, in *Yitong zhengmai quanshu* 11.8a–8b. It is less likely that the one work copies from the other than that they are derived from a common source.

2. *Bianzheng shikuo* 辯證詩括 (3.146a–17b). a small work on diagnosis and treatment of certain pediatric disorders. This mnemonic is not otherwise known, and may be a fragment of some more general book, or even of the preceding title, although the latter's preface does not refer to disorders of infants.

3. Original title unknown: cited as “Jiyin pin 濟陰品,” a formulary for difficulties of pregnancy and childbirth, in juan 4–5. In the anonymous preface the contents are said to be based on nutgrass rhizome (*xiangfuzi* 香附子 [*Cyperus rotundus*]), but some of the prescriptions do not use this ingredient.

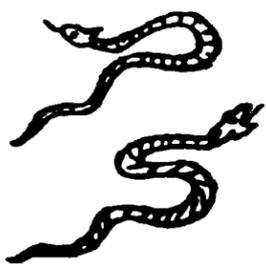
4. *Xianshou lishang xuduan fang* 仙授理傷續斷方 (juan 6–9): “Formulas for the Healing of Injuries and Broken Bones, Revealed by an Immortal.” This work is

liberally cited in the Ming encyclopedia *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, from which it was reconstituted in four juan for inclusion in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 collection. Modern reprints are descended from the latter, and like it incorporate material from other books. The relevant portions of *Yongle dadian* are apparently lost, but *Xianshou lishang xuduan fang* is quoted with equal liberality in medical compilations such as *Uibang yuchwi*. The anonymous author of the preface (reproduced here) attributes the book to a Lin daoren 蘭道人, whom he places in 841/846. There is no evidence to connect this book with any Taoist movement.

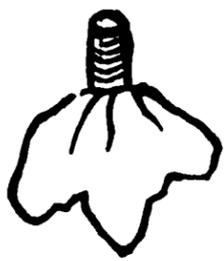
This work is considered by medical historians the oldest more or less intact monograph on external disorders. It includes descriptions of lesions and internal disorders of all sorts, not only traumas, and most of its drug formulas are for ingestion (this is the norm in classical writings on the topic). Three juan are quoted here under the

original title (juan 6–8), the first on bonesetting, the second primarily on treatment for debilitation due to traumas and lesions, and the third on *ding chuang* 疔瘡, or boils. Juan 9 is given under a separate title, *Bichuan wuzhi pin* 秘傳五痔品 (Secretly Transmitted Formulas for All Types of Hemorrhoids), but it is taken verbatim from the same source. None of the four juan is quoted in *Uibang yuchwi*. The latter source gives quotations from the original *Jijiu xianfang* on knife wounds (185.619) and boils (179.408), but neither quotation corresponds to the *Daozang* text (cite both from volume 8 of the typeset Peking 1982 reprint). The contents are on the whole conventional drug formulas.

5. *Shangqing ziting zhuilao xianfang* 上清紫庭追癆仙方 (juan 10–11): preface by an “old gentleman” (*lao sou* 老叟); a treatise on cadaver vector disorders (*chuanshi* 傳尸) and debility disorders (*laozhai* 癆瘵), closely related groups of infectious maladies. Here these disorders are portrayed as “all due to the Three Corpse Worms and to possessing ghosts” (see Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*, s.v. and 297–99). The *Qingnang zazuan* attributes this tractate to Zhao Yixin 趙宜信, who is not



五蛇此腹亂此
 臟也蟲臟絲蟲
 中在形中在形
 人如人如



腹猪此
 中肺蟲
 在形
 人如

FIGURE 16. Insects and worms in the human body (1164 10.6b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1150)



FIGURE 17. Loci for moxibustion (II64 II.20a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/II50)

otherwise known. The present text discusses and illustrates various insects and worms, but it is not concerned with modern helminthology (see fig. 16). The first three of these “worms” are in the form of a three-inch human, a ghost, and a frog. This text is an important source for its discussion of the six stages of these diseases, for its materials on *gengshen* 庚申 observances, and for its use of materials from popular healing, drawing on drugs, moxa, and ritual. The only idea not found elsewhere makes the Corpse Worms’ well-known periodic tour of the body into a circuit of certain moxibustion loci (fig. 17).

The text ends with two “Illustrations of Huangdi’s method for treating the twenty-one types of debility disorders with moxibustion” (twenty-two loci are shown) and with apotropaic rites used against these maladies by Master Yuzhen 玉真先生 of the Jingming 靜明 order. A testimonial by the King of Yue 越王 is said to have been transmitted three times between 937 and 1014, but the second of the three dates is clearly specious. It is given as the ninth year of the Chunhua 淳化 era, which lasted only five years (990–994; see 10.14b).

An anecdote mentions a Master Li Tong 李同 of Maoshan (10.15a), a liturgy entitled *Dadi xuanke* 大帝玄科 (10.13b), a *Laojun sanshi jing zuan* 老君三屍經纂 (10.13a), and a *Qihuang guangji* 歧黃廣記. None of these are otherwise known.

Nathan Sivin

Xianchuan waike bifang 仙傳外科秘方

12 juan

Compiled by ZHAO YIZHEN 趙宜真; d. 1382; edited by LIU YUANRAN 劉淵然 (1351–1431)

II65 (fasc. 823–824)

“Secret Formulas for External Medicine, Transmitted by the Immortals.” This work is a somewhat revised conflation of three collections:

1. *Xian chuan waike ji yan fang* 集驗方: the title is given in running heads. The preface of the Qingwei patriarch ZHAO YIZHEN attributes the work to Yang Qingsou 楊清叟, who transmitted it to Wu Ningji 吳寧極, whose son passed it to a Master Li 李先生, from whom Zhao received it. It was printed once before 1378, and again along with item 2 below after being edited by Zhao’s disciple LIU YUANRAN in 1395.

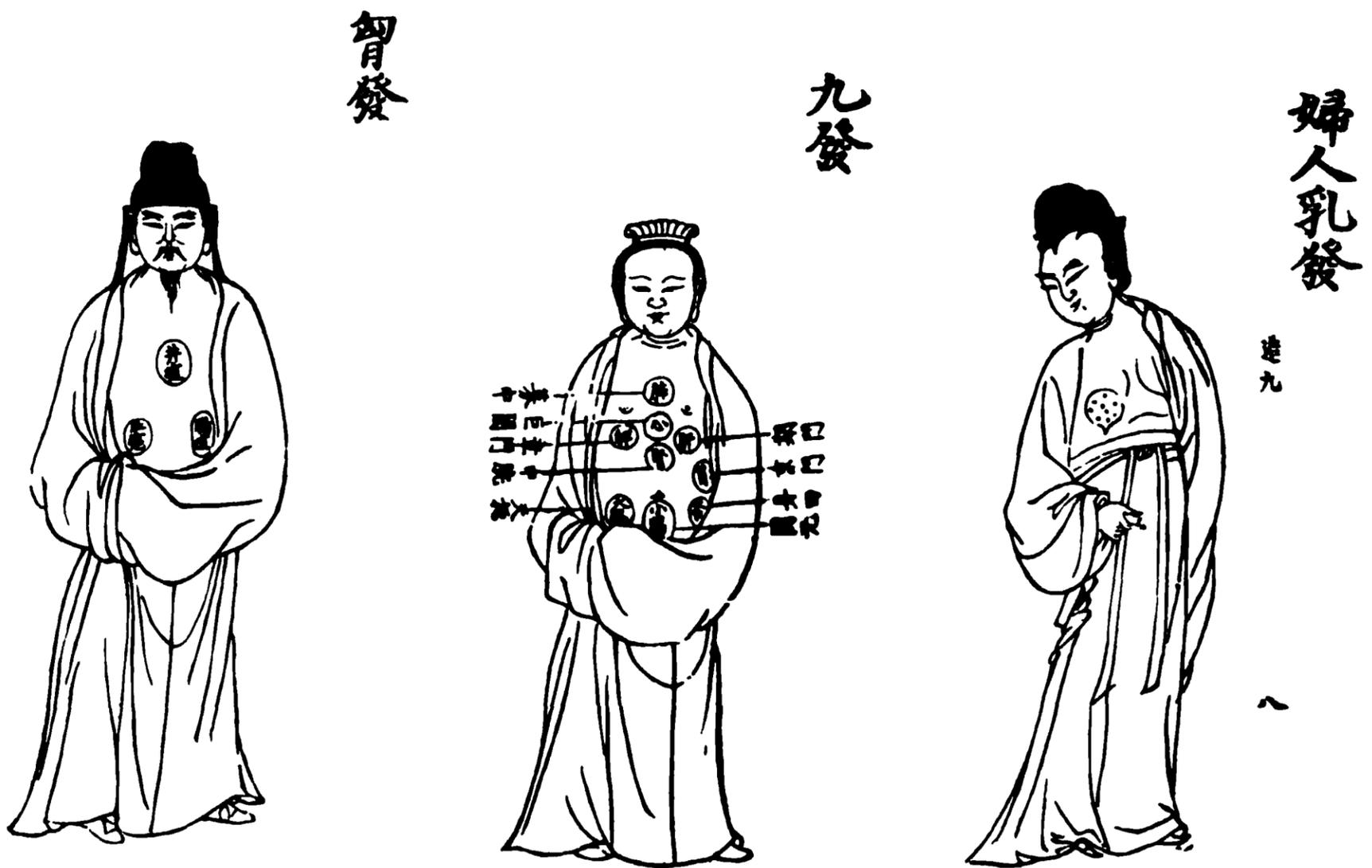


FIGURE 18. Sores and rashes on the chest, abdomen, and breasts (1165 9.9b and 10a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1151)

The latter version and the *Daozang* edition differ in minor respects. The work is mainly on abscesses, rashes, boils, and other external ailments (fig. 18), but it includes a short mnemonic on variant drug names and a paragraph on the preparation of plant drugs (4.14b).

2. *Bichuan waike fang* 秘傳外科方: anonymous; a colophon by Liu, written for the 1395 printing, states that Zhao received it from Rong Kexiao 榮可蕭, but Liu does not suggest Rong authored it. The *Daozang* version occupies juan 8–9. It omits two sections at the end and the colophon. Juan 8 is a “general discussion” that may correspond to the *Waike xu lun* 外科序論 of Zhao mentioned in the bibliographical treatise of the *Ming shi*. Juan 9 is a collection of remedies for external disorders, including the effects of judicial beating and hemorrhoids. Its large illustrations of sores, rashes, and similar lesions are of special value.

3. An unnamed and unidentified work labeled “Zhi zhuza cheng pin 治諸雜證品”: treatments for miscellaneous syndromes, occupying juan 10–11 in the *Daozang* version. This is a comprehensive formulary in which external disorders play a large but not predominant part. A discourse on leprosy is attributed to Shuran zi 儵然子 (11.8a), and a discussion on prevention of complications during recovery from Cold Damage Disorders (*shanghan rebing* 傷寒熱病) is attributed to Chunyang daoren of Ningchuan 寧川純陽道人 (11.1b).

The 1395 editions of the first two constituent treatises are extant. The editors of

the reprint (Peking 1957) claim they also consulted the *Daozang*. There is no reason to doubt that the texts in the latter were produced from the 1395 edition, possibly by Liu's disciple Shao Yizheng 邵以正, editor of the *Zhengtong Daozang*.

Nathan Sivin

Xiuzhen bilu 修真祕籙

11 fols.

By Fu Duren 符度仁; after 1061

850 (fasc. 573)

“Arcane Notes on the Cultivation of the True [Nature].” This is a short work on dietary rules by Fu Duren, a registrar of Fengyang county in Shaanxi. The book is mentioned in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* 2.29b, but there the name of the author is erroneously written Fu Churen 符處仁.

The text comprises essentially a long list of victuals of plant and animal origin, destined to reinforce the body or specific organs and to cure various ailments. The description of each of the various foodstuffs includes a main text extracted from a *Materia Medica* (*bencao* 本草) followed by a sentence from an ancient commentary. With reference to the mule, the hedgehog (3b), and the chestnut (1b), the text quotes Meng Shen 孟詵 (ca. 621–ca. 713) of the Tang dynasty, but the description of persimmon (5a) is followed by a quotation of Zhang Yuxi 掌禹錫 of the Song (cf. 769 *Tujing yanyi bencao* 29.17b, 32.2b, 35.18a, and 35.38a, respectively). Since Zhang's writings transmitted in 769 *Tujing yanyi bencao* derive from his *Jiayou bencao* 嘉佑本草, compiled around 1061, our text must be posterior to that date.

At the end of the text (10b–11a), there is a passage quoted from an unidentified *Yangsheng lun* 養生論 recommending the absorption of worms in order to sustain the adept during the seventh and eighth months of each year. This kind of recommendation is quite out of tune with the general style of the work.

Part of the present text (1a–3a) is included by mistake in 837 *Zhenzhong ji* 11a–13a.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.4 *Neidan* and *Yangsheng*

During the Tang period (618–907), the practice of Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) acquired a definite status among the important forms of Taoist practice. This status was due to a number of circumstances, which translated themselves on the scriptural level by the (re)appearance of works such as the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (see

part 2.A.1.d). However, Inner Alchemical discourse and Outer (laboratory) Alchemical practice remained closely related, and in some instances it is difficult to say whether a given text concerns the one or the other form.

This close relationship changes with the new era beginning in the Song (960–1297). The practice of Inner Alchemy is linked strongly to a number of saintly and divine patriarchs such as LÜ DONGBIN, whose hagiography strongly rejects laboratory alchemy and who becomes a patron of Inner Alchemy (see, for instance, 263.14 *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*). Here Inner Alchemy establishes itself as the major and orthodox practice for Tending Life and for the realization of the Tao within one's own body. The other currents in Song *neidan*, such as the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 by ZHANG BODUAN, had the same influence. In consequence, virtually all Song and later texts on the subject of Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) encompass *neidan*. For this reason, a different categorization applies in this period, since texts pertaining to Inner Alchemy were more closely associated with works on Tending Life techniques than with those concerning operative or laboratory alchemy.

The present section first discusses general works, among which ZENG ZAO's 1017 *Daoshu* stands out as the most important collection of texts. We then present the two main currents, the Zhong-Lü 鐘呂 and the *Wuzhen pian* traditions. The former was to become very influential in the *neidan* practice of the (northern) Quanzhen 全真 order, whereas the latter would be the leading influence for the so-called Southern school (Nanzong 南宗). The lineage of the Nanzong appears to have been constructed a posteriori by BO YUCHAN. The same patriarch also elaborated the tradition of the Shenxiao school of ritual. The connection between the Nanzong and the Shenxiao schools deserves further research.

3.A.4.a General Works and Manuals

Daoshu 道樞

42 juan

Compiled by ZENG ZAO 曾慥, *zi* Duanbo 端伯, *hao* Zhiyou zi 至游子; ca. 1151–1017 (fasc. 641–648)

“Pivot of the Tao.” This is a collection of texts dealing with the art of longevity, excerpted from Five Dynasties (907–960) and Song (960–1279) sources. The compiler, ZENG ZAO (1091–1155), was an official during the reign of Emperor Gaozong (1127–1162; see *Jinjiang xian zhi* 晉江縣志 12). The work is mentioned in the *Suichu tang shumu* 24a, without further details (VDL 154). Although the *Daozang* edition comprises forty-two juan divided into 118 *pian* 篇 (sections), the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.349 notes twenty juan in 122 *pian*. Thus it is possible that four *pian* are missing from the present edition. However, the arrangement of Zeng's

compilation seems fairly complete: he begins with philosophical discussions on the Tao and ends with the most important *neidan* texts of the Zhong-Lü group (cf. 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*). ZENG ZAO's collection was completed by 1151, since he mentions the last text of the *Daoshu* in a note of that date (cf. 263.17 *Zazhu jiejing* 22 and 23). Zeng's biographies of the immortals were also completed around this date (see preface, *Jixian zhuan* 43.24a).

The *Daoshu* includes many interesting Northern Song (960–1127) treatises on Inner Alchemy and related subjects; these books, now lost as separate entities, are listed in many bibliographies of the Song and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. The main drawback of this compilation is the inaccuracy with which the texts were copied. Many passages were arbitrarily abridged, poems paraphrased, and often only parts of the original quotations are correctly reproduced. In view of these shortcomings, the *Daoshu* texts should be used with caution and the original should always be consulted if still extant. But despite these limitations, the *Daoshu* still remains an important tool as a source on lost Northern Song alchemical texts.

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan zhouhou jue 還丹肘後訣

3 juan

Tenth or eleventh century

915 (fasc. 592)

“Manual for the Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This treatise is an undated compilation of alchemical theory. The introduction (1a) states that the treatise corresponded to juan 10 of GE HONG's *Zhouhou jue* 肘後訣 (cf. 1306 *Ge xianweng zhouhou beiji fang*), a chapter dealing with alchemy. The present work, however, derives its material from various sources.

The text quotes TAO ZHI (d. 825; see 922 *Huanjin shu*) and a postscript dated 875 (see 2.2a and 3.10a). Therefore the late ninth century is the earliest date for this compilation. On the other hand, the text mentions LÜ DONGBIN, a semilegendary figure popular during the early Song (960–1297).

For the first section of juan 1 (1a–25a), compare 913 *Tongyou jue* 1a–20b; for the rest (1.21a–24a), see 947 *Yuqing neishu* 17b–21a.

For the *Longhu jinyi huandan xinjian* 龍虎金液還丹心鑑 (2.1a–7b), see 1017 *Daoshu* 14.1a–6a which attributes the text to Xuanhe zi 玄和子 (cf. 1274 *Xuanhe zi shier yue gua jin jue*). The *Longhu jinyi huandan xinjian* is quoted in 233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 3b (preface dated 1052) as *Huandan xinjing* 還丹心鏡. This section of the present text

comprises passages similar to 935 *Danlun jue zhi xinjian* and 936 *Dahuan xinjian*. The poem that follows (2.7b–9b) is paraphrased in 233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 20a.

Apart from some short alchemical essays, the rest of the work comprises alchemical poems and one “autobiographical” note by Wu Daling 侂達靈 (dated 875; 3.10a–11b). The 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* (twelfth century) indicates a *Chaohua si biji* 超化寺壁記 as the source of this note.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Ma Ziran jindan koujue* 馬自然金丹口訣**

3 fols.

By MA ZIRAN 馬自然; Northern Song (960–1127)?

1157 (fasc. 796)

“Explication of the Elixir, by Ma Ziran.” Ma was a disciple of LIU HAICHAN (1a; see also his biography in the LZTT 49.11a). He is often confounded with Ma Xiang 馬湘, *zi* Ziran 自然 (d. 856), but the LZTT makes a clear distinction between the two. He is said to have been a contemporary of ZHANG BODUAN (984–1082), who also dedicated a poem to him (cf. the latter’s preface to 1081 *Jindan sibai zi*).

MA ZIRAN’s *koujue* 口訣, a poem in seven-word verse, is partially paraphrased in 1017 *Daoshu* 7.15b–16a (ca. 1150). There seems to have been a different version in circulation during the Yuan (1279–1368; cf. the long quotation in 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 5.11a).

The poem begins with a criticism of other, “inferior” techniques. The author then describes his meeting with LIU HAICHAN and his subsequent enlightenment (*bodhi* 菩提). The Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir (*jiuzhuan huandan* 九轉還丹) corresponds to *bodhi*; it is defined as a state of enlightenment within the reach of anyone who practices introspection, and not as the exclusive domain of ordained Taoists or Buddhists (2a). The poem shows a strong influence of Chan Buddhism.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Zhenren Gao Xiangxian jindan ge* 真人高象先金丹歌**

7 fols.

By Gao Xian 高先, *zi* Xiangxian 象先; 1014

1079 (fasc. 740)

“Song of the Elixir by the Zhenren Gao Xiangxian.” The popularity of this poem in early Song times is illustrated by ZHANG BODUAN’s (984–1082) allusion to it in his *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (see 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 6.13a). It was also known under other titles, such as *Gao Xiangxian ge* 高象先歌 and *Dadao jindan ge* 大道金丹歌 (see VDL 79).

In a short preface, an anonymous author relates his meeting with Gao Xiangxian of Quyang 胸陽 (Jiangsu) in the capital in 1013. A year later, he received this poem, to which he appended a commentary (*zhujie* 注解). Neither the present version nor the Yulong wanshou guan 玉隆萬壽觀 edition seen by Lu You in 1166 (see *Lu Fangweng ji* 26.47) include a commentary to the poem, indicating that the present text was known in this form already during the Song dynasty (960–1279). Lu You also suggests that Gao Xiangxian was a famous scholar-official and calligrapher of the Shunhua era (990–994) who disappeared, leaving the mundane world behind him. In the poem itself (5b), Gao claims to be the descendant of Gao Jichong 高繼沖 (943–973), ruler of the kingdom of Nanping, who surrendered to the Song in 963 (see *Song shi* 483.13953–55).

The poem describes a vision in which Gao Xian ascends to the Xihua 西華 palace. In this celestial abode, he receives *neidan* 內丹 instructions, based on the *Cantong qi* 參同契, from the goddess Xihua furen 西華夫人. The description is followed by criticism of other, “inferior” techniques (5a) and by the transmission of a text entitled *Chilong tian shang jue* 赤龍天上訣. Part of the poem is quoted in *1017 Daoshu* 35.9a–9b.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xuanhe zi shier yue gua jin jue 玄和子十二月卦金訣

3 juan

Before 1155

1274 (fasc. 1003)

“Master Xuanhe’s Golden Explanations on the Hexagrams of the Twelve Months.” This short text is included in *1017 Daoshu* 14.6a–8b by ZENG ZAO, where it is followed by an alchemical treatise of the Five Dynasties or the early Song (see *936 Dahuan xinjian* and *915 Huandan zhouhou jue* 2.1a–7b).

The text comprises twelve poems with commentaries, each of which corresponds to a hexagram. The text is concerned mainly with the process of purification of the two ingredients of the elixir (i.e., “true” lead and mercury). The purification takes place through the practice of fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候). The twelve hexagrams represent the increase and decrease of yin and yang during the months of the year or the double hours of the day.

The *Daoshu* version is abridged, but it adds five sentences at the end that are missing in the present text. The commentary in the *Daoshu* version is also more or less complete, but occasionally it is conflated with the poems.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taixi baoyi ge 胎息抱一歌

4 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)?

827 (fasc. 570)

“Song on Embryonic Breathing and [the Method of] Holding the One.” This short, anonymous work comprises an undated preface and twenty poems on the methods known as Holding the One. In the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qieshu mu* catalogue 2.28a, the title is indicated as *Baoyi taixi gejie* 抱一胎息歌訣, with YANG XI as the author. But, since the preface (1a) quotes YANLUO ZI, this text must date to the Five Dynasties (907–960) or later. Moreover, the preface lays emphasis on the circulation of qi instead of breath retention, the former being a widely practiced method during the Northern Song Dynasty.

The poems show a clear Chan influence, evident also in many other Northern Song poems, such as the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (see, e.g., the last poem on page 3a of the present text).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan zhiyao pian 還丹至藥篇

5 fols.

Wang Xianzhi 王賢芝, *zi* Yingtu 膺圖, *hao* Wuxuan zi 悟玄子; Song (960–1279)?

1092 (fasc. 742)

“Essays on the Circulating Elixir and Perfect Medicine.” This text consists of ten odes serving didactic purposes; it most likely corresponds to the similar title listed in *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 5.29a. Thus the work can be assumed to date to the eleventh century at the latest (see VDL 108).

Wang Xianzhi had spent many years trying in vain to master operative alchemy. Some oral and secret instructions received from a zhenren, whose name remains undisclosed, helped him to achieve “sudden enlightenment.” He also managed to realize the cultivation of “true essences,” in the sense of the *neidan* 內丹 tradition. Circulating Elixir and Perfect Medicine designate the highest degree of cultivation.

Florian C. Reiter

Longhu jingwei lun 龍虎精微論

8 fols.

1259 (fasc. 999)

“Discourse on the Subtleties of the Dragon and the Tiger.” This short, undated, and anonymous treatise comprises a preface, ten poems on *neidan* 內丹, and some respiration and gymnastics (*daoyin* 導引) techniques. The author criticizes laboratory alchemy (*waidan* 外丹); for him the only valid means of obtaining the elixir of im-

mortality is to follow the universal rhythm and to employ the *jing* 精 (essence) and the qi of Heaven and Earth as ingredients.

The alchemical oeuvre should begin with *daoyin* (6a), and two methods are given in the text. These techniques are followed by the visualization of the four emblematic animals, which the adept should place according to their spatial orientation in the form of a mandala. The author concludes with fire-phasing, in which the adept regulates his or her breathing according to the hexagrams *qian* 乾 (Heaven) and *kun* 坤 (Earth). *Qian* designates the yang hours between midnight and noon; *kun*, the yin hours between noon and midnight.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taixuan baodian 太玄寶典

3 juan

Song (960–1279)?

1034 (fasc. 703)

“Precious Canon of the Greatest Mystery.” This is a handbook for Tending Life and Inner Alchemy. It is undated and unsigned but is mentioned in the *Suichu tang shumu* (VDL 90). It does not quote any outside sources.

The many methods, recipes, and recommendations here assembled are mostly of a practical nature. The author draws on a great variety of traditions. The proposed methods are mainly of a physical nature: refining breath energies, practicing Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息; 1.3b, 1.7a), keeping and refining the semen for men and the menstrual blood for women. From 1.7a on, the metaphorical language of *neidan* 內丹 is used. This use continues in 2.2b–4b.

The methods range from simple recipes to more complicated ones. At the end of juan 1, the mastication of pine needles is advanced as a sure means to attain immortality. In 2.5b, we find that meditation and concentrating to the point of sweating profusely is the way to become a True Person. A method for concentrating on the body in order to make it transparent so that one can see inside one’s organs and viscera is described in 2.5a. Aura development is taught in 2.4b. Also ritual methods are recommended, such as the sending of petitions to Heaven (2.9b). The third juan is entirely devoted to medicinal herbs and concoctions, and to methods for making an immortal’s staff, a “wooden horse” (*muma* 木馬) drug that, when taken, allows one to walk fast. The final method permits adepts, by using a herbal concoction, to control their vitality and to know the time of their death in advance.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Jinjing lun 金晶論

6 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)?

236 (fasc. 113)

“Discussions Concerning Gold and Crystal.” This is a short anonymous treatise on Inner Alchemy. By “crystal” the author means the radiance of the sun, while “gold” is the glow of the moon (preface, 1a). The text is divided into three paragraphs (*pian* 篇); at the end, there is a poem in eleven couplets, entitled “Song on the True and False [Methods] of the Great Alchemical Elixir of Gold and Crystal, Lead and Mercury, Dragon and Tiger.” This poem appears to have been copied from another alchemical song by Qianzhen zi 潛真子, which figures in 237 *Huandan xuanmiao tongyou ji* under the title “Verses Revealing the Marvelous and Penetrating the Arcane” (*Xuanmiao tongyou shi* 玄妙通幽詩; compare the present text 5a–b with 237 *Tongyou ji* 2b–3b).

Gold and crystal here are symbolic homologues of other alchemical ingredients such as lead (*qian* 鉛) and quicksilver (*gong* 汞). The true ingredients do not exist outside the human body. The practice, explained in allegorical terms, has distinct sexual overtones, its aim being to “return the crystal [i.e., the energy of the kidneys] in order to repair the brain” (*huanjing bunao* 還晶補腦; 4b), a transparent disguise of the “return of the sperm” (*huanjing* 還精) in the sexual arts of Taoism.

Kristofer Schipper

Huandan xianmiao tongyou ji 還丹顯妙通幽集

11 fols.

By Qianzhen zi 潛真子; Northern Song (960–1127)?

237 (fasc. 113)

“Collection Revealing the Marvels and Penetrating the Arcana of the Alchemical Process.” The author, who signs Shaoshi shan Qianzhen zi 少室山潛真子 (Master of the Hidden Truth from Mount Shaoshi; the mountain of the Songshan 嵩山 range in Henan and the location of the famous Shaolin si 少林寺), is otherwise unknown. In his undated preface, he states that he was inspired to write a “Poem Revealing the Marvels and Penetrating the Arcana of the Alchemical Process” (same title as the present work) in thirty couplets after reading 238 *Yuanyang zi jinyi ji*. The poem, part of which has been incorporated in 236 *Jinjing lun*, describes the Inner Alchemical process of meditation on the union of the antithetical energies in the body. Coming after Yuanyang zi 元陽子, but before 236 *Jinjing lun*, the present work should date from the Northern Song period.

The collection comprises also an “Exegetical Hymn of the Great Alchemical Enterprises by the Zhenren of Purple Smoke” (*Ziyan zhenren jie dadan song* 紫煙真人解大丹頌), as well the famous poem Spring in the Garden by the Qin River (Qinyuan

chun 沁園春), attributed to LÜ DONGBIN (see Baldrian-Hussein, “Yüeh-yang”). The latter poem is given twice here, each time with a different commentary. The first commentary, entitled simply “Qinyuan chun,” is anonymous. The second one, titled “Versified [Commentary] by He Xianggu on Lu Zhenren’s Qinyuan Chun [Ballad]” (He Xianggu song Lü zhenren Qinyuan chun 何仙姑頌呂真人沁園春) seems to be incomplete, as the commentary on the last lines is missing.

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Kristofer Schipper

Taishang riyue hunyuan jing 太上日月混元經

2 fols.

656 (fasc. 343)

“Book of the Sun and Moon and Their Origin in Chaos.” This is a short theoretical *neidan* 內丹 treatise based on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契. It is listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* (dated 1042) 9.18b as well as in later Song bibliographies (VDL 94).

Ma Lizhao’s commentary in 261 *Jindan fu* 18a, which dates to the Yuan (1279–1368), names the present work, together with the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 and the *Zhouyi cantong qi*. The quotations Ma gives of it on 19a and 27a can no longer be found in the present text, which must be a fragment of the original.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang haoyuan jing 太上浩元經

2 fols.

659 (fasc. 344)

“Scripture of the Vast Origin by the Most High Lord Lao.” This scripture is a rhymed, rhythmic text consisting of ten lines of four characters, with the remainder in seven-character verses that describe poetically the Inner Alchemical process. Respiratory control, visualization of the Three Palaces within the human body and the deities residing therein—Shangyuan tongzi 上元童子 or Nanji laoren 南極老人 (upper palace), Guxuan 谷玄 or Beiji zhenren 北極真人 (lower palace), and Linggui yunü 靈龜玉女 (middle palace)—and the elimination of external desires set the inner circulation in motion and lead to the completion of the Divine Elixir (*taizhen shendan* 太真神丹) and to longevity.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Lingjian zi 靈劍子

22 fols.

Attributed to XU XUN 許遜, *zi* Jingyang 旌陽; probably Northern Song (960–1127)

570 (fasc. 320)

“Master of the Magical Sword.” The title is an epithet for the third-century saint XU XUN, as the latter, according to his legend, received from five young ladies a sword with which to fight demons (see 448 *Xishan Xu zhenren bashiwu hua lu* 1.7a–b).

The *Lingjian zi* is mentioned in a Song catalogue of 1145 (see VDL 169), but as having two juan. It is possible that the next text in the *Daozang*, 571 *Lingjian zi yindao ziwu ji*, which is not listed in the above-mentioned catalogue, originally occupied the second juan. The text of 571 *Ziwu ji* is a logical sequel to the present *Lingjian zi*.

Given that the date *ante quem* of the present work is 1145, and that the popularity of XU XUN greatly increased after his canonization in 1112 by Emperor Huizong, it seems likely that the present text dates from the eleventh or twelfth century.

The present work gives the methods for abstaining from ordinary food and sustaining oneself with breath (qi) in order to obtain immortality. This method is here considered to be a form of alchemy. The object is the creation of an immortal embryo. At the end of the work there is a description of sixteen gymnastic exercises, linked to the four seasons, to be performed as a preliminary stage to respiration exercises and Embryonic Breathing.

Catherine Despeux

Lingjian zi yindao ziwu ji 靈劍子引導子午記

14 fols.

Attributed to XU XUN 許遜, *zi* Jinyang 旌陽; Northern Song (960–1127)?

571 (fasc. 320)

“Notes on the Induction of Qi from *Zi* to *Wu*, by the Master of the Magic Sword.” The text is composed of straightforward instructions, accompanied by a commentary that quotes many different sources. First (1a–5b), the instructions deal with gymnastics exercises and massage. Among the sources quoted, there are many Shangqing scriptures, such as 1016 *Zhen'gao* (juan 9) and 331 *Taishang huangting neijing yujing*. Next (6a–12b), the text explains a number of concepts of Inner Alchemy, whereas the commentary quotes the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (the poems quoted do not exist any longer in the present version of that work, but are often quoted, for instance in 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* and the *Cantong qi*). The subtitle on 13a announces “Formulas for the Induction of Qi” (*Yindao jue* 引導訣). This part appears to be truncated. See also 570 *Lingjian zi*.

Catherine Despeux

***Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue* 諸真聖胎神用訣**

16 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

826 (fasc. 570)

“Divinely Efficacious Holy Womb Methods of the Host of Zhenren.” This is a small, anonymous, and undated manual for Embryonic Breathing techniques (*taixi* 胎息), composed of some thirty different methods. These methods are attributed to a great variety of saints of ancient and more recent times, including YANLUO ZI, Bodhidharma (Damo chanshi 達磨禪師), and LIU HAICHAN. This undated booklet should not, therefore, be earlier than the Song. However, it quotes much earlier material and does not include any texts related to the *neidan* 內丹 schools of the late Tang (618–907) and Song periods. A method attributed to an otherwise unknown zhenren of the Mysterious Gourd (Xuanhu zhenren 玄葫真人; 3a–4a) belongs to the school of internal refining (*neilian* 內鍊), which links the spirits of the body with the hypostases of the Tao of liturgical Taoism (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊, Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊, etc.). This method is characteristic of the meditation methods of the Lingbao dafa 靈寶大法.

*Kristofer Schipper****Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經註**

46 fols.

By LIU CHUXUAN 劉處玄, hao Changsheng zi 長生子 (1147–1203)

401 (fasc. 189)

“Commentary on the Precious Book of the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court.” This is a commentary on 331 *Taishang huangting neijing yujing* by the Quanzhen 全真 patriarch LIU CHUXUAN. In the title, the author’s place of origin, which was Donglai 東萊 near Ninghai in Shandong, is given as Shenshan 神山 (compare 1141 *Xianle ji* 1.a). Liu’s authorship of this commentary is mentioned by his biographers (see 297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 2.7a and 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 2.4b).

The commentary is in short four-word poems (*siyan song* 四言頌) of a simple didactic nature.

*Kristofer Schipper****Yangming jiguan jindan zhenjue* 養命機關金丹真訣**

12 fols.

572 (fasc. 320)

“True Instructions Concerning the Gold-Elixir and the Knack of Tending Life.” This text contains thirty-six tracts by an unknown author and features *neidan* 內丹 practices. It gives a description of the basic, harmonizing elements or energies of

human nature. An equilibrium of the life forces can be achieved by means of breath control. The author recommends the meditative guidance of the vital energy on its way through the human body. The text describes the vision of the energetic circuits, the “palaces,” within the body that are reached in meditation. It also mentions the deities that reside in such palaces. The text appears to belong to the tradition of the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經. The reader also finds instructions for the proper transmission of the practices it describes.

Florian C. Reiter

Jindan zhenyi lun 金丹真一論

23 fols.

By Boxuan zi 百玄子; late Northern Song (960–1127)?

1080 (fasc. 741)

“Discourses on the Gold-Elixir and the True One.” These discourses consist of explanations and quotations concerning theorems of operative and physiological alchemy. This work has not been documented in bibliographies but may have been written during the Song dynasty (960–1279). It certainly does not predate the quotations of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (11b, identical with Li Quan’s commentary in 108 *Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu* 2b). See also see the quotations of the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 by Ziyang 紫陽 (i.e., most likely, ZHANG BODUAN).

The “magic elixir” originates in the qi (breath) of the True One. The relationship between these two elements can be compared with the relationship between child (elixir) and mother (breath). However, the focus is on operative alchemy, with its technical apparatus (such as the “elixir well”; 5b–6a) and its results (immortality). The text quotes and comments on many songs, odes, and alchemical books that the author of this work does not identify. The commentaries are clearly separated by the typography. Especially noticeable are the many quotations of the title *Cantong qi* 參同契.

Florian C. Reiter

Sanyuan yanshou canzan shu 三元延壽參贊書

5 juan

By Li Pengfei 李鵬飛, hao Jiuhua chengxin laoren 九華澄心老人; first published in 1291

851 (fasc. 574)

“Book of the Three Principles for Longevity Equal to Heaven and Earth.” The expression *canzan* 參贊 in the title comes from the Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong* 中庸), chapter 22: “Whoever can assist in maintaining and promoting Heaven and Earth, he can be their equal” (cf. preface, 4a).

The present work is the sole surviving work of the author, who also wrote a *Jiuji fang yiji* 救急方一集 (see preface, 1b). Li Pengfei (b. 1222) was a physician from Anhui. He was noted for his filial piety (see *Yuan shi* 197.4449).

The text of the present book was reputedly transmitted to Li Pengfei by a sage near the Huai river. It was published in 1291 and in 1294, according to the prefaces, and again about 1338 by a governor of the province of Zhejiang (see the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition), with a colophon by He Yuanbao 何元保, an agricultural official of the same province.

The general introduction of the work describes the development of the embryo in terms that are similar to those found in the chapter “Entrance into the Matrix” of the *Ratnakūta-sūtra* (*Da baoji jing* 56.326b–336c), but for a few discrepancies concerning the first three weeks. Longevity of heavenly, earthly, and human origin is obtained, respectively, through nondispersion of seminal essence, regularity and measure in lifestyle, and alimentary hygiene.

The final two juan of the work are devoted to Inner Alchemy. The author refers to MA ZIRAN, LIU HAICHAN and ZHANG BODUAN. He quotes the texts of the Xishan 西山 school of Inner Alchemy (see 5.4b). The diagrams concerning fire-phasing (4.5a–b) are similar to the one in 243 *Chen Xubo guizhong zhinan* 1.4b; the diagram on the Unity of the Three (5.5a–b) resembles the one found in 576 *Baoyi hansan bijue* 2.13a.

Catherine Despeux

Jichuan zhenren jiaozheng shu 稚川真人校證術

9 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

902 (fasc. 588)

“Methods Guaranteed by Jichuan [Ge Hong].” This is a small collection of *neidan* 內丹 formulas in the 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* tradition. The work bears no relationship to 1185 *Baopu zi neipian*. The first page features a table of transmission, tracing the present methods from an anonymous master to Kou Shuyuan 寇叔原, Zhou Huaxie 周化寫, Cui Huanguan 崔黃冠 (alias Cui Jingong 崔金汞), and then to Xifang Zhongcheng 西方仲成 and a number of others. The text itself is presented as the teachings transmitted by Cui to Xifang and by the latter to Dai Daoheng 戴道亨. All of these persons are otherwise unknown. A poem attributed to Zhenyi zi 真一子 (PENG XIAO) is found on 9a–b.

Kristofer Schipper

***Yuanshi bawei longwen jing* 元始八威龍文經**

3 fols.

30 (fasc. 27)

“Eight Powers Dragon-Writ Scripture of the Primordial Beginning.” This book is composed of eight paragraphs of irregular, rhyming verses. It borrows from a Six Dynasties title (361 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao bawei zhaolong miaojing*) but deals with modern practices. Using cosmological allusions, it summarizes the dialectic and the union of fire and water and of movement and rest that underlie the creation of the Superior Man (*zhiren* 至人).

John Lagerwey

***Lingbao guikong jue* 靈寶歸空訣**

8 fols.

By ZHAO YIZHEN 趙宜真, *hao* Yuanyang zi 原陽子 (d. 1382)

568 (fasc. 319)

“Lingbao Instructions for Returning to the Void.” The author was also known for his medical expertise (see 1165 *Xianchuan waike bifang* and 1311 *Xianquan ji* 4.11a). The present work contains fourteen songs with commentaries. The songs comprise twenty-eight words each.

The author explains that the life of humans is dominated by many uncertainties, not least by birth and death. ZHAO YIZHEN claimed to be editing and emending a text that had been erroneously attributed to Bodhidharma. He also rearranged the material in the form of songs, which he felt were more suitable for memorization (postface, 7a–8a). The texts deal with meditative experiences like the premonitions of approaching death, coupled with moral instructions. If a “return to the Pure Land” and the liberation from profane affairs could be accomplished, the “dharma body” (*fashen* 法身) would manifest itself.

Florian C. Reiter

***Yushi jing* 玉室經**

5 fols.

By Li Chengzhi 李成之; Yuan (1279–1368)

1078 (fasc. 740)

“Scripture of the Jade Room.” This scripture by Li Chengzhi of Caotan 草潭 in Dezhou 德州 (Shandong) contains thirteen paragraphs, all of which feature aspects of *neidan* 內丹 theory and practice.

The work starts with a description of ways of behavior that endanger the vital energies in the human body. The utensils processing yin and yang within the human body itself are called “incense burner” and “tripod.” They are surrounded by spiritual forces

(1a–2a). No explanation is provided for the name “Jade Room.” The paragraphs deal with cosmic elements (the sun and the moon, 2a–2b, 3b), with *Yijing* 易經 symbols, and also with general phenomena such as good and bad fortune in life (4a–b). The explanations culminate in expositions concerning *xingming* 性命, referring to the “nature” and “existence” of man. The basis for a realization of *xingming* is seen in individual integrity and also in the fulfillment of social obligations (5a). This didactic work may have formed part of *Quanzhen* 全真 literature of the Yuan period.

Florian C. Reiter

Neidan huanyuan jue 內丹還元訣

4 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)?

1098 (fasc. 743)

“Instructions for the Return to the Original [State of Existence by Means of] Inner Alchemy.” This text contains expositions of the basic concepts of *neidan* or Inner Alchemy. The work is not documented in bibliographies and does not provide any indications for a more precise date. However, the “instructions” appear to have been compiled at a rather late period (Yuan?) to serve as a summary of *neidan* teaching.

The introductory passages explain that anyone interested in the cultivation of the Tao must be informed about the Five Elements, the Four Signs, the “reversal of the mutations due to the workings of yin and yang,” and so on. In fact, the text deals with only two of these subjects, namely, the Five Elements and Four Signs. First, the text sketches the development and the circulation of the energies that control the five intestines of the human body. In a similarly summary way it features the Four Signs (or Symbols): *jinweng* 金翁, the “gilded old man”; *chanü* 姮女, the “young girl”; *yinger* 嬰兒, the “small child”; and *huangpo* 黃婆, the “yellow old woman.” The text attempts to define the meaning of these signs or symbols. The concluding passages of the text contain a short description of the *bagua* 八卦 and also refer to natural phenomena (lightning, wind, etc.) and bodily correspondences (physical organs).

Florian C. Reiter

Danjia ji 亶甲集

7 fols.

Zhao Min 趙民, *hao* Jiangzhen zi 降真子; Song (960–1279)?

1093 (fasc. 742)

“Collection of True and Superior Principles.” This work was compiled by Zhao Min, a native of Xi Qin in Gansu. It contains thirty poems about the achievement of Long Life. Each poem has fifty-six words. Zhao Min commends the methods of

CHEN TUAN (Master Xiyi 希夷). This reference could point to the Song as the period of compilation (1a).

The poems present descriptions of the practices that lead to the achievement of immortality, and in this they follow the diction of *neidan* 內丹. On the other hand, they appear to discuss the production of an elixir as well as its application and effects, such as arresting the process of aging (3b, 6a). The author claims to have experienced the effectiveness of the elixir (6a). His poems, he says, contain a true and complete account. However, oral instructions would still be indispensable, and all efforts would remain in vain as long as these instructions had not been obtained.

Florian C. Reiter

Jinyi dadan shi 金液大丹詩

14 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

1094 (fasc. 742)

“Poems on Liquefied Gold and the Great Elixir.” This work comprises twenty-nine short poems, comprising forty words each. All of them convey *neidan* 內丹 metaphors. They appear to have been written during the Song period, although they do not provide any concrete indications as to their precise date.

The poems describe creation with its essential elements and their symbols, which also govern the existence of human beings and their efforts to reach the Tao of Long Life (10a). The terms *jinyi* 金液 and *dadan* 大丹 in the title of this work are not explained but appear to refer to such efforts of self-cultivation.

Florian C. Reiter

Taishang xiuzhen xuanzhang 太上修真玄章

7 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)

1043 (fasc. 724)

“Arcane Essays on the Supreme Cultivation of True [Nature].” This text contains ten tracts dealing with physiological self-cultivation. The author is unknown.

The basis for the expositions in this work is the understanding that *xing* 性 ranks above *ming* 命 (3a). Both concepts are central. They refer to “the being of humans” and to their “worldly existence.” These concepts are explained by means of the terms *shen* 神 (spiritual force) and *qi* 氣 (vital energy). The ten essays feature conception, birth, and life, all of which depend on the above elements. These elements in turn have their basis in the cosmic energies of the Anterior Heaven (2a–3a). The essential precondition for any self-cultivation is said to be moderation in eating, drinking, and speaking, and also the avoidance of sleep (4b–5a). The mind has to be freed of any

considerations and become void (5b). Many efforts have to be exerted to diminish yin and strengthen yang (7a).

Florian C. Reiter

Wuxuan pian 悟玄篇

12 fols.

By Yu Dongzhen 余洞真; preface dated 1229

1046 (fasc. 725)

“Essay on the Realization of the Mysteries.” This work presents didactic texts on how to become an immortal. It is essential for that purpose to eliminate yin and to strengthen yang. The means required to achieve this goal can be found within humanity itself. Yu Dongzhen (1166–1250) was initiated into these secrets in Hangzhou. His preface is dated *jichou* 己丑, referring to 1229. References are made to SHI TAI and BO YUCHAN (6b, 9b), pointing to the *neidan* 內丹 tradition of the Southern Song (1127–1279) period.

The “mysteries” mentioned in the title are the energetic and physical components of the human genesis, comprising the development and circulation of the vital energies, and of spiritual forces and essences. Self-cultivation effects the reversal of the usual processes of physical developments, that is, the gradual deterioration of physical potentials. The most important and guiding element is *xin* 心 (the mind). This text points to many practical and meditative methods, such as Holding the One, meditation, and medicine. The diction is esoteric. Details were to be left to oral instruction.

Florian C. Reiter

Tuoyue zi 橐籥子

8 fols.

By Zhu Dongtian 祝洞天, *hao* *Tuoyue zi* 橐籥子 (fl. 1350)

1188 (fasc. 874)

Yindan neipian 陰丹內篇

3 fols.

Appendix to 1188 *Tuoyue zi*

1189 (fasc. 874)

“Master Tuoyue” is a miscellanea by Zhu Dongtian, a Taoist of Longhu shan 龍虎山 in Jiangxi (cf. *Sian ji* 21.6a). In the *Daozang*, the book is divided into two separate parts with different titles. However, the second title, 1189 *Yindan neipian*, should be considered an appendix to the main text.

Part of the 1188 *Tuoyue zi* appears in the form of a dialogue between Tuoyue zi and a disciple; the matters discussed include correspondences between the macrocosm and

the microcosm; the vital forces in human beings that follow the universal rhythm of Heaven and Earth; the Eight Trigrams (complete with six diagrams; those depicting Heaven and Earth are not divulged); and the final transformation and union with the Tao.

The 1189 *Yindan neipian* comprises one short paragraph on sexual practice, followed by a commentary. Both text and commentary employ esoteric alchemical language.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Taibo jing* 太白經**

11 fols.

934 (fasc. 598)

“Scripture on the Planet Venus.” It is possible that the title uses the name Taibo 太白 (Venus) to allude to the elements Metal/Gold and White Tiger. These two names belong to *neidan* 內丹 terminology. The introductory passages are the same as 950 *Shangdong xindan jingjue* 3.1a–1b. The present work deals with the proper transmission of instructions concerning the Gold-Elixir.

The text speaks of ten types of people who were either able or unable to receive such instructions. It also refers to ten factors considered important for the production of the elixir, such as the circumstances and means of production. Although the concluding remarks do not exclude explicitly operative alchemy (e.g., 7b, no. 4, concerning the “furnace”), many statements do refer to *Yijing* 易經 correspondences and *neidan* concepts (see, e.g., 10b, *da dantian* 大丹田 for “lead”). The core process is seen in the reaction or compounding of “dragon” and “tiger,” the symbolic “true essences” of the elixir (11a). An ode by SHI JIANWU resumes this theme. A quotation taken from the commentary on the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 by Li Quan 李筌 (9b) appears to be an extension of 110 *Huangdi yinfu jing shu* 2.6b, suggesting that the present work was written, at the earliest, in the latter half of the Tang period (618–907) and probably much later.

Florian C. Reiter

***Taishang yuanbao jinting wuwei miaojing* 太上元寶金庭無爲妙經**

18 fols.

1399 (fasc. 1049)

“Scripture on Ataraxy from the Golden Court of the Primal Treasure.” The terms *yuanbao* 元寶 and *jinting* 金庭 do not appear in the text. The first term probably refers to the Primordial Qi (breath), and the second to the alchemical tripod (*ding* 鼎). The respiration that is the subject of this text is described as “work on emptiness,” on that which has no fixed form, hence “ataraxy.” The text as a whole is a treatise on Inner Alchemy. The aim is the creation of the elixir (*jindan* 金丹) by the marriage of the

Five Elements. The text uses such terms as White Tiger, Green Dragon, True Water, and True Fire. All operations must be synchronized with the time of year.

The text is divided into twenty-seven paragraphs, each of which contains “a word of the Tao,” followed in all but paragraph 20 by a commentary of the Queen Mother of the West. While there is progression from paragraph to paragraph, they hardly amount to a systematic exposé. A certain number of original features may be pointed out: the heart is called the Hall of the Seal (*yintang* 印堂), and mention is made of both a “light of the vermilion seal” and a “vermilion palace seal.” The heart is called “the office of the spirit” and “the office of the emperor,” whose name is Lord of the Jade Flower. The coccyx is identified with the Door of Earth, the *niwan* 泥丸 with the Gate of Heaven: the saint causes the water of his kidneys—called “divine water” or “energy-water”—to ascend and irrigate the *niwan* and then to fall, first into the Flower Pool and then into the Scarlet Palace. The heart’s fire must not be set burning fiercely by things outside the self: it must be kept for heating the alchemical tripod. The adept must “sublimate his qi” and “calm his spirit.” To calm his spirit he must put an end to all discursive thought and to desire. The term *quanzhen* 全真 (Complete Truth) appears twice in the text.

John Lagerwey

Jiuhuan qifan longhu jindan xili zhenjue 九還七返龍虎金丹析理真訣

9 fols.

By Cheng Zhao 程昭, *zi* Shiming 士明; Northern Song (960–1127)?

229 (fasc. 112)

“True Method Explaining the Theory of the Nine-Times-Transformed and Seven-Times-Transmuted Dragon-and-Tiger Elixir.” This is a small treatise on Inner Alchemy; the author is otherwise unknown. According to our text, in the *renshen* 壬申 year of the Great Song the author met a Taoist recluse by the name of Siming yeke 四明野客 who taught Cheng, at his request, the principles of the art of Inner Alchemy. The present book contains their dialogue.

The explanations quote the well-known *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 as well as the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經. The text mentions famous masters of the past such as YANLUO ZI, Qingxia zi 青霞子, and Cui Xuanzhen 崔玄真 (fl. 741–756), the author of 135 *Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie* and is mentioned here in relation to an unknown *Longtai jing* 龍胎經. The text also mentions the Five Dynasties (907–960) or early Song alchemist Yuanyang zi 元陽子 (see 238 *Yuanyang zi jinyi ji*). All these elements refer to the early stage of Inner Alchemy, and the work therefore may date to the Northern Song period, the year *renshen* standing for either 1032 or 1092.

Kristofer Schipper

Xiudan miaoyong zhibi lun 修丹妙用至理論

10 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)?

234 (fasc. 113)

“Treatise on the Supreme Reasons and Marvelous Results of the Practice of Alchemy.” This short theoretical work has an unsigned preface and nine chapters (*pian* 篇) corresponding to the nine stages of the alchemical process. The preface mentions an alternative, possibly the original, title: “Short Instructions for Fire-Phasing” (*Huohou jue* 火候訣略). Phase 8 comprises the construction of an altar on which the alchemical tripod is placed. The master and his disciple ascend the altar in order to supervise the fire-phasing. Although the description is realistic, this phase appears to be part of a meditative process, since in the preface the author rejects all forms of operative alchemy.

Most of the sources quoted, such as the *Yuhu song* 玉壺頌 (4b), are either Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960). Some sources date to the early Song, for instance, a work by LIU HAICHAN (4b). The text should therefore belong to the Northern Song period.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhizhen zi longhu dadan shi 至真子龍虎大丹詩

8 fols.

Zhou Fang 周方, *zi* Guiyi 歸一, *hao* Zhizhen zi 至真子; preface 1026

269 (fasc. 132)

“Poems on the Great Elixir of the Dragon and the Tiger, by Master Zhizhen.” An anonymous preface dated 1026 says that the author of the poems was a certain Zhou Fang, a Taoist of Shaoshi shan 少室山 (Henan).

The present text, however, was presented to the emperor by the official Lu Tian 盧天. The latter’s official title corresponds exactly to that of Lu Tianji 盧天驥, an official who is known to have presented another alchemical text to the throne between 1111 and 1117 (see 905 *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 1a). It seems that the character *ji* 驥 was omitted here inadvertently.

The work comprises thirty-two poems on the elixir. According to the preface, this elixir is not based on plants or minerals. The text of the poems in general could apply to Inner or Outer Alchemy alike.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xu zhenjun shihan ji 許真君石函記

2 juan

Attributed to XU XUN 許遜, *zi* Jingyang 旌陽; Southern Song (1127–1279)?

951 (fasc. 601)

“Notes from the Stone Box of Zhenren Xu.” This is an alchemical handbook that, according to the undated preface, corresponds to the nine chapters of esoteric instructions left behind in a stone box by the famous immortal XU XUN when he rose up to heaven in broad daylight with his house and family. The box was found by an official named Zhang 張. Later the Taoist master Xie Guanfu 謝觀復 transmitted it to his disciples Zhu Mingshu 朱明叔 and Zheng Daoquan 鄭道全 from Dongjia 東嘉 (Sichuan). Xie Guanfu is XIE SHOUHAO, *hao* Guanfu 觀復 (1134–1212). He is the author of 770 *Hunyuan shengji* and who lived at the Yulong gong 玉隆宮 on Xishan 西山, the center of XU JINGYANG’s worship. Zhu Mingshu and Zheng Daoquan are otherwise unknown.

The work is not mentioned in Song catalogues. The story of the stone box left behind by XU XUN is well known from his hagiography at least since Southern Song times (see 440 *Xu taishi zhenjun tuzhuan* 2.18b). The *Daozang* typography observes the Song taboo for the character *kuang* 匡.

The work quotes many operative alchemical terms but does not contain any recipe or instructions for laboratory alchemy. It is closer to Inner Alchemy, as it uses many concepts and theories related to the *Cantong qi* 參同契 and similar texts. Here also, the discourse remains theoretical and, above all, literary; nothing of practical use is revealed.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Zazhu jiejing 雜著捷徑

9 juan

Yuan (1279–1368)?

263.17 *Xiuzhen shishu* 17–25 (fasc. 125)

“Shortcut to the Tao: A Miscellany.” *Siku quanshu zongmu* 147.3078 lists a *Xiuzhen jiejing* in nine juan compiled by Yu Juehua 余覺華, *zi* Rongfu 榮甫, from Jian’an 建安 (Fujian) during the reign period *Zhiyuan* (1335–1340). Both the description of the work and the number of juan correspond exactly to our text. This work is a typical collection of On the Cultivation of Perfection (*xiuzhen* 修真) texts: it includes breathing exercises, physiological treatises on the Five Viscera, descriptions of the body, *daoyin* 導引 (gymnastics) techniques, and poems on these subjects.

Some of the texts are unique; for instance, juan 18 contains illustrations and explanations of various centers in the head and body by YANLUO ZI; juan 19, “Baduan



FIGURE 19. The *baduan jin* or Eight Lengths of Brocade method (263 19.4a-5b)

jin fa 八段錦法,” has illustrations of *daoyin* techniques (fig. 19), with text ascribed to ZHONGLI QUAN (see the translation in Maspero, “Methods,” 547-48).

For the “Cuixu pian 翠虛篇” in juan 17 and the “Tianyuan ruyao jing 天元入藥鏡” in juan 21.6b ff., see also the articles on 1096 *Chen xiansheng neidan jue* and 135 *Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie*.

Juan 22-23 comprise poems and *ci*-lyrics by ZENG ZAO (d. 1155) and his friends.

Juan 21 contains eighty-one anonymous verses on Tending Life techniques (*yangsheng* 養生); juan 24 and 25 are on the same subject. The *Tiandi jiaoshen lun* 天地交神論 (25.1a-2b) is an excerpt from 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.4.b The Zhong-Lü Tradition

Zhong-Lü chuandao ji 鍾呂傳道集

3 juan

Attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN 鍾離權; compilation attributed to LÜ YAN 呂喆; transmitted by SHI JIANWU 施肩吾; Northern Song (960–1127)?

263.14 *Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16 (fasc. 124)

“Zhongli Quan’s Transmission of the Art [of Immortality] to Lü Dongbin: A Collection.” This work belongs to a group of texts ascribed to the legendary ZHONGLI QUAN and his disciple LÜ DONGBIN. These texts are generally referred to in other *Daozang* works as the Zhong-Lü 鍾呂 texts (on these, see 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* and 246 *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*).

Although the present title is first mentioned in *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.348, there is a complete, if slightly abridged, version in 1017 *Daoshu* (ca. 1150), entitled *Chuandao pian* 篇. The *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5190 writes *Zhenxian* 真仙 *chuandao ji*, and the Ming work *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu* (*Zangwai daoshu* 6:61–101) indicates yet another title: *Zhong-Lü erxian* 二仙 *chuandao ji* (this edition has an additional paragraph at the end).

In the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), the authorship of this work was ascribed to SHI JIANWU; YU YAN, for instance, refers to it as Shi Qizhen’s 施栖真 (i.e., SHI JIANWU’s) *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (see 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 8.3a; see also the discussion in 305 *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 5.14b).

The *Chuandao ji* is presented as a dialogue between ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN. It is divided into eighteen topics of discussion dealing with different aspects of Inner Alchemy, beginning with the different degrees of immortality and ending with transfiguration. The content is mainly theoretical, with occasional allusions to practice. The work defines itself (16.13a–b) as a theoretical background to 1191 *Lingbao bifa*, which explains the practical exercises in detail.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa 祕傳正陽真人靈寶畢法

3 juan

Attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN 鍾離權, *zi* Yunfang 雲房, *hao* Zhengyang zhenren 正陽真人; transmitted by LÜ YAN 呂喆, *zi* Dongbin 洞賓, *hao*

Chunyang zhenren 純陽真人; Northern Song (960–1279)

1191 (fasc. 874)

“Secret Transmission of Master Zhengyang’s Complete Methods of the Sacred Jewel.” This work is ascribed to the legendary Han Taoist, ZHONGLI QUAN; it is said to have been transmitted by his disciple LÜ DONGBIN, a semilegendary figure

of the Tang (618–907) dynasty (preface). The book, however, is first mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 5.31a as *Zhongli shou Lü gong lingbao bifa* 鐘離授呂公靈寶畢法 in ten juan (*juan* must be an error for the sections into which the book is divided).

LÜ DONGBIN and ZHONGLI QUAN are considered the authors of a series of *nei-dan* 內丹 texts, known as the Zhong-Lü group (cf. the preface to 246 *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* and Baldrian-Hussein, *Procédés secrets*, 41 ff.). The present book is a continuation of another Zhong-Lü work (cf. 263.14 *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 16.13a–13b]). A Yuan source attributes the authorship of the texts to SHI JIANWU (cf. 305 *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 2.9a and 5.14b), putative author of 246 *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*, another important Zhong-Lü text. Both ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN were acknowledged as patriarchs of Taoist schools that emphasized Inner Alchemy, such as the Quanzhen jiao 全真教 in the north, and later the Nanzong 南宗 in the south.

The methods described in the text were excerpted from a *Lingbao jing* 靈寶經 in thirty juan, which ZHONGLI QUAN discovered in a cave in the Zhongnan 終南 Mountains in Shaanxi (preface, 1a). Zhongli classified three juan into three sections, representing the Three Vehicles (*sancheng* 三乘), or the “three stages of accomplishment” (*sancheng* 三成). The three stages are further subdivided into ten sections (preface; see also 263.14 *Zhong-Lü chuan dao ji* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 16.13b]).

The first stage comprises four sections describing methods of breath control and gymnastics. The next stage, in three sections, deals with methods of circulating the qi and inner fluids of the body. The final stage, in three sections, concerns methods of meditation and transfiguration.

A slightly abridged version of the present text is included in 1017 *Daoshu* (early twelfth century).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldrian-Hussein, *Procédés secrets*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu 修真太極混元圖

18 fols.

Xiao Daocun 蕭道存, *hao* Hunyi zi 混一子; Northern Song (960–1127)

149 (fasc. 68)

“Diagrams on the Mystery of Ultimate and Primordial Chaos for the Cultivation of True Nature” (fig. 20). This is an illustrated treatise of the so-called Zhong-Lü tradition (see 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*). According to the preface, the author of the treatise based himself on a work by SHI JIANWU known as the *Xiulian* 修鍊 *taiji hunyuan tu*, but this title is otherwise unknown.

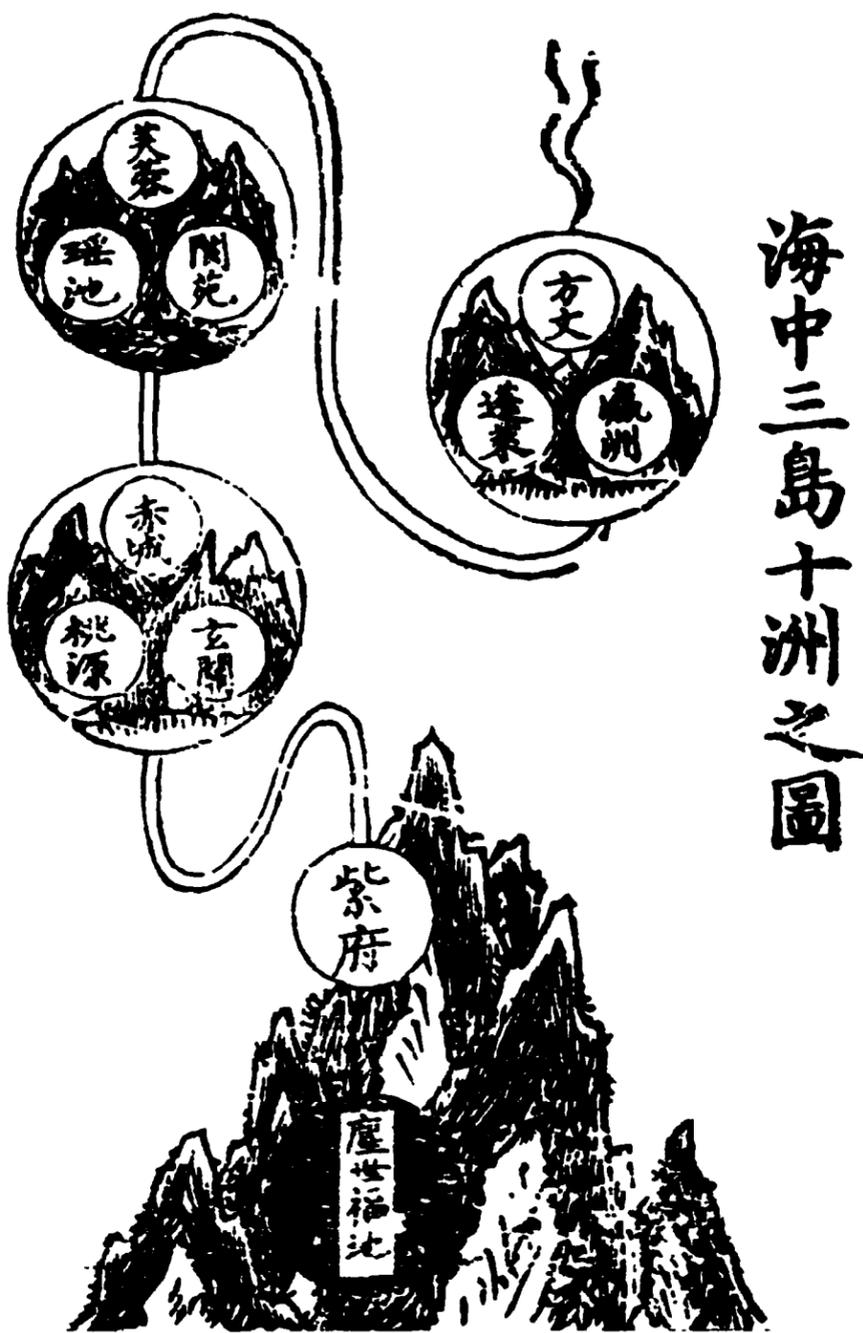


FIGURE 20. The Ten Islands of the Blessed, for visualization in meditation. In the foreground, the Purple Residence of the Taiwei zhenjun; above it, the remaining nine islands in clusters of three (149 8a)

The diagrams and quotations contained in this work illustrate the methods of the system followed by the Zhong-Lü school as it is expounded, for instance, in the “Xiu-zhen zhixuan pian 修真指玄篇” in 1017 *Daoshu* 19.9a–22a.

The short preface attributed to Jin Quanzi 金全子 and describing the transmission of the *Xiuzhen zhixuan tu* 修真指玄圖 is clearly out of place here, as it actually deals with the next text in the canon: 150 *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu*.

The present treatise is concerned mainly with the theoretical order of the microcosm, the circulation and union of the internal fluids (*qi* 氣 and *yi* 液), and, finally, the transfiguration of the adept.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu 修真太極混元指玄圖

9 fols.

Song (before 1154)

150 (fasc. 68)

“Diagram [Illustrating] the Mystery of the Cultivation of Truth, of the Supreme Pole, and the Primordial Chaos.” This is a text that belongs to the Zhong-Lü group (cf. 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*). Its preface by Jin Quanzi 金全子, *zi*

Zhupo 竹坡 of Hangzhou, was erroneously placed at the beginning of the preceding work, 149 *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu*, perhaps by the editors of the *Daozang*. One Jin Zhupo 金竹坡 of the Tang dynasty (618–907) is indicated as the author of 923 *Dadan qiangong lun*, but this work has been shown to be a forgery of the Southern Song (1127–1279).

The authorship of the preface poses another problem, since the same preface with minor variations is ascribed to Li Song 李竦 (a disciple of SHI JIANWU and compiler of 246 *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*) in 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 14.22a, a work dated 1154. Whereas Jin Quanzi describes his encounter with SHI JIANWU as having occurred in Nanking, Li's preface has Nanjing Yingtian fu 南京應天府, the name used during the Dazhong xiangfu period (1008–1016). The present text can therefore be placed between this period and 1154.

The text comprises nine diagrams and a collection of short formulas (*jue* 訣) illustrating the practical methods explained in the *Xiuzhen zhixuan pian* 修真指玄篇 (1017 *Daoshu* 19.9a–22a); however, it includes only a list of the names of the techniques employed, without any practical instructions.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xishan qunxian huizhen ji 西山群仙會真記

5 juan

Attributed to SHI JIANWU 施肩吾, *zi* Xisheng 希聖, *hao* Qingxu dongtian Huayang zhenren 清虛洞天華陽真人 (fl. 820); compiled by Li Song 李竦, *zi* Quanmei 全美, *hao* Sanxian men dizi tianxia du xianke 三仙門弟子天下都閑客; Northern Song (960–1127)

246 (fasc. 116)

“Record of the Immortals of the Huizhen [Hall] on Xishan.” This work belongs to a group of *neidan* texts inspired by the patriarchs ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ YAN (cf. 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*). It is attributed to the well-known poet SHI JIANWU, a recluse of Xishan in Jiangxi. The compiler, Li Song, was a disciple of SHI JIANWU (cf. 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 14.22a).

Already during the Song dynasty (960–1279), the attribution of its authorship to SHI JIANWU was contested: the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.348 considers the Tang (618–907) poet and the author of our text as two different persons of the same name. Moreover, internal evidence from the text itself proves that this work was compiled, at the earliest, toward the end of the tenth century: 1.6a mentions Zhang Mengqian 張夢乾, who appears to have died in 998 (see *Shanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, quoted in *Gujin tushu jicheng*, “Shenyi dian,” juan 252).

The present title first occurs in the *Suichu tang shummu* (VDL 108). The *Junzhai dushu zhi* lists a *Qunxian huizhen ji* in five juan subdivided into twenty-five *pian* 篇,

corresponding to the present version. The 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 16.3a quotes a biography of SHI JIANWU from the *Xishan huizhen ji*, which, however, does not figure in the present work. A slightly abridged version of the present text is found in 1017 *Daoshu* 38.

The preface, ascribed to SHI JIANWU, is linked to two traditions: it mentions the twelve saints of Xishan as well as ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN. It explains that each of the five juan corresponds to one qi of the Five Elements. Each of the twenty-five sections of this work quotes a Taoist text, in most cases the *Xishan ji* 西山記, referring apparently to an antecedent of the present work. The themes discussed are: recognition (of masters, methods, the Way, etc.); nourishment (of the vital principle, qi, etc.); reparation of damage (due to diminished qi, vitality, etc.); true alchemical ingredients (yin and yang, lead, mercury, etc.); transmutation (and perfection of the body, spirit, etc.). The theory and the practical procedures described are less detailed than those of 1191 *Lingbao bifa*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi 金碧五相類參同契

3 juan

Preface and commentary ascribed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生; after 947
904 (fasc. 588–589)

“Book of Azure Gold and the Theory of Categories of the Kinship of the Five.” This is an Inner Alchemical treatise attributed to Yin Changsheng of the Han dynasty. It is mentioned for the first time, however, in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.6b, which notes only one juan. The work comprises a preface and poems with commentaries. The first sentence of the preface is a definition of the *Cantong qi* 參同契 by PENG XIAO, from his postface of 947 (cf. 1003 *Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu* 11a). This quotation, which is also repeated in the commentary, does not preclude the possibility that the poems are of a much older date.

Another version in 1017 *Daoshu* 34 consists of a dialogue between two legendary Taoists, Yunya zi 雲牙子 and Yuanyang zi 元陽子. The poems, paraphrased, are attributed to the former, and the commentary to the latter. The first two poems and their commentaries, as well as some other passages in the middle of the text, are missing from the *Daoshu* version, which, moreover, follows a slightly different sequence in the presentation of the poems. The commentary, too, is often abridged.

The technical terms employed are, with a few exceptions, similar to those of the Zhong-Lü group of texts, such as 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*. Since these texts are of the Northern Song date, the present work must belong to the same period. Moreover, famous Taoist books are often referred to as scriptures (*jing* 經), a usage current during the Northern Song.

The text is divided into eighteen sections, of which number 6 is missing. These sections trace the development of Inner Alchemical practice, from the technique known as “collecting the medicine” to the formation of the immortal embryo and transfiguration.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Liaoming pian 了明篇

14 fols.

By Master Song xiansheng 宋先生; compiled by Mao Rixin 毛日新; preface 1168 272 (fasc. 133)

“Book of Comprehension.” This is a collection of poems ascribed to a Master Song, who is said to have received instruction directly from the legendary ZHONGLI QUAN 鍾離權 in 1165 (preface, 1a). Shortly afterward, Mao Rixin met Song in Jiangsu, where he obtained this work (preface, 1b).

The collection comprises a preface by Mao Rixin followed by poems written in various styles by Song. The longest section consists of a series of thirty poems entitled “He Langran zi Jindao shi 和朗然子進道詩” (2a–9b), written to match the style of the thirty poems by Liu Xiyue 劉希岳 (see 271 *Taixuan langran zi Jindao shi*).

The rest of the work (9b–14b) comprises *ci*-lyric poems on Inner Alchemical themes. These poems are inspired by the *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 attributed to LÜ DONGBIN (136 *Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zhuzhen lun huandan jue 諸真論還丹訣

5 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)

230 (fasc. 112)

“Formulas of the Perfected on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This is a short collection of alchemical poems ascribed to a number of Taoist worthies. Although the compilation is not listed in any of the catalogues, most of the material is quoted in Song texts.

The first poem, “Yuhu song 玉壺頌,” is incomplete; see 1017 *Daoshu* 12.5b, which describes the transmission of the poems by Taiyi zhenren 太一(乙)真人 to Zhongtiao zi 中條子. The poem is also quoted in a Tang or Five Dynasties work as “Taiyi zhenren yuhu song 太一真人玉壺頌” (cf. 1080 *Jindan zhenyi lun* 10b).

Chen Guofu has traced the Qingxia zi 青霞子 poems on the basis of rhyme analysis (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 236) to the southern dynasties of Qi, Chen, and Liang (479–589). Although this provenance may be doubtful, at least one of the poems is quoted in a Five Dynasties text (266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 18b).

For the “Rongcheng gong neidan gejie 容成公內丹歌訣,” see BPZ 16.28. Our text reproduces only half of the BPZ poem and has changed the last line. A slightly different version of the poem is quoted in 234 *Xiudan miaoyong zhili lun* 6a as “Yuanhuang shangjing 元皇上經.”

The last poem by Cao Shengtu 曹聖圖 (*hao* Tanxuan zi 探玄子) is a short extract from the *Qiangong wuxing tu* 鉛汞五行圖 mentioned in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.23b (read 鉛汞 for 訟求) and other Song catalogues (VDL 154). A slightly different version figures in 1017 *Daoshu* 30.1a.

All the poems are on alchemical themes; Cao Shengtu’s poem, however, is clearly on *neidan* 內丹.

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zhenyi jindan jue 真一金丹訣

9 fols.

Wang Chang 王常; Song (960–1279)

231 (fasc. 112)

“Explication Concerning the Elixir of the True One.” This is a spurious work attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN, LÜ DONGBIN, and SHI JIANWU. The author, Wang Chang, traces the transmission of the text and states that it was hidden in a cave by SHI JIANWU.

The text itself is divided into two sections. The first section comprises poems on the three methods of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, followed by a short essay on the circulation of qi through various points of the body. The nomenclature and the theory are similar to the Zhong-Lü texts of the Northern Song (see, for example, 1017 *Daoshu* 19.9a ff.).

The second section, entitled “Taixi jieyao 胎息節要,” (Essentials of Embryonic Respiration) is devoted to this subject. A passage (7a) figures in 826 *Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue* 2b, where it is entitled “Yuqi fa 御氣法.” Another paragraph (7b) is a quotation from YJQQ 59.10b.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zhenxian bichuan huohou fa 真仙祕傳火候法

9 fols.

Late Song (960–1279)?

274 (fasc. 133)

“The True Immortal’s Secret Transmission of Fire-Phasing Techniques.” This undated work is divided into two sections. The first section (1a–4a) is based partly on lost texts such as the “Xiuzhen zhixuan pian 修真指玄篇” (1017 *Daoshu* 19; cf., for example,

12b and 1a–1b of our text), the “Jindan nijin pian 金丹泥金篇” (1017 *Daoshu* 23), and on texts preserved in the *Daozang*, such as 246 *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* (1017 *Daoshu* 38) and 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* (1017 *Daoshu* 42). This last work seems to have inspired the author of our text in his choice of the title. Since many of the books mentioned above are of the twelfth century, the present work is later than that period. The second section (4a–9a) comprises affirmations of a certain Fangbian zhenren 方便真人.

The fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候) methods are based on Zhong-Lü techniques, with a few variations (see, e.g., 7b). The main methods described are those of the celestial revolution type (*zhoutian huohou* 周天火候). Other techniques include the art of conducting the seminal essence to repair the brain (*huanjing bunao* 還精補腦) and of circulating qi. The description and the macrocosmic and microcosmic correspondences, accompanied by symbols from the *Yijing* 易經, are similar to those of the Zhong-Lü texts.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taishang jiuyao xinyin miaojing 太上九要心印妙經

9 fols.

Attributed to ZHANG GUOLAO 張果老; Song (960–1279)?

225 (fasc. 112)

“Marvelous Book of the Nine Essentials Heart Seal of the Most High.” This is a short treatise on *neidan* 內丹 attributed to ZHANG GUOLAO (eighth century) but containing numerous technical terms current in the texts of the Zhong-Lü school from the Northern Song (960–1127) period (e.g. *sanhuo* 三火, *sanyang* 三陽, or *lianshen hedao* 鍊神合道; compare, for instance, *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* 4.2b, 9b; 5.8b). The author seems to have been inspired by 660 *Hunyuan bajing zhenjing* (compare 3.4b–5b of that text with the first pages of the work under discussion). The present text also uses expressions from the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 such as *fuguo anmin* 富國安民, *qiangbing zhansheng* 強兵戰勝, and *shenxian baoyi* 神仙抱一 (3b).

The text is composed of nine sections. These, according to the preface, correspond to the phases of the Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir (*jiuzhuan* 九轉). The term *xinyin* 心印 refers to the spiritual transmission that brings the disciple to a sudden understanding of the workings of the universe.

The nine sections comprise discussions on topics concerning the Real One and the Three Ones, as well as respiration, fire-phasing, and, finally, embryonic respiration and meditation.

The use of the term *xinyin* as well as the mention, in the last section of the work (7b), of Bodhidharma show an influence from Chan Buddhism, of the kind perceptible in treatises on embryonic respiration since Tang times. The *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,”

5.20b (VDL 93) mentions a now lost *Xinyin taixi tuike miaodao jue* 心印胎息蛻殼妙道訣 in one juan.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Cunshen guqi lun 存神固氣論

7 fols.

577 (fasc. 321)

“Discourse on Holding the Spirit and Strengthening the Qi.” This is a short compilation without any indication of date or authorship. It contains two kinds of texts: thirteen short explanations (1a–5b) concerning fundamental physiological procedures and two short essays: the “Xingshen jumiao fa 形神俱妙法” (Method for the Transcendence of Both Body and Spirit; 6a–b) and the “Zhongyuan pian 中源篇” (Essay on the Middle Origin; 7a–b). The short explanations constitute the outline of a *neidan* 內丹 program. The two essays are markedly different in style: they are less didactic and contain quotations. They may date from an earlier period.

Vincent Goossaert

Taishang changwen dadong lingbao youxuan shangpin miaojing

太上長文大洞靈寶幽玄上品妙經

12 fols.

991 (fasc. 619)

“Essay of the Most High, a Scripture of the Upper Section of the Dark Mystery of the Numinous Treasure of the Great Cavern.” This is a work on the subject of Inner Alchemy. The nineteen paragraphs of the text are all “words of the Tao”; the first ten paragraphs describe the structure of the universe and the body; the last nine provide the responses of a master to a disciple concerning various forms of practice.

According to the first part of the book, Great Extremity (Taiji 太極) and Great Simplicity (Taisu 太素), which existed before the separation of Heaven and Earth, are both “in the image of the Great One,” but Great Simplicity is identified with the west and the production of metal (*jin* 金), and Great Extremity with the south and the production of cinnabar (*dan* 丹). According to the practical half of the book, it takes 1,000 days for the *jindan* 金丹 to “knot,” 2,000 days for the “embryo of the saint” to form in the Central Palace, and 3,000 days for the accomplishment of the “great undertaking.”

In language and system, this text is close to 263.14 *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16). On two occasions, however, it refers to the qi of the heart as the “breath of the True Origin” (*zhenyuan zhi qi* 真元之氣; 6b, 11a), which suggests a possible link to the True Origin school of Inner Alchemy (cf. 57 *Shangfang tianzun shuo Zhenyuan tongxian daojing*).

John Lagerwey

Taishang changwen dadong lingbao youxuan shangpin miaojing fahui

太上長文大洞靈寶幽玄上品妙經發揮

19 fols.

992 (fasc. 619)

“Elaboration on the Essay of the Most High.” This text presents itself as an elaboration (*fahui* 發揮) of 991 *Taishang changwen dadong lingbao youxuan shangpin miaojing*. A note at the beginning states: “The meaning of the *Changwen dadong jing* and of the five paragraphs of methods (?) is obscure. I fear that latter-day adepts will have difficulty following it. That is why I have devised a thirty-day system. Do not transmit it to the unworthy! Conceal it!”

The present text is indeed divided into thirty parts, one for each day of the sixth month (the reason for this choice is not made clear; the paragraphs for the fifth and sixth days are missing). The author does comment on some phrases from the preceding text, but he also introduces a number of new concepts: the True Yin and the True Yang, the seventy-two periods (*hou* 候), the River Chariot (*heju* 河車), the Yellow Lady (*huangpo* 黃婆), and others. He also insists repeatedly on the moral aspects of the Way of the immortals, which he assimilates to the Way of the gods (*shendao* 神道) and the Way of the buddhas (*fodao* 佛道). There are references to a *Gujing* 古經 and to the *Longhu shangjing* 龍虎上經.

John Lagerwey

Taishang huadao dushi xianjing 太上化道度世仙經

14 fols.

648 (fasc. 342)

“Scripture of the Immortals of the Most High for Transformation into the Tao and Salvation from the World.” This is a summary of Inner Alchemy composed of three sections of verse and a commentary. The titles of the three sections are “Transformation into the Tao,” “The Five Phases,” and “The Principle of the Mystery.” The commentary uses terminology from the *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (263.14 *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16]). The whole text is preceded by an introduction in the manner of a Lingbao scripture, presenting the text as a sermon of the Most High. This work concludes with some practical ritual instructions.

John Lagerwey

Neidan bijue 內丹祕訣

11 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

1085 (fasc. 741)

“Secret Instructions Concerning the Gold-Elixir.” This work is a compilation of unknown origin. It contains prose, poems, and songs about the Gold-Elixir, which

represents the elements and results of meditative self-cultivation. This text is not documented in bibliographies, but it is most likely a product of the Song period.

The text mentions Taoists of the Tang (618–907) and Wudai (907–960) periods including ZHANG GUO (9a) and MA ZIRAN (6a). ZHONGLI QUAN, LÜ YAN and LIU HAICHAN (2b, 7a). The text was shaped by the southern traditions associated with LIU HAICHAN and MA ZIRAN (cf. 1157 *Ma Ziran jindan koujue*).

The text deals with the gradual apprehension of *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 (being and existence), and it stresses the importance of the “true nature” (*zhenxing* 真性).

Florian C. Reiter

Jindan zhengzong 金丹正宗

11 fols.

Hu Huncheng 胡混成, *hao* Xuanxue jinshi 玄學進士; Song (960–1279)?

1087 (fasc. 742)

“Correct Line of Transmission of the Gold-Elixir.” The author was a native of Wuling 五陵 (Henan). This text focuses on the *neidan* 內丹 tradition, which is understood to be analogous to operative alchemy (3b). This text, which was written during the Song period at the earliest, is not documented in bibliographies.

The work sets out presenting some cosmogonic descriptions. The Original Breath of the Anterior Heaven (2a), which governs the life of humanity, appears to be the most vital element. It is the object of the corresponding concept of self-cultivation. The Posterior Heaven, or postnatal existence, is the reality that has to be seen in opposition to the faculties of the Anterior Heaven. Self-cultivation, which is based on a revelation made by Laozi, has to be performed according to three stages: first comes the (interior) establishment of the “furnaces,” then the “concentration of the medical essences,” and finally the (proper) “fire-phasing.” The author of this work gained these insights when he mysteriously met with an unknown immortal, who “may have been a person like Lü Yan or Zhongli Quan” (9a). Hu Huncheng concludes his work with a series of twelve short poems (*duanju* 短句) that contain the teachings of his anonymous master. The poems use an indirect, veiled diction.

Florian C. Reiter

Zhengdao ge 證道歌

5 fols.

By Zuozhang zi 左掌子; Northern Song (960–1127)

1095 (fasc. 743)

“Songs Bearing Witness to the Tao.” The text is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesbu mu* (VDL 165). The identity of the author is unknown. The preface indicates that the fifteen *neidan* 內丹 songs are inspired by the tradition of the Xiaodao school 孝道 of the Xishan 西山 near Nanchang.

The title *Zhengdao ge* has been given to a variety of texts. A poem by this name attributed to He Xiang 何仙姑 can be found in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 22.1b.

Kristofer Schipper

Yangsheng yongxuan ji 養生詠玄集

27 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

843 (fasc. 573)

“Collection [of Poems] on the Cultivation of Life and in Praise of the Mysteries.” This collection consists of thirty anonymous verses. Each verse consists of twenty-eight words. Commentaries on each sentence are provided. The poems summarize essential points in the scriptures concerning the achievement of Long Life and the liberation from the entanglements of the profane world.

The poems focus on key terms of the *neidan* 內丹 tradition, such as the Cinnabar Fields and Embryonic Breathing. They also deal with specific procedures like the “cultivation of the yang [forces] and the diminution of yin.” The explanations of these terms include quotations, for example, of the *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (2a, 2b; see 641 *Taishang laojun neiguan jing* 4a, 3b), or of a statement by Qizhen zi that can be found in 1017 *Daoshu* 30.11a. The quotation of the *Neiguan jing* suggests that this work was written in the period of the Five Dynasties (907–960) or the Song (960–1279).

Florian C. Reiter

3.A.4.c The *Wuzhen pian* and the Southern School (Nanzong)

The *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth) is an important alchemical work by ZHANG BODUAN (984–1082) of Tiantai 天台 (Zhejiang). Zhang’s original name was Boduan 伯端, which he later changed to Yongcheng 用成 (var. 誠). The earliest information about ZHANG BODUAN is supplied by the author himself in a preface and a postface to this work. In the preface, dated 1075, he mentions having served Lu Shen 陸詵 (i.e., Lu Longtu 陸龍圖, 1022–1070) in Chengdu; he notes that during this period he received instructions from a Taoist immortal on ingredients and fire phasing for the alchemical elixir (141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 16a). Later, he wrote the *Wuzhen pian*, a work that encompasses both the techniques of prolonging life (corresponding to *ming* 命, destiny) and of reverting to one’s original nature (i.e., *xing* 性). In the postface, dated 1078, he describes himself as a follower of the sixth Chan patriarch, Huineng 慧能 (141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, postface 3b). He also claims to have divulged alchemical secrets three times, but each

time he suffered misfortune. He therefore wrote the *Wuzhen pian* in order to instruct later adepts indirectly.

Further biographical details can be found in the *Wuzhen pian ji* 悟真篇記 (before 1173) by Lu Shen's grandson, Lu Sicheng 陸思誠, and in the *Zhang zhenren benmo* 張真人本末 (early thirteenth century? See 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* and 143 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao*). Both these sources were used for ZHANG BODUAN's biography in LZTT 49.

According to the *Wuzhen pian ji*, ZHANG BODUAN was demoted and banished to Guangnan xi 廣南西 (Guangxi), where he was employed by Lu Shen. Lu was later transferred to Chengdu and died there. After the death of Lu Shen, Zhang served a certain Ma Mo 馬默, to whom he later offered his book. The *Wuzhen pian ji* also identifies ZHANG BODUAN's mysterious teacher as LIU HAICHAN.

The *Zhang zhenren benmo* repeats the same information in part but adds the story of ZHANG BODUAN's visit to the official Huang Shang 黃裳 during the Zhenghe period (1131–1138).

It is known that during Huizong's reign (1100–1125), there was a great interest in Taoist books. Since Huang Shang was the official responsible for having woodblocks cut for the printing of the *Daozang*, it is possible that he received the *Wuzhen pian* from someone using ZHANG BODUAN's name. But apart from an undated preface by SHI TAI (d. 1158) to 1091 *Huanyuan pian*, and another doubtful one attributed to SHI TAI's disciple XUE DAOGUANG and dated 1115 (see below; also cf. the *Xue Zixian shiji* 薛紫賢事蹟 in 143 *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo*), there are hardly any traces of the book before the mid-twelfth century.

The *Wuzhen pian* is first listed in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* (VDL 118) as *Tongxuan biyao wuzhen pian* 通玄祕要悟真篇 in one juan. But we find it quoted frequently in earlier works. It is included in 1017 *Daoshu* 18.9b by ZENG ZAO (d. 1155) and in 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 2.9b (preface 1154) and 688 *Daode zhenjing zhijie* 2.12a (preface 1159). In 1161 a first commentary was written (cf. 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30]). A second commentary, dated 1169 or 1173, followed (see 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*). From this time on, ZHANG BODUAN's fame (and that of his book) was greatly enhanced.

During the Shunxi era (1174–1189), a Taoist claiming to be ZHANG BODUAN himself visited the latter's grandson (cf. Zhang's biography in the *Jiading Chicheng zhi* 35.12b). In 1196, a bridge in Tiantai 天台 was officially named *Wuzhen qiao* 悟真橋. In the following year, the name of the place where Zhang is said to have written the *Wuzhen pian* was changed to *Wuzhen fang* 悟真坊, and later a temple was built there in his honor (*Jiading Chicheng zhi* 31.7b and 2.14a).

In 1202, the first commentary was reedited (see 263.26 *Wuzhen pian*). Another commentary, by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎, was completed about 1226 (146 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi*).

Around 1330 CHEN ZHIXU compiled a work that included three commentaries (142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*). Another compilation of approximately the same date is 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* (preface 1335).

Several lines of transmission of ZHANG BODUAN's teachings, both direct and indirect, were known during the thirteenth century. The direct lineage that follows is given by BO YUCHAN in "Xie Zhang Ziyang shu 謝張紫陽書" (263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 6.4a): ZHANG BODUAN (d. 1082); SHI TAI (d. 1158); Xue Shi 薛式 (i.e., XUE DAOGUANG, d. 1191); CHEN NAN (d. 1213); BO YUCHAN (fl. early thirteenth century). By the mid-thirteenth century, this group was extended to PENG SI and his disciple Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (see the latter's introduction, dated 1260, in 687 *Daode zhenjing san jie*, preface, 7a–b).

The main characteristic of this group is that it did not produce a single commentary to the *Wuzhen pian* but expressed itself in verse, the collections being entitled *pian* 篇. Hence we have the *Huanyuan pian* 還元篇 (by SHI TAI), the *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇 (by XUE DAOGUANG), and the *Cuixu pian* 翠虛篇 (by CHEN NAN), all three preserved in the *Daozang*.

The second line of transmission is more difficult to trace, owing to the insistence on anonymity that prevailed within it. The first source for this group is a preface by Chen Daling 陳達靈 dated 1174 (141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 5a), which gives the following lineage: Wuzhen xianweng 悟真仙翁 (i.e., ZHANG BODUAN); Guangyi zi 廣益子 (fl. 1138–1168); Wuming zi 無名子 (fl. 1173). In the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), the list was extended by Lin Jing, hao Yuanyang zi, in a postface (cf. 151 *Jinyi huandan yinzheng tu* 17b): from Wuming zi to Ruoyi zi 若一子 and Longmei zi 龍眉子 (fl. 1218).

The first group of the second line of transmission was identified by Dai Qizong as Liu Yongnian 劉永年, hao Guangyi shunli zi 廣益順理子, and WENG BAOGUANG, zi Yuanming 淵明, hao Wuming zi (cf. 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 5a and 12b). The characters Wuming zi 無名子, meaning "anonymous," gave rise to a bitter quarrel about the true identity of the author of the commentary. For some commentators, including Dai Qizong, the author was clearly WENG BAOGUANG, but for others, such as the editor of 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, the commentary was the work of XUE DAOGUANG (see 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*).

The dispute over the authorship of the Wuming zi commentary was provoked by the question of the authenticity of a particular version of the *Wuzhen pian*. This problem led each owner of the text to declare his own version to be the only genuine one and to elaborate a complete line of transmission of the text.

There were already many editions of the *Wuzhen pian* available during the Southern Song when Lu Sicheng wrote the *Wuzhen pian ji*. Lu had inherited the book from his father. It was an edition that went back to the official Ma Mo, under whom ZHANG

BODUAN had served. Lu Sicheng reiterates the authenticity of his edition, at the same time giving us some examples of the variants in other editions (see below, “Wuzhen pian ji,” in 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*). This “true edition” (*zhenben* 真本) was later obtained by Weng Baoguang (preface 1173) in the region of Lake Dongting. On the transmission and editions of the *Wuzhen pian*, see also the article on 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* below.

The title *Wuzhen pian* was originally, at least during the early years of the Southern Song, applied to a set of eighty-one poems (cf. 1017 *Daoshu* 18.9b and 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 2.9b). ZHANG BODUAN himself states in his preface that the *Wuzhen pian* comprised eighty-one verses (141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 16b). Of these verses, the number of the first sixteen, two times eight (*erba zhi shu* 二八之術), stood for the balance of Yin and Yang. The following sixty-four verses were intended as an explanation of the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing* 易經. The last verse expressed the magnificence of Great Unity (Taiyi 太一). Zhang later added twelve alchemical *ci*-lyrics (to the tune of *Xijiang yue* 西江月) and, finally, thirty-two poems on various Buddhist subjects.

Despite this clear description of the contents, the order of the poems in the extant editions is often in disarray. This work 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi* contains only fifteen instead of the sixteen introductory poems; 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* includes only two of the thirty-two Buddhist poems, whereas 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* omits them completely. Some of the *Xijiang yue* *ci*-lyrics are missing from 146 *Wuzhen pian jiangyi*. Only 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* follows ZHANG BODUAN’s outline, but even here several more poems have been added.

Additions and omissions are not the only problem. Three of the five *Wuzhen pian* texts in the *Daozang* present the poems in practically the same numerical order. The *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition of *Wuzhen pian zhushu* does likewise, but the *Daozang* edition of the latter and 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi* change the order completely. The variants in the different editions raise further questions.

The key to these problems lies in the nature of the work itself. Written in the same obscure fashion as the famous *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, the book is open to manifold interpretations: is its subject *neidan* 內丹 (theoretical alchemy), or is it a manual of sexual techniques? As a *neidan* book, moreover, it could be used by each master to express his own ideas. The poems were used separately as individual *koujue* 口訣 (oral instructions), which explains why some versions present them in a different numerical order.

The *Wuzhen pian* was widely accepted as a commentary on the *Cantong qi* (cf. Fang Hui’s 方回 remarks in *Tongjiang xuji* 31.17a). The interpretation by the commentators, however, differed widely. The earliest commentary by Ye Wenshu 葉文叔 explained the work in terms of the *dayan* 大衍 system of the *Xici* 繫辭 appendix to the *Yijing* (see 263.26 *Wuzhen pian*). WENG BAOGUANG employed *Yinfu jing* terminology to

explain the alchemical process, culminating in the “great cyclically transformed elixir of liquefied gold nine-times transmuted” (*jiuzhuan jinyi da huandan* 九轉金液大還丹; 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 10b). Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎, according to Fang Hui, interpreted the book as a manual on gymnastics and breathing techniques (*Tongjiang xuji* 31.17a).

That the *Wuzhen pian* was linked to sexual techniques is evident since all the commentators lament its misinterpretation. They also refute energetically the idea that its contents resemble the methods of Zhang Sanfeng 張三峰, a reputed master of sexual techniques. ZHANG BODUAN’s biography in the *Zhang zhenren benmo* was clearly invented to aid in this refutation (cf. 143 *Sancheng biyao* 15b; see also Boyun zi’s preface of 1204, 14b, and Dai Qizong’s comments on 22b). This misinterpretation persisted nevertheless, judging from the quotations in 878 *Zituan danjing*, a book on dual cultivation.

Wuzhen pian 悟真篇

5 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端 (984–1082); commentaries by Ye Shibiao 葉士表, *zi* Wenshu 文叔 (dated 1161), and Yuan Gongfu 遠公輔 (dated 1202)

263.26 *Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30 (fasc. 126–127)

“Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth.” This work is a collection of the oldest commentaries on the *Wuzhen pian*; it was compiled by Yuan Gongfu in 1202 (cf. 143 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 19b). The text in five juan is mentioned in *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.349 with its complete title: *Wuzhen pian jizhu* 悟真篇集注. The present version has no prefaces, but the Yuan author Dai Qizong 戴起宗 possessed an edition that included prefaces by Ye Wenshu and Yuan Gongfu, dated 1161 and 1202, respectively (see 143 *Sancheng biyao* 19b, 20a). Ye Wenshu’s commentary is, moreover, criticized in a preface dated 1173 (141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 8b). Apart from Ye Wenshu’s commentary, the collection includes commentaries by WENG BAOGUANG or by XUE DAOGUANG (see 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* and 143 *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao*). These commentaries were excerpted from different editions and versions and are therefore introduced by two different names, Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 and Wuming zi 無名子 (see, e.g., 26.18a–18b).

The original Ye Wenshu commentary ended with a series of diagrams by the author, entitled “*Wuzhen pian waizhuan* 悟真篇外傳” (see 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 8b). The present version includes some diagrams and five poems but does not indicate the name of the author. The diagrams, entitled “*Danfang baojian tu* 丹房寶鑑圖,” are reproduced in 1068 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao tu* 8a–10b (ca. 1331) under the title “*Ziyang danfang baojian zhi tu* 紫陽丹房寶鑑之圖.”

The commentaries quote many important alchemical works such as the *Cantong qi* and related texts; the latest datable work is a commentary by Wang Dao 王道 (cf. 996 *Guwen longhu jing zhushu*, preface dated 1185). According to WENG BAOGUANG, Ye Wenshu's commentary was based on the numerical system known as *dayan* 大衍, explained in the *Xici* 繫辭 appendix of the *Yijing* 易經 (see 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 8b), which was the subject of many exegeses during the Tang and Song dynasties.

The 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* edition of the *Wuzhen pian* is the most complete, since it includes ZHANG BODUAN's Buddhist poems (cf. 144 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian shiyi*). Although there are a few changes in the order of some of the *jueju* 絕句 and *Xijiang yue* 西江月 poems, our text follows mostly the same numerical order as 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* and the *Wuzhen pian zhushu* (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

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Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu 紫陽真人悟真篇註疏

8 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端 (984–1028); commentary by WENG BAOGUANG 翁葆光, *zi* Yuanming 淵明, *hao* Wuming zi 無名子, Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 (1173); transmitted by Chen Daling 陳達靈, *hao* Ziyang weng 紫陽翁 (1174); edited and commented by Dai Qizong 戴起宗, *zi* Tongfu 同甫, *hao* Kongxuan zi 空玄子 (ca. 1337)

141 (fasc. 61–62)

"Commentary on Ziyang Zhenren's Awakening to Truth." This edition of the *Wuzhen pian* with Weng's commentary passed into the possession of Chen Daling, Weng's contemporary, who transmitted it to his disciple Boyun zi 白雲子 (cf. Chen Daling's preface in 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* and Boyun zi's introduction in 143 *Sancheng biyao* 14b).

WENG BAOGUANG does not say how or from whom he obtained his edition. His contemporary Chen, on the other hand, states in his preface that the book had been transmitted to Weng by Liu Yongnian 劉永年. This statement is in direct contradiction to what we know from elsewhere and refers to a line of transmission that had nothing to do with the Lu family, for whom Zhang had worked, but was attached to

the Zhang, Liu, Weng, Chen tradition of transmission. There were many versions of the *Wuzhen pian* during the Southern Song, and several Weng commentaries were also in circulation. The 263.26 *Wuzhen pian*, for instance, gives the author of the commentary sometimes as Wuming zi 無名子 and sometimes as Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 (WENG BAOGUANG was a native of Xiangchuan in Sichuan). CHEN ZHIXU, who was familiar with the *Xiuzhen shishu* version, also gives both names in 1067 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao*. Dai Qizong possessed two different versions as well (cf. 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* and 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi*).

Dai Qizong also claims that the Weng commentary incorporated in 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* is the original *Wuzhen pian* edition of the Lu family, later obtained by WENG BAOGUANG. The *Wuzhen pian ji* 2b–3a (preface to 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*) mentions several examples of variants in other editions, for instance, the poem “Raojun liaowu zhenru xing 饒君了悟真如性” in 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* 8.17b and 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 2.40a. This poem was not included in the edition belonging to the Lu family but in a “separate edition” (*bieben* 別本; cf. 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 3a). Since the poem can be found in all the versions of the *Wuzhen pian* in the *Daozang* except 146 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi*, it is possible that the original edition belonging to the Lu family was already lost or incomplete during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). See also the introduction to 3.A.4.c above.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian shiyi 紫陽真人悟真篇拾遺

11 fols.

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端 (984–1082)

144 (fasc. 64)

“Supplement to the Essay on Ziyang Zhenren’s [Immediate] Awakening to Truth.”

This text is mentioned in ZHANG BODUAN’s preface as comprising thirty-two poems in praise of Buddhism (see 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 16b). The present text, with the subtitle *Chanzong gesong shiqu zayan* 禪宗歌頌詩曲雜言, is a collection of thirty-two poems with a short introduction at the beginning; it is included in 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 30.1a–12a) under the title *Chanzong gesong* 禪宗歌頌 (Odes in Praise of Chan).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Wuzhen pian zhushi* 悟真篇註釋**

3 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端 (984–1082); commentary by Weng Baoguang 翁葆光, *zi* Yuanming 淵明, *hao* Wuming zi 無明子 (fl. 1173)

145 (fasc. 65)

“Explication of the Essay on [Immediate] Awakening to Truth.” This work is a variant version of the WENG BAOGUANG commentary given in 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*; it was compiled by Dai Qizong 戴起宗 and is described by the latter in a postface dated 1336 (see 143 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 22b).

The text was preceded by a short preface by Zixu zi 子虛子. The latter, according to Dai, deleted a whole section of WENG BAOGUANG’s preface (see 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 10b). This section in our text (preface 4a) is shorter and quite different from the other version. The preface in the present text is also undated, whereas the other version is dated 1173.

Dai Qizong also describes the work as being divided into three juan, with an introduction at the beginning of each chapter, which is the case in the present text. These prefaces actually constitute three essays, entitled “Sancheng biyao lun 三乘秘要論,” added to the text by Zixu zi (see 143 *Sancheng biyao* 7b–12b and 22b).

Our text is referred to once as a “separate edition” (*bieben* 別本) in 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* 7.7b (compare with 2.48a). The *bieben* quoted in our text (2.35a), however, is the same as the XUE DAOGUANG commentary in 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 4.11a.

The numerical order of the *Wuzhen pian* poems in the present work differs from that in all the other commentaries. The third chapter is devoted to a long alchemical poem by ZHANG BODUAN, entitled “Du Zhouyi cantong qi.” The poems on Buddhist themes, however, are not included.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao

紫陽真人悟真直指詳說三乘秘要

33 fols., appendix

143 (fasc. 64)

“Explanations on Ziyang Zhenren’s Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth.” This text and its appendix, “Detailed Explanation of the Directives of the *Wuzhen pian* and Esoteric [Transmission of the] Essential [Methods of the] Three Vehicles,” are presented as two separate texts in the *Daozang*. The appendix, erroneously numbered 144 instead of 143 in the *Yiwen yinshu guan* 藝文印書館 index of

the *Daozang*, should have been placed directly after the main text, as it is in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition of the 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* and also in the edition in the Ming collection, *Jindan zhengli daquan* 金丹正理大全 (in *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集). These two editions are virtually identical.

A comparison of the present text with the *Siku quanshu* edition brings other anomalies to light. The presentation of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 poems in the latter matches that in 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, except in the case of the twelve *Xijiang yue* 西江月 poems, where the numbers are slightly different. The present text, however, changes the order completely. Moreover, the *Siku quanshu* edition, entitled *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, is in three juan with a one-juan appendix: *Wuzhen pian zhushu zhixiangshuo*. Our text, however, is divided into eight juan. Moreover, the present work should include the *Wuzhen pian ji* 悟真篇記 (see preface 5a, 8a), which the editors of the *Daozang* wrongly placed at the beginning of 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*. The present text has also been considerably reworked, and we find whole passages of 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* interpolated into the commentaries (see, e.g., 1.10b); quotations from a “separate edition” (*bieben* 別本) generally refer to the latter text. These interpolations and most of the allusions to the separate edition are lacking in the *Siku quanshu* edition, which on the whole is more complete and reliable. Since most of the interpolations consist of commentaries by CHEN ZHIXU and Lu Shu 陸墅, it is possible that the additions were made by a member of CHEN ZHIXU’s school. Our text also includes one poem (7.21a) that is missing in all the other *Daozang* editions.

The appendix is a collection of essays, prefaces, biographies and explanations by WENG BAOGUANG, Dai Qizong 戴起宗, and other authors. The *Daozang* edition is clearly inferior to that in *Siku quanshu* and contains many omissions. Some of the materials, especially the biographies, are abridged.

Half of the appendix (1a–13a) comprises essays by WENG BAOGUANG. Of these, the three entitled “Sancheng biyao 三乘秘要” were added as introductions to each of the three juan of 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi*.

A short preface by Boyun zi 白雲子, dated 1204, relates the history of the transmission of the WENG BAOGUANG commentary.

The *Zhang zhenren benmo* 張真人本末 is a short biography based on 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, “*Wuzhen pian ji* 悟真篇記,” written shortly before 1173. The biography further relates a story to the effect that ZHANG BODUAN and two other officials were three stars of the Ziwei 紫微 constellation. This story was told to the author of the *Benmo* by the grandson of Huang Shang 黃裳 (1044–1130), one of the officials, and was clearly meant to denigrate the latter. Since the tradition that ZHANG BODUAN was a banished star is mentioned by BO YUCHAN in his collected works (early thirteenth century; see *Bo Yuchan quanji* 白玉蟾全集 7.20a in *Daozang jinghua*), the

biography must have been written toward the end of the twelfth century or at the beginning of the thirteenth.

The *Xue Zixian shiji* 薛紫賢事蹟 (16b–19a) is an account of the Buddhist XUE DAOGUANG's meeting with his master Shi Xingling 石杏林 and of his subsequent conversion to Taoism. This account, which contains biographical material on both XUE DAOGUANG and Shi Xingling, is reproduced in LZTT 49. The *Xue Zixian shiji* was intended as an introduction to a commentary on the *Wuzhen pian* attributed to XUE DAOGUANG (18b), and as such it plays a decisive role in the dispute over the authorship of the WENG BAOGUANG commentary.

Both the *Daozang* and the *Siku quanshu* editions of the *Xue Zixian shiji* are incomplete, but again the latter is clearly better. According to another version of the *Xue Zixian shiji*, XUE DAOGUANG wrote his commentary in order to correct Ye Wenshu's mistaken interpretation (cf. *Sizhu Wuzhen pian*, preface 3b). According to Dai Qizong (20a), since the *Shiji* and the commentary had been transcribed by Shangqiu laopu Jinshi Weng Yuanwang Zhenyi 商邱老圃今是翁元王真一 (?) in 1115, XUE DAOGUANG could not have criticized Ye Wenshu, whose commentary had been written in 1161. The end of the *Shiji*, however, is wrongly appended to 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 6a, where it is dated 1169 (read *jichou* 己丑 for *yichou* 乙丑). Thus the possibility that XUE DAOGUANG (d. 1191) wrote a commentary cannot be excluded. The *Shiji* in the *Wuzhen pian sizhu* also gives the date 1169 and states that the text was transcribed by Shangqiu laopu twenty-eight years later (i.e., ca. 1197).

Nonetheless, there are several points in favor of Dai Qizong's hypothesis that the commentary was written by WENG BAOGUANG:

1. The commentary by XUE DAOGUANG is not quoted in the thirteenth century, either by BO YUCHAN or by other followers of his school. The 1088 *Huandan fuming pian*, on the other hand is mentioned often.

2. The *Wuzhen pian* in 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30) comprises commentaries by Xiangchuan Weng 象川翁 and by Wuming zi 無名子. These commentaries are also quoted by CHEN ZHIXU in 1067 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao* (see 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*). Since Xiangchuan Weng was the *hao* of WENG BAOGUANG, and since the *Xiuzhen shishu* was compiled by disciples of the *Wuzhen pian* school, the error would surely have been corrected if the commentary had actually been written by XUE DAOGUANG.

3. YU YAN, who was a great admirer of ZHANG BODUAN and XUE DAOGUANG, quotes both the *Wuzhen pian* and the *Huandan fuming pian* but criticizes the commentary by WENG BAOGUANG (see 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 1.3b; 4.3a; 9.2a; and 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 2.22b, 32a, 35a).

4. XUE DAOGUANG met his teacher in 1120, according to his preface (see 1088 *Huandan fuming pian*), but the *Xue Zixian shiji* gives a date of 1106. The *Shiji* was

then transcribed in III5 (19a), further proof of a reworking of the text at a later date. The *Shiji* is quoted in Lu Shu's preface (cf. 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, preface 2b).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu 紫陽真人悟真篇三註

5 juan

Commentaries by CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子 (fl. 1331); Lu Shu 陸壑, *zi* Ziye 子野 (fl. thirteenth century?); and Xue Shi 薛氏 (i.e., XUE DAOGUANG 薛道光, *zi* Daoyuan 道源, *hao* Zixian 紫賢 (dated 1169); appendix: “Wuzhen pian ji 悟真篇記” by Lu Sicheng 陸思誠, *zi* Yanfo 彦孚 (before 1173); edited and printed by Zhang Shihong 張士弘 (fl. fourteenth century)

142 (fasc. 63–64)

“Three Commentaries on Ziyang Zhenren’s Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth.” The editor, Zhang Shihong, was an official during the reign of Wenzong (1328–1329) of the Yuan dynasty (see *Yuan shi* 32.719). He was therefore a contemporary of CHEN ZHIXU. The commentary attributed to XUE DAOGUANG in our text, however, is quoted by Chen as being by Wuming zi 無名子 or Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 in 1067 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 5.10a. Chen’s quotations were excerpted from the collection included in 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30). In his preface (4b) to the present text, however, Chen not only criticizes the collection but also mentions the commentaries by XUE DAOGUANG and Lu Shu, to which he later added his own comments (preface 5a).

Zhang Shihong was responsible for some changes in the *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* compiled by CHEN ZHIXU. He deleted all the poems that figure in 144 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian shiyi* and also a few others that he claimed were forgeries (preface 6b).

There were many editions of the *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* available at the time the *Daozang* was compiled. Later additions to 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* were excerpted from a different version; the commentary by Lu Shu in 7.21a, for example, is missing in the present text.

Four of the five quotations from “a separate edition” (*bieben* 別本) in 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* (1.1b, 5b, 2.17a, and 6.3b) can be found in our text (1.1b, 3a, 17a, and 4.1a).

The *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* presents the poems in the order described in ZHANG BODUAN’s preface, with one additional *Xijiang yue* 西江月 and five *jueju* 絕句 poems at the end.

The “Wuzhen pian ji 悟真篇記” or “Notes on the *Wuzhen pian*” by Lu Sicheng, which was added to the present critical and annotated edition of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 as prefatory matter, comprises a biography of ZHANG BODUAN and an account

of the events surrounding the transmission of the *Wuzhen pian*. It is mentioned by WENG BAOGUANG in his preface dated 1173 and should have been placed originally at the end of the latter's commentary (cf. 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 5a and 8a). The version of the "Wuzhen pian ji" we have here is incomplete. It ends abruptly on page 3a, followed (3b–5b) by a passage from CHEN ZHIXU's commentary (2.4a–6b). It ends (6a) with the last paragraph of the *Xue Zixian shiji*, which is dated 1169 (cf. 143 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 19a). A comparison with another version shows that only the last line—bearing Lu Sicheng's name, and his official title, Zhaofeng lang 朝奉郎—is missing (cf. *Wuzhen pian jizhu* 悟真篇集注 7, *Daozang jinghua* edition). Zhaofeng lang, a prestigious title, occurs only after the Shaoxing era, that is, after 1161 (*Song shi* 168.4012); hence the "Wuzhen pian ji" must have been written after this date, along with WENG BAOGUANG's preface. The work was known to BO YUCHAN (early thirteenth century), according to Dai Qizong 戴起宗 (141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 5a). In the early Yuan, the "Wuzhen pian ji" was often quoted (cf. 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 6.25a and 9.5b), and the LZTT 49 refers to it as "another source" (*yi* 一云) for ZHANG BODUAN's biography.

Although the "Wuzhen pian ji" is one of the main sources for the history of the work's textual transmission, it contains a number of errors with respect to the native places of some of the persons mentioned in the work.

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Farzeen Baldrian-Husein

Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi 紫陽真人悟真篇講義

7 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端, *zi* Pingshu 平叔, *hao* Ziyang 紫陽 (984–1082); commentary by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎, *zi* Zongyu 宗禹, *hao* Yunfeng sanren 雲峰散人 (ca. 1226)

146 (fasc. 66)

"Ziyang Zhenren's Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth Explained." Three prefaces by Xia Yuanding's friends, all scholar-officials, precede the text. The earliest of these, by Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235), is dated 1227. The commentary was, however, written earlier, since it is mentioned in a postface dated 1226 (see 109 *Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi*, 4.11b, "Jindan sanshu 金丹三書," referring to the present work and two other commentaries by the same author). According to his own account, written in 1224, Xia Yuanding was initiated on Longhu shan 龍虎山 (Jiangxi) in 1220 (*Nanyue yushi benmo* 16a). The commentary was therefore written between this date and 1226.

Xia Yuanding's interpretation of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 is based principally on the Zhong-Lü texts (see especially 2.9b). Among these, 246 *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* and 263.14 *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16) are frequently quoted. The author also quotes (1.5b) a verse from 1088 *Huandan fuming pian* (1a) by XUE DAO-GUANG, but unfortunately none of the extant *Wuzhen pian* commentaries are mentioned. Most of the quotations are from poems attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN or to LÜ DONGBIN; Xia Yuanding is known to have compiled a collection of the latter's verse entitled *Jindan shijue* 金丹詩訣 in two juan (q.v.).

The Xia commentary comprises only sixteen poems in regulated verse (*lüshi* 律詩), the sixty-four *jueju* 絕句, one *lüshi* in five-character lines, and twelve *Xijiang yue* 西江月 lyric poems. All the poems on Buddhist themes are missing. A comparison with the *Xiuzhen shishu* version also shows that the order of the sixteen *lüshi* is totally different; however, except for a few *jueju* there are no other changes in presentation. According to the Yuan author Fang Hui 方回 (1227–1306), Xia Yuanding not only practiced heterodox methods but also fabricated the twelve *Xijiang yue*, wrongly attributed to ZHANG BODUAN (see *Tongjiang xuji* 31.17a). The latter accusation, however, does not hold up, since the twelve poems in question are mentioned in ZHANG BODUAN's preface and figure in all editions of the *Wuzhen pian*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Hunyuan bajing zhenjing 混元八景真經

5 juan

First half of the twelfth century?

660 (fasc. 344)

“Book of the Eight Effulgences of the Origin of Chaos.” This is an undated treatise on Inner Alchemy. ZENG ZAO gives an abstract of the present book in 1017 *Daoshu* 17, “Hunyuan pian 混元篇,” which covers the complete text as it appears here. A commentary on 3.1a confirms its present division into five juan, but the original version must have had three. On 2.5b there is a reference to a middle juan, while on 1.10b there is a mention of a third and final juan. As these references are to passages on 3.2a and 5.11b–12a, respectively, we may suppose that the first three juan of the present version, written as a dialogue, correspond to the original first two juan, while the present juan 4 and 5, which contain more practical instructions, are the original final juan. However, the text seems to have been divided from the beginning into five chapters (*pian* 篇), as we find on 4.1a a reference to a fifth *pian* that discusses the establishment of an altar (*litan* 立壇); this reference corresponds, indeed, to a section beginning on 5.8b in the present edition.

The main characteristic of the contents of the present book is its relationship to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, in vocabulary as well as in argument. For instance, the

discussion on 3.5b–7b on the Three and the Five (*sanwu* 三五) and the conception of the Infant is cognate to poem 14 of the sixteen seven-word poems in the *Wuzhen pian* (see 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 26.29a–30a]), while the passage on the White Tiger's First Menses on 4.14b is related to number 3 of the *Xijiang yue* 西江月 irregular poems (263.26 *Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 29.4b–5a]). The book contains also numerous references to the ritual framework of the *neidan* practices it describes (see 1.3b; 5.2b; 5.13b–14a). These descriptions do not allow us, however, to establish a relationship between the present book and the liturgical practices of the so-called Hunyuan 混元 ritual that existed in Song (960–1279) times (see 1220 *Daofa huiyuan*).

The entire book is written in a vernacular style with many colloquialisms (e.g., 5.4b: 三年變盡凡體立出一箇神仙的不謬矣).

The available evidence therefore points to the first half of the twelfth century as the period in which the present book must have been written.

Kristofer Schipper

Huanyuan pian 還源篇

10 fols.

By SHI TAI 石泰, *zi* Dezhi 得之, *hao* Xinglin 杏林, Cuixuan zi 翠玄子 (d. 1158) 1091 (fasc. 742)

“Book on Returning to the Origin.” This book is a collection of eighty-one alchemical poems in seven-word verse. The poems were written a year after SHI TAI's encounter with ZHANG BODUAN (see the preface). This meeting is described in detail in the “Xue Zixian shiji 薛紫賢事蹟,” a biography relating SHI TAI's transmission of his teaching to his disciple XUE DAOGUANG (143 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 6b; cf. also SHI TAI's and XUE DAOGUANG's biographies in LZTT 49).

SHI TAI's poems and preface are included in 263.1 *Zazhu zhixuan pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 2). The latter work, moreover, contains a postface (7.9b–10b) by SHI TAI that is missing in the text under discussion. This postface, however, is appended to XUE DAOGUANG's “Dansui ge 丹髓歌” and discusses the essential ideas of the poem. It is therefore possible that it was not originally a postface to the *Huanyuan pian*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan fuming pian 還丹復命篇

13 fols.

By XUE DAOGUANG 薛道光, alias Shi 式, *zi* Daoyuan 道源, *hao* Zixian 紫賢, Biling chanshi 毗陵禪師; preface dated 1126

1088 (fasc. 742)

“Book of the Return to Life and the Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This is a collection of alchemical poems by XUE DAOGUANG, the third patriarch in the *Wuzhen pian* lineage. According to the preface, XUE DAOGUANG received an oral instruction (*koujue* 口訣) from a master in 1120 (?), but his biography in the LZTT 49 and the “Xue Zixian shiji 薛紫賢事蹟” (143 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 17a) states that he met SHI TAI, author of 1091 *Huanyuan pian* and direct disciple of ZHANG BODUAN, in 1106.

The present title is listed in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.349, which also mentions the preface (dated 1126). This title actually refers to the poems in the first half of the text (1a–8a), according to the description of the work in the preface. The “Dansui ge 丹髓歌” (8b–11b) was appended by a compiler at a later date. The latter also figures in 263.1 *Zazhu zhixuan pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 4b–9b).

The present text included a commentary in Yuan (1279–1368) times (see *Xishang futan* 2.6b); this commentary is no longer extant.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Cuixu pian 翠虛篇

28 fols.

By CHEN NAN 陳楠, *zi* Nanmu 南木, *hao* Cuixu weng 翠虛翁, Niwan xiansheng 泥丸先生 (d. 1213); compiled by Wang Sicheng 王思誠, *zi* Zhenxi zi 真息子 (fl. 1217)

1090 (fasc. 742)

“Book of Azure-Emptiness.” This collection is attributed to CHEN NAN, one of the patriarchs in the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 lineage and a disciple of XUE DAOGUANG (see his biography in LZTT 49 and 1088 *Huandan fuming pian*). For a printing of this work before 1250, see the article on 1072 *Jindan zhizhi*. Chen also obtained a book on Thunder magic, the *Jingxiao dalei lang shu* 景霄大雷琅書, at Limu shan 黎姥山 (see LZTT 49.15a and the biographical note in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 108.15b–16b). Both CHEN NAN and his disciple BO YUCHAN were linked to Thunder rites (see van der Loon, “A Taoist collection,” 402). According to YU YAN (fl. 1284), the entire *Cuixu pian* had been fabricated by the prolific Bo (*Xishang futan* 2.2b). The LZTT 49, however, mentions a collection entitled *Cuixu miaowu quanji* 翠虛妙悟全集 by CHEN NAN.

The *Daozang* edition of the *Cuixu pian* comprises a preface by Wang Sicheng,

seven poems, and a short alchemical treatise. The *Daozang jiyao* (“Kui 奎” 4.127) has a better edition, since it omits the second poem, entitled “Dadao ge 大道歌,” which is an interpolation (see 238 *Yuanyang zi jinyi ji* 1a ff.). The *Daozang jiyao* also includes a colophon by Chen Yuxing 陳與行, dated 1217 (cf. *Bo Haiqiong quanji* 白海瓊全集 6.34a, 133). The colophon, entitled *Ba Chen Niwan zhenren cuixu pian* 跋陳泥丸真人翠虛篇, states that the first poem in our text, the “Ziting jing 紫庭經” (1a), had been noted down by Pan Jingliang 潘景良 and that Wang Sicheng not only compiled the *Cuixu pian* but also supplemented it.

The 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* includes some poems from the present text but wrongly attributes a *Cuixu pian* to Niwan xiansheng Chen Pu 泥丸先生陳朴 (cf. 263.12 *Zazhu jiejing* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 1a], 1096 *Chen xiansheng neidan jue*, and 1072 *Jindan zhizhi*, preface).

The “Luofou cuixu yin” (7b), a poem dedicated to BO YUCHAN in 1212, is included in 1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 4.1a ff. (ca. 1221). The collection also includes three *ci*-lyrics (15b–16a) in honor of Chen’s three main disciples: Sha Daozhao 沙道昭, Ju Jiushi 鞠九思, and BO YUCHAN. Finally, the “Jindan shijue 金丹詩訣” is a set of eighty-one alchemical poems in seven-word verses.

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jindan zhizhi 金丹直指

13 fols.

By Zhou Wusuo-zhu 周無所住; preface dated 1250

1072 (fasc. 739)

“Straightforward Instructions for [Inner] Alchemy.” The author, a native of Yongjia 永嘉 (modern Wenzhou) who uses the surname Wusuo-zhu 無所住 (Homeless), states in his preface that in the course of his search for the Tao since an early age, he met a certain Lin Ziran 林自然 of Mount Chicheng 赤城 in the year 1242. Lin instructed him in alchemy and introduced him to his master Li zhenren 李真人. Thereupon, the author visited many Taoist training centers (*conglin* 叢林), until in 1249 he met a certain Fang Bixu 方碧虛 of the Zongyang 宗陽 [temple], who was known as an authentic transmitter of the tradition of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇. Having shown Fang the text of the present work, Zhou obtained his friendship. Later he discussed his ideas with the Buddhist monk Yuan-can 圓燦 from Putian 莆田 and others, who assured him that his ideas were in agreement with Chan teachings and with the works of the Nanzong patriarchs ZHANG BODUAN and CHEN NAN. The author, together with a fellow Taoist named Wu 吳 from the Boyun an 白雲菴 in Zhupu 竹浦, printed the

Jindan xu 金丹序 of Zhang zhenren 張真人 and the 1090 *Cuixu pian* of Niwan Chen zhenren 泥丸陳真人 (q.v.).

The work consists of sixteen poems on Inner Alchemy and a treatise on the same subject, which also discusses the unity of the Three Teachings.

Kristofer Schipper

Jindan sibai zi 金丹四百字

12 fols.

Attributed to ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端 (984–1082); commentary by Huang

Ziru 黃自如, dated 1241

1081 (fasc. 741)

“The Elixir Explained in Four Hundred Words.” This text comprises twenty poems (in five-word verses) and a long preface (1a–5a), both ascribed to ZHANG BODUAN, *zi* Pingshu. According to the preface, this poem was transmitted to MA ZIRAN. BO YUCHAN, in a letter addressed to ZHANG BODUAN, alludes to this work but does not mention the present title (see 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 6.4b, “Xie Zhang Ziyang shu”).

Bo claims to have come across the text in the Wuyi 武夷 Mountains. In his colophon dated 1241, Huang Ziru from Xujiang 盱江 (Jiangxi) seems convinced that the work was written by Zhang, but the Yuan (1279–1368) author YU YAN claims that the entire text had been fabricated by the prolific BO YUCHAN, because the earliest edition of this work had appeared in a collection entitled *Qunxian zhuyu ji* 群仙珠玉集 (listed in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.353), a compendium of Taoist works collected or written by BO YUCHAN himself (*Xishang futan* 2.8a). A later tradition claims that the work was revealed to Bo by ZHANG BODUAN (cf. 1067 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 7.6b). The Huang Ziru version, which is also the earliest edition of this work, is reproduced in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 5, but without Huang’s colophon and with the addition of five poems by Huang. There are many editions of this popular work extant; the most important of these can be found in the *Daoyan neiwai quanshu* collected by Peng Haogu (1597), in the *Fanghu waishi* by Lu Xixing (1520–1606), and in Li Wenshu’s *Jindan sibai zi jie* (1061).

The text describes the Inner Alchemical process based on the theory discussed in 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*.

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Yuqing jinsi qinghua biwen jinbao neilian danjue

玉清金笥青華祕文金寶內鍊丹訣

3 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端, *zi* Pingshu 平叔, *hao* Ziyang 紫陽 (984?–1082)

240 (fasc. 114)

“Alchemical Formula for the Inner Purification of the Gold Treasure; Secret Writings from the Golden Box of the Jade Purity [Heaven], Transmitted by the Immortal Qinghua.” Although this *neidan* 內丹 treatise is ascribed to ZHANG BODUAN, it was collected and recorded by a disciple (2.5a).

The disciple is identified as Wang Bangshu 王邦叔 in an introduction to the text in the *Daoyan neiwai quanshu* (collected by Peng Haogu; preface 1597). This introduction, which is missing in the *Daozang* edition, states (a) that the text was revealed to ZHANG BODUAN by Qinghua zhenren 青華真人, and (b) that it was transmitted to Wang Bangshu by ZHANG BODUAN on Luofu shan 羅浮山.

The treatise is not listed in any of the bibliographies. BO YUCHAN mentions a *Yuqing lingpian* 玉清靈篇, but it is evident from the context that he is referring to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (cf. 263.1 *Zazhu zhixuan pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 4.8b]).

The divinity Qinghua dijun 青華帝君 played an important role in the Shenxiao order during Song Huizong’s reign (1100–1125), but the text (1.8b) quotes the *Ruyao jing* 入樂鏡, a poem popular during the Southern Song (1127–1279; cf. 135 *Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie*). Moreover, ZHANG BODUAN is referred to as Zhang zi 張子, an appellation used for the philosopher Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1076) during the Song (cf. *Zhang Zai ji* 張載集 307, 373). The use of Zhang Zai’s philosophical terms, such as *qizhi zhi xing* 氣質之性, is further evidence of the author’s intention of linking this spurious work with the name of a leading Song philosopher.

The text explains inner alchemical theory using pseudo-philosophical terminology (fig. 21.) Part of the work is presented as a dialogue between ZHANG BODUAN and a disciple, the rest as discourses on various *neidan* 內丹 topics. The main emphasis is on “circulation of the inner light.”



FIGURE 21. Allegory of the sublimation of yin energy in Inner Alchemy (240 2.13a)

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

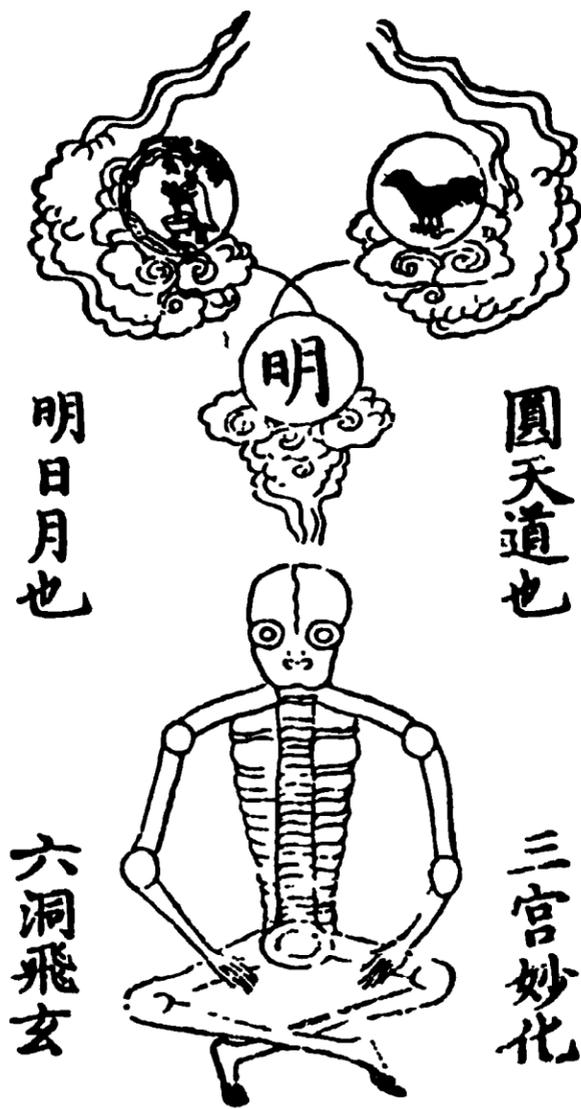


FIGURE 22. The being of light rising from its mortal body (154 10a)

Shangqing Taixuan jiuyang tu 上清太玄九陽圖

12 fols.

By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; end of the twelfth century

154 (fasc. 68)

“Shangqing Illustrations of Yang-Nine by [Master] Taixuan.” Hou Shanyuan was a Taoist from the Shenju dong 神居洞 on Mount Guye 姑射山 in Shanxi. His *hao* was Taixuan zi, hence the title. Hou was a contemporary of Mao Hui 毛麾 who was received at the imperial court in 1190 (see 758 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu* and 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 7.6b)

This book contains diagrams accompanied by (mostly versified) commentaries on the *xiuzhen* 修真. The illustrations of the nine fundamental phases of alchemical transmutation are followed by drawings with commentary concerning fire-phasing and, finally, by twelve songs on the twelve alchemical periods (see fig. 22).

The present work shows a strong influence of Chan Buddhism and situates itself in the tradition of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, which is quoted on page 2a. It also quotes the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 (page 6b).

Catherine Despeux

Yuanqing zi zhiming pian 爰清子至命篇

2 juan

By Wang Qingsheng 王慶升, *hao* Yuanqing zi 爰清子; 1249

1089 (fasc. 742)

“Master Yuanqing’s Book of the Supreme Life Force.” In his preface, dated 1249, Wang Qingsheng defines this life force as the culmination of *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 resulting from the true realization of one’s innate nature. The author’s teacher was a disciple of BO YUCHAN (cf. 275 *Sanji zhiming quanti* 11a), whence his use of diagrams and poems to elucidate his system, a method current during the thirteenth century in the so-called Southern school of Taoism.

The first juan comprises poems and five diagrams describing the Inner Alchemical process. Wang Qingsheng’s explanations are mostly based on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, which is quoted frequently.

The second juan includes a series of *jueju* 絕句 poems in seven-character verse, entitled “Rudao shi 入道詩” (Upon Entering the Tao), as well as a commentary on a

famous *ci*-lyric attributed to LÜ DONGBIN: the “Qinyuan chun 沁園春” (cf. 136 *Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Sanji zhiming quanti* 三極至命筌蹄**

By Wang Qingsheng 王慶升, *zi* Guozhai 果齋, *hao* Yuanqing zi 爰清子; after

1244

275 (fasc. 133)

“The Three Ultimates and the Supreme Destiny Ensnared.” The author wrote this work after 1244, the last date mentioned in the text. He was the disciple of Master Yao 姚, whose *hao* was Taoyuan zi 桃源子, himself a follower of BO YUCHAN. A certain Yang Caiyin 楊菜隱 instructed Wang in the principles of alchemy in 1243 and of fire-phasing in 1244 (11b). Wang thus belonged to the Southern school of alchemy. He gives a list of the works written by the patriarchs of this lineage and transmitted to their successors (10a–12a).

Following a number of diagrams, with commentary, on Inner Alchemy—including those of the Three Ultimates: Wuji 無極, Taiji 太極, and Huangji 皇極—the author discusses the meaning of the Five Chariots (*wuju* 五車) of, successively, the sheep, the deer, the buffalo, the great buffalo, and the great white buffalo. Wang also discusses the Three Vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘), and there is a commentary on a poem of Outer Alchemy (*waidan* 外丹) by BO YUCHAN (“Ziqing Bo zhenren jinyi dahuan waidan jue 紫清白真人金液大還外丹訣”; 12a–23b), as well as a versified explanation on a song by LÜ DONGBIN (“Chunyang zhenren shuangtian xiaojiao 純陽真人霜天曉角”; 21b–23a). These two texts cannot be found in the works of their respective authors in the *Daozang*. The final part of the present work contains short prose and poetic texts by the author.

Catherine Despeux

***Pomi zhengdao ge* 破迷正道歌**

6 fols.

Attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN 鍾離權, *hao* Zhengyang zhenren 正陽真人;

mid-eleventh century

270 (fasc. 133)

“Song for Dispelling Doubts Concerning the Correct Path.” This short Inner Alchemical poem is attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN. The date of the poem is difficult to ascertain, since it is nowhere quoted in its present form. One of the earliest works to mention a *Pomi gelun* 破迷歌論 by ZHONGLI QUAN is 275 *Sanji zhiming quanti* 15b (ca. 1250). But in the absence of a quotation, it is impossible to know whether the title refers to our poem. Later, during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), a different

poem is quoted under the same title (*Zhengyang weng Zhimi ge* 正陽翁指迷歌; cf. 1067 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 9.6a), suggesting that there were several poems with the same title in circulation. There existed, nevertheless, several versions of the poem during the Yuan (cf. 1b of the present text and 281 *Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue* 11b). For example, 139 *Taishang dongzhen ningshen xiuxing jingjue* not only is a reduced version but comprises variants that clearly point to another edition.

The poem, in seven-character verses, seems to have been modeled on another poem attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN that was very much in vogue during the twelfth century. Nonetheless, the present poem does not accept many of the ideas presented in the latter (cf. 1a and 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 28.5b]).

The vocabulary and terms employed are based on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, in a style resembling that of CHEN NIWAN (cf. 1090 *Cuixu pian*). Moreover, the basic ideas show a marked influence of Chan Buddhism. On the other hand, the poem criticizes popular *neidan* 內丹 techniques described in other texts attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN, suggesting that the author of the poem was affiliated with the *Wuzhen pian* group. The alchemical process described in the text is accomplished spontaneously upon the discovery and circulation of the qi of Former Heaven (*xiantian zhi qi* 先天之氣).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taishang dongzhen ningshen xiuxing jingjue 太上洞真凝神修行經訣

4 fols.

Late Song (960–1279) or early Yuan (1279–1368)

139 (fasc. 60)

“Instructions from the Book of Practicing Concentration of the Spirit in the Canon of the Cavern of [Penetrating] Truth of the Most High.” This poem in seven-word verses is an abridged version of 270 *Pomi zhengdao ge*, attributed to Zhongli Quan.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jinyi huandan yinzheng tu 金液還丹印證圖

23 fols.

By Longmei zi 龍眉子; ca. 1222

151 (fasc. 68)

“Illustrations of the Return of the Liquified Gold to the Cinnabar Field.” This work is a collection of drawings with accompanying poems by Longmei zi, whose real name, like those of many other authors of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 tradition (e.g., Wuming zi 無名子, mentioned on 19b), is unknown.

There is a preface by Longmei zi dated 1218, but the colophon at the end (17b–18b) was written later, in approximately 1222 (*gengzi* 庚子 is an error for *gengchen* 庚辰).

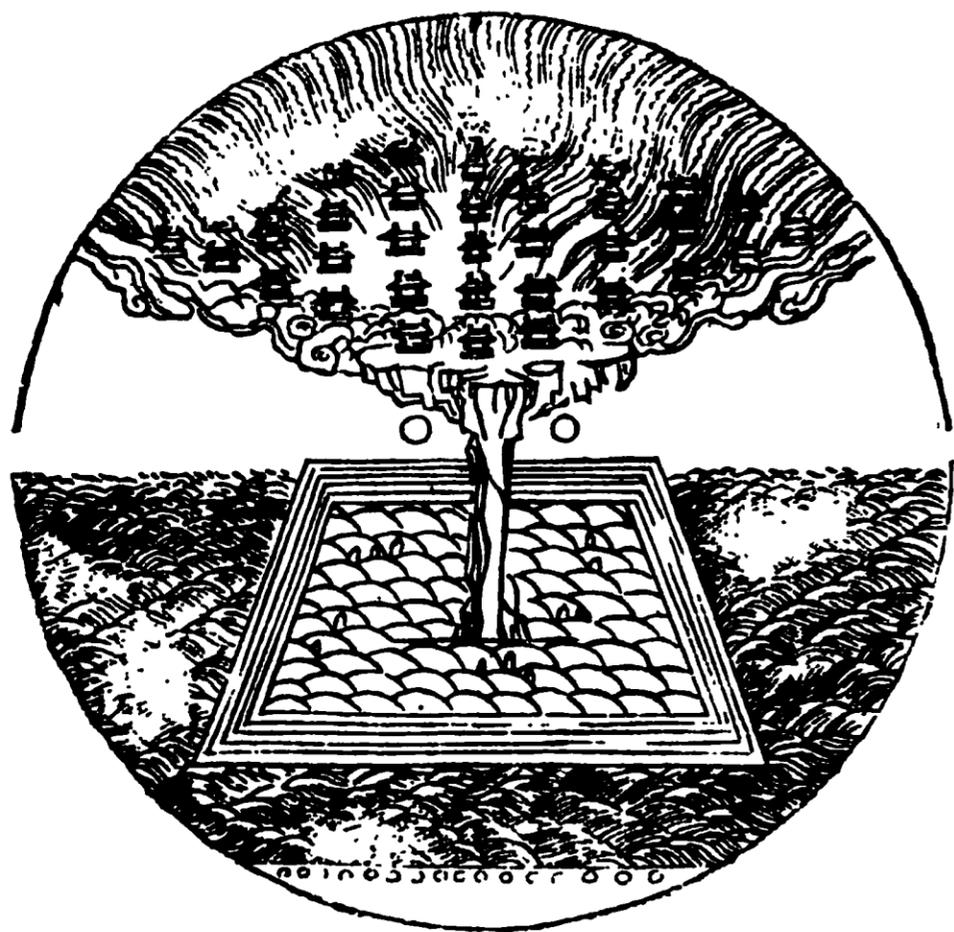


FIGURE 23. Heaven and Earth, to be visualized in the first stage of the inner recreation of the universe (151 2b)



FIGURE 24. Yin and yang, with the vessels of reproduction (151 3a-b)

Wuzhen pian commentary. He divides the illustrations into two groups of nine drawings (cf. the preface). The first group represents the beginning of the alchemical experiment as a circle corresponding to Taiji 太極, the One Qi (*yiqi* 一氣) that underlies all change of the expanding universe and that after numerous transformations ends in the formation of the elixir. The second group shows the stages that lead from the

Another colophon by Wang Jingxuan 王景玄, a Taoist belonging to the lineage of BO YUCHAN, maintains that Bo drew the pictures, but that the poems are by Longmei zi. Since Wang refers to Longmei zi as patriarch (*zushi* 祖師), it is possible that he was the latter's disciple.

The question of the transmission of the present text is linked to the problems surrounding the commentary on the *Wuzhen pian* (on this question, see 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*), which is sometimes attributed to Wuming zi (WENG BAOGUANG) and sometimes to XUE DAOGUANG. According to the colophon, Longmei zi belonged to Wuming zi's tradition (see also 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, 143 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao*, 144 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen bian shiyi*, 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi*, 146 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi*, and the introduction to part 3.A.4.c).

During the Yuan period (1279–1368), the work already had its present form (see colophon by Ling Jing 林靜; 18b–20a).

Longmei zi uses the same terminology as Wuming zi in the latter's

抱元



FIGURE 25. Maintaining the immortal principle (ISI 13b–14a)

absorption of the elixir to the attainment of immortality, also represented by a circle (see figs. 23–25).

Each drawing is accompanied by a poem in seven-word verse, giving the title and various explanations.

The present text is also reproduced in the Ming collections *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu* and *Fanghu waishi*. In the *Daozang jiyao* edition, the text is accompanied by a long commentary by Hanchan zi 函蟾子.

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Danjing jilun 丹經極論

II fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

235 (fasc. 113)

“Ultimate Treatise on Alchemical Scriptures.” This is an anonymous work written after the twelfth century, as the quotation of the patriarch (*zushi* 祖師) on page 2b is in fact extracted from the commentary on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 by WENG BAOGUANG (see 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 29.2b]). In the latter work, this passage is attributed to PENG XIAO; in fact, only the first sentence is by this master (see 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 2.30a).

The present treatise reiterates WENG BAOGUANG’s discussions on Internal and External Medicine (*neiyao* 內藥 and *waiyao* 外藥) and on fire-phasing. The system of fire-phasing is here applied to the respiration techniques of holding one’s breath (*biqu* 閉氣) and Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息). The most original section of the work is that on the method for externalizing the spirits of the body through visualization (*chushen fa* 出神法; 9a–10a).

The poems at the end of the work are said to be lost parts of the *Wuzhen pian* and the *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇. The last poem, “Wuyan 五言,” on page 11b, does figure in 1088 *Huandan fuming pian* 1b.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Mingdao pian* 明道篇**

17 fols.

By Wang Weiyi 王惟一, *hao* Jingyang zi 景陽子; 1304

273 (fasc. 133)

“Pages to Clarify the Tao.” This is a collection of eighty-one didactic poems on Inner Alchemy, written with the aim of explaining the arcana of the art to literati. Wang Weiyi was a scholar turned daoshi from Songjiang 松江 (Jiangsu); he died in 1326. The number of poems is, of course, symbolic, and so are the numbers of sixteen seven-word full poems, sixty-four five-word cut-verse poems, one five-word regular verse poem, and twelve irregular verse poems to the tune of *Xijiang yue* 西江月.

In addition to these lyrics, the present work includes a discussion on the artificial subtleties of Inner Alchemy texts (12b–15b) and a Song on Obtaining the Tao (15b–17a). Although the preface may seem to contain an allusion to the Quanzhen 全真 school, Wang’s work belongs entirely to the Southern tradition of ZHANG ZIYANG and BO YUCHAN.

*Kristofer Schipper****Jinyi dadan koujue* 金液大丹口訣**

11 fols.

By Zheng Dean 鄭德安, *hao* Chongxu miaojing Ningzhen zi 冲虛妙靜寧真子

280 (fasc. 134)

“Oral Formula on the Great Elixir of Liquified Gold.” According to a note after the title, this text was transmitted (or revealed) by a “Taoist clad in white.” The preface is said to be by Zheng Dean, who is also the editor (2a).

The text itself could be of the thirteenth century or somewhat later, since it quotes ZHANG BODUAN (here called *zushi* 祖師, “patriarch”), and also half of a verse from 1088 *Huandan fuming pian* by XUE DAOGUANG.

In the same vein as ZHANG BODUAN, Zheng Dean deals in his preface with the differences and similarities between Buddhists and Taoists and with the problems and dangers of transmission to an unsuitable person (cf. Zhang’s preface to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇). The *jue* 訣 that follows (3a–3b) describes the entire Inner Alchemical process. The rest of the text comprises alchemical poems (of which six are in *ci* 詞 style), a short treatise on the mind (*xin* 心) and the Tao, and a further alchemical poem.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Bixu zi qinchuan zhizhi* 碧虛子親傳直指**

II fols.

Attributed to Yang Mingzhen 楊明真, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虛子 (1150–1228)

241 (fasc. 114)

“Instructions Personally Transmitted by Master Bixu.” This is a short treatise on Inner Alchemy, presumably by the Quanzhen 全真 patriarch Yang Mingzhen, whose *hao* was Bixu zi and who was an expert in *neidan* 內丹 (see 955 *Zhongnan shan zhuting xianzhen neizhuan* 2.2b–3b). The introduction states that late in life the writer met Master Haiqiong 海瓊先生—that is, BO YUCHAN—and also a hermit called Anran jushi 安然居士 at the Zhuling cavern-heaven 朱陵洞天, that is, Mount Heng 衡山. Although Yang’s biography does not mention that he traveled to southern China, the meetings are chronologically not impossible. In any case, the present work cannot be by CHEN JINGYUAN, who also used the *hao* Bixu zi (as affirmed by Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature*, 327 n. 569). The *neidan* methods described here are generally those of the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗), with special reference to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇.

Kristofer Schipper

***Chen Xubo guizhong zhinan* 陳虛白規中指南**

2 juan

By Chen Chongsu 陳冲素, *hao* Xubo zi 虛白子; Yuan (1279–1368)

243 (fasc. 114)

“True Central Directions by Master Chen Xubo.” This is a treatise on Inner Alchemy characteristically blending elements from the Nanzong 南宗 tradition with that of the Quanzhen 全真 school. The author, in his undated postface (*houxu* 後序), identifies himself as Chen Chongsu, Zhenfang daoren 真放道人 of the Shengzhen xuanhua dongtian 昇真玄化洞天 of the Wuyi 武夷山 Mountains. He must have been a contemporary of the Yuan scholar WU CHENG (1249–1333), as the latter wrote three poems in dedication of another work by Chen, the *Neidan xianmi* 內丹顯秘 (see *Wu Wenzheng ji* 92.29b–30a). In the preface to these poems, Wu states that Chen, a daoshi of the Wuyi Mountains, bestowed his instructions to Yang Qingyuan 楊清遠, his disciple and “student of the *Can[tong qi]*.”

The expression *guizhong* in the title is borrowed from the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, and means “correctly focused center” (see 2.3a).

Among the authorities quoted, we find predominantly writings from the Nanzong tradition, but Quanzhen masters such as Dan Chuduan 譚處端 and Li Jianyi 李簡易 (*hao* Yuqi zi 玉溪子) are also mentioned.

Kristofer Schipper

Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao 玉谿子丹經指要

3 juan

By Li Jianyi 李簡易, *hao* Yuqi zi 玉谿子 (fl. 1264)

245 (fasc. 115)

“Alchemical Texts: Basic Directions.” This is a collection of writings on Inner Alchemy by a Quanzhen 全真 Taoist. Li Jianyi, a native of Yichun 宜春, was the grandson of Li Guan 李觀 (*hao* Yuqi sou 玉谿叟), an official with a penchant for Taoism (preface 1a–1b). The collection comprises Li Jianyi’s works, all written during different periods: the preface dated 1264, for example, refers only to the first five of the titles in this collection (preface 2b). There are two other prefaces in the collection, one undated (3.7a–8a), the other dated 1266 (3.11b–16b).

According to YU YAN (1258–1314), a collection of Li Jianyi’s writings was published in Changsha (Hunan) at about the same time as Emperor Kublai ordered the burning of Taoist books (1281). YU YAN also mentions a “recent” reedition of the collection printed in Jiangxi. The latter, published together by Peng Shi 彭石 and Po Jianming 頗簡明, comprised four texts by Li Jianyi and several others by Peng Shi himself. Of the four—entitled “Wuzhen zhiyao 悟真指要,” “Xihuang zuoyong 羲皇作用,” “Guishi tu 規十圖,” and “Xinyin jing jie 心印經解”—only the first three texts are included in the present work (cf. *Xishang futan* 2. 11a).

The present collection was printed by Wang Gui 王桂 in 1354. It was entitled “The Ten Books” (*shishu* 十書) because it included nine works by Li Jianyi and one by his contemporary Peng Chongyang 彭重陽 (see Wang’s note, 3.18a–19a). The collection includes a preface by Li Jianyi (dated 1264) and a supplement on the main lines of transmission from Taoist masters of the Song Dynasty and their disciples. The texts areas follows:

Juan 1. (1) “Wuzhen pian zhiyao 悟真篇指要,” an explanation of the system of the famous Inner Alchemical work, the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, with Li’s own interpretation.

Juan 2. (2) “Changsheng jiushi zhi shu 長生久視之書” (1a–8a), a commentary on an alchemical interpretation of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 by Yang gu 揚谷. (3) “Bianhuo lu 辯惑論” (8a–12b), a short treatise demonstrating that the methods employed in Inner Alchemy are not inferior to those of Chan Buddhism. (4–5) “Danfang fayu 丹房法語” and “Xihuang zuoyong 羲皇作用” (12b–16b), two essays on the methods and aims of *neidan*: the basis of all practice lies, according to Li Jianyi, in mental concentration. A part of the “Danfang fayu” is included in 579 *Yangsheng bilu* under the heading “Danfang yulu 丹房語錄,” which comprises an additional oral instruction (*koujue* 口訣) missing in our text.

Juan 3. (6) “Zhang Ziyang zeng Bolong dong daoren ge 張紫陽贈白龍洞道人歌”

(1a–6b), a commentary to a poem by ZHANG BODUAN. (7) “Guichong tu 規中圖” (7a–11a); the text is preceded by an undated preface, but a summary included in 579 *Yangsheng bilu* 2a, with the title “Yuqi zi Yichun xinjue 玉谿子宜春心訣,” bears the date 1269 (the name of the author is mistakenly written Li Gongming 李公明). The text, which begins with a diagram, deals with methods of meditation and circulation of qi. (8) “Jie Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun 解純陽真人沁園春” (11b–16b), a commentary on a famous *ci*-lyric attributed to LÜ DONGBIN (cf. 136 *Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*). The preface is dated 1266 (11b). (9) “Miyu shi 密語時” (16b–17a), comprises five poems, probably by Peng Shi 彭石 (cf. *Xishang futan* 2.11a). (10) “Zan Chunyang xiang 讚春陽像” (17b–19a), a short text commemorating a statue of LÜ DONGBIN by Peng Chongyang 彭重陽, followed by a note by Wang Gui, dated 1352 and written on the occasion of the printing of the present collection.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Changsheng zhiyao pian* 長生指要篇**

19 fols.

By Lin Ziran 林自然, *hao* Huiyang zi 回陽子; 1250

1099 (fasc. 743)

“Essays on the Essentials [of the Search for] Long Life.” These essays were composed by Lin Ziran, who for a long time had tried in vain to obtain the Gold-Elixir, that is, the success of the meditative and respiratory means of self-cultivation. In Fujian, Lin Ziran had met with an otherwise unknown zhenren, Mr. Lu 陸公真人, who hailed from Sichuan. Mr. Lu instructed Lin Ziran in the art of fire-phasing, and as a result Lin Ziran was successful. He wrote the seven tracts of this work in order to provide others with helpful didactic texts (see the preface, dated 1250).

The seven texts begin with the words “Huiyang zi says.” They contain *neidan* 內丹 theories about the conditions of human existence. The author speaks about WEI BOYANG as “ancestor” (15a) and quotes, among others, [ZHANG] ZIYANG (6b, 7b), placing himself clearly within the tradition of the alchemy of the Song period. At the end of the text, Lin Ziran gives a chart presenting time phases and their emblematic correspondences.

Florian C. Reiter

***Zazhu zhixuan pian* 雜著指玄篇**

8 juan

By BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾, *zi* Ziqing 紫清, et al.; ca. 1225

263.1 *Xiuzhen shishu* 1–8 (fasc. 122)

“Directions to Mystery: A Miscellany.” This text comprises treatises and poems by BO YUCHAN, his teachers, and his disciples on the subject of Inner Alchemy. It

is listed in the *Qianqing tang shumu* 16.25a as *Bo Yuchan zhixuan pian* 白玉蟾指玄篇 eight juan. One of the texts in the present work is dated 1244 (1.10a). It is, however, not included in YU YAN's (fl. 1284) list of BO YUCHAN's works (cf. *Xishang futan* 2.7b). The *Daoyan neiwai bijue* 道言內外秘訣 is nevertheless by BO YUCHAN and another miscellany entitled *Ziqing* [that is, *Bo Yuchan*] *zhixuan ji* 紫清指玄集 figures in the *Daozang jinghua lu* (*Shumu leibian* 53.24074).

Most of the pieces included in this collection can be found elsewhere, as indicated below:

Juan 1. "Bo Xiansheng jindan huohou tu 白先生金丹火候圖," an introduction to the *Jindan huohou tu* with explanations by Bo's disciples; see 1309 *Haiqiong chuan-dao ji*.

Juan 2. "Huanyuan pian 還源篇"; see 1091 *Huanyuan pian*.

Juan 3. "Ziting jing 紫庭經"; see 1090 *Cuixu pian*, "Yinfu sui 陰符髓," a condensed version of 119 *Yinfu jing sanhuang yujue*.

Juan 4. "Xiuxian bianhuo lun 修仙辯惑論"; see "Gushen busi lun 谷神不死論," *Yinyang shengjiang lun* 陰陽升降論, and "Danfang fayu 丹房法語."

The four titles listed above are also ascribed to BO YUCHAN in the *Daozang jinghua lu*. The "Xiuxian bianhuo lun" is one of the treatises included in the *Zhixuan pian* in the *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu*.

Juan 5. "Jindan sibai zi 金丹四百字"; see 1081 *Jindan sibai zi*.

Juan 6. "Xie Zhang Ziyang shu 謝張紫陽書" (see *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu*, *Daozang jinghua lu* and *Xie xianshi jishu ci* 謝仙師寄書詞. Both of these works by BO YUCHAN are mentioned in *Xishang futan*.

Juan 7. Poems ascribed to XU JINGYANG and ZHONGLI QUAN; "Dansui ge 丹髓歌" (by XUE DAOGUANG); see 1088 *Huandan fuming pian*.

Juan 8. "Weisheng ge 衛生歌," by Xishan xiansheng 西山先生.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jindan dacheng ji 金丹大成集

5 juan

By Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷 [var. 挺] 芝, zi Yuanrui 元瑞, hao Liaozen zi 了真子 (fl. 1260)

263.9 *Xiuzhen shishu* 9–13 (fasc. 123)

"Collected Works on the Great Accomplishment of the Elixir." The author was a disciple of PENG SI, one of BO YUCHAN's most famous followers (cf. Xiao Tingzhi's preface, dated 1260, in 687 *Daode zhenjing san jie*, preface, 8a). According to another source, Xiao Tingzhi, a native of Fuzhou 福州 (Fujian), possessed two style-names (zi 字): Yuanrui and Tianlai 天來 (cf. *Quan Song ci* 4.2777).

The present work is quoted frequently in 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* (e.g., 3.3b;

5.18b; 6.2b). Since the latter has a preface dated 1284, the second half of the thirteenth century would seem the latest date for the collection.

The work begins with diagrams illustrating the interaction of *qi* and *jing* 精 in the *neidan* 內丹 process, their circulation, and the rules of fire-phasing (9.1a–7b). These diagrams are followed by three poems and a treatise on the cyclically transformed elixir. The entire *juan* 10 comprises definitions of *neidan* nomenclature, in recorded conversations (*yulu* 語錄) form. This part is entitled “*Jindan wenda* 金丹問答” (Questions and Answers on the Elixir). It is also included in 579 *Yangsheng bilu* 19a–32b and is reproduced in the collection *Jindan jiwèn* 金丹集問 (*juan* 1) compiled by Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 (fl. 1596), in *Gezhi congshu* 格致叢書.

Juan 11 and 12 comprise poems in different styles; two of these are addressed to friends (12.5b–6a), the remainder are on *neidan* themes. The *ci*-lyrics in 12.7a–12b are reproduced in *juan* 7 and 8 of 1100 *Minghe yuyin* (edited in 1347), without attribution. In *juan* 13 we have a commentary on the *Cui gong ruyao jing* 崔公入藥鏡 (on this work, cf. 135 *Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie*, where Xiao’s gloss is quoted extensively) and one on LÜ DONGBIN’s *ci*-lyric, the *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 (cf. 136 *Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*).

The *Daozang jiyao* edition, titled *Jindan dacheng*, is incomplete.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.4.d Other *Neidan* Traditions

Qinxuan fu 禽玄賦

10 fols.

260 (fasc. 121)

“Rhapsody of Grasping Mystery.” A short and elegantly written treatise on Inner Alchemy in nine parts, of unknown authorship and date. Although no sources are quoted, the work makes extensive use of the metaphorical language of the Zhong-Lü school as exemplified in the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集 (263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16). It should therefore date from the Northern Song period (960–1127).

Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing yuanji zhimiao shenzhu yuke jing 太清元極至妙神珠玉顆經

37 fols.

865 (fasc. 578)

“Most Pure Book of the Divine Pearl and the Jade Bead and Supreme Wonder of the Original Principle.” As explained in the beginning of the text, “divine pearl” here refers to the essence of the sun, and “jade bead” to that of the moon. The anonymous author quotes a *Kaitian ji* 開天記 that remains to be identified.

This is a guide to the Inner Alchemy practice modeled on the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing* 易經. The system of this kind of practice corresponds to that of 999 *Zhouyi cantong qi*, but this work is only indirectly quoted here on page 36a, under the name of its reputed author, WEI BOYANG. The hexagram cycle can be performed on a monthly or daily basis. The latter variant, with two *gua* 卦 on which to model the practice, is in fact that which is also most widely used by the adepts of the above-mentioned work. The present text also proposes an hourly practice, and finally a combination of the three.

Among the practical instructions, the text (page 35b) explains that for the realization of a yang “stroke” (*yao* 爻) in a given hexagram, the adept should hold his or her breath during a period of time corresponding to thirty-six ordinary respirations and then swallow three times, whereas for a yin stroke the time should be that of twenty-four respirations, also followed by swallowing three times. Each time the energy should be forcefully guided downward to the Cinnabar Field (*dantian* 丹田).

This practical and simple guide of uncertain date is useful for the understanding of modern *neidan* 內丹 practice.

Kristofer Schipper

Zituan danjing 紫團丹經

19 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)

878 (fasc. 581)

“Alchemy of the [Master of the] Purple Coil.” This is a short treatise on sexual alchemy. The presence of an incomplete rendering of the character *kuang* 匡 (a Song taboo), together with a number of citations from authors of the Northern Song dynasty such as ZHANG BODUAN (984–1082), allow us to date the present text to the Southern Song period. A remark at the end of the book states: “This book is not about the great alchemical way. It has never been known that one can obtain immortality by mounting women. The reason why [the book] is preserved here is in order to warn off those who might be deluded. This is not something to practice in order to become an immortal.”

If there is a sexual innuendo in the author’s *hao*, it is difficult to identify. The text itself is rather explicit, as it states that the prescribed methods are useful for preserving one’s sexual energy in order to be able to accomplish his duties to his parents, that is, to beget children (3b). The author explains that the male orgasm is *taiyang liuzhu* 太陽流珠 and the female orgasm *taiyin xuanzhu* 太陰玄珠. Each female menstrual period corresponds to six moon phases of five days. One of these is the menstrual period of Vermilion Liquid (*chishui* 赤水), whereas during each of the remaining five periods women produce mercury (*gong* 汞) that can be turned into gold. The red liquid of

the menses is “kidney water” and corresponds to lead (*qian* 鉛). The clear red liquid produced toward the end of the menstruation is a drug that should be culled (*cai* 採) at midnight. The calendar calculations for choosing the most appropriate moment are highly complex. The technique calls for *coitus reservatus* (18b).

Many poetic terms are listed for the female sexual organs, most commonly “furnace of the reclining moon” (*yanyue lu* 偃月爐; 17a–19a).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Yangsheng bilu 養生秘錄

32 fols.

Early Yuan (1279–1368)

579 (fasc. 321)

“Secret Records on Tending Life.” This work is a good example of eclectic compilations popular during the Mongol period. The present anthology draws mainly upon Nanzong 南宗 sources of the southern (alchemical) tradition but also refers to other traditions. It includes seven texts. The first is “Recorded Sayings from the Cinnabar Room of Master Yuqi” (*Yuqi zi danfang yulu* 玉溪子丹房語錄, 1a–b), an abridged version of 245 *Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao* 2.13. The following oral instructions (*koujue* 口訣, 1b) must be the continuation of the preceding text, but they do not figure in 245 *Danjing zhiyao*. The “Rote Instructions of Master Yuxu from Yichun” (*Yuxu zi Yichun xinjue* 玉虛子宜春心訣, 2a–5a), with the chart of the focused center (*Guizhong tu* 規中圖), derive from the same source (245 *Danjing zhiyao* 3.7a–10b). The fourth text, “Internal Meaning of the Yellow Center” (*Zhonghuang neizhi* 中黃內旨, 5a–8b), consists of three quotations: one by Yuzhen xiansheng 玉真先生 (LIU YU, patriarch of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school; this text does not figure in 1110 *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* but is close in content to the second juan of this work); one by the Three True Lords Mao 三茅真君, and the last by Yuqi zhenren 玉谿真人 (this text does not figure in 245 *Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao*).

The fifth text, “Straightforward Instructions on Alchemical Classics by the Old Man Green Mist” (*Qingxia weng danjing zhibi* 青霞翁丹經直指, 8b–18a, a subtitle; the title *Siduan jin* 四段錦 does not seem to fit the text) is a work by an anonymous disciple of BO YUCHAN, dated 1244. The next item, “Song of the Great Tao” (*Dadao ge* 大道歌, 18a–19a) is without indication of authorship but is actually a work by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126; see 1249 *Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 3.1a, also included in 1257 *Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 2.2b). It is followed by two glosses. The last and longest text, “Questions and Answers Concerning Alchemy” (*Jindan wenda* 金丹問答, 19a–32b, without indication of authorship), is the same text as 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 10, where it is attributed to Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260), a second generation disciple of BO YUCHAN.

Yin zhenjun huandan ge zhu 陰真君還丹歌註

9 fols.

Commentary by CHEN TUAN 陳搏, *hao* Xiyi 希夷 (d. 989); poem: Five Dynasties (907–960) or earlier; commentary: early Song (960–1279)
134 (fasc. 59)

“Commentary on Yin Zhenjun’s Song of the Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This text comprises a short alchemical poem ascribed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (Yin zhenjun 陰真君), a legendary Han Taoist, and a commentary by CHEN TUAN (d. 989). The poem is first listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesbu mu* as *Yin zhenjun da huandan ge* 陰真君大還丹歌 in one juan, but the *Song shi* gives the present title, omitting the character *da* 大 (VDL 139). It must antedate the Song dynasty, however, since PENG XIAO (fl. 974) quotes it during the Five Dynasties (cf. *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 2.22a, 3.11b).

The poem describes the Inner Alchemical process, beginning with the union of two inner ingredients and their purification (3b–8b), a process that finally culminates in the completion of a cyclically transformed elixir of immortality (9b).

The commentary, attributed to the famous Taoist master CHEN TUAN, uses the nomenclature of the sexual arts (*fangzhong* 房中) and interprets the poem as a technique of augmenting and refining the seminal essence (*xiayuan jing* 下元精). This particular commentary is not mentioned in any of CHEN TUAN’s biographies, but he is known to have written a book on a similar subject. This book, the *Zhixuan pian* 指玄篇, is described in Chen’s biography in *Song shi* 457.13421 as a work dealing with “gymnastics, the art of nourishing [the vital principle], and the cyclically transformed elixir” (*Yan dao yang ji huandan zhi shi* 言導養及還丹之事). Since many books were forged in CHEN TUAN’s name during the Northern Song (960–1127), the authorship of the commentary remains uncertain.

The poem is reproduced with minor variations in 927 *Taiqing yubei zi* 11a.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie 崔公入藥鏡註解

16 fols.

By WANG JIE 王玠, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子; ca. 1331
135 (fasc. 60)

“Commentary on Master Cui’s Mirror on the Admixture of Ingredients.” The title refers to a short poem in three-character lines by a certain Mr. Cui. The origin of this poem is unclear. There are many works of the Song period (960–1279) with the title *Ruyao jing* 入藥鏡 (VDL 134), in either one or three juan. ZENG ZAO (ca. 1151) possessed two completely different works with the same title (see *1017 Daoshu* 37.12b). More than a century later, Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎 had seven (see *109 Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi* 4.14a). The *Ruyao jing* quoted by Xia Yuanding is a poem in five-character lines (cf. *146 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi* 1.3b).

The earliest version of the *Ruyao jing* is a Tang (618–907) alchemical poem in five-character lines. This poem may well have been provided with explanations in prose by the alchemist Cui Xuanzhen 崔玄真 of Minshan 岷山 (Sichuan). Although the full title of this work was *Jinbi qiantong ruyao huojing ji* 金碧潛通入藥火鏡記, in one juan (*Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe”; see VDL 119), we find this work also referred to as *Jinbi qiantong huojing huojing ji* 火記 (901 *Shiyao erya* 2.3b; preface dated 806); *Jinbi ruyao huojing* 金碧入藥火鏡 (233 *Huandan zhongxian lun* 10b; preface dated 1052); *Cui gong ruyao jing* 崔公入藥鏡 (900 *Danfang xuzhi* 12a; preface dated 1163); or simply as *Yaojing* 藥鏡 (1086 *Yuzhuang xiehou lu* 7a). According to a note in the *Xin Tang shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” Cui Xuanzhen lived during the Tianbao era (742–756).

A second version of the *Ruyao jing* is linked to the name of LÜ DONGBIN; it is called the *Tianyuan ruyao jing* 天元入藥鏡. A fragment of this text is quoted in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 21.6b–9b, as an introduction to a diagram and a poem about the Yin-Tiger and the Yang-Dragon and their relation to the Trigrams *kan* 坎 and *li* 離. The fragment is signed Cui Xifan 崔希範, hao Zhiyi zhenren 至一真人, and dated 940.

As to the latter poem, we find it referred to in a text attributed to LÜ DONGBIN: 1055 *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 2.4b, where it is linked explicitly to the *Ruyao jing*. The same poem is quoted extensively during Song and Yuan (1279–1368) times in relation to the transmission of the *Ruyao jing* to LÜ DONGBIN (1017 *Daoshu* 37.4b; 246 *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* 2.4a–b; 1067 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 6.4a). According to ZENG ZAO, the *Tianyuan ruyao jing* was originally a manual for sexual practices that later was given a correct interpretation by LÜ DONGBIN (1017 *Daoshu* 3.4a, 6b), which may be the reason that Zeng gives only the section headings and not the actual text (37.12b–16a). These headings appear to be the final section of the *Tianyuan ruyao jing* but should actually follow the introduction given in the 263 *Xiuzhen shishu*. LÜ DONGBIN’s biography in the LZTT 45.2b claims that Lü received the *Ruyao jing* from Cui gong himself in 881. However, the citation that follows this indication refers to the present poem in three-character lines.

A third version of the *Ruyao jing* is the *Ruyao jing shangpian* 上篇 (1017 *Daoshu* 37.1a–12b), a text that employs Buddhist terminology (*jingang* 金剛, *wulun* 五輪, *xinyin* 心印, etc.). A long passage of this same text quoted in 263.17 *Zazhu jiejing* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 21.4b) uses the same vocabulary but seems to come from a slightly different version.

Finally, there is our present version in three-character lines. It is also attributed to Cui Xifan. We find it for the first time in a complete form in the *Jindan dacheng ji* (263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 13.1a–9b) by Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260). From that time (late Song [960–1279] and early Yuan [1279–1368]), this version became the standard, and all quotations of Cui gong and *Ruyao jing* refer to it (see 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen*

pian zhushu 3.13b and 5.21b; 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 3.6a, 4.21a and 26a; 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 5.22a and 6.29b; etc.).

YU YAN, in *Xishang futan* (2.5b), claims that the author of the *Ruyao jing* lived on Bohe shan 白鶴山 in Hunan, and he mentions the commentaries by Xia Yuanding, Chu Yong 儲泳, and Xiao Tingzhi. The *Zhizhai shulu jieti* (VDL 134) gives Yuanshan 遠山 (for 遠 read 袁), in Jiangxi, as the residence of the author.

WANG JIE, the commentator of our present text, was a contemporary of CHEN ZHIXU (before 1331). He interprets the poem as a guide to the Inner Alchemical process, to be performed every night from 7 P.M. to 5 A.M. Wang first describes breath control, then the interaction of yin and yang, and finally fire-phasing and the formation of the elixir.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie

呂純陽真人沁園春丹詞註解

11 fols.

Attributed to LÜ YAN 呂喆, *hao* Chunyang zhenren; commentary by YU YAN 俞琰, *hao* Quanyang zi, Linwu shanren 林屋山人全陽子 (1258–1314)

136 (fasc. 60)

“Explication of the Alchemical Lyric ‘Spring in the Garden by the Qin’ by the Zhenren Lü Dongbin.” The *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 is an alchemical *ci* 詞-lyric ascribed to Lü Yan, better known as LÜ DONGBIN, who composed the tune of the same name. Although it is not mentioned in any bibliography, it can be traced back to the eleventh century since the story of its transmission is recounted by Liu Fu 劉斧 (1040–after 1113) in *Qingsuo gaoyi* 8.82. The poem was revealed to a *jinsi* 進士, Cui Zhong 崔中, in the city of Yueyang 岳陽 in Hunan (see Baldrian-Hussein, “Yüeh-yang”).

The poem describes the *neidan* 內丹 process, here called *Qifan huandan* 七返還丹 (seven-times cyclically transformed elixir): the collection of the True Yang at the hour of *zi* 子, its union with True Yin to obtain the Seed, the purification by fire-phasing, and finally the accumulation of merit and transfiguration. The Yuan commentator YU YAN (cf. 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*) interprets the poem according to the practices of his school. The main interest of this commentary lies in the wealth of books and authors quoted by the commentator.

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Longhu zhongdan jue 龍虎中丹訣

7 fols.

228 (fasc. 112)

“Instructions for [the Acquisition of] the Central Elixir from [the Union of] the Dragon and the Tiger.” This is a short treatise on Inner Alchemy. This undated text is stylistically modern (e.g., the seven-word poems at the end) and concerns a variety of practices. In addition to the meditative and respiratory exercises for the conception of the immortal embryo (*tai* 胎), illustrated through the hexagrams of the *Yijing* 易經 (e.g., *fu* 復 for introduction and *gou* 姤 for conception), the methodology calls for the recitation of spells in order to activate the energies of essence (*jing* 精), qi, and spirit (*shen* 神) for the transformation of the body. A series of nine poems describes the entire cycle, ending in delivery (*tuo* 脫), in terms of nine phases (*hou* 候) taking nine years.

Kristofer Schipper

Huandan bijue yang chizi shenfang 還丹祕訣養赤子神方

6 fols.

By Xu Ziwei 許子微, *zi* Mingdao 明道; end of the twelfth century

232 (fasc. 112)

“Divine Recipes for Nourishing the Infant according to the Secret Process of Returned Cinnabar.” The work explains in ten points the alchemical principles that lead to the production of the spiritual Infant. When the latter is able to leave the body through the fontanel, it should be nourished during three years, and then during nine symbolical years.

During the years 1174–1189, Xu Ziwei began to search for a master. He met Peng Mengqu 彭夢籛 on Mount Tongbo 桐柏 (in southwestern Henan, on the border with Hubei). Orally and with the help of diagrams, Peng transmitted the Way of Returned Cinnabar to Xu in the temple of Huaidu 淮瀆廟.

At the end of the text, Xu gives the lineage of the transmission of the *xiuzhen* 修真 from Zhang Tiangang 張天罡 to Peng Mengqu, Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟, Xu Ziwei, and Lin Yuanding 林元鼎. In this lineage, Xu is presented as a native of Shanxi province, whereas here, in the indications given with his name on the first page, he hails from Xishan 西山.

Catherine Despeux

Gushen pian 谷神篇

2 juan

By Lin Yuan 林轅, *zi* Shenfeng 神鳳, *hao* Xuanchao zi 玄巢子; preface dated 1304 252 (fasc. 119)

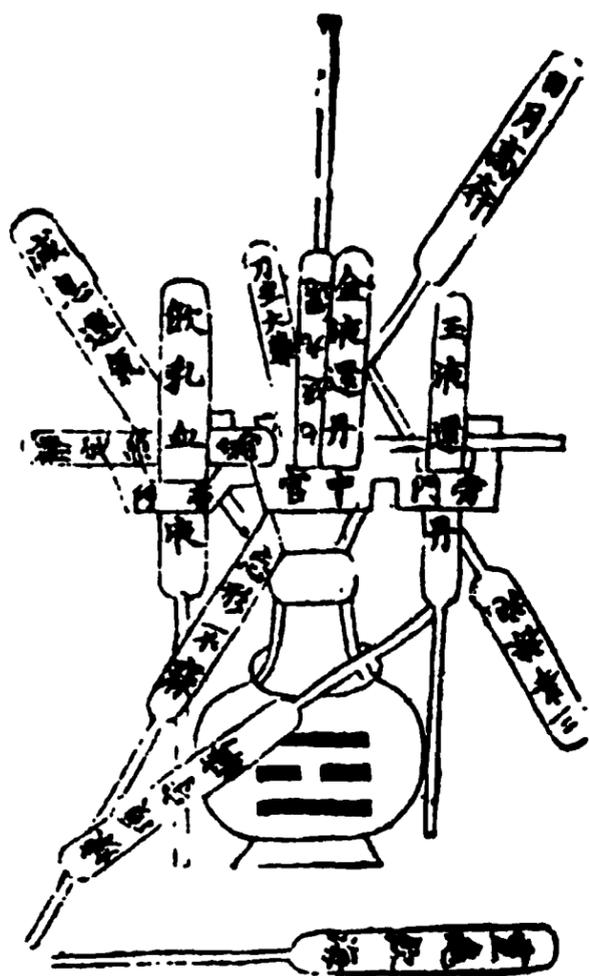


FIGURE 26. Representation of the crucible with the different stages of the alchemical process (252 2.2a)

“Dissertation on the Spirit of the Valley” (figs. 26–27). This is a popular treatise on Inner Alchemy. The author, from Fujian (Minxiang 閩鄉, preface, 4b), gives Wufu 五福 (unidentified) as his place of origin. He defines the tradition to which he belongs as coming from Han Xiaoyao 韓逍遙, whereas his own teacher was a certain Yu 郁, *zi* Lüan 蘆菴 (preface, 6a). Han Xiaoyao is known through a quotation from his work, the *Neizhi tongxuan bijue* 內指通玄秘訣 in 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 1.11b.

There is another preface (dated 1315) by Zhao Congshan 趙從善, *zi* Sixuan 思玄, who had the work printed.

The work is composed mostly of poems and short dissertations. The main topic is Inner Alchemy, but other, more general topics are addressed. The virtue of the *Beidou jing* 北斗經 (the Dipper scripture) is sung (1.12a), as is the efficacy of the charm water of the Hunyuan rites (*Hunyuan fushui* 混元符水; 1.9b and 1.14b). There are also other references to liturgical Taoism, as well as to sexual practice (2.16b). There is no mention of Quanzhen 全真 Taoism.

Kristofer Schipper

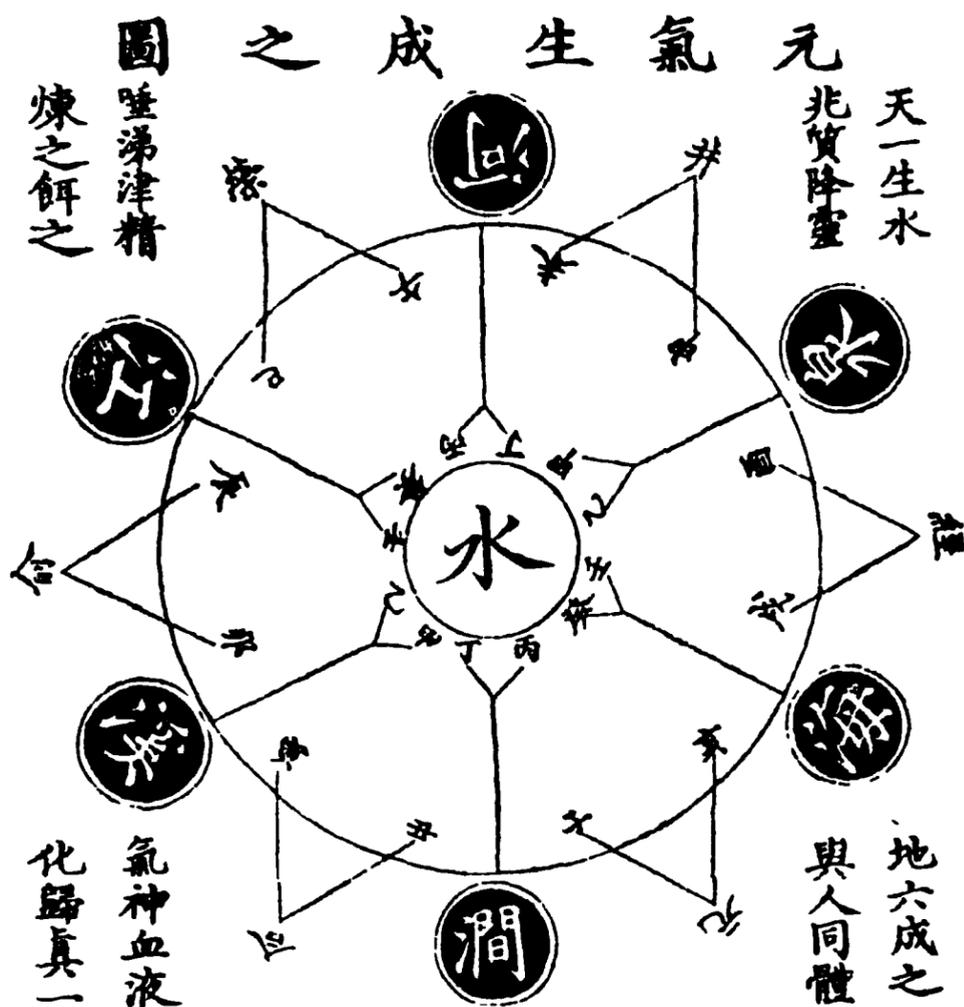


FIGURE 27. Water as the primordial element and its devolution (252 2.9a)

Xiantian jindan dadao xuanao koujue 先天金丹大道玄奧口訣

11 fols.

By Huo Jizhi 霍濟之, *zi* Juchuan 巨川; completed ca. 1249; published between 1254 and 1257

279 (fasc. 134)

“Arcane Formula of the Great Alchemical Way of Former Heaven.” This is a short Inner Alchemical work that includes some diagrams. The text is preceded by two prefaces by friends of the author, Liu Zicheng 劉子澄 and You Yu 尤焞, dated 1251 and 1249, respectively. The work ends with an undated postface by the author, followed by a preface by Guo Sanyi 郭三益 (dated 1119) and, finally, an anonymous postface dated 1257.

The author, Huo Jizhi, claims that the diagrams known as the *Jindan tu* 金丹圖 originally belonged to his great-grandfather, who had shown them to LIN LINGSU who, in turn, immediately recognized them as the work of CHEN TUAN. The diagrams came into the possession of Guo Sanyi, who returned them to the Huo family, with which he had close ties. Later, Huo Jizhi’s father, a Taoist, realized the meaning of these diagrams and subsequently wrote a *koujue* 口訣 (oral instruction) on them.

He had not yet published this work as intended when he died in 1254. It was printed by his son shortly afterward. Although no precise date is indicated, the printing must have taken place between 1254 and 1257, the date of the last postface mentioning the publication.

圖 根 歸

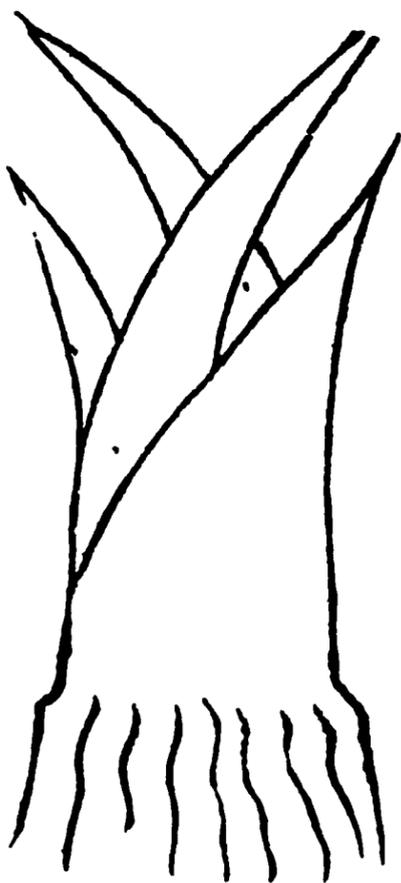


FIGURE 28. Illustration of Returning to the Root (279 3b)

The present text comprises diagrams that go back to the reign of Emperor Huizong (1100–1125) and the *koujue* by Huo Jizhi’s father, accompanied by explanations by the author (see fig. 28). YU YAN possessed an edition that comprised a preface by You Mushi 尤木石 (*Xishang futan* 2.8b). He quotes a long passage from this edition, of which only one sentence can be found in the present text (6a). He also gives the title as *Jindan koujue zhizhi* 金丹口訣直指, whereas the present text reads *Jindan yaowu zhizhi tu* 金丹藥物直指圖 and *Koujue zhizhi* 口訣直指.

The text includes an introduction by Huo Jizhi, where he explains that the notion of *xiantian* 先天 (Former Heaven) was superior to similar notions propagated by Chan practitioners (*zuo Chan* 坐禪), that is, adepts of Xingzong 性宗. Following this introduction are diagrams and explanations based on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, which is

quoted frequently (3b–7a); alchemical poems (7a–8a); and finally the postfaces (8b–IIa).

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Chen xiansheng neidan jue 陳先生內丹訣

27 fols.

Chen Pu 陳朴, *zi* Chongyong 沖用; after 1078

1096 (fasc. 743)

“Mr. Chen’s Instructions on the Inner Elixir.” This text is first mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.23a. According to the short anonymous preface, however, Chen Pu fled to Sichuan during the turmoil of the Five Dynasties (907–960). It was on Mount Damian of Qingcheng 青城大面山 of this province that he met ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN and was initiated into the Tao. In 1078, he encountered the statesman Zhang Fangping 張方平 in Nandu 南都 (present Nanyang 南陽 in Henan). Zhang’s presence in Nanking during this period is attested in the *Song shi* 318.10353 ff. The book, however, became popular only in the twelfth century. It was transmitted to Huainan yesou 淮南野叟 by Chen (preface). This transmission is also mentioned in a preface dated 1264 (cf. 245 *Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao* 1.1a–1b).

Another version of the *Neidan jue*, attributed to “Niwan xiansheng Chen Pu 泥丸先生陳朴,” is included in 263.17 *Zazhu jiejing* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 17). This version is entitled *Cuixu pian* 翠虛篇, with the subtitle *Jiuzhuan jindan bijue* 九轉金丹秘訣, an error confounding CHEN NAN, the author of 1090 *Cuixu pian*, with Chen Pu.

The preface is missing in the 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* version, and there the commentary, attributed to Chen Pu himself in our text, is titled *jie* 解. Many additions and omissions, as well as the presentation (see, e.g., 1a–1b, 6b–7a), point to a different edition of the text.

The treatise includes practical instructions on *neidan* 內丹, the methods being divided into nine cycles (*jiuzhuan* 九轉). After the adept has acquired the precious pearl (*baozhu* 寶珠), he or she purifies it through fire-phasing. The last cycle ends with the transfiguration of the alchemist. Each cycle is described by a poem in seven-word verse, with a commentary, which is then followed by a *ci*-lyric to the tune of *Wang jiangnan* 望江南, with explanations, and, finally, by instructions in prose.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Dongyuan zi neidan jue 洞元子內丹訣

2 juan

Northern Song (960–1127)?

1097 (fasc. 743)

“Inner Elixir Explained by Master Dongyuan.” The work is listed in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.23a, as comprising one juan. The author, Dongyuan zi 洞元子, was well-versed in both Taoist and Confucian literature. The Taoist Feng Dongyuan 馮洞元 (fl. 936–968) was just such a scholar (cf. 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan* 2.1a). The title Dongyuan 洞元, however, was bestowed upon several adepts during the reigns of Zhenzong (997–1022) and Huizong (1100–1125). Shen Ruoji 沈若濟 (d. 1131), who was one of these adepts, practiced both *neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹 (cf. 304 *Maoshan zhi* 16.5a–5b).

In the preface, the author declares his intention of giving a clearer account of the alchemical process than the *Cantong qi taiyi zhi tu* 參同契太一至圖, a work no longer extant, yet his own text is certainly abstruse. It is divided into twenty-one sections (*pian* 篇) and makes use of *Yijing* 易經 terminology to explain the purification of the Three Cinnabar Fields (*dantian* 丹田) through the preservation of the seminal essence, meditation, the practice of moral virtues, and the art of conducting the qi to the brain (preface and 1.1a–1b).

Juan 1 explains the origin of “true ingredients” and the process of transformation using eight hexagrams. Each discussion of the hexagram is followed by a quotation from the *Yijing* (*zhuan* 篆) and a poem (*jue*).

Juan 2 comprises several discussions on meditation (2.5b ff.) and the circulation of the inner light (*shengguang* 神光). The last *pian* uses hexagrams to explain the process of birth and death and its reversal to obtain immortality.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.5 Alchemy

In the course of the Tang dynasty (618–907), alchemical theory and practice were greatly transformed under the influence of works such as the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and the *Guwen longhu jing* 古文龍虎經. These and other related texts were instrumental in the development of Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) as opposed to laboratory or elixir alchemy (*waidan* 外丹). As is evident from the previous section, *neidan* gradually became an almost entirely distinct form of practice. The present section contains all the texts of the Song (960–1279) and later periods that explicitly concern *waidan*.

The evolution of alchemy has often been explained as the result of a reaction against laboratory alchemy, which was held responsible for many cases of elixir poisoning, especially during the late Tang. However, as the present section bears out, laboratory alchemy by no means became defunct, even if the relatively small number of major texts and manuals clearly indicates a decline when compared with the number of texts from the medieval period. It is also remarkable in this respect that the works that can be dated to the Northern Song period (960–1127) are still relatively numerous. The last major manuals on laboratory alchemy, such as the *Gengdao ji* 康道集, date from the Southern Song (1127–1279) period. *Waidan* texts become scarce in the Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) periods.

Xuexian bianzhen jue 學仙辨真訣

6 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)?

138 (fasc. 60)

“Instructions for Discerning Truth in the Study of Immortality.” This small treatise on theoretical alchemy is mentioned for the first time in the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5198 (see VDL 159). It consists mainly of an explication of 922 *Huanjin shu* by TAO ZHI (d. 825).

The text is composed of five paragraphs discussing the true alchemical ingredients, and, finally, of a poem called “Zimu ge 子母歌” (Song of the Mother and Child). This poem was well known by the end of the twelfth century (see the commentary of WENG BAOGUANG in 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 4.15a and 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 2.20b). The present work may therefore be of the same period. In the preface, however, the author mentions only the five paragraphs and does not speak of the poem and its commentary. These works could have been added to the work at a later stage.

The poem has been attributed elsewhere to ZHONGLI QUAN (see 1258 *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 1.1b; this is a later text, where the poem is called “Huandan ge 還丹歌” [Song of the Cyclical Elixir]). Another work quotes the poem as an “ancient song” (*guge* 古歌; see 261 *Jindan fu* 26b).

The five paragraphs are titled “Discerning the Truth,” “The Jewel,” “Liquid Silver,” “Mercury,” and “Understanding the Alchemical Process.” According to the author, this treatise gives the essential features of the art of the Liquified Gold (*jinyi zhi shu* 金液之術).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jinhua yuyi dadan 金華玉液大丹

19 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

910 (fasc. 590)

“Great Elixirs of the Golden Flower and the Jade Liquor.” The title of this collection of alchemical recipes is taken from the text of the first recipe (1a–2b), where *jinhua* 金華 (golden flower) and *yuyi* 玉液 (jade liquor) are the names of two intermediate stages in the preparation of the *zixia dan* 紫霞丹 (Elixir of the Purple Mist). The use of *qian* 錢 as the unit of weight below the *liang* 兩 shows that the compilation dates from after 992.

About a dozen recipes are given altogether. Several methods include regimes of fire-phasing control (*huohou* 火候); the method described in 12a–b has the name “method for Embryonic Breathing” (*taixi fa* 胎息法).

Fabrizio Pregadio

Dadan qiangong lun 大丹鉛汞論

9 fols.

Attributed to Jin Zhupo 金竹坡; eleventh century or later

923 (fasc. 596)

“Discourse on Lead and Mercury of the Great Elixir.” The author of this short alchemical treatise is indicated in the heading as Jin Zhupo of the Tang dynasty (618–907). However, since the text quotes a poem by ZHANG BODUAN (cf. 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 2.19a), the eleventh century is the earliest possible date.

A Jin Quanzi 金全子, *hao* Zhupo 竹坡, appears in another text of uncertain date, as the disciple of SHI JIANWU (fl. 806–820; see 149 *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 1a).

The treatise is both theoretical and practical. It discusses correspondences between lead, gold, mercury, cinnabar, the elements, trigrams, directions and the origin of lead, quicksilver, calomel, and other substances. There are also practical recipes on the extraction of true lead and mercury from common lead, cinnabar, and silver (2a), another on extracting *boxue* 白雪 (arsenious oxide?) and *huangya* 黃芽 (litharge, lead monoxide) from minium and mercury (2a–3a). There are some instructions on powders based on calomel (3b, 6b) and for making a great elixir (*dadan* 大丹) with lead, mercury, and silver as the main ingredients. The recipes do not give detailed instructions for luting, fire-phasing, or casing, as is common in older *waidan* 外丹 texts.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan ge jue 還丹歌訣

2 juan

Compiled by Yuanyang zi 元陽子; Song (960–1279) or later

265 (fasc. 132)

“Oral Formulas and Songs on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This is a collection of alchemical poems attributed to Yuanyang zi (cf. 239 *Huandan jinyi ge zhu*). Since the first poem, however, mentions LÜ DONGBIN (1.2a), Northern Song (960–1127) would be the earliest date for this collection.

Many of the poems can be found in earlier works of the Five Dynasties or the early Song. For the poems in 1.12b–17b, for example, see 926 *Da huandan zhaojian* 10a, 16b, 17a, and 22b. Part of the second poem, by Dou zhenren 竇真人 (1.9b), is quoted in 266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 10b.

For the poem in juan 2, see also 238 *Yuanyang zi jinyi ji* 1a–15b, where it is found with a different commentary.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan 九轉靈砂大丹

12 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

893 (fasc. 587)

“Nine-Times-Transmitted Elixir.” This text describes a method based on mercury and sulfur. The use of the *qian* 錢 weight measure as the unit immediately inferior to the *liang* 兩 shows that the work dates from after 992. A post-Tang (618–907) dating is also suggested by several linguistic features.

The first five sections (1a–3a) are concerned with the construction of the apparatus and the preparation and sublimation of *qingjin tou* 青金頭 (head [i.e., matrix] of cerulean gold), a mercury-sulphur compound. These sections correspond to the opening portions of 894 *Jiuzhuan qingjin lingsha dan* 1a–2a, where they appear in a slightly different order. Other passages shared with the latter work are found in the following sections, which describe a complex method of treating *qingjing tou* in nine cycles.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Jiuzhuan qingjin lingsha dan 九轉青金靈砂丹

5 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

894 (fasc. 587)

“Nine-Times-Transmitted Elixir [Obtained] from Cerulean Gold.” This work describes an alchemical method similar to that outlined in 893 *Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan*.

The same evidence cited for the latter shows that the present text dates from after 992.

The expression *qingjin* 青金 (cerulean gold) in the title refers to a compound of mercury and sulfur that is prepared in the first stage and is further refined in nine cycles. The process described here is more straightforward than that of 893 *Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan*; it consists simply in the addition of sulfur to the product of the preceding stage.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Yinyang jiuzhuan cheng zijin dianhua huandan jue

陰陽九轉成紫金點化還丹訣

5 fols.

Tenth century?

895 (fasc. 587)

“Instructions on the Preparation of the Purple Gold, a Cyclically Transformed Elixir That Transmutes by Projection, [Obtained] in Nine Cycles [through the Action] of Yin and Yang.” This text includes a different version of the method described in 892 *Taishang weiling shenhua jiuzhuan dansha jue*, a Tang work dating possibly from the seventh or the eighth century. The references to the *fen* 分 as the weight unit below the *liang* 兩 (2b and 3a) suggest that the present version dates from before the end of the tenth century.

The descriptions given here are more concise and generally more reliable than those of the other version. The first four stages of treatment consist of two cycles of recompounding cinnabar after the extraction of mercury. The product is treated in the next three stages to prepare a *huandan* 還丹 (cyclically transformed elixir) and in the final two stages to prepare a purple gold (*zijin* 紫金) and a “projection powder” able to transmute mercury and lead into gold. The quotations from the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, found at the end of each of the nine sections, correspond to passages appearing in 2.25a, 2.27b, 2.21a, 1.26a, 2.25a, 1.30b, 1.31b, 1.25a, and 1.30b, respectively, in the edition of 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Taiqing yubei zi 太清玉碑子

12 fols.

927 (fasc. 597)

“Jade Stele of the Taiqing [Heaven].” This is a short work comprising prose and poetry. It is mentioned in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.38a as *Yubei zi* in one juan (VDL 99). The present title figures in the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5189, which

states that the text is a dialogue between Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN) and GE HONG. The latter is also indicated as the author. The dialogue, however, occupies only the first three pages of the text, the remainder being a collection of prose and poems excerpted from various sources.

Much of the material can be found elsewhere: For the dialogue (1a–3b), compare 939 *Dadan wenda* 1a–3b. The “Yaoping ge 瑤瓶歌” (3b–4b) is the same as 888 *Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue*, with some variants. For the “Wujin ge 五金歌” and the “Longhu jue 龍虎訣” (5b–6b), compare 1083 *Longhu yuanzhi* (attributed to Qingxia zi 青霞子), which includes a better text but presents the material in a different order. Compare also 935 *Danlun juezhi xinjian* (3a–4b), which seems to reproduce a different version. The latter text (9a) quotes the first line of the *Da huandan ge* 大還丹歌 (9b), but it indicates a *Cantong qi* 參同契 as its source. For the *Jinyi da huandan ge* 金液大還丹歌 (11a–12a), compare 134 *Yin zhenjun huandan ge zhu*, which has some textual variants. Our text includes three additional lines at the end of the poem.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shangdong xindan jingjue 上洞心丹經訣

3 juan

Northern Song (960–1127)?

950 (fasc. 600)

“*Shangdong* Instructions and Scriptures on the [Cultivation of the] Mind and [the Preparation of] Elixirs.” This text contains complementary information about Inner Alchemy and operative alchemy (2.1a–1b). It was compiled by the later followers of Taiji zhenren 太極真人 (Xu Laile 徐來勒; see YJQQ 6.4b). The most frequently quoted spokesman of these followers is Xianweng 仙翁 (i.e., GE XUAN). *Sui shu* 3.1049 already lists a *Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing* 太極真人九轉還丹經.

The text presents, in three paragraphs, alchemical prescriptions, techniques, and rules, for which parallels can be found in *Baopu zi neipian*, “Jindan” (3.3b ff.). The instructions (*jue* 訣) and commentaries on the statements by GE HONG do not give any indications as to their sources. The same is true for the many methods (*fa* 法) that the text introduces. There is an exposition by Taiji zhenren on 1.13b, and an instruction by the same author on 2.7b. However, it is not possible to claim that the other commentaries, which are all clearly separated by the typography, can be attributed to Xu Laile or any other specific name. Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN) and GE HONG are introduced as members of the line of transmission, which originated with Xu Laile. The sentences on 3.1a–1b constitute the introductory passage in 934 *Taibo jing* 1a–1b.

Florian C. Reiter

Huandan zhongxian lun 還丹衆仙論

25 fols.

Yang Zai 楊在, *hao* Baofu shanren 抱腹山人; 1052

233 (fasc. 113)

“Discourse of the Immortals on the Transmutation of the Elixir.” The date is provided in the preface by the author, a native of Xihe 西河 (Shanxi). The text contains a collection of sayings by different gods and immortals, starting with the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, Lord Tao, Lord Lao, the Yellow Emperor, and others, and ending with more recent alchemists like LÜ DONGBIN and LIU HAICHAN. A second part contains instructions, apparently by Yang Zai himself, on alchemy (*waidan* 外丹): on how to choose the place for the experiments and how to build the furnace. Yang describes the phasing of the fire (*huohou* 火候) according to the helical phasing method (i.e., the increase and decrease of fuel in conformity with the basic cycle of thirty days, divided into six phases [*liuhou* 六候], each subdivided into two parts; for details, see Sivin, “The theoretical background of elixir alchemy,” 274). Also discussed are the ways to obtain and use the “real” ingredients of alchemical lead and mercury, the elimination of toxic principles in the elixir, and the effects of its ingestion.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Dadan ji 大丹記

7 fols.

Attributed to WEI BOYANG 魏伯陽, *hao* Taisu zhenren 太素真人

899 (fasc. 588)

“Record of the Great Elixir.” This short alchemical work is first listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.19b. The use of the weight measure *dafen* 大分 suggests a date after 922.

The work is a piecemeal composition, as are many of the late Tang (618–907) and Five Dynasties (907–960) alchemical texts. The series of quotations and theoretical (1a–2b) explanations were excerpted from the same source as 935 *Danlun juezhi xinjian* 3a–4a and 927 *Taiqing yubei zi* 5a ff. The present text, however, is abridged. The 1083 *Longhu yuanzhi* gives a clearer account but in a different order.

The remainder of the text deals with: the doses of the ingredients to be used for the elixir (2b–3b); fire-phasing (3b–4a; cf. 1083 *Longhu yuanzhi* 6b–7b); and a poem and explanations on the use of ingredients and alchemical utensils (4b–7a). This last section is the only one not included in the alchemical texts mentioned above.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Danfang aolun* 丹房奧論**

17 fols.

By Cheng Liaoyi 程了一, *hao Xuexian zi* 學仙子; 1020

920 (fasc. 596)

“Recondite Discourses on the Elixir Laboratory.” These discourses are presented in sixteen tracts dealing with the essences and products of operative alchemy (*waidan* 外丹). In 1018, Cheng Liaoyi had met his teacher Wei Junyan 魏君顏 in Nanking. Wei transmitted to him “secrets of the elixirs” and gave him oral instructions for their production. Cheng Liaoyi returned to Hunan (Mount Heng 衡山), where he successfully practiced these instructions. This text describes the results of his efforts (preface, dated 1020).

The sixteen paragraphs define essences such as true lead and true cinnabar. They also describe their effects when ingested and the methods of their production. The text mentions cases of misunderstanding or mishandling of alchemical processes, for which certain contemporaries are blamed. The subsequent losses and mistakes are to be blamed exclusively on such errors.

*Florian C. Reiter****Ganqi shiliu zhuan jindan* 感氣十六轉金丹**

10 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

911 (fasc. 591)

“Golden Elixir from Sixteen Cycles of Qi-Reaction.” This is a short, incomplete treatise on the sixteen-stage technique of preparation of an alchemical compound. Five kinds of ingredients are heated in a crucible, to be later mixed with mercury. The ingredients will interact with the mercury, hence the term *ganqi* 感氣 (reaction of qi) in the title.

Of the sixteen stages, only those corresponding to stages 8 (in part?) to 16 are preserved. The remainder of the text has a clear description of the alchemical furnace (with illustration) and of the elixir preparation. The text is at times close to *900 Danfang xuzhi*, but could be earlier, and less influenced by *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 theory. The *yanghuo lu* 養火爐 calls for the ashes of sacrificial paper money (*zhiqian hui* 紙錢灰), which indicates a Song or later date.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao 參同契五相類祕要

6 fols.

Attributed to WEI BOYANG 魏伯陽; submitted to the court by Lu Tianji 盧天驥 (fl. 1111–1117)

905 (fasc. 589)

“Arcane Essentials of the Similarities and Categories of the Five [Substances] from the *Cantong qi*.” This is a short theoretical treatise on alchemy attributed to WEI BOYANG. The text, it seems, was submitted to court by Lu Tianji 盧天驥 during the Zhenghe period (1111–1117; see Ho and Needham, “Theories of categories,” 21). A *Wu xianglei* 五相類 in one juan is listed in various Song catalogues (see VDL 81). The present title, without the last two characters (*biyao* 祕要), is mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.6b.

As the title indicates, this text is derived from a *Cantong qi wu xianglei* and was considered by some to be the second chapter of the *Cantong qi*. This view is, however, refuted in the introduction.

The tradition that WEI BOYANG wrote a *Cantong qi wuxing xianglei* 五行相類 goes back to his biography in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳; but the *Cantong qi wu xianglei* in two *pian* 篇 described by Liu Zhigu 劉知古 (eighth century) explains the alchemical process using *Yijing* 易經 terminology (cf. 1017 *Daoshu* 26.1a), which is not the case in our text. A similar description of the *Cantong qi wu xianglei* is also found in other *Cantong qi* commentaries (see, e.g., 999 *Zhouyi can tong qi* 3.7b and 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 3.7b). Nevertheless, part of the main text (1b–2a) figures in versified form in 888 *Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue* 1a–3a (Tang, 618–907). In addition, the text uses a number of esoteric names for substances, most of which can be found in 901 *Shiyao erya* (preface dated 806). According to the introduction, the *Wu xianglei* deals with the control of the three yellow substances (sulfur, realgar, and orpiment) and the two precious things (lead and mercury). The text elucidates the theory that only substances of the same category (*tonglei* 同類) can react to each other. It classifies the substances as yin or yang and applies the theory of the Five Elements (*wuxing* 五行) and the six acoustic pitches (*lüli* 呂律) to all forms of chemical change and reaction. Lead, mercury, sulfur, realgar, orpiment, and copper carbonate are the ingredients used for the great cyclically transformed elixir (*da huandan* 大還丹; 6b).

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Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Longhu huandan jue song 龍虎還丹訣頌

20 fols.

By Lin Taigu 林太古; commentary by Gushen zi 谷神子; Northern Song (960–1127)?

1082 (fasc. 741)

“Ode on the Formula of the Dragon-and-Tiger Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This is an alchemical poem in seven-word verse by Lin Taigu, with a commentary by Gushen zi. According to a biographical note of the commentator, Lin Taigu was a native of Bingzhou Taiyuan 并州太原 (in Shanxi). Lin was summoned to court by the [Northern Song] emperor Taizong (r. 976–997) and later retired to Huayang 華陽 in Yizhou 益州 (Chengdu, Sichuan). The commentator’s *hao*, Gushen zi, is common to many Taoists between the Five Dynasties (907–960) and the Yuan period (1279–1368). The poem mentions LÜ DONGBIN, who, according to the commentary, had “recently attained the Tao “近代得道也” (9a).

The poem and the commentary are in the *Cantong qi* 參同契 and the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 tradition and may be interpreted in both *neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹 terms. The commentary quotes several well-known alchemical works, such as TAO ZHI’s *Huanjin shu* 還金述, as well as a number of lost works, including the *Shenshui huachi lun* 神水華池論, the *Zhongyuan lun* 中元論 (VDL 79), and the *Wuming daoze ge* 無名道者歌 (VDL 143). The *Yunang song* 玉囊頌 quoted here (8a) is referred to Southern Song (1127–1279) texts as *Yuhu song* 玉壺頌 (cf. 230 *Zhuzhen lun huandan jue*).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Longhu huandan jue 龍虎還丹訣

16 fols.

Commentary by Li zhenren 李真人; Northern Song (960–1127)

1084 (fasc. 741)

“Formula of the Dragon-and-Tiger Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This work comprises three alchemical *ci*-lyrics. The title is a combination of the headings of the first two poems: “Longhu jue 龍虎訣” and “Huandan jue 還丹訣.”

Since the third poem, the “Qinyuan chun 沁園春,” can be traced to the end of the eleventh century (cf. 136 *Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*), the present text must have been compiled after that date. A *Li zhenren huandan ge* 李真人還丹歌 in one juan is mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.22b, possibly referring to this work.

Two of the poems include a commentary by Li zhenren. It is uncertain whether he is the author of the poem “Huandan jue,” which has no commentary. Li zhenren’s commentary to the “Longhu jue” is alchemical, but whether *neidan* 內丹 or *waidan*

外丹 is unclear. His quotations are taken mainly from standard alchemical texts such as 922 *Huanjin shu* by TAO ZHI (d. 825), 906 *Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei*, and the lost work *Taiyi zhi tu*. The “Qinyuan chun” commentary is, however, a clear *neidan* interpretation. This text is an important source for LÜ DONGBIN’s early poetry since almost all the quotations can be found in two collections of his poems (see, e.g., 1055 *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 2.5a, 16a, and the *Jindan shijue* compiled by Xia Yuan-ding).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shenxian yangshen bishu 神仙養生祕術

18 fols.

Edited by CHEN XIANWEI, *hao* Baoyi zi 抱一子 (fl. 1234); also attributed to Liu Jingxian 劉景先 (fl. 351)

948 (fasc. 599)

“Secret Arts of the Divine Immortals for Tending Life.” This is a small collection of excerpts, taken from other sources. The editor, here indicated only by his *hao*, also wrote 1007 *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* (preface 1234).

A first group of recipes concerns nine alchemical compounds (1a–5a). A second group (5a–10a) is called “Baxian diane fa 八仙點阿法” (Trifles of the Eight Immortals). These recipes are herbal preparations for various purposes. A third set has different auxiliary recipes for surviving in times of dearth and famine, such as economizing on oil (12a) or making especially long-burning candles (*sheng lazhu fa* 聖蠟燭法; 11b) that last for one or two months. These practical methods are followed by a long prescription for food abstention in times of famine (*pigu fang* 辟穀方 17a–18a). This prescription is a text thought to have been presented by Liu Jingxian 劉景先 to the ruler of the Later Zhao dynasty in 351. The prescription calls for the use of beans and cereals (glutinous rice) as well as sesame. These ingredients were made into balls the size of a fist and then are steamed. After eating three balls, hunger was stilled for seven days. No other food was to be taken. A second intake, also of three balls, sufficed for forty-nine days. A third, identical meal would last for three hundred days. When thirsty, the adept was to drink ground sesame with water. To revert to a normal diet, the adept had to eat three boxes of sunflower seeds made into a soup. This prescription was engraved in a rock near the Taiping xingguo si 太平興國寺 in the Hanyang military district 漢陽軍. These names belong to the Song period (960–1279).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Lingsha dadan bijue 靈砂大丹祕訣

23 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

897 (fasc. 587)

“Secret Instructions on the Great Elixir of the Wondrous Mineral.” *Lingsha* 靈砂 can be a name for black sulfide of mercury or a synonym of *dansha* 丹砂, the unrefined form of cinnabar. In this particular text, however, *lingsha* stands for *Baoyi lingsha* 抱一靈砂, the wondrous mineral drug that bridges Inner and Outer Alchemy. The first kind of practice is assumed to be known. As for the second, the text prescribes a drug made of “sixteen ounces of sulfurized mercury (*liugong* 硫汞),” from which ten ounces of white lead are obtained. This drug is made into black grains and mixed with bilious alunite and black plums and then placed into an earthen vessel to cook with rice vinegar. The “black metal” is heated until the substance is “subdued” and decomposed. It is then left to rest and eventually opened. The contents are put into a sulfur casing, obtained by heaping a first layer of the residue of the lead substance on the bottom of a reaction vessel, then a layer of sulfur, and then again a layer of lead. This casing is heated, according to a detailed table of fire-phasing. The resulting first phase is called *Tuoyang boti lingsha* 脫養白體靈砂 (wondrous white-bodied mineral released after incubation; 3a–b). Eight other phases follow, to make a complete operation of Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir alchemy.

This particular method was transmitted by GE XUAN to Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN) and GE HONG. The latter related it to the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126), who, in 1101, taught it to Zhang Shizhong 張侍中, a Taoist at the court of Song Huizong (1101–1125), in order to help the sovereign beget children. When Wang later left the court, he transmitted the method to a Buddhist monk called Guiyan chanshi 鬼眼禪師. This disregard for historical chronology suggests a late date for the compilation of this work.

Following the first part of the text, there are a number of miscellaneous instructions and recipes centered on the theme of *lingsha*, including a nine-phased process of refining sulfur called *Jiuzhuan jindan jue* 九轉金丹訣 (Nine-Times-Transmuted Alchemy; 15a–17b).

The following “Chisong zi sizhuan jue 赤松子四轉訣” lists four different recipes for making *lingsha*, the first being related to a method for making gold. Then follows a “Taiji lingsha fu 太極靈砂賦,” a poetic description of the alchemical process using sexual analogies. At the end there is a “Laojun lingsha jue 老君靈砂訣,” a short poem on the major tenets of alchemical theory.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Biyu zhusa hanlin yushu gui 碧玉朱砂寒林玉樹匱

8 fols.

By Chen Dashi of Western Shu 西蜀陳大師; Southern Song (1127–1279)

898 (fasc. 587)

“Formula of Blue Jade and Red Cinnabar from the Jade Tree in the Cold Forest.” This is a short alchemical treatise based on poems with a commentary. The term *hanlin* (cold forest) denotes the realm of death, as explained on 4a. The jade tree is the tree of life in this world where all is impermanent. The first part is rather esoteric, but pages 6a–8a contain precise instructions concerning a process involving *yingqian* 銀鉛, that is, silver-bearing lead.

There are several indications concerning the transmission of the recipes. A prescription for *Zuijin chi* 醉金池 on 5b is said to have been transmitted to Fan Dongsou 范東叟 (*jinshi* 進士, 1235). After 1265, Fan obtained the post of imperial diarist *qiju sheren* 起居舍人. On page 6a he is said to have lived at a Taoist academy (*daoyuan* 道院) in Hangzhou. This may have been at the end of his life. The *yingqian* recipe is said (8a–b) to have been in the possession of the family of a certain Wang Yuanzhong 王元中 (*hao* Boyun weng 白雲翁) of Taiyuan for a long time. Later the high official Lü (Lü *xiangfu* 呂相府) in Bianliang 汴梁 (Kaifeng) obtained the recipe and gave it to a member of the Qian family (Qianfu 錢府), who then gave it to the Jing family 京府. The author obtained it from them. So the recipes in this book, all duly tested and found efficient, came from great dignitaries of the old and new Song capitals such as the Jings and the Gentleman in Attendance Fan Dongsou (here Fan 范 is erroneously written Wei 危). The author then brought them to Sichuan.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Xiulian dadan yaozhi 修鍊大丹要旨

2 juan

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

912 (fasc. 591)

“Important Indications for the Refining of the Great Elixir.” This is a fairly detailed handbook for laboratory alchemy. The date and the author are unknown. The author says of himself that for some twenty years he went from place to place searching for books and the right instructions for the practice of alchemy (1.9b); finally an extraordinary person revealed them to him. What the author received was an esoteric cosmological theory (9b), but he offers no details as to texts or teachers. The present handbook uses references and source indications sparingly. Yin Changsheng 陰長生 is quoted on page 2.6b (together with Laozi giving alchemical instructions). On 1.23b–24a, a recipe is given that “Lü, the Patriarch of Pure Yang” Chunyang Lü zushi

純陽呂祖師 is supposed to have written on the walls of his cave, which suggests that the present work dates to the Southern Song. A certain resemblance in subject matter and treatment is apparent between this text and 900 *Danfang xuzhi* as well as 911 *Ganqi shiliu zhuang jindan*. For instance, all three works have the formula for *Boxue shenfu* 白雪神符 (compare our text 1.12a–b with 900 *Danfang xuzhi* 14a and 911 *Zhuang jindan* 8b). Also the technical indications regarding stills, phasing, and so on are similar from one text to the other. If the present text dates, like the preceding ones, to the Southern Song, then the cyclical year indication *dinghai* 丁亥 on 1.12b could correspond to 1167.

The text sets out to give the principles of laboratory alchemy, followed by a number of recipes. The second juan describes the use of a fireproof asbestos bag (*huanhuo juan* 浣火絹). Plants are used in the process of casting a reaction vessel with the lost-wax technique (2.1b–3a). In certain instances, a preparation has to be kept warm on the naked belly of the practitioner for a period of forty-nine days (2.5a). Some of the procedures are illustrated.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Zhujia shenpin danfa 諸家神品丹法

6 juan

Compiled and edited by Meng Yaofu 孟要甫, *hao* Xuanzhen zi 玄真子; Song, before 1163

918 (fasc. 594)

“Alchemical Prescriptions of Divine Quality from all Specialists.” This is a kind of scrapbook on laboratory alchemy, composed of texts of different periods. The first juan is devoted to generally identifiable excerpts from BPZ, especially from the chapter on alchemy, “Huangbo pian 黃白篇.” From page 8b onward, the quotations derive from other sources. On 1.12a, there is a method authored by Xuanzhen zi, the editor and compiler of the present collection. This person, called Meng Yaofu, is not known elsewhere. From juan 2 on, the work carries his signature under the chapter titles. The entire juan 2 is his work. It is devoted to ritual prescriptions for choosing an appropriate place for refining cinnabar (*xiudan zedi yishi* 修丹擇地儀式). In a preface (2.2a ff.), beginning with the words *hundun wei fen* 混沌未分 (before Chaos was divided), the author explains that his work should be titled *Jindan biyao cantong lu* 金丹秘要參同錄. This title is quoted repeatedly in 900 *Danfang xuzhi* 丹房須知 by Wu Wu 吳悞 (*hao* Ziran zi 自然子), which has a preface dated 1163. The present work therefore must be earlier than that date.

The philosophy behind this compilation was to include all texts deemed useful and explicit, regardless of style or redundancies. In many instances, the author indicates

that he had tried the recipes and found them useful (e.g., 3.8a). Some entries are redundant, such as the “Hua Gengfen fa 化庚分法” on 3.11b and 6.7a. The numerous quotations from various sources are assembled without apparent system.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Zhigui ji 指歸集

9 fols.

By Wu Wu 吳悞, *hao* Ziran zi 自然子; ca. 1163

921 (fasc. 596)

“Collection of Basic Explanations.” This work is a collection of quotations from important alchemical texts. These quotations demonstrate, according to the author, the fundamental principles of the alchemical process. The work was compiled before 1163 as it is mentioned in the same author’s preface to *900 Danfang xuzhi*.

Wu Wu, who also styled himself Gaogai shanren 高蓋山人, after the sacred mountain in Fujian, possessed a good knowledge of alchemy, both *neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹, and his preface advocates the practice of both these systems in the quest for immortality. Among the techniques used in *neidan*, Wu Wu’s preference lay in concentration and breath retention (*cunshen biqi* 存神閉氣), a technique resembling Chan meditation (*Chanding* 禪定). As for *waidan*, the author says that only one ingredient should be used, namely, cinnabar (*dansha* 丹砂), since it had the magic property of preserving both body and spirit. All other substances, says the author, are toxic.

The work comprises a preface and five sections dealing with the cyclically transformed elixir (*huandan* 還丹), the ingredients of which are described as true lead and true mercury and fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候). Wu Wu’s quotations are borrowed mainly from *926 Da huandan zhaojian*. Sections 4 and 5, on the mutual production and destruction of the Five Elements and fire-phasing, are in part based on *1083 Longhu yuanzhi*. The principal alchemical work, according to Wu Wu, is the *Jinbi longhu jing* 金碧龍虎經, which he considered to be wrongly attributed to Huangdi and actually transmitted by Shennong 神農.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Yuzhuang xiehou lu 漁莊邂逅錄

11 fols.

By Wu Wu 吳悞, *hao* Ziran zi 自然子; ca. 1187

1086 (fasc. 741)

“Record of a Chance Encounter in a Fishing Village.” This is a short alchemical treatise by Wu Wu of Mount Gaogai 高蓋 (Fujian). The author was well versed in

both laboratory alchemy and Inner Alchemy, as is evident from his other works in the *Daozang*: 900 *Danfang xuzhi* and 921 *Zhigui ji*.

In the short preface to the present text, Wu emphasizes the old Taoist idea that the alchemical oeuvre can be achieved only through the combined efforts of three persons. He recounts his meeting with two other friends who shared a similar desire to achieve the elixir. Wu Wu indicates that their experiment began in 1187.

The account begins with the different names of the elixir *jinyi dahuan dan* 金液大還丹 and its ingredients. These names are followed by a description of five cycles corresponding to the Great Beginning (Taichu 太初), the Great Ultimate (Taiji 太極), the division into yin and yang, the four directions with their symbols (*sixiang* 四象), and the center corresponding to Earth. This description is followed by a short extract on fire-phasing by Caoyi zi 草衣子 (cf. 152 *Xiuzhen liyan chaotu* and 1017 *Daoshu* 33.11b).

The work ends with two poems, the first in praise of the friends' meeting, the second on the discovery of the Lead of Former Heaven (*xiantian qian* 先天鉛) in the furnace on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month. The present text is especially noteworthy for its numerous quotations from Tang alchemical texts that are no longer extant in the *Daozang*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Danfang xuzhi 丹房須知

14 fols.

By Wu Wu 吳悞, *hao* Ziran zi 自然子; preface dated 1163

900 (fasc. 588)

“Requisite Knowledge for the Alchemical Laboratory.” The author has two other works on alchemy in the *Daozang*: 921 *Zhigui ji* 指歸集 (here mentioned in the preface) and 1086 *Yuzhuang xiehou lu* 漁莊邂逅錄. The latter text is dated 1187. Wu calls himself Gaogai shanren 高蓋山人, after the mountain of that name in western Fujian (present Yongtai 永泰).

The text is marked (14b) as incomplete. The author's purpose is to provide detailed instructions for those who set out to practice laboratory alchemy, so that they will not have to deal with all the difficulties he himself encountered in his quest for reliable information. The work quotes a number of sources, most of which are unknown elsewhere. The author shows close familiarity with the theoretical framework of the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 and *Cantong qi* 參同契.

He begins with the all-important choice of two experienced companions for the enterprise. Here, and in many other places, Wu quotes the *Cantong lu* 參同錄, that is, the *Jindan biyao cantong lu* 金丹秘要參同錄 by Meng Yaofu (see 918 *Zhujia shenpin danfa*). For examples of passages transcribed verbatim by Wu Wu from this source,

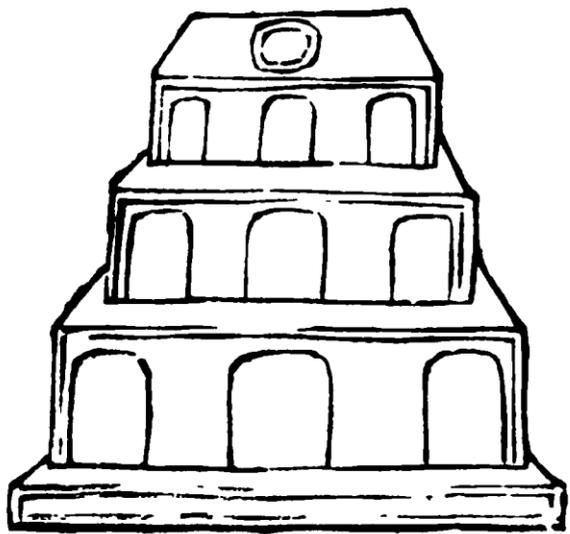
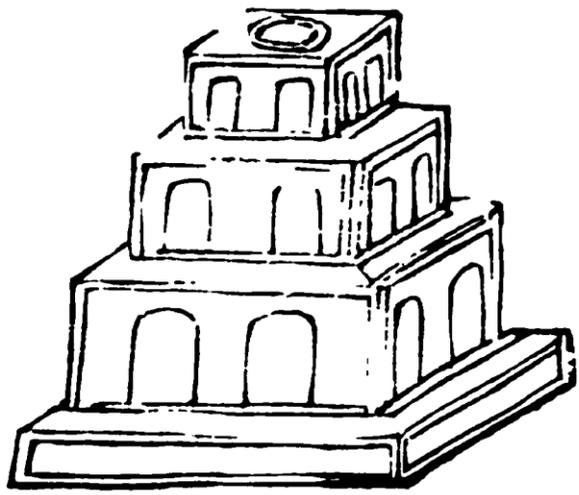


FIGURE 29. The alchemical altar (900 5b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/893)

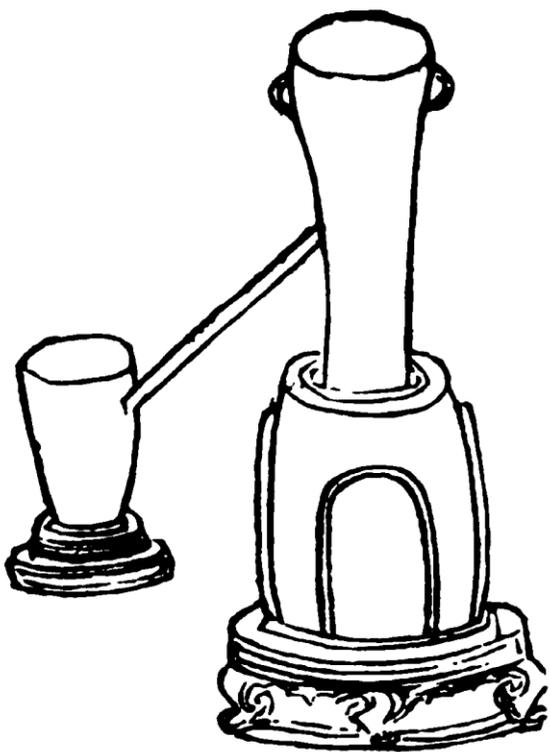


FIGURE 30. A furnace for the extraction of mercury (900 7a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/893)

compare 2b1, 2b10, and 3b4 in the present text with 918 *Shenpin danfa* 2.11a6, 2.6b3, and 2.11b.4, respectively.

As to the choice of a suitable place for the laboratory, Wu proposes a blessed site (*fudi* 福地) such as the Gaogai shan where he lived. The laboratory had to be oriented in a particular way. Here Wu quotes a work that serves as his guide throughout, the *Huolong jing* 火龍經, ascribed to SIMA ZIWEI (3a). There should be no women present, nor Buddhist monks and nuns, chickens or dogs. Incense should be kept burning constantly. Whenever entering the laboratory, one should don clean clothes. No pungent vegetables should be eaten. The water, earth, charcoal, and such used in the process should be especially pure.

An altar should be erected according to a number of specifications. The description is illustrated (5b; fig. 29). Several kinds of precious metals and minerals should be buried at its base. This altar was in fact the alchemical furnace (*lu* 爐), also called the Platform of the Elixir (*dantai* 丹臺). A number of openings on all sides facilitated the firing. The crucible (*ding* 鼎) was placed on top. An ancient mirror was also placed there, as well as a number of votive lamps.

Measures should be taken to protect the elixir from demons. The rites to be performed for this protection are also given (6a). The different alchemical vessels, their shape and use, are described and illustrated, as are the rites to be performed in conjunction with their use. Next the method for refining lead (*qian* 鉛) to obtain mercury and other derivatives is discussed, up to the completion of the elixir (see fig. 30). The last, incomplete, paragraph concerns the ingestion of the alchemical substance.

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***Gengdao ji* 庚道集**

9 juan

Southern Song to Yuan (1127–1368), with possible Ming (1368–1644) additions
953 (fasc. 602–603)

“Collected [Texts] on the Way of [Refining] Gold.” *Geng* 庚, the seventh of the Heavenly Stems, stands here for the West, and hence for the element metal, especially gold. This work is a collection of some twenty texts on laboratory alchemy, most of which feature the names of their authors or transmitters in the title. There is no preface or indication of a compiler. In juan 1, there is a “Wenzhen zi jindan dayao baojue 文真子金丹大藥寶訣,” the work of one Mengxuan jushi 蒙軒居士, dated 1144. There are also other names, such as Pu zhenren 蒲真人 (2.12b), whose arts were transmitted to a certain Ge Kejiu 葛可久, who in turn passed them on to Chen Shuzi 陳庶子. Further on in the same juan (15a) is a recipe signed by the same Chen Shuzi. The final recipe is for curing leprosy (*dama laifeng yao* 大麻癩鳳藥). It is mostly composed of highly toxic ingredients.

In 3.2a–b, the undated preface by Yang Qin 楊勤 to the *Taishang lingsha dadan* 太上靈砂大丹 refers to the transmission of the text to a certain Zhang Shizhong 張侍中. This passage is identical to 897 *Lingsha dadan bijue* 2a.

On the whole, this collection, which is well edited and contains precise recipes, seems to date from the Southern Song. Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 345), however, remarks that the place name Jiangxi 江西 on 2.5b did not exist before Ming times. On the next page (2.6a) there is a mention of calamine or zinc bloom (*ganshi* 甘石), and the Arab word for this substance is also given: “The Huihui 回回 call this *tuotiya* 脫梯牙.” This reference points to the Yuan dynasty.

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***Jinhua chongbi danjing bizhi* 金華沖碧丹經祕旨**

2 juan

Transmitted by BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾, PENG SI 彭耜, and Lan Yuanbo 蘭元白;
preface by Meng Xu 孟煦 (dated 1225)

914 (fasc. 592)

“Arcane Directions [from the Book of the] Golden Flower for Ascent into the Biluo 碧落 Heaven.” This is an alchemical work of rather obscure origins. In his preface on the transmission of the text, Meng Xu, a native of Sichuan and descendant of Meng Chang 孟昶 (934–965) of the Later Shu dynasty, attributes the first juan to BO YUCHAN. Meng claims to have obtained the text from the latter’s disciple PENG SI during a voyage in Fujian, but he did not put the instructions to use. In 1220, he received another text from Lan Yuanbo (juan 2 of the present compilation), which brought additional clarification to PENG SI’s work. Meng combined the two texts in



FIGURE 31. Instructions for making and loading alchemical vessels (914 3b-4a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/907)

one book and gave it the present title. *Jinhua chongbi danshi* 金華沖碧丹室 was the name of PENG SI's hermitage (preface, 4b).

Meng Xu's story is suspect, both with regard to the transmission and to the date of the text. He claims, for instance, that he was unable to put the alchemical instructions into practice because of the Wu Xi 吳晞 (read 曦 for 晞) rebellion. Wu Xi was beheaded in 1214, whereas Meng met Lan Yuanbo, an avatar of BO YUCHAN (preface), in 1220. Moreover, the latter's *hao* is given as Yangsu zhenren 養素真人, which was the *hao* of a famous Taoist who lived during the reign of Emperor Renzong (1022-1063): Lan 藍 (var. 蘭) Yuandao 元道 or Lan Fang 藍方 (cf. LZTT 48.18b). Lan Yuandao is often mentioned in alchemical books of the thirteenth century or later (cf. 953 *Gengdao ji* 1.9a-9b and 245 *Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao*, preface 1a-1b).

The first *juan*, ascribed to BO YUCHAN, is short (four folios). It comprises mainly poems and a few alchemical prescriptions. The second *juan*, attributed to Lan Yuanbo, consists of detailed instructions for the fabrication of various alchemical elixirs, one of these being the Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir (*jiuzhuan huandan* 九轉還丹). The importance of the work lies in its descriptions and manifold diagrams of alchemical utensils (fig. 31; cf. Ho and Needham, "Theories of categories," 57).

Chunyang Lü zhenren yaoshi zhi 純陽呂真人藥石製

11 fols.

Attributed to LÜ DONGBIN 呂洞賓, *hao* Chunyang zhenren 純陽真人;
fourteenth or fifteenth century

903 (fasc. 588)

“Zhenren Lü Chunyang’s [Poems] on the Preparation of Mineral and Plant Drugs.” According to a study based on an analysis of the rhymes and a comparison of plant names with those of the *Bencao* 本草, these poems can be dated between 1324 and the beginning of the fifteenth century (see Ho Peng Yoke et al., “Elixir plants”).

The work comprises a series of poems about plants used by alchemists for elixirs or aurifaction, and about their action on minerals. The title of each poem is the esoteric name of a plant, to which the suffix *longya* 龍芽 (dragon shoot) is appended. The common name of the plant is added in a note after the title. The exact date of the poems is uncertain, but the text employs a number of plant names unusual in Song pharmacopoeia. Another work on *longya* preserved in the *Daozang* is unfortunately also undated (see 929 *Xuanyuan huangdi shuijing yaofa* 10a–12b).

The text, in its present form, comprises sixty-eight poems on sixty-six plants. Since the last poem mentions seventy-two *longya cao* 龍芽草 (11a), it is possible that some poems have been lost. One poem is incomplete and another is missing on page 7b.

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Ho Peng Yoke et al., “Elixir plants.”

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shangqing jing zhendan bijue 上清經真丹祕訣

6 fols.

845 (fasc. 573)

“Secret Instructions for the True Elixir according to the Shangqing Scriptures.” This work transmits the alchemical skills of the Earth Immortals for saving people from poverty and distress, achieving immortality, and obtaining relief from illness (1a–1b).

First the text lists ten names of pills and describes their application together with the maladies they were intended to cure. The text then explains the technical procedures for concocting the medicines. The basic essences have to be heated and boiled for different periods of time and also with varying degrees of intensity. The essences are to be enclosed in a vessel called *Hunan hezi* 湖南合子. The use of a water-fire stove (*shuihuo lu* 水火爐) is prescribed. It has to be fired with specified amounts of fuel. The production of the different medicines took three to nine years.

Florian C. Reiter

3.A.6 Sacred History and Geography

3.A.6.a Sacred Histories and Records

The works presented below are grouped into four subcategories: Laozi annals, the pantheon, imperial patronage, and sacred geography.

The long-standing tradition of Laozi annals (see part 1.A.6.a and part 2.A.6.a) is represented here by two compilations, 774 *Youlong zhuan* and 770 *Hunyuan shengji*, of the Northern (960–1127) and Southern Song (1127–1279) periods, respectively. The detailed narrative iconography of the Laozi visions already found in 593 *Lidai chongdao ji* and further developed in these two works gave rise to illustrated chronicles under the Song and Yuan (1279–1368), for example, the controversial *Laozi bashiyi hua tu* 老子八十一化圖 (thirteenth century; see Kenneth Ch'en, "Buddhist-Taoist mixtures"; Kubo Noritada, "*Rōshi hachijuichi ka zusetsu*"). While many of these chronicles genuinely reflect the imperial patronage of Taoism in various ages, their partisan agenda is undeniable: they give prominence to the Taoist creation myth and dwell on the claim that from the Three Sovereigns to the "uncrowned king" Confucius, every sage of Chinese antiquity enjoyed the benefit of Laozi's instruction. Even the Buddha Śākyamuni owed his enlightenment to Laozi, whose conversion of the barbarians accounted for the spread of Buddhism in foreign lands and its ill-advised importation to China. The political implications of Laozi's guidance of emperors from the Han Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) to the Song were no less contentious. The very titles of works such as "Annals of the Sage" (*shengji* 聖紀) or "Veritable Records" (*shilu* 實錄), with their echoes of dynastic historiography, gave offense in non-Taoist quarters. XIE SHOUHAO's claim in the preface to his "Annals of the Sage" (770 *Hunyuan shengji*) to have based himself on extensive consultation of the records of the Three Teachings (*sanjiao* 三教) no doubt has to be read in this light.

The comprehensive "Illustrated Pantheon of the Three Spheres" (155 *Sancai dingwei tu*) is followed by three works devoted to the gods of important mountain cults: the Envoy of Lushan (1286 *Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi*), the Three Brothers of Maoshan (172 *San Mao zhenjun jiafeng shidian*), and the Three True Lords of Mount Huagai (778 *Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi*). Various aspects of imperial patronage of Taoism under the Song and Ming (1368–1644) are illustrated by the next three texts: In 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan*, the statesman WANG QINRUO reveals how the Northern Song had placed itself under the protection of a Taoist saint whose intervention in the imperial succession engendered the "announcement from Heaven" incident; 777 *Zhangxian mingsu huanghou shou shangqing bifa lu ji* documents the ceremonies for the Taoist ordination of the dowager of Emperor

Zhenzong in 1024; and 1462 *Huang Ming enming shilu* is a chronologically arranged dossier of official documents pertaining to imperial patronage of Taoism under the Ming. The section closes with the 1063 *Dongyuan ji*, the comprehensive sacred geography of modern Taoism.

Youlong zhuan 猶龍傳

6 juan

By JIA SHANXIANG 賈善翔, *zi* Hongju 鴻舉, *hao* Chongde wuzhen dashi 崇德悟真大師; compiled between 1086–1100

774 (fasc. 555)

“Biography of [Unfathomable] Like a Dragon.” The title refers to Laozi, alluding to Confucius’s characterization of the Old Master after the legendary meeting between the two sages (see *Shiji* 63.2140 and the preface to the present work, 6b–7a). A Ming (1368–1644) manuscript version of this work preserved in the Library of Congress bears the title *Taishang hunyuan shangde huangdi youlong zhuan* 太上混元上德皇帝猶龍傳, in two juan (see Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanben shu tiyao*, 411). The text’s original arrangement seems to have been in three juan (see the entries in Song bibliographies listed in VDL 143).

JIA SHANXIANG, according to his biography in LZTT 51.15b–16a, compiled the *Youlong zhuan* under the Northern Song reign of Zhezong (1086–1100). His official titles under the chapter headings indicate that the author was a prelate (*jiaomen gongshi* 教門公事), with supervisory authority over one half of the capital’s Taoist clergy. Jia is also the author of a phonetic gloss on the *Zhuangzi* (739 *Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin*), an ordination ritual for monks (1236 *Taishang chujia chuandu yi*), and the hagiographic compilation *Lives of Eminent Taoists* (*Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳), which survives only in citations (see Yan Yiping, *Daojiao yanjiu ziliao* 1.4:1–120).

The long preface to the present work (7 fols.) resumes the main themes of the Laozi legend, from several distinct perspectives: (1) Laozi’s sacred appellations and the main phases of the “historical” sage’s career (miraculous birth, office of archivist, departure to the west, discipleship of Yin Xi 尹喜, return to Qingyang si 青羊肆, ascension on a white deer); (2) his revelations operated through Yin Xi, HESHANG GONG, Gan Ji 干吉 (or Yu Ji 于吉), Zhang Daoling 張道陵, and KOU QIANZHI; (3) cosmogony and scriptural revelation; (4) Laozi’s role as instructor of the mythical rulers (*dishi* 帝師) from Fu Xi 伏羲 to the Shang period (ca. 1500–1050 B.C.); and (5) imperial patronage of the Laozi cult under the Tang (618–907) and early Song (960–1279) dynasties.

The *Youlong zhuan* is the principal Northern Song specimen of a long tradition of Laozi hagiography that had received a fresh impetus from the imperial cult of Laozi under the Tang. Since YIN WENCAO’s now lost *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji* [jing]

玄元皇帝聖紀 [經] in ten juan (see VDL 97 and the surviving fragment in YJQQ 102.1a–6a; cf. also the article on 954 *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu*), the story of Lord Lao as cosmic deity and savior at critical junctures of human history was typically narrated in chronicle form, resembling the annals of imperial reigns. The extensive compilations of DU GUANGTING at the end of the Tang (especially 593 *Lidai chongdao ji*, 725 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 2, and presumably the now lost *Hunyuan tu* 混元圖 in ten juan) provided much of JIA SHANXIANG's material concerning the Tang period. For Southern Song (1127–1279) continuations of this tradition, see the work of XIE SHOUHAO, especially 770 *Hunyuan shengji*.

The main body of the present work develops and expands the themes introduced in the preface: cosmogony (Laozi, coeternal with the Tao, as originator of both creation and revelation); Laozi as teacher of mythical rulers; the birth of Laozi (with distinct echoes of the birth legend of Buddha Śākyamuni); the sage's journey to the west, the discipleship of Yin Xi, scriptural revelations; the new dispensation entrusted to Laozi's second disciple and vicar, Zhang Daoling; and Laozi's numerous interventions on behalf of the Tang ruling house. The last entry concerns Laozi's renewed canonization by the Northern Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022).

Franciscus Verellen

Hunyuan shengji 混元聖紀

9 juan

By XIE SHOUHAO 謝守灝, *zi* Huaiying 懷英, *hao* Guanfu dashi 觀復大師; preface by Chen Fuliang 陳傅良 (dated 1193); author's presentation memorial (dated 1191).

770 (fasc. 551–53)

“Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning [i.e., Laozi].” According to Xie's presentation memorial (*jinbiao* 進表) as reproduced here, the original work comprised eleven juan and was submitted to the emperor (Guangzong, r. 1189–1194) under the title *Taishang laojun hunyuan shengji* 太上老君混元聖紀 (prefaces, 3a–b). In fact, however, the original title was *Taishang laojun hunyuan [shangde] huangdi shilu* 太上老君混元 [上德] 皇帝實錄 (see 297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5.7b).

Two Ming (1368–1644) manuscripts bearing that title are preserved in the Peking Library and the Library of Congress: the *Taishang laojun hunyuan shangde huangdi shilu* in seven juan (see Beijing tushu guan shanben bu ed., *Beijing tushu guan shanben shumu* 5.31a; 297 *Tongjian xubian* also indicates a work in seven juan) and in six juan (see Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanben shu tiyao*, 411). The Peking manuscript is reproduced in *Zangwai daoshu* 18:1–208, where the title is abridged as *Taishang laojun shilu* 太上老君實錄, or “Veritable Record of the Most High Lord Lao.” This text represents a separate line of transmission of the present work. In the Peking manu-

script, the preface by Chen Fuliang (1137–1203) and Xie’s presentation memorial both read *shilu* 實錄 in the place of *shengji* 聖紀, and the memorial reads “a certain number of juan” instead of “eleven juan.” The contents of the present work and the Peking manuscript are essentially the same but show traces of revision, as does the chapter arrangement: *Shengji* juan 3–4 correspond to *Shilu* 3, *Shengji* 5–6 to *Shilu* 4, and *Shengji* 7–9 to *Shilu* 5–7. The Peking manuscript edition features four additional prefaces and a colophon, including prefaces by Zhu Xi’s 朱熹 (1130–1200) disciple Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1135–1198) and by Xie E 謝諤 (1121–1194), a *jinshi* 進士 of the Shaoxing period (1131–1162) and a high-ranking Southern Song (1127–1279) official. The latter’s preface is dated 1190 (*Shilu*, prefaces 10b; *Zangwai daoshu* 18:5), that is, the year before the work’s official presentation.

The *Taishang shilu* 太上實錄 by XIE SHOUHAO is mentioned among new works included in the edition of the *Daozang* completed in 1244 (VDL 56). Xiang Mai’s 祥邁 (fl. 1281–1291) *Bianwei lu* 2.764b lists the title *Hunyuan huangdi shilu* 混元皇帝實錄 (as well as a *Taishang shilu* by XIE SHOUHAO) among the Taoist books proscribed by Kublai Khan in 1281. The colophon by Ke Zhengmeng 柯正蒙 to the Peking manuscript, meanwhile, dates to the Zhizheng (1341–1368) period at the end of the Yuan (*Zangwai daoshu* 18:208).

A textual comparison of the two versions and an examination of the prefaces and colophon suggest that the *Hunyuan shengji* text constitutes a post-Song revision of XIE SHOUHAO’s work. The *Taishang laojun shilu* version, on the other hand, not only preserves the original title but also represents the earlier phase in the text’s elaboration and transmission. References in the *Shilu* version to “the present dynasty,” for example, have been changed in the present text to “the Song dynasty.” Also some of the anti-Buddhist material in the *Shilu* version that was connected with the *Huahu* 化胡 legend—Xie cites the statesman WANG QINRUO’s (962–1125) defense of his inclusion of the *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經 in the Northern Song (960–1127) canon (*Shilu* 7.47b; *Shengji* 9.33b)—has been purged from the present text, perhaps with a view to the work’s reintegration into the canon following the Yuan (1279–1368) proscription. The *shilu* titles listed by Xiang Mai suggest that the book had indeed been banned in that form. After fortuitously surviving the book burnings of 1281, the *Shilu* presumably served as the basis for the Peking manuscript copy made under the Ming (cf. Shi Yanfeng, “*Hunyuan shengji*”).

For separate, partial versions of the present work transmitted within the *Daozang*, see 771 *Taishang laojun nianpu yaolue* and 773 *Taishang hunyuan laozi shiliie*.

A brief introduction at the head of juan 1 lists the classical authors of the Laozi legend, beginning with Sima Qian (referring to Laozi’s biography in *Shiji* 63), and points to the present work’s immediate predecessors, the first of which was YIN WENCAO’s *Shengji* 聖紀, that is, the now lost early Tang (618–907) *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji*

[*jing*] 玄元皇帝聖紀 [經] in ten juan (see VDL 97). Of this only a fragment survives in YJQQ 102.1a–6a, titled *Hunyuan huangdi shengji*; Xie's subsequent citations of the "Tang Annals" (*Tangji* 唐紀) refer to this work (on 954 *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* as a source for the present compilation, see Kusuyama, "Taishō kongen shinroku kō," 459–60). The second predecessor to the present work was JIA SHANXIANG's Northern Song 774 *Youlong zhuan*, a compilation that XIE SHOUHAO denigrates as abundant but confused (1.1b). In the remainder of juan 1, Xie presents a summary of his own wide-ranging research in the form of a chronicle (*nianpu* 年譜) of Laozi's manifestations from the mythical era of the Three Sovereigns down to his apparition in 1112 under the Northern Song emperor Huizong (1.2a–41a).

XIE SHOUHAO's annals cite a broad range of sources, including scripture, hagiography, standard historiography, inscriptions, and Buddhist and Confucian writings, as well as such recent compilations as the anthology *Taiping guangji* and, in connection with repeated references to Laozi's return and ascension at Black Sheep Market, Yue Penggui's 樂朋龜 964 *Xichuan Qingyang gong beiming*. Not mentioned are the works of DU GUANGTING, although the latter's 593 *Lidai chongdao ji* and 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji*, for example, furnished virtually all of Xie's material relating to the period from the mid-ninth to the early tenth century (*Hunyuan shengji* 9.15b–24a; see Verellen, "A forgotten Tang restoration," 114–15), in addition to numerous earlier passages. The extent to which the present work might incorporate Du's now lost *Hunyuan tu* 混元圖 in ten juan is impossible to determine.

The development of the work's main contents follows approximately the scheme laid out in the *nianpu* chronology in juan 1. Juan 2 describes Laozi's creation of the universe and his revelations addressed to Fu Xi 伏羲 and subsequent culture heroes and mythical rulers; juan 3–4 cover Laozi's manifestations under the Shang (ca. 1500–1050 B.C.) and Zhou (ca. 1050–221 B.C.), and his revelations to Yin Xi 尹喜; juan 5, continues with Yin Xi's discipleship and covers the conversion of the Western Barbarians (*Huahu*); juan 6 tells of other disciples, including Wenzi 文子 and Gengsang chu 庚桑楚, of instructions imparted to Confucius, and covers the Qin dynasty; juan 7 contains advice to Han emperors, further revelations through the intermediaries of HESHANG GONG and Zhang Daoling 張道陵, and information on the Wei, Northern Wei, and KOU QIANZHI; juan 8 covers the Northern Zhou, Sui, and early Tang (emperors Gaozu to Xuanzong); juan 9 continues to discuss the Tang (Xuanzong through Xizong to the final years of the dynasty), as well as the Five Dynasties and Northern Song emperors down to Huizong. The final entries concern Huizong's Xuanhe reign period (1119–1125).

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***Taishang laojun nianpu yaolie* 太上老君年譜要略**

13 fols.

Compiled by XIE SHOUHAO 謝守灝 (1134–1212); revised by Li Zhidao 李致道 of Yinshan 隱山

771 (fasc. 554)

“Summary Chronicle of Most High Lord Lao.” This work is a separate edition of the concise Laozi chronicle (*nianpu* 年譜) included in juan 1 of XIE SHOUHAO’s extensive “Annals of the Sage” (770 *Hunyuan shengji* 1.1b ff.). The present, revised edition is clearly and conveniently set out under the reigns of the mythical and historical rulers who were instructed by Laozi or favored by manifestations of the sage. A similar arrangement of the same material appears in the first chapter of 773 *Taishang hunyuan laozi shilie*.

*Franciscus Verellen****Taishang hunyuan Laozi shilie* 太上混元老子史略**

3 juan

By XIE SHOUHAO 謝守灝 (1134–1212)

773 (fasc. 554)

“Short History of Laozi, Most High of Undifferentiated Beginning.” This is a truncated version of XIE SHOUHAO’s “Annals of the Sage” (770 *Hunyuan shengji*). The author is here identified as XIE SHOUHAO of the Qingxu an 清虛菴 sanctuary on Lushan 廬山. Juan 1 of the present work is another version of the Laozi chronicle (*nianpu* 年譜) in 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 1; the arrangement here resembles that found in 771 *Taishang laojun nianpu yaolie*. The remaining chapters cover approximately the portion of the narrative contained in 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 2–4, ending with an account of the discipleship of Yin Xi 尹喜.

*Franciscus Verellen****Sancai dingwei tu* 三才定位圖**

8 + 11 fols.

By ZHANG SHANGYING 張商英, *zi* Tianjue 天覺, *hao* Wujin jushi 無盡居士 (1043–1121)

155 (fasc. 68)

“Illustrated Pantheon of the Three Spheres.” This text was composed by the statesman and liturgist ZHANG SHANGYING, probably on imperial order. According to the annotated table of contents (*pianmu* 篇目; 1a–8b), the original text served as a guide to the entire scope of the universe, from the highest sphere of the primordial Void Sovereigns (*xuhuang* 虛皇), to the Heavens of the Three Pures Ones (*sanqing tian* 三清天), to the deities of the cosmic energies of the Eight Trigrams (*bagua* 八卦)

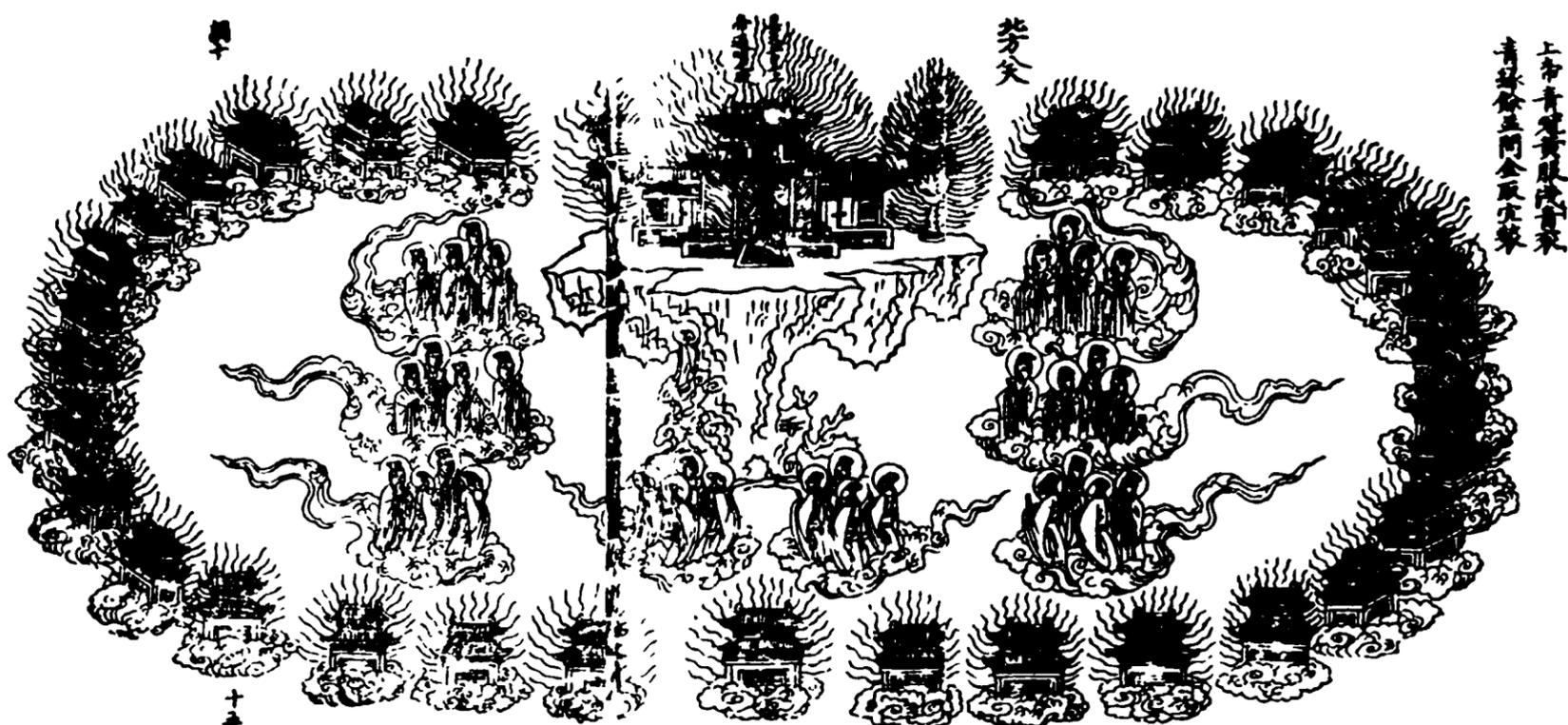


FIGURE 32. Yuhuang and the Thirty-two Heavens (155 10b-11b)

and all their derivatives, to the Heaven of Yuhuang 玉皇, the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官), the stars of the Dipper, the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions, and the Six Palaces of Hell (Fengdu liugong 酆都六宮).

Only part of the illustrations that correspond to this great pantheon have survived: those of the Void Sovereigns, the Three Pure Ones, and the Heaven of Yuhuang (fig. 32). An obviously misplaced and incomplete picture of the Controller of Fate (Jiutian siming 九天司命), Heavenly Worthy of the Protection of Life (Baosheng tianzun 保生天尊), has been inserted between the second and the third of the Three Pure Ones (see fig. 33).

It is highly probable that the illustrations at the beginning of 156 *Shangqing dongzhen jiugong zifang tu* (1a-4a) also belonged originally to our text. They represent



FIGURE 33. The Controller of Fate, Jiutian siming (155 6b-7a)

two of the Three Officials, the Gates of Heaven (*erge* 二閣), the stars of the Dipper and of the Twenty-eight Mansions, and other stellar deities. The legends show many similarities with those of the present work.

In spite of its lacunal state, this remains a precious document on early Song (960–1279) theology.

Kristofer Schipper

Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi

廬山太平興國宮採訪真君事實

7 juan

First compiled by Ye Yiwen 葉義問 (preface 1154), with many later additions 1286 (fasc. 1006–1007)

“Veritable Facts Concerning the True Lord Investigator of the Taiping Xingguo Temple on Mount Lu.” This is a collection of texts and documents concerning the tutelary deity of Lushan, the holy mountain (near Jiujiang 九江, Jiangxi). Since ancient times, the worship of the Envoy of Lushan (Lushan shizhe 廬山使者) has been recognized as part of the worship of the Five Sacred Peaks and other major holy mountains, the latter having the function of assisting the gods of the former (see *1281 Wuyue zhenxing xulun* 24b). In 731, on the order of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), these holy mountains were endowed with temples dedicated to their respective tutelary deities (see *Zizhi tongjian* 213.6796). The inscription “Jiutian shizhe miaobei 九天使者廟碑” by Li Pin 李珣 commemorates this fact and is preserved in the present work on 6.1a–5b; it is dated 732 and appears to be genuine (see the authentication dated 1241 in the colophon by Cheng Gongxu 程公許, 6.5b–8a).

This imperial patronage continued under the Song, when, especially under Taizong (r. 976–997) and Zhenzong (r. 997–1023), the Five Sacred Peaks and connected sites played again an important role in the dynastic legitimation process. In 977 the temple on Lushan received the official name of Taiping xingguo gong, in keeping with the reign title of that period.

The present work was compiled much later, it seems from the preface, by a local official named Ye Yiwen 葉義問 (1098–1170). Ye relates that when he went to the temple in 1154, together with the prefect of Jiujiang, to perform the official sacrifices, he was approached by a local daoshi who asked him to compile a record on the tutelary deity from the temple records.

It is uncertain, however, to what extent the present work reflects Ye’s original text. Indeed, in the above-mentioned colophon by Cheng Gongxu, it says that the Tang inscription was originally included in the work compiled by Ye Yiwen, but that its title was *Ganying ji* 感應記. On the other hand, in a memorial dated 1238 and addressed to the throne, the temple’s abbot, Xiong Shouzhong 熊守中, requests an upgrading

of the canonical title of the deity (2.12b–14a). As part of his request, Xiong mentioned the legend that at the time the Tang temple was built the divine Envoy appeared to Emperor Xuanzong in a dream and prophesied that after 500 years he would greatly help the empire. That time had now arrived. Xiong also added a book he had compiled of the miracles performed by the Envoy during the Song dynasty. He states that his book was in six chapters, and he gives their titles. Several of these titles correspond to those of the chapters included in the present text, and there is every reason to suppose that these are indeed Xiong's work.

As a result of Xiong Shouzhong's efforts, the status of the deity was raised in 1240, and the official documents issued on that occasion are also included here (3.1a–3b). Other documents concerning the deity and its worship are dated even later, the last one being from the year 1318. The title of chapter 4, “Yuanchao chongfeng lei 元朝崇奉類,” refers to the Yuan dynasty, suggesting that the present work was completed only under the Ming dynasty.

The work is rich in materials unknown elsewhere. There is a poem by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) on 5.10a, commemorating his discussions on Inner Alchemy with a daoshi of the temple (compare 1001 *Zhouyi cantong qi*). BO YUCHAN (fl. 1218) is featured with a commemoration of his stay at the temple (6.19b–25a; cf. 1309 *Haiqiong chuandao ji*) and with a long poem (6.25b–26b). The work also documents the visit by the court Taoist Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (see 304 *Maoshan zhi*) as a special envoy of the empress and the heir apparent to present an Offering (*jiao* 醮) for the health of the emperor.

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Reiter, “The ‘Investigation Commissioner of the Nine Heavens.’”

Yuan Bingling

***San Mao zhenjun jiafeng shidian* 三茅真君加封事典**

2 juan

Compiled and edited by Zhang Dachun 張大淳, *hao* Chongjing mingzhen weimiao dashi 冲靖明真微妙大師; 1267

172 (fasc. 75)

“Protocol of the Additional Canonization of the Mao Brothers.” The official granting of the additional titles *shengyou* 聖祐 (for Mao Ying 茅盈), *deyou* 德祐 (for Mao Gu 茅固), and *renyou* 仁祐 (for Mao Zhong 茅衷) in 1249 was inspired by Shi Tan 師坦, *hao* Dongwei xiansheng 洞微先生, who made his own promotion to Taoist registrar in the capital (*zuojie daolu* 左街道錄) contingent upon that of the deities.

Zhang Dachun supervised the affairs of all monasteries on Maoshan 茅山 and was the head of Shi Tan's home monastery, Chongxi guan 崇禧觀, which was to receive a generous donation on the occasion of the ceremony. Zhang recorded the complete

procedural details of the official act. The printing of this documentation at Shi Tan's request took place only in 1267, after his death (preface).

Juan 1 of our text contains the document of Shi's appointment as *zuojie daolu* and a record of the ensuing negotiations between the master and the authorities. The final imperial edict for the canonization of the deities is found on 1.14b–17b (see also 304 *Maoshan zhi* 4.13b–15a). Messages of salutation to the saints conclude juan 1.

Juan 2 comprises two rituals in honor of the ancestors of Maoshan, the first being a later addition, since it speaks of the additional titles *zhenying* 真應, *miaoying* 妙應, and *shenyong* 神應, which were bestowed on the Mao brothers only in 1316 (cf. 304 *Maoshan zhi* 4.19a–21a). This ritual is followed by the official ritual for the present canonization and, among others, an address (*qingci* 青詞) by the emperor himself. The work ends with Shi Tan's letter of thanks to the court and his request to have the imperial edict carved on a stele.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi

華蓋山浮丘王郭三真君事實

6 juan

Compiled in 1261 by Liu Xiang 劉祥 and Wang Keming 王克明, from writings by Zhang Yuanshu 章元樞 (fl. 1180), Huang Mijian 黃彌堅, and others (twelfth through fourteenth centuries); revised edition of 1407

778 (fasc. 556–557)

“Factual Account of the Three True Lords of Mount Huagai: Fuqiu, Wang, and Guo.” This work contains the remnants of documents concerning the cult of the lords of the mountain situated south of Nanchang in Jiangxi province. The original work comprised fourteen juan. It had been compiled in 1261 by Liu Xiang and Wang Keming, who based their work on records written by Huang Mijian, as well as on their own efforts. They explicitly did not attempt to eliminate contradictory evidence. In 1352, the printing blocks of their edition were destroyed by war. Around 1391, Jiang Bicheng 江碧澄 made great efforts to revive the cult of the Three Lords. He succeeded in collecting materials for a new hagiography. In 1407 ZHANG YUCHU revised these new documents and incorporated them into the collection of Taoist texts that he was preparing by imperial order. The above information is provided by the three prefaces.

Fuqiu 浮丘 is a legendary figure. He was the teacher of Wang 王 and Guo 郭, who hailed from Kaifeng fu (Henan). A text of unknown origin within the commentary (2.1b) states that the two disciples, here named Daoxiang 道想 and Daoyi 道意, were in fact legendary figures like their teacher. They are said to have set out in search of a particular mountain in Jiangnan, where they hoped to find their teacher once again. They finally

reached Mount Huagai 華蓋, where they performed many miraculous deeds, healed the sick, and provided assistance to the needy. In 293 they ascended to Heaven.

The first chapter contains historic miscellanea, for example, an inscription (1.5a–7a) by Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785) and the text *Sanzhen ji* 三真記 by Li Chongyuan 李冲元, dated 1099 (1.7a–9b). The indication of the name Shen Tingrui 沈庭瑞 (d. 985) as author of this first chapter is surely erroneous. Shen Tingrui is the author of the *Er zhenjun shilu* 二真君實錄 (2.1a–11a).

The text itself, like the commentaries by the two compilers of the Song period (Liu and Wang), describes the journey of Wang and Guo to Mount Huagai, referring to the many places in central Jiangxi where they had become objects of local veneration. Liu Xiang and Wang Keming are responsible for the listing of the honorary titles, which were bestowed on the Three Lords by imperial decrees dated 1075, 1099, 1117, and 1237. Zhang Yuanshu 章元樞 (fl. 1180) was the author of a mountain gazetteer (see 3.1a ff.), for which he used older sources (Yan Zhenqing, Shen Tingrui). The indication of the year 1265 (3.7b) has been added by the two compilers of the Song period (the same applies to 6.14a). They are also responsible for the compilation of juan 4, containing a description of temples of the cult, and for juan 5 and 6. These two chapters contain biographies and tales about miraculous events that are due to the beneficial influences of Wang and Guo. Among the biographies, two texts should be especially mentioned: Shen Tingrui's biography (he was a substantial contributor to this work) and RAO DONGTIAN's biography (he was the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 on Mount Huagai). The foundation of the Tianxin zhengfa is said to have been due to the inspiration of the Three Lords of Mount Huagai.

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Florian C. Reiter

Yisheng baode zhuan 翊聖保德傳

3 juan

By WANG QINRUO 王欽若; 1016

1285 (fasc. 1006)

“Biography of [the True Lord] Assisting the Sage and Protecting Virtue.” This is a comprehensive account of the revelations made in the period 960–994 by the divine protector of the Song dynasty, the True Lord Yisheng baode 翊聖寶德.

The book was compiled by the commissioner for the Palace Secretariat (*shumi shi* 樞密使) WANG QINRUO (962–1125) on the basis of earlier records. It was presented at court in 1016 (the presentation memorial and endorsement are appended) and furnished with a preface by Emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). The earliest edition of the work is found in YJQQ 103. The present edition differs by attributing Zhenzong's

preface to Renzong (r. 1022–1063), and by including at the end the enfeoffment of Yisheng by Huizong (r. 1100–1125) in 1104. The book is described in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 147.3074–75, which criticizes the Taoist policies of WANG QINRUO and confuses the subject of the book with the deity Xuanwu.

The revelations took place at Zhongnan shan, where the god had spoken through Zhang Shouzhen 張守真, a man from Zhouzhi 盩厔 county (north of the mountain and bordering on the prefecture of Chang'an). It appears from some early accounts (*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 17.14b and *Shimu jiyuan* 2.22a–b) that the god had originally presented himself as the Black Killer General (Heisha jiangjun 黑煞將軍), a name that is absent from the present book. The *Shimu jiyuan* quotes from the *Yang Yi tanyuan* 楊億談苑, on which the account in the *Changbian* is also partly based. Prior to the revelations, the Black Killer had been worshiped in the 930s by TAN ZIXIAO, the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (cf. Ma Ling's *Nan Tang shu* 24.162). The Black Killer talisman ("Heisha fu 黑煞符") is one of the three fundamental fu of the Tianxin zhengfa and was probably already known to TAN ZIXIAO (see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*).

The importance attached to these revelations under the Northern Song is due to the fact that they included an announcement from Heaven (*fuming* 符命) that the mandate was to be transferred to Taizong (r. 976–997), the younger brother of the first emperor, Taizu (r. 960–976). The key sentence is, "The prince of Jin [i.e., Taizong] has a virtuous heart 晉王有仁心" (1.5b). This revelation is said to have taken place on the night before the death of Taizu in 976 (*Changbian* 17.14b). It is, however, also said that Taizong took an interest in the cult already in the years 963–967 (1.4a), and it seems likely that the announcement played a role in securing his position as the heir apparent. After the accession of Taizong, the god was rewarded by the construction of the Shangqing taiping gong 上清太平宮 temple, which was completed in 980 at the place where Zhang Shouzhen received his revelations (1.6b–7b; see also *Changbian* 18.12b–13a and the inscription by Xu Xuan 徐鉉 in *Xugong wenji* 25.4b–8a). The god was canonized as General Yisheng in 981 (1.8b) and as True Lord Yisheng baode in 1014 (1.10b).

The main elements of the initial revelation were the methods of the sword, (*jianfa* 劍法; 1.2b–3a) and a system of *jiao* 醮 services comprising a new nomenclature for the various kinds of *jiao* and regulations for the numbers of places for deities (*shenwei* 神位) on the altar (1.3a–4a). This system was later adopted as the imperial standard (see 477 *Luotian dajiao zaochao ke*, 478 *Luotian dajiao wuchao ke*, and 479 *Luotian dajiao wanchao ke*). A résumé of the book (based also on additional sources) is included in *Songchao shishi* 7.12a–21b.

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Poul Andersen

Zhangxian mingsu huanghou shou shangqing bifa lu ji

章獻明肅皇后受上清畢法籙記

5 fols.

By ZHU ZIYING 朱自英, *hao* Guanmiao xiansheng 觀妙先生; 1024
777 (fasc. 556)

“Records of Empress Zhangxian Mingsu’s Initiation into the Highest Registers of the Shangqing Tradition.” These records were compiled by ZHU ZIYING in 1024, that is, shortly after the mourning period for the Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) had ended, on the occasion of the official Taoist ordination of the empress dowager. The ceremonies, prepared at the Yuqing zhaoying gong 玉清昭應宮 temple in the capital, took place at the Chongxi guan 崇禧觀 on Maoshan 茅山 and comprised a seven-day ordination ritual (*yulu daochang* 玉籙道場), a three-day thanksgiving ritual (*xieen daochang* 謝恩道場) that included a Retreat banquet (*zhai* 齋) for the entire clergy of Maoshan, and a ritual of casting dragon tablets (*tousong jinlong yujian* 投送金龍玉簡). ZHU ZIYING (976–1029), the twenty-third Maoshan patriarch and, simultaneously, the head of the Yuqing zhaoying gong in the capital (see 304 *Maoshan zhi* 11.10b–11b) officiated as master of ordination (*dushi* 度師), while Zhang Shaoying 張紹英 (see 304 *Maoshan zhi* 16.1b–2a) acted as a guarantor (*baoju* 保舉). In acknowledgment of their services, the two masters received the honorary names Guanmiao xiansheng 觀妙先生 and Mingzhen xiansheng 明真先生, respectively (see “Maoshan di ershisan dai shangqing dadong guoshi Qianyuan Guanmiao xiansheng youguang xianyang zhi bei 茅山第二十三代上清大洞國師乾元觀妙先生幽光顯揚之碑,” 304 *Maoshan zhi* 25.13a).

A slightly modified version of Zhu’s report was carved in stone by Meng Yingzhi 孟應之 (304 *Maoshan zhi* 25.2a–5a).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Huang Ming enming shilu 皇明恩命世錄

9 juan

Between 1567 and 1607

1462 (fasc. 1065)

“Chronological Register of the Gracious Ordinances of the Illustrious Ming.” This work is a compilation of official documents concerning acts of imperial patronage on behalf of the Heavenly Masters of the forty-second through the forty-ninth generations. Several documents concerning the Fiftieth Heavenly Master have been added—their titles do not appear in the table of contents—at the end of juan 9. The year 1567 is the latest date for a document in the original compilation, 1605 for the additions. The same documents serve as the basis of the history of these Heavenly

Masters in 1463 *Han tianshi shijia* 3.24a–4.17b (cf. 3.25a, where the author of the *Shijia* refers to the present text).

After the first juan, which contains the eulogies of the first twenty generations of Heavenly Masters written by the emperor Taizu, each master is accorded a separate juan (juan 4 and 5 are partially lost).

John Lagerwey

***Jin dongtian haiyue biao* 進洞天海嶽表**

5 fols.

Presented in 1050

1062 (fasc. 732)

***Dongyuan ji* 洞淵集**

9 juan

By Li Sicong 李思聰; ca. 1050

1063 (fasc. 732)

The 1063 *Dongyuan ji* (Anthology of the Abyssal Cavern) is preceded by the 1062 *Jin dongtian haiyue biao* (Memorials for the Presentation of “Cavern-Heavens, Seas, and Peaks”), which is a compilation of three official texts: a memorial (*biao* 表), a report (*zhuang* 狀), and a letter (*zhafu* 劄付). All of them concern the presentation of an anthology of religious topography to the Emperor Song Renzong in 1050. The anthology was authored by the daoshi Li Sicong from the Dazhong xiangfu gong 大中祥符宮 of Qianzhou 虔州 (modern Ganxian 贛縣, southern Jiangxi). The author relates that he had been compiling Taoist classics since 1032 and eventually produced a set of six charts, with introductions and poems, describing (1) the Celestial Abodes (*Yuqing xuanji tu* 玉清璇極圖, quoted as *Yuxu* 虛 *xuanji tu* on 2b); (2) the Cavern-Heavens and the Five Peaks (*Dongtian wuyue tu* 洞天五嶽圖); (3) the Islands of Immortals (*Penghu langyuan tu* 蓬壺閩苑圖); (4) the Sacred Water Courses (*Daming lingdu tu* 大溟靈瀆圖); (5) Famous Mountains and Blessed Lands (*Mingshan fudi tu* 名山福地圖); (6) the Liquified Gold and cyclically transformed elixir (*Jinyi huandan tu* 金液還丹圖). This author also produced “Ten Charts for Perusal while Reclining” (*Wopi tu* 臥披圖). The purpose of the two works—the anthology of the six charts presented in 1050 and the extant 1063 *Dongyuan ji*—was identical, but the details are different. 1063 *Dongyuan ji* does not include the alchemical part but adds the Twenty-four Dioceses (*zhi* 治) and the stars and heavens (juan 6 to 9). Also, the charts and poems have disappeared, and some parts lack a title; therefore it is possible that the extant 1063 *Dongyuan ji* was collected later, with the remnants of the anthology of religious topography that was presented to Emperor Song Renzong in 1050. It is also worth noting that the title *Dongyuan ji* does not figure in the three official documents collected in 1062 *Haiyue*

biao. The present text should not be confused with the unrelated 1064 *Dongyuan ji* of the same name. The compilation of the 1063 *Dongyuan ji* in its present state must have taken place sometime after 1050; it is quoted less than a century later among the sources of 148 *Duren shangpin miaojing pangtong tu* 3.8.

In the preface of 1063 *Dongyuan ji* (“Sanjie yong xu 三界詠序,” 1.1a–b, dated 1050), Li Sicong gives yet another list of contents: (1) the abodes of the highest gods, (2) the Cavern-Heavens and Five Peaks, and (3) the Islands of Immortals.

The contents of the “Anthology of the Abyssal Cavern” are arranged topically among its nine juan. The first juan contains the preface and the “Sanqing yong xu 三清詠序” (Introduction to Chanting the Three Pure Ones; 1b–8a), which describes the highest gods and the books and heavens associated with them. Next come the Ten Great and Thirty-six Lesser Cavern-Heavens (juan 2), the Five Celestial Peaks (3.1a–2b), the Three Islands (3.3a–3b), and the Ten Continents (3b–6a). Juan 4 introduces the seventy-two Blessed Places (*fudi* 福地; including the Five Peaks, number 2 to 6), and juan 5 names the seas, rivers, lakes, and other water courses (thirty-nine in all). The terrestrial geography closes with the Twenty-four Dioceses (*zhi* 治) of the Tianshi dao (juan 6). The next two juan deal with astronomy: the eleven bright stars (7.1a–4a), the seven gods of the Dipper (7.4b–6b), and the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions (juan 8). Juan 9 introduces the thirty-two gods of the celestial palaces of Shangqing (*Shangqing sanshier tian digong shen* 上清三十二天帝宮神; 1a–5b) and ends with a presentation of all heavens (“Juguan sanjie shiji 具官三界事跡”; 6a–b).

The present work is highly systematic. Although its lists conform with traditional sacred geography, it differs in many regards from the corresponding chapters in the YJQQ (see especially juan 26–28), compiled slightly earlier, and from 599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji*. It is generally more detailed than either of these texts, including descriptions of the gods themselves (especially in juan 1 and 7 to 9), but does not mention its sources.

Vincent Goossaert

3.A.6.b Hagiographies

This section discusses, first, comprehensive hagiographic collections; second, collections section figures according to specific schools or lineages; and finally, lives of individual immortals or patron saints of particular cults. The texts 596 *Xianyuan bianzhu* and 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* are essentially reference works grouping extracts from earlier anthologies in paired entries according to antithetical or matching themes. LZTT (296 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*) and its two supplements (297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* and 298 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji*) represent the most ambitious Taoist hagiographic project since DU GUANGTING’s now lost *Xianzhuan*

shiyi in forty juan (see the general Bibliography for a reconstruction). These texts not only are exhaustive in scope, but in effect constitute a history of Taoism, itself seen as a succession of schools, cults, and individuals having “embodied the Tao” in different ages. While LZTT combines several different classificatory objectives, historical chronology is the guiding principle in the organization of the 781 *Xuanpin lu*. ZHAO MENGFU’s “Portraits of Ten Masters” (163 *Xuanyuan shizi tu*) is a fine example of the genre of illustrated hagiography. Two compilations from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 1465 *Xiaoyao xu jing* and 1476 *Soushen ji*, finally, stand as selective hagiographic histories spanning the period from antiquity to the Ming.

The next set of works is organized around lineages or movements: 1463 *Han tianshi shijia* concerns the “hereditary house” of the Heavenly Masters; 440 *Xu taishi zhenjun tuzhuan*, 447 *Xu zhenjun xianzhuan*, and 448 *Xishan Xu zhenren bashiwu hua lu* are all based on BO YUCHAN’s hagiography of XU XUN (the *Yulong ji* 玉隆集) and on other saints and patriarchs of the Way of Filial Piety of Xishan 西山. 452 *Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* groups together nine immortals of Hengshan 衡山, and 956 *Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* gathers eminent Taoists of the Louguan 樓觀 temple lineage.

The final group is devoted to individual saints: 301 *Huan zhenren shengxian ji* to TAO HONGJING’s servant Huan zhenren 桓真人; 306 *Taihua Xiyi zhi* to CHEN TUAN; 450 *Taiji Ge xiangong zhuan* to GE XUAN; 451 *Yunfu shan Shen xianweng zhuan* to Shen Taizhi 申泰芝; 779 *Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* to YE FASHAN; 780 *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* to Wen Qiong 溫瓊; and 308 *Ningyang Dong zhenren yuxian ji* to Dong zhenren 董真人.

Xianyuan bianzhu 仙苑編珠

3 juan

Compiled by Wang Songnian 王松年; tenth century, after 960

596 (fasc. 329–330)

“Garden of Immortals: A Pearl Treasury.” The text bears no exact date but refers to the year 960 (3.24b). The term *bianzhu* 篇珠 in the title of the text (literally, “a tress of pearls”) indicates the precious nature of the narrative and places the work in a specific literary form. The *bianzhu* belongs to the anthology (*leishu* 類書) class of literature but is itself an expanded form of an older literary genre, the *lianzhu* 連珠, consisting of very short verses, each word of which encapsulates a historical event or legend. The *lianzhu* were mnemonics learned by rote at school and later paraded in literary works. In the course of time, they developed into the *bianzhu* form, which is characterized by short verses followed by a text in prose that elucidates the narrative hidden in the verse. In his preface, Wang Songnian explains that “in writing the ‘Garden of Immortals’ in the *bianzhu* form, I have taken as a basis the *Meng Qiu* 蒙

求, which uses four-character verses to highlight the essentials [of the story] and then adds an explanation in the form of a commentary” (preface, 1b). The *Meng Qiu* is a Tang (618–907) work by Li Han 李瀚. Another example of this literary form is the *Bian Zhu* 編珠 by Du Gongzhan 杜公瞻 of the Sui (581–618).

Our text groups more than 300 *lianzhu* in pairs, that is, in eight-word couplets that introduce over 600 immortals. Wang Songnian tells us in his preface that for the greater number of these figures he has used well-known sources, like the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳. In addition to these immortals he has included 132 persons who attained immortality “since Tang and Liang times” (preface, 1b). Each *lianzhu* is accompanied by extensive commentaries, written by Wang himself, in which he offers information on each immortal. Wang gleaned this information from diverse hagiographies and other sources, many of which are now lost: for instance, the *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳 (1.2b) and the *Louguan zhuan* 樓觀傳 (1.7a).

The importance of this text lies in the fact that because of these references to works now lost, it can be used to reconstruct important ancient hagiographies and perhaps provide added information regarding familiar texts such as the 1016 *Zhen’gao* and the 294 *Liexian zhuan*.

Mention is made of this text in the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi” (VDL 95).

Pauline Bentley Koffler

Sandong qunxian lu 三洞群仙錄

20 juan

Compiled by Chen Baoguang 陳葆光; preface (dated 1154) by Lin Jizhong 林季仲, *zi* Zhuxuan 竹軒

1248 (fasc. 992–995)

“Records of the Multitude of Immortals of the Three Caverns.” Zhuxuan (preface, 4a) refers to the author as Taoist master of the Jingying an 靜應菴 sanctuary in Jiangyin 江陰 (Jiangsu).

The records form an anthology of paired episodes taken from various biographies of the immortals. The topic for each pair is set out in a heading consisting of a couplet of two four-character titles. The titles introduce antithetical or matching couples of a wide variety of entities: plants, animals, places, objects, numerical categories, types of religious practice, natural phenomena, and so on. Chen Baoguang’s method follows Wang Songnian’s 王松年 tenth-century adaptation of the *bianzhu* 編珠 tradition of literary *leishu* 類書 anthologies (see the article on 596 *Xianyuan bianzhu*). In effect, the topical arrangement of the material and systematic identification of the sources suggest that this work could also be used, like the classic *Chuxue ji*, as a dictionary of quotations and for facilitating the memorization of sources for reference.

The author quotes an eclectic range of Taoist works dating from the Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) to the early Song (960–1279). The sources cited are said to number more than 200 (CGF 241–42); they actually involve an even larger number of titles than meets the eye, because two early Song anthologies, *Taiping guangji* and YJQQ, are cited globally. The chief documentary value of the present text lies in its preservation of passages from earlier works, many of which are no longer independently extant.

As the preface makes clear, however, the didactic intention of the book was primarily of a religious nature. Zhuxuan first points to the apologetic purpose of hagiography: immortals left “traces” in order to convince unbelievers of the possibility of transcendence. He then evokes the long-standing philosophical debate about human nature and innate endowment as opposed to moral cultivation and spiritual attainment through learning; he includes an allusion to the famous Chan 禪 contribution to the debate, opposing “sudden” and “gradual” enlightenment. The preface writer, and by implication the author, adopt WU YUN’s (d. 778) argument that immortality could indeed be attained through study (see Wu’s “Shenxian ke xue lun 神仙可學論” in 1051 *Zongxuan xiansheng wenji* 2.9b–16a) — hence the usefulness of transmitting such materials as furnished by the “traces of immortals” and collected in this book.

Franciscus Verellen

Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian 歷世真仙體道通鑑

53 juan

By Zhao Daoyi 趙道一; colophon by Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁 (dated *jiawu* 甲午 [1294]); preface by Deng Guangjian 鄧光薦 (dated *jiawu* [1294])

296 (fasc. 139–48)

“Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals Who Embodied the Tao through the Ages.” The author, who is referred to as Zhao Quanyang 趙全陽 in one of the prefaces, is virtually unknown outside the context of this work. Nor can the date of the book be determined with certainty. However, thanks to the several prefaces and presentation memorials, a number of hypotheses may be advanced.

The authors of the colophon, Liu Chenweng (1232–1297), and the author of one of the prefaces, Deng Guangjian (1232–1303), are both well-known figures of the late Song period: Deng rose to a relatively high rank in the administration. A patriot and Song loyalist, he attempted twice unsuccessfully to commit suicide after the fall of the dynasty. Having refused to respond to the overtures of the Yuan (1279–1368) general Zhang Hongfan 張弘範, Deng died in 1297 in retirement from public life. Liu Chenweng, like Deng Guangjian a native of Luling 廬陵, was active in late Song (960–1279) Neo-Confucian circles and closely associated with the prominent

scholar Zhou Lianxi 周濂溪. Liu also withdrew from official life after the Mongol victory.

It is likely that Zhao Daoyi compiled his work during the two decades after the fall of the Song dynasty. The prefaces—by literati living in retirement and, like many former officials during that period, drawn to Taoism—suggest as much. Moreover, Zhao Daoyi states in his own foreword that his history covers the period from antiquity to the end of the Song. In his preface, dated *jiawu* 甲午, Liu Chenweng says that the book's contents reached up to “contemporary” times, which should refer to the year 1294. Finally, the section devoted to the Heavenly Master movement includes a biography of the thirty-fifth patriarch; it was presumably written during the lifetime of the Thirty-sixth Heavenly Master. The latter lived around the end of the Song and the beginning of the Yuan: we know that he was a young man in the Xianheng reign period (1266–1274) and in full activity under Kublai Khan, who conferred a title on him in 1291.

An indication of Zhao Daoyi's place of origin can be gleaned from his title: Fuyun shan Shengshou wannian gong daoshi 浮雲山聖壽萬年宮道士. According to the biography of Li Babai 李八百 in juan 10, this was the Fuyun guan 浮雲觀, renamed Fuyun shan under the Song, situated in Fengxin county 封新縣 in the superior prefecture of Longxing 隆興府 (in modern Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi). Luling, the place of origin of the two preface writers Deng and Liu, is very close to Nanchang.

Our text (the LZTT) presents itself as a history of Taoism narrated through the lives of individuals who had obtained the Tao; it is supplemented by 297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* and 298 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji*. The former continues the section that is devoted to immortals under the Song; the latter is a compilation of lives of female immortals.

This vast undertaking aimed at nothing less than providing Taoism with its own “Comprehensive Mirror” (*tongjian* 通鑑), a counterpart to Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* and the Buddhist chronicle *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑. However, the resulting history is not an annalistic chronicle in the style of 770 *Hunyuan shengji* (1191), which was also known, in the historiographical tradition, as the “Veritable Record of Lord Lao” (*Hunyuan shilu* 混元實錄). Besides chronicles of this kind, Taoism also possessed a hagiographical literature consisting of the lives of saints in the tradition of 294 *Liexian zhuan*, the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, and 295 *Xu xian zhuan*, comprising in all 1,600 biographies, as affirmed in the prefaces to the present work.

The aim of Zhao Daoyi's work, then, was to place this biographical material into the chronological framework provided by official historiography and the histories of Taoism. In general, his editorial procedure consisted in transcribing the biographies word for word—sometimes adding a brief conclusion as to the manner in which a saint's life reflected the teaching of the *Daode jing* 道德經—and in arranging them

according to his own groupings. The chronological succession of the lives is complicated by two sets of factors: first, by the semilegendary nature of much of the material, that is, by the saints' extraordinary longevity and by their propensity to return in various reincarnations; and, second, the need to account for the immortals' filiation in terms of the various movements or schools. As a result, the organization of the work is subject to three main principles: (1) the order preestablished by earlier collections on which the present work draws; (2) the subjects' filiation according to schools; and (3) historical chronology. In the following, the LZTT will be discussed under the headings of these three sometimes irreconcilable criteria.

1. The sources: Two main types of sources can be distinguished: those on which the author drew directly for his biographical material and those that indirectly guided the organization and composition of the work. Some of the earlier collections appear to have been used in both ways at once. Direct sources include 294 *Liexian zhuan*, which occupies the entire juan 3. All of its biographies are incorporated here, with the exception of the lives of Anqi 安期 and of the female immortals who are included in the 298 *Houji*. The biographies are, however, arranged in a different order, reflecting, perhaps, the author's views regarding their chronological succession. Material from the *Shenxian zhuan*, attributed to GE HONG, occupies a large part of juan 5 and is strongly represented in juan 11, 12, 13, and 34. In addition, biographies drawn from that work are found scattered throughout the first two thirds of the present text. Juan 17 consists entirely of biographies taken from 1016 *Zhen'gao* 12, 13, and 14. Juan 12–16 likewise include material from that work.

The *Dongxian zhuan* 洞仙傳, a lost collection of the late Six Dynasties period (220–589), is known today mainly from citations in YJQQ 109 and other Song anthologies (see Yan Yiping, *Daojiao yanjiu ziliao*, vol. 1). It is the source of most of the biographies in juan 6 and of others found throughout the remainder of the present collection. The work 295 *Xu xian zhuan*, by Shen Fen 沈汾 of the Southern Tang (937–975) dynasty, is completely reproduced in juan 36 (where only the biographies of Song Yu 宋愚, Wei Shanjun 韋善竣, and Zhang Huigan 張惠感 derive from different sources), juan 37 (except Xue Chang 薛昌, WU YUN, Li Bo 李白), juan 38 (except Liu Xuanhe 劉玄和, Yang Taiming 楊泰明, Li He 李賀, Xuanyuan Miming 軒轅彌明), and juan 39 (only Du Sheng 杜昇, Yang Xi 羊惜, and TAN QIAO); isolated biographies from this work are found scattered throughout the present text: those of LÜQIU FANGYUAN (juan 40); Nie Shidao 聶師道 (juan 41); Xu Jun 徐鈞 and Qian Lang 錢朗 (juan 45); and others.

The *Zhenxi* 真系 (dated 805), by Li Bo 李渤, preserved in the form of citations in YJQQ 5, provided the material for juan 24–25, devoted to Maoshan. The YJQQ itself, especially the section entitled “Biographies” (*zhuan* 傳), appears to have been used directly in the elaboration of the “Comprehensive Mirror,” without mention of the

sources on which its material was based in turn. See the following chapters: YJQQ 104, biographies of Mao Ying 茅盈, incorporated in abridged form in LZTT 16, and of the saints of the Louguan 樓觀, Yin Gui 尹軌, Song Lun 宋倫, Feng Chang 馮長, Yao Dan 姚坦, Zhou Liang 周亮, and others, reproduced in LZTT 8 and 9; YJQQ 105, the biography of Pei Jun 裴君, included in abridged form in LZTT 15; YJQQ 106, the biographies of Wang Bao 王褒, Zhou Yishan 周義山, Ma Mingsheng 馬明生, and Yin Changsheng 陰長生, reproduced in LZTT 13 and 14. Although it is possible that Zhao Daoyi used the same ulterior sources as the YJQQ independently, his adoption of the same groupings as found in the YJQQ suggests that the latter provided his material for juan 8, 9, 13, 14, and 16.

The *Xuanyuan benji* 軒轅本紀, a chronicle of Huangdi 黃帝 composed under the Song that survives only in its version in YJQQ 100, is fully incorporated in LZTT 1. The 770 *Hunyuan shengji* (dated 1191), an annalistic account of Taoism organized around the manifestations of Laozi in history, served as the basis for the composition of LZTT 2. Such mysterious figures from high antiquity as Yougu da xiansheng 有古大先生, Yu Huazi 郁華子, and others are taken from that work; an exception is Guangcheng zi 廣成子, whose biography is based on the *Shenxian zhuan*.

The *Gaodao zhuan* (between 1068 and 1101), which survives only in fragmentary form, appears to have been a major source for the “Comprehensive Mirror”—and Zhao Daoyi’s preferred choice when he had to select among several earlier biographies of the same saint. This work is massively represented from LZTT 39 onward. It would seem, for example, that the lives of personalities associated with the Louguan temple in juan 39–40 were transcribed via the *Gaodao zhuan*, rather than the *Louguan zhuan* 樓觀傳, the main earlier source for this material. Whenever it is possible to compare one of these biographies in the LZTT with fragments from the *Gaodao zhuan* and the *Louguan zhuan*, thanks to their citations in the 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu*, Zhao Daoyi’s text appears to be closer to the former than to the latter.

The *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (dated 1224) of BO YUCHAN, reproduced in 263.31 *Xiuzhen shishu*, constituted the basis for the two chapters devoted to XU XUN and his disciples, LZTT 26–27. As for the *Jixian zhuan* 集仙傳 (twelfth century) of ZENG ZAO, no more than an outline remains of this possible source that included biographies of most of the Five Dynasties (907–960) and Song immortals in the LZTT. Among other likely sources, 592 *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* by DU GUANGTING seems to have provided, directly or indirectly, the material for many biographies in juan 22.

Without necessarily serving as direct sources, certain collections had an influence on the composition and arrangement of the LZTT’s contents: The organization of the *Louguan zhuan*, though the work itself is no longer extant, can be reconstructed in outline from the preface of the *Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* 終南山說經台歷代真仙碑記 (see CGF 265). The list of names indicated there corresponds

to the organization of two sections in the present work, LZTT 8–9 and 39–40. The Nine Immortals of the Southern Peak of the Six Dynasties (see 453 *Nanyue xiaolu*) are grouped together in LZTT 33; those of the Tang, who claimed spiritual descent from SIMA CHENGZHEN, are included in juan 40. Their biographies, however, do not derive from this source. The 444 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji* may have provided the spiritual lineage of three Nanyue masters under the Tang.

2. Lineages and schools: The arrangement of the main body of the LZTT can be explained neither by chronology alone, nor by the organization of earlier collections; instead, Zhao Daoyi arranged his material according to spiritual lineages or schools as perceived by a Taoist at the end of the Song. In the following we shall retrace the main lineages that emerge from the LZTT.

The avatars of Laozi: all of juan 2 is devoted to these figures, including a series of figures from high antiquity perceived as being early manifestations of Laozi (see the biography of Yin Xi 尹喜; 8.1a–3b).

The immortals of antiquity: the subjects of the *Liexian zhuan*, grouped together in chapter 3. They presumably represented for the author a coherent set of Taoists or *fangshi* 方士.

Yin Xi and the early Louguan: the section LZTT 8–9 concerns the transmission of the doctrine from Yin Xi to Yin Gui and the Nine Saints of Louguan.

The Maoshan movement: the author distinguishes a pre-Maoshan phase—consisting of the lineage from An Qisheng 安期生 to Yin Changsheng (juan 13), of the first instructors and deities of Maoshan (juan 14–16), and of various sages connected with Maoshan (throughout juan 17–23)—and the lineage of the Maoshan patriarchs themselves (juan 24–25). Possibly, the biographies in juan 11–12 should be added to this group: though mostly taken from the *Shenxian zhuan*, they also feature in 1016 *Zhen'gao* and represent the southern tradition of Taoism described by GE HONG, which underlay the Maoshan movement.

Zhang Daoling 張道陵 and the Heavenly Master movement: the biography of Zhang Daoling occupies all of juan 18 and is followed by the remainder of the movement's lineage in juan 19. It is not clear why this well-defined group is found embedded in the Maoshan material.

The Way of Filial Piety (Xiaodao 孝道) of Xishan 西山: following an arrangement similar to juan 18 and 19, a first chapter (juan 26) is devoted to the founder of this movement, XU XUN, and his eleven disciples are grouped together in the next (juan 27). The period covered extends from the Jin to the Tang. It appears that this movement is placed immediately after the Maoshan movement because the Xiaodao claimed that XU XUN belonged to the same Xu family that had been responsible for transmitting the Maoshan revelations.

The second Louguan: Juan 29–30 contain the lives of the immortals of the

Louguan, many of whom participated in the controversy with the Buddhists under the Northern Wei (386–534). The majority of these figures lived in the period between the Northern Wei and the Sui (581–618).

The immortals of the Southern Peak (Nanyue 南嶽): the lives of the Nine Immortals of Nanyue, as well as a certain number of other immortals associated with that mountain but not included in 453 *Nanyue xiaolu*, are found in juan 33. Juan 39–40 groups together immortals of the Second Nanyue, according to master-disciple relationships. These immortals claimed descent from the Maoshan patriarch SIMA CHENGZHEN and included the Tiantai master DU GUANGTING (see also 444 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji*). The immortals in juan 41–42 are thematically related to this group: Nie Shidao 聶師道 is connected to LÜQIU FANGYUAN (the last biography in juan 40); Zhang Yun 張胤 (the second biography in juan 41) is connected to both YE FASHAN (juan 39) and Luo Gongyuan (juan 40); the last figure in juan 41, Zhai Fayan 翟法言, was the master of Shu Xuji 舒虛寂, who opens juan 42.

The lineage of LÜ DONGBIN: Quanzhen 全真 saints claiming descent from LÜ DONGBIN are loosely grouped in juan 45–49, while the masters of the related Jinlian 金蓮 movement, tracing their origin to ZHONGLI QUAN, are found dispersed throughout the work. It may be noted that many of the Taoists in juan 45–47 were connected to the court and to Neo-Confucian circles.

3. The chronological framework: Given the emphasis in this work on tracing lineages and lines of transmission, overall chronology suffered inevitable distortions. The first biography, that of the Yellow Emperor as patron of the immortals and founder of Chinese civilization, is followed by lesser figures of preceding ages. Nevertheless, Zhao Daoyi's history of Taoism from antiquity to the Yuan is roughly continuous, at least in terms of his sequential treatment of the founders of major movements (a major exception to this rule, however, is the emergence of the Heavenly Masters in juan 18). Despite internal inconsistencies within individual sections, the following phases may be distinguished: from the beginnings to the Later Han (juan 1–14); Six Dynasties to Sui (juan 15–30); Sui to Five Dynasties (juan 31–45); and Five Dynasties to the end of the Song (juan 45–53).

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Jean Lévi, revised by Franciscus Verellen

Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian 歷世真仙體道通鑑續編

5 juan

Attributed to Zhao Daoyi 趙道一; fourteenth or fifteenth century?

297 (fasc. 149)

“Supplement to the Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals Who Embodied the Tao through the Ages.” This work supplements 296 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*. It provides additional biographies to the latter, extending its chronological span to the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan (1279–1368) periods. The emphasis is on Quanzhen 全真 masters.

Jean Lévi

Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji 歷世真仙體道通鑑後集

6 juan

By Zhao Daoyi 趙道一; fl. 1294

298 (fasc. 150)

“Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals Who Embodied the Tao through the Ages.” This work supplements 296 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*. It is devoted to female immortals from antiquity to the end of the Song. Most of the material is taken from 783 *Yongcheng jixian lu*.

Jean Lévi

Xuanpin lu 玄品錄

5 juan

By Zhang Tianyu 張天雨, *hao* Gouqu waishi 句曲外史; 1335

781 (fasc. 558–559)

“Records of the Categories of the Mysterious.” The preface by the author (var. Zhang Yu 張雨 [1276–1342]; see Sun Kekuan, *Hanyuan daolun*, 292–94) is dated with the cyclical characters *yihai* 乙亥, that is, the year 1335. Here, Zhang calls his work a “History of the Mysterious” (*Xuanshi* 玄史), saying that he searched for persons to whom Sima Tan’s 司馬談 definition of the Taoist school (from *Shiji* 130.3292) would apply. As a result, Zhang collected 144 biographies and arranged them according to dynasties—starting with Yin Xi 尹喜 from Zhou (ca. 1050–221 B.C.) times up to LIU YONGGUANG (1134–1206). Within the dynasties, the biographies are again grouped in various categories (e.g. “Daode pin 道德品,” categories of Tao and De; “Daoyin 道隱,” Taoist hermits; “Daoru 道儒,” Taoist scholars).

With few exceptions, Zhang does not give the sources for his compilation, but it is evident that apart from the *Zhuangzi* (e.g., 1.3b–6a) and 1016 *Zhen’gao* (e.g., 1.15a–b), he did not use any specifically Taoist material. Instead, he attempted an objective, official presentation of Taoist personalities by taking biographies, mostly verbatim or slightly

abridged, from the following official histories: *Shiji*, *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, *Wei shu*, *Jin shu*, *Nan shi*, *Sui shu*, *Jiu Tang shu*, *Xin Tang shu*, and *Xin Wudai shi*. It is not clear what his sources were for the biographies from the Song dynasty (960–1279).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

庚桑子



FIGURE 34. Gengsang zi
(163 2b)

Xuanyuan shizi tu 玄元十子圖

13 fols.

By ZHAO MENGFU 趙孟頫 (1254–1322); colophon dated 1286

163 (fasc. 72)

“Portraits of Ten Masters of the Mysterious Origin.”

According to his colophon, Zhao made this small album at the request of his master, DU DAOJIAN, *hao* Nangu zi (1237–1318; see second colophon, dated 1306). The present version is based on a printed edition by a certain Lu Daotong 路道通 (alias Lu Mingzhen 路明真) of Changchun 長春 (Jiangsu). Lu launched a subscription for the financing of his initiative and requested prefaces from a number of famous contemporaries: Zhang Yucai 張與材, the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master (d. 1316; Zhang originally also wrote a colophon to Zhao’s work); Yao Yun 姚雲 (*jinshi* 進士 1268); and the daoshi Huang Zhonggui 黃仲圭 and Huang Shiweng 黃石翁. According to this last preface, the blocks of this printing were kept at the Taiqing gong 太清宮 at Bozhou 亳州 (Laozi’s birthplace, in Henan), whereas DU DAOJIAN had the portraits copied onto murals for his temple, the Zongyang guan 宗陽觀.

莊子



FIGURE 35. Zhuangzi
(163 8a)

The ten portraits are those of Guanyin zi 關尹子, Wenzi 文子, Gengsang zi 庚桑子 (fig. 34), Nanrong zi 南榮子, Yinwen zi 尹文子, Shicheng zi 士成子, Cuiqu zi 崔瞿子, Boju zi 柏矩子, Liezi 列子, and Zhuangzi 莊子 (fig. 35). The album originally appears to have included a picture of Laozi as well. The work was copied by the Yuan artist Hua Tangqing 華唐卿 (see *Guoyun lou shuhua ji*, “Hualei,” 2.11b). The daoshi Sun Dafang 孫大方 obtained this copy and undertook to have it printed (see Huang Shiweng’s preface).

Caroline Gyss-Vermande

Xiaoyao xu jing 逍搖墟經

2 juan

By Hong Yingming 洪應明, *zi* Zicheng 自誠; ca. 1600

1465 (fasc. 1081)

Changsheng quanjing 長生詮經

23 fols.

Supplement to 1465 *Xiaoyao xu jing*

1466 (fasc. 1082)

Wusheng juejing 無生訣經

36 fols.

Supplement to 1465 *Xiaoyao xu jing*

1467 (fasc. 1082)

“Book of the Land of Ecstatic Wanderings.” This work has a preface by Yuan Huang 袁黃 (1533–1606), in which he states that he had received a “chronicle of immortals” (*xianji* 仙紀) entitled *Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊 from Hong Zicheng (i.e., Hong Yingming). The title is an allusion to the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

Hong Yingming, who was equally interested in Taoism and in Buddhism, is mainly known for his Chan work *Cai gen tan* 菜根譚. His background and dates remain uncertain, but he probably lived in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The textual history of the present work is problematic. The same text is found in a collection of writings by Hong Yingming titled *Xian fo qizong* 仙佛奇蹤, which has come down in two main editions: a palace edition in four juan published in 1602 and discussed in the *Siku quanshu zongmu* under the heading of “fiction” (*xiaoshuo* 小說), and the edition titled *Yuedan tang xian fo qizong hekan*. We have been able to consult only the latter.

The *Xian fo qizong* comprises four parts, arranged in a two-tiered compilation. Its first section is devoted to Taoists, with illustrated hagiographies of immortals and an appendix entitled “Changsheng quan 長生詮.” A Buddhist counterpart to this section is organized in the same way: biographies of bodhisattvas and eminent Chan masters, entitled “Ji guang jing 寂光境,” followed by an appendix containing selected quotations, titled “Wusheng jue 無生訣.” The work as a whole is preceded by two prefaces. The first of these, referring to Taoism, corresponds to the preface of the work in the *Daozang* under discussion, but, unlike the latter, it is signed; the second preface concerns the Buddhist dimension of the work and bears the signature of Feng Mengzhen 馮夢禎 (1546–1605).

In the palace edition, the biographies of the immortals form the first juan, the Taoist anthology the second, the Buddhist hagiographies the third, and the Buddhist quotations the fourth. By contrast, in the *Xian fo qizong*, the biographies of immortals

occupy the first three juan and the “Changsheng quan” forms the fourth. The remaining four juan contain the Buddhist counterpart. Also only juan 5 and 8 have titles, while the illustrated parts bear the general designations “Liexian 列仙” and “Fozu 佛祖.” Moreover, the biographies in the *Xian fo qizong* are arranged in a different order from that in the *Daozang* and palace editions, which are identical in this respect, and a certain number of biographies are missing altogether (in particular that of the last Taoist immortal under the Ming).

In the *Daozang*, two of the parts constituting the *Xian fo qizong* follow immediately after 1465 *Xiaoyao xu jing*, as 1466 *Changsheng quanjing* and 1467 *Wusheng juejing*. The latter work features a colophon dated 1607 by the Fiftieth Heavenly Master, who was also responsible for an edition of the work; this colophon likely applies to all three parts. The Heavenly Master’s edition was probably made on the basis of the palace edition by removing the Buddhist biographies and dividing 1465 *Xiaoyao xu jing* into two juan in order to preserve an identical number of chapters. The supplement to the *Daozang*, *Xu Daozang* 續道藏, in turn based itself on this edition, grouping the three works into four chapters, for after the first two juan of 1465 *Xiaoyao xu jing*, the same numbering continues through the following two works: 1466 *Changsheng quanjing* and 1467 *Wusheng juejing* bear the designations “juan 3” and “juan 4,” respectively, under their titles.

However, prior to their incorporation into illustrated editions placing the two religions side by side, in accordance with the syncretic tastes of the time, the three works that make up the *Xian fo qizong* appear to have circulated in separate editions or manuscript versions, as is suggested by Yuan Huang’s preface and by the title of the edition in eight juan, the *Xian fo qizong heke* 仙佛奇蹤合刻, or “combined edition.” Moreover, each of the two appendixes bear their author’s name in this edition, and in the 1602 edition each section occupies a separate chapter.

The confused numbering of the parts of the three texts in the *Daozang* no doubt reflects the editors’ uncertainty as to whether they should be treated as a single work, following the example of the Heavenly Master, or whether they constituted three separate entities. In fact, the three texts in the *Daozang* are quite unrelated and should be treated separately.

The 1465 *Xiaoyao xu jing* is a collection of sixty-three biographies of Taoist immortals, beginning with a life of Laozi and concluding with the hagiography of Zhang Sanfeng 張三峰, the famous Taoist of the late Yuan (1279–1368) and early Ming (1368–1644) periods who became a popular saint from the seventeenth century onward.

The work can thus be considered a history of Taoism from its beginnings to the Ming, viewed through the lives of the immortals. Although the author drew his material from traditional hagiographies by transcribing or condensing them, 1465 *Xiaoyao xu jing* is more than a simple synopsis of the great collections such as LZTT. The

originality of the work lies in its selection. This work is, for example, the only compendium of immortals' lives featuring the complete set of the Eight Immortals (*baxian* 八仙). By omitting all details concerning textual filiations, imperial canonizations, and cults devoted to the immortals, the author emphasizes the anecdotal aspect of his subject while minimizing its religious content. The work can thus be said to represent the popular Taoist pantheon of the Ming from a—albeit sympathetic—literati perspective.

It is difficult to identify Hong Yingming's sources with confidence because the traditional material had already been extensively shared by earlier collections. The following sources, however, can be singled out: LZTT, the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳, and 781 *Xuanpin lu*. For certain immortals, including Cao Guojiu 曹國舅, Li Tieguai 李鐵拐, Mayi zi 麻衣子, and Zhang Sanfeng, whose lives figure in none of the great pre-Ming collections, the author's sources remain unknown.

Jean Lévi

Soushen ji 搜神記

6 juan

Reprinted in 1607

1476 (fasc. 1105–1106)

“In Search of the Gods.” This is a collection of lives of saints and legendary figures canonized from antiquity up to the Ming (1368–1644); it assumes the title of the well-known work by Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 317–322). The author of the preface explains that he had read a *Soushen ji* at the Fuchun tang of Sanshan 三山富春堂 in Nanking; although the text had little in common with the reconstructions of the *Soushen ji*, it nevertheless preserved its spirit. A note dated 1607 by Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, the editor of the supplement to the *Daozang*, *Xu Daozang* 續道藏, indicating that the present version had undergone editorial changes, closes the work.

The *Xu Daozang* edition is in fact a reprint, without the illustrations, of the work published by the Fuchun tang; the latter work included a preface dated 1593 by Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 (see Naikaku bunko, *Naikaku bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku*, 285b). The present text is related to but distinct from the late-Ming work *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan*, reprinted by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 in 1909 (see Li Xianzhang, “*Sankyō sōjin daizen*,” 79–83; Dudbridge, *The legend of Miao-shan*, 58–59).

The collection opens with biographies of the founders of the Three Teachings: Confucius, the Buddha, and Laozi. In addition to deified virtuous officials and a few representatives of the Buddhist pantheon and of Taoist immortals, a large number of figures from classical mythology are included: the Master of Rain, the God of Wind, the Master of Lightning, Panhu, and others. A wide range of sources is cited. Each

entry is provided with indications of the dates on which its subject was venerated, the temples dedicated to him, as well as lists of titles and canonizations.

Jean Lévi, revised by Franciscus Verellen

Han tianshi shijia 漢天師世家

4 juan

Edited by Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, the Fiftieth Heavenly Master; published in 1607

1463 (fasc. 1066)

“Hereditary House of the Heavenly Master of the Han Dynasty.” This text contains the biographies of the Tianshi of the Longhu shan 龍虎山 (Jiangxi) lineage. The present enlarged version includes as its last entry the life of the Forty-ninth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yongxu 張永緒 (d. 1565). The work contains, however, many traces of earlier editions.

According to the preface by Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), placed as a colophon in the present work (see also his *1311 Xianquan ji* 2.6a–8a), the compilation of the *Han tianshi shijia* was first undertaken by his father, the Forty-second Heavenly Master, Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (d. 1377). It was he who then invited the famous scholar Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381) to write the preface (dated 1376) that still figures in the present edition. The compilation apparently left something to be desired, and Zhang Yuchu revised it completely before he had it printed. He requested a preface from Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (dated 1390).

The present edition was brought up to date by Zhang Guoxiang, the editor of the 1607 supplement to the Taoist canon. Several authors contributed prefaces: Zhou Tianqiu 周天球 (dated 1593), Wang Dexin 王德新 (*jinshi* 進士, 1573), and Yu Wenwei 喻文偉 (dated 1597). Yu, a native of Yunnan, submitted his preface on his own initiative. The five prefaces together constitute the first juan of the work.

The second juan contains the biography of the First Heavenly Master, preceded by an introduction (*yin* 引) by Zhang Yue 張鉞 (*jinshi*, 1508), who apparently had also revised the work. Zhang Yue, himself a native from Jiangxi, was a personal friend of the Forty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yanpian 張諺猷 (d. 1537).

The history of the Longhu shan Heavenly Masters is beset by contradictions, at least early on. As has been pointed out by several historians (see Schipper, *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, Ve Section—Sciences Religieuses 91 [1982–1983]: 133–36), the institution of the Tianshi dao 天師道 of the Six Dynasties and early Tang periods was different from the Longhu shan establishment. In the former, not one but all direct descendants of the First Heavenly Master had the right to the hereditary title and to the office of Inspector of Merit (*dugong* 都功) of the Yangping zhi 陽平治, the first of the dioceses. It was not until the mid-Tang period that the Tianshi temple

on Longhu shan in Jiangxi became an important pilgrimage center and that its claim to be the original cradle of the Tianshi lineage emerged. The history of the lineage was then reinvented. The present work bears witness to this fact, for instance, by attributing exceptional longevity to earlier generations: from the death of Zhang Heng 張衡 in 179 to the death of the fifteenth Heavenly Master, Zhang Shilong 張士龍, during the Zhenyuan era (785–804) more than 600 years elapsed, during which there were thirteen Heavenly Masters, whereas during the following 600 years there were twenty-nine successors. The discrepancies in the making of the tradition can also be seen through a comparison with earlier biographies as recorded, for instance, in LZTT 19. There the lineage extends up to the thirty-fifth generation under the Southern Song period. These biographies may therefore have been compiled by the Thirty-sixth Heavenly Master, Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (d. 1291).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Xu taishi zhenjun tuzhuan 許太史真君圖傳

2 juan

440 (fasc. 197)

“Life of the Grand Astrologer Xu.” This is a richly illustrated hagiography of the great saint XU XUN, who is said to have risen up to Heaven in 291 A.D. (figs. 36–38). Stories about Xu and his companion Wu Meng 吳猛 became current during the early medieval period. They greatly amplified during the Tang (618–907), giving rise to the Way of Filial Piety (Xiaodao 孝道) movement that was based on their lore (see 449 *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan*). Toward the end of the Tang, the holy places related to the worship of the immortal official, notably the temples on Xishan 西山 near Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi), became major pilgrimage centers.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, BO YUCHAN wrote an extensive hagiography of XU XUN and the lesser saints of his school under the title *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (263.31 *Xiuzhen shishu*). That work provided, with some variants, the basis for the present illustrated hagiography.

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Kristofer Schipper

Xu zhenjun xianzhuan 許真君仙傳

17 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)

447 (fasc. 200)

“Hagiography of Zhenren Xu.” This is a Yuan version of the biography of XU XUN in BO YUCHAN’s *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (dated 1224), reproduced in 263.31 *Xiuzhen shishu*.



FIGURE 36. Xu Xun fighting mountain spirits (440 1.19b–20a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/437)



FIGURE 37. Xu Xun smelting the iron pillar (440 2.7b–8b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/437)



FIGURE 38. Xu Xun rising up to Heaven (440 2.17b–18a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/437)

The present version cannot be earlier than 1295, since the qualifier *Zhidao xuanying* 至道玄應 in its title (1a) was conferred under the reign of the Yuan emperor Chengzong (1295–1307; see *III0 Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 1.12b).

The text differs from that of BO YUCHAN in the following respects: the actual deeds of the saint (263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 33) are slightly abridged, and the notes are incorporated into the text; the chapter concerning his posthumous career in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 34 is lacking here; the biographies of his eleven disciples are considerably shortened (263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 35 in 263 corresponds to 14b–16b in the present version); and among the various saints of the movement that form the subject of (263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 36), only a succinct account of Hu tianshi 胡天師 is included here.

Jean Lévi

Xishan Xu zhenren bashiwu hua lu 西山許真君八十五化錄

3 fols. + 3 juan

Foreword and preface dated 1246; postface dated 1250, signed Yongwu zhenren Shi Cen 勇悟真人施岑; second postface, by Sun Yuanming 孫元明, dated *dingwei* 丁未 (1247)

448 (fasc. 200)

“Record of the Eighty-five Manifestations of Zhenren Xu of Xishan.” This is a re-edition of the legend of XU XUN compiled by BO YUCHAN in his *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (dated 1224), reproduced in 263.31 *Xiuzhen shishu* (q.v.)

The author—whose identity is concealed behind the name of one of the disciples of the patriarch of the Loyalty and Filiality (Zhongxiao 忠孝) movement, Shi Cen—states in his presentation note that XU XUN’s teaching had enjoyed great popularity after the saint’s “descent” at Jinling in 1224, when he announced his doctrine. At that time, several sanctuaries were dedicated to him and a Yongwu monastery became the seat of a fervent group of followers of the Way of Filial Piety. This is how the movement began. Later, a certain Song Daosheng 宋道昇 presented Shi Cen with a hagiography of the twelve saints of Xishan. To enliven the composition, Shi divided it into eighty-five scenes, each accompanied by a poem from his own brush. One of the members of the group undertook to collect funds to assure the work’s diffusion.

In his postface, Sun Yuanming declares having received the visit of one of the members of the original circle, Jia Shoucheng 賈守澄, after a premonitory dream. Jia then passed the edition of Shi Cen on to him.

The date of XU XUN’s apparition in 1224 corresponds to that in BO YUCHAN’s biography of the saint. In a note on the Pavilion for Assembling Immortals of the Yulong monastery, the name of the hermitage of XU XUN, BO YUCHAN marvels at the enthusiasm the sanctuary enjoyed at that time (written on the occasion of his third

visit to Xishan since 1218; see 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 31.2b). The reedition of BO YUCHAN's text thus fell in a period when the movement was thriving.

Jean Lévi

Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan 南嶽九真人傳

7 fols.

Edited by Liao Shen 廖侁; Northern Song (960–1127)?

452 (fasc. 201)

“Short Biographies of the Nine Zhenren of the Southern Peak.” This work gives an account of the lives of nine persons who obtained the Tao on Hengshan 衡山 between 265 and 513 A.D. About Liao Shen no details are known apart from his official titles, but since in his introductory note he mentions the “commissioner of military affairs, Sun Mian 孫沔 [997–1067], of the present dynasty,” and since the work is listed as anonymous in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 5.9a, we can conclude that Liao Shen probably lived in the late Northern Song period.

The introductory note makes it clear that Liao was not the actual author. He was asked by the Taoist master Ouyang Daolong 歐陽道隆, in whose family the biographies had been preserved, to write a preface to the text, since Ouyang wished to have it printed (he had already printed the *Duren jing* 度人經, *Daode jing* 道德經, and the *Jiuyou jing* 九幽經). Liao states that he corrected and edited the text.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji

終南山說經臺歷代真仙碑記

19 fols.

Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先, *zi* Yixu sou 一虛叟; end of thirteenth century

956 (fasc. 605)

“Stele and Inscription on the Platform of the Discourse on the Scriptures and Its Immortals through the Ages.” The Platform of the Discourse on the Scriptures (*shuojing tai* 說經臺) is traditionally the place where the Guardian of the Pass, Yin Xi 尹喜, received instruction, the *Daode jing* 道德經, and other scriptures from Laozi.

The work comprises thirty-five biographies of Taoists linked to the Louguan tradition. It was presented to two high-ranking Quanzhen 全真 Taoists, the patriarch Nie Zhizhen 聶志真 and the temple superintendent (*tidian* 提點), Zhao Zhixuan 趙志玄, by the author. The latter, a Maoshan Taoist and native of Gouqu 句曲, is also the author of another work on the Louguan tradition: 957 *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji*.

Zhu Xiangxian states in his postface that he visited the Louguan in 1279 and found there a work in three juan: the *Louguan xianshi zhuan* 樓觀先師傳. Additions to

this work, originally revealed by Yin Gui 尹軌 to Liang Chen 梁諶 in 305 (8b), were made during the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581) by Wei Jie 韋節 (13a). It was later completed by YIN WENCAO (d. 688). The *Louguan xianshi zhuan*, which was also known as *Louguan nei zhuan* 樓觀內傳 (VDL 87), comprised thirty biographies of immortals. Zhu Xiangxian seems to have drawn upon these works for most of the biographies in our text. He is himself, nevertheless, the author of a few biographies and of the eulogies in verse at the end of each biography. The biographies from Zhu's brush are those of Yin Xi, YIN WENCAO, and three Taoists who lived during the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) periods: Liang Quan 梁筌, Yin Renping 尹忍平, and Li Zhirou 李志柔. Yin Xi's biography excepted, all the others are of the same, short length, which shows that the present work drastically abbreviated the original versions. The *Louguan zhuan*, quoted in 596 *Xianyuan bianzhu*, is not the same as the *Louguan nei zhuan*, since the quotations do not correspond to our text.

Denis Allistone

Huan zhenren shengxian ji 桓真人升仙記

14 fols.

301 (fasc. 151)

“Record of Zhenren Huan's Ascent to Immortality.” This work relates the legend of TAO HONGJING's disciple Huan [Fa]kai 桓法闡 (see, e.g., SDZN 1.17a), who in this version—unlike the historical tradition—travels from Sichuan to Maoshan to become Tao Hongqing's lowliest servant. Secretly he strives for perfection and is finally, to everybody's amazement, preferred to his ambitious master and summoned to Heaven before him.

In the tale, *neidan* practices—and especially a method of meditation called “silent audience with the emperor on high” (*mochao shangdi* 默朝上帝; cf. 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 6.5a–b)—are proposed as Huan's recipe of success. The text can scarcely date from a period earlier than the tenth century, since it refers to the cult of the Three Offices of the Water-Palace (*shuifu san guan* 水府三官; 9b). This cult was canonized for the first time in 928 by Yang Pu 楊溥, ruler of the Wu and, later, Nan Tang 南唐 empires (*Xin Wudai shi* 61.758; see also *Song huiyao jigao* 1:882).

While a roughly similar, though much shorter, hagiography of Huan (Fa)kai exists already in the *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 神仙感遇傳 by DU GUANGTING (in *Taiping guangji* 15.106; see Verellen, “Encounter as revelation,” 380), only ZENG ZAO (d. 1155) refers to details in the present text (compare 1017 *Daoshu* 8.1a–2b with 1a–b, 3a–b, 5b, 6a–b, and 7a–b in the present text).

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taihua Xiyi zhi 太華希夷志

2 juan

By Zhang Lu 張輅; preface 1314

306 (fasc. 160)

“Records on [the Life of Chen] Xiyi of Huashan.” This is a biography of CHEN TUAN, *hao* Xiyi 希夷 (d. 989). According to the author’s preface, Zhang Lu was an administrative clerk (*zhishi* 知事) in Jinning 晉寧 in the Hezhong 河中 prefecture, not far from Huashan. It is there that he compiled this biography, based on material from diverse sources. Although the account is partly fact and mainly fiction, the author’s wish was to give Chen’s life a historical background.

The first chapter is devoted to CHEN TUAN’s fame at the court of Taizong (r. 976–997) of the Song dynasty. The second chapter, which is a collection of anecdotes on the Taoist and his contemporaries, also includes a bibliographical list of Chen’s works (7b). Zhu Xi’s (1130–1200) *Wuchao mingchen yanxing lu* 10.1 seems to have been the main source of a number of passages (1.1a–b, 8b–10a, 13a–b; 2.2a–b, 3b–5a, 9a–13b), but these passages have not been excerpted directly from his works. Some passages (2.2b–3b) are extracts from Zhang Fangping’s (1007–1091) account in *Lequan ji* 33.

Most of the material has been excerpted from *xiaoshuo* 小說 literature of the Song period (960–1279). One passage (2.1a–2b) is taken from the *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 by the Buddhist Wenying 釋文瑩, as quoted in the encyclopedia *Huang Song shishi leiyuan* by Jiang Shaoyu (twelfth century). A poem dedicated to Zhang Yong 張詠 (2.1b) is also from the same source. Another passage (2.1a) can be found in the *Qin-gxiang zaji* by Wu Chuhou (eleventh century).

Certain parts of our text (5a–b, 6a–b) have much in common with CHEN TUAN’s biography in the LZTT 47. It is possible that both versions are based on the biography in the lost *Gaodao zhuan*. A short passage of our text (1.15a) is identical with the quotation in 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 13.10b, which gives the *Gaodao zhuan* as its source. This quotation also figures in the LZTT biography. CHEN TUAN’s poems were famous during the Song, and our text includes some of them, the most important being an exchange of poems with Song Taizong in juan 1. The date indicated, Zhidao 1 (995), seems to be erroneous, since CHEN TUAN died in 989. The *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* states that the poems were written in Yongxi 1 (984). The source of the poems is lost, but some of them can also be found in other works. The first and the last of the poems in juan 1 (13b) figure in a biography of CHEN TUAN attributed to Pang Jue 龐覺, included in the *Qingsuo gaoyi*. A monograph on Huashan, the *Huayue zhi*, reproduces some passages (1.3a–3b, 6b), three poems (1.7a), and also a poem by Song Taizong’s third messenger, Ge Shouzhong 葛守中 (var. 忠).

Taiji Ge xiangong zhuan 太極葛仙公傳

29 fols.

By Tan Sixian 譚嗣先, *zi* Daolin 道林; preface by Zhu Chuo 朱綽 (dated 1377)
450 (fasc. 201)

“Biography of Ge [Xuan 玄], Duke-Immortal of the Taiji [Palace].” The preface by Zhu Chuo is dated by the cyclical characters *dingsi* 丁巳. Since Zhu Chuo is listed as registrar (*zhubu* 主簿) of Pingyin 平陰 district (Shandong) during the early Ming (*Jurong xian zhi* 8.22b), *dingsi* stands for the year 1377.

Zhu not only wrote the preface but also revised the text and rearranged its order. Tan Sixian, the compiler of this hagiography, was a Taoist in the Qingyuan monastery 青元觀 constructed in 508 A.D. on the site of GE XUAN’s dwelling. As a basis for his work he used a “Biography of the Duke-Immortal” that had been recorded on the Gezao 閣皂山 mountain (preface) where Ge is said to have obtained immortality. That biography, probably a Southern Song (1127–1279) work, apparently served also as the basis for GE XUAN’s biography in LZTT 23. In addition, Tan draws on other sources, such as 1016 *Zhen’gao* and *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳.

In the present text, we find appended to Ge’s hagiography (1a–22b) inscriptions by Fang Jun 方峻 (*jinsi* 進士 1030) and TAO HONGJING (23a–26b; it corresponds to 1050 *Huayang Tao yinju ji* 2.5a–8b), as well as two Song edicts (dating from 1104 and 1246, respectively) bestowing the titles Chongying zhenren 冲應真人 and Chongying fuyou zhenjun 冲應孚佑真君 on GE XUAN.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yunfu shan Shen xianweng zhuan 雲阜山申仙翁傳

13 fols.

First half of the fourteenth century

451 (fasc. 201)

“Biography of Shen, the Immortal Old Man from Mount Yunfu.” This hagiography, obviously written in the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty (12b speaks of the “previous Song” and the “great Yuan”), gives an account of the career of Shen Taizhi 申泰芝 (687–755; 1b, 7b–8a) and the cult devoted to him that was initiated on imperial order immediately after his death on Yunshan 雲山 in Hunan and that was still continuing when this text was written. The hagiography concludes with an episode set in the ninth century attesting to the truth of this account, and with the imperial decree of 1157 canonizing Shen as Miaoji zhenren 妙寂真人.

Various stories of Shen’s life that have been worked—in considerably modified and embellished form—into the present hagiography are found in the following earlier works: 1a–3b, cf. *Nanyue zongsheng ji* 3.8a–b; 4a–b, cf. *Longcheng lu* 1.7a–8a (where our protagonist is called Shen *tianshi* 申天師); 5b–6a, cf. *Xianzhuan shiyi* (in *Taiping guangji*

33.210; the protagonist is named Shen Yuanzhi 申元之); 10a–11b, cf. *Chuanji* 傳記 (in *Taiping guangji* 69.428–31; the protagonist is Shen *tianshi* or Shen Yuan 申元). Zhao Daoyi took these different names to stand for two different persons, cf. LZIT 33.13b–14a (identical with *Nanyue zongsheng ji* 3.8a–b) and 39.6b–7b (same as *Xianzhuan shiyi*).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Tang Ye zhenren zhuan 唐葉真人傳

35 fols.

Ca. 1250

779 (fasc. 557)

“Biography of the Zhenren Ye [Fashan 法善] of the Tang Dynasty.” The biography is preceded by a preface and a genealogical table of the Ye family. The preface by Ma Guangzu 馬光祖 (*hao* Yuzhai 裕齋) is dated Chunyou (1241–1253), *gengzi* 庚子. But as the *gengzi* 庚子 year (1240) falls outside this period, the cyclical date is probably an error for *gengxu* 庚戌 (1250) or *renzi* 壬子 (1252).

In his preface (1a), which also mentions a cult of YE FASHAN, Ma writes that Zhang Daotong 張道統, a Taoist from the Chongzhen 沖真 monastery (in Lishui 麗水 county, Zhejiang), showed him a “Biography of the Heavenly Master Ye,” probably referring to the present work. The Chongzhen monastery, originally named Xuanyang guan 宣陽觀, had once been established at Ye’s request; later on Ye was buried there (14a; 16b–17b).

According to the biography—which by means of numerous episodes illustrates Ye’s role as a Taoist at the court, but also as a helper of the people—Ye lived from 614 to 720 (15a; cf. his biography in *Jiu Tang shu* 191). Appended, we find Ye’s petitions to Xuanzong together with the imperial replies (17b–21b), inscriptions for Ye and his ancestors, as well as edicts for the bestowal of honorary titles upon them (up to the year 1120). A fragment (29b–31a) of the inscription by Xuanzong has been preserved in the Dunhuang manuscript Stein 4281.

The present text is probably extensively based on older works. The Song bibliographies list a biography of Ye, written by Liu Gushen 劉谷神 (see VDL 150). His biography in *Taiping guangji* 26.170–74 was assembled from episodes in *Jiyi ji* and *Xianzhuan shiyi* (ninth and tenth centuries) and, moreover, refers to his “proper biography” (*benzhuan* 本傳).

For the confusion of YE FASHAN with Ye Jingneng 葉淨能, to whom sometimes the same episodes are ascribed, see Yusa Noboru, “Yō Hōzen.”

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan 地祇上將溫太保傳

15 fols., with a supplement (*buyi* 補遺) of 5 fols.

Edited by Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾; 1274

780 (fasc. 557)

“Life of Guardian Wen, Chief General of the Earth Spirits.” This hagiography of one of modern China’s great gods was originally written in 1258 by Liu Yu 劉玉, *hao* Qingqing 清卿, a daoshi from Sichuan. Liu’s preface has been preserved in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 253.1a–3b. The postface by Huang Gongjin, dated 1274 and preserved in the same collection (253.9a–10a), explains how Huang incorporated Liu’s work in a treatise on Guardian Wen and the earth spirits, which he had printed.

The present hagiography’s format and style in fact transform it into a short story, an early example of the genre that was to become so popular in Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) times. It gives a vivid and entertaining account of the god’s early years during the Tang dynasty (618–907), when he, a divine incarnation born in Pingyang 平陽 (Wenzhou 溫州), served as a petty officer in the army of Guo Ziyi 郭子儀. Thereafter he became a butcher of buffalo, a most sacrilegious trade. After being converted by a celestial envoy, he prepared himself for divine office by worshipping the statue of an assistant of the god of Taishan 泰山 in the latter’s temple, having made the vow to become himself such an assistant after his death. The time for this transformation would come, he was told, when the statue had changed. When, thereupon, two boys tried to play a trick on him by painting the statue green and red and by sticking two boar’s tusks into its mouth, Wen died on the spot and transformed himself into a fierce guardian spirit in the image of the statue. Refusing the canonization by the state (*guofeng* 國封) and bloody sacrifices (*xueshi* 血食), he entered into the service of the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (Xujing zhenren 續靜真人, 1092–1126), as a commander of the latter’s spirit army. In this capacity, Wen performed many great feats, and thus was canonized liturgically (*daofeng* 道封) as Zhufa yiling zhaowu dashi taibao 助法翊靈昭武大使太保, which is the title he has in most rituals. While respecting Buddhism as one of the great ways of salvation, Wen was especially active against Buddhist heresies of the popular Santan 三壇 sect. The supplement contains further adventures and, presumably, brings the story up to the times of Liu Yu and Huang Gongjin.

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Kristofer Schipper

Ningyang Dong zhenren yuxian ji 凝陽董真人遇仙記

16 fols.

By Lu Zhaowen 祿昭聞; ca. 1238

308 (fasc. 160)

“Encounters with Immortals of the Congealed Yang Zhenren Dong.” This is a chronicle of the career of the otherwise unknown Dong Shouzhi 董守志 (1160–1227). Dong was a Jurchen who adopted a Chinese name and became a military man. He was chronically ill until he was converted and became cured at the age of thirty-five. From then on, he led an eventful life as a Taoist monk in the western Shaanxi and eastern Gansu areas. After a short summary (1a–2a) of the whole story, Lu Zhaowen, otherwise unknown, narrates chronologically the most significant events of Dong’s life. Most of these events are encounters with the three immortals ZHONGLI QUAN, LÜ DONGBIN, and LIU HAICHAN, who appear either alone or in pairs, imparting medicine or talismans, instruction and poems, sometimes speaking from the void and sometimes appearing in person to perform miracles.

It is noteworthy that LÜ DONGBIN is the least prominent of the three. On the other hand, the hagiographic data on LIU HAICHAN are especially interesting; they form the first substantial account of him before the official Quanzhen 全真 biography, *173 Jinlian zhenzong ji*, a few years later. Although famous since the eleventh century as a disciple of CHEN TUAN and a *neidan* 內丹 master (see *Dongxuan bilu* 8.90), LIU HAICHAN’s legend appears in developed form only by the late Jurchen Jin period (1115–1234). Some of the information also differs from both the Quanzhen texts and early sources such as, notably, the two inscriptions *Liu Haichan xianji* 劉海蟾仙蹟 (1116; cf. Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 328–30) and *Chuang Haichan tang yishi keji* 創海蟾堂移石刻記 (1148; *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 1010). According to WANG CHONGYANG’s poems, Liu hailed from Yan 燕 (also the place named in the later standard version of his life), while the inscriptions place his origins in Qin. In the present text, he says himself that he came from Ruicheng 芮城 (southern Shanxi, very near LÜ DONGBIN’s birthplace); he also has a “yellow face,” a trait unique to this account.

The narrative is in a matter-of-fact style; it evokes a popular following that probably mingled with the more articulate Quanzhen movement after Dong’s death. The transmission of the Tao from LIU HAICHAN to Dong is mentioned in *174 Jinlian zhenzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* 17b, and a Ningyang wanshou gong 凝陽萬壽宮, originally founded by Dong, was active in Longzhou 隴州 (western Shaanxi) until the late Ming.

Vincent Goossaert

3.A.6.c Mountain and Temple Monographs

Maoshan zhi 茅山志

33 juan

Compiled ca. 1330 by Liu Dabin 劉大彬, *hao Yuxu zi* 玉虛子; prefaces by Zhao Shiyan 趙世延 (1324), WU QUANJIE 吳全節 (1327), and the compiler (1328)

304 (fasc. 153–158)

“Chronicle of Maoshan.” This work was compiled on the initiative of WU QUANJIE — who had first approached Wang Daomeng 王道孟, the forty-fourth Maoshan patriarch — and, finally, his successor, Liu Dabin. Wu, as the archpatriarch (*xuanjiao da zongshi* 玄教大宗師), presided over Taoism in the South China region, and saw in this work the reward for his own efforts and those of his predecessor, Zhang Liusun 張留孫, to obtain imperial support and special favors for the Taoist community on Maoshan. It took thirteen years to complete the chronicle. Liu Dabin, who meanwhile had fallen ill, had charged his disciples with collecting material, but completion of the work was delayed as supplement after supplement was included. Thus we even find a memorandum by Liu Dabin on a *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 held in 1330 on behalf of the empire (4.18b–19a).

The chronicle includes official historical documents, a section on the legend of the Mao brothers, a description of the mountain’s topography with its natural sites, a section on bibliography, another on the lineage of Maoshan patriarchs in the form of biographies, the lives of those immortals and famous Taoists who in the course of history had lived on Maoshan, a description of the local flora, reproductions of numerous inscriptions on steles at monasteries and other sanctuaries, and finally a section containing poetry and miscellanea.

Apart from the rich documentary material from a wide range of historical sources used in the chronicle, Liu drew on 1016 *Zhen’gao* and on a *Maoshan ji* 茅山記 in four juan by Fu Xiao 傅霄 and Zeng Xun 曾恂, dated 1150 (now lost), which treated mainly the topography and the buildings of Maoshan. The twelve sections constituting the work were originally divided into fifteen juan.

Liu Dabin was not the only one who contributed to the first version of this chronicle: at the end of the text we find a postface written in 1320 by ZHAO MENGFU (1254–1322) for an illustrated work ordered by Liu Dabin on the Shangqing tradition (*Shangqing chuanzhen tu* 上清傳真圖). There Zhao presents himself as the author of the biographies that accompanied the portraits of the forty-five patriarchs of Maoshan. Presumably Liu included these biographies, if not the portraits, in his *Maoshan zhi*. The eulogies (*zan* 贊) appended in the chronicle to all these biographies (juan 10–12) are by Yu Ji 虞集 (1271–1348) and are also found in his *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 45. The cal-

ligraphic rendering of the whole text was finally the responsibility of Zhang Yu 張雨 (1277–1348; see *Pingjin guan jianzang ji shuji* 1.11a–b; CGF 247–50). In this form the work was printed twice: for the first time during the Yuan (1279–1368), and the second time, with an additional preface by Hu Yan 胡儼, in 1423. No later edition reproduced Zhang Yu’s calligraphy and the original illustrations.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Xiyue Huashan zhi 西嶽華山誌

23 fols.

By Wang Chuyi 王處一, *zi* Ziyuan 子淵, *hao* Lianfeng yishi 蓮峰逸士; preface by Liu Dayong 劉大用, *zi* Qizhi 器之 (1183)

307 (fasc. 160)

“Monograph on the Western Peak.” Huashan, the mountain of the title, is one of the five sacred mountains. The author sojourned on the Lotus Peak, one of the central summits of Huashan, whence his *hao*, “Recluse of the Lotus Peak.” The Taoist of the Quanzhen 全真 school and author of 1152 *Yungang ji*, Wang Chuyi (1142–1217), lived during the same period under the Jin dynasty, but his well-documented biography shows that he had no connection with the Lotus Peak.

Liu Dayong states in his preface that the author based his work on older monographs such as the *Huashan ji* 華山記 and the “Tujing 圖經” (a lost *Huazhou tujing* 華州圖經 is quoted in the text) and that he collected anecdotes on the mountain from such ancient works as the 294 *Liexian zhuan* attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向. Moreover, the text comprised “over seventy *pian* 篇 concerning the peaks, caverns, monasteries, natural products, relics, immortals, and so on, of the Huashan” (preface). This description does not accord with the present version; it is probable, therefore, that our text is incomplete. This impression is reinforced by the fact that a later monograph, the *Huayue zhi* 華嶽志, quotes (cf. 1.23a, 45b; 3.3b) a *Xiyue Huanshan zhi*, but the quotations in question are missing in the present version.

The text includes two prefaces by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty (r. 712–756), the second of which is only the first section of a stele (for the complete text, see “Xiyue Taihua shan beixu,” in *Quan Tang wen* 41). The 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* quotation (6b) cannot be found in the extant version of this work in the *Daozang*. Similarly, the source of one story is wrongly given as the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (5b–6a); it was in fact excerpted from the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳. The latter is also the origin of a passage further on in the text (8b–9a). The “old poem” (2a) is by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824; cf. *Quan Tang shi* 3789). Two short passages (21.b–2a) reassemble 599 *Dongtian fudi*

yuedu mingshan ji 3b and 6b. The couplet attributed to Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) on 21b is unidentified.

Denis Allistone

Meixian guan ji 梅仙觀記

26 fols.

Ca. 1296

600 (fasc. 331)

“Records of the Monastery of the Immortal Mei [Fu 福].” The present compilation should be dated 1296, since the date given in the text—“second year of Zhenyuan 貞元” (9b)—must be an error for “Yuanzhen 元貞.”

The work has been compiled from constituent parts. Its first part, the “Meixian shishi 梅仙事實” (True History of the Immortal Mei; 1a–9b) by Yang Zhiyuan 楊智遠 (fl. 1082) from the Meixian guan in Fengcheng 豐城 district (Jiangxi), gives an account of the life of Mei Fu, who lived under Wang Mang (r. A.D. 9–25; 1a–6b has been adopted almost verbatim from *Han shu* 67.2917 ff.). Mei finally obtained immortality and ascended into Heaven from Mount Feihong 飛鴻山, which was afterward renamed Meixian shan 梅仙山 (6a–9a; strongly abridged citation in LZTT 14.14b–15a). The last paragraph (9a–b) of this first part (in which the above-mentioned date appears) is—although not marked as such—a later addition that also describes the condition of the monastery (occupied by Buddhists) in the late thirteenth century.

The second part (9b–11b) consists of various inscriptions on steles, one of which is dated 1270. Pages 11b–15b contain the application for canonization, in which Yang Zhiyuan played an active part, and the bestowal of the titles Shouchun zhenren 壽春真人 (in 1082; cf. *Songchao da zhaoling ji* 宋朝大詔令集 136.6b) and Shouchun liyin 吏隱 zhenren (in 1132) for Mei Fu.

The final part consists of a hymn in praise of Mei, as well as numerous poems about the mountain named after him and the monastery there.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Jinhua Chisong shan zhi 金華赤松山志

2 juan

By Ni Shouyue 倪守約, *zi* Zhuquan 竹泉; second half of the thirteenth century

601 (fasc. 331)

“Monograph on Mount Jinhua.” This mountain is linked to the legend of Chisong *zi* 赤松子 and to that of Huang Chuping 皇初平 (whose *zi* was also Chisong *zi*) and

his brother Huang Chuqi 皇初起. According to the text (5b), Chisong shan 赤松山 is another name for Jinhua. The work itself can be dated to the end of the Southern Song (1127–1279); the author (about whom we have little information), a Taoist of Mount Jinhua 金華山, lived at the beginning of the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty (see *Jinhua youlu* 2b).

The monograph seems to have been reconstructed from local sources, parts of which had already been lost at the time the work was undertaken (see preface, 1a). It includes a biography of the brothers Huang that tries to give a historical background to their legend by mentioning honorific titles they received during the Southern Song. This biography is followed by a description of the mountain that starts with an account of the alchemical tradition and of deposits of cinnabar, then offers a physical description of the mountain (caverns, peaks, rivers, and streams), and ends with an account of the monasteries. Among the latter, special attention is paid to the Baoji guan 寶積觀 or Chisong gong 赤松宮 (3a–12b). Seven biographies of Taoists of the area, chronologically arranged, figure in the text (12b–16b). The majority of these figures are famous for having been received at court during the Southern Song or for having played an important role in the Taoist history of the region. The work contains some anomalies: according to the text (16a), Zhu Zhichang 朱知常 was the forty-first patriarch of Maoshan; 304 *Maoshan zhi* 12.11a speaks of the irregularity of the secession of Maoshan patriarchs and gives the name of Wang Zhixin 王志心.

Three imperial edicts are included in the monograph (16b–18a): the first, dated 1099, confers the title of Chisong zi lingxu zhenjun 赤松子凌虛真君 on Chisong zi, the immortal of antiquity. The second and third edicts, dated 1189 and 1262, both concern honorific titles conferred upon the Huang brothers. A list of steles of Mount Jinhua is included (18a–19b) but without the text. Four titles of Taoist texts preserved in various temples are found at the end. Two of these works are still extant (185 *Chisong zi zhongjie jing* and 1167 *Taishang ganying pian*). The *Zhifu zhai congshu* 知服齋叢書 edition and the present text are identical.

Denis Allistone

Xiandu zhi 仙都志

2 juan

By Chen Xingding 陳性定, *zi* Ciyi 此一; edited by Wu Mingyi 吳明義, *zi* Zhongyi 中誼; preface dated 1348

602 (fasc. 331)

“Topography of [Mount] Xiandu.” The preface was probably written by Wu Mingyi, who like Chen was a Taoist residing on Mount Xiandu (Jinyun 縉雲 county, Zhejiang). It mentions Zhao Siqi 趙嗣祺 (*zi* Xuyi 虛一) because in 1320 he was the first to receive an imperial decree (signifying official recognition) from the Yuan (1279–1368)

court to administer the Yuxu gong 玉虛宮 temple on this mountain (1.9a–b).

The text deals with the topography, religious buildings, and flora of the mountain, as well as with persons who obtained immortality and other outstanding people associated with the mountain. In addition there is a list of inscriptions and the text of poems and inscriptions by a large number of scholars.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Tiantai shan zhi 天台山志

21 fols.

Compiled in 1368

603 (fasc. 332)

“Monograph on Mount Tiantai.” This work is a compilation of the early Ming (1368–1644) dynasty (for the date, see 10a). It includes an introduction, where the author links the Tiantai traditions to those of the Shangqing. This is followed by four sections on peaks, caverns, rivers, streams, and, finally, ending with famous monasteries. The most important of these was the Tongbo guan 桐柏觀, founded in 711 in honor of SIMA CHENGZHEN on Mount Tongbo 桐柏山, under which was situated the Cavern-Heaven (*dongtian* 洞天) of the Golden Court, over which reigned the immortal Wangzi Qiao 王子喬.

The “Stele on Tongbo guan” (10b–13b) is dated 748. The author, Cui Shang 崔尙, was an official in the Department of Sacrifice (cf. *Xin Tang shu* 72B.2736). The *Jinxie linlang* 金薤琳琅 includes a truncated copy of the inscription, based on a rubbing of the original.

The “Record on the Reconstitution of the Taoist Library” (13b–15a), dated 1010 and written by the scholar Xia Shu 夏疏 (984–1050), recounts how the collection of Taoist books was transported to Hangzhou in 985, where they were copied. They were later returned to Tiantai for preservation.

The “Record on the Restoration of the Tongbo guan” (15a–18b), by Cao Xun 曹勛 (d. 1174), is dated 1168. It describes the huge construction work under the direction of Shi Baozhang 石葆璋 that was finally completed in 1167.

The last pages of the monograph comprise poems by famous poets—including Li Bo 李白 (701–762) and Luo Yin 羅隱 (833–909)—inspired by Mount Tiantai, as well as some short notes on the secularization of certain monasteries or on their links to the Tongbo guan during the early Ming.

Denis Allistone

Longrui guan Yuxue Yangming dongtian tujing 龍瑞觀禹穴陽明洞天圖經
4 fols.

By Ye Shu 葉樞; III4

604 (fasc. 332)

“Monograph on the Cavern-Heaven Yangming, the Cavern of Yu the Great, and on the Longrui Guan.” This is a text composed of quotations concerning the legend of Yu the Great, in the kingdom of Yue, excerpted from diverse books. The monograph also deals with the history of the monastery Longrui guan 龍瑞觀 in Guiji 會稽. The 599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* by DU GUANGTING affirms that Guiji is the Cavern-Heaven Yangming of Supreme Mystery 極玄陽明洞天. This designation accords with our text, which quotes as its source the *Guishan boyu [shan] jing* 龜山白玉經 (1b). According to 969 *Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji* (preface), the latter work (now lost) once formed part of the Taoist canon.

The text has been attributed to Li Zongze 李宗諤 (964–1012), probably the reason the bibliographical chapters of the *Song shi* (204B.5156) list a *Yangming dongtian tujing* 陽明洞天圖經 in fifteen juan under his name. The same work also considers Li as the author of the *Yuezhou tujing* 越州圖經 in nine juan, a book that is also mentioned in our text (3b). The date of the work and the name of the author, however, are clearly indicated at the end of our text. The author, Ye Shu, a native of Yuezhou and a *jinshi* 進士, later served as assistant lecturer in the Wei prefecture in Shandong.

The Longrui guan was built on the site of the ancient temple Houshen guan 儴神觀, according to the “Tang Longrui guan ji 唐龍瑞觀記” stele (see *Liang Zhe jinshi zhi* 2.13b). The name Houshen guan was changed to Huaixian guan 懷仙館 under the Liu Song (420–479), at the request of the Taoist Kong Lingchan 孔靈產. The *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳, quoted in SDZN 2.7b, states that the monastery was constructed under the emperor Mingdi (465–471), next to the cavern of Yu the Great. Our text indicates the date of its founding as 705, but according to the stele, its second reconstruction took place that year. It is only since 714, however, after the observance of a *jiao* 醮 celebrated by YE FASHAN, that the monastery was known as Longrui guan. The Cavern-Heaven Yangming is the cave where the books used by Yu the Great for controlling the floods were hidden (3b).

There is an identical edition of the text in Luo Zhenyu’s *Yujian zhai congshu* 玉簡齋叢書. According to the author, the text formed part of the Song canon.

Denis Allistone

Siming dongtian danshan tu yong ji 四明洞天丹山圖詠集

36 fols.

By Zeng Jian 曾堅, *zi* Zibo 子白; ca. 1362

605 (fasc. 332)

The “Collection of Poems on and Descriptions of the Cavern-Heaven Siming and the Cinnabar Mountain.” This work comprises texts from different periods on Mount Siming 四明山 in Zhejiang. The collection, compiled toward the end of the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty, can be dated approximately on the basis of two internal dates: 1362 (11a) and 1361 (13a).

The author, Zeng Jian of Linchuan, was a contemporary of Wei Su 危素 (*zi* Taipu 太僕, 1303–1372), author of two important texts in the collection. Both Zeng and Wei were disciples of WU CHENG (1249–1333).

The preface by Zeng Jian, like DU GUANGTING’s 599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji*, identifies Mount Siming as the Ninth Cavern-Heaven. It also mentions two illustrations (*tu* 圖) of the mountain by Xue Yifu 薛毅夫 which are, however, missing from the present version.

The first section of the collection is an ancient description of the mountain ascribed to Mu Hua 木華 (*zi* Xuanxu 玄虛), with a commentary by He Zhizhang 賀知章 (659–744). Our text places Mu Xuanxu in the Tang (618–907) dynasty (1a), although he was a well-known scholar of the Jin period (265–420). In fact, the main text cannot be of the Jin dynasty, since it mentions the names of Taoists posterior to this period (such as Fan Yan 范顏 and Ying Ze 應則; 4a–b). Although Mu’s authorship of this part can be contested, it is nevertheless possible that he was the author of a monograph on the mountain, since the Buddhist monk Zanning 釋贊寧 (919–1000) quotes a *Siming shan ji* 四明山記 by Mu Xuanxu in his *Sunpu* 筍譜. The authenticity of He Zhizhang’s commentary, however, is almost beyond doubt, since during the Northern Song (960–1127) he was known to have written a preface to a *Xuanxu zhi* 玄虛志 (see 779 *Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 16b). He also called himself Siming kuangren 四明狂人.

The description of the mountain is followed by two short biographies (6b–7a) of the immortals Liu Wang 劉綱 (Han) and Kong You 孔祐 (Southern Qi). The “Inscription on Siming shan 四明山” and the “Record of the Boshui guan 白水觀” (9a–11a) are by Wei Su and were written at the request of Wu Guogong 吳國珙, disciple of Mao Yongzhen 毛永貞. The latter, a Taoist of the Sanhua yuan 三華院 on Mount Longhu 龍虎山, had sojourned in the Boshui guan for a long period of time (11b). In this context, the text draws an analogy to Wu Zhenyang 吳真陽 (*hao* Hunpu zi 混樸子) of the Southern Song (1127–1279) dynasty: he was a disciple of the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126), and also a Taoist of the Sanhua yuan who was linked to the Boshui guan (10a). The Longhu shan is mentioned often in our text, which suggests that the Taoism of Mount Siming followed the Heavenly

Master tradition. Mao Yongzhen was also responsible for the construction of a dwelling, the Shitian shanfang 石田山房, which was situated next to the Siyu guan 祠宇觀 on Mount Siming (cf. the preface by Zeng Jian, 112a–132a). The text ends with poems (132a–362a) on the mountain by authors of different periods, ranging from the Tang to end of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368).

A commentary on the text ascribed to Mu Xuanxu was written by the Ming Scholar Huang Zongxi (1610–1695) in his *Siming shan zhi*. The commentary points out numerous errors in the Mu Xuanxu description of the mountain.

Denis Allistone

Nanyue zongsheng ji 南嶽總勝集

27 fols.

606 (fasc. 332)

“General Account of the Scenery of the Southern Peak.” This title is misleading, since the present text gives only the twenty-eight entries on Taoist establishments in the second juan of the *Nanyue zongsheng ji* by Chen Tianfu 陳田夫. The original work consists of three juan (as reprinted in the *Lilou congshu* 麗廬叢書, which is based on a Song (960–1279) edition and preserves its format of twenty lines with twenty characters each; see also the Buddhist canon edition listed in the general bibliography in volume 3): juan 1 deals with topography, local cults, and so on; juan 2 is about Buddhist and Taoist religious buildings and the flora and fauna of the mountain; and juan 3 has biographies of hermits and eminent Buddhists and Taoists from the Tang (618–907) to the Song period.

In the preface (dated 1163) to his work, Chen, himself a resident of the Southern Peak, says that he mainly combined four existing records of the Hengshan 衡山 for his compilation: a Buddhist and a Taoist record, and two recent texts, *Shenggai ji* 勝槩集 and *Hengshan ji* 衡山記.

The history of the *Lilou congshu* edition of the text is described in the preface by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (dated 1907). Different editions of Chen’s work are discussed by Mo Boji in *Wushiwan juan lou qunshu bawen* 3.182a–184b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Wudang jisheng ji 武當紀勝集

32 fols.

By Luo Tingzhen 羅霆震; *hao* Yunlu qiaoweng 雲麓樵翁; Yuan (1279–1368)

963 (fasc. 609)

“Record of the Scenery of Wudang” This title comprises a collection of descriptive poems by a single author. Nothing is known about Luo Tingzhen. The name given

for his place of origin, Longxing lu 龍興路, corresponds to the appellation used for the region of Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi) in Yuan times. The poems describe in simple diction the scenery, monuments, and remarkable sites on Wudang shan 武當山.

Kristofer Schipper

Dadi dongtian ji 大滌洞天記

3 juan

By Deng Mu 鄧牧, *zi* Muxin 牧心 (1247–1306)

782 (fasc. 559)

“Records of the Cavern-Heavens of Great Purity.” This text describes in detail Mount Dadi, thirty-fourth of the thirty-six *dongtian* 洞天, which lies to the southwest of Hangzhou in Zhejiang; it also includes fifty biographies of mountain dwellers. The author was a recluse who retired after the fall of the Song to the famous Taoist establishment, the Dongxiao gong 洞霄宮, on the mountainside.

The text is preceded by three prefaces. The third is dated 1305 and signed Shen Duofu 沈多福, *zi* Jieshi, abbot of the Dongxiao gong. In this preface, Shen says that asked his disciple Meng Jixu 孟集虛 to collaborate on the compilation of this text, which he entitled *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志. Shen also draws attention to the fact that a former work devoted to Mount Dadi—the [*Dadi*] *Zhenjing lu* (大滌) 真境錄, written in 1118 by the daoshi Tang Zixia 唐子霞—was already a lost book, and that an expanded edition published between 1234 and 1236 was also lost.

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Pauline Bentley Koffler

Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集

3 juan

By Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先, *zi* Yixu sou 一虛叟; soon after 1308

957 (fasc. 605)

“Collection from the Hall of Purple Clouds and Abundant Blessing of the Ancient Louguan.” This work is a compilation comprising stele and other inscriptions concerning the Louguan 樓觀, for the period ranging from the Tang (618–907) to the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties, with, at the end, poems by authors of the Tang, Song, and the Yuan. The name of the hall constructed in 1242 (1.16b) was inspired by a phenomenon that took place in 741, when purple clouds appeared indicating the location of sacred texts (cf. 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 8.32b). The collection is posterior to 1308, the last date it mentions (2.23a).

There are some important documents concerning the Louguan of the Tang period: the “Record of the Zongsheng guan 宗聖觀” (1.1a–4b; the name Louguan was changed to Zongsheng guan in 625); a biography of YIN WENCAO by Yuan Banqian 員半千 (621–714), engraved upon a stele in 717 (1.4b–9b; the text is reproduced in the *Jinshi cuibian* 71.18b–22b); a stele by Dai Xuan 戴璇 in honor of Laozi and the Louguan (1.9b–13a).

The Yuan documents deal mainly with the Quanzhen 全真 school of Taoism. The “Record on the Reconstruction of the Louguan” (1. 13a–18b), by Li Ding 李鼎 and dated 1263, was engraved upon a stele in 1296. It recounts work undertaken for the reconstruction of the Louguan, which had been completely destroyed during the war that took place between 1232 and 1233, toward the end of the Jin dynasty. The reconstruction, which began in 1236 under the direction of Li Zhirou 李志柔 (*zi* Qianshu 謙叔, 1188–1266) and at the behest of the sixth patriarch Yin Zhiping 尹志平, was finished in 1242. This text also extols the reappearance of the *Guanyin zi* 關尹子, an apocryphal work ascribed to Yin Xi 尹喜 and “rediscovered” by Sun Ding 孫定 in Zhejiang. It is there that a certain Zhang Zhongcai 張仲才 obtained the text and presented it to Yin Zhiping in 1233. In 1282, Zhu Xiangxian also wrote about the reappearance of the *Guanyin zi* in his *Wenshi zhenjing chushi ji* 文史真經初世紀 (Shoushan ge 守山閣 edition, *zi bu* 子部, “yuanben” 原本). The “Record” also indicates that the honorific title of Shuntian xingguo 順天興國 was given to the Zongsheng guan in 988 (1.14a). This was the name of the highest altar (*tan* 壇) in the ritual revealed to Zhang Shouzhen 張守真 by the divinity Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖寶德真君 during the early Song (cf. 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan* 1.3a and 956 *Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* 17a).

The reconstruction of the Louguan and the *Guanyin zi* form the main topic in most of the texts preserved in the present collection. The biography of Li Zhirou (2.8b–12a) by Li Daoqian 李道謙 differs considerably from the one in 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (7.16b–20b). Four texts of the collection, of which one is a preface to a Louguan edition of the *Guanyin zi* (2.1a–1b), are by Zhu Xiangxian. The collection also includes a biography of Yin Zhiping by Jia Yu 賈馥 (2.3a–7b) and texts by DU DAOJIAN (3.1a–5a), Shi Tingyu 石廷玉 (2.2a–3a), Zhao Fu 趙復 (*zi* Renfu 仁甫; 2.7b–8b), and Wang Shoudao 王守道 (2.21a–23a).

Denis Allistone

Song dong Taiyi gong beiming 宋東太乙宮碑銘

5 fols.

By Hu Meng 扈蒙, *zi* Riyong 日用; 984

965 (fasc. 610)

Song xi Taiyi gong beiming 宋西太乙宮碑銘

5 fols.

By Song Shou 宋綬, *zi* Gongchui 公垂; 1029

966 (fasc. 610)

Song zhong Taiyi gong beiming 宋中太乙宮碑銘

5 fols.

By LÜ HUIQING 呂惠卿, *zi* Jifu 吉甫; 1074

967 (fasc. 610)

These three steles commemorate three palaces constructed during the Northern Song (960–1127) dynasty as cult centers to receive the stellar divinity Taiyi 太乙 (Great One). The cult to Taiyi was instituted in the reign of Wudi (140–87 B.C.) of the Han dynasty (see *Shiji* 12.456).

In 981, the Taoist astrologer Chu Zhilan 楚芝蘭 taught divinatory techniques (*Song shi* 461.13500) based on the authority of a work entitled *Wufu taiyi* 五福太一 (see *Yuhai* 100.6b). This work mentions ten Taiyi divinities and explains that when one of these traverses the five palaces, peace and security are obtained in the corresponding geographical fields (*fenye* 分野). In this work, both the order in which the divinity traverses the five palaces and the corresponding *fenye* are identical with the account in another work, partially apocryphal, ascribed to Wang Ximing 王希明, the *Taiyi jinjing shijing* 太一金鏡式經 5.3a.

The five palaces are represented by four trigrams placed around the center, which is one of the palaces. The divinity travels through these palaces, changing one of them every forty-five years and accomplishing a complete voyage through all five in two hundred and twenty-six years. This voyage is undertaken in five directions, in the following order: *qian* 乾 (northwest), *gen* 艮 (northeast), *xun* 巽 (southeast), *kun* 坤 (southwest), and the center.

The *Yuhai* indicates that according to Chu Zhilan, the divinity would pass through the southeast palace (*xun*), which corresponds to the field Suzhou 蘇州 in 984. Chu therefore suggested that a palace be built in the southeast of Kaifeng, at Sucun 蘇村, the name resembling that of the *fenye*. This first stele, by the Hanlin scholar Hu Meng (915–986), was erected to celebrate the building of the eastern Taiyi gong.

Forty-five years later, a western palace was built in the southwest of the capital. The scholar Song Shou (991–1040) was charged, by Zhang Shixun 張士遜 (964–1094), to write the text for a second stele (966 *Song xi Taiyi gong beiming*; cf. *Yuhai* 100.23b).

As early as 1071, we find the proposal of the astrologer Zhou Cong 周琮 to construct a Taiyi gong in the center of Kaifeng, not far from the monastery Jixi guan 集禧觀, in order to honor the divinity, whose arrival was expected in 1074. Emperor Shenzong acceded to this request and ordered LÜ HUIQING (1032–1111), author of 686 *Daode zhenjing zhuan*, to write the text of a third stele to commemorate the event (967 *Song zhong Taiyi gong beiming*). Shenzong then entrusted CHEN JINGYUAN with the administration of the central palace (cf. 715 *Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei kaiti kewen shu* 1.5a). About twenty Taoists were selected to live there, and once a year a novice was ordained. Taoists who had the honor of being invited also sojourned in the other two palaces and celebrated rituals periodically.

The cult of the ten divinities of Taiyi was different from that of the divinities of the Nine Palaces (the *jiugong guishen* 九宮貴神). The latter cult was first instituted, at the suggestion of Su Jiaqing 蘇嘉慶, during the Tang dynasty in 744. It is linked to the ancient speculations on the magic square: the “marvelous tortoise” formed by the numbers one to nine placed in a square around the center, the number five, in such a way that the sum of each horizontal or diagonal row totaled fifteen. Both the names of the divinities and their passage through the palaces differ in the two systems. Moreover, the two cults were separate during the Song dynasty (960–1279): the divinities of the Nine Palaces received offerings of animal origin (meat, poultry, etc.), whereas such offerings were strictly forbidden for the ten divinities. An initiative by the inspector of sacrifices, An Ding 安鼎, in 1092, to unify the two cults was rejected by the minister of rites (cf. *Song shi* 103.2508 and *Song huiyao jigao* 1:756).

In 1118, forty-five years after the construction of the central Taiyi gong, the name of the monastery Longde gong 龍德宮 was changed to Bei Taiyi gong 北太一宮. A specialist of the Taiyi techniques, the Taoist Zhang Xubo 張虛白, was appointed administrator of this northern palace (cf. LZTT 51.1b and *Wenxian tongkao* 80.743).

The custom of building palaces to welcome the Taiyi divinities came to an end during the Southern Song dynasty when, in 1208, Emperor Ningzong rejected a proposal to construct a Taiyi gong in Hangzhou (cf. *Yuhai* 100.29b).

Denis Allistone

Longjiao shan ji 龍角山記

25 fols.

Later part of the twelfth century

968 (fasc. 610)

“Records of Mount Dragon Horn.” This work consists of a collection of stele inscriptions, most of which relate to this mountain in Shanxi, which originally was called Yangjiao shan 羊角山 (Mount Goat Horn). It was at the foot of this mountain that, in 620 A.D., Laozi appeared to a villager named Ji Shanxing 吉善行 and told him that

he, Laozi, was in fact the ancestor of Emperor Tang Gaozu (r. 618–626) and the divine protector of the newly founded dynasty (compare 774 *Yulong zhuan* 5.11a–14b and 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 8.4a–6b).

The latest date in the present collection is 1171. The *Fushan xianzhi* 浮山縣志 of 1935 (40.26a) contains the text of an inscription by the Quanzhen 全真 master Mao Hui 毛麾 for the renovation of the Tiansheng gong 天聖宮 (see below), dated 1192. If the present work were later than this date, it is probable that this document would have been included.

The first inscription (1a–4b) in the present collection is by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–756). Dated 729, it recalls the appearance of Laozi in 620 and announces the change of name for the mountain. The next text (4b–5a) commemorates a great *jiao* 醮-offering, with a final rite of Casting Dragons (*tou longjian* 投龍簡), that took place in 713 at the Longjiao shan 龍角山 (see page 9b).

The two following epigraphical texts (5a–7b; 7b–9a) are also by Tang Xuanzong and are dated 733 and 739, respectively. These inscriptions do not concern the Longjiao shan or the Qingtang guan 慶唐觀 directly (the latter was the temple that Xuanzong had built in 728 on the very spot where Gaozong originally had placed a temple for Laozi). Instead, the texts concern different measures taken by the emperor in favor of Taoism. The second of these texts, which orders that statues of the dynastic ancestor Laozi are placed in all temples of the empire, is also found in the *Quan Tang wen* 31.9a–10b, albeit with a different title.

Next, the present work has the text of an inscription (dated 743) commemorating the celebration of a Golden Register Retreat (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋) in the Qingtang guan by Cui Mingyun 崔明允. The same text has been reproduced in the *Jinshi cuibian* 86.6b.

The “Note on Auspicious Omens” (13a–14a) by Li Huan 李寰 recalls the periodical resurrection—following the rise and decline of Taoism—of the cypress that grew on the spot where Laozi appeared. This note was probably written at the time that such a miracle happened in the year 881 (see 593 *Lidai chongdao ji* 15a; Verellen, “A forgotten Tang restoration”).

The “Stele of the Qingtang guan” (14a–18b) by Han Wang 翰望 is dated 1008. It commemorates the restoration of the temple undertaken by the daoshi Liang Zhizhen 梁志真 in 1005. In harmony with this pious undertaking, miraculous rains fell and the old cypress revived. Next (18b) there is an inscription for the restoration of the Sanqing dian 三清殿, the Three Pure Ones Hall of the Tiansheng guan 天聖觀. This text is from 1111.

The “Chongxiu Jia Jun hou dian ji 重修嘉潤侯殿記” (19b–20b) dates from 1133 and was written by Wang Jianzhong 王建中, a *jinsshi* 進士 of the Northern Song (960–1127) who lived in retirement under the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234; see *Song Yuan*

xuean buyi 宋元學案補遺 6.93). This Jia Jun hou 嘉潤侯 was a local deity to whom memorials could be addressed for obtaining rain. The canonization title is of the Song period. Having been destroyed by lightning in 1148, the Qingtang temple was reconstructed once more. A second inscription (“Chongxiu Huachi Jia Jun hou dian ji 重修華池嘉潤侯殿記”) is signed by Tian Wei 田蔚 and dated 1157. This text is followed by six memorials that were presented to the deity, petitions and prayers of thanks for rain and snow. One of these memorials contains the date of 1172. The above-mentioned *Fushan xianzhi* indicates (40.26a) that this temple and its worship still existed in modern times.

Denis Allistone

Gongguan beiji 宮觀碑記

34 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

972 (fasc. 610)

“Stele Inscriptions of Temples and Monasteries.” All texts except one in this collection date from the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. The name of the compiler is unknown. The majority of inscriptions concern the Quanzhen 全真 order. The last date mentioned is 1256, but the explicit mention of the Yuan dynasty as such (page 13a) shows that this compilation dates from after the end of that period.

The first inscription is by Tao Gu 陶穀 (903–970). It was written in commemoration of the restoration of a sanctuary for Xi wang mu 西王母 at Huishan 回山, also called Huizhong shan 回中山 or Gongshan 宮山, in Gansu. According to the legend preserved in 291 *Mu tianzi zhuan*, King Mu of the Zhou gave a banquet in honor of the goddess on the banks of Yao 瑤 Lake; tradition has it that this lake was on Huishan (see *Jingzhou zhi* 9b). The inscription is dated 968 and has also been recorded in the *Jinshi cun* 5.11a.

The next inscription is the *Chongyang Chengdao gong beiji* 重陽成道宮碑記. The temple in question was built on the very spot where the founder of the Quanzhen order, WANG CHONGYANG, had his “tomb of the living dead” (*Huosi ren mu* 活死人墓). The temple was built on the initiative of Zhou Quanyang 周全陽 (1145–1288), and its name was changed to the present one in 1252. It is likely that the inscription dates to that period.

On page 8a begins the text of the *Chijian Putian Huanglu dajiao bei* 敕建普天黃籙大醮碑, in commemoration of the Great Offering service of the Yellow Register that was celebrated by the Quanzhen patriarch LI ZHICHANG (1193–1256) on the occasion of the death of the Mongol Khan Möngke in 1254.

The *Yuan chongxiu Bozhou Taiqing gong Taiji dian bei* 元重修亳州太清宮太極殿碑, an inscription on the restoration of the Taiqing gong 太清宮 in Bozhou, Laozi’s

birthplace, is by Wang E 王鶚 (1190–1273) and must have been written around 1256. The temple was originally built in 586 and later rebuilt by the Quanzhen patriarch Zhang Zhijing 張志敬, who served in this office from 1256 to 1270.

The inscription for the restoration of the Great Universal Tianqing guan at Zhongdu (*Zhongdu shifang Da Tianchang guan chongxiu beiji* 中都十方大天長觀重修碑記; 18a–21b) gives a description of this prestigious Taoist center, which was founded in the Kaiyuan era (713–741). Zhongdu was the capital of the Jin, on the site of today's Peking. The restoration took place from 1167 to 1174. The author, Zheng Zidan 鄭子聃 (1126–1180), was a scholar of the Hanlin Academy.

Next (26a–28b) there is the important inscription commemorating the completion and printing of the Taoist canon of the Jin dynasty, the *Da Jin Xuandu baozang* 大金玄都寶藏. The inscription, by Wei Boxiao 魏搏霄, a Hanlin academician (see *Zhongzhou ji* 4.15b), must have been written around 1193. The work of compilation and engraving, done on the basis of the printing blocks of the *Zhenghe Wanshou daozaog* 政和萬壽道藏 that the Jin had brought to their capital from Kaifeng, was undertaken around 1190 by the abbot Sun Mingdao 孫明道 (see VDL 45–46), who also celebrated two Great Offering (*jiao* 醮) services in 1190 and obtained the recovery of the mother of the emperor. Two inscriptions, one by Zhu Lan 朱瀾 (*jinshi* 進士 in 1187; see *Zhongzhou ji* 7.4b) and one by Dang Huaiying 党懷英 (1134–1211), commemorate these events. A last document, the *Zhongjing chongxiu shifang Shangqing gong ji* 中京重修十方上清宮記, is an undated inscription by Yunsun Chunfu 雲孫純甫 (i.e., Yu Jiabin 余嘉賓) for the restoration of the Shangqing temple in Luoyang.

Denis Allistone

Daishi 岱史

18 juan

By Zha Zhilong 查志隆, *zi* Mingzhi 鳴治, *hao* Shaoting 紹庭 or 亭 (*jinshi* 進士 1558); 1586

1472 (fasc. 1092–1096)

“History of Dai.” This is a book devoted to Taishan 泰山, the mountain where the Feng 封 and Shan 禪 sacrifices had been celebrated by Chinese sovereigns since high antiquity. Zha Zhilong (see *Zhejiang tongzhi* 167.8b) compiled this monograph at the behest of his superior Tan Yao 譚耀 when Zha was an official in Shandong in 1586.

The work had been completed during several months between the summer and winter of that year (see the “Gongyi 公移,” the compiler’s official statement; 1a, 3b). In fact, Zha Zhilong had merely supplemented an earlier *Taishan zhi* 泰山誌 (Description of Taishan), whose author is not indicated. It was probably a work of Wang Zi-qing 汪子卿 from the Jiajing era (1522–1566) before 1554 (see “Gongyi,” 1a), to which

had been added new items, such as the *Xiangshui zhi* 香稅志 (Incense Tax Register) and some literary works written after 1554 (see the “Gongyi,” 1a, 17.1a).

Zha explains that he adopted the appellation Daizong 岱宗 for the sacred mountain because of the antiquity of its traditions going back to the Yellow Emperor. The meaning of the character Dai 岱 has given rise to various speculations, discussed in Kroll, “Verses from on high,” 229–30. The substitution of *shi* 史 for *zhi* 志 may be explained by an intended analogy with dynastic histories (see the “Fanli,” or compilation rules, 1a).

The book’s contents are divided into fourteen subjects: maps (the sidereal sectors, *xingye* 星野); topography; the mountain’s rivers; its administrative circumscription; the ritual hunting sacrifices; the Feng and Shan ceremonies; nature sacrifices; historical sites and monuments; religious or commemorative constructions; edifices; natural resources; the incense tax; good and bad omens; and, finally, literary works relating to ascensions. Altogether the book covers more than 600 items.

In his *Gongyi*, as well as at the end of the general table of contents, Zha Zhilong states that the book was composed of eighteen chapters in seven volumes, and that each volume bore one of the seven characters edited, respectively, by a phrase of *Zhongyong* 中庸 to mark their sequence.

The book’s edition in the *Daozang* corresponds roughly to this description, but certain texts mentioned are dated later than the *Gongyi* (11.10b, 17.58a; 18.78b). This *Daozang* edition, the only one available to us, does not seem to be the original edition of Zha Zhilong.

Kwong Hing Foon

3.A.7 Collectanea

3.A.7.a Logia (*Yulu*)

The Taoists and Confucians, from the Song (960–1279) period on, adopted the Buddhist *Yulu* 語錄 form to transmit teachings of great patriarchs and sages and adapted it to their own needs. Indeed, until the advent of the monastic organization of the Quanzhen 全真 order, there seems to have been no counterpart to the collective teaching sessions that took place in the Chan monasteries and from which most of the famous Chan logia derived their materials.

The subject matter of the logia included in this section varies greatly. Most collections contain not only spoken words of the patriarchs, but also poetry and writ-

ten prose. These works are thus in fact rather similar to the collected works that are presented below in part 3.A.7.b. Much of Taoist teaching concerned the performance of ritual, and this topic takes up an important part of almost all Taoist *yulu* brought together here.

The Quanzhen *yulu*, which are closer to the Buddhist model, have not been included here, but are presented in the relevant section within the context of the Quanzhen school.

Chongxu tongmiao sichen Wang xiansheng jiahua 冲虚通妙侍宸王先生家话
16 fols.

By Yuan Tingzhi 袁庭植 (fl. 1153) et al.

1250 (fasc. 996)

“School Conversations of Palace Attendant Wang, Master of Mystery Penetration Vacuity.” Master Wang is Wang Jun 王俊, alias Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153), the founder of the the Five Thunder rites (*wuleifa* 五雷法) of the Shenxiao 神霄 school (see part 3.B.6). Wang obtained his arts from the fire master (*huoshi* 火師) Wang Zihua 汪子華 (who supposedly lived in the Tang dynasty). Master Wang’s biography is recorded in LZTT 53.16a–21a and in a long inscription by Yu Ji 虞集 (1271–1348), preserved in his *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 25.10a–13b. Master Wang’s title of Chongxu tongmiao xiansheng 冲虚通妙先生 was conferred by Song Huizhong in 1125. The present logia were noted down by his disciples, notably by Yuan Tingzhi (see page 1b). The conversations concern the rituals of calling up rain and exorcising demon possession (*sui* 祟) by the practice of “sublimating generals” (divine helpers) out of the life energies of the adept’s own body (*lianjiang* 鍊將). Wang recalls his own initiation. Later he tells how he was once called upon to produce rain by the emperor but warned by his divine master, Wang Zihua, that his task would be difficult, since the drought that year had been ordered by Heaven itself. Only the Yellow River would retain plentiful water, and only the dragon-king of that river would be able to produce rain. Wang therefore ordered his generals to summon rain from the Yellow River, and indeed the rain that fell was full of yellow mud (10b–11a). The *jiahua* 家话 were intended for transmission to his own disciples and descendants.

The present work is comparable to Wang’s “Qidao baduan jin 祈禱八段錦” in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 69 and constitutes a record of the practice and thought of a great exorcist.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Xujing chonghe xiansheng Xu shenweng yulu 虛靜沖和先生徐神翁語錄

2 juan

Compiled by Miao Xiyi 苗希頤 in 1131; edited by Zhu Yi 朱翌 in 1158; revised by Zhu Songqing 朱宋卿 in 1187

1251 (fasc. 997)

“Recorded Sayings of Xu Shouxin.” Xu Shouxin 徐守信, alias Xu *shenweng* 徐神翁 (1033–1108), was a daoshi of the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 temple in Hailing 海陵, Taizhou 泰州 (Yangzhou, Jiangsu). Having entered the monastery as a servant for sweeping the grounds, he memorized 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing*, and told people’s fortune by quoting one or several words from this scripture; he gave people the quotation written on a slip of paper. Those who turned to him to “ask for characters” (*qiuzi* 求字) included Emperor Zhizong, who in 1099 questioned Xu about his succession (2.12b), and Lin Ling’e 林靈噩 (LIN LINGSU), who asked about his career, prior to his appointment at court (2.5a). Even LÜ DONGBIN is said to have visited Xu (305 *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 4.4a–b). So great was Xu’s fame that shrines were erected in his lifetime to worship him (1.8b; 1.17a). In 1103, Huizong conferred on him the honorific title of Xujing chonghe xiansheng 虛靜沖和先生, mentioned in the title of the present work. Invited to court in 1107, together with the Maoshan patriarch LIU HUNKANG and Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126), Xu died the following year at the capital’s Shangqing zhuxiang gong 上清儲祥宮 temple and received a state funeral.

After his death, his disciple Miao Xiyi compiled a record of Xu’s remarkable deeds. The manuscript was edited and printed by Zhu Yi (preface dated 1158). Later, Zhu Songqing, a kinsman of Zhu Yi, revised and reprinted the book while serving at the Taizhou prefecture administration (second preface, dated 1187). The work seems to have been widely read in Southern Song times; it is recorded as having entered the library of You Mao 尤袤 (1124–1193), the Suichu tang 遂初堂 (VDL 127).

The book starts with a short biographical sketch (1.1a–b). The remainder of the two juan is taken up entirely by short anecdotes, arranged in a roughly chronological order, about Xu’s prophecies by means of quotations from the *Duren jing*. Many times the characters he wrote had to be analyzed in a rebus-like way before yielding their message. Sometimes Xu altered the quotations slightly in order to convey added meanings. Xu’s behavior is depicted as thoroughly eccentric, but the donations by his visitors were used to rebuild the entire monastery and temple complex. The anecdotes often contain interesting insights in the Taoist establishment of the times.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing Taixuan jianjie lun 上清太玄鑑誠論

11 fols.

By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; Jurchen Jin (1115–1234)

1137 (fasc. 767)

“Discourse Criticizing Past Errors, by the Shangqing [Master] Taixuan.” This work contains a series of seven speeches to an assembly of monks on the fundamentals of religious practice, with accompanying hymns (*song* 頌). The text is in pure vernacular and in style as well as vocabulary is close to Chan *yulu* 語錄. A quotation from ZHANG ZIYANG (Pingshu 平叔) on 2a confirms the fact that Hou belonged to the Southern school, although he lived in Shanxi.

*Kristofer Schipper**Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 海瓊白真人語錄

4 juan

By BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾 (fl. 1194–1229); edited by PENG SI 彭耜 in 1251;

printed by Fang Congyi 方從義 in 1302

1307 (fasc. 1016)

“Sayings of Bo, the Zhenren from Qiongzhou [on Hainan].” In spite of the title, the work contains not only the logia of the famous Taoist patriarch of the Southern school, but also all kinds of writings and poems by him and others. This medley collection has, moreover, a number of different compilers. At the end of the book (4.21b) there is a colophon by PENG SI, dated 1251, in which he states that he took notes assiduously whenever he met the patriarch and also collected his poems. Peng edited all his materials into a collection in four juan and had it printed as a supplement to the *Haiqiong ji* 海瓊集, BO YUCHAN’s collected works. Peng’s indications are at variance with the work as we have it, as most of its contents were apparently not collected by him, but by other disciples. However, his reference to the meditation hall sessions, the poems of the patriarch (“*shengtang, xiaocan* 升堂小參”), and the number of juan all tally with the present work’s contents, and the presence of a number of personal letters from Bo to Peng reinforce the case that PENG SI edited the collection.

Juan 1 carries the signature of one of Bo’s other disciples, Xie Xiandao 謝顯道. It starts out with the sayings of the patriarch, in discussion with his foremost disciples, PENG SI and Liu Yuanchang 留元長 (1a–16a). These sayings are followed by the text of the memorial written and presented on the occasion of the transmission and ordination BO YUCHAN conferred to seven of his disciples in 1218; these disciples include Peng, Liu, and Xie, the editor of this chapter. The remainder of the juan contains poems.

Juan 2 was compiled by another disciple, Lin Boqian 林伯謙, who signs as head of the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 temple. The entire chapter deals with questions and

answers on the subject of liturgy. Lin refers to BO YUCHAN as the patriarch (*zushi* 祖師) and to PENG SI as his initiator (*dushi* 度師). The discussions he noted down took place in 1222.

Juan 3 carries different signatures. It contains the transcripts of a number of sessions in the meditation halls of temples at Wuyi shan 武夷山 and other places, noted down by Ye Guxi 葉古熙 as well as by Zhao Shoufu 趙收夫 and others (3.1a). One of the sessions is dated 1221 (13b).

Juan 4 is unsigned. It begins with a poem by Bo's master, the Nanzong patriarch CHEN NAN, *hao* Niwan zi 泥丸子. It ends with a number of letters written by Bo to PENG SI, two of them dated 1217 and 1218, respectively.

The colophon by Fang Congyi (4.12a) raises several questions. He tells us that he obtained a copy of the work from the Tianqing guan, where it was in the possession of a daoshi named Jiang 蔣 (?), and had it printed in 1302. With it came the above-mentioned colophon by Peng, which Fang Congyi copied and appended. He refers to the work as containing the "Jingxiao dafa 景霄大法," a highly secret text. Although this ritual is more than once discussed in the present *yulu* 語錄, Fang's exact reference cannot be found.

The life and works of Bo are not well known. It is generally said that his original name was Ge Changgeng 葛長庚 and that he was born in 1194 and died in 1229. There are no reliable corroborations, however, of these indications. It is true that no texts written by Bo bear dates later than 1229. The birth date, however, is certainly mistaken. A letter to PENG SI dated 1218 (4.16b) is signed by Bo with the appellation Qiongsan laoren 瓊山老人 (the old man of Qiongsan [Hainan]), not a suitable name for a young man of twenty-four. Elsewhere, in a poem, BO YUCHAN declares that he had reached the age of nine times ten (263.37 *Shangqing ji* 上清集 [*Xiuzhen shishu* 41.3a]). Other instances show beyond doubt that BO YUCHAN lived to a ripe old age before he died around 1230.

The contents of the *yulu*, especially in these parts in which his spoken words are reproduced, show a lively, at times humorous and caustic, spirit. Many of his remarks and criticisms are useful for understanding Taoism in his time. BO YUCHAN had far-reaching interests, and his logia cover a wide number of topics. He castigates the ever popular 622–623 *Beidou jing* as a forgery (1.2a–3b). There is a long passage about the Manichaeans of Fujian (1.11b–12a). In another passage, dealing with the shamanic cults of Fujian, he affirms that these cults originated with Suotan wang 娑坦王 (King Satan?). He also mentions the Lüshan 閩山 school of Fujian in this respect (1.8b–9a).

Jingyu xuanwen 靜餘玄問

5 fols.

1252 (fasc. 997)

“Questions of Mystery at Times of Serenity.” This is a short collection of logia by the patriarch BO YUCHAN in answer to questions by his foremost disciple, PENG SI. The style and subject matter are similar to the first chapter of 1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu*; indeed some passages of the present work can also be found there (5a.7 to 5b.8 correspond to 1307 *Bo zhenren yulu* 1.13b.5 to 1.14a.4). This overlap is all the more remarkable because the *Bo zhenren yulu* was published by Peng in 1251. It is not clear why all the logia of the present volume were not included in that text.

Kristofer Schipper

Haiqiong wendao ji 海瓊問道集

23 fols.

Attributed to BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾 (fl. 1194–1229); preface by Liu Yuanchang 留元長 (fl. 1192–1217)

1308 (fasc. 1016)

“Enquiring of the Tao to the [the Patriarch] from Qiongzhou on Hainan.” According to the undated preface by BO YUCHAN’s disciple Liu Yuanchang, the contents of this small collection of eight doctrinal texts (including one rhapsody and one didactic poem) reflect the instructions he received from the master and later had printed. Among these pieces, six concern Inner Alchemy and two—titled, respectively, “Haiqiong jun yinshan wen 海瓊君隱山文” and “Changqi guangguo ji 常寂光國記”—are written in imitation of the *Zhuangzi* but with a distinct Buddhist Chan slant.

The most remarkable text in this work is the preface. Here Liu gives a highly unconventional portrait of Bo. Although he knows that the patriarch was generally thought to hail from Hainan, Liu suspects that Bo came from Hubei (Xiangmian 襄沔). When Liu first met Bo in 1217, the latter claimed to be only twenty-one years old. In spite of this young age, Bo had a vast command of the literature of the Three Teachings and could quote and use it profusively in literary allusions. He also was an renowned master of calligraphy, in the cursive, seal, and official *lishu* 隸書 styles. His accomplishments in checkers, the lute, and in painting were also remarkable, and he was much admired for them. His writings were eagerly collected, and famous scholars vied with each other to befriend him. He never carried any money on him. When he was drunk, he would call on the thunder, and even in his sleep he dispatched petitions to Heaven. Unwashed and dressed in rags, he was truly eccentric. He was also able to foretell the future accurately.

Liu says that aside from Bo’s alchemical secrets, he also obtained instructions con-

cerning the marshaling of thunder. These instructions are not found, however, in the present work.

Yuan Bingling

Haiqiong chuandao ji 海瓊傳道集

18 fols.

Ascribed to BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾, *hao* Haiqiong zi 海瓊子; after 1218

1309 (fasc. 1017)

“Collected Works on the Transmission of the Tao.” The texts in this work were collected and printed by two Taoists of Lushan 廬山 (Jiangxi): Chen Shoumo 陳守默 and Zhan Jirui 詹繼瑞. Chen and Zhan, who are also coauthors of the preface, write that BO YUCHAN had transmitted the texts to a Taoist of the Taiping xingguo gong temple, Hong Zhichang 洪知常, during a visit to Lushan in 1218. Hong Zhichang thereupon retired to practice the Tao, but Chen and Yan, fearing that BO YUCHAN’s teaching would be lost, collected the texts and published the work under the title of *Chuandao ji* 傳道集. BO YUCHAN’s stay in the Taiping xingguo gong in 1218 is attested in 1286 *Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi* 6.19b. According to the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 28.3077, however, Hong Zhichang was himself the compiler.

The collection consists of three different works (preface, 2b), the first of which is the “Jindan jiejing 金丹捷徑” (Shortcut to the Elixir), which comprises esoteric diagrams explaining the *neidan* 內丹 alchemical process. These diagrams are the same as those of 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 1.2a–5b, but the order is different, and three diagrams are missing in our text. On the other hand, some pages of the present text are absent in the *Xiuzhen shishu* version. The latter version divides the diagrams into two categories under the headings *Bo xiansheng jindan huohou tu* 白先生金丹火候圖 and *Jindan juejing zhixuan tu* 金丹捷徑指玄圖; a discussion on these diagrams in the same work (dated 1244), however, gives yet another title: *Hainan Bo xiansheng Xiuzhen yangming zhi tu* 修真養命之圖 (1.10a). The first work ends with a list of the patriarchs of the school, beginning with ZHONGLI QUAN.

The second work comprises the paragraph titled “Gousou lianhuan jing 鉤鎖連環經” (Scripture of the [Unending] Circle of the Hook and the Lock) and some poems. The hook and lock form part of a Buddhist expression that alludes to the all-pervading compassion of the Buddha. The title “Gousuo lianhuan” seems to allude to a poem by ZHANG BODUAN quoted on 11b. The text describes the underlying unity of all substances, using the Elixir as an example of a catalyst for a process that begins and ends in an unending cycle. Finally, the “Kuaihuo ge 快活歌” (Song of Joy) is a poem dedicated to Chen Zhibo 陳知白, a daoshi of the Taiping xingguo gong. This poem also figures in BO YUCHAN’s *Shangqing ji* (263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 39.7b).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.7.b Collected Works

Taixuan langran zi jindao shi 太玄朗然子進道詩

7 fols.

By Liu Xiyue 劉希岳, *zi* Xiufeng 秀峰, *hao* Taixuan langran zi 太玄朗然子; 988
271 (fasc. 133)

“Advancing in the Tao: Poems by Master Taixuan Langran.” According to the preface, Liu Xiyue wrote these thirty poems in the Tongxuan guan 通玄觀 temple in Luoyang. A colophon (7a) adds that Liu was in charge of the temple, and that, in 988, the name of the latter was changed in his honor to Jizhen guan 集真觀 by Emperor Zhenzong, following Liu Xiyue’s transfiguration (see also *1100 Minghe yuyin* 8.20a). This information, however, does not correspond to that found in Liu’s biographies in the *Jixian zhuan* by ZENG ZAO (43.25b) and in LZTT 50.1b, according to which Liu became a Taoist in 988–989, at the age of sixty-four.

The work was famous in the twelfth century. It was inscribed on stone during the Song in 1111 and again in 1150, under the Jin dynasty, when it was also printed (see *Baqiong shi jinshi buzheng* 八瓊室金石補正 123.18a–24a). The text in the *Daozang* and the Jin inscription show few differences, but the colophon by Wang Can 王燦 is missing in the *Daozang* edition, which does not mention Wang.

The *Jindao shi* was also known under different titles, such as *Shenxian wudao shi* 神仙悟道詩 (according to the colophon) and *Langran zi shi* 朗然子詩 (according to the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5196).

The preface and the thirty poems that comprise the work contain many allusions to qi techniques practiced in Inner Alchemy, as well as autobiographical information.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Yichuan jirang ji 伊川擊壤集

20 juan

By SHAO YONG 邵雍, *zi* Yaofu 堯夫, *hao* Kangjie 康節 (1012–1077)
1042 (fasc. 720–723)

“Collection of [Poems Made While] Beating the Ground, by [a Man from] Yichuan.” Yichuan (present Yiyang 伊陽) is the name of SHAO YONG’s native place in Henan. Beating the ground was the way in which, according to tradition, the subjects of the great sage King Yao gave expression to their contentment. SHAO YONG styled himself as “subject of Yao” (Yaofu 堯夫), and the reference in the title of his collection points to the fundamental optimism that pervades all his work.

The collection comprises some 1,500 poems, which are, with the exception of those placed at the beginning, classified in a roughly chronological order. The author’s preface suggests that the compilation of this work had already begun in 1066. Nevertheless,

the present book must have been completed and published by his son, Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057–1134), because certain poems appearing in this collection are later than 1066, some as late as the year of the author's death (see 19.1b and also the funeral inscription written by Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085); cf. the postface of Xing Shu 邢恕, dated 1091, in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition).

The two other main editions of this work, in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (1475) and *Siku quanshu*, contain elements that cannot be found in the *Daozang* edition: the postface by Xing Shu mentioned above (the complement to the present collection of thirteen additional poems titled *Shiwai ji* 詩外集); and several tens of poems addressed to SHAO YONG by his friends, including Cheng Hao, Fu Bi 富弼 (1004–1083), and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086).

A large number of poems written by the author in response to poems offered by his friends reveal the close relations between Shao and prominent figures of his period.

The last juan is taken up entirely by a series of 135 poems titled *Shouwei yin* 首尾吟 (Chants of Head and Tail). These poems all begin and end with the same phrase: *Yaofu feishi ai yinshi* 堯夫非是愛吟詩, which can be translated roughly as “Yaofu does not make poems merely for fun.” Indeed, in this long series the author addresses many serious subjects with deep insight and feeling, but without abandoning his optimism and sense of humor.

The simplicity of style and colloquial expressions contribute to the charm of this collection. According to his preface, the author intended to make his poems exemplars of the classical lyric traditions of antiquity. His poetry praises the happiness of the simple and free life of a recluse, combining the moral virtues of Confucianism with Taoist aspirations of union with Nature.

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Kwong Hing Foon

Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄

7 juan

By Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126); compiled by ZHANG YUCHU 張宇初 (1361–1410); preface dated 1395
1249 (fasc. 996)

“Recorded Sayings of the True Lord Empty Peace, the Thirtieth Heavenly Master.” This is a late compilation of the famous Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian, who lived under the reign of Song Huizong. Zhang Yuchu states in his preface that he collected all of Jixian's works that he could find in the various monasteries he visited. However, some of these works might well be later fabrications. A few pieces are reliable and

known elsewhere, such as the “Xinshuo 心說” (Discourse on the Mind; 1.1a–2b) and the “Dadao ge 大道歌” (Song of the Great Tao; 3.1a–b) mentioned in his biographies (see LZTT 19.12). Both works are extant in the Yuan anthology 1257 *Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 2, and “Dadao ge” is also included in 579 *Yangsheng bilu* 18a. On the other hand, the poem given posthumously to the immortal Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (6.13b; his encounter with Zhang Jixian is often included in later hagiography) and other pieces related to the Qingcheng shan 青城山 seem apocryphal. A large number of poems are linked to a certain Shi Yuangui 石元規 (or Zifang 自方; see 1463 *Han Tianshi shijia* 3.4b). Archives connected to this unknown Mr. Shi might be one of the sources of Zhang Yuchu’s work.

Although termed *Yulu* 語錄 (recorded sayings), the compilation includes only letters and short prose essays (juan 1) and poetry in various meters (juan 2 to 7). The poetry includes occasional verses, allusions to Zhengyi ritual, *daoqing* 道情 poetry, mystical songs of a distinctive style (3.1a–3a), and more elaborate compositions on alchemy (see “Forty-eight *Jindan* Poems”; 5.8b–18b).

Vincent Goossaert

Shangqing Taixuan ji 上清太玄集

10 juan

By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; Jurchen Jin (1115–1234)

1061 (fasc. 730–731)

“Collected Works of the Shangqing (Master) Taixuan.” The author was from Gusheshan 姑射山 in Shanxi. Although a contemporary of the early Quanzhen 全真 masters, with whom he was acquainted (see 758 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu*), Hou defines his doctrine as the Way of Shangqing (*Shangqing zhi dao* 上清之道; 1.6a) or the Great School of Shangqing (*Shangqing dajiao* 上清大教; 1.17a). YANG XI is alluded to on 6.4b, and the work does not contain a single reference to the Quanzhen school. Hou’s work, whether in prose or poetry, is distinctly didactic in nature. References to persons, places, or books are few and far between. From a poem (8.10b), we may guess that he visited the Jiangsheng guan 降聖觀 on Hengshan 衡山 (cf. 606 *Nanyue zhongsheng ji* 20a). In a sermon, he quotes a now lost commentary by Xu Shouxin 徐守信 alias Xu shenweng 徐神翁 (1033–1108) on a text by LÜ DONGBIN (4.12a).

The first four juan are devoted to prose works, mostly sermons (*lun* 論). The fifth chapter contains classical poems, a great number of which are written by disciples in reply to doctrinal questions. Usually only the surname of these disciples is given. One poem mentions the joint celebration by Buddhists and Taoists of a Retreat (*zhai* 齋) service (5.25b). Later chapters contain *ci*-lyrics, sometimes using the vernacular.

Kristofer Schipper

Yulong ji 玉隆集

6 juan

By BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾; after 1225

263.31 *Xiuzhen shishu* 31–36 (fasc. 127–128)

“Collected Works Written in the Yulong Temple.” The Yulong gong 玉隆宮 on the Xishan 西山 in Jiangxi, a temple dedicated to XU XUN, received the title of Yulong guan during the period 1008–1060; in 1116, it was promoted to *gong* 宮 (34.1b, 3a). This collection concerns events on the Xishan and its environment, mainly the Gezao shan 閣阜山.

According to an inscription (31.2b), BO YUCHAN had visited the Xishan three times since 1218. The latest date in the collection is 1220 (31.3b). In a note on 33.3a, however, Yunzhou 筠州 is rendered Ruizhou 瑞州. The change was made officially in 1225 to avoid Lizong’s 理宗 personal name. The date of the present collection is therefore later than 1225.

The collection begins with inscriptions on various halls and temples. Only the first inscription was written in the Yulong gong; the remaining inscriptions concern mainly the Gezao shan. The next chapter comprises four poems, of which three are addressed to friends. The rest of the work consists of biographies of the Xishan saints. These are the earliest extant biographies of XU XUN, his eleven disciples, and the teachers of the Xiaodao 孝道 school.

All of XU XUN’s subsequent biographies are based on the biography in the present text. BO YUCHAN provides these biographies with a wealth of critical notes.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shangqing ji 上清集

8 juan

By BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾; ca. 1218

263.13 *Xiuzhen shishu* 37–44 (fasc. 128–129)

“Collected Works Written at the Shangqing Temple.” Although this collection of BO YUCHAN’s writings is named for the Shangqing gong 上清宮 temple on Longhu shan 龍虎山, it is only in the first text, “Youxian yan ji 遊仙巖記” (37.1a–2a), that we find the Shangqing gong mentioned specifically. The texts of this collection were either written or addressed to friends on Wuyi shan 武夷山 (Fujian), with two exceptions: the third text, “Zhuyun tang ji 駐雲堂記” (37.4a–7b), written on the occasion of Bo’s visit to the Zhuyun 駐雲 hall on Qianshan 鉛山, and the poem written on Lushan 廬山 (39.7b); both mountains are in Jiangxi.

Only four of the texts give any indication as to their dates (37.4a, 7a; 39.3a, 10b), the latest of which is 1216. The collection must therefore have been compiled after that

date. There is, moreover, evidence that the “Kuaihuo ge 快活歌” (39.4b) was written for the Taoist Chen Zhibo 陳知白 on Lushan in 1218 (see 1309 *Haiqiong chuandao ji* 12b and preface, 1a). The *Shangqing ji* as a collection was well known in early Yuan times, as can be seen from the numerous quotations in 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 5.5a and elsewhere.

The collection includes notes or inscriptions (*ji* 記) recording Bo’s visits to the retreats of friends in various temples (juan 37), and poems dedicated to friends and artists or to specific places—mountain peaks or halls and pavilions (juan 38). Juan 39 comprises seven songs (*ge* 歌), some of which are rich in biographical details of Bo’s life (see especially “Yunyou ge 雲遊歌” and “Kuaihuo ge 快活歌”; for the latter, see also 1309 *Chuandao ji* 12b–16a). In “Bijing rendi ge 必竟恁地歌,” Bo claims to have received instruction from CHEN NIWAN in 1205. Juan 40 is mostly composed of *jueju* 絕句 verse in seven-character lines on the scenic beauty and the temples and retreats of the Wuyi shan; the rest of the chapter comprises poems dedicated to friends. Juan 41 contains *ci*-lyrics.

Juan 42 contains a *fu*-rhapsody on the name of a friend’s hermitage, a preface to a medical book, and three essays dealing mainly with the problems of sleep and the difficulties involved in the practice of the Tao. Juan 43 contains inscriptions and eulogies, and juan 44 comprises several short memorials (*ci* 詞, *shuyu* 疏語).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Wuyi ji 武夷集

8 juan

By BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾; ca. 1216

263.45 *Xiuzhen shishu* 45–52 (fasc. 129)

“Collected Works Written on the Wuyi Shan.” Of the three collections of Bo’s works in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu*, the *Wuyi ji* contains the earliest material: none of the internal dates are later than 1216. The collection is also different from the other two in that it contains ritual material such as requests and memorials written by the author at the Chongyou guan 沖祐觀 (juan 47). The titles used by Bo in referring to himself are the same as those in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 76.3a.

The collection also contains allusions to other religious activities, such as praying for rain (46.6b–12a, text with commentary). Three quarters of the collection, however, is composed of poems in various styles, dedicated to friends or to temples. Juan 46 includes eulogies on thirty-two Heavenly Masters, from Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (second century A.D.) to Zhang Shouzhen 張守真 (1136–1176). Autobiographical details are found in the inscription describing the rebuilding of the Zhizhi an 止止庵 (45.1a–5a).

The importance of this collection lies in the wealth of its information on temples, monasteries, and persons.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 純陽真人渾成集**

2 juan

Compiled by He Zhiyuan 何志淵, *hao* Qingzhen daoren 清真道人; 1251
1055 (fasc. 727)

“Collected Poems of Lü Dongbin.” The term *huncheng* 渾成 in the title alludes to an expression by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), *hunran tian cheng* 渾然天成 (in entire accord with heaven). This phrase was chosen to exemplify the qualities of the immortal Chunyang 純陽, that is, LÜ DONGBIN, whose poems constitute the present work. The compiler, He Zhiyuan, resided in a temple dedicated to LÜ DONGBIN, the Chunyang gong 純陽宮 (preface, 2a). He was one of the Taoists in charge of editing the *Yuan Daozang* (see VDL 52).

There were several collections of LÜ DONGBIN’s poetry toward the end of the Song dynasty and the beginning of the Yuan. The *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5197 mentions a *Chunyang ji* 純陽集 in one juan. Another collection, the *Jindan shijue* 金丹詩訣 in two juan (q.v.), was compiled by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎 around 1220. The latter includes not only LÜ DONGBIN’s poems but also his *ci* 詞-lyrics, whereas our text is solely a collection of *jueju* 絕句 and *liushi* 律詩 poems in five- and seven-word verses. Most of the poems in juan 2 of the present work figure also in the *Jindan shijue*, and the last two poems in juan 1 are clearly compositions of Quanzhen 全真 origin (see 1.1a). This is to be expected since the Chunyang gong was a Quanzhen temple and He Zhiyuan a daoshi of the Quanzhen school. Moreover, one of the poems in juan 2 (number 41, missing in the *Jindan shijue*) even criticizes the methods described in 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*—one of the most important texts attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN during the Song—as inferior (*xiao xianfeng* 小仙方). Criticism of Northern Song Zhong-Lü 鐘呂 texts was common among the Quanzhen adepts of the Yuan dynasty (see, e.g., 305 *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 2.9a).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Lüzu zhi* 呂祖志**

6 juan

1484 (fasc. III2–III3)

“Monograph of the Patriarch Lü.” This book is a collection of hagiographical materials on LÜ DONGBIN. Certain miracles worked by the saint occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century (2.21b and 2.15a). This present monograph was



FIGURE 39. Lü Dongbin with his birth and ascension dates (1484 1.1b)

compiled shortly before the publication of the supplement to the canon, *Xu Daozang* 續道藏. The first three chapters are devoted to historical accounts (“Shiji zhi 事蹟志”); the remaining three contain literary works attributed to the saint (“Yiwen zhi 藝文志”). At the beginning of the book is a set of illustrations (“Tuxiang 圖像”). (See fig. 39.)

The historical part is composed of a summary biography (“Zhenren benzhuàn 真人本傳”; 1.2b–11a) and also an “autobiography” of the saint (“Zhenren ziji 真人自記”; 1.17b–18a). The latter was originally engraved on the stele in Jiangzhou.

From the second chapter on, short miracle tales and anecdotes (*hua* 化) are grouped by themes. They comprise eighty-six episodes, of which fifty-five are already found in 305 *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji*.

The “Yiwen zhi” contains 249 poems, all of them apocryphal, in various styles and prosodies. Some of these poems are known from other sources: most of the regular poems are found in 1055 *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji*; one of the verses of *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 (6.21a–b) is edited and provided with a commentary in 136 *Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*. More complete and edited better than the late collections *Lüdi shengji jiyao* 呂帝聖蹟紀要 (in *Daozang jiyao*) and *Lüzü quanshu* 呂祖全書 (editions in sixty-four juan of 1775 and in thirty-three juan of 1868), the present book nevertheless has the characteristics of a popular compilation, especially compared with 305 *Miaotong ji*.

Kwong Hing Foon

Wuzhai xiansheng wenji 勿齋先生文集

2 juan

Yang Zhizhi 楊至質, *zi* Xiuwen 休文, *hao* Wuzhai 勿齋 (fl. 1228–1252)

1148 (fasc. 788)

“Literary Collection of Master Wuzhai.” Yang Zhizhi, a native of Fengcheng 豐城 (Jiangxi), was first a Confucian and later became a daoshi. He retired on the mountain Gezao 閣皂山 and there built the Monastery of Clouds and Springs (see the *Yunquan jingshe ji* 雲泉精舍記 of Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊, in *Houcun xiansheng daquan ji*

88.1a–2a). *Wuzhai* was both Yang's *hao* and the name of his library. The word *wu* 勿 comes from the *Lunyu* 論語 12, where Confucius teaches Yan Yuan 顏淵 a method to attain supreme virtue: "See nothing contrary to the rites, hear nothing contrary to the rites" (*fei li wu shi, fei li wu ting* 非禮勿視, 非禮勿聽). Around the year 1228, Yang was a lecturer (*jiangshi* 講師) in the Gezao shan, but his *hao* suggests that he had not completely abandoned his earlier education (cf. the "Wuzhai ji 勿齋集" of Zhen Dexiu 真德秀, 1178–1235). In the years Zhunyou (1241–1252), he was honored, by imperial decree, with the title of *gaoshi* 高士 (eminent master) and appointed a Taoist official in the capital and superintendent of religious affairs (*youjie jianyi zhu-guan jiaomen gongshi* 右街鑒義主管教門公事; 1.1a; 1.18b–19b; see also *Songshi jishi* 90.2149).

Yang was responsible for the affairs of the Taiyi Palace 太乙宮 (1.1a–2a; 1.19b–20b; cf. the remarks of Zhao Xibian 趙希弁 on the Zhugong biaozi 竹宮表制) and of the Jingde guan 旌德觀 temple of the capital (1.4a–5a).

The present book also appears in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 ("Bieji lei 別集類"), and its author is considered a stylist worthy to succeed the famous Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813–858). In fact, the whole book, composed of sixty-eight articles with two identical entries (the last of each chapter), is written in a style of parallel prose (*pianwen* 駢文), using phrases of four or six characters. The collection consists mostly of occasional writings thanking officials for their kindness (1.7b–9b), for an appointment (2.8b–9b), congratulating them on a promotion (1.3a–4a), wishing them many happy returns (2.6b–8b), making apologies (1.2a–3b), and so on.

Kwong Hing Foon

Xuanzong zhizhi wanfa tonggui 玄宗直指萬法同歸

7 juan

By Mu Changzhao 牧常晁; compiled by Huang Benren 黃本仁 after 1294

1066 (fasc. 734–735)

"Reintegration of the Thousand Dharma, Being a Straightforward Explanation of the Taoist Tradition." This text contains the collected works of Mu Changzhao, a Taoist of the Southern (Nanzong 南宗) tradition. Little is known about Mu: he says himself that he entered Buddhism and studied Chan as a youth and that later he turned to Inner Alchemy, when he encountered an otherworldly man who instructed him (3.7a). He refers to war (6.17a–b) and foreign monks (3.26b), seemingly alluding to the painful experience of the Mongol conquest of southern China. The only date mentioned is 1294 (6.20a). The author must therefore have lived under the Southern Song and the Yuan. Nothing is known about his disciple Huang Benren. According to the subtitles, Mu hailed from the Yangshan daoyuan 仰山道院 in Jian'an [xian] 建安縣 (northern Fujian), which is not documented either in gazetteers or other sources.

圖元同教三

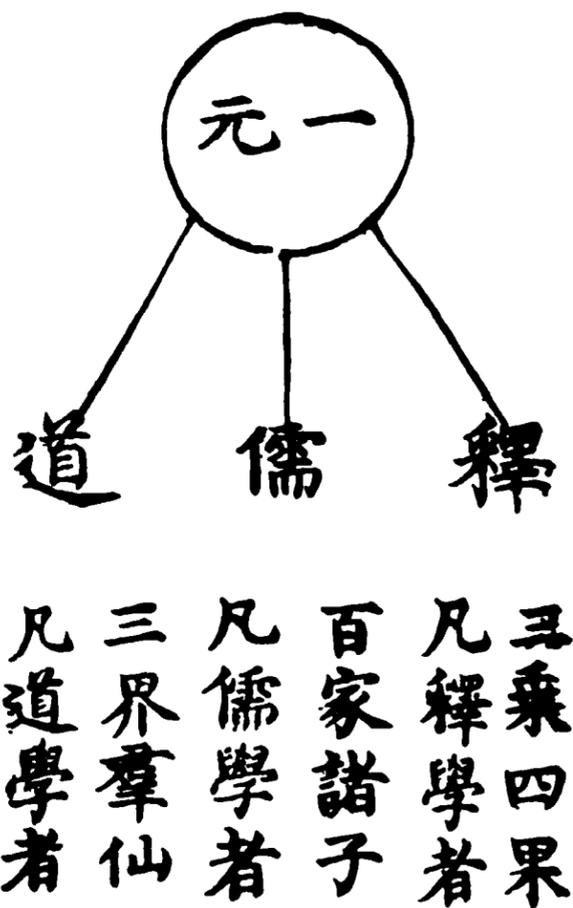


FIGURE 40. Diagram illustrating the fundamental unity of the Three Teachings (1066 1.7a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1052)

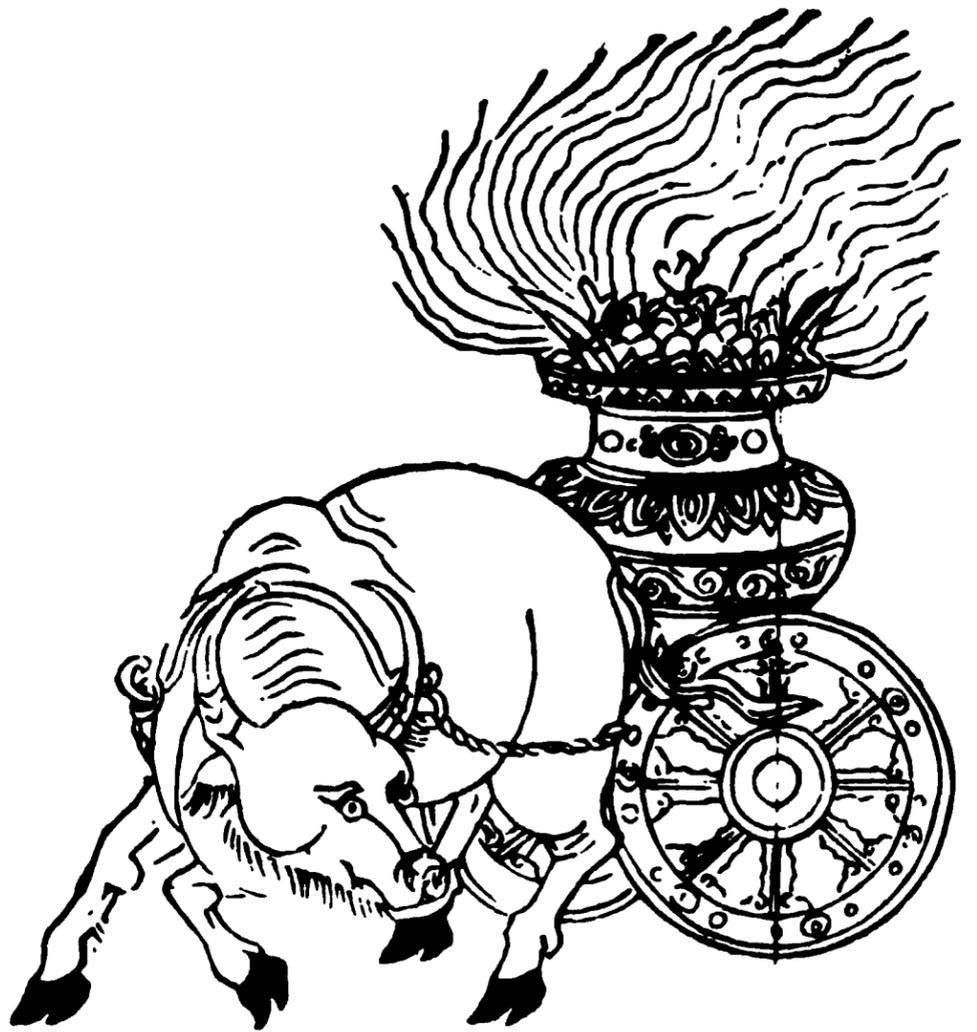


FIGURE 41. The buffalo and its Precious Chariot: An allegorical representation of the relationship between body and soul (1066 1.10a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1052)

Mu does not quote many authors but refers repeatedly to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇; he also mentions BO YUCHAN and several major works of the Nanzong (3.1b, 21b). It can therefore be assumed that he belonged to that tradition, yet he discusses favorably the Quanzhen 全真 school (3.7b) and the Way of Loyalty and Filial Piety (*zhongxiao dao* 忠孝道) of Xishan (3.16a–b, 20b). His own approach is to equate the Three Teachings (and especially Buddhism and Taoism) in the cultivation of *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 and in their union with the Great Ultimate 太極. His main endeavor is to systematically compare the concepts of Buddhist and Taoist theology and cosmology.

Although containing little historical information, this work is a rare and valuable example of a complete corpus of writings by a single *neidan* 內丹 master. It includes theoretical essays (1.1a–2.18b), dialogues (2.18b–4.16b), and poems (4.16b–7.11a) that vary greatly with respect to their tone and vocabulary. The thirty-four essays, some of them accompanied by charts, are mostly about cosmology and do not dwell on alchemical processes (figs. 40–41). The dialogues are divided between alchemical questions (“Huowen jindan xingming lei 或問金丹性命類,” in all 109 exchanges,

2.18b–3.28b) and those of a more cosmological and philosophical order (“Huowen taiji lei 或問太極類,” fifty-three exchanges, 4.1a–16b). The dialogues do not exhibit the extemporaneous creativity of the livelier Recorded Sayings (*yulu* 語錄) of that period, but they, too, focus on practical questions and demonstrate the master’s pedagogy. The poems are mostly in regulated verse (*shi* 詩) with a few lyrics (*ci* 詞); they include both sets of systematic *neidan* dialectics and occasional pieces dedicated to friends or commemorating an event. Together, these pieces document the wide array of styles and media available to a *neidan* teacher of that time.

The work closes with two ethical poems (7.7a–11a), commentated by a certain Lin Daozhao 林道晁, possibly a fellow disciple of Mu. These poems refer explicitly to the Zhongxiao school.

Vincent Goossaert

Daofa xinchuan 道法心傳

33 fols.

By Wang Weiyi 王惟一, *hao* Jingyang zi 景陽子 (d. 1326)

1253 (fasc. 997)

“Spiritual Tradition of Taoist Rites.” This is a collection of didactic poetry and discourses explaining cosmology in terms of mental representations. The title of the present book does not correspond to that of any work known to have been written by Wang, as listed in his biography in the *Wuzhong renwu zhi* 11.12a. Indeed, the work appears to be a *refacimento* composed of fragments of two different books, the *Xinglei xinchuan* 行雷心傳 and the *Daofa jingwei* 道法精微.

The first part (1a–16b), devoted to poetry, has a preface dated 1294 and signed “the disciple from Songjiang 松江 [Jiangsu], petty officer of the Thunder [Board] [*Leiting sanli* 雷霆散吏], Jingyang [zi], Wang Weiyi,” in which the book is named *xinchuan* 心傳 (preface 2b).

The second part (17a–33a) is identified on 20b as the *Daofa jingwei*. It has a separate preface (19a–19a), also dated 1294, that must be spurious. Indeed, this second part quotes (22b) another work by Wang, namely, 273 *Mingdao pian* 9a (dated 1304). The *Daofa jingwei* must, therefore, be later than this work, a fact that can also be deduced from a remark by the author on 20b, stating that he is “already advanced in age” (余今老矣). This second part must also be later than the first part, since on 30b the text quotes “my *Xinchuan lu* 余心傳錄,” and this quote corresponds to a poem in the first part of the present work (10b). Other similar quotations on 26b and 29b can no longer be found in the first part, which therefore must be incomplete.

The *Daofa jingwei* is entirely devoted to spiritual glosses of the Thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法) in the tradition of BO YUCHAN and Mo Yueding 莫月鼎 (1226–1294). A quotation of a text by the latter on 19b–20a can be traced to Mo’s “Tuoyue shuji

shuo 橐籥樞機說,” in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 77.8a–9b. Among the many other masters quoted, we may note the presence of the Qingwei patriarch Huang Leiyan 黃雷淵 (fl. 1253–1287).

Kristofer Schipper

Yuanyang zi fayu 原陽子法語

2 juan

By ZHAO YIZHEN 趙宜真 (d. 1382); edited by LIU YUANRAN 劉淵然 (1351–1432)

1071 (fasc. 738)

“Religious Discourses by Master Original Yang.” These are the collected works of ZHAO YIZHEN, who was active in the beginning of the Ming dynasty and one of the patriarchs of the Qingwei school. He is also known as the teacher of the prominent court Taoist LIU YUANRAN, who edited the present work. Zhao’s main biography is by Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), the Forty-third Heavenly Master, and can be found in the latter’s 1311 *Xianquan ji* 4.11a–12b (a more complete version is in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition, 3.38a–40b). Zhao was canonized as Chongwen guangdao chunde yuanyang zhenren 崇文廣道純德原陽真人 in 1455.

The collection contains mostly literary works, some of which are of an autobiographical nature, such as the poem “Jixue 紀學” (1.11a), in which Zhao recalls his own apprenticeship under Master Jin Pengtou 金蓬頭 (1276–1336).

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Schipper, “Master Chao I-chen.”

Kristofer Schipper

Xianquan ji 峴泉集

12 juan

By ZHANG YUCHU 張宇初, hao Qishan wuwei tianshi 耆山無爲天師; 1407

1311 (fasc. 1018–1021)

“Collected Works from Xianquan.” This literary collection is named after the Xianquan retreat of the Forty-third Heavenly Master, ZHANG YUCHU (1361–1410), which was established on Mount Longhu in 1391. The collection bears witness to the remarkable scope of the Heavenly Master’s literary activities. There are three prefaces, one of which is by ZHANG YUCHU himself. The third preface, by Cheng Tong 程通, is dated 1407. The *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 contains an edition of this work in four juan. Both this edition and the present one derive from earlier versions that are no longer extant. However, these lost versions were most likely already incomplete. The editors of the text in the *Siku quanshu* apparently did not make use of the version in the

Daozang, which contains, among other things, poems not found in the *Siku quanshu* edition. On the other hand, the *Daozang* edition does not contain the tomb epitaphs included in the *Siku quanshu* edition. The arrangement of the material in twelve juan is probably due to the editors of the Ming *Daozang*, whereas the *Siku quanshu* edition still preserves the original arrangement in four juan.

This collection contains essays about philosophical and historical themes. There are many poems and dedications that show that ZHANG YUCHU was rightly admired for his literary erudition. His preface on the lineage of the Heavenly Masters (2.6a–8a) served as a postface for 1463 *Han tianshi shijia* 4.17b–19b. His “postface” for the discourses of the thirtieth Zhengyi patriarch (2.11a–12b) is a preface in 1249 *Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu*. The texts compiled in this collection were written before the revision of the Taoist canon started in 1406 (cf. 1232 *Daomen shigui*). Sun Kekuan compares the contents of the two extant editions in “Mingchu tianshi,” 315–20.

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Florian C. Reiter

3.A.8 Handbooks and Anthologies

Most of the texts included in this section are well known outside the *Daozang*. The great imperial encyclopedia, the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, is present here in an abstracted form, listing only the entries related to Taoism. The famous 1032 *Yunji qi-qian*, although a private compilation, has been widely read in all literary circles. The collection of texts 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* reflects the great popularity and influence of the so-called Southern school of Inner Alchemy Taoism, as represented by BO YUCHAN and his disciples.

Remarkably, none of these anthologies, with the notable exception of 1483 *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*, deal with liturgical practice, which is all the more significant since in the first great Taoist encyclopedia, 1138 *Wushang biyao*, and even more so in the Tang collectanea, liturgy occupied a central place. Song and later works, except 1483 *Taiqing yuce*, deal almost exclusively with Tending Life techniques, which does not mean, as part 3.B shows, that liturgical Taoism suffered a decline. A shift in emphasis is, however, undeniable and announces the advent of new forms of Taoist practice, such as those propagated by the Quanzhen 全真 school, where self-cultivation becomes the central issue, and liturgy, although not absent, plays a lesser role in the life of the daoshi.

Taiping yulan 太平御覽

3 juan

Compiled by Li Fang 李昉 et al.; 983

1230 (fasc. 988)

This text corresponds to juan 674–676 of the imperial encyclopedia TPYL, comprising the section on holy sites (*lisuo* 理所), vestments (*guan* 冠, etc.), and insignia (*jianzhang* 簡章).

Kristofer Schipper

Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤

122 juan

Compiled by ZHANG JUNFANG 張君房 (fl. 1008–1025)

1032 (fasc. 677–702)

“Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels.” This work is one of the major Taoist anthologies, and also a major source for otherwise lost works, especially from the Tang dynasty (618–907). This vast compilation was praised by the authors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (146.12a) as “an anthology of the [*Daozang*] that, with its clear classification, its concise yet complete examples, its rational organization in which nothing is omitted, remains valid until the present day.” The intention of the author, as expressed in the undated preface to the anthology, seems indeed to have been to compile a compendium from the Taoist canon that he himself had, or claimed to have, edited. ZHANG JUNFANG became a *jinshi* 進士 during the period 1004–1008 and served as an official in different capacities in the capital, his hometown. Author of a few collections of “remarkable stories,” one of which survives in its original form, he became editor of the *Daozang* in 1013, thanks to the patronage of WANG QINRUO. This edition of the *Daozang* was the *Da Song tiangong baozang* 大宋天宮寶藏, compiled under imperial auspices during the reigns of emperors Taizong (976–997) and Zhenzong (997–1022). It comprised 4,565 juan and was presented to the throne in 1019. Zhang correctly stresses the fact that the system of classification adopted for this edition of the *Daozang* followed the Tang usage of grouping the texts into seven categories (*qibu* 七部): the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) and the Four Auxiliaries (*sifu* 四輔). The expression *qiqian* 七籤 (seven [book] labels) in the title refers to this division into seven parts.

The anthology in its present form, however, does not show such an arrangement. It is not divided into seven parts and the organization of the subject matter is, despite the praise of the authors of the *Siku tiyao*, rather confused. There appears to be a division into sections (*bu*), but these are not always clearly indicated. John Lagerwey, in his study of the sources of the *Yunji qiqian* (in Schipper, *Index du Yunji qiqian*, xix–lxxi) has identified thirty-seven sections. The first section is devoted to the philosophical

definitions of Tao and *de*. Then follow a number of sections on cosmology and the revelation of sacred scriptures. Sections 7 to 11 deal with Heaven and Earth, the stars, and holy places. Sections 12 to 26, covering juan 29 to 86 (that is, almost half of the entire anthology), deal with Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) techniques, including alchemy. Sections 27 to 32 contain doctrinal and philosophical treatises; sections 33 to 35 contains poetry. The last two sections concern hagiography.

These topics do not, however, exhaust all the aspects of Taoism represented in the canon. Most remarkable is the total absence of liturgy. The *Yunji qiqian* does not contain any ritual for Retreats (*zhai* 齋) or Offerings (*jiao* 醮). It has no petitions (*zhang* 章) or memorials (*shu* 疏), nor any other kind of ritual documents. It contains only a handful of talismans, charts, and diagrams. We can be certain, however, that works concerning ritual occupied a large place in the canon that ZHANG JUNFANG edited. The inevitable conclusion must, therefore, be that the *Yunji qiqian* as we have it cannot be considered a representative anthology of the Song canon.

It seems likely that the present version of the *Yunji qiqian* has not descended from the original work, but that the text has undergone changes. The original *Yunji qiqian* had 120 juan, whereas the present version has 122. Moreover, several juan are divided into two parts—A (*shang* 上) and B (*xia* 下)—for no apparent reason, which further increases the total count of juan. Apart from the present version in the Ming Canon, there is a later Ming edition by Zhang Xuan 張萱 (1558–1641), reprinted in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. Despite a number of textual variants and some differences in the arrangement into juan, this edition is on the whole identical to the present text. The *Yunji qiqian* was already included in the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 compiled by the Quanzhen masters in 1244. A single fascicle of this edition survives in the Palace Museum in Taipei. Here also, the text contained in this fascicle is the same as the corresponding part of the version in the Ming canon.

At present, it is impossible to explain the considerable discrepancies between ZHANG JUNFANG's preface to the *Yunji qiqian* and the actual anthology. In addition to the above-mentioned structural inconsistencies, there are other problems, such as the fact that Zhang states that Manichaean texts were included in the compilation of the Song canon. This reference has attracted the interest of historians of Manichaeism, but the *Yunji qiqian* does not contain any identifiable Manichaean material. Then there is the overall account Zhang gives regarding his involvement with the compilation of the *Da Song tiangong baozang*. Van der Loon has concluded that this account is untrustworthy (VDL 31–34). Zhang had nothing to do with the arrangement of the canon, which was strictly supervised by the government. It may well be, then, that the ordering of materials which Zhang adopted for his anthology, while not corresponding to that in the actual canon, translated his own views about how the work should have been organized.

The *Dongxiao tuzhi*, a monograph of the Taoist temples on Dadi shan 大滌山 (Jiangsu, near Hangzhou), reports that one of the copies of the new *Daozang* made under the auspices of Emperor Zhenzong (the *Tiangong baozang*) was bestowed on this center. From that copy, after revision by an eminent Taoist scholar named Feng Dezhi 馮德之, new copies were made under the title of *Yunji qiqian*. Significantly, the title “Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels,” here referring explicitly to the sevenfold division of the canon, was a fitting name for a *Daozang*, whereas Zhang’s handbook did not follow that arrangement. If the *Dongxiao tuzhi* account is accurate, and there are no reasons to suppose it is not, then, after the copies of the imperial *Daozang* became available in Hangzhou and were distributed under the title *Yunji qiqian*, ZHANG JUNFANG, or possibly someone else borrowing his name, may have compiled the present anthology using the same title.

Whatever the case, there is no reason to suppose that the actual *Yunji qiqian* is not a work of the beginning of the Song period. The encyclopedia does not contain texts later than Zhenzong’s reign. The source material comes almost exclusively from Six Dynasties (220–589) and Tang works. Many texts are quoted in extenso, whereas others are abridged or, in some cases, reworked into new compositions. A few Five Dynasties (907–960) texts are included. From the Song, we find a few prefaces by the emperor Zhenzong. There is also a complete account of the manifestations of the divine protector of the Song dynasty, Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖寶德真君, by WANG QINRUO. ZHANG JUNFANG evokes Wang’s memory in the preface, saying: “The late . . . WANG QINRUO considered that your servant was capable of accomplishing this task.” The *Yunji qiqian* must, therefore, have been presented to the throne after Wang’s death in 1025. The emperor to whom the work was presented was therefore Renzong (r. 1023–1064). Renzong was a lesser patron of Taoism than Zhenzong had been, and it may be that Zhang took this fact into account. While presenting his work as the emperor’s “bedside companion,” he presumably left out all that was neither timely nor of interest to the ruler, which may explain why the *Yunji qiqian* has the specific character of a handbook on mystical and Tending Life Techniques, and not that of a Taoist encyclopedia.

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Kristofer Schipper

Xiuzhen shishu 修真十書

60 juan

Compiled ca. 1340

263 (fasc. 122–131)

“Ten Books on the Cultivation of the True Nature.” This is a collection of texts compiled by adherents of the BO YUCHAN school. Although the latest date in the work is 1244 (1.10a), the collection itself was completed only during the Yuan (1279–1368): the *Zazhu jiejing* (juan 17–25; see below) was probably compiled by the Yuan author Yu Juehua 余覺華 during the Zhiyuan period (1335–1340).

Collections with the term *xiuzhen* 修真 in their titles were common during the Yuan dynasty: YU YAN, for instance, mentions a *Xiuzhen sishu* 修真四書 of 1270 (cf. *Xishang futan* 2.12a).

The *Xiuzhen shishu* contains excellent editions of Taoist texts and, in some cases, of works that are not available as separate entities in the *Daozang*. In view of this fact, its contents, listed below, are discussed individually in the relevant sections:

1. *Zazhu zhixuan pian* 雜著指玄篇 (treatises of BO YUCHAN et al.)
2. *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (collected works of Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝, fl. 1260)
3. *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集 (unique edition in *Daozang*)
4. *Zazhu jiejing* 雜著捷徑 (Yuan, unique edition)
5. *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (oldest edition of this text; unique in the *Daozang*)
6. *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (collected works of BO YUCHAN unique edition)
7. *Shangqing ji* 上清集
8. *Wuyi ji* 武夷集
9. *Panshan yulu* 盤山語錄 (cf. 1059 *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu*)
10. *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu tu* 黃庭內景五臟六腑圖 (cf. 432 *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu*)
11. *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經注 (commentary by Liangqiu zi 梁丘子; cf. 402 *Huangting neijing yujing zhu*)
12. *Huangting waijing yujing zhu* 黃庭外景玉經注 (commentary by Liangqiu zi; unique edition)

Texts 10–12, all of which deal with the *Huangting jing*, together form the last of the ten books. Possibly, texts 11–12 constitute later additions.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Qunxian yaoyu zuanji 群仙要語纂集

2 juan

Compiled by Dong Jinchun 董滄醇, *hao* Huanchu daoren 還初道人; late Yuan (1279–1368) or early Ming (1368–1644)

1257 (fasc. 998–999)

“Fundamental Sayings by the Host of Immortals.” This is a collection of texts from different times and schools on the practice of the Tao and spiritual attainment, by an otherwise unknown author. There are passages (1.1b–11b) taken from the *Guanyin zi* 關尹子 (667 *Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing*), a work that regains importance under the Yuan, as well as texts by WANG ZHE, MA DANYANG (1123–1183), and BO YUCHAN. The author quotes (2.7a–8a) WANG JIE’s 1074 *Huanzhen ji*. The present work should therefore be of the late Yuan or early Ming period.

One of the interesting texts preserved in this collection is the Song of the Great Way (“Dadao ge 大道歌”) by Cao Wenyi 曹文逸. According to a *Luofu shan zhi* 羅浮山志, quoted in *Gujin tushu jicheng*, “Shenyi dian 神異典,” Cao wrote this song during the Xuanhe era (1119–1125). Cao Wenyi, alias Cao Daochong 曹道沖, was canonized by Emperor Huizong as Wenyi zhenren 文逸真人. She also wrote a commentary to the *Daode jing* (see 707 *Daode zhenjing jizhu*, preface). The “Dadao ge” is quoted in an abridged form in 1017 *Daoshu* 16.1a–3a. There it is attributed to the female immortal He Xiang 何仙姑. It is reproduced in the *Daozang jiyao*, “Kui 奎,” under the title Song of the Supreme Truth (“Zhizhen ge 至真歌”), in this case it is attributed to LIU HAICHAN.

Other works cited are 1044 *Huashu* (1.11–16a), 1052 *Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun* (1.16a–24), 1249 *Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 1.1a–2 (2.1a–2b), 1233 *Chunyang lijiao shiwu lun* 3b–4a and 5a (2.3a–3b), and 1308 *Haiqiong wendao ji* 4b–10a (2.9b–15a). In 2.15a–16a, the present collection quotes the sayings of MA DANYANG, but these cannot be found in 1234 *Danyang zhenren zhiyan*.

Catherine Despeux

Tianbuang zhidao taiqing yuce 天皇至道太清玉冊

8 juan

By Zhu Quan 朱權, *hao* Quxian 臞仙, Xialing laoren 遐齡老人, alias Nanji chongxu miaodao zhenjun 南極沖虛妙道真君 (1378–1448); preface dated 1444 1483 (fasc. 1109–1111)

“Most Pure and Precious Books on the Supreme Tao of August Heaven.” This is an encyclopedic work on the Taoist faith and liturgy, written by Prince Zhu Quan, the seventeenth son of Ming Taizu (r. 1368–1398). In this work the author identifies himself only by his pseudonym, Quxian (Lean Immortal). After his brother Zhu Di 朱棣 had won the throne and established his capital at Peking under the reign name of

Yongle (r. 1403–1424), Zhu Quan moved to the south of China, at Nanchang (Jiangxi). Although Zhu Quan is known for his work as a dramatist, his literary oeuvre bears constant testimony to his Taoist convictions, which are fully expressed in the present work.

In his preface and introductory essay (“Yuandao 原道”), the author explains his own destiny as a divine being, which was revealed to him at an early age by an old woman, who told him never to forget his previous lives. After having been a minister of Shaohao, and again under Wuding of the Shang, he rose up to Heaven to be appointed as Nanji chongxu miaodao zhenjun 南極沖虛妙道真君. After 2,699 years he again reincarnated on Earth. The old lady recommended that he not reveal his true identity before the age of sixty. Thus the present work dates to the year he was sixty-four.

The work deals in an encyclopedic way with Taoist cosmology and revelation. It presents the Taoist canon in all its aspects, as well as the main outlines of the initiatory rules and institutions linked to it. The Zhengyi 正一 as well as the Quanzhen 全真 institutions are fully documented, as are the main aspects of the liturgy. Topics such as Taoist music, ritual vestments, and religious regulations are all duly recorded.

Remarkable for its absence is any in-depth discussion or documentation of Tending Life techniques, including Inner Alchemy and laboratory alchemy. Immortality practices are introduced only briefly in 6.13a–18a. This fact contradicts the tradition that the Lean Immortal was above all interested in longevity practices.

Among the many ideas, personal and general, expressed in the work, the claim that Taoism is the true faith of China and that the Chinese should all practice it figures prominently. The anti-Taoist measures by the Mongols, especially the burning of the *Daozang* by Kublai, are vehemently denounced as assaults on Chinese culture (2.3a and 5b–6b). A list of pernicious (Buddhist) works slandering Taoism is given. On the whole, China and its culture are glorified, and foreigners criticized. Among the latter, only the Koreans have the honor to possess the Taoist tradition, which they obtained from several great Chinese emperors (6.25a–27a). The *Daozang* edition contains a misprint between 6.13b2 and 14b6, where a discussion of the Way of the immortals is interrupted by a fragment of encyclopedic entries.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B Texts in Internal Circulation

See the general introduction to part 3 for an overview of the development of liturgical Taoism in the early modern era.

3.B.1 Zhengyi

As shown in the introduction to part 3 above, the medieval ecclesia of the Heavenly Master was greatly transformed during the late Tang (618–907) and the following centuries. Perhaps the most visible and immediate sign of this transformation is the way the First Heavenly Master, Zhang Daoling 張道陵, came to be considered during this period. In the middle ages, Zhang Daoling was seen as a recluse, as an alchemist, and as the founder of the Heavenly Master ecclesia. Now he came to be represented as a powerful exorcist, as a popular saint commanding the powers of the thunder, and as the patriarch of exorcists, to whom he revealed secrets of Thunder magic that had never been disclosed before. As the following articles will show, the founders of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 in the Five Dynasties period (907–960) were said to have received such revelations, and the same claim was made by the Yutang fa 玉堂法 in the early Southern Song (1127–1279) period.

During the Song dynasty, the Heavenly Masters of the Longhu shan 龍虎山 became one of the great and officially recognized religious institutions of modern China (see the general introduction and the introduction to part 3 above). The exorcist lineages of TAN ZIXIAO (Tianxin zhengfa) and LU SHIZHONG (Yutang fa) emerged without any direct relationship to the Longhu shan establishment. Toward the end of the Northern Song (960–1127), the link between the Heavenly Masters and the Tianxin zhengfa was established, according to legendary accounts, through the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126; see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法).

Despite this assimilation, it should be remembered that the Zhengyi tradition, even in its new form as institutionalized in the Longhu shan patriarchy, was heir to the ancient liturgical organization of the Tang and therefore dispensed the official ordination grades that empowered officiants to perform the classical rites of the Heavenly

Master and Lingbao canons. These ties to tradition did not hold for the new exorcist lineages. The latter developed their own initiation grades and titles, as in the case of the Tianxin zhengfa and Shenxiao fa 神霄法. However, instead of replacing the classical system, these grades and titles were simply added to it, with the result that officiants could now hold qualifications from both lineages. In fact, the specialists of the new exorcistic rites, called *fashi* 法師 or *faguan* 法官, always remained at a lower religious and social level than the *daoshi* who had received the traditional ordination. It is therefore inappropriate, in spite of the manifold interactions between the regular liturgy (*ke* 科) and the rites (*fa* 法), to discuss them together. Thus we will first present the materials related to the traditional Zhengyi, Sanhuang, Lingbao, and Shangqing scriptures, and then discuss the new exorcistic lineages and their texts separately.

The Zhengyi order itself created classical liturgical texts in the form of rituals and scriptures that were to be performed to avert disasters such as epidemics, fires, drought, and so on. These rituals took the form of Offerings (*jiao* 醮). Earlier, *jiao* were mostly performed at the conclusion of a long Retreat (*zhai* 齋) service for the benefit of the deceased, whereas now they became the main element of the ritual. It is this evolution that, in time, would bring about the separation between a liturgy for the benefit of the living, dominated by the Offering and called *jiao*, and one for the dead, in which the merit (*gongde* 功德) of the Retreat would be the most important element, and which, accordingly, was commonly referred to as *zhai*. Also contributing to this evolution was the appearance of the Great Offering to the Entire Firmament (*luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮). This service, although preceded by the classical *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋, was essentially a large-scale offering to all the stars and constellations in the Chinese heavens (see the complete list of the stellar deities and the offerings presented to them in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 3).

The worship of stars, and especially of the stars of Fate in Ursa Major (Beidou 北斗), became a specialty of the new Zhengyi school, and scriptures as well as rituals related to the practice of venerating the Dipper (*baidou* 拜斗) are numerous in this section. Among these scriptures, the *Taishang xuanling beidou yansheng zhenjing* is the most famous; revealed by the Most High Lord Lao to Zhang Daoling, it became one of the most popular religious scriptures of China during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) periods.

3.B.1.a Scriptures

Shangqing zhenyuan rongling jing 上清鎮元榮靈經

17 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)?

860 (fasc. 577)

“Scripture of Stabilizing the Creative Forces and Making the Numinous Powers Shine Brightly, of the Shangqing Tradition.” The book is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qieshu mu* (VDL 76) and seems most likely to be of a Northern Song date. The method of the book is said to have been revealed to a duke of immortals (*xiangong* 仙公) and practiced by him at Tianmu shan 天目山, reputed to be the birthplace of Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (1a). The affiliation of the text with the Zhengyi order is further indicated by the title of the practitioner, Da xuandu zhengyi dizi 大玄都正一弟子 (7a).

The LZTT 41.17a to 42.4a gives the biographies of four daoshi of the Tang dynasty (618–907), beginning with Zhai Fayan 翟法言, *zi* Qianyou 乾祐, who in 755 received, by supernatural means, the transmission of a *Taishang zhengyi mengwei bifa* 太上正一盟威秘法. He also transmitted to his disciples a *Zhenyuan celing shu* 鎮元策靈書, which, according to the description given on 42.3a–b, accords with the present work. The last disciple to receive the text was Ren Keju 任可居 (fl. 890–892), and after him, the biography says, the transmission was interrupted. Although the present version has *rong* 榮 instead of *ce* 策 in the title, and although here the details of the account of the revelation (1a) are different, the similarities are too close to be ignored. Zhai was also the recipient of 389 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao suling zhenfu* (q.v.).

The book describes a method of summoning the spirits of the stars of the Dipper by means of fu and offerings. The method is presented as serving primarily the purpose of divinatory questioning, and secondarily that of obtaining various kinds of blessings through the help of the spirits. It includes the construction of an altar on which the fu of the seven stars are placed in the form of the constellation and in accordance with its immediate position in the sky, with the fu of Ziwei dijun 紫微帝君 in the center (6b–7a). Similar methods are found in the texts of the Dongshen tradition, in which, however, the spirits summoned are those of the Eight Trigrams (compare 589 *Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu* and 1202 *Dongshen badi yuanbian jing*). Indeed, the groups of fu concluding the present book, and subsumed as “Taishang sanjia yuce 太上三甲玉策” (9a–17b), are closely related to those that are central to the method described in the third part of 589 *Dongshen sanlu*. Note, for instance, the correspondence between the appearance and text of the “Tiance fu 天策符” of the present book (10a–b) and the “Dice fu 地策符” in 589 *Dongshen sanlu* 23a–b.

Taishang qixing shenzhou jing 太上七星神咒經

2 fols.

383 (fasc. 182)

“Scripture of the Divine Formula of the Seven Stars of the Most High.” What is the origin of misfortune? Huang-Lao yuandi 黃老元帝 asks Tianlao 天老. It comes from the stars, replies the latter. But a Taoist knows how to expel baleful qi and lengthen his years. The best way to accomplish this task is to perform the Paces of Yu while pronouncing the “divine formula of the seven stars” of the Northern Dipper. This formula is given at the end of the present text, but it does not mention the stars of the Dipper.

John Lagerwey

Taishang xuanling doumu dasheng yuanjun benming yansheng xinjing

太上玄靈斗姆大聖元君本命延生心經

3 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

621 (fasc. 341)

“Book of the Heart for Prolonging Life of the Most Sacred Goddess Mother of the Dipper of Mysterious Power.” This short scripture, listed second in the category of fundamental scriptures (*benwen* 本文) of the Dongshen division, is related to the group of liturgical scriptures for the cult of the Dipper stars 622–629. It is more particularly cognate to 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* and 623 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing*, with which it shares the epithet of *xuanling*. The Mother of the Dipper is the Taoist adaptation of Marīci, the personification of light whose cult, introduced through Tantric Buddhism, became popular in Taoism from Southern Song times on. She is depicted here as the mother of the gods of the stars of the Beidou 北斗, which are represented as emanations from her body. The text describes her icon and provides the formulas for invoking her presence.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing

太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經

9 fols.

622 (fasc. 341)

Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing

太上玄靈北斗本命長生妙經

3 fols.

623 (fasc. 341)

“Book of the Northern Dipper of Mysterious Power Prolonging the Original Life Span.” This most revered of all modern Taoist scriptures is mentioned in passing in

the *Junzhai dushu zhi* 16.765–66: “Books like the *Beidou jing*, which pretends to have been revealed by Laozi in the year 155 (Yongshou 1), and moreover is vile and ridiculous, even if it is much in circulation nowadays, must nevertheless be omitted.” BO YUCHAN (1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 1.2b, 3a) praises the book, and 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.19a prescribes its recitation in a liturgical service. It probably appeared in Song times. However, many elements of this scripture date from earlier periods. Compare, for example, 1265 *Beidi qiyuan ziting yansheng bijue*.

The setting of the revelation, as related by the scripture itself, is Chengdu in 155 A.D., where Laojun appears to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 on a jade throne (*yuju* 玉局, since then the name of the Chengdu diocese). A similar setting is found in the cognate scriptures 624–627.

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Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing

太上說南斗六司延壽度人妙經

6 fols.

624 (fasc. 341)

Taishang shuo dongdou zhusuan huming miaojing

太上說東斗主筭護命妙經

3 fols.

625 (fasc. 341)

Taishang shuo xidou jiming hushen miaojing 太上說西斗記名護身妙經

4 fols.

626 (fasc. 341)

Taishang shuo zhongdou dakui baoming miaojing 太上說中斗大魁保命妙經

4 fols.

627 (fasc. 341)

“Books of the Southern, the Eastern, the Western, and the Center Dippers.” These four books concerning the imaginary Dipper Constellations complementing the Northern Dipper belong to the same group as 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*, of which they are directional sequels. This relationship is explained in a preface to 624 *Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing*; this preface is attributed to Zhang Daoling’s 張道陵 disciple Zhao Sheng 趙昇. The emphasis on the legendary and historical elements in the cult of the First Heavenly Master suggests

that these scriptures of the Five Bushels were produced by the Zhengyi school of the Southern Song period (1127–1279).

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Taishang shuo zhongdou dakui zhangsuan fumo shenzhou jing

太上說中斗大魁掌筭伏魔神咒經

2 fols.

628 (fasc. 628)

“Divine Spell Scripture of the Central Dipper, the Great Chief Supervising Fate and Subduing Demons.” This is a short apotropaic text to be recited by individuals, and that has the function of a spell. A kind of exorcistic imitation of 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, the present text never mentions the Central Dipper and appears to have no link with the Dipper cult, in spite of the title.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang beidou ershiba zhang jing 太上北斗二十八章經

28 fols.

629 (fasc.341)

“Northern Dipper Scripture in Twenty-eight Chapters.” This is a long scripture in twenty-eight sections (*zhang* 章) of uneven length concerning the cult of the Dipper. The introduction (1a–b) relates that Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty, when taking a walk in the Zhongshan Mountains, met a young girl who refused to salute him, saying: “I am the star that governs the constellation of the Dipper. Who are you (compared to me)?” She then explains that she is in fact seven persons at the same time and proceeds to reveal all there is to know about the Dipper and the stars of Fate.

This rambling text borrows from 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* (27a–b). In the first chapters, the goddess, Doumu 斗姆 (Marīci), who is never named, addresses herself to a certain Shengming 聖明, while later (5a ff.) she engages in a dialogue with the emperor. There are no precise indications as to the date of this comparatively late and popular text.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang jinhua tianzun jiujie huming miaojing

太上金華天尊救劫護命妙經

3 fols.

1196 (fasc. 875)

“Scripture by the Most High Heavenly Worthy Jinhua That Saves from the Apocalypse and Protects Life.” This is a popular text of uncertain date, written mostly in five-syllable verse, for the invocation of the stars of the Dipper and other cosmic deities, to obtain redemption from the kalpa (*jie* 劫).

*Kristofer Schipper**Zhongtian ziwei xingzhen baochan* 中天紫微星真寶懺

7 fols.

1450 (fasc. 1063)

“Precious Litany of the Stellar Gods of Ziwei.” This litany of repentance and salutation centers on Ziwei dadi 紫微大帝 and the astral deities governed by him. We also find here the parents of the Northern Dipper (Doufu 斗父 and Doumu 斗母; cf. 45 *Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhenjing*), the imperial couple of sun and moon (Rigong yanguang taiyang dijun 日宮炎光太陽帝君 and Yuefu suyao taiyin huangjun 月府素曜太陰皇君), the traditional divinities of the stellar constellations, and the popular Three Stars of Good Luck (Shangqing fu lu shou sanlao xingjun 上清福祿壽三老星君), who became prominent in Taoist liturgy only during Ming (1368–1644) times (cf., e.g., 492 *Jinlu qishou zao, wu, wanchao yi* 1.2b). The litany is still in use today in Taiwan (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei*, 698–701).

*Ursula-Angelika Cedzich**Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo xiaotian chonghuang jing*

太上元始天尊說消殄蟲蝗經

2 fols.

67 (fasc. 32)

“Scripture for Dispelling Plagues of Insects and Locusts, Pronounced by the Most High Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning.” In response to a question by Taiji zhenren 太極真人 as to why there had recently been crop failures due to untimely weather and plagues of locusts, the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning explains that this was the punishment for a farming population that wasted their crops and was ungrateful for their plentiful harvests. The Heavenly Worthy was now about to dispatch various divinities to extinguish the afflictions. In return, the people should improve their conduct, establish a sacred area, offer sacrifices, and invoke the divinities.

The recitation of this scripture was probably part of a minor *jiao* 醮-Offering, held when a rural community was threatened by locusts. Various rituals for the same purpose are found, for example, in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 259 or 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 7.28a–30a.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang anzhen jiulei longshen miaojing 太上安鎮九壘龍神妙經

2 fols.

68 (fasc. 32)

“Marvelous Scripture of the Most High for the Settling in Place of the Dragon-Spirits of the Nine Layers of the Earth.” *Taishang yuanshi tianzun* 太上元始天尊 is holding court in the Dongyang heaven when a *zhenren*, “holding upright his court tablet,” asks the Tianzun for an expedient method (*fangbian* 方便) that will help inhabitants of the Yanfu 閻浮 world overcome the ill fortune caused by their building projects. The Tianzun responds with a text describing the origin in Chaos (*hundong* 混沌) of the thirty-six sovereigns of the Earth. Although the present text does not say so, these are the same sovereigns who, according to 1373 *Shangqing waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen*, rule over the Nine Layers (*jiulei* 九壘) of the Earth (there are four sovereigns per layer, one for each direction). These sovereigns alone have “received their position from the emperor,” and all other spirits (listed by the Tianzun at the end of his hymn) who might take offense at the various types of construction must, upon recitation of this text, “hide themselves, return whence they came, secure [*zhen* 鎮] their corner or their direction, and cause no ill.” The function of the text is thus to “settle in place the dragon-spirits of the Nine Layers” and to “thank and dismiss” (*rangxie* 禳謝) all other Earth spirits.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai shenzhou jing

元始天尊說十一曜大消災神咒經

6 fols.

43 (fasc. 29)

“The Yuanshi Tianzun Proffers the Scripture of the Divine Incantations of the Eleven Great Luminaries for the Elimination of Calamities.” As the translation of the title suggests, *yao* 曜 and *da* 大 in the title should be inverted, as in 198 *Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi*. This lamp ritual contains the same formulas as the latter text for the Eleven Luminaries—the sun, the moon, the five planets, and four stars—that provoke disasters. The same list is found in a Buddhist sūtra that Hou Ching-lang dates to the fourteenth century (*Monnaies d’offrandes*, 87, and “The Chinese belief in baleful stars,”

206). The recitation of the present text is already mentioned at the end of the twelfth century in 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 33.5b and 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.5b. The latter also mentions a form of Hetu Offering 河圖醮 that is presided over by the same eleven heavenly bodies (6.2b; cf. also 3.11a and 8.10b–14b). The attribution of this text to Taishang (*sic*) is criticized by BO YUCHAN (1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 1.13b).

In addition to the incantations addressed to the eleven luminaries, this text contains two more general formulas, one for the nine stars of the Big Dipper, the other for the five planets (the latter formula is used as a *weiling zhou* 衛靈咒 in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 11.5b). All of the incantations are revealed by Yuanshi tianzun in response to a question of Qingluo zhenren 青羅真人 on the cause of and appropriate response to calamities, especially natural catastrophes. The Tianzun's explanation is essentially mechanistic. The calamities consequently strike good and evil, rich and poor alike. The victims should fabricate earthen images of the eleven divinities and recite the incantations in the present text, or have them recited by a Taoist for a period of seven to twenty-one days.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongzhen anzhao jing 太上洞真安竈經

2 fols.

69 (fasc. 32)

“Scripture of the Most High for the Placation of the Stove God, from the Dongzhen Canon.” Robert Chard (“Master of the family,” 217–23) gives a complete résumé of this text and considers it to be the oldest—possibly of Song date (960–1279)—of the three works in the *Daozang* concerning the Stove God cult.

During an “audience before the Origin” (*chaoyuan* 朝元) of all the gods of the Three Worlds, the Mother of the Flames (Chuimu 炊母) presents herself before the cinnabar throne; in her quality as petty officer of the Emperor of the North (Beidi 北帝) she is a Director of Destiny (Siming 司命) and Commissioned Officer of the Heavenly Offices (*zhifu* 直符), whose duty it is to supervise all the transformations between the raw and the cooked and to note down all infractions of the taboos. Each day of the new moon, she ascends to Heaven to make a report and to “wait for the saintly instructions.”

These instructions are given here, in *gāthā* form, at the end of the scripture: to love oneself means to love the Tao, because the Tao loves life; to worship the Director of Destiny assures peace in the home, because thus “the thousand evil forces have no means of returning.”

Before this *gāthā*, the Most High describes briefly the taboos to be observed in

front of the hearth and the monthly offerings that should be made to the goddess and to the divine maidens of the Six Gui 六癸 periods. After the *gāthā*, all those present promise “to follow forever the instructions of the Saint.”

The term *dongzhen* 洞真 in the title of this scripture is no doubt a result of its inclusion in that section of the Ming *Daozang*.

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Chard, “Master of the family.”

John Lagerwey

Taishang lingbao buxie zaowang jing 太上靈寶補謝竈王經

3 fols.

364 (fasc. 180)

“Scripture for Asking Pardon of the Stove Queen.” Robert Chard considers this text later than 69 *Taishang dongxuan anzao jing* (see his translation and comments in “Master of the family,” 223–32). In particular, the myth of the cosmic deity the Old Mother is here far more developed than in the *Anzao jing*. The scripture opens with a zhenren asking the Tianzun who the Old Mother living alone on Kunlun was. The Tianzun replies that it was the Mother of the Flames (Chuimu 炊母). In Heaven she was called Celestial Empress (Tianhou 天后) and on Earth Director of Destiny (Siming 司命). She is the emissary of the Seven Principles of the Northern Dipper and also plays the roles of the five directional lords of the stove. She controls a family’s destiny by reporting to Heaven on its members’ behavior on the day of the new moon at midnight. People should, therefore, most scrupulously respect the taboos associated with the stove, and whenever they break them, they should “make amends and excuse themselves” (*buxie* 補謝) to the goddess of the stove and all her family. “I myself will ask the Old Mother to forgive them,” concludes the Tianzun.

The zhenren then composes a short summary of the text in the form of a hymn, and the Tianzun finishes by recommending that the faithful invite a Taoist to make an offering to the goddess of the stove whenever they encounter difficulties.

John Lagerwey

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo jin guangming jing

太上元始天尊說金光明經

2 fols.

70 (fasc. 32)

“Scripture of the Golden Light, Pronounced by the Most High Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning.” In this short text, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning promises to cure to all those who have lost their eyesight as a result of epidemic diseases, or whose eyes have been damaged by other unlucky circumstances. If

the devotee establishes a sacred area (*daochang* 道場) and recites this scripture, twelve Divine Lads named Goldlight, Moonlight, Sunlight, and so on, will appear and put an end to all calamities and restore the eyesight of the believer.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yuanshi tianzun shuo sanguan baobao jing 元始天尊說三官寶號經

2 fols.

71 (fasc. 32)

“The Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning Utters the Precious Titles of the Three Officials.” While the Heavenly Worthy is preaching in Daluo Heaven 大羅天, the Barefoot Immortal (Chijiao daxian 赤腳大仙) asks him how to dispell the misfortunes that plague human beings. Let them recite “the precious titles of the Three Officers,” responds the Heavenly Worthy, and proceeds to utter them himself.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo yangcan yingzhong jing

太上洞玄靈寶天尊說養蠶營種經

9 fols.

360 (fasc. 179)

“Lingbao Tianzun Preaches the Scripture on Silkworm Cultivation.” Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 begins by explaining to Taishang laojun 太上老君 the importance in the lives of the people of silkworm cultivation and the care of silkworm eggs. Laojun confirms that silkworm cultivation goes back to the saints of antiquity and that people need only to worship in front of the statues of the Tianzun in order to ensure a good harvest (of worms). Because the people are sinful, however, punishment is inevitable. Every year in spring they should burn incense and set out silkworm eggs in the four directions and in the middle of the fields and then invoke the gods who protect silkworms. They should also burn incense, prepare an offering to the gods in a Taoist sacred area (*daochang* 道場), and invite a Taoist priest to recite the present text.

Lingbao tianzun then utters a “formula for commanding demons” and tells the faithful to show the silkworms they have placed in the fields to the priest. The priest is to pronounce the demon-quelling formula over the silkworms, and then another formula for the multiplication of the worms. No sooner has the priest entered the house, adds the Tianzun, than the demons will flee.

In the rest of the text, the Tianzun further explains to the faithful the nature of ritual efficacy and of the system of retribution, and he menaces the demons with death if they do not leave a house where such rituals are performed. Exorcism of this sort, concludes the text, had been entrusted to priests of the Heavenly Master order.

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo liyi canwang miaojing 太上說利益蠶王妙經

2 fols.

365 (fasc. 180)

“Scripture for the Multiplication of the Silkworm King.” In the Land of Pure Luminosity, in the Palace of Red Luminosity, the zhenren of Lunar Purity describes for Lingbao tianzun the sufferings of the people on Earth due to their want of clothing. The Tianzun then sends the zhenren of the Mysterious Name to Earth to turn himself into a silkworm and teach people how to make fabrics from the silken threads spun by the worms. The zhenren explains that one must take good care of the silkworms, for they are his body. In order to help “the king of the silkworms to multiply,” the text supplies a “divine fu” that will keep all demons away from the king.

John Lagerwey

Taishang zhao zhu shenlong anzhen fenmu jing 太上召諸神龍安鎮墳墓經

3 fols.

363 (fasc. 180)

“Scripture of the Most High Summoning the Various Divine Dragons to Guard Tombs.” This text is an elaboration of 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 17 (see Mollier, *Une apocalypse taoïste*, 64). The Most High Lord of the Way goes “before dawn” (*kaiguang* 開光) to find Yuanshi tianzun in the Yanggu wilds 暘谷墟 and to tell him that people bury their dead in the hopes of having a multitude of wealthy descendants. If poverty is the rule nowadays, responds the Tianzun, it is because “the generations of the past did not believe in the methods of the Tao and did not plant good karma.” People should find a Superior Taoist (*gaoshang daoshi* 高上道士) to perform a ritual in which they confess their sins and invite the dragon-kings to guard their tombs.

The Tianzun himself then summons the divine dragon-kings and tells them to do what is asked of them in the future. The scripture ends with a “word of the Tao” that enjoins the people to invite a Zhengyi Taoist to perform the ritual.

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo niuhuang miaojing 太上說牛癘妙經

2 fols.

366 (fasc. 180)

“Scripture for Healing Cattle Plague.” This scripture was for use in a ritual of exorcism of the said cattle disease. The date is uncertain.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuhuang baosheng shenzhou jing 太上虛皇保生神咒經

1 fol.

384 (fasc. 182)

“Scripture of the Divine Formula for Protecting Life, [Taught] by the Most High Sovereign of the Void.” The formula is in rhymed verse of four characters per line; it ends with an invocation of the spirits of the Five Directions. The text refers to the Zhengyi order of Taoism.

*John Lagerwey**Taishang sansheng jieyuan miaojing* 太上三生解冤妙經

6 fols.

387 (fasc. 182)

“Marvelous Book for Dispelling Hereditary Enmity through Three Generations.” This modern popular scripture tells the story of Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊, who comes from the east to preach the Law in a small kingdom of the west. The queen is barren, and the Tianzun explains that this is because in her former life, when she lived in China, she had lost an unborn child. The latter, reborn as a *yakṣa*, is called up and appears to his former mother. Then the god gives to the queen the present book, which he himself has formerly obtained from the Zhengyi tianzun 正一天尊. The god instructs her to recite the book and to invite Zhengyi masters to perform a service at the moment of childbirth. Three talismans for the protection of the mother and the speeding of delivery are added.

*Kristofer Schipper**Taishang zhengyi chaotian sanba xiezui fachan* 太上正一朝天三八謝罪法懺

11 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368) or early Ming (1368–1644)

813 (fasc. 567)

“Litany of Twenty-four Supplications for Forgiveness in the Zhengyi Audience to Heaven.” Instead of twenty-four, the formulas for repentance in this ritual number only eleven. Each time, the Jade Proclamation (*yugao* 玉誥)—that is, the solemn title of Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 in sixty-two characters (4a)—is recited ten times.

The canonization title of the First Heavenly Master as given on 1a corresponds to that conferred in the year 1295 (see 1463 *Han tianshi shijia* 1.8a). This ritual is therefore a litany for the pure liturgy by the Longhu shan 龍虎山 Heavenly Master order.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhushi shengdan chongju zhuoxian yi 諸師聖誕沖舉酌獻儀

13 fols.

482 (fasc. 265)

“Ritual for the Presentation of Offerings on the Anniversaries of the Birthdays and the Ascensions of the Various Masters.” The anniversaries thus celebrated are those of Yuhuang 玉皇 (1/9), Laojun (2/15), and Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 (3/3 and 9/9). Zhang Daoling 張道陵 shares in the offering performed on 9/9. The titles of the various gods are of Ming date.

John Lagerwey

3.B.1.b Lamp Rituals

Lamp rituals (*dengyi* 燈儀) were known already in the fifth century. The 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* gives details for two types: one designed to save the souls of the dead from the “darkness of the Long Night,” the other to prevent natural disasters, epidemics, and any unlucky event. These early rituals, which consist in the successive lighting of a symbolic number of lamps, already include a confession of sins and expression of wishes.

In 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 56, DU GUANGTING gives the classical form to and definition of this method for worshiping with lamps (*lideng zhi fa* 禮燈之法). He attributes the method to the *Jinlu jianwen* 金籙簡文, a text of the fifth century that is no longer extant. According to Du, “the most important matters in a *zhai*-ritual are the burning of incense and the lighting of lamps” (56.1a). The incense is the means for communicating with Heaven; the lamps dissipate the obscurity of the hells. Du indicates various times for “praying over the lamps” (*zhoudeng* 咒燈), but the most important time is at the end of the day, after the evening Audience ritual. The rite begins at the Gate of Earth and ends in front of the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師). The adept is then to leave the lamps burning until dawn. Du still follows the order given in the above-mentioned 1411 *Mingzhen ke* (E, S, W, N; NE, SE, SW, NW); the final prayer, for the lamp of the underworld, is missing in Du’s text.

The various liturgical manuals of the Southern Song (1127–1279) and the Yuan (1279–1368) make clear that there was a proliferation of lamp rituals. The 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 34 gives diagrams for nine, and 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* gives texts for ten such rituals (juan 15, 25, 34, 35, 127, 174, 199, 200, 236). The lighting of lamps at the end of the day continues to be recommended (466 *Jidu jinshu* 2.6a), but it is also to be done at the start of a full-scale Retreat (*zhengzhai* 正齋), so as to light the path to the sacred area and thereby enable the souls of the deceased to be present during the Retreat (1221 *Lingbao dafa* 34.14b). In general, the function of the lamps is to “dispel the obscurity” (*poan* 破暗) of the hells.

With one exception—475 *Honggen lingji zhenjun qizheng xing dengyi*—all lamp rituals that do not form part of, or are not closely related to, the large liturgical manuals are placed together in the *Daozang*. Although the present group of rituals hardly constitutes a coherent ensemble, the rituals do seem to have been reworked by a single editor: with two exceptions (199 *Nandou yanshou dengyi*, and 200 *Beidou qiyuan xing dengyi*), the recitation of a sacred text is required at the end of the ritual (cf. 466 *Jidu jinshu* 35.8b); the reading of a memorial (*shu* 疏) is also required in nine of the nineteen rituals. The same formula of homage (*zhixin guiming* 志心歸命) is used in thirteen texts (cf. 466 *Jidu jinshu* 199), and the same manner of expressing wishes in front of the lamps (*fuyuan* 伏願) in fourteen texts (cf. 466 *Jidu jinshu* 25).

The fact that these lamp rituals almost always precede the recitation of a sacred text is a fairly good indication that each of the nineteen liturgies originally constituted the core of a full, albeit short, ritual. The larger ritual context is that of an Offering (*jiao* 醮 or *gong* 供) in twelve cases (texts 198–203, 205–210) and of a Retreat (*zhai* 齋) in four (211–214). Most of these rituals were performed for individuals (called “disciples” [*dizi* 弟子] in texts 199, 201, 204, 207; “believers” [*xinshi* 信士] in 209–210; “so-and-so” [*mou* 某] in 200, 202, 203, 205–207) or for heads of families or neighborhoods (*jiaozhai guan-shi* 醮齋官士; 198, 208, 211–214). In some cases, the priest’s invitation from the faithful is described: “having chosen a member of the One and Orthodox sect” (198); “having invited a True Friend” (200); “with the help of a feathered gentleman” (204, 210).

Yubuang shiqi ciguang dengyi 玉皇十七慈光燈儀

20 fols.

197 (fasc. 83)

“Seventeen Lights of the Compassion of the Jade Emperor.” The title refers to the seventeen aspects of the Jade Emperor’s salvific light, enumerated in 10 *Gaoshang yubuang benxing jijing* 1.9b–10a. He who “meditates on these aspects of the Worthy One and praises his names will be enabled to see the face of the Compassionate One [*ciyan* 慈顏] and will be saved” (1.11a). The present text, which begins with a hymn taken from the *Yubuang jing* (1.8b–9a) and ends with the recitation of 13 *Gaoshang yubuang xinyin jing*, uses the same term for “to praise” (*chengyang* 稱揚) as does the *yubuang jing* before each of its seventeen hymns to the Jade Emperor.

John Lagerwey

Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi 上清十一大曜燈儀

8 fols.

198 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual of the Eleven Great Luminaries.” The main body of this text is composed of the same eleven hymns found in 43 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai*

shenzhou jing. The rite is part of a Pure Offering (*qinggong* 淨供) performed by a Zhengyi 正一 priest in order to avert catastrophes linked to the “eleven greater heavenly bodies.” A *jiao* 醮 dedicated to these eleven bodies is mentioned in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 8.10a.

John Lagerwey

Nandou yanshou dengyi 南斗延壽燈儀

6 fols.

199 (fasc. 183)

“Southern Dipper Lamp Ritual for Prolonging Life.” The Southern Dipper of the title of this text is the Heavenly seat of longevity, object of the Offering (*jiaoli* 醮禮) of which the present rite forms a part. In order to perform this Offering, which identifies itself as belonging to both the Lingbao tradition and the *Hetu jiao* 河圖醮, one must first establish an astral sacred area (*xingtian* 星壇) and invite all the divinities whose names are given at the beginning of the text. The list of divinities is the same as for *198 Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi*.

The work *1224 Daomen dingzhi* mentions (6.3a) an Offering made simultaneously to the divinities of the Northern and Southern Dippers in order to obtain longevity; this work treats the Offering as a kind of *Hetu jiao*. The prayers given in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* (8.14b–17b), however, correspond not to those given here but to those in *624 Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing*.

John Lagerwey

Beidou qiyuan xing dengyi 北斗七元星燈儀

7 fols.

200 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual for the Seven Principles of the Northern Dipper.” The wishes expressed in this ritual addressed to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper ask for the forgiveness of sins, success for mandarins and merchants, conjugal harmony, and happy descendants.

The work *1224 Daomen dingzhi* mentions (6.3a) an Offering addressed “exclusively to the Seven Principles” of the Northern Dipper. The name of this ritual recalls the title of *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*, but the prayers given in the *Daomen dingzhi* (8.17b–21a) are those of *753 Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang*, not those of the present text.

John Lagerwey

Beidou benming yanshou dengyi 北斗本命延壽燈儀

4 fols.

201 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual of Northern Dipper Individual Destiny for Extending Longevity.” The destiny of every human being is determined by the lord of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper associated with his or her birth date. People should “invite a True Friend” to celebrate the present ritual of confession and wishes on their birthday.

Contrary to 199 *Nandou yanshou dengyi* and 200 *Beidou qi yuan xing dengyi*, each of which is composed of a number of prose and verse sections equal to the number of stars in the Southern or Northern Dippers, this text contains only five such sections—one for each of the five directions, no doubt—each of which is addressed to an astral lord of Fundamental Destiny (*benming* 本命).

John Lagerwey

Sanguan dengyi 三官燈儀

4 fols.

202 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual of the Three Officials.” This lamp ritual belongs to a Pure Offering performed for an individual on the days of the Three Principles, on which days “the Three Officials correct the accounts and the Nine Heavens grant happiness.”

John Lagerwey

Xuandi dengyi 玄帝燈儀

5 fols.

203 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual for the Emperor of the North.” The Pure Offering into which this lamp ritual is to be inserted is in honor of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝. The title given to him in the text, *Lingying yousheng zhenjun* 靈應佑聖真君, was first accorded this god in 1108.

The first of the wishes expressed in the present ritual asks for the forgiveness of the sins of “so-and-so” and for eternal life; the second wish asks the same thing for all the deceased of the family; and the third wish requests happiness for all members, living and dead, of the family.

1224 *Daomen dingzhi* mentions (6.4b) a *Beiji zhenwu jiao* 北極真武醮.

John Lagerwey

Jiutian San Mao siming xian dengyi 九天三茅司命仙燈儀

5 fols.

204 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual in Honor of the Director of Destiny of the Nine Heavens and His Brothers.” This ritual was to be held on the festival days of the immortalized Mao brothers: in the third month and on the second day of the twelfth month. The deities, whose presence is symbolically indicated by the unrolling of their images, are invoked one after another, offered incense and flowers, and praised in hymns. The text of these hymns comes, with slight modifications, from a famous inscription in honor of the brothers that was engraved on a stele on Maoshan 茅山 in 522 (see “Tianhuang taidi shou Maojun jiuxi yuce wen 天皇太帝授茅君九錫玉冊文,” 304 *Maoshan zhi* 1.1a–2b).

Since the honorary titles of the patron saints contain the expansions *zhenying* 真應, *miaoying* 妙應, and *shenyong* 神應, bestowed upon them in 1316 (see “Yanyou jiahao sanjun liguan sanfeng gao 延祐加號三君立觀三峰誥,” 304 *Maoshan zhi* 4.19a–21a), the date “forty-second year of the holy government” (2a9) could refer to the year 1321. However, if we take into account the other texts of this group (197–203) some of which seem to date to the Ming, the reference could also be to the year 1409.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Wanling dengyi 萬靈燈儀

4 fols.

205 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual for the Myriad Spirits.” This text forms part of a Pure Offering addressed to the divinity of one’s choice, rather than to all divinities, as the title would seem to suggest. The intentions are general in character: for the prosperity of the country, the family, and all beings.

John Lagerwey

Wuxian lingguan dadi dengyi 五顯靈觀大帝燈儀

5 fols.

206 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual in Honor of the Great Emperors Five Manifestations of Divine Contemplation.” The five deities invoked in this brief ritual have their origin in the widespread southern Chinese cult of the Five Supernatural Powers (Wutong 五通), a class of ancient, one-legged nature demons. In 1109 a Wutong sanctuary in Wuyuan (Jiangxi), which—obviously under Buddhist influence—had successfully cleaned up the images of its gods, was officially recognized, while in 1111 the Wutong spirits in general were declared objects of an illicit cult (*Song huiyao jigao* 1:771–72 and 843).

Over the following centuries, the cult of the five deities of Wuyuan—who, after an official change of their names in 1174, came to be called Wuxian 五顯 (Five Manifestations)—established numerous branch temples and became enormously popular throughout southern China. In the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the Wuxian were elevated to national rank. Ming Taizu ordered state offerings to be performed for the gods at an official temple (completed in 1389) near his capital (see *Xiyin ji* 5.30a–32a).

Taoists categorically opposed both the illicit worship of the Wutong spirits and the officially sanctioned cult of the Wuxian until well into the thirteenth century (cf. 780 *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* 1b–2b). During the same period, however, Marshal Ma 馬元帥, a Taoist deity developed to fight especially the Wutong, began to take on the features and qualities of his victims. This process eventually resulted in a complete fusion of Marshal Ma with the Wutong/Wuxian and in the integration of the latter into the Taoist pantheon (cf. also 1192 *Dahui jingci miaole tianzun shuo fude wusheng jing*).

The lantern ritual presents the five gods as five heavenly marshals with new Taoist names in addition to the titles officially granted to them in 1213. Although there is evidence that, in the thirteenth century, local Taoists, despite the objection of higher Taoist authorities, participated in the worship of the Wuxian, it is unlikely that the present text was adopted into this standardized collection of lantern rituals before the high imperial honors bestowed on the cult during the early Ming.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Tusi dengyi 土司燈儀

8 fols.

207 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual for the Soil God.” The Pure Offering of which this rite forms a part is performed in order to expiate the faults committed against the god of the soil in the course of a recent building or moving project. The text is divided into nine parts, addressed to the stellar divinities in charge of the Eight Trigrams and the center. The titles given these divinities are close to those used in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 199.

John Lagerwey

Dongchu siming dengyi 東厨司命燈儀

5 fols.

208 (fasc. 83)

“Lamp Ritual for the Director of Destiny of the Eastern Kitchen.” After the invocation, addressed to the divine lords of a new and an old stove, a prose introduction explains that “the Stove [God] is the head of the household: he inquires into errors and judges sin. Given the importance of his position, one does well to show him the greatest respect.” This display of respect is what the “officer of the *jiao* 醮” accomplishes by lighting five lamps, each of which is linked to the invocation both of the Director of Destiny of the Eastern Kitchen (cf. the title) and of the Stove God of one of the Five Directions. The Eastern Kitchen is probably related to the Eastern Peak. Robert Chard (“Master of the family,” 232–43) gives a nearly complete translation of this text, which he considers to be later than 69 *Taishang dongzhen anzaio jing*.

John Lagerwey

Zhengyi wensi bidu shendeng yi 正一瘟司辟毒神燈儀

5 fols.

209 (fasc. 84)

“Ritual of the Divine Lamps for Averting Disease, from the Zhengyi Offices of Epidemics.” This ritual belongs to a Pure Offering performed for the faithful in order to expel the emissaries who spread epidemics in each of the Five Directions. “The Great Way produces epidemics,” we read, “but people bring them upon themselves. When the gods look into wrongdoing, one has only one’s virtue to rely on.”

Fortunately, the “path of prayer” is wide, and all gods — whether Taoist or Buddhist, great warriors or sages of antiquity, painted or sculpted — give their protection to any region that presents them with an offering.

John Lagerwey

Liming ruixiang dengyi 離明瑞象燈儀

7 fols.

210 (fasc. 84)

“Lamp Ritual for Auspicious Signs from the South.” This ritual of “auspicious fu” belongs to an “Offering to pray for peace.” The latter serves especially to protect the region whose faithful have it performed from the fires sent by the gods of the Palace of Southern Clarity to punish sin (*li* 離 refers to the trigram of that name, a trigram that occupies the south and corresponds to fire). Six groups of gods, all associated with the south, are asked to forgive the sins of the faithful and grant them their favors.

The work 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* (6.5a) mentions an Offering to Conjure the Flames and Drive off Catastrophe (*Shihuo rangzai jiao* 誓火禳災醮).

John Lagerwey

Huanglu jiuyang fanqi dengyi 黃籙九陽梵炁燈儀

11 fols.

211 (fasc. 84)

“Yellow Register Lamp Ritual for the Brahman Energies of the Nine Yang.” The “Brahman Energies of the Nine Yang” are the qi of the Nine Heavens; they illumine the underworld and enable the souls of the deceased to ascend to Heaven. The ritual consists in invoking the Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 of each direction in turn and then, having lit a lamp, of singing the appropriate hymn from 318 *Daoxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing*.

In this version, the ritual begins in the east; the version in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 25 begins in the northeast.

John Lagerwey

Huanglu jiuzhi dengyi 黃籙九卮燈儀

4 fols.

212 (fasc. 84)

“Yellow Register Lamp Ritual of Nine Goblets.” This is an abbreviated version of the traditional Jiuyou 九幽 Retreat described in 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke*. There are also a number of terminological borrowings from 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 56.10a–13a and 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 24.1a ff.

John Lagerwey

Huanglu poyu dengyi 黃籙破獄燈儀

8 fols.

213 (fasc. 84)

“Yellow Register Lamp Ritual for Destroying Hell.” As in the traditional Jiuyou 九幽 Retreat, each section of this ritual is addressed to one of the ten Lingbao, as opposed to the Jiuku tianzun. At the end of each prose paragraph, the celebrant is to make an act of contrition so that the soul of the deceased may escape from the difficulties associated with the hell of the respective direction (*channan* 懺難; cf. 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 35.2b, *chan shendeng* 懺神燈; and 174.3a, *chan moufang diyou* 懺某方地獄). As in 466 *Jidu jinshu* 35, the celebrant then burns a “fu order” and, finally, recites a verse.

The three rituals in 211 *Huanglu jiuyang fanqi dengyi*, 212 *Huanglu jiuzhi dengyi*, and the present text all follow the same order, starting in the east, continuing clockwise around to the northeast, and finishing in the center. In this ritual alone, the center is associated with the “lower direction,” thus accentuating the dramatic character of this ritual for the “destruction of hells.”

John Lagerwey

Huanglu wuku lundeng yi 黃籙五苦輪燈儀

5 fols.

214 (fasc. 84)

“Yellow Register Revolving Lamp Ritual for [Release from] The Five Sufferings.” This ritual of “wheel-lamps” designed to “turn the light around” (and cause it to shine in the underworld) associates all souls in distress with the soul of a recently deceased person and aims to save them from the Five Sufferings and the three forms of filth. It may be an abbreviated version of 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 24.19a–24a.

John Lagerwey

Taiqing daode xianhua yi 太清道德顯化儀

20 fols.

Ming (1318–1644)

793 (fasc. 564)

“Ritual for the Epiphany of [the Heavenly Worthy] of the Way and Its Power of the Taiqing [Heaven].” This is a service to be celebrated on the occasion of Laozi’s birthday, on the fifteenth day of the second moon (1b). Laozi’s canonical title here is *Taiqing xuanyuan wushang santian wuji dadao taishang laojun daode tianzun* 太清玄元無上三天無極大道太上老君道德天尊: the third of the Sanqing triad and thus, according to modern cosmology, the ruler of the Taiqing Heaven.

The latest manifestation (*xianhua* 顯化) to be mentioned (2a) is Laozi’s appearance on Maoshan (in 1109, to Liang Wuzhen 梁悟真, revealing to the latter the *Jiaqu Tiantong huming miaojing* 加句天童護命妙經; see 632 *Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing* 5a).

The service is composed of three parts. The first ritual is an offering for the birthday (*shangshou gongxian* 上壽供獻; 1a–7b). Incense, flowers, candles, tea, wine, and fruits are offered in succession. The second ritual is an homage to the epiphany (*xianhua liwen* 顯化禮文; 7b–15a), which celebrates with hymns and recitations nine stages in the manifestations of Laozi in this world, the fourth one corresponding to the revelation of the doctrine of the Zhengyi order (*zhengyi zhi zongjiao* 正一之宗教; 10b).

The final ritual is the *jiao* 醮 (*xianhua shejiao yi* 顯化設醮儀; 15a–20a). It is of a simple *daochang* 道場 type and is structured around three libations of wine.

The hymns throughout are in seven-character lines and distinctly vernacular in character.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing dongxuan mingdeng shangjing 上清洞玄明燈上經

7 fols.

367 (fasc. 180)

“Scripture of Lighting Lamps, of the Shangqing Dongxuan Canon.” The classificatory title *Shangqing dongxuan* indicates that this text is cognate with the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* liturgy. The text does not follow the usual scriptural model and provides no clues for dating. It expounds in highly ornate classical language the importance of the ritual of lighting lamps and singing hymns while they burn, and of the celebration of Retreats for the atonement of sins (1b). The more lamps are lit the better, and those who practice this ritual during three years will rise up to Heaven in broad daylight. One of the lights is the Prince of Lamps (*dengwang* 燈王), and in his honor four stanzas of a classical hymn are chanted. Then follow nineteen other stanzas. The work closes with a formula for the Feeding of the Hungry Ghosts (*shishi zhongsheng chou* 施食衆生咒).

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.1.c Registers and Talismans

Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu 太上三五正一盟威籙

6 juan

1208 (fasc. 877)

“Register of the Sworn Alliance with the Powers of the Orthodox One.” According to many early sources, such as 1205 *Santian neijie jing* 1.6a, the registers of the Sworn Alliance were originally bestowed on Zhang Daoling 張道陵 by Laozi in 142. It is, however, doubtful that the present version of twenty-four apotropaic talismans represents the original revelation.

The same series is quoted in 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* 4.22a–b under the general title “Ritual Registers in Twenty-four Degrees.” It can again be found in 1212 *Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* by ZHANG WANFU, and in 796 *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei yuelu jiaoyi* by DU GUANGTING.

In the present version, the twenty-four talismans are connected to the Twenty-four Dioceses (*zhi* 治) and to the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions (*xiu* 宿). Among the locations given for the different *zhi*, we find the name of Huai’an jun 淮安軍 for the

Changli zhi 昌利治. Huai'an jun is a military district created in 997. The present version of this register must, therefore, date from the Song period (960–1279).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhengyi yansheng baoming lu 太上正一延生保命籙

10 fols.

1216 (fasc. 880)

“Life-Prolonging and Destiny-Protecting Register, of the Zhengyi School.” This is a protective talismanic register for lay people, issued in print by the Longhu shan 龍虎山, and signed by Zhang Yuqing 張宇清, the Forty-fourth Heavenly Master (d. 1427). The attestation of transmission and the introduction to the register, in the form of a short scripture, give the impression that this register belongs to an earlier stratum and can be compared to similar documents from the Tang and early Song dynasties (compare 1209 *Taishan zhengyi mengwei falu yibu*).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhengyi jie wuyin zhouzu bilu 太上正一解五音咒詛祕籙

8 fols.

1217 (fasc. 880)

“Secret Register of the Most High for Obtaining Release from Incantations and Spells from All Quarters.” Like the 1216 *Yansheng baoming lu*, this register was issued, originally in printed form, by the Heavenly Masters of the Longhu shan 龍虎山 and

signed by the master of the forty-fourth generation, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427). The register is accompanied by the image of an exorcist with a sword and a bowl of charm water (fig. 42). The divine agents of the register are the lords of the five kinds of barbarians (Yi 夷, Man 蠻, Rong 戎, Di 狄, and Qin 秦), widely invoked in Zhengyi rites since the early middle ages.

As examples of black magic, the text offers: “having one’s portrait drawn by an evil person who then pierces the heart

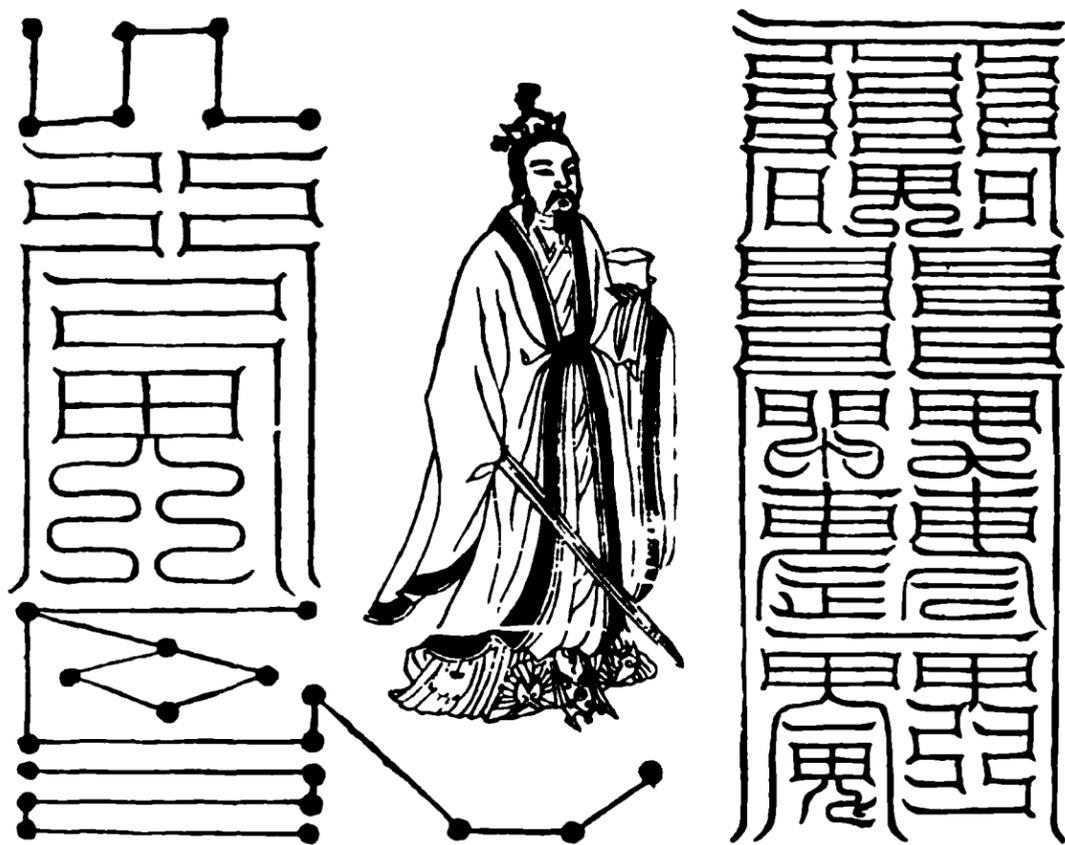


FIGURE 42. Exorcist with a sword and a bowl of charm water (1217 2a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1200)

with a knife”; “having been possessed by the spirits of earth altars, sacred areas, forests, brooks, wells, and stoves”; “having been the victim of incantations and spells by the devious masters of the vulgar cults of the River God [Hebo 河伯].”

Kristofer Schipper

Sidou ershiba xiu tiandi dalu 四斗二十八宿天帝大籙

21 fols.

1397 (fasc. 1048)

“Register of the Heavenly Sovereigns of the Four Dippers and the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions.” This work is in fact a collection of registers, presumably for lay people, as there is no clearly correlated initiation or ordination ritual. Following the Register of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions mentioned in the title, we find the Register of the Divine Immortals of the Five Sovereigns, Planets, and Peaks (*Wudi wuxing wuyue shenxian luwen* 五帝五星五嶽神仙籙文; 16b–17a), the Register of the Seal of Yue of the Most High Three-and-Five Yellow Deity (*Taishang sanwu huangshen yuezhang lu* 太上三五黃神越章籙), and the Register of the Most High Three-and-Five Dance of Pacing the Mainstay in Exchange with Heaven (*Taishan sanwu jiaoqian bugang lu* 太上三五交乾步綱籙). The latter register consists of an outline of a choreography, unlike the others, which contain talismans and a list of deities. According to the formulary for the document of transmission, the recipient was ill as a result of demon possession.

The Register of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions is, as usual, divided into four parts, one part for the constellations of each of the four directions. The Register of the Seal of Yue is placed under the command of the generals of the Three Officials, and is also largely exorcistic in nature.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.1.d Miscellanea

Sandong xiudao yi 三洞修道儀

11 fols.

By Sun Yizhong 孫夷中, *hao* Baoguang zi 葆光子; 1003

1237 (fasc. 989)

“Protocol for the Practice of the Tao of the Three Caverns.” This is a remarkable little handbook on the liturgical organization of Taoism after the troubled period of the Five Dynasties (907–960). The author writes in his preface that he obtained the information contained in this handbook from Liu Ruozhuo 劉若拙, *hao* Huagai xiansheng 華蓋先生, a daoshi from the Beimang 北邙 diocese in Sichuan. Liu has a biography in the LZTT 47.12a; it states that Liu served as Taoist registrar (*zuojie daolu*

左街道錄) in the capital during the Kaibao era (968–975) and that he collaborated in the reestablishment of the Taoist examination system.

Sun worked as an official in Jingzhou 荊州 (Hunan). He met Liu Ruozhuo and received his teachings when the latter traveled through the region in 1003 (year *guimao* 癸卯). Sun wrote this work the same year.

The introduction gives a summary of the development of liturgical Taoism until Sun's times. The description he gives of the liturgical organization is much the same as that of the Tang (618–907) period (see the introduction to part 2.B.1). In addition to the traditional ordination grid, we find a superior group of hermits (*shanju daoshi* 山居道士) as well as the first mention of an exorcistic order that practiced the Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法) of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi leigong fa* 北帝雷公法; 9a). Also remarkable are the separate ordination grades for women, at all levels, except for the Beidi 北帝 exorcistic order.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Cuishan lu 萃善錄

2 juan

Ming (1368–1644)

983 (fasc. 617)

“Anthology of Good [Deeds].” This is a collection of written memorials for Retreats and Offerings. The texts here are the Intentions (*yi* 意) specially written by prominent persons for inclusion into the written prayers presented in such rituals. Among the rituals we find those that celebrate the emperor's birthday, that give thanks for rain (1.1a) and for the integrity of the territory of the Song empire (1.6b), and many others. Many Intentions come from Hangzhou in the Southern Song period (1127–1279) and refer to Taoist sanctuaries there. A series of memorials (2.2b–4b) presented at the death of the Thirty-seventh Heavenly Master, Zhang Yudi 張與棣, *hao* Xiwei zi 希微子, should date from 1294 (see 1463 *Han Tianshi shijia* 3.12b). The patriarch was called to the capital in that year and died there suddenly. The memorials were presented (and perhaps written) by his mother, who recalls the conditions of his travels to the capital and laments that they would never meet again. Many other Heavenly Masters are mentioned, as well as various dignitaries of the Song. This collection must have been compiled at the Longhu shan 龍虎山 headquarters of the Zhengyi 正一 Heavenly Master order on the basis of documents preserved there. It is therefore an important source for the history of the Heavenly Masters. None of the documents seem to date from the Ming, but the nature of some of the texts that date from the Song period and are highly nationalistic in tone or that date to the Yuan (1279–1368) and contain, like those mentioned above, barely hidden criticisms of the Mongol government make it unlikely that it was compiled under the Yuan.

Yuan Bingling

Daomen shigui 道門十規

20 fols.

By Zhang Yuchu 張宇初; 1406

1232 (fasc. 988)

“Ten Rules for the Taoist.” This work was compiled by the forty-third Zhengyi patriarch. Zhang Yuchu had received the imperial order to revise the books of Taoism and responded by writing a dedication to the emperor that set out the foundations of Taoism, as well as its subsequent development, successive schools, and filiations. The author combines these presentations with his rules of demeanor for professional practice, which the Taoist priest (*daoshi*) should observe. This work signals the beginning of the editorial efforts that culminated in the production of the *Da Ming Daozang jing* 大明道藏經, decades after the death of Zhang Yuchu in 1410.

Zhang Yuchu reveals his perception of the history of Taoism, dividing the historic schools and filiations into two groups: the “teachings” of Quanzhen 全真 and Zhengyi 正一 are contrasted with the “methods” of, for example, the Qingwei 清微 Taoists. Zhang Yuchu explains the “interior” and “exterior” aspects of Taoism—that is, self-cultivation and liturgy, which serve the individual practitioner and the community, respectively. Self-cultivation and liturgy complement each other. The rules also deal with the proper operation of cloisters: with the administration of their staff and economic facilities. Zhang Yuchu emphasizes that the teachings of Laozi and his inauguration of Taoism were the basis for the above teachings and methods.

Florian C. Reiter

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Reiter, *Grundelemente*, 22–35.

3.B.2 Sanhuang

Sanhuang (Dongshen 洞神) texts were already predominantly concerned with divination and prophylactic rites in medieval times; the few markedly Sanhuang texts of this later period continue this tradition. The *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖 is, together with the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文, the fundamental document of the Dongshen division. It is found here in 856 *Sanhuang neiwen yibi* in a late rendition that became popular in modern China and that was frequently reproduced on exorcistic objects such as door screens, entrance stones, talismans, and so on. The two texts related to the white monkey (*boyuan* 白猿) concern popular magic and divination.

Taishang dongshen sanyuan miaoben fushou zhenjing

太上洞神三元妙本福壽真經

9 fols.

Edited by Miao Shanshi 苗善時, *zi* Taisu 太素, *hao* Shian 實庵; 1324
651 (fasc. 343)

“Real Scripture of Blessings and Longevity, Revealing the Marvelous Root of the Three Principles, from the Dongshen Canon.” In his colophon (dated 1324), the editor of the present version, the famous Taoist scholar and Quanzhen 全真 master Miao Shanshi, relates that he obtained this ancient scripture, corrected it, and divided it in (six) paragraphs (*zhang* 章), whereupon a laymen by the name of Wang (Wang jushi 王居士, *hao* Zhongan 仲庵) had it printed and distributed.

The claim that this was an “old scripture” carries some weight because the text shows clearly that before its division into paragraphs, this was a liturgical scripture in the classical form. Spoken by the Dasheng zu xuanyuan daode tianzun 大聖祖玄元道德天尊, a title that makes us think of the Tang canonization of Laozi, this scripture was placed in the Dongshen section of the canon, probably by the Ming editors.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing jinque yuhua xianshu baji shenzhang sanhuang neibi wen

太清金闕玉華仙書八極神章三皇內祕文

3 juan

855 (fasc. 575)

“Inner Secret Writs of the Three Sovereigns, [Constituting] the Divine Chapters of the Eight Poles of the Lustrous Writings of Immortality of the Gold Portal of Taiqing.” The book is a compilation of the methods of the Sanhuang tradition. It is not likely to be earlier than the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279); note, for instance, the legend of Zhenwu 真武 (1.7a), the reference to the Four Saints (*sisheng* 四聖; 1.5b), and the designation of the altar as *Zhengyi tianhuang tan* 正一天皇壇 (1.26b), reflecting the supremacy of the Zhengyi organization.

Each juan of the book pertains to one of the Three Sovereigns, referring each sovereign to one of the three cosmic levels of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Juan 1 describes the different sections of the Taoist pantheon, as well as some methods of summoning the celestial spirits for exorcistic purposes. The fourth paragraph (1.11a–25b) constitutes a complete demonology, comprising seventy-two categories of “selfish spirits” or “spiritual outlaws” (*sishen* 私神) that may nevertheless be made subservient. Juan 2 deals with methods of living in the mountains (*jushan zhi fa* 居山之法). It describes, for instance, the method of “inviting [the support of] the god of the mountain by means of offerings” (*jiaoqing shanzhu* 醮請山主; 2.4a–b), and it contains comprehensive lists to be used for the identification of herbs and minerals

(2.7a–10b). Juan 3 deals with methods of avoiding danger and cultivating immortality, such as the method of the five simulations (*wujia fa* 五假法; 3.7b–8a, 11b–13a), by means of which one may obtain invisibility to evil influences (see 864 *Yuanyang zi wujia lun*).

Poul Andersen

Sanhuang neiwén yibi 三皇內文遺祕

14 fols.

856 (fasc. 575)

“Transmitted Secrets of the Inner Writs of the Three Sovereigns.” The book is not earlier than the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), since the *Zhengyi yuantan* 正一元壇 of Longhu shan 龍虎山 is mentioned (9b). There is a postface 后序 to the book (though it precedes the text) signed by a Ziwei daoren 紫微道人 and dated to a *bingwu* 丙午 year. Fukui Kōjun suggests that the year in question may be 1306 (*Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū*, 190).

The book contains incantations—referred to as inner writs (*neiwén* 內文)—of each of the Three Sovereigns, comprising 315, 264, and 216 characters, respectively. Those who study this Way (and who are initiated) should wear these *neiwén* on their body (5b). The book also contains three seals, mainly for protection when entering mountains (5b–7a). The work 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 17.19b–20b is quoted for the stories related to the first two of these seals: *Huangshen* 黃神 and *Yuezhang* 越章 (9b–10a). The book concludes with a version of the fu representing the true forms of the Five Peaks (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖; 11a–13b).

Poul Andersen

Taishang tongxuan lingyin jing 太上通玄靈印經

11 fols.

859 (fasc. 576)

“Book of Efficacious Seals for Penetrating Mystery.” This text deals with several seals, of which the most important—that for “communicating with the powers” (*tongling* 通靈)—probably constitutes the basis of the book’s title. Without this seal, says Laozi, “no technique of the Tao can succeed.” The present text, therefore, describes how to make, transmit, and use this seal, to which it also gives the names “Lingbao seal” and “fu-seal of the Eight Archivists (*bashi* 八史) for communicating with the spirits.” These Eight Archivists are genies in the service of the owner of the seal.

The text says that an Offering to these Eight Archivists was composed at their behest in 155 by the Master of the Spirits (*shenshi* 神師; i.e., Zhang Daoling 張道陵?). The method was later transmitted to Master Zhuge 諸葛 [Liang?] in 347, but “since then very few people have received it” (6b–7a).

The same Master Zhuge explains how to “communicate with the powers and put demons to work.” If one wishes, for example, to order the demons to rob a person, one must “first sacrifice to them.” Using the “fu for summoning demons,” an adept could oblige the “demon soldiers” to go forth and take revenge on an enemy. Or an adept could change red beans into soldiers by pronouncing a formula over them after first wiping them with a mixture of sheep’s blood, cow’s bile, and mud.

Texts such as this clearly derive from an archaic stratum of Taoism. The *Xuandong tongling fu* 玄洞通靈符, for example, are mentioned together with the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 in 671 *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shang jing* 2.11b, an early Lingbao scripture of about 400 A.D. It may also be noted that here (3a), as in 767 *Taishang tongling bashi shengwen zhenxing tu* 13a, Laozi is called the Master of Old (*xianshi* 先師).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongshen xuanmiao boyuan zhenjing 太上洞神玄妙白猿真經

19 fols.

858 (fasc. 576)

“Veritable Scripture of the White Monkey.” This scripture is said to have been revealed by a white monkey. An account of its transmission is found in 861 *Taishang liuren mingjian fuyin jing* 1.1a–b. The latter text and the present one derive from the same source, which itself underwent major modifications (see 13b in the present work and the article on 861 *Fuyin jing*).

This text comprises in all five diagrams (*shi* 式), which differ from those found in 861 *Fuyin jing*. The performance of the rituals attached to each diagram is regulated by instructions concerning the diagram of Primordial Chaos. The most important place is assigned to a ritual accompanying the concoction and absorption of alchemical substances (second diagram, 3b–10b).

The problem of dating this work is analogous to that concerning 861 *Fuyin jing*. The latter’s tentative Northern Song (960–1127) date is based on indications in its juan 4, which does not derive from the revelation of the white monkey (see the article on 861 *Fuyin jing*). With respect to the present work, such a date can be regarded only as a *terminus post quem*.

Marc Kalinowski

Taishang liuren mingjian fuyin jing 太上六壬明鑑符陰經

4 juan

861 (fasc. 577)

“Book of the Most High Luminous Mirror of the Six Ren Tallying with Yin.” The title of this work bears little relation to its contents. The reference to the mantic

method of the six *ren* 六壬 is out of place here, even though instances of this method are described in 3.9b–15b. The title “Writ of the Monkey” (*Yuanshu* 猿書) is more apt (see 3.28a, indicating a work in four juan, and 1.1b, three juan).

The latter appellation confirms the account of the book’s transmission at the head of the first juan. The author affirms that the work was transmitted, without title and in fragmentary form, by a white monkey to the preimperial strategist Sun Bin 孫臏. The present edition was copied from an earlier version (3.25b, 4.16b). Another fragment of the original is represented by 858 *Taishang dongshen xuanmiao boyuan zhenjing*.

Of uncertain date, this work may have been composed under the Northern Song (960–1127). Most of the methods described in juan 4, especially the “concealed return of the Jade Maiden” (4.2a), correspond to the versions given in *Dunjia fuying jing*, compiled between 1034–1038 (cf. the article on 587 *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue*).

The first three juan form a coherent set of small nocturnal rites constructed around a series of symbolic diagrams in increasing order of complexity. The instructions given for the first one, the Diagram of Primordial Chaos (*hunyuan shi* 混元式; 1.1b), apply to the others as well. A sketch of the altar area is included in 3.29a–b.

Marc Kalinowski

Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu 太上赤文洞神三籙

24 fols.

Attributed to TAO HONGJING (456–536); Song (960–1279)?

589 (fasc. 324)

“Three Dongshen Registers of Red Writs of the Most High.” The term *chiwen* 赤文 is explained in the preface, on the basis of a quotation from TAO HONGJING, as the original term for “register” (*lu* 籙; 1a).

The compilation of the book is attributed to TAO HONGJING and the preface (1a–b) to Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670). The preface describes the content of the book as “formulas [for the registers] of the Dongshen canon [dongshen shi 洞神式]” and states that these formulas were transmitted in three volumes, separate from the main corpus of Dongshen texts, and included in the section of untitled works in the version transmitted by GE HONG and BAO JING (see 640 *Dongshen badi miaoqing jing*). The undated manuscript from which the present book was copied is said by the preface writer to have been executed in the calligraphy of the Qi and Liang dynasties (fifth and sixth centuries). It is claimed to have been transmitted to a daoshi of old, Zhang Qiao 張喬, who used it to great effect. The date of the preface itself is Zhen-guan 貞觀 6 (632), but the added cyclical characters *renzi* 壬子 do not correspond to this year.

To all appearances the preface is a forgery. The assertion of an early transmission of the book during the Six Dynasties (220–589) clearly is unfounded. The contents

suggest, rather, that it belongs to the Song dynasty. More specifically, the mention of the Black Killer (Heisha 黑殺; 13a) suggests a date later than the 930s, when this deity came to the fore with the foundation of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (see 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan*). The use of hand mudras (*qiayin* 掐印) and of pseudo-Sanskrit words (14b–15a) point in the same direction.

The preface is followed by an introduction to the book (1b–2b). It places the totality of the work in the context of systems of divination based on direct communication with the spirits, referring to the “inner writ of the Book of Changes” (*Zhouyi neiwen* 周易內文) and to the “decisive speech of the Three Jia spirits” (*sanjia chutan* 三甲處談), while stating that these systems represent the most exalted part of the Book of Three Registers (*Sanlu pian* 三籙篇; 1b). The *Zhouyi neiwen* corresponds to the method described in the first of the registers contained in the book “Bagua nei jixiong yinglu 八卦內吉凶應籙” (3a–8a), which relies on fu representing the spirits of the Eight Trigrams. The expression *sanjia chutan* apparently refers to the method of the third register (“Taishang xuanmiao qianjin lu 太上玄妙千金籙”; 16b–24b), in which the fu of the Three Jia spirits play a prominent part. Both methods center on the summoning of spirits by means of fu and serve mainly for predicting the future. Both methods also include offerings (*ji* 祭; 3b) to the spirits. These methods may be compared to the similar but more complex method described in an earlier text of the Dongshen tradition, 1202 *Dongshen badi yuanbian jing*.

The second register, “Taishang xuanmiao tongshen lu 太上玄妙通神籙” (8b–16b), describes a number of minor methods for protection, such as the method of five simulations (*wujia fa* 五假法; 10a–11a), by which the adept may identify his body with one of the Five Elements in order to obtain invisibility or protection from the dangers associated with the element in question. This register also contains a series of methods connected with agricultural work for sowing crops, praying for rain, etc. (11b–12b).

Poul Andersen

Taishang dongshen wuxing zhusu riyue hunchang jing

太上洞神五星諸宿日月混常經

7 fols.

657 (fasc. 343)

“Book of the Five Stars, Sundry Mansions, and the Sun and the Moon.” Incorporated in the Dongshen canon, this small popular book on the planets, the mansions, and the sun and the moon that mix with the everyday world (*hunchang* 混常) tells us about the moments and the ways of incarnation of these stellar powers on Earth. Those who are able, thanks to this book, to recognize these powers and meet them will greatly benefit. Many great men of the past, the latest mentioned being Li Chunfeng

李淳風 (602–670), owed their power to their knowledge of the whereabouts of the stars.

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.3 Lingbao

In the period of transition during the Five Dynasties (907–960), many new forms of ritual were created. Next to the Lingbao 靈寶 services for the salvation of the deceased, we see the appearance of solemn Offering (*jiao* 醮) rituals for the benefit of the living. These Offerings centered on the worship of star deities. They were called Great Offerings to the Entire Firmament (*luotian da jiao* 羅天大醮) and were performed within the context of state ritual (see also part 3.B.1). Already present in the kingdom of Shu, where DU GUANGTING performed them for the rulers of the Former Shu (907–925) kingdom (see Verellen, “Liturgy and sovereignty,” 70), these rituals were also adopted by the Song (960–1279) emperors. The eminent statesman WANG QINRUO was commissioned to present an official version of the *Luotian jian* (see 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 3, by Lü Yuansu 呂元素). Over time, smaller *jiao* rituals of a more specialized nature, presented to the stars and cosmic forces responsible for phenomena such as fires or epidemics, also appeared.

The most important form of liturgy, however, remained that for the salvation of the dead. The already quite extensive rituals were now enlarged with meditation practices and rites for the “salvation through sublimation” (*liandu* 鍊度) of the souls of the deceased. *Liandu* rites were adaptations from a great number of different sources, such as Shangqing meditation techniques, Inner Alchemy, Tantric Buddhist methods, and shamanistic practices. These new rites blended into the ancient Lingbao liturgy to form the “Great Shangqing Lingbao Rites” (*Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法) of the Southern Song (1127–1279).

For the study of this eclectic form of Taoist ritual, the great manuals are the most complete and informative material we have, whereas the individual scriptures and litanies do not yield much new material. The hymnbooks that appear here, some of which were authored by emperors of the Song and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties, form a special group of texts.

In keeping with the arrangement of corresponding parts in this work, we first list the scriptures, then the litanies, and finally the liturgical manuals and hymns. The reader is, however, advised to first consult the great manuals for a general overview of what had become a complex and highly elaborate form of solemn ritual.

At the same time, this section features a large number of rites that were meant to be performed on a more modest scale, and even as an individual practice. For instance, the *liandu* rites presented, explained, and commentated by Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 in 548 *Taiji jilian neifa* could be performed by a single adept, as well as in the framework of a large service. Other rites, for which we have scriptures as well as rituals, concern personal or family welfare and are linked to anniversaries and funerals.

The *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 (484–494, 495–497) and *yulu zhai* 玉籙齋 (499–504) appear to have been performed at the Ming court.

3.B.3.a Scriptures

Taishang xuhuang tianzun sishijiu zhang jing 太上虛皇天尊四十九章經

14 fols.

18 (fasc. 25)

“Scripture of the Most High Heavenly Worthy of Vacuity in Forty-nine Sections.” This text should be seen, according to its title, in the context of the rites for the salvation of the soul. The forty-nine paragraphs of the text evoke the forty-nine days of mourning, as well as the forty-nine letters of jade (*yuzha* 玉札) used in the *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法 to release the deceased’s soul from the hells (see, for example, 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 6.1a). If Xuhuang tianzun 虛皇天尊 seems identical, in our text, to Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, the revealer of the *Duren jing* (cf. CHENG XUAN-YING’s commentary, 87 *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 1.2b), he is also, during the Song period, a divinity who received the *Lingbao dafa* from the Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人 (see 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.3a). The ritual tradition to which JIN YUNZHONG claims to belong is called “Xuhuang’s teaching” (1223 *Lingbao dafa* 16.1a). We also find Song (960–1279) references to “Xuhuang’s marvelous way” (1219 *Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 12.1b) and to “Xuhuang’s spirit altar” (566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, preface, 2a). Xu Xuan already mentions a “Xuhuang’s terrace,” which seems to be a permanent altar relating to the Sanqing guan 三清觀 in the district of Qingjiang 清江 in Jiangxi province (*Xugong wenji* 20).

The text consists essentially in moral maxims pronounced by the Tianzun. These maxims are sometimes given in response to the questions of a certain Miaoxing zhenren 妙行真人. Human beings must turn away from all that embroils them in this world—money, prestige, pleasure—before it is too late.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianzun jidu xuehu zhenjing 元始天尊濟度血湖真經

3 juan

72 (fasc. 32)

“True Scripture for Salvation from the Lake of Blood, [Revealed] by Yuanshi Tianzun.” This text describes the creation and the unfolding of a ritual in Heaven for the salvation of the souls of women who have died in childbirth. The ritual includes the singing of the name of Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 (who made the vow to save all souls from the hell named Lake of Blood), the promulgation of a writ of pardon, the destruction of the hell, an ablution, a sermon, and the *pudu* 普度 (Universal Salvation ritual). At the end of the book, Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 states that the ritual is to be revealed on Earth.

Several elements make it possible to situate this text in the school of the Great Lingbao Method (*Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法): references to that method (1.2b, 3.2a); reference to the “grand circulation of Brahman energies” (*daxing fanqi* 大行梵炁, 1.3a; cf. 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 116.2b); mention of Yuanhuang 元皇 (2.3a; cf. 466 *Jidu jinshu* 115.7a); and so on. The “secret language of Brahman qi” (*fanqi yinyu* 梵炁隱語, 1.51–b) first appears in the *Duren jing* 度人經 in the latter half of the thirteenth century (e.g., 91 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 3.22b–23a).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo jiuyou bazui xinyin miaojing 太上說九幽拔罪心印妙經

2 fols.

74 (fasc. 32)

“Marvelous Heart-Seal Scripture in which Taishang Explains the Nine Hells and Release from Sin.” Taishang is here identified with Yuanshi tianzun; he explains to the Jiuku zhenren that people “drown in the Sea of Suffering” because of their evil thoughts, for “all comes from the heart.” In order “not to give rise to the ‘heart of this world,’” one need only recite the present text and thereby save one’s ancestors from hell.

The recitation of this text is required in the context of a *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 Retreat, according to 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.8a: it is the recitation to be used at the “sixth hour,” the hour of the hungry souls (cf. 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 308.20a and 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 71.8b, both of which mention the recitation of a *Jiuyou bazui miaojing* 九幽拔罪妙經).

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianzun shuo ganlu shengtian shenzhou miaojing

元始天尊說甘露昇天神咒妙經

3 fols.

75 (fasc. 32)

“Marvelous Scripture of the Divine Formulas for Sweet Dew and Ascension to Heaven, Preached by Yuanshi Tianzun.” At the request of Prince Moonlight (Yueguang tongzi 月光童子), the Tianzun reveals how to save the unfortunate dead: one must first take a handful of dirt from the place where the person died and place it in a clean container. One then spreads a feast-offering for the soul of the dead person and pronounces two formulas, one to give the soul sweet dew and the other to enable it to ascend to heaven. These two formulas may be found in the text of the Universal Salvation ritual (*pudu* 普度) given by JIANG SHUYU (508 *Wushang huan-glu dazhai licheng yi* 30.8b–9b), and JIN YUNZHONG (1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 38.28b–29a).

The recitation of this text, mentioned in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* catalogue (VDL 14), is required in 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 71.8b. The question of a possible relationship to the Buddhist apocrypha regarding Prince Moonlight remains to be studied.

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John Lagerwey

Yuanshi shuo gongde fashi wangsheng jing 元始說功德法食往生經

3 fols.

76 (fasc. 32)

“Scripture on the Merit of Effecting Rebirth by Ritual Distribution of Food, Spoken by [the Heavenly Worthy of] Primordial Beginning.” This text propagates the importance of donating food for the souls of the deceased, enabling them to leave hell.

The Zhenren of Great Compassion and Great Wisdom (Daci dahui zhenren 大慈大慧真人) asks by what means the souls suffering in hell can be saved. The Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning replies in form of *gāthās*, saying that the dead who are ritually nourished will be reborn in Heaven, and emphasizing the merits of such a distribution of food.

The *gāthās* of our text are found in 547 *Lingbao yujian*, both as invocations with associated magic characters and secret formulas in pseudo-Sanskrit (36.8a, 36.10a–b [modified]), and in the context of the rite for the transformation of ritual food (*bianhua fashi* 變化法食; 17a).

The present scripture is also part of today's Universal Salvation ritual (*pudu* 普度) in Taiwan (cf. Schipper, "Taiwan zhi dao jiao wenxian," 178).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang yuhua dongzhang bawang dushi shengxian miaojing

太上玉華洞章拔亡度世界仙妙經

12 fols.

Postface dated 1143

77 (fasc. 32)

"Marvelous Scripture of the Cavern-Stanzas of the Jade Flower of the Most High for Saving Souls from Hell, Saving the World, and Ascension to Heaven." The text is composed of nine stanzas. The term *Yuhua* 玉華 (Jade Flower) appears in the text (10b), but its meaning is not explicit. The text contains many allusions to alchemical practice, and this term is probably also to be understood in that context.

A postface to the book recounts its origin in the following manner: a herdsboy from Xiaoyi 孝義 (Fenyang, Shanxi) by the name of Du Changchun 杜長春 encounters an immortal and is "suddenly enlightened" (*dunwu* 頓悟). He begins to talk of abstruse matters, to produce inspired poetry, and to heal people with fu writings and charm-water. As his renown spreads, the monks of Wanshou gong 萬壽宮 in Tianning 天寧 (Fenzhou) decide to invite him to "carry out transformations" (*xinghua* 行化) in a sanctuary (*an* 庵) built especially for him behind their monastery. Their aim is to earn enough money to be able to repair the monastery, severely damaged by the wars at the end of the Northern Song. The monks invite him to a first *jiao* 醮-Offering (in which more than a thousand persons participate) on the day of the Superior Principle in 1143. It is at this time that Du proposes to transmit to them "a perfect text of the Most High, in one juan, that does not yet circulate in the world." It requires two further *jiao*, in the second and third months, to complete the transmission of the present text.

The scripture begins in the Heaven of Jade Purity on the Xuandu Mountain, where Yuanshi tianzun, having ascended his throne, "causes the gongs to resound" in order to summon all the spirits of the universe to an "assembly of the Law." The zhenren Tongxuan takes advantage of the occasion to ask what to do so that the people "in the inferior world" stop sinning and return to the Orthodox Way: "It is difficult to follow the [way of] human heaven, easy to go down the path of demons. Not seeing the light, men fall into the yin fortress [hell]." Even those who, in fear of death, practice the techniques of longevity end nonetheless in the Bureau of Earth. What should be done?

Yuanshi tianzun explains to Tongxuan that all the problems occur because people do not obey the Ten Commandments. "It is not the hells that [visit punishment]

on people; people bring punishment on themselves.” The Tianzun then describes a “golden book of the Jade Gate, hidden in the upper library of Xuandu,” whose recitation will save people from all the ills of the three spheres of the universe.

John Lagerwey

Lingbao tianzun shuo luku shousheng jing 靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經

5 fols.

Twelfth or thirteenth century

333 (fasc. 167)

“Scripture of the Treasury of Reimbursements for the Gift of Life.” This scripture has been translated and studied by Hou Ching-lang, who dates it to the twelfth or thirteenth century (*Monnaies d’offrandes*, 35–36). It begins with an assembly in the Land of Clarity (Jingming 淨明), at which the zhenren Guangmiaoyin 光妙音 asks the Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 why people’s fortunes differ. The Tianzun responds that everyone depends for his or her life on a celestial bureau, and on a terrestrial court for his or her body. The debts thus contracted with respect to Heaven and Earth can be calculated precisely in accordance with the year of one’s birth—a table is provided—and these sums must be reimbursed. Failure to do so, or failure to recite the present text while reimbursing the treasury, means the deceased must pay their debts by suffering first in hell and then in the next life. The Tianzun also provides a list of the names of the officers to whom the money should be sent during rituals addressed to the Three Treasures.

In conclusion, the zhenren takes it upon himself to “spread this teaching in order to save the living and the dead.”

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Hou Ching-lang, *Monnaies d’offrandes*.

John Lagerwey

Taishang laojun shuo wudou jinzhang shousheng jing

太上老君說五斗金章受生經

8 fols.

653 (fasc. 343)

“Book of the Golden Emblems of the Five Bushels Conferring Life, Spoken by the Most High Laojun.” This small liturgical scripture is still recited today for the rites of replenishing the Heavenly Treasury (*tianku* 填庫) for the living. It probably dates from the Song dynasty (see Hou Ching-lang, *Monnaies d’offrandes*, 41).

The first part of the text explains the relationship between the date of birth and one of the Five Bushel constellations. Five talismans, here called *zhang* 章 (emblems), are revealed to heal diseases related to the Five Viscera and, hence, the Five Bushels.

The second part of the text introduces the relationship between a person's Fundamental Destiny and the sum of money (*benming yinqian* 本命銀錢 or *kucai* 庫財) to be refunded to the Heavenly Treasury. The rate of reimbursement for each Destiny is indicated (6b–7a). Hou Ching-lang has translated and studied the present text.

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Hou Ching-lang, *Monnaies d'offrandes*, 40–49.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhuan shen duming jing

太上洞玄靈寶轉神度命經

10 fols.

340 (fasc. 176)

“Scripture of Salvation and Translation of the Soul.” In this text, the Most High Lord of the Way explains to the True Person of the South Pole Who Saves Lives (Nanji duming zhenren 南極度命真人) how to save a dying person: one must invite a Taoist to recite a confession for the person and transmit to him or her the commandments. Money must also be given for the production of religious images and the copying of sacred books. When the dying person shall have received the commandments, “his spirit will be translated into the Mystery” (*zhuan shen ru miao* 轉神入妙) and he or she will be reborn in the Land of Purity and Peace.

This introduction is followed by a confession addressed to each of the ten directional Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 in turn. Following this confession, the Most High completes his explanations concerning the function of the ritual: the Taoist should continue recitations for 100 days after the person's death. A Taoist should also stand and burn incense to the left of the path along which the coffin is carried for burial. Then the Taoist should do the same beside the tomb so that the god of the soil may welcome kindly the soul of the deceased person.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao shishi duren miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶十師度人妙經

11 fols.

341 (fasc. 176)

“Ten Masters who Save the People.” The title refers to ten rules of behavior laid down by Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 after he had witnessed the tragic results of human sin. The story that precedes the promulgation of these rules is complicated: in a land some 600,000 *li* 里 to the west of Kunlun there reigns a king who, having been converted to the Great Way by his wife, gives to a zhenren by the name of Gaishi 蓋世 the title Master of the Land (*guoshi* 國師). Gaishi explains the nature of good

government to the vassals of the king (he recommends a mixture of Confucian ethics and Legalist administrative principles). Once they have returned to their respective lands, these vassals dispatch tribute to the king in sufficient quantity to enable him to celebrate a seven-day Retreat, during which the scriptures of the Greater Vehicle are to be explained.

At this juncture the Tianzun himself appears: having taken on the form of the Master of the Land, he descends into the sanctuary. The king, the queen, and the vassals are greatly confused, but Lingbao tianzun soon establishes his identity by performing a series of miracles inspired by the opening text of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing*. Once he has, in this manner, gathered around him all the spirits of Heaven and hell, he recites the scriptures of the Greater Vehicle and then creates a “pure pool” in which his audience bathes. After having then defined the Great Way for these purified beings—it is neither life nor death, neither empty nor full—he surfeits them with seven days of explanation of “the essence of the Law” (*fayao* 法要): this is “the first ritual of the Grand Distribution” (*diyi dashi fashi* 第一大施法事), another name for the *pudu* 普度.

This text, in other words, is designed both to serve as an ideological guide to church-state relations, and to identify a specific form of the *pudu* ritual as the ultimate expression of the worship of the Great Way.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao taixuan puci quanshi jing

太上洞玄靈寶太玄普慈勸世經

11 fols.

342 (fasc. 176)

“Scripture of the Exhortations of Puci.” Puci 普慈, or Universal Compassion, is the name of a zhenren who, while in “the world of the various recompenses,” asks Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 about the origin of human suffering and how to avoid it. The Tianzun responds point by point and each time enjoins Puci to transmit the answer to Earth in the form of an “exhortation.” Each exhortation is linked to the description of an associated failing that leads to one of eighteen hells.

The best way to escape these hells is the practice of deep meditation (*ruding* 入定). Lay people who haven’t the time for such meditation should “listen to the Greater Vehicle, be initiated in its commandments, and confess their faults.” To give money for preaching, for copying the scriptures, and for making religious images is also a source of great merit. One can also “pay” for the sins of the dead by having monks (*fazhong* 法衆) recite confessions for them. Whatever contributes to the propagation and the exegesis of the Law is meritorious.

The text contains (8b) a reference to 9 *Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing* 1.6a ff.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing 太上洞玄靈寶救苦妙經

4 fols.

374 (fasc. 181)

“Scripture for Salvation from Distress.” This scripture was among those printed at imperial behest in 1017 (VDL 47). Its title refers to the Heavenly Worthy Who Saves All Souls in Hell from Distress. The scripture, composed for the most part in five-character rhymed verse, was—and still is—recited during rituals for the salvation of the souls of the deceased (see 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 207.1a and 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 55.28a). The work 399 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo jiuku miaojing zhujie* is a commentated edition of this text.

The present edition contains a postface by Zhao Ziqiu 趙子球, dated 1124. Zhao recounts the transmission of the text from Officer Tian 田功曹, a master of the Celestial Pivot Rites (*Tianshu fa* 天樞法), to a Buddhist monk. The recitation of the text having been urged on the monk by his deceased mother during a mediumistic seance conducted by Tian, Tian transmitted the book to the monk and thus enabled him to save his mother from hell.

John Lagerwey

Taishang jiuku tianzun shuo xiaoqian miezui jing

太上救苦天尊說消愆滅罪經

3 fols.

378 (fasc. 182)

“The Tianzun Who Saves from Distress Explains how to Extirpate Guilt.” The Tianzun offers this explanation to an assembly of celestial dragons, Kings of Hells, and Directors of Destiny summoned to hear his sermon. The sequence of rituals he recommends and the names given the kings of the ten hells are essentially the same as those in 215 *Difu shiwang badu yi*. Once these rituals have been completed, the Tianzun orders that the merit obtained be assessed and that all “solitary souls” be released from hell. The scribes of the twenty-four hells of Fengdu direct these souls to the Smelting Pool, which they enter carrying “a powerful fu of the cinnabar world for transforming the body.” The passage through the pool enables them “to return to the banks of the Tao.”

The fu is probably related to the *Danyang fu* 丹陽符, which first appears in the Southern Song (1127–1279; cf. 548 *Taiji jilian neifa*).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo Fengdu baku yule miaojing 太上說酆都拔苦愈樂妙經

1 fol.

379 (fasc. 182)

“Scripture of the [Tianzun of the] Joy That Saves from the Distress of Fengdu, Preached by the Most High.” Dwelling in the Palace of the Far East—normally associated with Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊, in the upper regions of Fengdu—the Tianzun of the Joy That Saves from Distress radiates a light of five colors that reveals the innumerable sufferings of the souls in hell. Moved by what he sees, the Tianzun preaches this “marvelous scripture that saves all the denizens of Fengdu” in order to “save all those poor souls who are guilty of sins.”

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo shilian shengshen jiuhu jing 太上說十鍊生神救護經

2 fols.

636 (fasc. 341)

“The Most High Proffers the Scripture of Salvation and of the Birth of the Spirits by the Ten Sublimations.” The use of the term *lian* 鍊 (sublimation) in the title and the reference to 318 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing*, one of the basic texts of sublimation rites from the Southern Song (1127–1279) on, suggest that this brief scripture is an adaptation of these rites meant for popular use. In the scripture, the Most High Lord Lao assumes all forms and roams the universe in order to “promote the religion and save the living and the dead.” To that end he urges the “concentrated and sustained recitation” of the names of the Tianzun Who Save from Distress in the Ten Directions. Mention of this practice of reciting the name(s) of Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 may be found in the postface (dated 1124) of 374 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing*.

John Lagerwey

Taishang lingbao tianzun shuo yanshou miaojing 太上靈寶天尊說延壽妙經

2 fols.

382 (fasc. 182)

“Marvelous Scripture on Longevity, Preached by the Most High Lingbao Tianzun.” The light that radiates from the body of Lingbao yanshou tianzun 靈寶延壽天尊 as he preaches the present text on the Mountain of Golden Light in the far south attracts all the celestial dragons and demon kings of the universe. They implore the Tianzun to put an end to the cycle of rebirth. When the dragons and demons have returned to their places, five zhenren and four young lads—representing, perhaps, the Five Peaks and the Four Seas—begin to perform a ritual that ends with hymns to the name of the Tianzun. In response to this ritual, the Tianzun emits a light from the crown of his

head. This light penetrates the hearts of this audience, but it does not bring spiritual awakening.

A fifth lad asks the reason for this lack of enlightenment. They do not understand the True Tao, replies the Tianzun. To know the True Tao is to know that “all appearances [*faxiang* 法相] are empty and vain.” If the people of the world wish to prolong their lives, they should, therefore, invite a Taoist to celebrate an “Offering and Retreat of Destiny” (*Benming zhaijiao* 本命齋醮; cf. the *Baoming zhai* 保命齋, a ritual also composed of a retreat and an offering, in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 201–3).

It may be noted further that the terms *shengguang* 神光 and *jinguang* 金光 are characteristic of the Lingbao dafa school (e.g., 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 8.1a, 41.7b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao xiaorang huozai jing 太上洞玄靈寶消禳火災經
3 fols.

Song (960–1279) or later

359 (fasc. 179)

“Lingbao Scripture for Warding off Fires.” Judging from the celestial administration that figures in this short scripture, it probably dates from the Song or later (cf. *Song shi* 103.2513–15 on cults devoted to fire divinities from the eleventh century on).

During a visit of inspection in the Ministry of Fire (*huobu* 火部), Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 bestows Chiling shenjun 赤靈神君, the highest divinity there, with a formula of invocation (*zhou* 咒) and exhorts him to promulgate it in the world (2a, 5; read *shi* 世 for *shi* 是). Through this invocation, repentant sinners may obtain remission from their offenses and are spared the fires that are normally sent as a punishment by the celestial ministry. Moreover, the deities offer their protection should nonauthorized fire demons (*huojing* 火精, *huoguai* 火怪) attempt to harm the house of these sinners.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo luotian dajiao shangpin miaojing
太上洞玄靈寶天尊說羅天大醮上品妙經

3 fols.

1194 (fasc. 875)

“Wondrous Superior Scripture of the Great Offering to the Entire Firmament, Set Forth by Lingbao Tianzun.” This short scripture to be recited for general protection is not likely to be earlier than the Southern Song. The text begins with the expression *ershi* 爾時 (at that time) and continues with a list of deities similar to those used in

the invitation of standard rituals. This list does not correspond to the list of deities in any of the preserved rituals of the *luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮 (cf. texts 477–479).

Poul Andersen

Taishang lingbao tianzun shuo rangzai due jing

太上靈寶天尊說禳災度厄經

2 fols.

357 (fasc. 179)

“Scripture for Averting Disaster and Escaping from Difficulty, Preached by Lingbao Tianzun.” The Tianzun preaches this text to an assembly of the gods gathered in the Land of Chanli 禪黎國土. In it he explains how lay people can avert any pending disaster by making confession before [a statue of] the Jade Emperor and reciting the present text.

John Lagerwey

3.B.3.b Litanies

Taishang lingbao shangyuan tianguan xiaoqian miezui chan

太上靈寶上元天官消愆滅罪懺

11 fols.

533 (fasc. 295)

Taishang lingbao zhongyuan diguan xiaoqian miezui chan

太上靈寶中元地官消愆滅罪懺

9 fols.

534 (fasc. 295)

Taishang lingbao xiayuan shuiguan xiaoqian miezui chan

太上靈寶下元水官消愆滅罪懺

9 fols.

535 (fasc. 295)

“Litany of the Three Officials of the Three Principles for the Abolition of Faults and Remission of Sins, a Lingbao Scripture.” This modern liturgical canon, invoking 120 Heavenly Worthies for each of the Three Principles, is currently recited on the occasion of *jiao* 醮 services.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiyi jiuku tianzun shuo badu xuehu baochan

太一救苦天尊說拔度血湖寶懺

15 fols.

538 (fasc. 296)

“Litany for Deliverance from the Lake of Blood, Preached by Taiyi Jiuku Tianzun.” After having listened to the True Person of Marvelous Transport (*Miaoxing zhenren* 妙行真人) describe the horrors of the Lake of Blood hell and of the kinds of sins and deaths that lead to it, the Heavenly Worthy Who Saves from Distress (*Jiuku tianzun* 救苦天尊), promulgates several *fu* that illumine the hell in question and dry it up. The Tianzun then utters a number of wishes for the souls in the Lake of Blood: women who have died in childbirth, soldiers who have died in battle, people who have died of illnesses that disfigured them or caused them to give off a stench, and criminals. At last the Tianzun floods the lake with his own light, and all the souls thus liberated burn incense and recite the present litany “of homage to the Three Pure Ones and all the saints.” The litany that follows is indeed addressed first to the Three Pure Ones and then to the entire spiritual hierarchy. The latter’s middle ranks are occupied by a number of *zhenren* and Heavenly Masters, and its lower ranks by the officers in charge of the underworld.

*John Lagerwey**Qingxuan jiuku baochan* 青玄救苦寶懺

11 fols.

539 (fasc. 296)

“Litany of the Savior from Distress.” This litany is addressed to the Father of Great Mercy (*daci dabeizhi fu* 大慈大悲之父), the Great Monad who dwells in the blue heaven (*qingxuan* 青玄) in the east. The litany is divided into nine sections, each of which supplicates the Great Monad to pardon the sins of “so-and-so, who has died,” and to “issue the *fu* orders that will save the soul of the deceased person” from the Nine Realms of Darkness. This prayer for pardon and salvation is followed by the expression of homage to the nine aspects of the Great Monad (cf. the “nine times nine” bowings [*bai* 拜] mentioned on page 1b).

The mention of a “master of the Great Way of the Yellow Register” and of “writs of pardon” suggests a modern date for this text.

*John Lagerwey**Cizun shengdu baochan* 慈尊昇度寶懺

9 fols.

540 (fasc. 296)

“Litany of the Merciful Worthy for Ascension to Heaven.” This litany is to be recited in the context of a Yellow Register Retreat performed by “companions of the

Tao” on behalf of a deceased person. It is divided into three sections, each of which is composed of bows, confessions, and a Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛). The bows are associated with expressions of homage to the Three Pure Ones, the Great Monad (the Merciful Worthy of the title), the Tianzun Who Saves from the Nine Realms of Darkness, and the Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 of the Ten Directions. The three confessions are for the sins of the body, the heart, and the mouth (*sanye* 三業). The end of the text states that the priest should go on to chant the Precious Titles” (*baohao* 寶號) of Jiuku tianzun and to recite his scripture. As in 539 *Qingxuan jiuku baochan*, mention is made here of the issuance of indulgences called “golden writs” (*jinshu* 金書).

John Lagerwey

***Dongyue dasheng baochan* 東嶽大生寶懺**

20 fols.

541 (fasc. 296)

“Litany of Abundant Life of the Eastern Peak.” This litany is addressed in the first place to the emperor of Abundant Life (*dasheng* 大生), who reigns over the Eastern Peak, and secondarily to the many subordinate divinities in his infernal administration. That this is a Ming (1368–1644) text may be inferred from references to the “present dynasty” (4a) and to the guilt incurred by those who criticize Confucians or Buddhists (13a). The text contains three sequences of confessions: for the sins of the body, the heart, and the mouth. Each sequence is preceded by nine expressions of homage to the emperor of the Eastern Peak. The priests who recite this book for the faithful are called *fazhong* 法衆 (8a).

John Lagerwey

***Taishang yaotai yisuan baoji yannian chan* 太上瑤臺益算寶籍延年懺**

10 fols.

812 (fasc. 566)

“Litany for Prolonging Life by Increasing the Years in the Precious Books of the Most High Jade Terrace.” The invocation of the names of 150 Tianzun creates the possibility of finding a receptive ear in the numberless palaces of the Milky Way. Prominence is given to the deities in that realm who have ultimate responsibility for requests for longevity: the High August of the Purple Department (*Zifu gaohuang* 紫府高皇) and the Most Holy of the Pure Metropolis (*Qingdu zhisheng* 清都至聖; cf. 536 *Taishang xuansi miezui zifu xiaozai fachen* 1b).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

3.B.3.c Rituals

Taishang chujia chuandu yi 太上出家傳度儀

14 fols.

By JIA SHANXIANG 賈善翔 (fl. 1061)

1236 (fasc. 989)

“Ordination Ceremony for Those Who Leave the Family.” This ceremony for disciples entering monastic life is by the author of 774 *Youlong zhuan*. The present work is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* (VDL 85).

After having invoked the pantheon of patriarchs, the ordination ceremony starts (with a reading from the *Benji jing* 本際經). Then follow the rites of clothing and capping. The final act is the fixing of the crown with the pin (*zanguan* 簪冠), which is done by the ordinand’s master (*dushi* 度師). The order in which the different vestments are presented and the hymns (*zan* 贊) that accompany them correspond to today’s practice. The *dushi* then expounds the Ten Precepts (*shijie* 十戒). These commandments correspond to the set of such interdictions in 177 *Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie* 1b–2b, an ancient Lingbao scripture.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu zhai toujian yi 金籙齋投簡儀

11 fols.

Edited by ZHANG SHANGYING 張商英 (1043–1121)

498 (fasc. 267)

“Ritual of Casting Tablets, of the Golden Register Retreat.” The casting of tablets containing messages, together with images of dragons, into ravines and mountain crevasses was a usual practice performed at the conclusion of a solemn service comprising a Golden Register Retreat and a Great Universal Heavenly Offering (*putian dajiao* 普天大醮) presented to 3,600 deities, defined here in terms of “share positions” (*fenwei* 分位). The purpose of the ritual is to announce the merits obtained by the foregoing service to Heaven and Earth.

The author was a high court official who received the order from Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1101–1125) to revise the liturgy of the Golden Register Retreat. According to the colophon (*houxu* 後序; 9a–11a), which appears to be the presentation of the entire revision of the *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 of which the present text must have been the last chapter, Zhang recalls that the emperor had expressed his dissatisfaction with a new liturgy that had been recently elaborated by “some daoshi” at court. ZHANG SHANGYING studied the earlier liturgies by LU XIUJING, DU GUANGTING, and Yang Jie 楊傑 (fl. 1080) and revised the liturgy of the Retreat according to nine principles aimed

at weeding out inconsistencies and conforming to ancient usage. Zhang also found that the liturgy should have fewer names for the deities of the Tao and should be, in a general way, less adorned.

The present ritual was performed on the sacred area of the Golden Register Retreat and Universal Offering service. The tablets were subsequently dispatched to their final destination. In spring and summer, this destination was the holy Mount Wangwu 王屋山 for the mountain tablets (*shanjian* 山簡) and the Jishui 濟水 River, which has its source at the foot of Mount Wangwu, for the water tablets (*shuijian* 水簡). In autumn and winter, the tablets were addressed, respectively, to Mount Qian 潛山 and the Yangzi River at Caishi 采石, both in Anhwei province. This ritual amounted to a considerable simplification with respect to the ceremonial for the *toujian* 投簡 rites under earlier Song (960–1279) emperors (see *Dongzhai jishi* 1.4–5, and Chavannes, “Le jet des dragons”). The text edited by Zhang here is also much shorter than that of the same ritual by DU GUANGTING (see 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 55). The present version, moreover, presents some particulars: for instance, the Opening of the Incense Burner (*falu* 發爐; 3a–b) is archaic and appears to be based on the early Tianshi dao 天師道 tradition.

Kristofer Schipper

***Luotian dajiao zaochao ke* 羅天大醮早朝科**

7 fols.

477 (fasc. 265)

***Luotian dajiao wuchao ke* 羅天大醮午朝科**

7 fols.

478 (fasc. 265)

***Luotian dajiao wanchao ke* 羅天大醮晚朝科**

8 fols.

479 (fasc. 265)

“Morning, Noon, and Evening Audiences of the Great Offering to the Entire Firmament.” WANG QINRUO mentions the name *luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮 in 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan* (dated 1016), where it forms part of the ritual code—that is, the nomenclature and regulations for the different kinds of *jiao* 醮-services—revealed by the divine protector of the dynasty in 960. The highest level of the ritual is said to include three types of services, all of which were performed for the benefit of the country: the *putian dajiao* 普天大醮, the *zhoutian dajiao* 周天大醮, and the *luotian dajiao*. It is said that the *luotian jiao* may also be sponsored by commoners on behalf of the ruler (1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan* 1.3a–4a). The *zhoutian* and *luotian jiao* Offerings

are well known already from the ritual documents of DU GUANGTING (see, e.g., the *ci* 詞 supplication of a *luotian jiao* for the king of Shu, in 616 *Guangcheng ji* 9.5b–6b; cf. Verellen, “Liturgy and sovereignty,” 70).

On 6 February 1015, WANG QINRUO was instructed by the emperor to edit the *luotian jiaoyi* in ten juan (*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 86.10a). Having completed the work, he submitted it, accompanied by the memorial preserved in 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 3.1a–3a. According to this memorial, the work consisted of nine juan with the lists of deities (*shengwei* 聖位), and one juan with the actual ritual. It seems possible that the present group of rituals (perhaps together with the following 480 *Luotian dajiao shejiao yi*) represents a part of, or even the totality of this one juan (the three rituals here formed a single juan originally, as stated explicitly in 477 *Luotian dajiao zaochao ke* 1a). Note, however, that on one point, at least, the rituals differ from the Song standard received from DU GUANGTING: in the three offerings of incense (*san nianxiang* 三捻香) that follow immediately after the reading of the supplication. In the present liturgy the presentations of the incense end with an expression of allegiance to the Worthy of the Way (Daozun 道尊), the Worthy of the Scriptures (Jingzun 經尊), and the Worthy of the Masters (Shizun 師尊), respectively. While this practice accords with present-day liturgy (see, for instance, Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei*, 274–76), the norm in Song dynasty rituals was to end in all three cases with an expression of allegiance to the Worthy of the Masters. Compare 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 22.2a–10b, where JIN YUNZHONG criticizes the new custom—adopted, for instance, by JIANG SHUYU in 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*—of dividing the group of the Supreme Three Worthies (Taishang sanzun 太上三尊, i.e., the Three Pure Ones), to whom the incense is offered, and associating each with one of the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶).

Poul Andersen

Luotian dajiao shejiao yi 羅天大醮設醮儀

9 fols.

480 (fasc. 265)

“Ritual for the Display of Offerings of the Great Offering to the Entire Firmament.” This ritual belongs with the preceding three Audiences (477–479) and like these may derive from the *luotian jiaoyi* 羅天醮儀 established by WANG QINRUO.

Poul Andersen

Jinlu dazhai suqi yi 金籙大齋宿啓儀

6 fols.

484 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu dazhai qimeng yi 金籙大齋啓盟儀

4 fols.

485 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu dazhai buzhi shuojie yi 金籙大齋補職說誠儀

9 fols.

486 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu zaochao yi, Jinlu wuchao yi, Jinlu wanchao yi 金籙早朝儀 金籙午朝儀
金籙晚朝儀

7 fols., 6 fols., 7 fols.

487 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu zhai chanfang yi 金籙齋懺方儀

10 fols.

Attributed to DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933)

488 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu jietan yi 金籙解壇儀

6 fols.

489 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu shejiao yi 金籙設醮儀

7 fols.

490 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu fangsheng yi 金籙放生儀

4 fols.

491 (fasc. 266)

“Golden Register Retreat.” A complete liturgical service, intended to obtain blessings for the imperial family. Although the rituals have been catalogued as separate texts, they form a complete set, presented in the order in which they are to be performed. The rite of the Opening of the Incense Burner (*falu* 發爐) is the same throughout and corresponds to the version revised by Yang Jie 楊傑, a high official at the court of Emperor Shenzong (r. 1068–1085). Yang revised DU GUANGTING’s liturgical texts (see 498 *Jinlu zhai toujian yi* 9b). One of the changes Yang made was to alter the title of the supreme Taoist deity, from Most True Jade Emperor on High of the Great Infinite Supreme Tao (Taishang wuji dadao zhizhen yuhuang shangdi 太上

無極大道至真玉皇上帝; see 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 16.3b–5a) to Jade Emperor on High in the August Sky of the Most Sacred Three Pure Ones (Sanqing shangsheng haotian yuhuang shangdi 三清上聖昊天玉皇上帝). The present set of rituals dates, however, from a later period, because the offering ritual 490 *Jinlu shejiao yi* mentions, on page 3a, among the host of saints to be invited to the banquet, the Heavenly Master of the thirtieth generation, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126; here called Xujing zhenjun 虛靖真君). The same text mentions, on page 5a, the fact that the present liturgy had been composed on imperial orders.

The ritual 483 *Jinlu zhai qitan yi*, which the Ming editors of the canon placed just before the present set, is not part of this modern liturgy.

The Nocturnal Announcement (484 *Jinlu dazhai suqi yi*) ritual is very simple. Many rites that normally are part of a *suqi* 宿啓 are missing, such as the installation of the Five True Writs (*an wu zhenwen* 安五真文; cf. 483 *Jinlu qitan yi* 8b–9b and 1411 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* 35b–37a). The rites of confirmation of the officiants (*buzhi* 補職) and the subsequent promulgation of the rules to be observed during the service (*shuojie* 說誡) are normally also part of the *suqi* ritual. Here they form a distinct ritual (486 *Jinlu dazhai puzhi shuojie yi*; see below).

The next ritual in the present service is a sermon to the participants in the retreat. Called *qimeng* 啓盟 (address to the sworn [brothers and sisters]), this is a speech by the grand master (*gaogong* 高功) at the beginning of the service, on the significance of the Retreat (for similar sermons by LU XIUJING, see 349 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao fazhu jing* 2b).

The sermon enumerates twenty-seven kinds of Retreat: the “interior” ones, such as the Fast of the Heart (*xinzhai* 心齋) of Zhuangzi, as well as those of the “exterior.” There are four interior *zhai* 齋 related to the mystical practices of the *Shangqing jing* 上清經 and to other traditions, and twenty-three (the number twenty-two on page 3a is a mistake) exterior retreats, including the *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 itself. The latter, together with four other kinds of Retreat, is to be accomplished by the emperor; the remaining eighteen types of liturgical service are for commoners. Among these “popular” rites, we find the well-known Yellow Register Retreat (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋), as well as less-known forms such as the *tianbao zhai* 天保齋 and the *beidi zhai* 北帝齋. The last ritual to be listed is the Retreat for the Conversion of Barbarians (*huahu zhai* 化胡齋). The text emphasizes that retreat rituals originated in the Lingbao tradition.

The next item, 486 *Jinlu dazhai puzhi shuojie yi*, concerns the confirmation of the officiants (*buzhi*) and the subsequent promulgation of the rules to be observed during the service (*shuojie*), which here form a distinct ritual. According to Yang Jie’s version of the Golden Register Retreat, these rites had to take place separately in front of the Master in the Netherworld (*xuanshi* 玄師; see 1226 *Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 6.3a–b). The same text can be found in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 16.

The three audiences (487 *Jinlu zaochao yi*, *Jinlu wuchao yi*, *Jinlu wanchao yi*) are again simple. There is no indication that there was a presentation of written memorials (*ci* 詞) was part of the proceedings. The spells to invoke protective deities (*weiling zhu* 衛靈祝) are similar to those found in modern texts (compare 466 *Jidu jinshu* II.2b–4b).

The text of 488 *Jinlu zhai chanfang yi* is attributed to DU GUANGTING. The *chanfang* 懺方 were rites of penitence and remorse confessed toward the Ten Directions of the universe as part of the Audiences. Here not only do they form a separate item, but the idea of the confession of sins appears to be lacking in the text. This singular form of *chanfang* cannot be found in any of the liturgies written by DU GUANGTING, and the attribution we have here is therefore highly doubtful.

The work 489 *Jinlu jietan yi* contains the ritual of the dispersion of the altar, which is the symmetrical opposite of the *suqi* ritual. Here the rite of removing the Five True Writs is mentioned on page 4a, whereas, as we have seen, the initial installation of these writs is absent from 484 *Jinlu dazhai suqi yi*.

The offering ritual in 490 *Jinlu shejiao yi* is again simple. The rites for the liberation of living beings (491 *Jinlu fangsheng yi*) show, as is to be expected, marked Buddhist influence. Here, too, the complete text can be found in 466 *Jidu jinshu* 21.4a–7b, the sole difference being that where our text refers to the patron of the ritual as *shengzhu* 聖主 (sage patron), implying the emperor, the ritual manual substitutes *zhaizu* 齋主 (Retreat patron).

Kristofer Schipper

Yulu sanri jiuchao yi 玉籙三日九朝儀

3 juan

505 (fasc. 269)

“Morning, Noon, and Evening Audience Rituals for Three Successive Days of a Jade Register Retreat.” The final Evening Audience is lacking. The rituals are entirely classical in their articulation and wording. The introit hymns are taken from the Pacing the Void hymns (*buxu* 步虛) by the Song emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125; cf. 607 *Yuyin fashi*). These Audiences could apparently be used in any kind of service, as there is no specific reference to either the repose of the dead or blessings for the living. The vows for the welfare of the ruling dynasty are common to all Audience rituals.

Kristofer Schipper

Yulu jiyou panhu yi 玉籙濟幽判斛儀

9 fols.

506 (fasc. 269)

“Tending the [Food] Measure to Save [the Souls] in Darkness, a Ritual for the Jade Register Retreat.” This is a Taoist *pudu* 普度 ritual for the feeding of the hungry ghosts

and the saving of the abandoned souls (*guhun* 孤魂). The final hymn (8b–9a) in this comparatively short ritual has a distinctly popular quality.

Kristofer Schipper

Huanglu shinian yi 黃籙十念儀

7 fols.

510 (fasc. 291)

Huanglu wulao daowang yi 黃籙五老悼亡儀

4 fols.

511 (fasc. 291)

Huanglu zhai shi tianzun yi 黃籙齋十天尊儀

8 fols.

512 (fasc. 291)

Huanglu zhai shizhou sandao badu yi 黃籙齋十洲三島拔度儀

11 fols.

513 (fasc. 291)

“Yellow Register Retreat.” These four rituals for requiem services belong to a single modern and popular liturgy. The first ritual, 510 *Shinian yi*, centers around the rite of the Ten Devotions (*shinian* 十念), doing obeisance to the gods of the Ten Directions. Each invocation is followed by a short hymn. The ritual begins with the recitation of the Taoist version of the Buddhist Three Refuges (*sangui* 三歸).

The 511 *Wulao daowang yi* is a mourning rite paying homage to the Five Elders (*wulao* 五老): the Heavenly Lords (*tianjun* 天君) of the five cardinal points. Here each invocation is followed by a long hymn in seven-syllable verse in vernacular narrative. The third ritual, 512 *Shi tianzun yi*, pays respect to the Heavenly Worthies of the Ten Directions, while 513 *Shizhou sandao yi* describes in prose and in vernacular poetry the blessings of the paradises of the Ten Islands and the Three Isles of the Immortals, the hopeful destination of the deceased on whose behalf the rituals were celebrated.

Kristofer Schipper

Huanglu jiuyou jiao wuai yezhai cidi yi 黃籙九幽醮無礙夜齋次第儀

29 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

514 (fasc. 291)

“Outline of the Ritual for the Unobstructed Night Retreat and the Offering to [the Souls in] the Nine Realms of Darkness of the Yellow Register.” These are the complete instructions for the performance of a ritual for universal salvation (*pudu* 普度) of

Orphan Souls (*gubun* 孤魂), to be performed as a deed of merit following a major Yellow Register requiem service for a deceased person.

The text is enhanced by a detailed map of the layout of the sacred area (*daochang* 道場) for the *pudu* ritual (26a–27b). The presentation of different documents is accompanied by the offering of “money and horses” (*qianma* 錢馬) for their transmission (2a). The indications concerning the administrative divisions of the empire into prefectures (*fu* 府) followed by districts (*xian* 縣) indicate a Song date for this text. This kind of *pudu* rite became a general feature of requiem services during the Southern Song.

Kristofer Schipper

Huanglu jiuku shizhai zhuanjing yi 黃籙救苦十齋轉經儀

19 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)

509 (fasc. 291)

“Ritual of the Tenfold Scripture Recitation for the Yellow Register Retreat That Saves from Distress.” The scripture to be recited ten times in succession is 374 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing*. The aim of the ritual is the salvation of the souls of the ancestors of the patron of the Retreat (*zhazhu* 齋主). A similar ritual, which constitutes in fact a small service, is described in the colophon written by Zhao Ziqiu 趙子球 at the end of 374 *Jiuku miaojing*.

Each successive recitation is addressed to one of the ten Tianzun enumerated in 374 *Jiuku miaojing*, and each Tianzun corresponds to a given direction. Thus, the present ritual is in fact composed of ten smaller rituals, each having its own rites of invocation (*qingshen* 請聖), danced Procession (*sanhua* 散花), Ascending the chair (*shengzuo* 陞座), Scripture recitation (*yanjing* 演經), and presentation of a memorial, complete with talisman and other documents for its transmission (*xuanfu* 宣符 and *shuguan* 疏關). Finally, the deities are sent back (*songsheng* 送聖). At the conclusion of the ritual, there is a sermon (*tanjing* 嘆經).

Kristofer Schipper

Difu shiwang badu yi 地府十王拔度儀

12 fols.

Song (960–1279)

215 (fasc. 84)

“Ritual of the Ten Kings of Hell for Salvation from Sin.” The aim of this ritual is to deliver the souls of the deceased from the ten hells situated under Mount Fengdu. The priest presents incense to each of the Ten Kings in turn and then sings two hymns for them, so that they will allow the deceased to leave hell for “the land of happiness.” Each week after a person’s death his or her soul leaves one of the ten hells; by the end of

the forty-nine day mourning period the soul has thus traversed seven hells. The eighth hell corresponds to the merit service of the hundredth day after death, the ninth to the first anniversary of the death, and the last to “the greatly auspicious event” of the definitive departure from hell.

A Ritual of the Ten Kings to be chanted is mentioned in 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 71.11a. The present ritual may be compared with the Thanksgiving to the Ten Kings (*Xie shiwang* 謝十王) in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 172.5b–13a.

John Lagerwey

Taiji jilian neifa 太極祭鍊內法

3 juan

By Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖, hao Suonan 所南 (1241–1318)

548 (fasc. 312)

“Inner Method of Taiji for Sacrificing to and Sublimating [the Souls of the Deceased].” The present edition of this text, linked by its title to GE XUAN (*Taiji zuoxian weng* 太極左仙翁), dates to 1406 (see the preface of the Forty-third Heavenly Master, ZHANG YUCHU). Zheng Sixiao, a Southern Song scholar, poet, and painter from Fuzhou, lived in retirement in Suzhou after the fall of the Song in 1279. In a postface, Zheng states that he completed a *Jilian yilue* 祭鍊議略 in 1270 (3.41a). A second postface by Zheng, dated 1276, mentions his transmission of this book to a disciple and notes that he had written a similar work on the Buddhist Universal Salvation ritual (*pudu* 普度). A third postface, by Zheng’s disciple Shen Zhiwo 沈之我 and dated 1291, states that Zheng produced an “augmented and corrected” version of the book in response to Shen’s request for “more complete” explanations. Three further prefaces, all dated 1347, attribute to one Wang Daogui 王道珪 (var. 圭) of the Xuanming daoyuan 玄明道院 of Suzhou the edition of that year (the woodblocks of the original edition had burned in a fire). A fifth preface, undated and by Zheng Sixiao, was written at the same time as the postface by his disciple Shen Zhiwo.

The present book is divided into two sections: the ritual as such, called *neifa* 內法 (juan 1), and explanations of the ritual, titled *neifa yilue* 內法議略 (juan 2 and 3; cf. the title given by Zheng in his postface of 1270). A ritual of this kind can be included in an ordinary Yellow Register Retreat, but it is in reality a Taoist *pudu* 普度 (see 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 2.10b and juan 114). JIN YUNZHONG criticized the attribution of what he called this “now current” rite to GE XUAN (see 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 13.1a–b). Jin states (13.24a) that the use of the *Danyang fu* 丹陽符 (see the present book, 1.6a) in the ritual was characteristic of the *jilian* 祭鍊 as performed in Zhedong (cf. 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 27.16b).

In his preface, Zhang Yuchu mentions five schools of sublimation rites and places Zheng’s work in the Danyang school. This attribution is confirmed by the title of

Wang Xuanzhen's 王玄真 version of this ritual in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 210. Wang says in his preface, dated 1356, that his chief model had been the ritual of Zheng Sixiao.

Zheng is noteworthy for his insistence on the interior character of this rite. Even the recitation of scriptures is to be done “in the heart” and not with the lips (2.4b). “He who is not in a state of profound trance [*shending* 深定] cannot perform it. He who has not cut himself off forever from all sexual desire cannot enter into trance” (3.38a). The officiant, or rather the adept, performs the ritual seated (*dazuo* 打坐) alone in his or her oratory. To practice it, the adept must “have transcended entirely the ‘Great Offering of the Yellow Register’” (3.38b).

For the correct dates of Zheng Sixiao, who lived to the age of seventy-eight years (*sui* 歲), see 3.42a.

John Lagerwey

Chaozhen fayuan chanhui wen 朝真發願懺悔文

3 fols.

1453 (fasc. 1064)

Lingbao shishi fa 靈寶施食法

5 fols.

Thirteenth century or later

1454 (fasc. 1064)

“Text of the Audience with the Zhenren, for Making the Vows and Confessing the Sins”; “Lingbao Method of Distributing Food.” These two minor rituals belong together, as the latter prescribes (1a) the recitation of the “same formulas of invocation for absolution from the Three Deeds [*sanye* 三業; Skt. *trividha-dvāra*] as in the preceding *Chaozhen chan*.” Since a few lines farther on, the deified Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (fl. 1141) is invoked under the title Yiyuan wushang jiuku Sajun zhenren 一元無上救苦薩君真人, the texts are unlikely to have existed before the thirteenth century.

The first ritual has a simple structure: formulas of invocation; addresses to the divinities; confessions of sin; vows; and requests for forgiveness.

Of the method of distributing food that follows, it is said that it can be practiced daily. A spoonful of rice set aside from the morning meal forms the basis of the ritual held in the evening. After the divinity of the location (*tudi zhengshen* 土地正神) has been visualized and the *Jiuku jing* 救苦經 has been recited, the various divinities are addressed. Then the hungry ghosts and destitute souls are invited to feast. With the food that has been transformed into an unlimited quantity (*bianhua fashi* 變化法食) by meditative techniques and formulas, all souls in the ten directions of space can be fed.

A similar method can be found in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 207 under the name “Taiji Ge xianweng shishi fa 太極葛仙翁施食法,” which again is closely related to the practice named “[Taiji Ge 太極葛] xianweng jilian 仙翁祭鍊” in 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*

13. A survey of numerous variants of this method is contained in 548 *Taiji jilian neifa* 2.7b–12b, 3.26b–28a.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Lingbao wujing tigang 靈寶五經提綱

10 fols.

Twelfth or thirteenth century

529 (fasc. 295)

“Summary of Five Lingbao Scriptures.” This summary probably dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. It cites (7a) Zhou Dunyi’s 周敦頤 (1017–1073) *Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說 and is cited in 399 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo jiuku miao-jing zhujie* 17b–18b. The five scriptures are 318 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing*, 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miao-jing*, 13 *Gaoshang yuhuang xinyin jing*, 374 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miao-jing*, and 24 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing*.

Our text is a minor liturgy for the souls of the deceased. In the frame of this ritual a brief exegesis of each of the five scriptures is given before the whole scripture is recited. Liturgical instructions mark, among other things, the cues for the mourners to join in.

For the use of these scriptures during the *huanglu* 黃籙 ritual in Song times, see, for example, 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 29.15a (listing 318 *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing* and 620 *Qingjing miao-jing*), 1226 *Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 8.7a–8a (listing 620 *Qingjing miao-jing*, 374 *Jiuku miao-jing*, and 24 *Shengtian dedao jing*), and 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 12.2b (listing 318 *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing*, 374 *Jiuku miao-jing*, and 24 *Shengtian dedao jing*). The recitation of 13 *Gaoshang yuhuang xinyin jing* is not attested in those works. Most likely it is also the latest of the five scriptures.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Daomen kefan daquan ji 道門科範大全集

86 juan

Partially attributed to DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933); edited by Zhong Li 仲勵 (early fifteenth century)

1225 (fasc. 976–983)

“Complete Collection of Taoist Liturgy.” Part of this handbook appears under the name of DU GUANGTING, whereas juan 25–47 — as well as 63, 65, 66, and 67 — are attributed to Zhong Li. The final juan are not signed. The ascriptions to Du can be only an evocation of the latter’s reputation as a liturgist, because there are many indications that the handbook is of a much later date and that many different sources were used by the editor.

Juan 63, which contains a Ritual for the Great Offering for the Marvelous Response of the True Warrior (*Zhenwu lingying dajiao yi* 真武靈應大醮儀), has a note stating that Zhong Li made use of three versions: a ritual for a Retreat of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi zhaiyi* 北帝齋儀) by DU GUANGTING, a second and similar ritual by Shi Hao 史浩 (1106–1194; see 297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 4.17b), and yet another ritual by Chao Guan 巢觀 (fl. 1127–1130; cf. 63.5a in the present text). In Juan 25, which is signed by Zhong Li, we find the honorary title of Jiutian jinque lingji hongen zhenjun 九天金闕靈濟洪恩真君 for the Fujian saints Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhi'e 徐知諤 (25.4b). The saints received this title in 1418 (see 1470 *Xuxian zhenlu* 1.6a), which implies that Zhong Li lived in the early fifteenth century, and as the style of the handbook is homogeneous throughout, it is most likely that Zhong edited the entire work.

The handbook contains the rituals for some twenty different liturgical services. Each service comprises a ritual for the inauguration of the altar (*qitan* 啓壇 or *suqi* 宿啓), three Audiences (*chao* 朝), and an Offering (*jiao* 醮). The majority of the services are in honor of the stars that govern destiny. There is a service for obtaining rain (Juan 10–18) and for posterity (Juan 25–29). A ritual for presenting offerings to popular saints closes the handbook.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu qishou zao, wu, wanchao yi 金籙祈壽早午晚朝儀

7 + 7 + 6 fols.

492 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu shangshou sanxian yi 金籙上壽三獻儀

4 fols.

493 (fasc. 267)

Jinlu yanshou shejiao yi 金籙延壽設醮儀

7 fols.

Ming

494 (fasc. 267)

“Golden Register Rituals for the Celebration of the Emperor’s Anniversary.” The text of this service is close, at times identical, to that of 484–491 *Jinlu zhai yi*. The present corpus should therefore belong to the same group of rituals.

In their present version, the rites must have been performed for the Ming emperors (see, e.g., 493 *Jinlu shangshou sanxian yi* 3a). The service was celebrated at the request of the emperor (see 492 *Jinlu qishou zao, wu, wanchao yi* 3a). The latter was represented by an officer titled *liguan* 禮官 (see 493 *Sanxian yi* 1a). The officiants were masters of the Zhengyi 正一 order (493 *Sanxian yi* 2b).

The principal deity of the service is Xuandu wanshou tianzun 玄都萬壽天尊 (see 493 *Sanxian yi* 4a and passim). Among the other deities invoked are the Old Man of the South Pole (Nanji laoren 南極老人) and the three stellar deities of the Three Blessings (Fu Lu Shou xing zhenjun 福祿壽星真君). The ritual of the Three Offerings (*sanxian yi* 三獻儀) is especially devoted to these three popular deities, and includes the recitation of 620 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaoqing*.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu xuanling zhuanjing zao, wu, wanchao xingdao yi

金籙玄靈轉經早午晚朝行道儀

10 + 9 + 9 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

495 (fasc. 267)

“Rituals for the Morning, Noon, and Evening Audiences, with Scripture Recitation.” The scripture to be “revolved” here is 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*. The triple Audience service is intended for the blessing of the Ming dynasty and the longevity of the emperor; it is to be performed on the latter’s birthday.

The rituals are part of a Golden Register Retreat (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋). The texts are similar to 484–494 *Jinlu zhai yi*. Recitations of sacred scriptures are part of the *jinlu zhai* performance; thus the present liturgies probably belong to the same set of court rituals.

At each of the Audiences, 622 *Beidou jing* is recited three times, thus nine times in all. At the conclusion of each of the recitations, an incense offering is made to a given direction (*fang* 方). The fifth offering is directed to the center (*zhonggong* 中宮; see “Wuchao yi”; 7a, where *shengong* 申宮 is an error for *zhonggong*).

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao kaishou yi

金籙十迴度人早午晚朝開收儀

11 + 10 + 7 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

496 (fasc. 267)

“Rituals for the Morning, Noon, and Evening Audiences of the Golden Register [Retreat], with Tenfold Recitation of the [Scripture on the] Salvation of Humanity.” The scripture in question is 1 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing* 1. Ten times this scripture is solemnly opened (*kai* 開) and recited: four times at the Morning Audience, four times at the Noon Audience, and two times at the Evening Audience. After each recitation, a memorial (*biao* 表) is presented in order to

announce the merit obtained. At the conclusion of the ten recitations, the scripture is stored (*shou* 收), that is, closed and shelved.

The present rituals form part of a service of the Golden Register Retreat (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋) for the celebration of the anniversaries of the emperors of the Ming dynasty. They belong to the same set of protocols as 492–494 *Jinlu zhai yi*.

This kind of tenfold recitation is prescribed in the text of the Scripture on the Salvation of Humanity itself. An analogous ritual can be found in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 132–34.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao zhuanjing yi

金籙十迴度人早午晚朝轉經儀

12 + 8 + 9 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

497 (fasc. 267)

“Rituals for the Morning, Noon, and Evening Audiences of the Golden Register [Retreat], with Tenfold Recitation of the [Scripture on the] Salvation of Humanity.” The scripture to be recited is 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1. Like the preceding 496 *Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao kaishou yi*, these rituals were intended for the celebration of the emperor’s birthday as part of a larger Golden Register Retreat.

The present rituals are more elaborate than the preceding ones. They include, at the beginning and the end of each Audience, distinct rites for the invocation and thanking to the patriarchs (*qishi* 啓師 and *xieshi* 謝師). These rites are conducted at a special altar, the *shitang* 師堂 or *shimu* 師幕.

The rituals here also mention explicitly the performance of a number of secret rites (*jingnian* 靜念; literally, “silent recitations”) which should be accompanied by the chief officiant (see “Zaochao,” 5b, 6b, and 11a). These secret meditation rites, especially those invoking the Thirty-two Heavens of the Scripture on the Salvation of Humanity, are of the same type as those found in 1223 *Shangjing lingbao dafa* 5.15a–b.

Kristofer Schipper

Yulu zidu suqi yi 玉籙資度宿啓儀

7 fols.

499 (fasc. 268)

Yulu zidu jietan yi 玉籙資度解壇儀

8 fols.

500 (fasc. 268)

Yulu zidu shejiao yi 玉籙資度設醮儀

7 fols.

501 (fasc. 268)

Yulu zidu zao, wu, wanchao yi 玉籙資度早午晚朝儀

6 + 6 + 6 fols.

502 (fasc. 268)

Yulu shengshen zidu zhuanjing yi 玉籙生神資度轉經儀

27 fols.

503 (fasc. 268)

Yulu shengshen zidu kaishou yi 玉籙生神資度開收儀

17 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

504 (fasc. 269)

“Rituals for the [Retreat] of the Jade Register for Assistance in Salvation.” This is a complete service, to be conducted at court, under the auspices of the emperor. The text is close, and at places even identical, with that of the Golden Register Retreat of 484–491 *Jinlu zhai yi*. The rituals of 503 *Yulu shengshen zidu zhuanjing yi* and 504 *Yulu shengshen zidu kaishou yi* concern the recitation of 318 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* (cf. 497 *Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao zhuanjing yi* and 496 *Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao kaishou yi*).

Several elements in the present texts, such as the canonization title of Rentian jiaozhu huagai fuqiu zhenjun 人天教主華蓋浮丘真君 (503 *Zhuanjing yi* 7a) and the list of patriarchs of the Qingwei 清微 school of Taoism (503 *Zhuanjing yi* 1a), confirm that they date from the Ming dynasty.

The history and function of the Jade Register Retreat remains problematic. Although the three registers (*sanlu* 三籙)—that is, the Yellow, Golden and Jade Registers—constitute the foundation of the Lingbao liturgy (see 530 *Dongxuan lingbao yulu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing*), only rituals for the *huanglu zhai* and the *jinlu zhai* seem to have been current during the Six Dynasties (220–589) period (the affirmation of CGF 43 that LU XIUJING composed a *yulu zhai* 玉籙齋 is not confirmed elsewhere). During the Tang (618–907), one encounters the name of the *yulu zhai* but nothing more. The work 1124 *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi* 14b–15a quotes a *Dongshen jing* 洞神經, saying: “The *jinlu zhai* abolishes the disasters sent from Heaven and confirms the supremacy of the emperor . . . , whereas the *yulu zhai* brings blessing to those who confess their faults and ask for benedictions.” However, 464 *Zhaijie lu* 5a quotes this very passage from 1124 *Xuan daomen dayi*, with an addition stating that the *yulu zhai* “has not yet been revealed in this world.”

For DU GUANGTING, the *yulu zhai* was, together with the *jinlu zhai*, one of the retreats to be performed in the imperial palace, and the *yulu zhai* especially concerned the health and graces of the imperial spouses and consorts (see Du's preface to the *huanglu zhai* service, quoted in 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 6.1b). Following Du, many authors expressed the opinion that the *yulu zhai* was the retreat service for the benefit of the imperial spouses. The Forty-third Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410), even confirms that only the empresses and imperial consorts have the right to celebrate the service (1232 *Daomen shigui* 10a). In 1407, the Yongle emperor called upon Zhang Yuchu to celebrate a great *yulu zhai* at the court (see 1463 *Han Tian-shi shijia* 3.28b).

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.3.d Manuals

Daomen dingzhi 道門定制

1 folio + 10 juan

Compiled by Lü Yuansu 呂元素; edited by Hu Xianglong 胡湘龍; preface dated 1188

1224 (fasc. 973–975)

“Established Order of Taoism.” According to *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 147, this text was composed of a first collection (*qianji* 前集) in five juan, compiled in 1188 by Lü Yuansu, and a later collection (*houji* 后集) in six juan, compiled in 1201 by Lü's disciple, Lü Taihuan 呂太煥. Marks of subsequent additions to the text led the editors of the *Siku tiyao* to suggest that their recension of the “Established Order” was printed during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368).

The text in the *Daozang*, although it comprises only ten juan, is indeed divided into two such collections, but only the personal preface (*zixu* 自序) of the first collection is signed and dated (1188). The personal preface to the second collection is neither signed nor dated, but two notes in the text, at 6.15b and 7.36b, are signed by Lü Yuansu and dated to the year 1201. Nowhere is Lü Taihuan mentioned. The role of Hu Xianglong—was his the Yuan edition referred to above?—is difficult to ascertain, inasmuch as only one note, at 4.31b–32b, can be ascribed to him with any degree of probability.

Lü Yuansu, *zi* Puan 樸庵, identifies himself in the first preface as a native of Tang'an 唐安 (modern Chongqing 崇慶 in Sichuan). In his preface to 1226 *Daomen tongjiao biyong ji*, dated 1201, Lü identifies himself as a native of Jiangyuan 江原 (west of Chengdu) and says that he was in charge of the Yellow Register in the area of the “two rivers” (the Chengdu basin). Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁, in his *Heshan xiansheng daquan wenji* 42.3b–6a, tells how Lü, “Taoist Master of the Tianqing 天慶 Abbey,”

built a special terrace in 1207 in order to pray for the protection of the local population against bandits. In his prefaces to the present work and to the 1226 *Tongjiao ji*, Lü describes himself as an avid collector of Taoist books whose aim was to produce and print standardized texts of Taoist rituals that would avoid the excessive complexity of many contemporary manuals and eliminate the textual errors typical of privately transmitted liturgical manuscripts.

The first collection, which Lü refers to as the *Dingzhi ji* 定制集 (1.12a, 6.1a), begins with a discussion of the correct way of writing Taoist documents and then gives seven model petitions. Lü's tradition in this area is close to that of JIANG SHUYU (1.15a–16a and 1.22a–25a correspond to 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 11.1a–b and 11.1b–5b, respectively) and to that of the older 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* (cf. 1.28b–38b and 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* 5.26a–34b).

Documents of announcement to the spiritual powers of the Three Realms are supplied in juan 2. Composed essentially of documents of invitation for the Offering, juan 3 begins with a memorial addressed to the emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). WANG QINRUO (962–1025) wrote the memorial in 1009, on the subject of the official definition of the hierarchy of gods for the Offering to the Entire Firmament (*Luotian jiao* 羅天醮). This memorial is followed by the emperor's response. A second text, by Sun Xubo 孫虛白, a Taoist master at Huizong's (r. 1100–1125) court, discusses the number of emplacements (*wei* 位) to be prepared with offerings of paper money and horses (*qianma* 錢馬) for the various types of offering and retreat. The bulk of the juan is taken up by a list of the 1,200 divinities to be invited, using 100 separate documents of invitation, to the *huanglu luotian jiao* 黃籙羅天醮. Lü says in a note (3.46a) that he prepared the list, after consulting with Li Zhongda 李中大, by comparing an imperially promulgated text—presumably that of Sun Xubo 孫虛白—with the “rituals of old.” Lü gives the canonical source of each group of divinities included in the list, and he states emphatically that any divinity that cannot be traced to such a source should not be invited, especially those gods who had not received an investiture (*fenghao* 封號) from the court or whose names had been revealed by mediumistic writing (*jiangbi* 降筆; 3.49a).

Juan 4 furnishes the few fu that Lü recognizes as legitimate. Juan 5 provides model memorials (*shu* 疏) containing full ritual programs for the retreats of the Yellow Register, and of the Alliance with the zhenren, and for the Prevention of Catastrophes.

The aim of the later collection, according to its personal preface, is to “fill the lacunae” left by the first one. Juan 6 begins with a general survey of the different types of retreat. Notes here reveal that Lü relied in the first place on the authority of DU GUANGTING, but also on the “head of the immortals” (*weixian* 尉僊), Chao Guan 巢觀, author of a *Huanglu yi* 黃籙儀 (6.4b, 15b). Juan 6 also contains model *ciwen* 詞文 memorials, three of which are by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072; 6.9a–10a; cf.

Ouyang Wenzhong gong ji 82.3b–4a, 83.15b–16a, 84.1a). A note at the end of the juan also mentions the *Jinlu yi* 金籙儀 of ZHANG SHANGYING.

Juan 7 gives texts of petitions for twelve different rituals (7.8a–10a corresponds to 617 *Taishang xuanci zhuhua zhang* 3.5a–6b; 7.19a–22a to 617 *Zhuhua zhang* 1.1a–8a, passim). At the end of the juan, Lü states that he consulted the *Tianshi qian erbai guanzhang jing* 天師千二百官章經 to verify all the names of the Celestial Officers (*tianguan* 天官) used in his petitions.

Juan 8 provides the symbolic characters and incantations necessary for the creation of the altar in the various rituals. One passage (8.22b–23b), attributed to the Master in the Beyond, is identical to 547 *Lingbao yujian* 24.3b–5a (cf. 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.3a–4b).

Juan 9 contains further documents of invitation, such as for the Wenchang liturgy, which includes a seat and offering for Confucius (9.6a). The tenth and last juan is composed primarily of documents for a ritual of initiation.

John Lagerwey

***Song Zhenzong yuzhi yujing ji* 宋真宗御製玉京集**

6 juan

By Emperor Zhenzong of the Song dynasty (Zhao Dechang 趙德昌; r. 997–1022)
315 (fasc. 163)

“Collectanea of the Jade Capital.” A collection of Intentions (*yi* 意), presumably written by the emperor himself, for memorials presented during Taoist rituals. The present work is mentioned in *Yuhai* 28.10b as having twenty juan. The *Daozang* version must, therefore, be incomplete.

Nevertheless, this is a most important document for the study of religious events during Zhenzong’s reign. It contains a text (“Xie jiang Tianshu biao 謝降天書表”) expressing thanks for the bestowal of the Heavenly Writs (4.9a), for the conclusion of the *feng* 封 sacrifice on Taishan (4.9b), for the supernatural apparition of the imperial ancestor (95.3a), and for other important occasions.

Kristofer Schipper

***Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 道門通教必用集**

3 + 5 fols. + 9 juan.

Compiled by Lü Taigu 呂太古; preface dated 1201
1226 (fasc. 984–985)

“Comprehensive and Requisite Manuals of Taoism.” This manual is preceded by two prefaces and a table of contents. The first preface, by Lü Yuansu 呂元素, author of 1224 *Daomen dingzhi*, is dated to the year 1201; the second, by Han Huncheng 韓混成, is dated to the Yuanzhen reign era (1295–1296). Lü’s preface describes how he entrusted

to the “young master” Lü Taigu—Lü Yuansu’s disciple, according to Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (*Heshan xiansheng daquan wenji* 42.4a)—the task of comparing the various ritual texts brought back from the capital by Li Zhongda 李中大 at Lü Yuansu’s request with those in the abbey’s own library, in order to prepare a standard version of the rituals composing the Yellow Register Retreat. Han Huncheng, *hao* Wuzhen dashi 悟真大師, of the Ren’an guan 仁安觀 temple, says that the present compilation was in reality the work of Ma Daoyi 馬道逸, a Taoist of the Sanjing guan 三井觀 temple in Chengdu, who combined Lü Taigu’s *Tongjiao ji* 通教集 and a *Lianjiao ji* 鍊教集 by a Mr. He 何 of Yuntai 雲臺 (presumably the mountain of that name southeast of Cangxi 滄溪縣 county) and printed the result. A close reading of the text, however, would seem to indicate that Ma made few changes (see table of contents, 2a; 3.4b, 5a; 7.18b) and that the work remains largely that of Lü Taigu.

Lü divides his work into eight sections that correspond, as he explains in the table of contents, to the progressive apprenticeship of a Taoist priest. The first section, based on JIA SHANXIANG’s *Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳 (written between 1086–1101), is composed of sixteen biographies of grand masters, who were to serve as models. The following sections provide the texts, hymns, prayers, introductions, and conclusions of the various rituals, including those of the “exterior altar” (*waitan fashi* 外壇法事; 6.2a). The latter ritual seems to derive from Chao Guan 巢觀 (5.8a; cf. 2.23a). The rituals for bathing and nourishing the souls of the deceased (5.19a–32b) are close to those of JIANG SHUYU (508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 26.8a–17b), though Lü’s text prescribes a series of offerings—of incense, flowers, etc. (5.25a–28a)—that Jiang ascribes to “vulgar rituals” (26.17b).

The last three sections concern the work of the chief cantor (*dujiang* 都講) and the grand master (*gaogong fashi* 高功法師). Comparison of the text with the table of contents leads to the conclusion that of the first of these three sections only the introduction has survived. It is an abridged and annotated quotation of DU GUANGTING’s *Zandao yi* 讚道儀 (see 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 53.1a–3a). Lü Taigu’s discussion of the opening rites (6.3a–4a) is based on works by DU GUANGTING, Yang Jie 楊傑 (*jinsi* 進士 1059), and “Sun the teacher,” that is, Sun Xubo 孫虛白. For his Consecration of the Altar (*chitan* 敕壇), Lü uses works by Du, Yang, and ZHANG SHANGYING.

Juan 8 gives the texts of introduction for the nine recitations of sacred texts during a three-day Yellow Register Retreat (the cycle of recitations is the same as that in 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.1a–10a). The explanation of the visualizations performed by the *gaogong fashi* during the various rites is close to that of JIANG SHUYU (juan 32 and 34), but it is far less complete. Of particular interest is the acknowledgment of the role of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 movement in the development of the new ritual of Announcement (*fazou* 發奏; 9.1a). The authority of the Taoist master Zhao Mingju 趙明舉 is invoked on two occasions (9.7b, 13a; cf. 3.4a). The reader is referred to Sun

Xubo 孫虛白 for further information regarding the expedition of petitions to Heaven (9.16a).

John Lagerwey

Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi 無上黃籙大齋立成儀

57 juan

By JIANG SHUYU 蔣叔輿; postfaces by Jiang Xi 蔣熨 and Jiang Yan 蔣焱

(dated 1223), and by Gao Wenhui 高文虎

508 (fasc. 278–290)

“Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat.” The term *huanglu* 黃籙 (Yellow Register) in the title refers essentially, in JIANG SHUYU’s book, to the ritual for the salvation of the dead (3.1b). The postfaces provide biographies of the author by his two sons (57.1a–4b; dated 1223) and of the author’s master, LIU YONGGUANG by Gao Wenhui (*jinsshi* 進士 1160; 57.4b–9a). In addition to other administrative titles, Gao signs his text as the intendant (*tiju* 提舉) of the Taiping xingguo gong 太平興國宮 on Lushan 廬山.

Although the author of the manual as a whole is clearly JIANG SHUYU, each chapter carries an individual signature that must be taken into account. Thus juan 19 and 20 are attributed to DU GUANGTING alone; juan 25–31 (all the rituals of the Great Method) and 41–43 (the majority of the fu used in the rituals) are signed only by Jiang himself; juan 16, the *sugui* 宿啓 ritual, is described as “written by Lu Xiuqing, augmented and corrected by Zhang Wanfu, collated and fixed by Li Jingqi, transmitted by Liu Yongguang, and compiled by Jiang Shuyu.” Almost all other chapters are said to have been “transmitted by Liu Yongguang and written by Jiang Shuyu.” Juan 51–56 are not signed separately.

Of the above-mentioned masters, Li Jingqi 李景祈 alone is unknown elsewhere (he is mentioned three times in the manual: 16.12b, 17.28b, 18.5a). LIU YONGGUANG (1134–1206; see 32.5b), a disciple of Cai Yuanjiu 蔡元久 on Longhu shan 龍虎山, studied primarily Zhengyi ritual and the methods of the Five Thunders of the Office of Jade (*Yufu wulei fa* 玉府五雷法). Summoned to the capital by the emperor Xiaozong (r. 1163–1189), he was appointed head of the Taoists of the capital (*zuoyou jie daolu* 左右街道錄) in 1203. He celebrated many a retreat of the Yellow Register in the Jiangzhe 江浙 area, and he is even said to have compiled a *Huanglu keyi* 黃籙科儀 (see *Longhu shan zhi*, by Lou Jinyuan, 7.6a–7a, and 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 55.25a). According to the *Longhu shan zhi*, Liu was also an adept of the Tianxin methods 天心法, which he is said to have received at the same time as those of the Five Thunders from a mysterious Taoist named Zhang Fuyuan 張輔元. Some people identified the latter as Zhang Daoling 張道陵. The monograph also makes Liu the founder of a Ziwei sect 紫微派 on Longhu shan.

JIANG SHUYU (1162–1223; for Jiading 10, 57.2b, read Jiading 16: see “Cunzhai Jiang Yiyang muzhi ming 存齋蔣弋陽墓誌銘,” in *Huanchuan ji* 10.11b, and “Jiang zhixian muzhi ming 蔣知縣墓誌銘,” in *Helin ji* 35.12a) was a local mandarin whose highest office was prefect of Yiyang xian 弋陽縣 in Xinzhou 信州, near Longhu shan. He was also a Taoist initiate, and the names of his three masters—Zhan Qigu 詹齊古, Tian Jushi 田居實 (b. 1074), and LIU YONGGUANG—are given in the manual (35.12a). He is said to have met his initiating master (*dushi* 度師), Liu, for the first time in 1195 in Guacang 括蒼; he later visited Liu on Longhu shan in 1199 and again in 1202. During this last encounter, Liu is said to have transmitted to Jiang all that he had himself received from the *fangshi* 方士 of Jing 荆 and Shu 蜀 and to have encouraged him to “emend” the work of Tian Jushi (57.3a–b). Jiang’s sacerdotal title, Taishang zhifa xianshi 太上執法仙士, is mentioned in 219 *Shangjing dafa* 28.3a.

According to his sons, JIANG SHUYU worked on his manual for some twenty years. The result of his labors was a *Huanglu zhaiyi* 黃籙齋儀 in thirty-six juan, a *Ziran zhaiyi* 自然齋儀 in fifteen, and a *Duren xiuzhai xingxiang songjing yi* 度人修齋行香誦經儀 in twenty-four. Together, these seventy-five juan were titled *Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉檢 (57.4a). The present manual would appear to represent only the first of these three works (cf. 1.3b). While the manual seems to be complete, it is likely that juan 51–57 consist of additions to the original.

Remarkable for the clarity of its organization, Jiang’s manual provides all the texts, drawings, and explanations necessary for the performance of a three-day retreat of the Yellow Register. Frequent, in-depth discussions of individual rites and their correct form (*zhengfa* 正法; 26.3a) also add much to the interest of Jiang’s text. (See figs. 43–45)

For Jiang, the retreat of the Yellow Register is, in the first place, the scriptural and liturgical tradition defined by LU XIUJING: the list of thirty-six canonical works given at 1.5a–7a contains only one title—*Dongxuan lingbao daoyin sanguang miaojing* 洞玄靈寶導引三光妙經 (cf. 39 *Taishang daoyin sanguang jiubian miaojing*)—that does not derive from the “old Lingbao” canon associated with Lu’s name (note, however, that in the body of the manual [12.2a–b] recitation of the following texts is envisaged: 19 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing*, 374 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing*, 181 *Taishang jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing*, and 24 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing*).

After LU XIUJING, Jiang recognizes ZHANG WANFU and DU GUANGTING—especially the latter (see 21.13b–17b, 33.2a–b, 7b–10b)—as the chief representatives of the orthodox tradition. In the Meditation Hall (Jingmo tang 靜默堂), these three patriarchs are therefore remembered by means of special “masters’ emplacements” (*shimei* 師位; 38.20b).

If for Jiang the Lingbao scriptures and rituals are the main focus of the tradition,

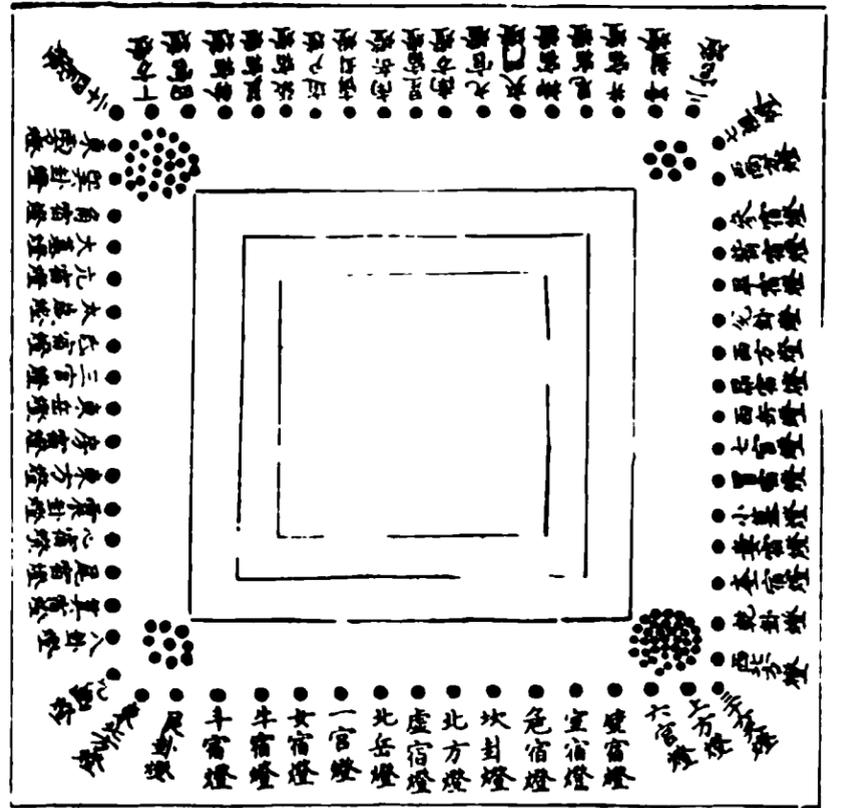
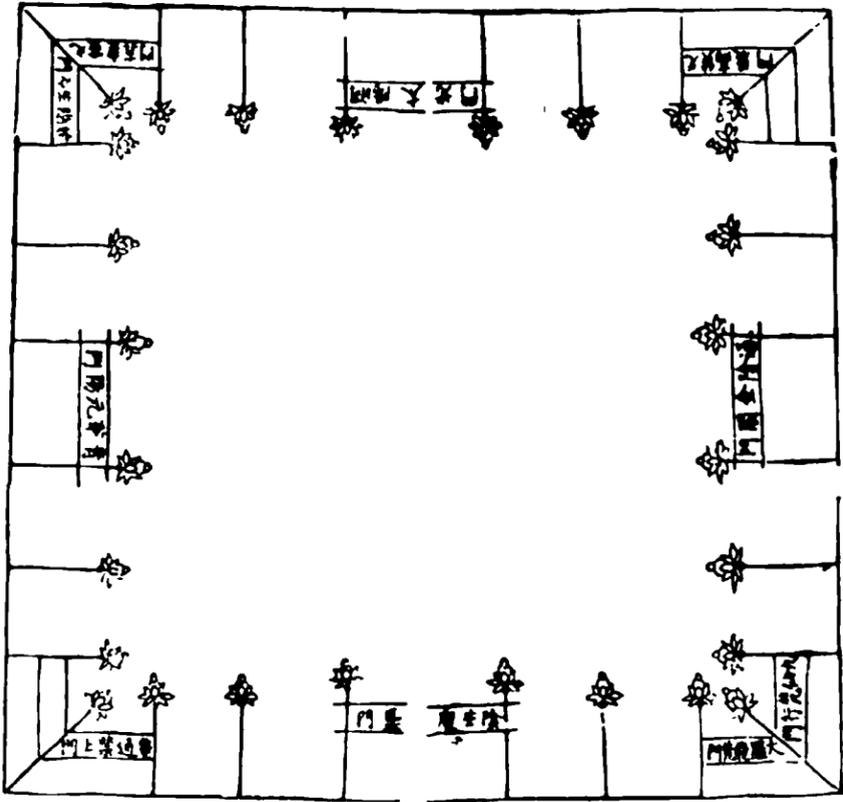


FIGURE 43. Diagrams for the construction of the altar (508 2.2a, 4a-b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/504)



FIGURE 44. Emissaries conveying memorials to Heaven, with spirit guides (508 39.16b-17a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/504)



FIGURE 45. True map of the Fengdu underworld, for use in the rites of salvation (508 40.5b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/504)

the method of dispatching petitions (*zhang* 章) to Heaven is Zhengyi (9.5b, 10.9b, etc.). The Zhengyi initiation—the *Sanwu dugong lu* 三五都功錄 and the *Zhengyi mengwei lu* 正一盟威錄—is also a prerequisite for the “exteriorization of the officials” (*chuguan* 出官) performed during the first of the nine Audience rituals (*xingdao* 行道; cf. 17.3b–8a and 49.9a). In order to qualify for celebrating a Retreat of the Yellow Register, a grand master (*gaogong* 高功) must have received the two Zhengyi registers and the Lingbao canon and register (*Lingbao zhongmeng wufa lu* 靈寶中盟五法錄), and he or she must have already participated in a ritual of the Great Lingbao Method (*Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法).

Champion of an orthodoxy, Jiang is extremely critical of those who, like Zhang Ruohai 張若海, author of 1280 *Xuantan kanwu lun*, do not respect the old ways (*gufa* 古法; see especially juan 16). He also addresses the proliferation of fu, contracts, *mudrā*, and rituals that had occurred “ever since the Great Lingbao Method was revealed” (33.11a). Jiang reduces the use of fu to the strict minimum. He frequently complains of contemporary practices (*shike* 世科; 28.14a–15a, 39.16a) and texts (43.12b). In one case, however—that of two fu representing dragon-messengers—he feels obliged to accept such practices in spite of his reservations concerning their legitimacy: “Masters of the world (*shishi* 世師) have been transmitting and using them for so long that I should not venture to reject them” (40.1b).

Among contemporary forms of Taoism that do find favor in Jiang’s eyes are the Shenxiao 神霄 and Zhongxiao 忠孝 movements: the chief divinity of the former Changsheng dijun 長生帝君 and the legendary founder of the latter Shengong miaoji zhenjun 神功妙濟真君 are both invited to the Offering (38.13a, 8b). LU SHI-ZHONG and his *yutang* 玉堂 methods are mentioned several times without repro- bation (15.5b, 39.13a), as is the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (14.16a, 49.5b). The seals of authority whose use Jiang condones reflect the same diversity, for they represent heavenly offices of Lingbao, Zhengyi, Tianxin, Shenxiao, and Zhongxiao origin (see 43.10b–12b).

Beyond these references it is not easy to identify the sources of Jiang’s ritual practice. For the two fu mentioned above, he relies on a certain Lin Huiling 林慧靈; for the Yellow Register of Immortality (*Changsheng duming huanglu* 長生度命黃籙), he prefers Cai Zhixu’s 蔡致虛 version, deeming it more precise than the Yutang texts and more complete than the *Ziying lingshu* 紫英靈書 (41.10a–16a; cf. 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 260). But for the construction of the altar for the wheel-lanterns (*lundeng* 輪燈), he prefers his “own method” to that proposed by Cai Zhixu and LU SHI-ZHONG (39.12b–13b).

Jiang subscribes to the Tiantai 天台 theory of the Five Translations (47.9a; cf. article on 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*). Some of his fu seem to be of Shenxiao provenance (cf. 41.18b–19a and 42.2a–3b to 1219 *Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa*

11.38b–39a and 11.11a–15a, respectively; also 40.11a–19a and to 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.9b–17b). The rite of the Five Offices (*Wufu shi* 五府事), the core rite in the ritual of the same name (29.5b–16a, especially 12a; cf. 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 40.16a), corresponds to the method of the Five Offices described by JIN YUNZHONG in his postface (dated 1225) to the Tongchu 童初 revelations (1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 178.3a–6a). The postface of Lu Yuanlao 盧元老, which follows that of Jin (178.6a–8a), provides a discussion of seals very much like that of Jiang.

The Tongchu revelations are followed in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* by nine juan (179–187) concerning the Flying Walk on the Nine Powers (*jiuling feibu* 九靈飛步) used in presenting petitions. The 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* provides a more complete version of the *Zhengyi shuzhang pin menxia keling* 正一書章品門下科令 cited by JIANG SHUYU in the present text (the passage 10.6a–9a corresponds to 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 180.1a–3b). The beginning of the relevant ritual is identical in both texts (22.1b–2a corresponds to 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 184.1a–2a).

In conclusion, we may note that Jiang seems to call for the use of 407 *Lingbao dalian neizhi xingchi jiyao* (24.11a) and that two paragraphs attributed to the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師) are taken from 219 *Shangjing dafa* (39.11a–13b corresponds to 219 *Shangjing dafa* 50.8b–9b, 51.1a–2a).

John Lagerwey

Lingbao yujian mulu 靈寶玉鑑目錄

31 fols.

Table of contents for 547 *Lingbao yujian*
546 (fasc. 302)

Lingbao yujian 靈寶玉鑑

43 juan

547 (fasc. 302–311)

“Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure.” The title of this manual may originally have designated a practice of the Great Lingbao Method whose aim was to cause spirits to appear in a mirror (see 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 14.13a–b). BO YUCHAN mentions a text of this name, but it is not clear whether he is referring to the present manual (cf. 1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 2.6b with 4.12a–b of the present work). Yet another text of this name, in ten juan, is attributed to WU QUANJIE (see *Longhu shan zhi*, by Lou Jinyuan, 7.15b).

In its present form, this manual is incomplete: a section on rituals (“Kefan men 科節門”), mentioned twice in the text (33.4b, 34.17b), is missing. It is also extremely difficult to determine the manual’s date: it has many passages in common with other

Great Lingbao Method texts, but only rarely is it possible to demonstrate that borrowing has occurred. Two cases, however, seem fairly clear. First, 30.15b–18a is parallel to 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 34.3a–7a (two notes, at 30.16a and 34.3b, respectively, seem to refer to other sections in the text, but those sections are actually in 1221 *Lingbao dafa*, not in the *Lingbao yujian*). Second, 14.9b would appear to be an abbreviation of 1221 *Lingbao dafa* 32.3b–4a: the author of the latter text leaves to a “future erudite” the task of deciding between his version (*benfa* 本法) of the lamp altars (*dengtan* 燈壇) and that of the Golden Register (*jinlu* 金籙); the author of the *Lingbao yujian* eliminates the variant version. He seems also to have deleted the name of JIANG SHUYU’s master, Tian Jushi 田居實, mentioned in the *Lingbao dafa* text. Despite these two cases, however, in the vast majority of parallel passages the variants are so numerous as to suggest two different textual traditions (cf., e.g., 547 *Lingbao yujian* 9.18a–21a, 13.20a–22b, and 36.17b–21b, with 1221 *Lingbao dafa* 37.15a–18a, 33.1a–2a, 13.7a–8a, and 43.17b–20a).

The relationship of the *Lingbao yujian* with other Great Lingbao Method texts is equally difficult to determine. For example, 18.5b–6b is parallel to 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 10.9b–10b and to 219 *Shangqing dafa* 41.8a. However, 219 *Shangqing dafa*, though older than 508 *Licheng yi*, gives a shortened version of what is to be found in the latter text and in 547 *Lingbao yujian*. Moreover, the lines at 18.6b6–10 are unique to the present text, and for *zhupo* 折破 at 18.6a3, 219 *Shangqing dafa* 41.8a6 and 508 *Licheng yi* 10.9b10 have *choupo* 抽破. Also, 508 *Licheng yi* mentions—in notes at 10.10a, 10b—a Taoist at Huizong’s (r. 1100–1125) court by the name of Cai Zhixu 蔡致虛 and JIANG SHUYU’s own master, Liu Chongjing 留冲靖. The first note may be found in 547 *Lingbao yujian* 18.6a, but the second note is lacking there.

Other examples of the difficulties abound. The text at 18.9a–b seems to be more complete than the parallel version in 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 25.5a–6a, as does 18.9b–10a by comparison with 508 *Licheng yi* 11.6a. The passage at 18.12b–16a is parallel to 508 *Licheng yi* 10.6a–9a and to 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 180.1a–4b: 547 *Lingbao yujian* and 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* both have forty-five rules, in contrast with the thirty-six of 508 *Licheng yi*, but the thirty-six rules that are common to all three texts show clearly that 508 *Licheng yi* and 547 *Lingbao yujian* derive from the same textual tradition, while 219 *Shangqing dafa* follows a different source.

As a final example, we may compare 547 *Lingbao yujian* 7.6a–7a with 219 *Shangqing dafa* 53.18a–19a and 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 266.7a–8a. The *fu* in 547 *Lingbao yujian* are closer to those in 466 *Jidu jinshu* than to those in 219 *Shangqing dafa*, but for the accompanying prayers (7.7a, 53.19a–b, 278.13a, respectively), the texts of 466 *Jidu jinshu* and 219 *Shangqing dafa* are identical, with the exception of the first two words and the last line. The first two words in 219 *Shangqing dafa* are the same as those in 547 *Lingbao yujian*, but for the rest of the prayer the latter text is quite different.

In short, if the first two cases treated above seemed to show that the present text was compiled after the 1221 *Lingbao dafa* of Wang Qizhen 王契真, all the other cases show that the present version not infrequently represents a textual tradition that is even older than that of 219 *Shangqing dafa*. In that regard, we may note that 547 *Lingbao yujian* uses the title *Lingbao duren shangjing dafa* 靈寶度人上經大法 to refer not to 219 *Shangqing dafa* but to the Great Method of Salvation in general. It is also worth noting that the only Great Lingbao Method master mentioned in 547 *Lingbao yujian* is Tian Ziji 田紫極 (Tian Lingxu 田靈虛; see 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 244.2a), whom it refers to as the ancestral master (*zushi* 祖師; 1.11a).

The present manual also draws on the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 traditions. LU SHIZHONG is mentioned beside GE XUAN, Sa zhenren 薩真人 (probably referring to Sa Shouzhen 薩守真; see 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 242.1a and *Longhu shan zhi* 7.3b), and “all the ancestral founders through the generations” (1.6b). The register of immortality used in this manual (547 *Lingbao yujian* 27.1a–5b), although it resembles those in the other texts (e.g., 466 *Jidu jinshu* 290.10a–13a, 1221 *Lingbao dafa* 48.15a–19b; cf. 508 *Licheng yi* 41.10a–15b), is the only one that belongs to the Golden rather than to the Yellow Register. According to 508 *Licheng yi* 41.16a, the Golden Register version is of Yutang dafa origin.

The author of 547 *Lingbao yujian* distinguishes, as is customary, the Lingbao ritual tradition that he follows from what he calls the Zhengyi tianxin 正一天心 tradition (1.11a). At the same time, however, he proposes a method for sending petitions to Heaven that is common to *sandong daoshi* 三洞道士 and *jijiu xuezi* 祭酒學子 (18.1b). In juan 17–18 he cites Zhengyi texts frequently (much of the content of juan 17–18 and 21 is also in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 179–87), and in juan 7 he uses Tianxin 天心 methods of exorcism (cf. 7.15a–23b and 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 1.2a–4a, 2.3b, 5.2b–3a, 6.6b–7a, 11b–12a).

The final fu in this last Tianxin sequence, as well as the accompanying prayer, is attributed in both 547 *Lingbao yujian* and 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* to the Shenxiao 神霄 Method. The fu and a part of the prayer are indeed to be found in 1219 *Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 10.36a. Among the many traces of Shenxiao influence in the manual (3.11b, 8.8b, 13.38a, 41.16a), one of the most interesting is the poem at 43.17b–18a, which is parallel to 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 3.18b–19b: although the variants are too numerous to suggest borrowing, the poem is important in that it is a veritable summary of *liandu* 鍊度 rites.

In short, the present work, when compared with other manuals of the same school, provides unique, sometimes original versions of Great Lingbao Method practices. It is for that reason a most precious work, all the more so in that it contains—especially in juan 1 and at the beginning of each section, but also scattered throughout the text—short essays and explanatory notes of admirable concision and clarity. As

an example, we may take the following sentence at 29.8a: “The five spirits are all like the Fangxiang shi 方相氏: they have the appearance of spirits who open the way (to souls imprisoned in hell), and each wears clothing the color of which corresponds to a direction.”

John Lagerwey

Shangqing lingbao dafa 上清靈寶大法

1 + 66 juan

Compiled by Wang Qizhen 王契真; transmitted by Ning Quanzhen 寧全真

(1101–1181)

1221 (fasc. 942–962)

“Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao.” This manual may owe its title to the desire of its compiler to challenge the preeminence of a rival, JIN YUNZHONG, author of 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*. Of Wang Qizhen, unfortunately, we know nothing, except that his name, ending with the character for “truth” (*zhen* 真), is typical of the lineage founded by Ning Quanzhen (see the list in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 244.1a–2b). Perhaps he can be identified with the Wang Qizhen mentioned in *Chongding Tiantai shan fangwai zhiyao* 7.10a and called there “Little Lingbao,” to distinguish him from his elder brother, Wang Maoduan 王茂端, known as “Big Lingbao.” This Wang Qizhen is said to have been the author of a *Lingbao jiaofa bilu* 靈寶教法秘錄 in ten juan that was kept at the Tongbo guan 桐柏觀 temple on Mount Tiantai 天台. The *Fangwai zhiyao* states that both brothers were adepts of the *Shangqing dadong fa* 上清大洞法. However, another reference to Wang Maoduan (4.1a) places him in the time of the emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), which would make him a contemporary of Ning Quanzhen and render the attribution of the present manual to his younger brother unlikely. Nevertheless, this manual clearly represents the Lingbao tradition of Tiantai, and it may be that its compiler was, or considered himself to be, an heir to the tradition of the Tongbo guan master.

An extensive list of the “masters of the sect” may be found at 54.3a. It includes the names of such famous masters of antiquity as GE XUAN, GE HONG, and LU XIUJING, as well as those of many Shangqing masters of the Tang and Song dynasties (PAN SHI-ZHENG, SIMA CHENGZHEN, LI HANGUANG, ZHU ZIYING, Mao Fengrou 毛奉柔, LIU HUNKANG). Several of the masters in the same register with, and presumably of the same generation as, LIU HUNKANG have names ending with *zhen*: Zhao Qizhen 趙啓真, Zhang Dazhen 張達真, Hu Shouzhen 胡守真. Nothing is known about these three masters or those in the last two registers. The list, however, does give an indication of how the Lingbao school of Mount Tiantai perceived its own lineage.

Internal evidence suggests a relatively late date for Wang Qizhen’s manual. In the first place, Wang cites explicitly the 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* of JIANG

SHUYU (56.4a, paraphrasing a note at 508 *Licheng yi* 32.2a). In fact, the phrase in question is embedded in a passage that is common to both *Shangqing lingbao dafa* (1221 *Dafa* 56.3b–4b and 1223 *Dafa* 21.4a–5b) and poses, thereby, the problem of the relationship between the two manuals. Parallel or identical passages are found in twenty-six of the forty-four juan of Jin's text and in thirty-one of the sixty-six juan of Wang's.

Some of these passages give the impression that Jin abridges Wang (cf. 1223 *Dafa* 1.1a–b, 2b–3b, 4a–b with 1221 *Dafa* 8.10b–12a, 1.2a–6b, 7a–8b, respectively). This impression is reinforced by the fact that virtually every one of JIN YUNZHONG's tirades against the Lingbao tradition of Tiantai corresponds to a passage in Wang's manual: for example, the names of the *bawei* 八緯 that Jin ascribes to the Tiantai tradition (4.1a–b) correspond to techniques described in 1221 *Dafa* 3.22a–25b. Jin's citation of the twenty-fifth section of the Tiantai manual (8.2b–3a) is found at 1221 *Dafa* 4.2b5, 3b6, 8, 7, 9–4a2. Jin criticizes (43.18b) the use—prescribed in 1221 *Dafa* 29.16b–19b—of ten yellow flags for announcing the Oath of Transmission to the Heavenly Worthy of the Ten Directions.

Such examples could be multiplied. Jin's juan 8 alone contains a dozen instances. Of the forty-nine sections of the original Tiantai manual (see the article on 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinsbu*), Jin mentions explicitly twenty-one, most of which he cites, and of these there are only two of which 1221 *Dafa* contains no trace. There can, therefore, be no doubt concerning the links of Wang's manual with the Tiantai tradition.

That said, Jin's citations and references are not based on Wang's text, as can be seen from the following analysis of the first three common passages mentioned above, also found in 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*:

1. 1221 *Dafa* 8.10b–12a corresponds to 219 *Dafa*, 8.5b–7b; Jin (1.2a–b) states that he abridges an “old version.”
2. 1221 *Dafa* 1.2a–7a corresponds to 219 *Dafa* 1.1a–6a; Jin eliminates the eighth “elucidation,” common to 219 *Dafa* and 1221 *Dafa*.
3. 1221 *Dafa* 1.7a–9a corresponds to 219 *Dafa*, 2.1a–2b; Jin eliminates the fourth “translation,” common to 219 *Dafa* and 1221 *Dafa*.

At the same time, however, a scribal error common to 219 *Dafa* and 1223 *Dafa* (*nei* 內 at 2.1b6 and 1.4a6, respectively) is read correctly (*xi* 西) at 1221 *Dafa* 1.7b10.

Close examination of other passages shared by the three manuals shows that the two *Shangqing lingbao dafa* rely, albeit independently, on 219 *Dafa* or its source (cf., especially, 219 *Dafa* 54.15b, 1221 *Dafa* 45.24a–b, and 1223 *Dafa* 32.4b–5a) and that they also have direct links to each other (cf. 219 *Dafa* 55.1b8–2a6, 1221 *Dafa* 45.9b7–10a2, and 1223 *Dafa* 32.6a7–b3). In the latter passages, 1221 *Dafa* agrees seven times with 219 *Dafa* against 1223 *Dafa*; 1223 *Dafa* agrees two times with 219 *Dafa* against 1221 *Dafa*, and 1221 *Dafa* agrees six times with 1223 *Dafa* against 219 *Dafa*.

What, then, is the relationship between the manuals of JIN YUNZHONG and Wang Qizhen? The response is to be found in the attitude of the latter toward the Tiantai tradition criticized by Jin: Wang uses that tradition but never mentions its origin. Each time Jin refers explicitly to the practices of Tiantai in a passage shared by the two manuals, that part of the phrase is either lacking altogether in Wang's text or replaced by "it is said that . . ." (cf. *I223 Dafa* 4.13a4–7, 14a2–4, 9; 5.3a2, 4b1, with *I221 Dafa* 10.3b8–10, 5b5–7, 4a7, 44b1, 45a2). In one long parallel passage (*I223 Dafa* 10.5b–10b; *I221 Dafa* 27.17a–20a) the following lines are missing in *I221 Dafa*: 6a10–b3 (mentions Tiantai); 6b5–6 (mentions Tiantai); 7a8–10 (*deng* 等 [*et cetera*] replaces, in *I221 Dafa*; a list of seals in *I223 Dafa*); 7b4–8a7 (criticizes Shenxiao elements adopted in the Tiantai movement); 9a6–b6 (criticizes the vulgar practices of Tiantai). The most striking of these examples concerns the use of seals: before abridging the list of criticized seals with the word *deng*, Wang mentions three of them (27.18b1–2), the use of which he had earlier condoned (27.14a–b). Such incoherences allow us to conclude that Wang's manual is posterior to Jin's.

That being the case, the suppression of all reference to the very Tiantai school from which so much of his text derives must be attributed to the compiler's desire to distance himself from a discredited local tradition, which is no doubt also the explanation for his replacement of the phrase "the Master in the Beyond says" with "the Master says," in passages taken from the *219 Dafa* or its source: JIN YUNZHONG criticizes the former phrase as yet one more instance of Tiantai inanity (5.3a). The author of *I221 Dafa* repeats Jin's criticism, but eliminates Jin's name at the beginning of the note (10.44a–b).

The list of passages common to *219 Dafa* and Wang's manual involves one of two prefaces and forty-six of the first fifty-three juan of *I221 Dafa*. The content of these chapters, divided into twenty-four sections (*men* 門), may be summarized as follows:

- Juan 1: theoretical introduction to the Great Method
- Juan 2–4: basic practices of the Tiantai tradition (ten of the twenty-one sections of the Tiantai sishijiu pin 天台四十九品 mentioned by Jin are found in these three juan)
- Juan 5: recitation of scripture and the audience rites performed inside the body
- Juan 6–7: exorcistic practices and rites of healing using fu
- Juan 8: liturgical calendar, rules, and taboos
- Juan 9: rules for entering and leaving the oratory; ritual of confession
- Juan 10: description of the pantheon and the structure of the universe of the stars, the heavens, and the earths
- Juan 11: fu and incantations for summoning beneficent powers

- Juan 12–26: exorcistic practices and the accumulation of merit, mostly based on the use of the Duren jing 度人經
- Juan 27: the sacerdotal hierarchy; seals of authority
- Juan 28–30: documents and ritual of transmission
- Juan 31–34: full description of the preparations for a Retreat (altar, flags, lamps, fu, etc.)
- Juan 35–38: fu, incantations, and techniques used for summoning souls of the deceased (the ritual of the Divine Tiger)
- Juan 39–48: fu and incantations used in the various rituals of the Yellow Register Retreat
- Juan 49–53: description of the altar, fu and incantations for the Sublimation ritual.

The preface shared by *219 Dafa* and *1221 Dafa*—called “celestial preface” in the latter (preface, 3b–6b), attributed to Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人 in the former—describes the ritual practice of the Taoist in alchemical terms. In Wang’s manual it is preceded by an “old preface” that situates the revelation of the many techniques of salvation in the context of the increasing decadence of the universe since the end of the Longhan era. Its author vaunts the merits of the Yellow Register Retreat, which he says can be celebrated for both the living and the dead, for both ordinary people and the emperor, and by either male or female Taoists.

Juan 54–59 give the “traditional explanation” of the rituals of the retreat. These juan contain many parallel passages with JIN YUNZHONG’s work and with that of JIANG SHUYU. The latter is also the sole source of parallels for the seven juan of documents at the end of the present text.

John Lagerwey

Shangqing lingbao dafa mulu 上清靈寶大法目錄

11 + 22 fols.

Table of contents for *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa*

1222 (fasc. 963)

Shangqing lingbao dafa 上清靈寶大法

44 juan

By JIN YUNZHONG 金允中 (fl. 1225)

1223 (fasc. 963–972)

“Great Lingbao Method of the Shangqing Heaven.” The title designates the textual and ritual traditions that JIN YUNZHONG set out to synthesize and for which he wished to provide the orthodox definition (see the documents of transmission, 42.15b; cf. *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangqing dafa* 71.32b). The term *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法

is a reminder that the methods of the school of that name were developed on the basis of the Lingbao canon (see preface, 2a); Shangqing is the heaven from which this canon derives in the traditional scheme of the Three Caverns. The fundamental importance of the *Duren jing* in this movement explains why the name *Duren dafa* 度人大法, (Great Method of Salvation) is sometimes used to refer to its practices (preface, 3a).

According to JIN YUNZHONG's introduction to the Tongchu 童初 revelations (*I220 Daofa huiyuan* 178.3a–6a), the names of his masters were Gao Jingxiu 高景修; Tang Keshou 唐克壽, *zi* Daomin 道憫; and Liu Hunpu 劉混朴, *zi* Fuguan 副觀. As with the author, we know of these three generations of masters only what Jin tells us. At the beginning of the Shaoxing era (1131), Gao Jingxiu, who had fled the northern capital and sought refuge in the south, began to work (*huaxing* 化行) in the region between the rivers Jiang 江 and Huai 淮 (17.22b). His version of the *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, according to Jin, was based on “ancient books” transmitted without interruption since the end of the Tang. In the petitions Gao sent to Heaven, he identified himself as “Gao, of the Ziyuan an 紫元庵, in the county of Qimen 祈門, Huizhou 徽州” (in Shexian 歙縣, Anhui; 23.15b). He spent his last years in the same county, at Xinan 新安 (17.22b).

Of Tang Keshou, Jin says that he was a Taoist from Chuzhou 處州, Zhejiang, and that he practiced exclusively the method of the Five Offices (*wufu fa* 五府法), that is, the method of Tongchu (*I220 Daofa huiyuan* 178.3b). Tang transmitted the Tongchu material to Liu Hunpu, who also received initiation in the method of the Retreat (*zhai fa* 齋法) of JIANG SHUYU, whom Jin places in the Zhengyi tradition, and in the method of the nine visualizations for presenting petitions (*jiusi zoufa* 九思奏法) of Tian Jushi 田居實 (17.23b).

JIN YUNZHONG signs the undated preface of this manual with a title that derives in part from the Lingbao dafa tradition (cf. *219 Dafa* 28.3b), but that also refers to his Tongchu attachments. His introduction to the Tongchu revelations is dated 1225. The present manual may well date from approximately the same period, as Jin states in the preface (8b) that “nearly 100 years have passed since the emigration to the south.” On the other hand, Jin states that JIANG SHUYU's book, which in its present form dates to 1223, was already widely known (22.7a) and that four centuries had elapsed since DU GUANGTING compiled his *Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 in forty juan (cf. *507 Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*). These remarks imply a much later date, between 1250 and 1300 (40.25b; cf. 21.21b). Jin had already been a Taoist for two decades when he compiled his manual (21.20b). We may note here, too, that three passages, at 5.6b, 6.5b, and 28.3a, seem to have been added to the manual by another hand, probably a disciple.

Jin explains his motivation in writing as follows: “I had the good fortune of not becoming a member of the sect of the heterodox and the counterfeiters, and I cannot bear the thought that future generations be deceived by them. I have followed with

reverence what my masters transmitted to me, adding only from my studies of other manuals that which was in harmony with the rituals of old. . . . I am not one who has received a revelation from Heaven, it is true, but I take my responsibilities here below” (preface, 9a).

Thus does Jin set the tone and reveal his intentions in the preface: in the name of the traditions of his masters he will denounce all latter-day inventions by those who, “in order to steal fame” (21.16a), go so far as to “truncate and alter the books of old and suppress traditional methods on the pretext that they are incomplete, but in reality in order that they may then produce novelties and sell their secrets for money to their disciples” (preface, 10a). Jin intends above all to use the “venerable books of the Central Plain” (12.5b) to halt the progress of the so-called “revelations of Tiantai” (preface, 3a–b) and the “customs of Zhe 浙” (40.27b), referring to the regions of Zhexi 浙西 (10.17a, 37.47b) and Zhedong 浙東 (13.24a, 20.8a, 21.9b, 22.7b), especially Tiantai 天台 itself (preface, 8b, 14.12a, 43.18a). Ever since the appearance of the *Tiantai sishijiu pin* 天台四十九品 during the Shaoxing period (1131–1162; see preface, 3a), the partisans of this method, writes Jin, have been busily inventing seals, grades, and new rites (preface, 4b–5b, 6b–7a, juan 10, 12.6a). They even go so far as to don red turbans and thereby confound the exorcistic rites of vulgar sorcerers with rites based on the *Duren jing* 度人經 (6.13a–14b, 11.14a). Worse still, their esoteric explanations of Taoist ritual, and of the ritual for the presentation of petitions to Heaven in particular, represent a subjectivist, interiorist, and altogether dangerous interpretation of Taoist ritual (preface, 4a, 4.4b, 11a, 7.8a, 11a, 8.3a).

It is fair to describe Jin’s manual as a manifesto against the Lingbao dafa of Tiantai, but in fact Jin’s criticism spares none. He deplores the egoism and individualism of the contemporary practice of the rites for the salvation of the dead, on the grounds that rituals of this kind were in reality *pudu* 普度, rituals of universal salvation (16.13a, 17.22a, 23.8a, 24a, 35.10b). He attacks the vulgar verses used during the ritual for crossing the bridge (37.39a). Even the ritual masters for whom Jin says he has the highest esteem do not escape: LIN LINGSU was a “master of considerable accomplishments,” but he confused the Emperors of the Five Peaks with the Five Celestial Emperors who are the “roots of the Five Energies” (40.3b); Wang Shengqing 王升卿 wrote the best *Lingbao dafa* manual (preface, 2b–3a), but he did not know enough to eliminate all the heavenly offices added by the Tiantai school (5.4a), nor to differentiate the traditional Lingbao seal of authority from its Shenxiao 神霄 version of the Xuanhe reign era (1119–1125; 10.3b–4a); LU SHIZHONG was “a man of great talent and vast erudition,” but that did not prevent him from elevating the Heavenly Master to the same rank as Shangdi 上帝 (43.17b) nor, holding only a Zhengyi investiture, from jumping a rank and performing Lingbao rituals (10.19b); JIANG SHUYU, who went “even farther than DU GUANGTING in his research into the canonical rules” and who, therefore,

“far surpasses his predecessors” (21.10b), nonetheless allowed himself to be influenced by the practices of Zhedong and so recommended visualizing a red rather than a yellow vapor during the Noon Audience (21.9b–11a; cf. 22.7b, 40.27b).

In this manner, Jin campaigns against modern decadence and its “latter-day techniques” (*moshu* 末術; 4.4b). Jin recognizes only the three imperially sanctioned ordination centers: Longhu shan 龍虎山 (Zhengyi), Gezao shan 閣皂山 (Lingbao), and Sanmao shan 三茅山 (Dadong; 10.8a). These three centers correspond to the literature of the Three Caverns revealed in the distant past, for Jin identifies the Zhengyi movement with the Dongshen canon (25.1a–b; cf. 1.5a, 22.16a, 40.24a–b). Contrary to what the adepts of the Tiantai school affirm, writes Jin, only Zhengyi and Lingbao priests have the right to convey petitions to Heaven. He also criticizes JIANG SHUYU for writing that “the method of the retreat is of Lingbao origin, that of presenting petitions Zhengyi” (25.19b–20a). The true Zhengyi method, says Jin, was lost over the centuries, and the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 movement that grew out of it goes back only to TAN ZIXIAO and RAO DONGTIAN (43.16b–17a). Only the Lingbao dafa has a tradition that goes back without interruption to the time of GE XUAN and Xu Jingyang 許旌陽 (XU XUN; 43.18a). “The Lingbao way belongs specifically to the Dongxuan canon, but it is the synthesis of all that is essential in the Three Caverns and includes the mysteries of all the sacred books” (42.1a).

The Lingbao ritual tradition, after having been revealed to Ge and Xu, was codified by LU XIUJING, ZHANG WANFU, and DU GUANGTING (19.3a). But it is DU GUANGTING’s rituals that, to Jin, represent the ultimate authority, for Du had access to the *Daozang* in the two national capitals when he compiled his *Huanglu zhai* in forty juan (40.25a–26a; Jin gives the table of contents of Du’s work in 39.1b–2b; cf. 507 *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*). The Taoist canons compiled since Du, writes Jin—that of the end of the Five Dynasties (907–960) kept at the Tongbo guan 桐柏觀 temple on Mount Tiantai 天台山 (24.11a), that compiled by WANG QINRUO (962–1025; 40.25b), or that compiled under the emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125; 40.26a)—are all partial and contain extracanonial works. For all basic rituals—the Suqi 宿啓, the nine Audience rituals, and so on—Jin therefore refers the reader to DU GUANGTING’s work (40.28a). He also borrows from Du’s manual the major portion of his rituals for the Offering (*jiao* 醮) and for Casting Dragons (*toulong* 投龍; juan 40–41). Since the time of DU GUANGTING, however, there has been such a proliferation of rituals that it is “difficult to abolish them all in a single day” (19.1a). For example, neither the ritual of prior announcement (*yugao* 預告; 16.6b, 19.11a) nor that of sublimation (*liandu* 煉度; 17.19a) existed in DU GUANGTING’s time (Jin states, however, that the *liandu* already existed as a form of individual practice in antiquity, and he cites LIU HUNKANG as an authority; 37.1a). In a general way, the ritual texts of DU GUANGTING contained neither incantations nor documents of announcement (19.1b), for fu, documents,

incantations, and mudra were in the past all transmitted directly from master to disciple (preface, 1b–2a).

JIN YUNZHONG's purpose, then, was to select such prescriptions from the many manuals of the Great Lingbao Method as were in conformity with the teaching of his masters (17.19b, 35.9b) and with “our method” (*benfa* 本法; 19.1b, 43.20a). As mentioned, Jin traces the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* of Gao Jingxiu to the end of the Tang: “For his methods he based himself on the *Duren jing*, and for the retreat he followed the rituals of Du Guangting” (17.22b–23a). For certain novelties, nonetheless, Jin bent his own rules and recommended that which is “easy to practice” or “widely used” (13.22a).

JIN YUNZHONG's arguments are often accurate and always fascinating, but the violence of his attacks on the Tiantai school are troubling: did he really borrow nothing from that school? “It is not the case that I did not originally receive the texts from my master and that I borrowed from the Tiantai method to make my book” (12.6a). Even if the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* of Wang Qizhen “borrowed” from JIN YUNZHONG in a manner that may be described as dishonest (see 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*), what was the origin of the “old texts” that Jin claims to have abridged when dealing with the “rules and commandments” (1.2a)? Was the theory of the Four Translations that Jin champions against the Five Translations of the Tiantai school as old as he asserts (1.4b)?

Similar questions could be asked of Jin's positions with respect to the Zhengyi movement. He states that the ritual for sending petitions and going before the emperor originated with GE XUAN and that the Lingbao methods of exorcism derive from the teachings that Xiaodao mingwang 孝道明王 transmitted to Xu Jingyang (XU XUN; 25.1b). Yet the history of Taoist ritual suggests, rather, that both aspects of the Southern Song Lingbao synthesis owed a great deal to the Tianxin zhengfa movement that Jin dismisses as “recent.”

John Lagerwey

Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa 靈寶無量度人上經大法

1 + 72 juan

Ca. 1200

219 (fasc. 85–99)

“Great Rites of the Book of Universal Salvation.” The Book of Universal Salvation (*Wuliang duren jing* 無量度人經) is the central scripture of the Lingbao canon. The *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法 (Great Lingbao Method) is here described as the “way for saving souls from hell” (53.1a). More precisely, the very “heart of the Great Method” is composed of incantations, fu, and techniques (36.1a), the most important of which derive from an esoteric reading of the *Duren jing* 度人經 (see 3.13b–9.7b, especially

juan 5–7, where the *Duren jing* is divided into four-character phrases in order to form fu capable of healing any illness and protecting the bearer in all circumstances).

The preface is attributed to Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人, who is said, according to the theory of the Five Translations (*wuyi* 五譯), to have transcribed the huge, primordial characters of jade of which the *Duren jing* was originally composed into characters of human size and at the same time to have given them their “correct sound” (2.1b; cf. 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 3.1b–2a). Still later, the Tianzhen explained the basic Lingbao fu to the Yellow Emperor (2.1b, 72.8b; this story derives from 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.17a–23b).

The *Duren dafa* has also received the careful attention of a human editor: the text is divided into ninety sections (*pin* 品), and all cross-references from one section to another (5.13b, 14.12b, 49.10b, etc.) seem to be accurate. The text also contains commentaries, some of which are attributed to [Tianzhen] Huangren (64.1a, 65.32a, 69.26a), some to “the master” (53.1a, 63.1a, 65.7b), but most to the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師). This Master in the Beyond is at one point identified with a Tianzun (Xuanzhong da fashi Jinglao tianzun 玄中大法師靜老天尊; 72.8b–9a), but he is also clearly designated as “my master” in a “note of the editor based on the instructions of the master” (*jin’an shizhi* 謹按師旨; 55.13a–b; cf. 43.2b, 8a, 55.1b, 63.2a). In short, this manual is the work of a disciple, perhaps a disciple of Ning Quanzhen 寧全真 (1101–1181).

Our text is in any case closely linked to, but older than, 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, a manual “transmitted by Ning Quanzhen and compiled by Wang Qizhen 王契真.” Most of the passages attributed here to the Master in the Beyond are also to be found in Wang’s manual (see the article on 1221 *Shangqing lingbao daofa*). Whether or not the *Duren dafa* is the source of these passages in the Wang text, both manuals clearly belong to the Tiantai tradition of the Great Method, for both subscribe to the above-mentioned theory of the Five Translations.

The date of the *Duren dafa* may be set around 1200, for it contrasts the Lingbao method for writing two important fu with that of Liu Chongjing 留冲靖 (1134–1206), the master of JIANG SHUYU (1162–1223). Jiang seems, moreover, to cite this text (cf. the article on 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*). The *Duren dafa*, finally, contains (juan 64) a ritual attributed to “Master Tian 田先生,” who is in all probability Tian Jushi 田居實 (b. 1074), the *jishi*-master of JIANG SHUYU.

The anonymous compiler of the *Duren dafa* clearly intended his manual to be a complete description of the Great Method. After first defining the cosmic foundations of the method (1.1a–2.2b), he describes its main practices (2.2b–25.9a), which prepare the adept to receive the Great Method directly from the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (juan 26). The remaining chapters are largely given over to the ritual practice of the Taoist master.

During the preparatory phase, adepts learn to write and to use in their oratory the various fu of the school (juan 4–21); they also learn to absorb the essences of the primeval powers and to send petitions to Heaven (22.1a–25.3b). In addition to the *Duren jing*, two other early Lingbao texts play a major role in this period of apprenticeship: 17.2b–18.16b corresponds to 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 1.1b–12b, 15b–2.18b and 19.1a–11a, 22.1a–6b corresponds to 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 2.4b–20a. Juan 21 is taken almost entirely from 1281 *Wuyue zhenxing xulun*. Several Shangqing texts concerning the absorption of the essences of the sun and the moon are also used, especially 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* (4b–9b, 2a–3b correspond to 23.1a–6b in the *Duren jing*), but also 33 *Shangqing huangqi yangjing sandao shunxing jing* (1a–b is the same as 22.6b–7a in the *Duren jing*). Next to these traditional elements we find much more recent ones: the letters of jade of the womb (*hunyuán yuzha* 混元玉劄; juan 11–15), the grand methods of the Four Saints and of the Central Bushel (20.2b–11b), and Shenxiao divinities (10.8b–12b; cf. 16.3a–8a and 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.30a–32b). The new techniques have a single aim, namely, “to cause the pure yin to leave the body and the pure yang to fill it,” for “that which is entirely yang is immortal, and that which is entirely yin is demonic” (9.8b, 8a).

When apprenticeship is complete, adepts express their “great desire” for universal salvation: it is their intention to save all souls in hell, their own ancestors, and all the “living powers” of the heavens by a spiritual journey through the heavens to the dwelling place of the emperor (25.9a–b). The regular practice of this heavenly voyage gradually enables adepts’ yang-spirit to leave this “dusty world” permanently (25.10b) and so prepares them to receive the Great Method directly from the “ancestral master,” the Yuanshi tianzun (26.1a–3b). Having been thus initiated, adepts may practice rites of confession and petition before the Three Pure Ones (26.3b–8a), and then rites of absorption of the powerful qi that correspond to the “letters of jade” (26.8a–10a). Adepts who have achieved mastery over the divinities of Heaven and Earth are henceforth capable of “communicating with the zhenren and the spirits [*ling* 靈], of inhaling clouds and thunder and exhaling rain and lightning” (26.10a).

Juan 27, which provides a complete ritual of confession, begins with the phrase, “to have few faults is the very essence of the practice of perfection.” Adepts must achieve merit in this world if they would become immortal, and even the method for the use of fu (*fufa* 符法), not to mention the petitions that adepts will present to Heaven “in order to save the living and the dead,” will not be efficacious unless adepts first repent of their sins (27.1a). Juan 28.1a–9b gives the hierarchy of the immortals, that is, the various degrees of priestly rank; 28.9b–15a gives the secret names of the Thirty-two Heavens, the Five Peaks, and so on; 29.1a–8b explains the structure of the heavens; 29.8b–15b describes the spirits who are in the service of the priest—including those of

the rite of Opening the Incense Burner (*falü* 發爐)—and explains that the contract of immortality (*shengtian quan* 昇天券) is a passport to Heaven that enables both the Taoist master to present his petitions and the “afflicted souls” to proceed to the Palace of the South.

Once the master is thus assured of his power over all the forces of the universe, he undertakes his public ritual activity, for the living, in the first place, for whom he is essentially an exorcist (juan 30–45), but also for the dead (juan 47–71). He learns to perform the following ritual actions:

- To end natural or political calamities (30–34.12a; juan 31–32 are based primarily on 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*, 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*, and 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing*)
- To refine (*lian* 鍊) his own self in order to be able to distinguish good spirits from evil (juan 35): “If one is incapable of refining oneself, how will he be able to refine demons, who live in the obscurity of hell?” (35.6b–7a)
- To control demons (juan 36 and 45; note here the elements from the Shenxiao literature: compare 36.29b–35a, to 1219 *Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 8.11a–b, 14a–b, 11.3b–4a, and 45.12a–20a to 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.22a–30a)
- To save the life of others at the gates of death (37.1a–11b)
- To pray for the birth of a son, for rain, or for sunshine (38.1a–10a)
- To send petitions to Heaven (34.12a–19b, juan 41–44; note that it is the Petition of the Nine Powers [*jiuling zhangbiao* 九靈章表], 43.1b)

Juan 46–71 describe the *huanglu dazhai* 黃籙大齋 (48.3a), as follows: the visualizations to be accomplished in the various rites and rituals (juan 46); the construction of the altar (juan 47); the host’s triple request of the master that he perform a given ritual (juan 48); the invitation of the gods (juan 49); the various lamp-lighting rituals (juan 50–51); the banners (juan 52); the fu (juan 53–56); the various methods for recreating the body of the deceased and refining his or her souls (juan 57–65); the ritual of the Divine Tiger for fetching the soul out of hell (juan 66–67); the fu for the sublimation of the souls (juan 68–69; note that 69.18a–25a corresponds to 147 *Duren futu* 3.12b–15b, and 69.25b–27b to 147 *Duren futu* 1.2a–4b); the fu linked to the incense (juan 70); the preparations for the ritual, the overall program, the offerings, and the ritual vestments (juan 71). The book ends with the ritual and the documents for the transmission of the Great Method (71.21b–72.8a) and with a presentation of the master’s seals of authority (72.8a–14a).

The *Duren dafa* thus represents a formidable synthesis of a vast range of literature, ancient and recent: in addition to the books and persons already mentioned, the *Duren*

dafa cites or mentions 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*, 1016 *Zhen'gao*, 1052 *Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun*, 666 *Xisheng jing*, 65 *Taishang zhenyi bao fumu enzhong jing*, 215 *Difushiwang badu yi*, and others (see the two lists: 33.5b and 71.8b). The author makes explicit use of CHEN JINGYUAN and LIU HUNKANG, and he refers to LU SHIZHONG and Cai Zhixu 蔡致虛. He mentions, and on occasion uses, works of Jingming 淨明 or Tongchu 童初 origin (45.4a, 71.10b). Among contemporary movements, only the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 goes unmentioned.

The Tianxin zhengfa would seem, nonetheless, to have been well known to the author of the *Duren dafa*, for such techniques as *bugang* 步罡, *quqi* 取氣 and *chuiqi* 吹氣, *bianshen* 變神, and *juemu* 訣目, all fundamental to the rituals described in this manual, are probably of Tianxin zhengfa origin. There are also more specific links: the cup and cover method (*gonggai* 匱蓋; 33.1a; cf. 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 9.12b); the invitation of the King of Demons (Guangming 廣明) when using the Register for Eliminating Malediction (*posui lu* 破祟錄; 36.20b–21a; cf. 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 7.35a). Also worth mention is the use of Heisha 黑煞 and other generals of the north in juan 20, as well as the role of fu and the ways of writing and animating them (cf. 13.6b–10a, 15.16a–b, and 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 2.17a–20b).

Of final note is a common outlook rooted, no doubt, in a common socioliturgic matrix. The aim of Tianxin zhengfa texts is to exorcise the demons that haunt the living, an aim that sometimes necessitates “saving” a troublesome ancestor. If the primary function of the rituals in the *Duren dafa* is to save the dead, that is, ancestors, the manual also insists that a Taoist must first learn to control demons (45.1a), and it supplies an exorcistic method for rescuing the souls of the dead from hell. It is significant that the Book of the Divine Tiger (*Shenhu yinshu* 神虎隱書) on which this method is based is said (66.1a) to have been hidden in a cave on Longhu shan 龍虎山 by the same YE FASHAN who is the source of the *Gusui lingwen* 骨髓靈文, one of the basic Tianxin zhengfa texts (see 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 4.1a).

The Tianxin zhengfa priest “accomplishes transformations on behalf of Heaven” (*daitian xinghua* 代天行化; 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 1.8b); the *Duren dafa* master does the same, but “on behalf of the [Heavenly Worthy of the] Primordial Beginning” (*daiyuanshi yi xinghua* 代元始以行化; 66.5b). The latter phrase is an adaptation of the former and represents the liturgical transfer of the above-mentioned techniques into the context of Lingbao rituals for the salvation of the dead. To these exorcistic techniques the author of the *Duren dafa* adds the ritual of sublimation (*liandu* 煉度), derived in all probability from the Zhongxiao 忠孝 movement associated with the name of XU JINGYANG (48.5a; cf. 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 43.18a).

Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu mulu 靈寶領教濟度金書目錄

48 fols.

Table of contents for 466 *Jidu jinshu*

465 (fasc. 208)

Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu 靈寶領教濟度金書

10 fols. + 320 juan

Transmitted by Ning Quanzhen 寧全真 (1101–1181); compilation attributed to Lin Lingzhen 林靈真 (1239–1302)

466 (fasc. 208–263)

“Golden Book of Salvation according to the Lingbao Tradition.” The term *jidu* 濟度 in the title is short for *dusheng jisi* 度生濟死 (to save the living and the dead; cf. the prefatory *Sijiao lu* 嗣教錄 [Annals of Transmission], 7b). The term *lingjiao* 領教 seems to refer to the “head of the sect,” as in the phrase, “Ever since I became head of the sect . . .” (319.20a). In combination with *sishi* 嗣師 (hereditary master), this term was considered by JIN YUNZHONG to be a usurpation of a Zhengyi title by the Tiantai sect (cf. 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.14a–16b). Elsewhere it is said that LU SHIZHONG was the first to usurp this title (see the article on 220 *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*).

Although this work is presented as “transmitted by Ning Quanzhen and compiled by Lin Lingzhen,” the “Annals,” written in 1303 by Lin Tianren 林天任 (d. 1324, disciple and successor of Lin Lingzhen), make it clear that the present text in 320 juan is not the text compiled by Lin Lingzhen. The *Daozang shumu xiangzhu* erroneously attributes the present text to LIN LINGSU. This error, in turn, seems to have led to the confusion of our text with the forty-juan *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 compiled in 1432 by Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451), disciple of the Forty-third Heavenly Master, ZHANG YUCHU. The latter text is attributed to LIN LINGSU in the *Tianyi ge shumu* and to Lin Lingzhen in the *Tianyi ge xiancun shumu*, 3.14698.

The real author of the *Lingjiao jidu jinshu* is perhaps Lin Tianren himself: we learn from his biography in 602 *Xiandu zhi* (2.2a) that he wandered among the sacred mountains of China in order to “collect Taoist books and emend the rituals.” According to his biographies in *Wenzhou fu zhi* 26.14b and *Pingyang xian zhi* 7.3a — where he is called Lin Renzhen 林任真, *zi* Qizhi 器之 — Lin became a Taoist at the end of the Song. He took refuge at Sunshui 蓀水 (near Wenzhou), where he “followed the teaching of Shuinan” (Lin Lingzhen). Like his master, he became famous for his performance of the Universal Salvation ritual (*pudu* 普度). One such performance is commemorated in a poem by Lin Jingxi 林景熙 (1242–1310; see *Jishan xiansheng ji* 5.6a). Lin died in 1324.

Lin Tianren describes his master—Lin Weifu 林偉夫, *fabui* 法諱, Lingzhen 靈真—as an erudite who “abandoned the Confucian for the Taoist” life after the “troubles of the *ding*-year” (1277?). He converted his house into an abbey, assumed the *hao* Shuinan 水南, and called his abbey the Blessed Plot (*fudi* 福地) of Shuinan. After studying Taoism with Dai Wei 戴煇 (biography in *Wenzhou fu zhi* 26.7a), Lin Xuyi 林虛一 (biography in *Pingyang xian zhi* 26.6b), and Xue Donghua 薛東華 (cf. 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 244.2b), Lin Tianren became heir to the teaching of Donghua 東華. Some time later, a visit to the Heavenly Master at Longhu shan led to Lin’s being named Daolu 道錄 of Wenzhou, but he preferred to go into retirement and compile a complete manual of the rituals of the Three Caverns (*Sandong lingjiao zhuke* 三洞領教諸科), which he strove to “bring into conformity with the methods of the Zhengyi sect” (“Annals,” 8b). Lin presented his compilation, a *jidu zhi shu* 濟度之書 in twelve juan, to the Heavenly Master, who ordered it printed, and Lin himself was named head of the Tianqing guan 天清觀 temple (清 is probably an error for 慶). In the list of masters given in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 244.2a–b, Lin Lingzhen is followed by his disciple, Dong Chuqian 董處謙 (cf. “Annals,” 9a), and Dong is followed by the Thirty-ninth Heavenly Master, Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (d. 1344). The *Pingyang xian zhi* recounts an incident that occurred in 1431 and involved the “eighteenth hereditary master of the Shuinan sect,” one Lin Shizhen 林仕貞.

Ning Benli 寧本立, *hui* Quanzhen 全真, is known as an exorcist from the *Yijian zhi* (22.1a–2a). We learn from the “Annals” that Ning transmitted to Lin Lingzhen a teaching that represented the synthesis of Northern and Southern Taoist traditions. The former tradition, Ning had received from Tian Lingxu 田靈虛, sometime before 1126 in Kaifeng; he received the latter tradition from Shi Zixian 仕子仙, sometime after 1126 and in the south (cf. the 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* list, where Tian, but not Shi, is mentioned).

Tian Lingxu’s teaching seems itself to have been a synthesis of the canonical tradition of the Three Caverns (*Sandong jingjiao* 三洞經教)—which Tian is said to have received directly from LU XIUJING—and a form of alchemical practice called *Donghua danyuan xuanzhi* 東華丹元玄旨. Shi Zixian was the spiritual heir of Yang Siming 楊司命, that is, Yang Xizhen 楊希真, recipient of the Tongchu revelations. In the “Annals” it says (2a) that Yang transmitted to Shi both the “fu, seals, and mudra of the Jade Slips from the Five Offices” (*Wufu yuce fuwen yinjue* 五府玉冊符文印訣), that is, the Tongchu 童初 texts and methods (cf. *Daofa huiyuan* 171.2b), and the Lingbao ritual tradition (*Lingbao xuanfan sishijiu pin* 靈寶玄範四十九品).

The 320 juan of this manual are preceded not only by the “Annals,” but also by a table of contents. This table shows a number of discrepancies with the text, primarily in the order of the nineteen sections (*pin* 品) into which both the table and the text divide the ritual materials. There are also discrepancies between the twenty-two ritual

programs given in section 3 (2.2a–35a) and the ritual texts supplied for twenty-three programs in section 7 (juan 12–259). These rituals are of two basic kinds: those for the salvation (*kaidu* 開度) of the dead (juan 42–135) and those of prayer and exorcism (*qirang* 祈禳) for the living (juan 136–259). Juan 12–41 are composed of ritual texts that can be used in both kinds of program. There follows a list of the contents of the manual, section by section:

1. *Tanmu zhidu* 壇幕制度品 (juan 1): instructions for the construction of the altar for the various ritual programs
2. *Tanxin jinglie* 壇信經例品 (2.1a–2a): list of the gifts to be supplied by those who request a given ritual
3. *Xiufeng jiemu* 修奉節目品 (2.2a–35a): details of the ritual programs of fourteen Retreats (*zhai* 齋) and eight Taoist rituals (*daochang* 道場)
4. *Shengzhen banwei* 聖真班位品 (juan 3–7): list of the divinities for whom emplacements (*wei* 位) must be provided on the altar areas for the different ritual programs
5. *Chaozou cixu* 朝奏次序品 (juan 8–9): precise description of the Nocturnal Announcement (*sugui* 宿啓) and the Audience (*chaoye* 朝謁) rituals
6. *Zansong yingyong* 讚頌應用品 (juan 10–11): texts of the main hymns used in the various rituals
7. *Keyi licheng* 科儀立成品 (juan 12–259): texts of the rituals
8. *Ziying lingshu* 紫英靈書品 (juan 260): description of the method of the young lads of Tianshu (*Tianshu tongzi fa* 天樞童子法) for summoning the souls of the deceased
9. *Lianshi shengxian* 鍊尸生仙品 (juan 261): funeral ritual for a high-ranking Taoist
10. *Fujian kuifan* 符簡軌範品 (juan 262–64, 266–67, 271–74): fu for use in various rituals
11. *Kaidu zhuishe* 開度追攝品 (juan 265): fu for use in summoning the souls of the deceased
12. *Liandu* 煉度品 (juan 268–70): fu for use in the rituals of sublimation
13. *Shuzhuan juemu* 書篆訣目品 (juan 275–81): incantations, mudra, and visualizations that must accompany the use of the fu in the preceding sections
14. *Cunshen xuanmiao* 存神玄妙品 (juan 282–86): mudra, visualizations, dance steps, et cetera, that constitute the “secret” part of the rituals
15. *Gaoming dengji* 誥命等記品 (juan 287–91): texts of the “orders” that must accompany certain fu
16. *Fangai chenshe* 旛蓋陳設品 (juan 292): illustrations and descriptions of the banners to be used in the various rituals (see fig. 46)

17. *Biaobang guizhi* 表榜規制品 (juan 293–303): texts of the memorials and placards used in the different rituals, as well as the rules for writing them
18. *Wenxi fafang* 文檄發放品 (juan 304–18): texts of the other documents used in the rituals
19. *Zhaijiao xuzhi* 齋醮須知品 (juan 319–20): instructions concerning the times for and the conduct of rituals

Sections 8, 9, and 19 are clearly composed of preexistent material. Section 8 has a preface that seems to indicate that the chapter concerns a form of *Lingbao dafa* current in the twelfth century and similar to the *Yutang dafa* 玉堂大法 (the author of the preface refers to a line of transmission including LU SHIZHONG). Section 9 is certainly, section 19 probably, by Lin Lingzhen: the former has a signed preface dated 1295; the latter is partially in the first person singular (319.20a, 320.3a, 23b) and refers to Lin Lingshen's master, Lin Xuyi (320.7a).

The work 316 *Taishang jidu zhangshe* was in all likelihood originally a part of this manual.

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John Lagerwey

Taishang jidu zhangshe 太上濟度章赦

3 juan

316 (fasc. 164)

"Writs of Pardon and Memorials, from the Book of Salvation of the Most-High." This work provides, as the title indicates, the *zhang* 章 (memorials) and the *she* 赦 (writs of pardon) lacking in 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*. Almost all documents contained in the present collection are mentioned by their titles in the programs of the rituals as given in juan 2 of 466 *Jidu jinshu*, but the documents themselves are not given there.

Conceivably, the present collection was formerly part of the 466 *Jidu jinshu* manual. The names of the rituals and the manner of indicating them in small characters beneath the titles are identical in both works. The memorials and the documents are presented in a similar—but reversed—order in the present text.

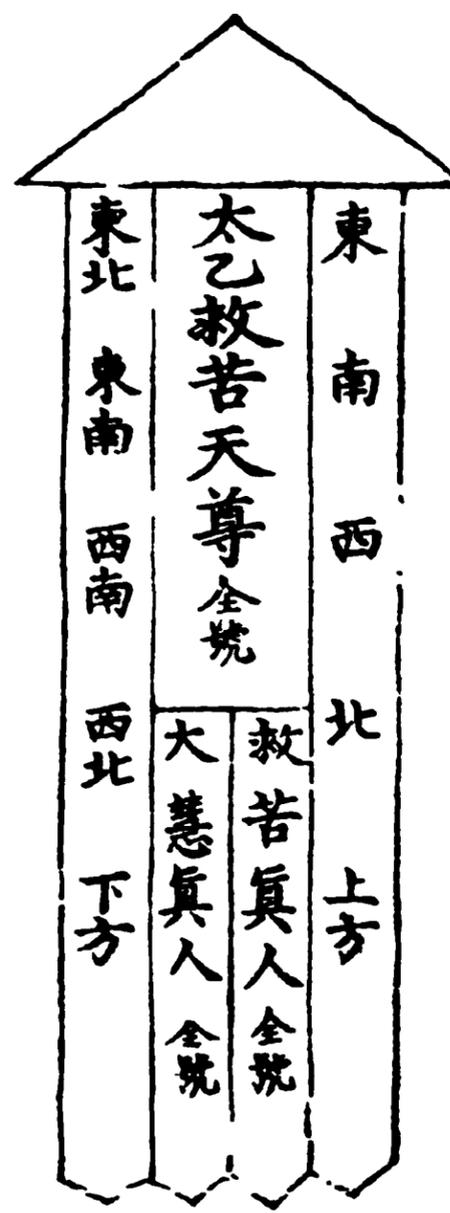


FIGURE 46. Funerary banner for summoning and guiding the soul (466 292.14b)

A small number of documents in the first juan (13a–29a), specifically intended for the worship of saints or for healing and exorcism, are not mentioned in the 466 *Jidu jinshu* manual, as these rites are not included there. Juan 2 contains a “memorial for the translation into the heavens of the souls of an immortal” (*Shengdu xianhun zhang* 昇度仙魂章; 23b–24b), to be used at the occasion of the funeral of a clerical colleague (*shiyou* 師友). In 466 *Jidu jinshu* 2.18b, this memorial is mentioned as part of the program of a requiem service for the remission of sins (*duxing miezui zhai* 度星滅罪齋).

John Lagerwey

Taishang sandong biaowen 太上三洞表文

3 juan

Ming (1368–1644)?

982 (fasc. 616–617)

“Memorials of the Three Caverns of the Most High.” This is a collection of formularies for a complete requiem service of an unspecified kind. It contains a complete set for the *liandu* 鍊度 (salvation through sublimation) rituals but offers no indications as to the composition of the service, the kind of officiants, or the books to be recited.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao dalian neizhi xingchi jiyao 靈寶大鍊內旨行持機要

3 fols.

407 (fasc. 191)

“Summary for the Practice of the Esoteric Instructions of the Great Lingbao Sublimation Rite.” This summary is also found in 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*. A *Neilian dazhi* 內鍊大旨 is mentioned by JIANG SHUYU (508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 24.11a), who incorporates this internal sublimation rite into the ritual for the destruction of hell (24.9b–11a). Translations of the two versions of the text are found in Boltz (“Opening the gates of purgatory”) and Lagerwey (*Taoist ritual*). Boltz (*A survey of Taoist literature*, 29) suggests a Shenxiao origin for the text but provides no evidence for this attribution.

The *Dalian neizhi* describes the salvation of souls from the point of view of the transformations performed by the Taoist master within his body (this performance is called “transformation in a gourd”; 1a). Beginning with a *mise en scène* of the celestial assembly described in the first phrases of the *Duren jing* 度人經, the rite consists in the transformation of hell—the region below the navel—into a Pure Land by two Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 wrapped in the light of the eyes, followed by the ascension of the souls in hell via the spinal column to the heart and then up the twelve stories of the trachea to enter into audience before the Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊. Along the way,

as in the external version of these rites, the souls receive a “writ of pardon,” are bathed, cleanly dressed, and nourished with “sweet dew.” The audience concludes with the fusion of the souls with Yuanshi tianzun in “the double forgetting of self and things.”

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John Lagerwey

Da Ming xuanjiao licheng zhajiao yi 大明玄教立成齋醮儀

20 fols.

Compiled by Song Zongzhen 宋宗真 et al.; prefaces dated 1374
467 (fasc. 264)

“Standard Ritual of the Great Ming for Taoist Retreats and Offerings.” This work is preceded by two prefaces. The first preface—dated Hongwu 7, eleventh month—is by the emperor Taizu; the second, dated to the twenty-third day of the same month (26 December 1374), is by the compilers Song Zongzhen, Zhao Yunzhong 趙允中, Fu Tongxu 傅同虛, Deng Zhongxiu 鄧仲修, and Zhou Xuanzhen 周玄真. Deng and Zhou are known from biographies written by Song Lian 宋濂 (*Song xueshi wenji* 63.7a–8b and 13.6b–8a). Deng’s biography mentions that he and Song Zongzhen, abbot of the Chaotian gong 朝天宮 in the capital (Nanking), were ordered by the emperor to compile “a ritual of prayers and sacrifices.”

The preface by the emperor Taizu seems to suggest that he wished to reduce Taoist liturgy to this single three-day ritual of salvation. He would have dispensed with Taoism and Buddhism altogether, but Confucian texts alone were not enough to lead people to virtuous behavior, and even literati needed priests for funerals. Nonetheless, Taizu attempted to discontinue the *gongde* 功德 rites, which lasted seven days and forbade the recitation of scriptures for obtaining the pardon of the sins of the deceased. The emperor therefore ordered the Office of Rites to have both Buddhists and Taoists prepare a text for universal use, in conformity with his wishes.

The compilers’ preface praises the wisdom of the emperor, who, in “cutting away excess in order to return to simplicity,” renewed the way of the immortals.

The text, which is for an “offering of three days for the salvation of the dead,” is preceded by the programs of that ritual and of reduced forms that lasted only a day or a day and a night.

John Lagerwey

Taishang sandong shenzhou 太上三洞神咒

12 juan

Ming (1386–1644)

78 (fasc. 33–35)

“Divine Spells from the Most High Three Caverns.” A vast, unsigned, undated collection of invocations, incantations, spells, magic formulas, and prayers for ritual purposes. The spells, loosely classified under vague headings placed at the beginning of each juan, are mainly exorcistic in nature. Only juan 6 and juan 12 have formulas that accompany rituals for the salvation of souls and the repose of the dead. The collection opens with a version of the famous Divine Spell of Golden Light (*Jinguang shenzhou* 金光神咒), in which the text is interspersed with pseudo-Sanskrit (*dhāraṇī*). Exactly the same esoteric version can be found in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 89.2a. Many other formulas are those of today’s popular practice, for example, the Spell for Pacifying the Earth God (*an tudi zhou* 安土地咒; 9.5a). The same juan has a popular spell to be pronounced when burning sacrificial money (*huaqian zhou* 化錢咒; 9.3b). It seems safe, therefore, to date this collection to the Ming dynasty.

*Kristofer Schipper***3.B.3.e Hymnology***Jinlu zhai sandong zanyong yi* 金籙齋三洞讚詠儀

3 juan

Compiled by ZHANG SHANGYING 張商英; between 1100–1125

310 (fasc. 161)

“Hymns for Golden Register Retreats of the Three Caverns.” This collection of hymns was compiled by imperial order when ZHANG SHANGYING was minister under Huizong (r. 1100–1125), perhaps in conjunction with the publication of the Lingbao Ritual of the Golden Register (*Jinlu lingbao daochang yifan* 金籙靈寶道場儀範) in 1108 (see *Song shi* 20.380). The collection includes hymns written by the emperors Taizong (r. 976–997), Zhenzong (r. 997–1022), and Huizong. It is probable that Zhang did no more than add the hymns of his imperial patron, for a collection of the hymns of Taizong and Zhenzong in two juan existed already (VDL 91). The hymns of Huizong are also found in 607 *Yuyin fashi* 3.16b–23b.

John Lagerwey

Yuyin fashi 玉音法事

3 juan

Ming (1368–1644)?

607 (fasc. 333)

“Precious Tones of Liturgy.” This is the most annotated hymnal in the *Daozang*. It contains the major hymns chanted in the Lingbao liturgy. The first two juan list these hymns, in abridged versions, more or less in the order in which they occur in major rituals. The hymns are accompanied by elaborate neumatic notations. No other full examples of these notations have been preserved in China, and therefore, these juan provide important materials for the history of Chinese music (see Demiéville, “Bombai”). The last juan contains the complete ritual for the recitation of sacred scriptures (*qi jingwen* 啓經文), followed by the complete texts of some major hymns (3.16b ff.) and psalmodies.

The *qi jingwen* gives indications differentiating between the ritual texts to be used for Pure Offerings (*qingjiao* 清醮) for the living, on the one hand, and “Yellow Register (*huanglu* 黃籙) Retreats (requiem services) for the deceased, on the other. Although it is not yet exactly known at what moment this distinction became current, it is definitely a development of Southern Song or later Taoism. Since Emperor Hui-zong, as author of a number of important hymns, is indicated as the Lord of the Tao of the Song Dynasty (Song Daojun 宋道君), it is obvious that the present hymnology is from a later dynasty, probably the Ming.

The neumatic notations indicate the voice modulations for each word, specifying the vocalizations and, probably, the emphasis to be given. It is impossible to interpret these neumes today. They do suggest, however, that some hymns, like the Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛) stanzas (1.1a–6b), were chanted in a slow tempo, whereas others, such as the Hymn of the Three Sufferings (*santu song* 三塗頌; 2.12a–b) appear to have had a faster rhythm.

Prominent among the hymns are the *buxu* stanzas of the canonical 1439 *Dongxuan lingbao yujing shan buxu jing*, which had been part of the solemn Lingbao rituals since the early Six Dynasties (see 1439 *Buxu jing*). Next come the *buxu* hymns for the imperial Golden Register Retreat (1.5a–6b and 3.23b); these hymns were written by Song Huizong. All other pieces—like the Triple Opening (*sanqi* 三啓) hymns by LU XIUJING, originally composed to be chanted before the reading of the 1 *Lingbao Wu-liang duren shangpin miaojing* 1 (1.9b–12b), or the magnificent psalms Joy of the Three (3.16b–19b)—are easily identified.

At the end of the work we find the poems that accompany the solemn clothing of the Great Master; they have to be pronounced for each piece of his attire, beginning with the shoes, then the crown, the skirt, and so on. These poems were apparently

chanted by acolytes, although nowadays they are pronounced by the master himself while he puts on his robes.

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Kristofer Schipper

Zhu shizhen gao 諸師真誥

17 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368) or Ming (1368–1644)

309 (fasc. 161)

“Invocation of Masters and Zhenren.” This is a collection of forty-one Laudatory Invocations (*gao* 誥) and Precious Titles (*baohao* 寶號) of the major gods, patriarchs, and matriarchs of the pantheon, for liturgical purposes. The Precious Titles are arranged in a loose hierarchical order, beginning with the Three Pure Ones, Yuhuang 玉皇 (*Miluo hao* 彌羅號; 2a), Tianhuang 天皇 (the Gouchen 勾陳 star), and Beiji 北極 (Ziwei 紫微). Then follow the patron saint Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君 (10b) and the patriarchs of the Quanzhen 全真 order (12a and 13a), the Qingwei school 清微 (13a), the Southern school 南宗 (14a), the different Thunder magic schools, and others.

Kristofer Schipper

Sandong zansong lingzhang 三洞讚頌靈章

3 juan

Yuan (1279–1368)?

314 (fasc. 162)

“Supernatural Stanzas, Hymns, and Lauds of the Three Grottoes.” The hymns (*song* 頌) and stanzas (*zhang* 章) are usually in seven-word verse; the songs (*ge* 歌) and lauds (*zan* 讚) in five-word verse.

The text could have been compiled during the Yuan dynasty in the milieu of the Maoshan 茅山 movement. In 3.11b–13a, there is a Laud to the Heaven of the Lord of Pervading Mystery, Chongmiao xiansheng 冲妙先生.” This title is probably the *hao* of Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛 (d. 1281), thirty-eighth patriarch of the Shangqing lineage, author of a commentary to the *Dadong jing* 大洞經 (according to the 304 *Maoshan zhi* 12.9b), a text that recurs frequently in the third chapter as the object of lauds.

But the same *hao* could also refer to Li Sicong 李思聰, a Taoist of the Xiangfu gong 祥符宮 (Kaifeng area, founded between 1008 and 1016), author of 1063 *Dongyuan ji* in nine juan, the preface of which is dated 1050.

Giovanni Vitiello

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui lizan 太上洞玄靈寶智慧禮讚

7 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)?

609 (fasc. 334)

“Hymns of Wisdom from the Lingbao Liturgical Canon.” The present text borrows its title from the first item in this small collection of hymns and recitations for the Lingbao Retreat: the “Taishang zhihui lizan 太上智慧禮讚” in eight stanzas, from 425 *Shangqing taiji yinzhu yujing baojue* 18a–20a and given here in its complete form. The remaining hymns, with the titles “tujian song 土簡頌,” “jiangzhen 降真,” and “xiezhen 謝真,” are of unidentified and apparently modern origin. The last part of the text has an elaborate version of the Homage to the Ten Directions (“li shifang 禮十方”) and the *chanhui* 懺悔 recitations.

It is uncertain whether the term *mingdai* 明代 (5b) should be read as a reference to the dynasty of that name.

Kristofer Schipper

Da Ming yuzhi xuanjiao yuezhang 大明御製玄教樂章

10 fols.

First half of the fifteenth century

981 (fasc. 616)

“Collection of Imperial Hymns of the Ming Dynasty.” This work is composed of hymns for Offerings and for the cults of the Xu brothers and of Xuantian shangdi. All hymns are accompanied by *gongchi* musical notation. Since the emperor Chengzu (r. 1403–1424) was intimately associated with both of the above cults, undoubtedly these hymns must be attributed to him. The hymns for the Xu brothers’ cult are perhaps those mentioned in the table of contents of, but no longer extant in, 1470 *Xuxian zhenlu* 4; all the documents in that juan of 1470 *Xuxian zhenlu* date to the years 1417–1419.

John Lagerwey

3.B.4 Shangqing

In the late Tang (618–907) and early Song (960–1279), the Shangqing lineage became identified with Maoshan 茅山, the holy mountain of Jiangsu. This center enjoyed the patronage of many emperors, and the great Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) even became a close friend of one of the abbots, LIU HUNKANG, whom the emperor

presented with many paintings from his own hand. The most conspicuous monument to the glory of the Maoshan center was, however, the magnificent chronicle *304 Maoshan zhi*, published around 1330 under the auspices of the Xuanjiao patriarch WU QUANJIE. The most celebrated writers and artists of the period contributed to this prestigious publication.

The Maoshan patriarchs did much to preserve their literary heritage, and they edited many texts, including the important *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經, which, in spite of its high status among the Shangqing scriptures, apparently had never been fully edited before.

Like the other great centers, the Maoshan was touched by the wave of newly revealed esoteric, mostly exorcistic, rites. Among many such rites, we may quote the revelation by the Most High Lord Lao of 632 *Taishang taiqung tiantong huming miaojing* (full of pseudo-Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*) to the illiterate leper Liang Guangying 梁光映, who worked as a servant at the Yuchen guan.

Also influential and perhaps related is the Tongchu fu 童初府 exorcist lineage that originated on Maoshan in the early thirteenth century. The rites of this lineage are preserved in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan*. Here we find a *Shangqing tongchu wuyuan sufu yuce zhengfa* 上清童初五元素府玉冊正法 (juan 171–178), with a colophon of the liturgist JIN YUNZHONG, author of 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*. Along with the other great exorcistic rites from Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and Shenxiao 神霄, the Tongchu fu methods were adopted into the great liturgical synthesis of the Southern Song.

3.B.4.a Scriptures

Shangqing dadong zhenjing 上清大洞真經

6 juan

Preface by ZHU ZIYING 朱自英 (974–1029); edited by Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛 (d. 1281); colophons by Cheng Gongduan 程公端 (dated 1272) and Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410)

6 (fasc. 16–17)

“True Scripture of the Great Cavern of Shangqing.” The present edition of the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經 is the closest of all the extant versions to the Shangqing original, which was a collection of stanzas that described the wanderings of the deities in the heavens, their manifestations in the human body, and their intercession for the salvation of the adepts and their ancestors. The recitation of the stanzas was accompanied by visualizations of these deities in the body. For these reasons, the *Dadong zhenjing* is considered the text that established the link between the domains of the body and those of the heavens. The stanzas, which abound with names of deities and of their

heavenly abodes, cannot be understood without the revealed commentary as given in YJQQ 8.1a–14a and without a full understanding of Shangqing terminology.

The present version was edited by the thirty-eighth Maoshan patriarch, Jiang Zongying. His biography in 304 *Maoshan zhi* states that he wrote a commentary to the *Dadong yujing* 大洞玉經. Jiang's edition was printed by his disciple Cheng Gongduan, who states that this *Dadong jing* was transmitted at the main sanctuary of the Shangqing tradition on Maoshan "for more than 1,000 years" (see the Cheng's colophon). The text we have here is from a later printing by a daoshi from Fujian named Xiong Changyi 熊常一 (see ZHANG YUCHU's colophon).

The preface is signed by the twenty-third Maoshan patriarch, ZHU ZIYING. The work 103 *Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 1.7a mentions ZHU ZIYING as the author of a commentary on the *Dadong jing*. The preface is, for the greater part, composed by excerpts from 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* (11a and 7b) and from 1314 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaoqing* (3a–b). There are colophons by Cheng Gongduan (dated 1272) and by the Forty-third Heavenly Master, ZHANG YUCHU.

Comparison of the present version with the annotations on the variant readings of the *Dadong jing* given in 104 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* by CHEN JINGYUAN and in 103 *Xianjing zhu* by Wei Qi 衛琪 shows that this text is not what these scholars called "the Maoshan version" (*Maoshan ben* 茅山本; cf., for instance, 104 *Yujue yinyi* 3a7 with 7a9 of our text; or 103 *Xianjing zhu* 4.20a with 3.2b of our text). Also, the first part of 104 *Yujue yinyi* (1a–b9) is lacking in the present text; this passage can be found instead in 1355 *Shangqing taishang yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing* 1a. Nevertheless, the present version is close to the *Maoshan ben* quoted by Chen and Wei. Our text might well correspond to the "Zhu Ziyong version," which CHEN JINGYUAN called the *Sandong fashi Guanmiao xiansheng ben* 三洞法師觀妙先生本 (Guanmiao was ZHU ZIYING's *hao*). Indeed, 104 *Yujue yinyi* 11a5 corresponds to our text 6.7a. We have seen that Zhu is also credited with a commentary to the *Dadong jing*. It is therefore likely that the glosses in this edition are his.

The first juan is devoted to the meditation rites to be performed in relation with the recitation of the text. Here again, most of the formulas and instructions come from other Shangqing texts, such as 1352 *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 3.5b–6a, 1355 *Gaoxuan zhenjing* 5b–6a, 1314 *Dayou miaoqing* 41b–42b, and 1330 *Dongzhen Taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuan jing* 11b, 12a, 13a–b. Parts of these rites are similar to rituals used for the practice of the Shangqing version of the Book of the Yellow Court (*Shangqing huangting neijing jing* 上清黃庭內景經; see YJQQ 12.57a–60a).

The text of the *Dadong jing* proper begins with juan 2 and ends on 6.15b. It is divided into thirty-nine sections, a division that corresponds to the traditional version of the Shangqing school. A comparison between the original text and the revealed

commentary (as given in YJQQ 8.1a–14a; see Robinet, “Le *Ta-tung chen-ching*”) allows us to distinguish the original parts and the later additions. These additions are (1) certain stanzas entitled “Dadong yujing 大洞玉經” (e.g., 2.2a); (2) the stanzas dedicated to the kings of the Yuqing 玉清 heaven; and (3) the esoteric names of the heavens and the exoteric names of the earths.

Two strata can be distinguished in the added materials. First there are the passages that originated from 1355 *Gaoxuan zhenjing* and that provide indications for the visualization of the deities of the body and the formulas to call them up. Next there are later additions that are probably due to Jiang Zongying. These are the prescriptions for visualization given just before the “Dadong yujing” stanzas and also, most probably, those that accompany the fu at the end of each section.

The present work ends with a Secret Formula of the Whirlwind and of the Fusion with the One-Ancestor (*Huaifeng hunhe diyi bijue* 徊風混合帝一秘訣; 6.16a–18a), which can also be found in 254 *Dadong jinhua yujing* 10b–11b and in 1405 *Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing* 8a–9a. This is probably an apocryphal Shangqing text that existed already at the times of TAO HONGJING (see the quotation of 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* in 104 *Yujue yinyi* 12a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Robinet, “Le *Ta-tung chen-ching*.”

Isabelle Robinet

Shi dichen Donghua shangzuo siming Yangjun zhuanji

侍帝晨東華上佐司命楊君傳記

15 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)

1428 (fasc. 1055)

“Biography of Mr. Yang, Imperial Chamberlain, Senior Assistant of the Donghua [Palace], and Director of Destinies [of Wu 吳 and Yue 越].” This is a later work that—though based on original material in 1016 *Zhen’gao*—is not mentioned bibliographically before the twelfth century (VDL 95).

In this text, YANG XI (b. 330), who received the Shangqing revelations between 364 and 370, bears the name Yang Xihe 楊羲和, unknown in earlier times, but that reappears in some texts of the Qingwei 清微 tradition (e.g., 171 *Qingwei xianpu* 7a). According to 304 *Maoshan zhi* 10.6b, Xihe was Yang’s adult name (*zi* 字). YANG XI’s year of death is given as 388, slightly later than that given by TAO HONGJING (1016 *Zhen’gao* 20.11b: 386 or earlier).

Despite its later date, the present biography is almost entirely composed of passages taken verbatim from the *Zhen’gao*, that is, YANG XI’s own recordings of his visionary

encounters with his celestial bride and other immortals from the Shangqing heaven. The immortals also dedicated a number of poems to him (cf. 1016 *Zhen'gao* 1.11a–18a, 2.1a–2b, 2.5b–10b, 3.10b–11a).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Dadong yujing 大洞玉經

2 juan

Colophon by Gong Detong 龔德同; early Ming (1368–1644)

7 (fasc. 18)

“True Scripture of the Great Cavern.” This is an abbreviated version of the *Dadong zhenjing*, and is generally close to the original Shangqing version. Gong Detong states that the present text is based on an annotated edition by the zhenren Zhao Taixuan 趙太玄. This edition was found in 1365 at Longhu shan (here called Hantan 漢壇 [Altar of the Han]) by Xiong Taigu 熊太古, zi Linchu 鄰初, an official who became a Taoist recluse at the end of the Yuan. This edition was then copied by a teacher (*lianshi* 鍊師) at Longhu shan named Zhou Lanxue 周蘭雪, who gave it to Gong.

The beginning of the text (1a–7b) is devoted to preparatory invocations and fu. One of the fu, the *Chenling fu* 震靈符 on page 2b, is linked traditionally to the *Dadong zhenjing* (see 1313 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* 16a and 413 *Shangqing pei fuwen boquanjue* 4a), although it is lacking in the edition by Jiang Zongying (6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*), whereas the long invocation on pages 4a–5b can be found in Jiang’s edition on pages 1.9a–10b. This invocation comes originally from 1355 *Shangqing taishang yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing* 5a–6a. The preparatory practices as they are given here are thus within the Shangqing tradition.

The text of the stanzas is virtually the same as in Jiang’s edition (where the stanzas are quoted as *Dadong yujing*), but the present version is more complete. For instance, the commentary on the expression *yuming* 羽明 in 1.8a is also given in the revealed commentary quoted in YJQQ 8.3b, but it is lacking in Jiang’s edition. The same revealed commentary gives a number of additional hymns and “sounds” of the heavens that are lacking here but that are quoted in Jiang’s edition. To conclude: the text of the *Dadong yujing* is more complete here, but other elements that belonged to the *Dadong zhenjing* are absent.

The glosses are placed after the stanzas. They are of a textual nature and follow the revealed commentary as quoted in YJQQ 8.1a–14a.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi 上清大洞真經玉訣音義

16 fols.

By CHEN JINGYUAN 陳景元 (1025–1094)

104 (fasc. 54)

“Jade Instructions and Phonetic Explanations on the Scripture of the Great Cavern.” This is a collection of philological notes on the *Dadong zhenjing* and related texts. The author uses and compares a number of different versions of the *Dadong zhenjing*, the most important of which are the versions by ZHU ZIYING (6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*) and Huangfu Xi 皇甫希, both of the period 1023–1031. For variant readings Chen also consulted the *Yiqie daojing yinyi* 一切道經音義 by SHI CHONG—now lost (see 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*)—and an unknown “old manuscript” (*guben* 古本).

Other related texts treated here:

- The Hidden Texts of the Inner Invocations (*neizhu yinwen* 內祝隱文) of the *Miemo shenhui yujing yinshu* (see 1355 *Shangqing taishang yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing*)
- The Precious Glosses of the Old Lord (*daojun yuzhu* 道君玉注) which corresponds to the revealed commentary partially preserved in YJQQ 8.1a–18b
- The Method of the Return to the Origin (*huiyuan fa* 迴元法) as given in 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 4b–11a
- The Cinnabar Stanzas in Purple Writing (*ziwen danzhang* 紫文丹章), which come from 1355 *Gaoxuan zhenjing* 37b–42b
- The Superior Method of the Hundred Gods (*baishen shangfa* 百神上法) from the beginning of 1360 *Shangqing jiutian shangdi zhu baishen neiming jing*. This text gives the names of the heavens and the earths that are placed at the end of each section of 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taishang kaitian longqiao jing 上清太上開天龍蹻經

5 juan

Song (960–1279)?

1354 (fasc. 1037)

“Book of the Dragon Stilts That Open up Heaven, a Supreme Purity Scripture of the Most High.” A book called *longqiao* 龍蹻 (Dragon Stilts) is mentioned in the library of GE HONG, as well as in the books that the Queen Mother of the West gave to Han Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.; see 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*). No early work with this title has survived.

The present scripture belongs to a later stage. In spite of its title, there seems to be no direct relationship with the Shangqing scriptures. The work is presented as the

teachings received from the immortal Ning Fengzi 寧封子 (see 294 *Liexian zhuan* 1.1b), which is not part of the Maoshan revelations. A *Shangqing taishang longqiao jing* 上清太上龍躡經 is mentioned in 304 *Maoshan zhi* 9.4a as part of the holdings of the Maoshan library in the Yuan period. It is difficult to say whether this was the same work we have here. A *Shangqing taishang longqiao jingtu* 上清太上龍躡經圖 with talismans is mentioned as lost in 1430 *Daozang quejing mulu* 1.2a.

A *Lingbao longqiao zhi jing* 靈寶龍躡之經 is quoted in the *Daomen dalun* 道門大論 (in YJQQ 6.4b): “Long ago, Huangdi . . . at the Qingcheng shan 青城山 met Lord Ning Feng and received from him the *Lingbao longqiao zhi jing*.” This could be a reference to our book, except that the meeting between these two figures in our text does not take place on Qingcheng shan but on Yuntai shan 雲臺山. Later in the *Daomen dalun*, the twelve categories of texts in the Taoist canon are presented with slight differences from those listed in the presented text. Moreover, whenever the revelation is presented by Ning Fengzi, he mentions the book as *Taishang kaitian yuanzhi pinjing* 太上開天元置品經. Only on the last page is a *longqiao* 龍躡 talisman mentioned. The scripture is divided into thirteen chapters (*pin* 品), and many of these carry the epithet *yuanzhi* 元置 (originally established). The present book is indeed quoted as *Kaitian yuanzhi pinjing* in 723 *Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi*, by Liu Weiyong 劉惟永 and Ding Yidong 丁易東 (dated 1299; 1.4a), and this long quotation is consistent with 3.5b in the present work. We may therefore consider that *Kaitian yuanzhi pinjing* is the correct title of the scripture.

There is a consistent logical structure to the whole work that develops a complete Taoist cosmology. This framework starts out from the well-known Three Qi of the Tianshi dao 天師道 theology: *xuan* 玄, *yuán* 元, and *shi* 始. These pneumata created the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) and their scriptures. The scriptural body of the Sandong canon is subdivided into thirty-six parts, and three times twelve categories is the very model of the structure of the universe and the human body. There are, however, numerous repetitions and unnecessary elaborations, suggesting that the present work is an expansion and a rewriting of an ancient text.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Shangqing danyuan yuzhen dibuang feixian shangjing

上清丹元玉真帝皇飛仙上經

5 fols.

404 (fasc. 191)

“Superior Book of the Flying Immortals by the Sovereign of Precious Truth Cinnabar Origin, a Shangqing Scripture.” This book contains a series of exercises for the absorption of stellar effluvia. The exercises are from the Shangqing tradition but are not linked explicitly to any of its canons. The postface declares that this text was re-

vealed by Lord Wang, superintendent of the Zhenren (Xicheng zongzhen wangjun 西城總真王君), who transmitted it not only to the Lord Mao 茅君 but also to a Lord Cai 蔡君, zhenren of Wenshui 汶水真人 (a river in Shandong). The same saint is also mentioned in 994 *Shangqing taiyuan shenlong qiongtai chengjing shangxuan yuzhang*.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang yuchen yuyi jielin ben riyue tu 太上玉晨鬱儀結璘奔日月圖

17 fols.

Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279)?

435 (fasc. 196)

“Illustrated Version of the Flight to the Sun and the Moon of Yuyi and Jielin, of the Supreme Heaven of Jade Aurora.” The book describes the method of flying to the sun and the moon (*ben riyue zhi dao* 奔日月之道) (fig. 47), which according to the texts of the Shangqing tradition was transmitted originally by Taisu zhenren 太素真人

to Pei Xuanren 裴玄仁 (see *Qingling zhenren Pei jun zhuan* 清靈真人裴君傳, in YJQQ 105). Parts of the method are included in Pei’s biography in YJQQ 105, and it is elaborated further in several of the early Shangqing scriptures, notably, 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* and 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 2. A new version of the method was invented within the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 tradition founded by LU SHIZHONG in the 1120s (see 220 *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*).

The present book combines elements from all of the above-mentioned sources, opening with a series of excerpts from the biography of Lord Pei (1a; cf. YJQQ 105.16a and 17a; 2a–b; cf. YJQQ 105.20b, 21b, 20a, 19a; 2b–3b; cf. YJQQ 105.19b–20a, 22b, 18b,

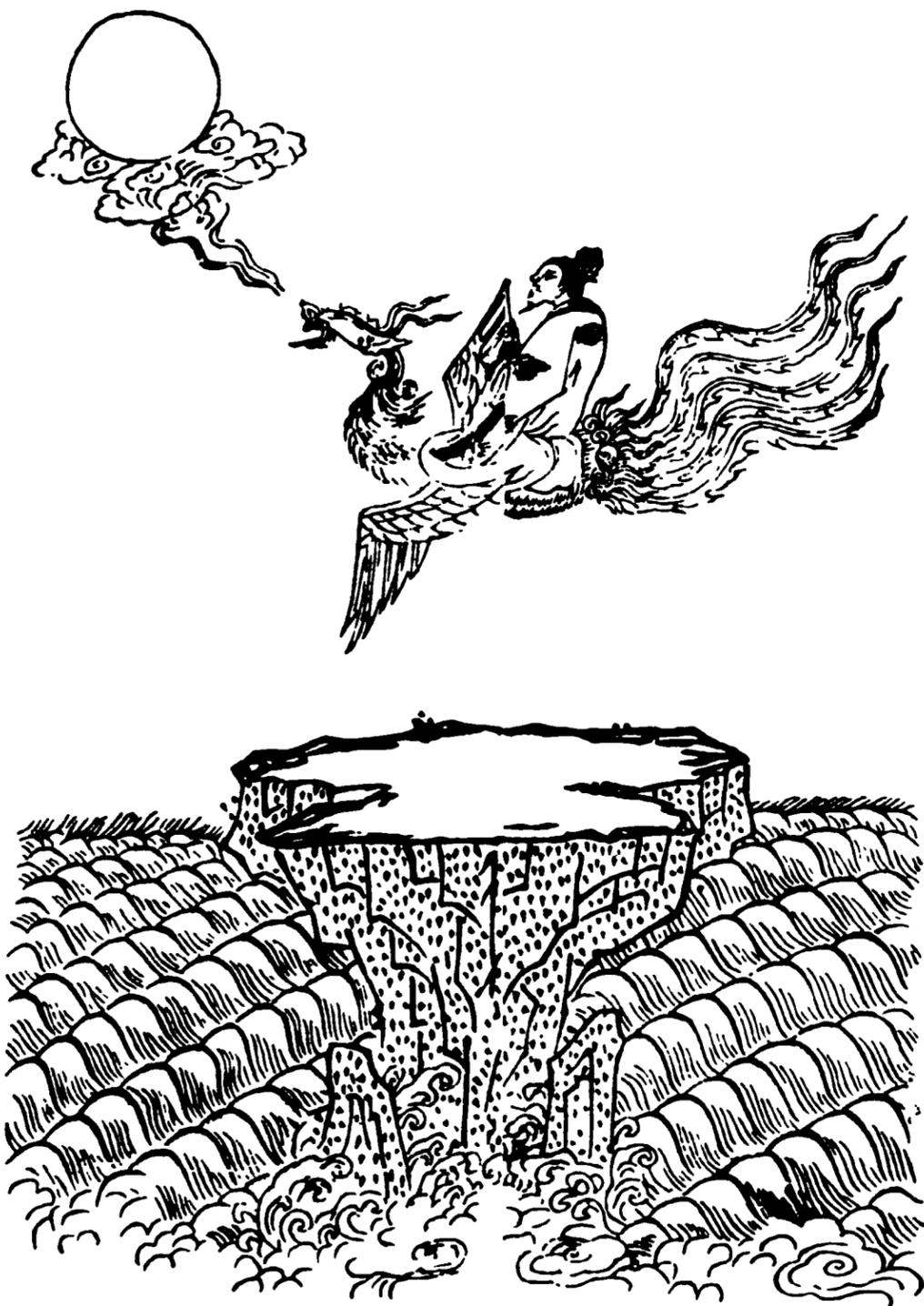


FIGURE 47. Flying to the moon on a phoenix (435 12a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/432)

21a–b). The book continues with quotations from a *Yutang zongzhi* 玉堂宗旨 (i.e., 221 *Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu*) and from the *Lingshu ziwen* 靈書紫文 (6a–b; cf. 639 *Lingshu ziwen* 4a–b, 6b–7a, passim). The prominent position of the Yutang dafa elements in the exposition of the method would seem to indicate that the book was compiled within the framework of this tradition, and thus most likely during the Southern Song.

Poul Andersen

Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaoqing 太上太清天童護命妙經

5 fols.

632 (fasc. 321)

Taishang taiqing huanglao dijun yunlei tiantong yinfan xianjing

太上泰清皇老帝君運雷天童隱梵仙經

3 fols.

633 (fasc. 321)

The *Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaoqing* (“Life Protecting Book of the Heavenly Lads of Utmost Purity, [Spoken] by the Most High) is a short spell of less than 300 characters and is attributed here to Liang Guangying 梁光映, alias Liang Wuzhen 梁悟真, who received it from Laojun in 1109 or 1112. This work 633 *Taishang taiqing huanglao dijun yunlei tiantong yinfan xianjing* (Immortal Scripture of the Heavenly Lads in the Secret Language of Brahman) is the same text, enriched with added phrases in pseudo-Sanskrit. The dating and attribution of both texts are problematic.

The *Junzhai dushu zhi* lists a *Tiantong huming miaoqing* 天童護命妙經 and says that the *Handan tushu zhi* 邯鄲圖書志 has a similar entry, which may mean that our text was already extant in the middle of the eleventh century (VDL 84). The YJQQ 122.16a–b has a preface by Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) to the *Tiantong huming miaoqing*, appended to DU GUANGTING’s 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記. This preface is followed by an anecdote relating a miracle that occurred in 892, occasioned by reciting the text; the anecdote is not found in other versions of the *Daojiao lingyan ji*. Both texts (preface and anecdote) are put at the end of the YJQQ. They may well be a later addition. This preface is also reproduced in 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 9.39b–40a.

According to 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 9.45b–46a, Liang Guangying, a leper, entered the Yuchen guan 玉晨觀 on Maoshan as a serf in 1112. His duty was to fetch water from the pond in front of the monastery. After several years, Laojun appeared to him, saying: “Do you know my *Tiantong huming miaoqing*? It has been in circulation in this world since a long time.” When Liang avowed that he did not know it, Laojun taught it to him and told him to recite it over water that would heal him and others of leprosy. A note appended to this story states that the text revealed on this occasion was

the *Tiantong huming miaoqing* “current today.” The *Hunyuan shengji* was presented to the throne in 1191. Our text has a long colophon (dated 1144) attributed to Fu Xiao 傅霄, the author of 1050 *Huayang Tao yinju ji*. Fu (or the anonymous author) states that he was inspired to write this colophon by the *Hunyuan shengji*, an obvious contradiction. However, the colophon gives 1109 as the date of the revelation and calls the text revealed to Liang a version, “with added phrases” (Yuchen guan shiben 玉晨觀石本), of the *Jiaju Tiantong huming miaoqing* 加句天童護命妙經.

The work 304 *Maoshan zhi* 9.9a mentions a stele of this very text in the Yuchen guan, saying that it was “revealed in 1109 to Liang Wuzhen.” The same source mentions (18.1b) that this stele was located in the Ruixiang dian 瑞像殿, dedicated to a Tang statue of Laojun, a fact that concurs with the contents of the colophon. The discrepancy in the date of the revelation—vis-à-vis that given in the *Hunyuan shengji*—may well be explained by the fact that the latter text tries to link this event to political developments of the times. The epithet “with added phrases,” used for the version revealed to Liang, would seem to indicate that Liang’s version was not the present text.

On the other hand, 633 *Yinfan xianjing* is a version to which phrases of pseudo-Sanskrit (*dhāraṇī*) were added between the sentences of the original text, corresponding to the description “with added phrases.” Such additions are in keeping with the vogue for pseudo-Sanskrit in Taoist texts of the Huizong (r. 1100–1125) and early Southern Song (1127–1279) periods. If 633 *Yinfan xianjing* corresponds to the revelation to Liang, then 632 *Tiantong huming miaoqing* could be the older version mentioned in the *Junzhai dushu zhi*. This version has been, and is still today, used widely for liturgical purposes (see 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.9b).

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing wuying zhentong heyou neibian yujing

上清無英真童合遊內變玉經

3 fols.

988 (fasc.618)

“Precious Book of Inner Transformation, of the Harmonious Voyage of the True Lad of Void Luminosity, a Shangqing Canon.” This is a small treatise on a meditation technique, wherein the god Wuying is visualized, and then seen roaming through the body, according to (*he* 合) a cyclical sequence. The method was revealed to the Green Lad, Jade Keeper King (Yubao wang Qingtong daojun 玉保王青童道君). Wuying is first mentioned in 303 *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* (see Porkert, *Biographie d’un taoïste légendaire*, 101 ff.) as one of the triad of great gods of the body. Of minor importance in the Shangqing pantheon, this deity, assimilated to the immortal embryo, was largely adopted by Lingbao scriptures.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing shenbao dongfang zhenhui shangjing 上清神寶洞房真諱上經

7 fols.

989 (fasc. 618)

“Superior Book [Revealing] the True Secret Names of the Arcane Chambers, a Divine Treasure of the Shangqing Canon.” The present text, which is cognate with 988 *Shangqing wuying zhentong heyong neipian yujing*, presents itself as a sūtra-like revelation by the Green Lad, Jade Keeper King (Yubao wang Qingtong daojun 玉保王青童道君) of the esoteric names of the spirits of the body. The practices of visualizing the latter and “gathering the floescence” of the cosmic bodies are also described.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongzhen wuxing bishou jing 太上洞真五星秘授經

5 fols.

44 (fasc. 29)

“Revealed Scripture on the Five Planets of the Most High Dongzhen.” If this text is linked by its title (Dongzhen 洞真) to the Shangqing literature on the Five Planets, and by its form to the revealed scriptures of the Lingbao canon, it resembles in conception and content two Dongzhen texts with the term *wuxing* 五星 (Five Planets) in their titles: 976 *Taishang dongzhen wuxing zan* 五星譜 and 657 *Taishang dongzhen wuxing zhusu riyue hunchang jing*. A *Lingbao wuxing bishou jing* 靈寶五星秘授經 is mentioned in the list of the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qieshu mu* (VDL 99).

Whenever certain astral divinities—nine of the eleven lords of 43 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai shenzhou jing* are mentioned here—shine upon a given region of Earth, a natural catastrophe occurs. The severity of the disaster is a result of the sins that are reported to Heaven by the spiritual officers of the nine provinces on the days of the Three Principles. Therefore, Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 not only reveals the appropriate incantations for each of the divinities mentioned, but also describes their clothing so that people can make images of them and worship them, especially on the days of the Three Principles.

As in the case of 43 *Shenzhou jing*, the recitation of the present text is mentioned in 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 33.5b. The two texts are also mentioned together in 1225 *Daomen kefan daquan ji* 45.1b.

John Lagerwey

Shangqing bidao jiujiing huiyao heshen shangzhen yujing

上清祕道九精回曜合神上真玉經

4 fols.

993 (fasc. 619)

“Precious Book of the Superior Zhenren for Harmonizing the Spirit with the Returned Efflorescences of the Nine Stars, a Secret Way of the Shangqing.” This book

contains a late and popular method describing how to meditate on the stars of the Dipper and absorb their rays, which are assimilated in the adept's body. In addition, the text gives a simple recipe for abstaining from grains (*pigu* 辟穀; 4b).

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing taiyuan shenlong qiongtai chengjing shangxuan yuzhang

上清太淵神龍瓊胎乘景上玄玉章

5 fols.

994 (fasc. 619)

“Precious Text of the Carnelian Embryo of the Divine Dragon from the Great Abyss, for Riding the Rays to the Mysterious on High, a Shangqing Canon.” Revealed by the Zhenren of Wenshui 汶水真人, this text contains an unusual method of visualizing and absorbing a mystic dragon pearl (*shenlong zhi zhu* 神龍之珠; 1a). The text is cognate with 404 *Shangqing danyuan yuzhen dihuang feixian shangjing*.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing daobao jing 上清道寶經

5 juan

Song (960–1279)?

1353 (fasc. 1036–1037)

“Shangqing Book of Treasures of the Tao.” This is an encyclopedia of Taoism, based mostly but not exclusively on the Shangqing scriptures. The materials are classified according to topic; topics range from the scriptures and the pantheon to practice and dietetics. The method consists of quoting phrases and expressions from different unidentified sources (sometimes in duplication, see the entry on the *Dadong zhenjing* on 1.5b and 4.2b) followed by detailed explanations, some of which are quite lengthy.

The present work is quoted several times in 397 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie* by Wang Xichao 王希巢, *zi* Yinxian 隱賢, and dated 1205. The citations can be traced in this work; see, for instance, 1.23a and 3.14a.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.4.b Registers

Shangqing dantian sanqi yuhuang liuchen feigang siming dalu

上清丹天三氣玉皇六辰飛網司命大籙

14 fols.

675 (fasc. 353)

“Shangqing Register of Flying Steps of the Six Stars That Govern Fate of the Jade Sovereign of the Three Pneumata of the Cinnabar Heaven.” This long and unstructured title, with its Shangqing epithet, designates a modern talismanic register of the



FIGURE 48. Meditating Taoist (675 3a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/670)

six stars of the (fictitious) Southern Dipper (Nandou 南斗), the constellation of Long Life. The text explains and illustrates how to meditate on these deities, as well as on their ladies (see figs. 48–51).

The dance steps (*feibu* 飛步 or *feigang* 飛綱) on the Southern Dipper pattern to which the title of this text refers are mentioned only in two talismans (2a–b). They were to be drawn on the soles of the adept's feet. The dance pattern itself is not mentioned further. It is described in some detail in 638 *Taishang feibu nandou taiwei yujing*.

Kristofer Schipper



FIGURE 49. Vestments (675 3b–4a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/670)

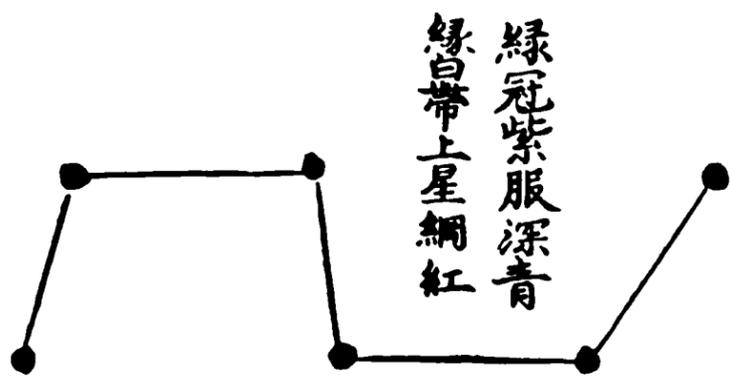


FIGURE 50. Meditation on the Dipper while reclining (675 4b–5a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/670)



FIGURE 51. Jade Maidens (675 7b–8a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/670)

3.B.4.c Rituals

Dongxuan lingbao zhenren xiuxing yannian yisuan fa

洞玄靈寶真人修行延年益算法

12 fols.

1271 (fasc. 1003)

“Longevity Methods of the Zhenren.” This collection of minor rites and rules is placed under the aegis of the Dongxuan Lingbao canon. It is a patchwork of quotations from different sources. Both 1016 *Zhen’gao* and 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* are quoted twice. Further implicit citations from the *Zhen’gao* include 8a, 9a–b, 10b, and 11a.

Isabelle Robinet

3.B.5 Tianxin Zhengfa and Related Rites

The Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (Correct Method of the Heart of Heaven) was founded at the beginning of the Song period (960–1279) by the scholars TAN ZIXIAO and RAO DONGTIAN. In 994, on Mount Huagai 華蓋 in central Jiangxi, Rao discovered a set of “the secret formulas of the Heart of Heaven” (*tianxin bishi* 天心秘式). These formulas were considered to have belonged originally to Zhang Daoling 張道陵, in his capacity of chief of the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院). They concerned a form of exorcism, especially for illnesses caused by possession (*sui* 祟), known as *kaozhao fa* 考召法 (the method of inspecting [demons] and summoning [spirits]). Four saints (*sisheng* 四聖) identified with a constellation around the Pole Star—Tianpeng 天蓬, Tianyou 天猷, Yisheng 翊聖 (previously Heisha 黑殺; see 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan*), and Zhenwu 真武—were at the center of these exorcisms. One of the characteristics of the method is that the talismans used to expel demons are made in the likeness of the four saints. During the Song period, shrines were erected for the worship of these deities (see 958 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 2.13a–b). Moreover, the great popularity of the rites in Song times can be seen from works such as 1227 *Taishang zhuoguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* by Yuan Miaocong 元妙宗—which was compiled, according to its preface of 1116, for inclusion in the new Taoist canon of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125)—as well as from stories in the *Yijian zhi* by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1203). See also the cognate scripture 1412 *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaoqing*, discussed under the cult of Beidi.

Although it does not seem that the Tianxin zhengfa became institutionalized in the form of a special Taoist order, it did promulgate its own rules—for both its officiants and the deities involved—with its exorcistic practices (see, for instance, 461 *Shangqing*

gusui lingwen guiliu). It also established initiation grades and titles, which later merged with those of the Shenxiao rites (see *Taishang tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格 and *Taishang hundong chiwen nüqing zhaoshu tianlü* 太上混洞赤文女青詔書天律 in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 249–52).

In the early Southern Song period (1127–1279), a local official named LU SHI-ZHONG developed the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 after he had had a vision of Zhao Sheng 趙昇, Zhang Daoling's foremost disciple, who showed him where to find secret texts on Maoshan 茅山. Thus we have here exorcistic rituals of the Tianxin zhengfa type that also make extensive use of traditional meditation techniques of the Shangqing tradition; they are, moreover, adapted to the performance of the Yellow Register Retreat (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋) for the salvation of the deceased.

A final important document of this tradition is 1015 *Jinsuo liuzhu yin* (Guide to the Golden Lock and the Moving Pearls), a vast manual of *kaozhao* 考召 rites that was developed from the Tianxin zhengfa (see 4.6a). Attributed to the Tang worthy Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670) and, moreover, to Zhang Daoling, Zhao Sheng, Mao Ying 茅盈, and many other saints, the work also mentions Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 (26.4b, 23.13a). The title of Yuhuang was conferred by Zhenzong in 1015, and the epithet *shangdi* was added by Huizong in 1115. Thus while the book may contain some old material, it appears to belong to the period under consideration here.

Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao 太上助國救民總真祕要

2 fols. + 10 juan

By Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗; preface 1116

1227 (fasc. 986–987)

“Secret Essentials of the Most High Principal Zhenren Assisting the Country and Saving the People.” The preface by Yuan Miaozong is dated 1 March 1116. It mentions the establishment of the Shangqing baolu gong 上清寶籙宮 temple in the capital; the construction of the temple began in 1113, and in 1115 it was placed in charge of the promotion of priests in the capital (see *Song huiyao jigao* 1.466). The preface also mentions ongoing work on the compilation and editing of a new Taoist canon (1a). Yuan Miaozong relates that for more than thirty years he traveled all over the empire, asking Taoist masters about their methods and thus obtaining a complete repertoire of Taoist methods. For several years he lived in Nanyang 南陽, healing people by means of lustral water. Finally he was summoned to the capital, and in 1115 he set to work on the collation of the texts of the new canon (preface, 1b). He thus had an opportunity to examine the entire collection and found that it was deficient in the methods of exorcism and healing by means of fu. Thus he compiled these “oral instructions of secret practices [connected with] the writing of fu” (*fufa biyong koujue* 符法秘用口訣; preface, 1b–2a).

The book gives a complete and systematic presentation of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法. The first part of the book (juan 1–2) is presented under the heading “Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa 上清北極天心正法.” It contains the most essential elements of the tradition, that is, the fundamental talismans and seals (see below, on juan 2). A preface to this part explains the basis and origin of the tradition, stating that the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa have their root in the Central Dipper at the Northern Pole (Beiji zhongdou 北極中斗, i.e., the Big Dipper that is the Heart of Heaven [*tianxin*]) and that they issue from the Zhengyi tradition. The founding of the Tianxin zhengfa as a separate tradition is ascribed to TAN ZIXIAO and RAO DONGTIAN (1.1a; see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*); both figures are included in the comprehensive list of the pantheon as “transmitters of the teaching” (*chuanjiao* 傳教), and they are preceded only by Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (2.6a–b). This attribution may be compared to 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 43.16b–17a, where JIN YUNZHONG discusses the Tianxin zhengfa in relation to the form of Zhengyi propagated by Zhang Daoling. Jin states that Tan and Rao continued the basic fu-tradition—while adapting the nomenclature for priestly titles and the wordings of texts to the worldly models (*suge* 俗格) of their time—and that Yuan Miaozong followed their example in editing the present book.

The preface is followed by a section entitled “Quxie yuan qingzhi xingyong ge 驅邪院請治行用格” (Models for the Practices of Appealing for Restoration, of the Department of Exorcism; 1.2a–8b). This section contains the programs for the larger services of exorcism that may be constructed from the individual rites described in the rest of the book, including services for curing illness, for saving deceased ancestors, for obtaining succession, and for the destruction of temples for unorthodox deities. The Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院) is the celestial department to which the priests of the Tianxin zhengfa are assigned, and in which the ultimate patriarch, Zhang Daoling, is instated as commissioner ([*Beiji* 北極] *Quxie yuan shi* 驅邪院使; 1.2b, 2.6a). It should be noted that 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (preface, 1b) uses the same title to refer to RAO DONGTIAN. The department is presided over by the Emperor of the North (Beidi 北帝), who is also referred to as the ancestral master (*zushi* 祖師 *Shangqing dadi* 上清大帝; 2.11a; see also 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*). He is assisted by the “great generals” of the Department of Exorcism, notably, the group of thirty-six generals headed by Tianpeng 天蓬, that is, the deity corresponding to the ninth star of the Dipper (2.11a; 21a–b; 3.15b). Further down in the hierarchy are the generals of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue 東嶽), who lead the ranks of spirit-soldiers (*yinbing* 陰兵) assisting the priest (2.6b–9b; see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, preface, 1b, where it is said that RAO DONGTIAN obtained his spirit-soldiers from the Lord of the Eastern Peak).

Juan 2 is presented as the “Douxia lingwen fuzhou 斗下靈文符咒” (Numinous Writ and Talismanic Spells of the Jurisdiction of the Dipper), of the *Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa*. It includes the basic instructions for the writing of fu (2.10a–13a, 18b–21a), along with the descriptions of the three fundamental fu—“Tiangan fu 天罡符,” “Sanguang fu 三光符,” and “Zhenwu or Heisha zhenxing fu 真武/黑煞真形符” (2.13a–17a)—and two seals: *Beiji quxie yuan yin* 北極驅邪院印 and *Dutian da fazhu yin* 都天大法主印 (2.17a–18b). It is noteworthy that in a document for a ceremony of ordination, BO YUCHAN placed the Thunder methods (*wulei fa* 五雷法) of the Shenxiao tradition and the Tianxin zhengfa on the same level, and he said of the latter, “Tianxin transmits three talismans and two seals” (*Song Bo zhenren Yuchan quanji* 5.411).

Juan 3 contains a series of fu methods for curing consumption and other kinds of illness (3.1a–15a), followed by a section entitled “Tianpeng jiuzhi fa 天蓬救治法” (Method of Tianpeng for Saving People and Restoring Order; 3.15a–28b). This section describes a method of exorcism related to the group of thirty-six generals headed by Tianpeng and based on the recitation of the ancient Tianpeng spell (see 1016 *Zhen’gao* 10.10b–11a). Each general is associated with four of the characters of the spell and summoned by means of a pair of fu.

Juan 4–6 contain a separate corpus entitled *Shangqing yinshu gusui lingwen* 上清隱書骨髓靈文 (Spinal Numinous Writ of the Hidden Writing of Shangqing). It is said to have originated with Zhang Daoling and to have been transmitted by YE FASHAN (616–720; see 779 *Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 29a–b). Juan 4 contains the nine ancient “Gusui lingwen fu 骨髓靈文符,” also found in 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 3.9b–21a. They constitute the basic text (*benwen* 本文) of the *Gusui lingwen* and are followed in the present book by an additional set of ten fu (juan 5), said to have been obtained separately by the author (4.1a). The latter set of fu is connected specifically with the method of building prisons in order to capture demons (*wuyu fa* 五獄法; 5.1a–6a) and with the practice of submitting a document through meditative ascent to Heaven (*fuzhang* 伏章; 5.7b–10b). The final part of the *Gusui lingwen* is the demon code (*guilü* 鬼律; juan 6), said to be a faithful copy of the original (*jiuben* 舊本; 4.1a). In fact, apart from being shorter, the text of this code corresponds to the version of 461 *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü*, which is presented there as the form of the code established by DENG YOUGONG (see 461 *Gusui lingwen guilü*).

Juan 7 describes the *kaozhao fa* 考召法 (method of inspecting [demons] and summoning [spirits]). This is an ancient Zhengyi method that is related particularly to the generals of the Three Origins (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍) and that relies on a *sanwu kaozhao zhi lu* 三五考召之錄 (register of the Three and the Five for inspecting and summoning; 7.1a). The version of this method in the present book quotes a *Jinsuo liuzhu* 金鎖流珠, and in fact most of the material in juan 7 is found, although in a slightly

different presentation, in *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* (see, for instance, the passage citing a *Zhengyi kaozhao yi* 正一考召儀, 7.3a–5a, which corresponds to *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 4.5a–7b). Note that according to the *Song huiyao jigao* 1.466, the Taoists living in the Shangqing baolu gong were expected to practice the *Zhengyi lingwen yusi kaozhao fa* 正一靈文玉笥考召法. See also *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.9a–b, where it is stated that the seal of the Quxie yuan is an essential element of the Zhengyi tradition and of the Tianxin zhengfa, and that the *kaozhao* 考召 techniques of the manifold different traditions all pertain to the Quxie yuan.

Juan 8 deals with practices of Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱). It quotes a number of passages found in *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin*, identifying the source simply as “the scripture” (*jing* 經; 8.2b–3a, 4a–b, corresponding to *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 2.1a–b, 17.7b–8a, 8.11b–12a). Other parts of this juan comprise standard elements of Zhengyi forms of *bugang*, found in Tang dynasty texts (cf., e.g., 8.5b–6a with *800 Zhengyi chitan yi* 3b–4a).

Juan 9–10 contain the models for ritual documents, as well as descriptions of some characteristic individual rites of the Tianxin zhengfa, such as, for instance, the *li tianyu fa* 立天獄法 (method of erecting a celestial prison; 9.7b–10b); the *shengtian tai* 生天臺 (method of the platform for being born in Heaven; 9.10b–12b), a ritual for saving members of the family who have died under unfortunate circumstances and who, therefore, linger in hell, causing problems to the living; and the *xia gan'gai fa* 下贛蓋法, a method of obtaining protection for a family for the duration of a year by depositing the souls of its members in the Dipper, represented by a fu placed in a jar and buried in the earth (9.12b–14b). These three methods are all featured as elements of the programs for larger services of exorcism, found in the opening part of the book (1.2a–8b).

Poul Andersen

Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü 上清骨髓靈文鬼律

3 juan

By RAO DONGTIAN 饒洞天 (fl. 994), edited by DENG YOUYONG 鄧有功
(before 1116)

461 (fasc. 203)

“Demon Code of the Spinal Numinous Writ of the Shangqing Tradition.” The *guilü* 鬼律 is the penal code applied in the exorcistic ritual of the Tianxin zhengfa. The title *Gusui lingwen* 骨髓靈文 is used to designate a special set of nine fu, transmitted within the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and said to originate with Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 3.9a–21a and *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 4). In the latter work (juan 4–6), the code and the fu are edited together, and the whole is presented under the heading *Shangqing yinshu gusui lingwen*

上清隱書骨髓靈文 (Spinal Numinous Writ of the Hidden Writing of Shangqing). The names of five of the nine fu begin with the term *Shangqing* (see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 3.13b–19b). In the present book (preface, 3a), the penal code is said to have been edited on the basis of a collation of five versions of the Shangqing code (*Shangqing guiliu* 上清鬼律). Both the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa itself and independent Song dynasty sources concur, however, that the tradition is Zhengyi, and this characterization is substantiated by the provenance of a major part of the methods (see 1227 *Zongzhen biyao*). Yet in all the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa (and particularly in the parts gathered under the heading *Gusui lingwen*), we find expressions of a nominal affiliation to the Shangqing tradition. Most likely these expressions were occasioned by a simultaneous devotion to Shangqing practices on the part of the early organizers of the Tianxin zhengfa, and in fact the editor of the present book, DENG YOUGONG, presents himself under the chapter headings as “having received the Dadong registers of Shangqing and practiced the Tianxin zhengfa 受上清大洞籙行天心正法.” It should also be noted that the apparently somewhat later 567 *Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa* actually includes a certain number of Shangqing practices, quoted from 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing*.

DENG YOUGONG appears to have lived on Huagai shan 華蓋山 in central Jiangxi, which he refers to as his personal mountain (*benshan* 本山) in 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (preface, 2b). He seems not to be identical with the man of the same name who lived in the same area in 1210–1279 and is mentioned in *Quan Song ci* 4.2977. In 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (preface, 1b–2a), Deng describes the transmission of the texts revealed to RAO DONGTIAN in 994. He traces the transmission through four masters, the last of them, Fu Tianxin 符天信, being his own master (*benshi* 本師). It seems impossible to make this line of transmission stretch over a period of more than 200 years. Furthermore, the information contained in his preface to the present book seems, rather, to indicate that he was active before 1116.

In the preface, Deng attributes the creation of the code to RAO DONGTIAN, the founding immortal (*zuxian* 祖仙), identifying its method with the “secret text” (*biwen* 秘文) unearthed by Rao on Huagai shan. Deng states that Rao, who formerly served as a prefectural official, elaborated the code by consulting laws and regulations of the worldly administration (preface, 2b; see also 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 43.17a, where JIN YUNZHONG advances a similar view). It appears that the text was widely diffused among the Taoists of northern Jiangxi, because Deng reports that he searched for copies in monasteries in Hongzhou 洪州 (Nanchang), Nankang 南康 (Xingzi), on Lushan 廬山, and in Shuzhou 舒州 (southwestern corner of Anhui). He says that in this way he obtained “five versions of the Shangqing code” (*Shangqing guiliu wubu* 五部), and that he edited the present version on the basis of a collation of these five versions, arranging the entries in accordance with the original form (preface, 3a).

Having completed the text he burned it and sent it to the Gold Portal (Jinque 金闕) of Heaven, whence it was forwarded to the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院; the celestial department to which the priests of the Tianxin zhengfa were assigned) and to other places in Heaven. Through the response from Heaven it was established that the text did not lack in any respect but was indeed a complete volume (preface, 3b).

Another version of the code is included in 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 6 (edited by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 in 1116), where it is said to be a faithful copy of the original (*jiuben* 舊本; see 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 4.1a). In fact, though lacking certain paragraphs (especially the concluding models for ritual documents, some of which are included in 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 9.1a–7a), the text of this version corresponds exactly to that of the present book. The account given by Deng concerning his own procedure implies a certain amount of editing and excludes the possibility that he simply extracted the work from 1227 *Zongzhen biyao*. If we believe his account, it follows that the version in 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 6 was derived from the form of the code established through his editing, which must therefore have taken place before 1116. It should also be stressed that, in connection with the group of fu attached to the “Beidi fu 北帝符” (1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 2.21a–b), Yuan Miaozong states that in the original (*jiuben*) these fu were transmitted along with—and not as part of—the Tianxin zhengfa. This statement may be compared to 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (preface, 3a), where Deng states that in fact he edited the “Beidi fuwen 北帝符文” separately.

It appears that the present book was intended for general circulation. The preface has the form of an address to the emperor and ends with a plea that the book be promulgated in all parts of the empire. If the majority of the priests practiced ritual according to this code, it is explained, evil influences from distant lands and remote districts would be averted, and such protection could also be considered a contribution to the establishment of imperial rule (preface, 4a). The book is divided into three parts, of which only the first, the “Guilü,” is in fact a demon code. The second part, called “Yuge 玉格” (Precious Models), contains some regulations for the initiation of priests, while the third part, named “Yishi 儀式” (Rituals and Formulas), includes both the list of priestly titles (3.6a–7b) and formulas for ritual documents (3.8a–19b). According to the editor, the material of all three parts, as it was possessed by the common priests (*sushi* 俗師) of the time, was highly inadequate. While these priests often preserved some sort of *guilü* in written form, the *yuge* were commonly transmitted only orally and the *yishi* were kept in concealment, with the result that many priests lacked especially the material of the two latter categories (preface, 1b). The consequent low quality of the rituals performed by these priests certainly could not correspond to the “intentions of heaven” (*tianyi* 天意), according to the editor (preface, 2a).

Tianxin zhengfa xiuzhen daochang shejiao yi 天心正法修真道場設醮儀

12 fols.

807 (fasc. 566)

“Ritual for the Display of Offerings, of the Area of the Way for the Cultivation of the True [Tao] of the Tianxin Zhengfa.” This work contains, among other things, a list of deities that includes the title of Laozi bestowed in 1013—Hunyuán shàngde huángdì 混元上德皇帝 (see *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 81.713 and 770 *Hunyuán shengji* 9.34b–35a)—and the title of the Jade Emperor bestowed in 1014 (4b; see *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 83.731), the latter apparently in the expanded form bestowed by Huizong in 1116 (see *Xu Zizhi tongjian* 92.2382). A date no earlier than the twelfth century seems indicated also, both by the use of the term *Tianxin zhengfa* 天心正法 in the title, apparently referring to an established tradition, and by the juxtaposition in the list of deities of the two departments: Tianshu yuán 天樞院 and Beiji quxie yuán 北極驅邪院 (5a, 6a; compare 549 *Shangqing tianshu yuán huiju bidao zhengfa*).

A possible context of the ritual lies in the programs for services of exorcism given in the main compilations of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa, for instance, in 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 1. Generally these services conclude with a “rewarding of the soldiers” (*shangbing* 賞兵) and, in addition, with a “great offering of thanksgiving” (*jiaoxie* 醮謝 or *dajiao yi xie* 大醮以謝), on the day the exorcism has worked and calamity has been dispersed (1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 1.2b). Both this offering and the present ritual are said to come at the end of a Retreat (*zhai* 齋) of a given number of days (2b). This ritual thus fulfills the traditional function of a *jiao* 醮, which is to accomplish the presentation of offerings at the end of a *zhai*. An innovation of the present ritual that became customary during Song times is that it lacks the initial invitation of the host of assisting deities (*qingguan* 請官) and addresses itself to the entire pantheon, from the supreme deities downward. For the earlier type of ritual, compare 1212 *Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* by ZHANG WANFU.

It may be noted that the present ritual opens with the extended form of the *weiling zhou* 衛靈咒—derived originally from 330 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing* 6a–7a—in which the Five Directions are addressed separately. While apparently absent from the liturgy of DU GUANGTING, the extended *weiling zhou* is widely current in rituals of the Song dynasty (960–1279); see, for instance, 480 *Luotian dajiao shejiao yi* 1a–2b and 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 17.1b–2b and 32.8b–10a.

Poul Andersen

Shangqing tianxin zhengfa 上清天心正法

7 juan

By DENG YOUGONG 鄧有功; not earlier than the mid-twelfth century

566 (fasc. 318–319)

“Correct Method of the Heart of Heaven, of the Shangqing Tradition.” The book is a compilation of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法, which is referred to also simply as *zhengfa*, with the additional meaning of “method of correcting,” that is, of impersonating the Way and thereby imposing the correct order on situations created by evil influences (cf. 461 *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü*, preface, 2a).

The author appears to have been active around the end of the eleventh century (see 461 *Gusui lingwen guilü*). In the preface, he gives a brief account of the history of the Tianxin zhengfa, beginning with RAO DONGTIAN, a scholar in retirement (*chushi* 處士) living on Huagai shan 華蓋山 in central Jiangxi. Rao’s biography in 778 *Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi* (5.4b–5b) states that he was a minor official in the county of Linchuan 臨川. The work 461 *Gusui lingwen guilü* (preface, 2b) confirms his status as an official. It is reported that one night in 994, Rao saw a multicolored light reaching Heaven from one of the summits; the following morning when he dug into the ground at the spot from which the light had shone, he found a bookcase containing a set of “the secret formulas of the Heart of Heaven” (*tianxin bishi* 天心秘式). Not yet knowing how to put the rubrical instructions (*juemu* 訣目) and the Precious Models (*yuge* 玉格), into practice (i.e., lacking the qualification of a priest), he met a divine person who advised him to become a disciple of TAN ZIXIAO. Tan transmitted his teaching to Rao and referred him to the Lord of the Eastern Peak (Tai-shan tianqi rensheng di 泰山天齊仁聖帝), from whom Rao obtained soldiers for his army of spirits (*yinbing* 陰兵). Thus equipped with a complete tradition, Rao became the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa (*Tianxin chuzu* 天心初祖; preface, 1a–b).

On TAN ZIXIAO, see especially *Xin Wudai shi* 68.851, Ma Ling’s 馬令 *Nan Tang shu* 24.162–63, *Lushi Nan Tang shu* 17.388–89, and LZTT 43.8a–11a. A Taoist from Quanzhou, he served the fourth ruler of Min, Wang Chang 王昶 (r. 935–939), from whom he received the title Zhengyi xiansheng 正一先生. Tan collaborated with the medium Chen Shouyuan 陳守元, who at the court of Wang Chang was raised to the status of Heavenly Master and acquired virtual control of the government (see also *Zizhi tongjian* 279.9137). According to Lu You 陸游, Chen Shouyuan had found a set of fu written on several tens of wooden slips buried in the ground in a bronze bowl. Not knowing how to use them, he passed them on to TAN ZIXIAO, who penetrated their mysteries and thereafter declared that he had obtained the Tianxin zhengfa of Zhang Daoling 張道陵. Lu ends the account by stating that all those who today refer themselves to the Tianxin zhengfa consider TAN ZIXIAO to be the founder of the tradition.

The sources agree that after the fall of Min, Tan went into hiding on Lushan 廬山 (northern Jiangxi), where, according to Lu You, he acquired a following of more than 100 students (see also Yu Jiayi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng*, 846–47). Presumably this is the situation underlying the statement in the preface of the present book to the effect that RAO DONGTIAN was initiated into the priesthood by TAN ZIXIAO. The preface, however, gives prominence to Huagai shan as the place of origin of the Tianxin zhengfa and states that the movement did not appear in the world until the ascendancy of the Song dynasty (preface, 2b). Deng refers to Huagai as his personal mountain (*benshan* 本山) and gives a line of transmission of the methods from Rao through four otherwise unknown masters to himself (preface, 1b–2a). He further mentions the three immortals—Fuqiu Liang 浮丘良 and his two disciples, Wang Daoxiang 王道想 and Guo Daoyi 郭道意—who were supposed to have lived on the mountain toward the end of the third or in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Deng finally refers to the Qiaoxian guan 橋仙觀 monastery, the residence of the two disciples (see 778 *San zhenjun shishi* 1–2). The name of the monastery was changed to Chongxian guan 崇仙觀 by imperial decree in 1075 (778 *San zhenjun shishi* 2.11b–13a).

The implication of DENG YOUYONG's use of the earlier name for the monastery, namely, that the preface dates before 1075, is consistent with the line of transmission described by the author. Yet the text of the book itself shows evidence of a later date. The book incorporates material adopted from the Shenxiao tradition, which did not emerge until about 1117 (5.8a–9a). Furthermore, the description of a set of fu (3.9b–20a) is said to be copied verbatim from the text edited by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126). It seems likely that the preface originally belonged to an earlier version of the book. Note also that both in the preface (3a) the author states that he had divided the work into two juan, and that a book of the same title, but comprising three juan, is listed in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe” (VDL 75). It would appear that the present seven-juan book is an expanded version, no earlier than the middle of the twelfth century, of a work compiled by DENG YOUYONG toward the end of the eleventh century.

The content of the book is referred to in the preface as “the secret and essential fu writs for the four degrees of scriptures and registers” (*sijie jinglu biyao fuwen* 四階經籙秘要符文; preface, 3a). The four degrees represent the totality of the early Taoist scriptural and liturgical traditions, described in the preface in a short historical survey ending with the Shangqing revelations. The preface states that only through these revelations were the ritual categories (*kepin* 科品) established. Deng also credits YANG XI with the transmission of the basic fu-tradition to the world (preface, 2a–b). He continues by stating that the tradition of the present book is the only one of the major Taoist traditions to have appeared as late as the Song dynasty. Its appearance is ascribed to the presence of the Qiaoxian guan on the mountain, a relic of the three

immortals (cf. the claim in 778 *San zhenjun shishi* 2.7b that the present book in fact represents the teaching transmitted by Fuqiu Liang to his two disciples). The preface makes clear that the book was intended for the use of priests initiated into the Tianxin zhengfa, and the author states that he had compiled a separate synopsis in three juan of the common talismanic usages of contemporary priests: the *Beidi fuwen* 北帝符文, meant to be transmitted outside the “correct method,” reaching those who practice “the precious registers and secret repertoires of the four degrees of the three caverns” (*sandong sijie baolu bipu* 三洞四階寶籙秘譜; preface, 2b–3a).

The core of the present book are the fu described in juan 3, the most important of which are the three fundamental fu of the Tianxin zhengfa: “Sanguang fu 三光符,” “Heisha fu 黑煞符,” and “Tiangang fu 天罡符” (3.1a–9a; cf. 567 *Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa* 1a, 6a–13a, and 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 2.10a–17a, where these fu are described in their characteristic combination with the two seals of the Tianxin zhengfa). Next in importance come the nine fu referred to as “the spinal numi-

nous writ” (*Gusui lingwen* 骨髓靈文) and said to be transmitted separately by Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (3.9b–21a; cf. 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 4–6, which includes a variant version of the above-mentioned nine fu in a more comprehensive *Gusui lingwen* corpus).

The central deity, acting through the fu, is the Emperor of the North (Beidi 北帝), also called the Great Emperor of the Northern Pole (Beiji dadi 北極大帝) or the Great Emperor of Supreme Purity (Shangqing dadi 上清大帝), and commonly referred to as the ancestral master (*zushi* 祖師; 3.17a, 19a, 5.1a; cf. 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 2.11a, 14b, 21a–b). The Emperor of the North presides over the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院), that is, the celestial department to which the priests of the Tianxin zhengfa are assigned (see 461 *Shangqing gusui lingwen guiliu*, preface, 1b). He is the supreme commander of the host of “great generals” of the department and is often described as being guarded by the thirty-six generals headed by the “great marshal Tianpeng” (Tianpeng da yuanshuai 天蓬大元帥; 2.3a–b, 3.1a, 8b; see 1227 *Zongzhen biyao*). A characteristic agent



FIGURE 52. Talisman of Heisha (566 3.6b)

of the Emperor of the North is the Black Killer (Heisha 黑煞). He is referred to as the Pledged Envoy of the Dark Warrior (*Xuanwu fushi* 玄武符使), and he is depicted in the Black Killer talisman (“Heisha fu”) as carrying the command (*chi* 敕) of the Emperor of the North (3.5a–7a [fig. 52]; see 220 *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa* 8.13a–16a, 27.6b–9b). Note that in the *Nan Tang shu* 24.162 by Ma Ling, the Black Killer is singled out as the deity worshipped by TAN ZIXIAO (see also 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan*, and Liu Zhiwan, *Zhongguo minjian xinyang lunji*, 318–20).

Besides the fu, the book contains a large variety of individual rites that may be used either independently for curing illnesses and such, or as parts of larger exorcistic services (outlines of such services are given in juan 4–5). A large number of these rites are identical with those described in 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* (q.v.).

Poul Andersen

Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa 上清北極天心正法

37 fols.

Probably Southern Song (1127–1279)

567 (fasc. 319)

“Correct Method of the Heart of Heaven of the Northern Pole, of the Shangqing Tradition.” The book belongs to the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and thus is related to 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*. The inclusion of the term *beiji* 北極 (Northern Pole) in the title, makes it identical with the title used as the heading of the first section of 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (juan 1–2). Like the present book, this section centers on the three fundamental fu of the Tianxin zhengfa.

The book quotes the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126; 1a and 28b–29a; “Zhimi ge 指迷歌”), and thus should not be earlier than the Southern Song dynasty. One of its parts, the “Huoyao tiangang zhi fa 活曜天罡之法” (Method of the Celestial Mainstay of Animating Brilliance; 23a–26b), is said to have been stored in the library of the Taiping guan 太平觀 temple on Maoshan 茅山 and to have been transmitted into the world up to the present by the Black Emperor Immortal (Heidi xianren 黑帝仙人; probably Beidi 北帝, the Emperor of the North and ancestral master of the Tianxin zhengfa; see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*).

The book contains a condensed version of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa. From the repertoire of fu it includes only the three most fundamental ones, namely, “Tiangang fu 天罡符,” “Sanguang fu 三光符,” and “Heisha fu 黑煞符” (6a–13a). The introduction states that formerly the tradition disposed only of these three fu (1a; cf. 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 174.12b–13a, where only the practices related to the writing of the “Sanguang fu” are recognized as representing the Tianxin zhengfa transmitted from Zhang Daoling 張道陵).

On the other hand, the book greatly develops the system of inner practices accompanying the writing of fu. It is emphasized that the efficacy of the fu depends on the “collection of qi” (*quqi* 取氣) and that the breaths on which the fu of the Tianxin zhengfa rely are those of the Three Luminaries (*sanguang* 三光), that is, the sun, the moon, and the Big Dipper (13a; cf. 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 6.11a–b). The later part of the book is taken up mainly by descriptions of methods for the inhalation and inner circulation of these qi, beginning with a recasting (13b–19b) of material found in 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinqie dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* 4a–8b. The following three sections—“Taiyang lun 太陽論” (20b–21b), “Taiyin lun 太陰論” (22a–23a), and “Tiangan lun 天罡論” (23a–29b)—describe techniques related to the *liuren* 六壬 and *dunjia* 遁甲 methods for calculating the times and directions for the collection of the qi. The final section, “Tianxin sanguang zonglun 天心三光總論” (29b–37a), includes, among other things, a list of factors that may cause the fu to be ineffective (30b–31a), as well as a list of occasions at which lustral water prepared with the “Sanguang fu” may be used (33b–35a).

Poul Andersen

Shangqing tianshu yuan huiju bidao zhengfa 上清天樞院回車畢道正法

3 juan

Probably late Song (960–1279)

549 (fasc. 313)

“True Shangqing Method of Returning by Chariot and Completing the Way According to the Department of the Celestial Pivot.” The expression *huiju bidao* 回車畢道 (returning by chariot and completing the way) is the name of a Shangqing register and of a corresponding immortal’s contract (*quan* 券; cf. 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.2b and 1239 *Zhengyi xiuzhen liueyi* 18a). These documents are related to the final stages in the life of a priest, when he stops performing public ritual and retires to the mountains in order to practice the methods of completion (*bifa* 畢法), that is, the Shangqing techniques for the attainment of immortality. According to the section “Huiju zhi dao” (The Way of Returning by Chariot) in 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 7b–8a, the chariot brings the master to the foot of the mountain and is burned there. The master wanders off into the mountain, never to return again. It is said that from then on he will practice “the ways of flying ascent of the Latter Saint of the Gold Portal.” The whole process is referred to as a departure from the manifest world (*chu sanjie* 出三界). The *huiju bidao* register is mentioned in 777 *Zhangxian mingsu huanghou shou shangqing bifa lu ji* 2b (dated 1024), which commemorates the full ordination of the empress dowager in the Shangqing tradition, and in 304 *Maoshan zhi* 9.8a. According to JIN YUNZHONG, it was a general register of the Dongzhen section (1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.10b).

Surprisingly, the present book, in spite of its title and its purported relation to the Shangqing tradition, bears no relation to the above-mentioned practices. It is a manual of exorcistic methods, brought together probably around the end of the Song dynasty and closely related to the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法. The book is distinguished from the early texts of this tradition by being affiliated with the Department of the Celestial Pivot (Tianshu yuan 天樞院) instead of the usual Department of Exorcism of the Northern Pole (Beiji quxie yuan 北極驅邪院). The tradition of the book is defined in one place as the Tianxin zhengfa of the Department of the Celestial Pivot (2.1a). The distribution of the civil grades (*wenjie* 文階) in these two departments (corresponding to the celestial South Pole and the North Pole, respectively) is noted in *Taishang tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格 (in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 249–50), which also mentions the direct connection between the method of the Celestial Pivot (Tianshu fa 天樞法) and the “Shangqing register of returning by chariot and completing the way” (249.20a).

The book contains many elements that confirm its relation to the Tianxin zhengfa. Thus, for instance, one of the seals is the “Dutian da fazhu yin 都天大法主印” (1.4a–5b), which is one of the two basic seals of the Tianxin zhengfa, and the titles of two of the fu—“Heisha shenfu 黑殺神符” (1.17a–18b) and “Tiangang shenfu 天罡神符” (1.20a–21b)—are identical to the titles of two of the three fundamental fu of the Tianxin zhengfa (see 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*). However, the methods of the book generally are much simpler than those of the early texts of the Tianxin zhengfa, the only large-scale service included being the one for curing insanity (2.7b–17b). The divine forces called upon in this service are predominantly those of the south—for instance, the deities of the celestial South Pole (Nanji 南極)—and the rite of Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱) is performed along the stars of the Southern Dipper (*Nandou* 南斗). The actual warfare against the demons is carried out by soldiers sent by the local gods of the territory—Siming tudi 司命土地 and Chenghuang 城隍—and there is no appeal to the generals of the Eastern Peak (as in the early texts of the Tianxin zhengfa), nor any memorial presented to the supreme Taoist pantheon.

All of juan 3 is taken up by a description of the practice of presenting a statement or a complaint (*touzhuang* 投狀). This practice is to be performed at the beginning of the cure for insanity and is found also in the great services of exorcism described in the early texts of the Tianxin zhengfa (see, for instance, 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 1.2b, 3b–4a). It is explained in the present book as a method of graphological diagnosis. The *zhuang* 狀 is a document written by a representative of the sick person or family. It is addressed to the Shangqing tianshu yuan and contains a prayer for help. In answer to this prayer, the local Stove God (Zaojun 竈君) is ordered from above to carry out an investigation concerning the category of the evil influences causing illness and to disclose this category in the form of the characters as written in the document. The priest interprets the document (*yanzhuang* 驗狀) by means of a code, which gives

several ways in which each character may be wrong. For instance, a character may be stained (*dianwu* 點汙) or may be missing a stroke for lack of ink (*zhushi* 注失). In each case, a different kind of evil influence is indicated.

Poul Andersen

Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa 無上玄元三天玉堂大法

30 juan

By LU SHIZHONG 路時中 et al.; after 1158

220 (fasc. 100–104)

“Great Method of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin.” As explained in the text, the Jade Hall (Yutang 玉堂) is formed out of the qi at Yujing shan 玉京山 and contains the Nine Ancients (*jiulao* 九老; 1.2b).

The book is a collection of the ritual handbooks that constitute the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 tradition. The tradition was founded by LU SHIZHONG (*zi* Dangke 當可), who is known from many liturgical texts of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) as the True Official Lu (Lu zhenguan 路真官; see, e.g., 1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 2.7b, 8b). According to an anecdote in the *Yijian zhi* (“Bingzhi 丙志,” 13.12.479), based on the account of a former schoolmate, Lu came from the county of Shangshui 商水 in Chenzhou 陳州 (Henan), where his father, Lu Guan 路瓘, was the county magistrate. He was seventeen years old in the Zhenghe period (1131–1137). Another anecdote from the same source (“Dingzhi 丁志,” 18.1.684), based on the account of a nephew of LU SHIZHONG, states that Lu Guan was a great-uncle of LU SHIZHONG and adds that the latter probably obtained his methods in the area of Shu 蜀. The episodes in the adult life of LU SHIZHONG, related in the *Yijian zhi* and carrying dates, all take place in the period 1125–1130 (see “Yizhi 乙志,” 6.4.232, 7.1.237–39; and “Bingzhi,” 5.5.403–4). He is shown to have been active in widely separated parts of China (from Xuzhou 徐州 in the north to Jinling 金陵 in the south) and to have been called upon by members of the official class to perform large ceremonies on their behalf. In 1125, Lu performed a Yellow Register Offering (*huanglu jiao* 黃籙醮) in Jinling for the repose of the soul of a former vice president of the Board of Finance (*hubu shilang* 戶部侍郎) named Cai Juhou 蔡居厚 (see *Yijian zhi*, “Yizhi,” 6.4.232).

The present book contains a colophon by LU SHIZHONG himself (1.7a–8a). It relates specifically to the first part of the book (1–23), “the unsurpassed doctrine in twenty-four sections” (*wushang zongzhi ershisi pin* 無上宗旨二十四品), which corresponds to the third and highest degree of initiation within the tradition (see 2.6a, 26.1b–2a, and 28.7a–b). In this colophon, Lu relates that in 1120 he had a nightly vision of Zhao Sheng 趙昇 (a disciple of Zhang Daoling 張道陵), who descended into his room and told him about the secret writing (*bishu* 秘書) he had left behind, buried in

the ground at Maoshan 茅山. When Lu served later as assistant prefect (*tongshou* 通守; it should be noted that in fact this title was not officially in use during the Song dynasty) in Jinling, he visited the mountain and dug up the scroll. He arranged the text in twenty-four sections; in 1126, while staying in Piling 毗陵 (Jiangsu), he transmitted it to the world.

Another colophon is found at the end of the part of the book (juan 26–28) referred to as “the seven sections for the initial degree” (*chujie qipin* 初階七品; 26.1b). This colophon states that the discursive parts in these seven sections—the so-called “model sayings” (*geyan* 格言), which are interspersed between the passages of ritual formulas and usually begin with the phrase “the master said” (*shiyue* 師曰)—were revealed one by one during the first half of 1107, in the form of oral instructions from Heavenly Lord Great Master of the Teaching (Da jiaozhu tianjun 大教主天君). After this initial revelation and up to the year 1119, the actual ritual formulas were transmitted through spirit-writing (*jiangbi* 降筆); the totality was then copied in 1158. The speech of the Heavenly Lord sounded like that of a baby and was audible only to LU SHIZHONG and his disciple Zhai Ruwen 翟汝文, both of whom noted it down (28.7b–8a). Zhai Ruwen (*zi* Gongxun 公巽, 1076–1141) was a noted scholar-official, calligrapher, and painter (see *Song shi* 372.11543–45 and the text of his epitaph in his collected writings, *Zhonghui ji*, “fulu 附錄”). He edited a ritual compendium for the *huanglu dajiao* 黃籙大醮, entitled *Mengzhen yujian* 盟真玉檢, in ten juan and a *Jinggong puji yi* 淨供普濟儀 for the *Mingyang zhai* 冥陽齋 in three juan (*Zhonghui ji*, “fulu,” 17a): he also made several paintings of Taoist deities (*Zhonghui ji*, “fulu,” 21a–b). The preface of the first work has survived in *Zhonghui ji* 8.8b–10a and is also quoted in 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 17.29a. It refers to a liturgical style comparable to that of the present book.

The Yutang dafa tradition is defined in the book as the inner secrets (*neibi* 內秘) of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (26.1a) and is said to represent the essential method of Zhang Daoling: “the fundamental oath between Xuanyuan [i.e., Taishang laojun 太上老君] and the Saintly Master 玄元與聖師本誓” (1.7b). The Tianxin zhengfa is referred to as the “ancestral teaching” (*zujiao* 祖教; 2.6a); the oral instructions from the Da jiaozhu tianjun (cf. the second colophon, 28.7b–8a) are said to have been obtained as elucidations of the teachings of the Tianxin zhengfa (1.5b–6a). The Yutang dafa is held to be more fundamental and more meditative, and it is said to have been discovered, as a result of the above-mentioned oral instructions, that the Tianxin zhengfa represented the exorcistic—that is, the “outer”—practices (*quxie zhi shi* 驅邪之事) of the Yutang dafa (1.6a). The link to the ancestral teaching is preserved accordingly, as it appears from the book’s exposition of progressive initiation within the tradition (2.6a, 26.1b–2a). It is stated there that the novice may receive a work entitled *Tianxin zhengfa* in ten juan (“in order to support the correct teaching”; 2.6a), and only after having

practiced it for three years may he or she ascend to the initial degree of the Yutang dafa (26.1b). It is specified in a note that only the edition of the present order (*bentan* 本壇) may be used (26.1b). This edition is discussed by JIN YUNZHONG in his 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 43.17a–b, where he describes it as a revised version, edited by LU SHIZHONG in the beginning of the Shaoxing period (1131–1162), of the earlier compilation by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗, that is, 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (dated 1116).

The connection with the Tianxin zhengfa is borne out by the contents of the present book. The two traditions agree in emphasizing the use of the forces of the Three Luminaries (*sanguang* 三光; i.e., the sun, the moon, and the Dipper), for instance, in the writing of fu; and indeed the three basic fu of the Tianxin zhengfa (“Sanguang fu 三光符,” “Heisha fu 黑煞符,” “Tiangang fu 天罡符”; cf. 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 2.10a–17a and 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 3.1a–9a) are included, with certain variations, in the present book. The first of these fu is designated here as “Sanguang zufu 三光祖符” (Ancestral Talisman of the Three Luminaries), and it is described as “the cornerstone of the myriad methods” (*wanfa zhi zong* 萬法之宗; 8.11a–13b, 28.1a–2b). A large proportion of the exorcistic rites described in the present book are closely related to those found in the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa (compare, e.g., the cures for consumption in 23.7b–8b and 24.18a–28a with those given in 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 3.1a–4a; compare also the method of obtaining protection for a whole year by depositing one’s soul in the Dipper [*gan’gai fa* 贛蓋法] in 24.7b–11a with 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 9.12b–14b). The major differences are the inclusion of elements of the funeral liturgy and the greater emphasis on individual, meditative practice within the Yutang dafa.

The funeral rites (juan 14–18) constitute elements of the Lingbao dafa 靈寶大法 liturgy, which emerged toward the end of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). The work 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 260.1a reports that LU SHIZHONG transmitted the Lingbao dafa in Jiankang 建康 during the Zhenghe period (1111–1117). JIN YUNZHONG criticizes the masters of the Yutang dafa school for performing the funeral liturgy of the Lingbao categories while holding only Zhengyi titles and registers (see 1223 *Lingbao dafa* 10.19b). Jin notes the incorporation of Yutang dafa practices within the funeral liturgy of many Dongxuan priests, but opposes this tendency (1223 *Lingbao dafa* 20.7b). Regarding the rite of “salvation by sublimation” (*liandu* 煉度), he considers the method of LU SHIZHONG to be somewhat superficial (though not entirely worthless), since it relies on the qi of the sun and the moon, instead of those of the trigrams *li* 離 and *kan* 坎, for obtaining the True Fire and True Water (1223 *Lingbao dafa* 37.2b–3a). In the present book, however, it is stated (18.1b) that the *liandu* rite of the Lingbao tradition depends on the Yutang dafa tradition for the methods of collecting fire and water from the sun and the moon, and that this dependency demonstrates the superiority of the tradition of the present book.

The Yutang dafa is said to be “based on flying high to the sun and the moon” (*Yutang yi gaoben riyue wei zongzu* 玉堂以高奔日月爲宗祖; 27.1a). This description refers to “the way of flying high” (*gaoben zhi dao* 高奔之道), that is, the meditative technique of ascent to, and internalization of, the qi from the sun and the moon (sometimes the Dipper as well). The technique is described in varying degrees of detail in juan 4 and 5 and in 27.1a–3a, and again more fully in the separate work 221 *Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu*. It is associated with the “Gaoben zhang 高奔章” chapter (26) of the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經, quoted in the present book (4.1b). The commentary of the *Huangting jing* by Liangqiu Zi 梁丘子 (fl. 722), however, identifies the method underlying the *Huangting jing* as that described in 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinqie dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* (see *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經註 in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 57.1a–b). This method is similar to, but clearly distinct from, the one described in the texts of the Yutang dafa. The latter method is not found in any of the extant, early Shangqing material and is apparently an authentic creation of the Yutang dafa (cf. 435 *Taishang yuchen yuyi jielin ben riyue tu*).

Poul Andersen

Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu

無上三天玉堂正宗高奔內景玉書

2 juan

First half of the twelfth century

221 (fasc. 104–105)

“Precious Text of Flying High in the Inner Landscape, from the Correct Tradition of the Jade Hall of the Supreme Three Heavens.” This text is linked closely with 220 *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*. The method of flying high is described twice in the latter handbook (220 *Yutang dafa* 4–5 and 27.1a–3a), with a varying amount of detail for different degrees of initiation. The 220 *Yutang dafa* 26.1b, moreover, speaks of a more complete description of this method in a book entitled *Gaoben yujing* 高奔玉經, clearly referring to the present book. We may therefore ascribe the present work to LU SHIZHONG, the founder of the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法, to whom the central texts of the tradition were revealed in the 1120s.

The book describes the inner practices on which the Yutang dafa was founded, the “way of flying high” (*gaoben zhi dao* 高奔之道; see 220 *Yutang dafa*). These practices consist in methods of meditative ascent to, and internalization of, the qi of the sun, the moon, and the Dipper. The purpose of these practices is the individual attainment of immortality, and they are also requirements for the performance of the public rituals of the Yutang dafa. Juan 1 describes the method of flying high to the sun and the moon (*gaoben riyue zhi dao* 高奔日月之道). It is related to the immortals of the sun

and the moon (Yuyi 鬱儀 and Jielin 結璘) and associated with the “Gaoben zhang 高奔章” chapter (26) of the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經, which is quoted here on 1.1b. The method is similar to, though clearly distinct from, the methods of flying high described in early Shangqing texts (cf. 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinqie dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* and 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 2.1a–8b).

Juan 2, which deals with the Dipper, consists almost entirely of excerpts from early Shangqing texts, especially 1351 *Dongzhen taishang feixing yujing jiuzhen shengxuan shangji* 4b–8b, 879 *Shangqing jinshu yuzi shangjing* 5a–7a, and 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 4b–11a. All these quotations appear to have been culled from the YJQQ.

Poul Andersen

Taishang sanyuan feixing guanjin jinshu yulu tu

太上三元飛星冠禁金書玉籙圖

8 fols.

764 (fasc. 534)

“Illustrated Jade Register of the Most High in Golden Writing of the Three Origins for Flying to the Stars and for Wearing [the Stars] and Controlling [the Demons].” On Mount Heming 鶴鳴山, Lord Lao transmitted to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 the Jade Register written in gold, and he revealed a method, said to be part of the Zhengyi teachings, that protected against all calamities.

This method consists in the adept’s visualization—in several variations and with recitation of invocative formulas—of the Five Planets, the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, and those of the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台). He or she then “dons” (*guan* 冠) these heavenly bodies. After that, the adept should practice the Paces of Yu (*yubu* 禹步) or the pace of the Nine Traces (*jiuji bu* 九跡步) every night. The appropriate positions of the feet for these paces are illustrated.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Guandou zhongxiao wulei wuhou bifa 貫斗忠孝五雷武侯祕法

15 fols.

By Wu Sheng 吳昇; late fourteenth century

585 (fasc. 323)

“Secret Method of the Martial Prince, of the Loyal and Filial Five Thunders Traversing [the Stars of] the Dipper.” The Martial Prince is Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234), the general of the Three Kingdoms period. The term *guandou* 貫斗 (traversing the Dipper) refers both to the presence of the forces of thunder in the stars of the Big Dipper, and to the movement of the priest along the stars (as coordinated with the

Luoshu 洛書 arrangement of the Eight Trigrams), whereby the forces of thunder are called forth.

The author, Wu Sheng from Xuyang 旭陽 (in northern Jiangxi), defines the tradition of the book as the secrets left behind by Zhuge Liang (see postscript, 12b). According to the preface, the secrets were transmitted to the world in the period Zhiyuan 至元 (1264–1295), when they were revealed to Zhang Huizhai 張暉齋 from Jingmen 荊門 (Hubei). The latter had acquired a round stone that emitted a bright light at night. When he split open the stone, he found a square slab inside with inscriptions on both faces. Having made several hundred rubbings of the inscriptions and burnt some of them, Zhang fell asleep. In his dream, Zhuge Liang appeared to him, told him that the inscriptions were the divine seals for calling to arms his loyal and filial thunder-soldiers (*zhongxiao leibing* 忠孝雷兵), and gave him the present book.

Zhang thereupon retired to Wudang shan 武當山, where he studied the Tianxin zhengfa. He achieved fame for the efficacy of his ritual, and in the period Dade 大德 (1297–1308) the emperor granted him the title Yinzhen xuanyang zhenren 隱真玄陽真人. A sanctuary in his honor, established by his disciples after his death, was accorded an official tablet with the name Shengzhen guan 昇真觀. Two years later the stone with the inscriptions disappeared into the air with a burst of lightning. The seals were recreated by Zhao Quanyang 趙全陽 (i.e., Zhao Daoyi 趙道一, the author of LZTT), who carved them on date wood and transmitted the method to Huang Guyang 黃谷陽. In 1351, the latter retired to the Western Mountains of Hongdu 洪都 (present-day Nanchang), where he instructed Wu Sheng. Huang died there in 1369.

The work is a manual describing a form of Five Thunder practices (*wulei fa* 五雷法). The purpose of these practices was “to cure sickness and exorcise demons, to preserve oneself, and bring peace to one’s household” (治病除邪, 保己寧家; 12b). An important element of the *wulei fa* is the block for commanding thunder (*leiting haoling* 雷霆號令), which corresponds to the stone slab and its reconstruction in date wood mentioned in the preface. The block is used for summoning the thunder-soldiers, headed by Zhuge Liang and his assistant generals, who descend to the altar from the west (5b). The pantheon is characterized by the color white and the forces of metal (corresponding to the west). The thunder-block is said to have featured representations of the planet Venus on both sides (9a).

Another important element is the rite of Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱) through the positions of the Eight Trigrams, following the sequence of the numbers of the magic square by which the thunder-soldiers are called forth and disposed at the eight gates of the ritual area, thus forming the eight battle formations (*bazhen* 八陣; 3a–4a; see also preface, 1a–2b). The incantations are not the same as those accompanying this pattern in the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa (cf. 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 5.3a), with the exception of one that opens with the line “The white qi flows diffusely

through my body” (*Boqi hundun guan woxing* 白氣混沌灌我形). This incantation is widespread in Song dynasty texts and even in present-day manuals (see, e.g., Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei*, 242) and more typically accompanies the walk across the Dipper, following the arrangement of the stars of the constellation (see, e.g., 587 *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue* 10b).

Poul Andersen

Jinsuo liuzhu yin 金鎖流珠引

29 juan

Attributed to Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670)

1015 (fasc. 631–636)

“Guide to the Golden Lock and the Moving Pearls.” The present book defines itself as an “introductory guide to the practices of Pacing the Mainstay [*bugang* 步綱].” The comprehensive scripture on *bugang* was the now lost *Jinsuo liuzhu jing* 金鎖流珠經. The present work both introduces the reader to these practices and demonstrates the patterns that should be followed in the performance of the paces (preface, 2a–b, 1.1b–3b, 4.1a). It states that one may receive the present guide only after having possessed the scripture for a period of three years (28.6b–7a), and indeed the performance of the practices described in the book frequently requires the reference to the scripture. Several parts of the practices are either omitted or given in an abridged form (the latter is the case for most of the incantations), the reader being referred to the relevant section of the scripture. The phrase *jinsuo liuzhu* 金鎖流珠 (golden lock and moving pearls) is explained as an adaptation by the Latter Saint (Housheng 後聖) of the earlier title for practices of *bugang*: “the methods of walking of the Golden Register” (*jinlu xingfa* 金錄行法). The term *jinsuo* 金鎖 (replacing *jinlu* 金錄) is said to refer specifically to the methods by which one strengthens one’s own body, locking the souls into their places, whereas the term *liuzhu* 流珠 (designating the nine stars of the Dipper) is associated with the forms of walking performed to assist the country and save others (preface, 7a–b).

Both compilation of the book and the commentaries are attributed to Li Chunfeng, the famous astronomer with Taoist leanings who held the office of Grand Astrologer (*taishi ling* 太史令) during the Zhenguan period (627–649; biographies in *Jiu Tang shu* 79.2717–19 and *Xin Tang shu* 204.5798). The content of the book, however, affords grounds for doubting this attribution. In 21.4a–b, the author relates that in 617 the Latter Saint (i.e., Laozi) descended on Zhongnan shan 終南山, announced to Li Chunfeng that the Li family would presently establish the Tang dynasty, and directed Li in writing a synopsis of the *Ershiba xiu jing* 二十八宿經 (in the celestial version consisting of twelve juan), that is, the divination technique occupying the rest of juan 21 (see *Song shi* 206.5232, where a *Shangxiang ershiba xiu*

zuanyao jue 上像二十八宿纂要訣 in one juan is included in the list of works by Li Chunfeng).

This version of the announcement of the mandate is related to various other accounts, occurring in texts dating from the late Tang dynasty (618–907) to the Northern Song (960–1127), none of which make any mention of Li Chunfeng. See, for instance, *Tang huiyao* 50.865, 591 *Luyi ji* 5.5b–6a and 593 *Lidai chongdao ji* 4a–5b (both by DU GUANGTING), and 774 *Youlong zhuan* 5.11a–14b (dated between 1086 and 1101). The account of the announcement of the mandate found in the latter text is said to be culled from a national history *Guoshi* 國史, and it is repeated, with variations, in 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 8.4b–8a (dated 1191) by XIE SHOUHAO, who gives a *Tang shu* 唐書 as his source. Xie, however, adds the story concerning Li Chunfeng, giving a *Jinsuo liuzhu* as his source (770 *Hunyuan shengji* 8.2b; cf. 1.37a, where the title is rendered as *Jinsuo liuzhu ji* 記). Thus it would appear that the association of Li Chunfeng with the announcement of the mandate of the Tang dynasty derives from the present work. If the book existed earlier, it did not come to the attention of the hagiographers before the twelfth century.

The *Jinsuo liuzhu* is cited in several Song dynasty (960–1279) texts (e.g., 1226 *Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 7.11b–12a; note that the citation in the Tang 464 *Zhaijie lu* 7a, though corresponding to a commentary in the present book [24.5b] is identified as deriving from the original classic, *Jinsuo liuzhu jing*). It appears to have circulated particularly among the followers of the Zhengyi tradition, and it was clearly used as a source for the compilation of the books of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法. Thus the description of the *kaozhao fa* 考召法 (method of inspecting [demons] and summoning [spirits]) included in 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 7.1a–6b (dated 1116) is quoted from a *Jinsuo liuzhu* and appears as a reworking of passages found in the present book (cf. 28.6b, 7.2b–3a, 28.5b, 4.7b–8b, 5a–7b, and 7.3b–4b). Likewise, the passages on *bugang* found in 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 8.2b–4b correspond to 2.1a–b, 17.6a–b, 7b–8a, and 8.11b–12a of the present book. An important difference between the two versions of the *kaozhao fa* is found in a passage defining the tradition practiced. The 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 7.4a states simply that the priest “practices according to the celestial code” (*yi tianke xingfa* 依天科行法), while the present book adds that in so doing he practices the *Tianxin zhengyi zhi fa* 天心正一之法 (4.6a). The occurrence of this phrase suggests that it was composed after the origin of the Tianxin zhengfa movement in the 930s (see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* and 1227 *Zongzhen biyao*). However, the phrase does not seem to be part of the original version of the *Jinsuo liuzhu*, from which 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* quotes. It seems unlikely that Yuan Miaocong 元妙宗, who compiled and edited 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* in an effort to promote the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa, would have suppressed the mention of this tradition had it been found in his source. It may be suspected that the phrase is a late addition to the existing copy of the book

(so much the more since it is the only reference to the Tianxin zhengfa; the *kaozhao fa* is defined throughout the book simply as a Zhengyi method).

It may be added that the content of the present book clearly seems to represent a layer of the Zhengyi tradition that is prior to the origin of the Tianxin zhengfa. The book contains a large amount of material related to the methods mentioned in early Zhengyi texts. Note, for instance, the visualization practices and forms of *bugang* associated with the generals of the Three Origins (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍) and described in juan 5–9 (cf. 1208 *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu* 1.12b–15a). Also the tradition of the book is referred to as the method of the Three and the Five (*sanwu zhi fa* 三五之法; preface, 2a; 3.1a–5b), and note that a characteristic title of a Zhengyi priest, widely used in early texts, defines him as a zhenren of Primordial Destiny Pacing the Mainstay of the Three and the Five of the Red Heaven (*chitian sanwu bugang yuanming zhenren* 赤天三五步綱元命真人; see 615 *Chisong zi zhangli* 2.22b). Moreover, nowhere in this material do we find any reflection of the typical Tianxin zhengfa reforms of the Zhengyi tradition. Thus, for instance, the Department of Exorcism (*Quxie yuan* 驅邪院) and the title of the first Heavenly Master (Zhang Daoling 張道陵) as commissioner of that department (*Quxie yuan shi* 使; see 1227 *Zongzhen biyao* 2.6a) are absent from the present book, as are the army of spirit-soldiers (*yinbing* 陰兵) of the Eastern Peak (see 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*).

In a note on the dating of the book, T. H. Barrett points to a possible reference to the An Lushan Rebellion (25.16a–b), as well as to the mention of the Tibetan threat, which was a major concern especially during the reign of Daizong (763–779) and which lasted until the middle of the ninth century (15.1b; see Barrett, “Towards a date”). This would suggest a date some time in the late Tang (618–907) or the Five Dynasties (907–960). [*Editorial note:* On the placement of this article in the present section, see the introduction to part 3.B.5 above.]

The preface, attributed to Li Chunfeng, describes the transmission of the book into the world. The main revelatory deity is the Latter Saint, who is defined as a separate manifestation (*fenshen* 分身) of Lord Lao. He is said to have been incarnated as Laozi, later to be instated as the Jade Emperor (1a–2b). The Latter Saint transmitted the tradition to Yin Xi 尹喜, Zhang Daoling, and Wang Yuan 王遠, among others (2b–3a). Wang Yuan was ordered to transmit it further to Mao Ying 茅盈, who instructed the founders of the Shangqing tradition—including YANG XI and the two Xu—in its use (5b–6a). The preface adds that the present book transmits the teachings of the Former Saint (Qiansheng 前聖; i.e., Taishang daojun), as well as those of the Latter Saint. The book is said to result from a combination and codification of the sayings of both figures, distinguished in the original version by writing in black and red ink, respectively, with the addition of oral instructions received from the Latter Saint by Zhang Daoling and Wang Yuan (6a–b).

In juan 3 the revelation of the tradition from the Latter Saint to Zhang Daoling is described, and it is said that in this connection the Latter Saint introduced the term *Zhengyi* for the totality of the methods (3.2b, 4b, 5b). The tradition is said to be divided into three levels: Shangqing (in some places conceived as the teachings of the Former Saint, Taishang daojun, see 3.6b); *Zhengyi* proper; and the Five Methods (*wufa* 五法), which are related to the five fu of the Lingbao tradition (3.4b–5a; cf. 1240 *Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 5a–b). These statements (as well as those of the preface) accord with the attempt manifested in the book to create a synthesis of the methods of *bugang* of the Shangqing and *Zhengyi* traditions.

Generally, *bugang* is described here as being performed in a series of variations (see, e.g., 22.7a–b): (1) “treading along the Terrestrial Sequence” (*nie diji* 躡地紀; here the Dipper, Beidou 北斗, is conceived as consisting of seven stars); (2) “flying along the Celestial Mainstay” (*fei tiangang* 飛天綱; here the Dipper is referred to as the Central Dipper, Zhongdou 中斗, and conceived as consisting of nine stars); (3) the Paces of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步); (4) the practice of covering one’s body with the stars of the Dipper (*peiyi* 配衣); and (5) the sending forth of the forces of the Dipper by means of the twirling method (*nianjue* 捻訣). A frequent term for the latter practice is *zhuan tianguan* 轉天關 (revolving the Gate of Heaven, i.e., pointing the seventh star of the Dipper in the direction of the evil influences).

This system clearly reflects the concepts and terminology of the early Shangqing scriptures on *bugang* (see 1316 *Dongzhen shangqing taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing*). In fact, the present book incorporates a good deal of material derived from these scriptures. Thus a central passage from 1316 *Bu tiangang jing* (8a–b), describing the effects of performing the practice, is constantly repeated and elaborated upon (1.2b, 9b–10a, 15.4a). Yet the tenor of the book, with its emphasis on exorcistic and other ritual applications of *bugang*, is representative of the later *Zhengyi* rites. It may be noted in this connection that the author strongly criticizes the practice of retiring to the mountains in order to seek exclusively personal salvation (3.6a, 7.1a, 12.8b). This practice is connected with Buddhism and with the concrete and overt accumulation of merit (*yanggong* 陽功) through, for instance, the construction of temples, the fabrication of images, and the work of charity (19.8b–10b). Though positive in its own way, *yanggong* is said to be infinitely inferior to the intangible and hidden accumulation of merit (*yingong* 陰功) practiced by Taoist priests, whose ritual activity benefits all human beings and—while it relies on secret, inner practice—must be carried out among human beings (17.1a–19.8b).

混元化身之圖



FIGURE 53. Portrait of Laozi as Undifferentiated Beginning (I277 I.4a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1259)

Lingshu zhouhou chao 靈書肘後鈔

6 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

1279 (fasc. 1004)

“Breviary of the Numinous Writings.” This work is a collection of summary descriptions of various exorcistic techniques, probably of the Song dynasty. The term *lingshu* 靈書 is commonly used to designate fu traditions such as the True Writs (*zhenwen* 真文) of the Lingbao tradition and the “method of attracting and summoning” (*shezhao fa* 攝召法) used within the funeral liturgy of the *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法 for summoning the soul of the deceased (see 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 260.1a–28b). The present work, however, contains only methods for the living (some of which are designed to form part of *jiao* 醮 services), and at least the initial section is clearly related to the Zhengyi method of inspecting and summoning (*kaozhao fa* 考召法; 1a–2a; cf. 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*). The work begins with a description of practices of externalization of the Generals of the

Three Origins (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍), and it continues with some references to the legend of Zhao Rui 趙芮, the patriarch of the *kaozhao fa* (cf. 1015 *Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 11.2a–b and 23.8a–b). It may be noted that a *Sanyuan zhouhou lingshu* 三元肘後靈書 is quoted in 1015 *Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 6.5b for some information on the externalization of the *sanyuan jiangjun*.

Poul Andersen

Daofa zongzhi tu yanyi 道法宗旨圖衍義

2 juan

By Deng Nan 鄧栲, *zi* Yizheng 以正, *hao* Tiejai zi 鐵崖子, and Zhang Xixian 章希賢, *hao* Yangwu 養吾; preface dated 1299

1277 (fasc. 1004)

“Fundamental Principles of Taoist Rites Illustrated and Explained.” This text offers a lay person’s introduction the underlying philosophy of Thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法).

Of the authors, only Zhang Xixian is mentioned. He is referred to as a *canxue* 參學 (administrator) of the prefectural academy of Linchuan 臨川 in Jiangxi. He is the author of the explanations. Deng Nan drew the illustrations and may have been a *daoshi* (see fig. 53).

Among the prefatory matter, the first text, dated 1308, is by the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (d. 1316). It expresses the patriarch's admiration for the fact that Zhang Xixian managed to unite the teachings of the Three Teachings into a coherent discourse. Next comes Zhang's own preface, dated 1299, followed by a shorter one by Wang Wanqing 汪萬頃 (*hao* Kongxuan zi 空玄子), dated 1304. A concluding note by the author gives an account of the miraculous feats attributed to Kongxuan zi. It relates that one of Wang's student made his teacher's portrait shortly after his death in 1308. This act moved the sage to return to life. He thereupon wrote a last poem of farewell, burst out laughing, threw the brush away, and then died again. He was, however, seen about in Fujian until 1330.

The first juan of the work is devoted to cosmology in the Three Teachings discourse; this juan considers the works of Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) and other Confucian worthies and evolves toward the theory of *leifa*, quoting Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153; 2.11b).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.6 Shenxiao Fa and Related Thunder Rites

The name of Shenxiao 神霄 (Divine Empyrean) for the supreme Heaven situated above the traditional pantheon is supposed to have been introduced by LIN LINGSU, a court Taoist in the later period of the reign of Song Zhenzong (997–1022). Both the official histories (*Song shi* 462) and Taoist hagiography (LZTT 53.1a–16a) report that Lin was invited to court in the beginning of the Zhenghe period (1111–1118), at which time he had said: “In Heaven there are nine supreme [spheres], of which the Jade Purity Divine Empyrean [Shenxiao yuqing 神霄玉清] is the highest. . . . The sovereign there is the eldest son of the Highest Ancestor [Shangdi 上帝]. He presides over the South, and his name is the Great Sovereign of Long Life [Changsheng dadi 長生大帝]. Your majesty is he.” Following Lin's visit, the emperor assumed the title Lord of the Tao (Daojun 道君), and all over the empire temples were erected in his honor. They were called Palaces for the Longevity of the Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao wanshou gong 神霄萬壽宮). Many other members of the imperial family were also identified as divine beings, and received Shenxiao registers (*Shenxiao bilu* 神霄秘籙) in confirmation. LIN LINGSU is credited with having been versed in the Five Thunder rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法) that enabled him to summon rain. At the capital, he also conducted *zhai* 齋 services on a grand scale for the salvation of the dead.

Among the many texts on Shenxiao rites and the Shenxiao pantheon preserved in

the *Daozang*, none can be attributed directly to LIN LINGSU himself or dated to the time when he was active (until 1116). The only work that bears his name is a song titled “Jinhuo tianding shenxiao sanqi huoling ge 金火天丁神霄三氣火鈴歌” in *1220 Dao-fa huiyuan* 199.1a–5b, which is certainly spurious. Even the creation of an additional Shenxiao pantheon on top of the traditional one cannot with certainty be ascribed to him. Yet the fact that this addition occurred during the Song period (960–1279) is significant. The deities of the Shenxiao pantheon, which got its final form much later, all preside over, or play a role in, different kinds of rites (*fa* 法), in contrast to the more abstract and general pantheon headed by the Three Pure Ones. Great numbers of popular deities were enrolled as agents of the exorcist Thunder rites and were assigned to the new organizations of the heavenly government, such as the Ministry of North Apex of the Expulsion of Evil Forces (*Beiji quxie yuan* 北極驅邪院).

The Shenxiao rites also became part of the services for the salvation of the souls of the dead, especially the Orphan Souls (*gubun* 孤魂) of those who died an unnatural or violent death. The ritual of feeding these suffering souls followed the Buddhist practice of the Avalambana ritual, but Taoism added extensive rites for healing the dead of their diseases and injuries and then refining their substance in order to transform them into immortals (*liandu* 鍊度). This ritual became the prominent form of liturgy.

LIN LINGSU’s successor at Huizong’s court was Wang Jun 王俊 (or Wang Wenqing 王文卿; 1093–1153). Although it is said that Wang was recommended by Lin, there is no proof that the two men were connected or that Wang was Lin’s disciple. Wang was also famous for his Five Thunder rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法) of the Shenxiao pantheon. Several texts state that Wang obtained his art from the fire master (*huoshi* 火師) Wang Zihua 汪子華 of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Wang Wenqing is the author of a number of treatises on *leifa* 雷法. Some of his disciples are also known. The lineage extended well into the Southern Song (1127–1279) period, especially in South China, the native region of both LIN LINGSU and Wang Wenqing.

The Shenxiao rites as we know them from the *Daozang*, however, all seem to have passed through the hands of BO YUCHAN. Bo also greatly enhanced and enlarged the Shenxiao legacy. He called himself the Little Clerk of the Divine Empyrean (*shenxiao sanli* 神霄散吏) as a sign of his devotion to this tradition. Under his direct or posthumous patronage, the Five Thunder rites thrived, and in the commentary of the Jade Pillar scripture (see below), more than 200 kinds of thunder are enumerated (see *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*).

It was probably BO YUCHAN who introduced Jiutian yingyuan leishen puhua tianzun 九天應元雷聲普化天尊 as an addition to the Shenxiao pantheon. This deity was the revealer of the Scripture of the Jade Pivot (*16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*), a work that became the canon of the Thunder rites. Formed after the model of the Buddhist Samantabhadra, the Puhua tianzun represents the

esoteric practice of the thunder (*vajra*) in all its aspects; he represents life, and thus the life-giving rites, in contrast to the Taiyi jiuku tianzun 太乙救苦天尊, the master of death. The Puhua tianzun, the Jiuku tianzin, and the Nanji Changsheng dadi 南極長生大帝 introduced by LIN LINGSU are the three major deities of the Shenxiao pantheon of the Nine Sovereigns (*jiuchen* 九宸), in complement, but not superior, to the traditional Nine Majesties (*jiuyu* 九御) headed by the Three Pure Ones. In this way, the new exorcistic rites became fully integrated into the Taoist liturgy. The dual pantheon, moreover, gave a theological foundation to the separation of the liturgy into rituals for the living and rituals for the dead. Both forms of ritual are represented in the Shenxiao fa, which enlarged substantially the importance of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* by creating the sixty-chapter version that now stands at the beginning of the *Daozang*. The dual pantheon also integrated a vast number of popular demon-quelling spirits, the rites of whom have been preserved in 1166 *Fahai yizhu* and 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* (the article concerning this large collection of texts has been placed in part 3.B.7, on the Qingwei 清微 school).

Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing 靈寶無量度人上品妙經

61 juan

After 1112

1 (fasc. 1–13)

“Wonderful Superior Book of Immeasurable Salvation from [the Canon of] the Marvelous Jewel.” This version of the *Duren jing* includes the original fourth-century text (juan 1, pages 15a–16a and 18a–20b, however, do not belong to the original work; see section 1.B.3.a) plus sixty juan that were added after 1112, probably by LIN LINGSU. This date is provided by 1282 *Gaoshang shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi* 1b, where the revelation of the *Lingbao zhenjing* 靈寶真經 is announced “after the year *renchen* of the Zhenghe era [1112].” The same text then gives (2b–4b) the content of a *Gaoshang shenxiao taishang dongxhuan lingbao duren jing* in sixty-one juan, which corresponds indeed to the content of the present work. The new *Duren jing* that consequently belonged to the Shenxiao scriptures (the term *shenxiao* is found all through the text on pages 22.12a, 40.17b, etc.) was to be considered on the same level with the Tongzhen 通真 scriptures (1282 *Shoujing shi* 4b), which may be the reason this *Duren jing* is placed at the head of the Taoist canon.

The title Changsheng dadi jun 長生大帝君 in juan 31 refers to Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125). The arrangement of the sixty additional juan could well correspond to a sixty-day cycle of recitations. At the same time, these sixty juan represent a journey descending from the Great Tao to the hells, and ending with “the eternal cessation of reincarnation.”

The form of each juan is identical and is patterned upon the ancient *Duren jing*,

but each juan also presents itself as a statement on a distinct practice, sometimes including symbols (*fu* 符). Occasionally, interesting ritual (3.13a–b) or cosmological (40.4b–5a) indications are found. The frequent use of the alchemical term *zhentu* 真土 (True Earth; 13.3b, 31.6b, 52.3b, etc.) is noteworthy, as is the occurrence of phrases that were to become key expressions in the Lingbao dafa: “causing zhenren to descend and marshaling the spirits” (*jiangzhen zhaoling* 降真召靈; title of juan 23) and “silent audience of the supreme god” (*mochao shangdi* 默朝上帝; 31.6a). It may be noted that Beiji dadi 北極大帝 is said to have taught Mingwei 明威 (i.e., Mengwei 盟威) zhenren an exorcistic method linked to the Beidou 北斗 seven stars (37.13b).

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John Lagerwey

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhiyin

元始無量度人上品妙經直音

23 fols.

2 (fasc. 13)

“True Sounds of the Wonderful Scripture of the Primordial Beginning on Universal Salvation.” This text contains the phonetic glosses—the correct sounds (*zhiyin* 直音) of the title—for the recitation of the sixty-one juan of 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* (cf. Strickmann, “The longest Taoist scripture,” 341).

John Lagerwey

Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu

靈寶無量度人上品妙經符圖

3 juan

Preface attributed to Emperor Huizong of the Song (r. 1100–1125)

147 (fasc. 67)

“Fu and Charts of the Book of Salvation.” This text, a kind of commentary on the *Duren jing*, is one of the Shenxiao 神霄 writings (Strickmann, “The longest Taoist scripture,” 344–46). Strickmann suggests that the reference in the preface attributed to Huizong (2b) to the “elimination of heterodox methods and the flourishing of the True Way” in the years *renchen* 壬辰 and *gengzi* 庚子 (1112 and 1120) may refer to the persecution of Buddhism under Huizong. It should be pointed out, however, that the attribution of the preface is open to question: it is neither signed nor dated, and the author refers to himself by using not the imperial *zhen* 朕 but the ordinary *wo* 我.

Strickmann also mentions the cosmic charts found both in this text (2.5b, 3.4b–5b) and in *1219 Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* (2.18b, 2b–3a). These and other elements of the Shenxiao movement were to become standard features of the later *Lingbao dafa* method: all its basic fu, and such key practices as the *liandu* 鍊度 (3.6a–b; *1219 Zishu dafa* II.30b) and the *yuangang liuyan* 元綱流演 (3.16a; *1219 Zishu dafa* I.19b) are already found, or at least mentioned, in these Shenxiao texts.

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John Lagerwey

Gaoshang shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi 高上神霄宗師受經式

7 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

1282 (fasc. 1005)

“Protocol of the Reception of the Scriptures of the Patriarch of the Highest Divine Empyrean.” This work is an introduction to the revelation of *1 Lingbao wuliang dueren shangpin miaojing*, that is, the Song version of the Book of Salvation in sixty-one juan (see part 3.B.1). The present work tells the story of the revelation of the text by the Worthy of the Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi zhi zun 元始之尊) and of its transmission, first to Yuchen taishang daojun 玉宸太上道君 and then from the latter to the True King (Shenxiao Yuqing zhenwang 神霄玉清真王), divine patriarch of the Shenxiao 神霄 order. The latter figure—after having entrusted his younger brother, the Qinghua dijun 青華帝君, with his functions in Heaven—descended to Earth in order to become the ruler of humankind, that is to say, Emperor Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125). In conjunction with this divine reign, in the year *renchen* of the Zhenghe era (1012), the great Book of Salvation was revealed, and with it the register that empowered its possession, the *Gaoshan shenxiao yuqing milu* 高上神霄玉清秘籙 in three juan.

The present work contains the complete list of titles of the sixty-one chapters of this version of the Book of Salvation (2b–4a); then it presents the register and other divine works revealed by the divine redeemer Emperor Huizong, or compiled under his auspices: the imperial commentaries on the *Daode jing* 道德經 and the *Zhuangzi*, the hymns and hagiographies written by him or under his direction, and finally the editing of the Taoist canon (5a–6b). The work ends with a short presentation of the ordination regulations and degrees pertaining to the Shenxiao order.

Although there is some historical foundation for a relation between certain elements of the Taoist theocracy of Huizong and the Shenxiao revelations, it is obvious that the present work is an attempt to muster the emperor’s patronage for the order as it developed in later times. The simple reference throughout the text to “Song Hui-

zong” indicates that it could not have been written during the emperor’s reign. The Shenxiao rituals became popular in Southern Song times, and the present work must have been written in connection with this late development.

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Taishang sanshiliu bu zunjing 太上三十六部尊經

6 juan

8 (fasc. 18–19)

“Venerable Scripture of the Most High in Thirty-six Sections.” According to the author of 4 *Wushang neibi zhenzang jing* (4.1b), a scripture of this title had been written to demonstrate that the Taoist books of the Six Dynasties (220–589), divided into Three Caverns of twelve sections each, had been superseded by a new literature. The present book is the summary of that literature. Just before giving a list of the thirty-six sections, 4 *Zhenzang jing* attacks the “ignorant” who divide Taoist books into such sections without realizing that “all beings alike constitute the matter of scripture” (cf. 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 54.5b–7a). In similar fashion, 9 *Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing* criticizes those “poor Taoists who, failing to understand my meaning, preach the scriptures of the Three Caverns in thirty-six sections and, on the basis of these texts, develop a spirit of certitude” (10.8b–9a).

A certain number of passages in the present text are virtually identical to passages in 9 *Haikong jing* (for example, 1.12a–b and 6.15a–b here correspond to 7.14a–b and 7.11b–12a, respectively, in the latter). In another parallel passage, the two texts refer in complementary fashion to the early Heavenly Master movement: according to 9 *Haikong jing* (7.16b–17a), the “powerful spirits [*guishen* 鬼神] of the five roads” lost the Way because of four demons (*mo* 魔); here (2.6b–7b) they are said to have lost the Way because they had recourse to libationers (*jijiu* 祭酒). The number and the nature of such parallel passages suggest that these two texts were written, if not by the same author(s), at least at the same time and in the same place.

Other elements, however, suggest a much later date. Most notably, a certain number of probably Northern Song (960–1127) practices are mentioned: the methods of the Four Saints (*sisheng* 四聖) and of the Heart of Heaven (*tianxin* 天心; 6.6b); a ritual of the Eleven Luminaries (*yao* 曜, 3.12a); and a series of thirty-six fu to be used in conjunction with 318 *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* in rituals for the salvation of the souls of the dead. The notion that the practice of returning the elixir can harm both nature and life (*xingming* 性命; 5.12a) also seems to point to the Song period.

The presence of these elements in the text suggests that it was written in the Northern Song and made to correspond to the table of contents of 4 *Zhenzang jing*. Ideologically, it is, nonetheless, close to the scriptures of early Tang Taoist monasticism.

John Lagerwey

Mingzhen powang zhangsong 明真破妄章頌

7 fols.

By Zhang Jixian 張繼先, *hao* Xujing zhenren 續靜真人, the Thirtieth Heavenly Master (1092–1126)

979 (fasc. 615)

“Stanzas of Understanding Truth and Refuting Error.” This text contains a series of forty-three didactic, four-line, seven-syllable poems on ritual, mainly *liandu* 鍊度 and Thunder rites. For the expression *mingzhen* 明真 in the title, compare the poem on page 6a: “Dang mingzhen yao 當明真要.” The 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 71 reproduces the present text under the title *Xujing tianshi powang zhang* 虛靖天師破妄章. This version has one additional poem (on 7a), entitled “Sanjiao yili 三教一理,” and several variant titles.

The work is not mentioned in Zhang Jixian’s extant biographies, nor is it included in 1249 *Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu*. It appears to have been considered spurious already at an early date.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing yusi zuoyuan biyao shangfa 太清玉司左院祕要上法

12 fols.

By Xiaying 霞映, *hao* Dongshan zhenren 洞山真人

1247 (fasc. 991)

“Secret, Essential, and Superior Methods from the Left Hall of the Highest Purity Jade Office.” This is a short manual for exorcism (*kaozhao fa* 考召法; see page 8b). As the name of the author does not appear to be complete, he may be tentatively identified as Li Yingxin 李應新, *hao* Dongxuan zhenren, a patriarch of the *hundun xuanmen dafa* 混沌玄門大法, a Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法) in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 110.1b (also 109.12b).

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Leifa yixuan pian 雷法議玄篇

15 fols.

By Patriarch Wan zongshi 萬宗師, *hao* Yuanxu zhenren 元虛真人

1254 (fasc. 997)

“Explanations on the Mysteries of Thunder Magic.” This is collection of short essays on *leifa* 雷法. Only the first piece is by Patriarch Wan. He claims to be a disciple of Wang Jun 王俊, alias Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153), the founder of the Five Thunder rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法) of the Shenxiao 神霄 school (3a) who is otherwise unknown. Wan relates in his introduction that he first studied the *leifa* from books but failed to understand it. After having been properly initiated, however, he obtained the essentials of the art, and the present work is intended to share these with other adepts. His essay contains a number of more theoretical considerations on the exorcistic practices of Thunder magic.

A second essay is titled “Leifa yuanhai zhengyanshu 雷法淵海正演數” (Correct Explanations on the Arts [reading 術 for 數] from the Ocean of Thunder Magic). The anonymous author wrote a long didactic poem that he had printed in 1248. Probably the poem “Yuxiao yin, zeng Shi’an xiansheng 玉霄吟贈識庵先生” (Song of the Jade Empyrean, presented to Master Shi’an) is by the same author. From the context, we can suppose that the recipient of the poem was surnamed He 何; beside He, the poem mentions a Master Kuang 廓. Neither person has been indentified.

The work continues with a short treatise on the “Chuahuo zhenxing 欸火真形” (True Form of the Violent Fire), the talisman of the God of Thunder. The author explains that during the years 1078–1085 this efficacious talisman belonged to Patriarch Zeng 曾宗師. The author obtained it in 1133 in Jinling 金陵 (Nanking). Now, as he is advancing in age, he proposes to print it.

The work ends with a note on the sacrifice to the spirits of the Four Directions on the Thunder Altar (“Taiji leitan ji siweishen fa 太極雷壇祭四維神法”). It contains a number of theriomorphic talismans.

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Taiyi huofu zougao qirang yi 太乙火府奏告祈禳儀

17 fols.

217 (fasc. 84)

“Ritual of Announcement for an Exorcism, from the Fire Court of the Great Monad.” This text gives in succinct form the ritual found in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 188–94 (cf. van der Loon, “A Taoist collection”). According to the introduction to these juan, written in 1271 by Huang Yixuan 黃一炫, “the thunder of the Fire court of the Great Monad . . . is a manifestation [*huashen* 化身] of the true qi of the Northern Dipper.” The Great Monad is the “master of the methods” that are linked to the heavenly body

known as Yuebo 月孛. Huang also recounts the story of the first six of the seven ancestral masters of the lineage invoked in the present text (1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 188.3b).

In addition to an invocation, a triple offering, and the presentation of a memorial, the present text contains a litany on the redemptive powers of the lords of the Seven Principles of the Northern Dipper. The Fire Court is the residence of the Celestial Emperor of the Great Redness. We learn from 1166 *Fahai yizhu* 3–5 that this emperor is none other than the Great Monad.

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo chaotian xielei zhenjing 太上說朝天謝雷真經

18 fols.

17 (fasc. 25)

“Scripture on Petitioning Heaven for the Propitiation of Thunder.” The thirty-six Thunder Gods are in charge of the punishment of evil. The present book tells how to avert their wrath, especially for deceased persons. A number of talismans “in seal script,” should be put in the coffin. After closing it, a hole should be made in the wood, enabling the talismans to communicate with the powers of the Thunder.

This scripture, of a popular idiom, is otherwise unknown. A few formal parallels loosely link it to the two Thunder books preceding it in the *Daozang* (15 *Wushang jiu-xiao yuqing dafan ziwai xuandu leiting yujing* and 16 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*). It prescribes the incantation of the name of the Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun 九天應元雷聲普化天尊, and speaks of the great power of Marshal Deng 鄧元帥, one of the major exorcist gods of the Thunder rites (12a).

An appendix (15b–18a) contains four laudatory hymns by different divine worthies, each one having apposed his seal as a guarantee for the divine transmission of these texts, which appear to be of mediumistic origin; the “canonical titles” given to these worthies are spurious. A final paragraph, dictated by Qingdi tianjun 青帝天君, calls upon the faithful to distribute this scripture in print.

Kristofer Schipper

Deng tianjun xuanling bamen baoying neizhi 鄧天君玄靈八門報應內旨

14 fols.

1266 (fasc. 1002)

“Esoteric Meaning of Retribution through the Eight Gates of Dark Transcendence, [Transmitted by] the Heavenly Lord Deng.” The eight gates of dark transcendence refer to the disposition of the nine palaces in the Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲) method. The Heavenly Lord Deng is a deity of the Five Thunders ritual (1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 80, “Yanhuo lüling Deng tianjun dafa 焱火律令鄧天君大法”). He was worshipped on the Wudang shan (962 *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 1.7a). Our text also mentions the

divine marshal Wen yuanshuai 溫元帥 (14a, on Wen, see 780 *Diqi shangjiang Wen tai-bao zhuan*).

The author claims to be inspired, among others, by theories developed by Xu Shouxin 徐守信 (1033–1108) under the name *Damen chui ge jue* 打門槌歌訣 (1a and 7a). The text itself is a collection of magical recipes, short circumambulatory rites, and mantic formulas of various origins. It seems to have been conceived primarily for therapeutic rituals.

Marc Kalinowski

Fahai yizhu 法海遺珠

46 juan

Ming (1368–1644)

1166 (fasc. 825–833)

“Pearls Retrieved from the Sea of Rites.” This is a loose collection of various methods of Five Thunder magic (*wulei fa* 五雷法). Many of the rites are close to those given in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan*, albeit in a less complete form (compare, for instance, the rites of Marshal Deng 鄧元帥 in juan 23 to 26 of the present work with those in juan 80 in the *Daofa huiyuan*).

This compilation dates to the Ming, as among the deities we find Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, an appellation for Xuanwu 玄武 only used beginning in Ming times. A preface (45.7b) by Zhang Shunlie 章舜烈, a master of the Tianpeng 天蓬 exorcism and healing tradition gives the year 1344. This is the only explicit date in the entire work.

Among the methods that stand out prominently are those related to the Shenxiao 神霄 tradition of the *Yushu jing* (see 16 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*). Juan 1, 2, and 11 of the present work contain the Inner Sublimation (*neilian* 內煉) rites of this tradition. In 11.12b, the ritual calls for the recitation of the *Taishang huanglao dijun shuo yunlei tiantong zhenjing* 太上黃老帝君說運雷天童真經. The text, as it is given, is a version combining 632 *Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miao-jing* and of 633 *Taishang taiqing huanglao dijun yunlei tiantong yinfan xianjing*. These texts were revealed to Liang Guangying 梁光映, alias Liang Wuzhen 梁悟真, on Maoshan, in 1109 or 1112.

From juan 12 on, the *Fahai yizhu* gives all kinds of rituals related to the worship of the Dipper stars (*doufa* 斗法), such as the methods using the divine help of the goddess Jiutian xiannu 九天玄女 (preface signed by Li Xisheng 李希聖). Another highly popular deity is Guandi 關帝 (here rendered Guan yuanshuai 關元帥), who has rituals in juan 39 and again in juan 43.

Juan 14 also contains rites of the Beidou 北斗, but this time of the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) of BO YUCHAN. In juan 14 we find the interesting method of calling

cranes (*zhaohu* 召鶴), whether a single bird as a means of transportation upon achieving immortality or a whole flock for enlivening a successfully concluded liturgical service.

Juan 15 has a ritual for the transmission of the *wulei fa*. The rites of purification and Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱) are in general very close to the southern Taiwanese practice that still exists today.

Also close to today's practice are certain aspects of the exorcist "lifting the earth" (*qitu* 起土) rites in juan 30 and, equally linked to the Great Year stellar deity (Taisui 太歲), the rites of Marshal Yin 殷元帥 in juan 44. In our text we find (5b–8b) the names and talismans corresponding to the twelve generals who assist Marshal Yin in his duties. The names are those of the Twelve Royal Lords (*wangye* 王爺) venerated on the occasion of the Royal Offerings (*wangjiao* 王醮) prevalent today in southern Taiwan and southern Fujian.

Kristofer Schipper

Wushang jiuxiao yuqing dafan ziwei xuandu leiting yujing

無上九霄玉清大梵紫微玄都雷霆玉經

28 fols.

15 (fasc. 24)

"Precious Book of the Thunder [Rites] from the Nine Empyrian Jade Purity Great Brahma Pole Star Dark Capital." This undated modern scripture of the Shangqing Lingbao liturgy contains a rather systematic presentation of the Shenxiao 神霄 pantheon and the rituals connected with it. Most of the major deities from this pantheon, or assimilated with it, are presented here, as well as some cosmological theories related to the Thunder rites. Uppermost are the Nine Sovereigns (Jiuchen 九宸) of the Nine Stellar Palaces, to whom memorials (*zou* 奏) are addressed. Then come the Nine Offices (*jiusi* 九司), in charge of receiving the reports (*shen* 申; 11a–b).

BO YUCHAN in one of his letters to his disciple Peng Helin 彭鶴林, dated 1217, mentions the printing of the present scripture by Peng and its distribution in the Jiangxi area (see 1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 4.19b).

Among the titles of gods mentioned we find the Jiuzhou duxian taishi gaoming dashi 九州都仙太史高明大使 [XU XUN] and the Jiutian yingyuan leishen puhua tianzun 九天應元雷聲普化天尊, the principal deity of 16 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*. These titles are not known before the thirteenth century.

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Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing

九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經

11 fols.

16 (fasc. 25)

“Precious Book of the Jade Pivot, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy of Universal Transformation of the Sound of the Thunder of Responding Origin in the Nine Heavens.” This undated work is quoted in the commentary dated 1103 by Zhu Weiyi 朱惟一 of the *Leiting aozhi* 雷霆奧旨 (1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 76.13b), attributed to BO YUCHAN. This suggests that the present work on Five Thunder ritual belongs to the early years of the Shenxiao 神霄 tradition. An edition with a colophon dated 1333 is preserved in the British Library (see Little, *Taoism and the arts of China*, 237–39). Bo’s involvement in the diffusion of the Shenxiao *leiting* rites is confirmed in many places. His 1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 4.19b mentions the printing and diffusion by his disciple Peng Helin 彭鶴林 of a *Leiting yujing*. This mention may refer to 15 *Wushang jiuxiao yuqing dafan ziwei xuandu leiting yujing* as well as to the present work, which in the colophon of 99 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun baojing jizhu* by Thirty-ninth Heavenly Master Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 is also called *Leiting yujing* and dated 1333.

The *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun* is the Taoist form of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Puxian 普賢). His presence in the Taoist pantheon is closely linked to the present scripture.

The 16 *Yushu baojing* is one of the most prominent scriptures in modern liturgy and an important treatise on the Shenxiao Thunder rites. The style, the frequent occurrence of abstruse characters, as well as the fact that the commentary 99 *Baojing jizhu* is attributed to Bo, makes the latter a likely candidate for its authorship.

Kristofer Schipper

Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing jizhu

九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經集註

2 juan

By Xu Daoling 徐道齡, *hao* Xuanyang zi 玄陽子; colophon dated 1333

99 (fasc. 50)

“Collected Glosses on the Precious Book of the Jade Pivot,” referring to 16 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*. The main glosses (*zhu* 註) are attributed to the patriarch BO YUCHAN whose relationship to the Jade Pivot scripture is well known, whereas the first Heavenly Master is credited with explaining the general meaning (*yi* 義), the Thunder deity Zhang tianjun 張天君 with the interpretation (*shi* 釋), and LÜ DONGBIN with the hymns (*zan* 贊). The text quotes no other source.

According to a colophon by the Thirty-ninth Heavenly Master Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子 (d. 1344), the present work was “found” and printed by Xuanyang zi, i.e., Xu Daoling. In 1334, the same scholar published a commentary on the *Beidou jing* 北斗經 (750 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu*) that in many respects resembles the present. Like these glosses on the Jade Pivot, the commentary on the *Beidou jing* also appears to be based on divine inspiration, in the latter case by Zitong dijun 梓童帝君.

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Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baochan

九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶懺

11 fols.

195 (fasc. 82)

“Precious Litany of the Heavenly Worthy of Universal Transformation on the Sound of Thunder.” This Heavenly Worthy is the Taoist Samantabhadra, the revealer of 16 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing* (see the present text, 5a), of which this ritual is a cognate. It does not follow the usual litany style of reciting long lists of Tianzun, but is more in the style of a homage (*liwen* 禮文). Pages 8a–9b list the deities of the Shenxiao pantheon, including the Jiuchen 九宸.

Kristofer Schipper

Leiting yushu youzui fachan 雷霆玉樞宥罪法懺

9 fols.

196 (fasc. 82)

“Ritual Litany for the Forgiving of Sins from the Jade Pillar of Thunder.” The 196 *Youzui fachan* short ritual, cognate to 16 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*. The *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun* 九天應元雷聲普化天尊 is invoked as the Lord of the Thirty-six Heavens.

A hymn in seven-character verses on 4a–b has a distinctly popular flavor.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuansi miezui zifu xiaozai fachan 太上玄司滅罪紫府消災法懺

10 fols.

536 (fasc. 295)

“Litany of the Most High for Blotting out Sins in the Dark Tribunal and Averting Disaster in the Purple Office.” Recited by a priest on behalf of a lay believer, this ritual enables one to avoid any star-fated catastrophe and to appear innocent in the courts of the underworld.

The high rank in the celestial hierarchy accorded Leisheng puhua tianzun 雷聲普化天尊 marks this text as modern.

John Lagerwey

Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa 高上神霄玉清真王紫書大法

12 juan

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

1219 (fasc. 881–883)

“Great Magic from the Purple Book of the True King of the Highest Divine Empyrean Jade Purity.” This is a complete manual of exorcism in the tradition of the Five Thunder magic. By a number of elements, notably diagrams (juan 1) and initiation titles (5.6a), it is indeed linked to other Shenxiao manuals, but without the “salvation by refining” (*liandu* 鍊度) component. The undated and unsigned preface explains that the True King, who is the patron deity of this form of exorcism, is the eldest of eight sons of the Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王 and his spouse, the Jiutian shangxuan yuqing shenmu 九天上玄玉清神母. The True King is also known as Nanji changshen dadi 南極長生大帝. By his own volition, he descended to Earth to save mankind.

This account is slightly altered in the book itself, as on page 1.3b, the Yuanshi tianwang declares: “I have ordered the Taihuang wanfu zhenjun 太皇萬福真君 to open the

book cases of the Purple Empyrean and give them to the eldest son of the Jade Emperor [Yudi] so that the teachings of Heaven be promulgated and mankind may be saved and return to the correct Tao.” In the genealogical chart given on 1.14b, it is also shown that Yuhuang descends from Yuanshi tianwang, and that the Shenxiao yuqing wang is the oldest of the eight sons of Yuhuang. On page 1.15b, the deity is again identified as the son of the Yuanshi tianwang. Probably, Yuhuang is considered here as the hypostasis of the Yuanshi tianwang.

At the beginning of juan 1, it is specified that the True King was ordered by Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 to become the ruler of all men (that is, the emperor of China; 1.1a). This is spelled out in greater detail on page 3a, where the revelation of the *Shenxiao fa* is linked to the crucial year *jiachen* 甲辰 of the Lord of the Tao’s (Daojun 道君) ascendancy. As in other texts in this part, these are references to the reign of Song Huizong (1100–1125) as a Taoist

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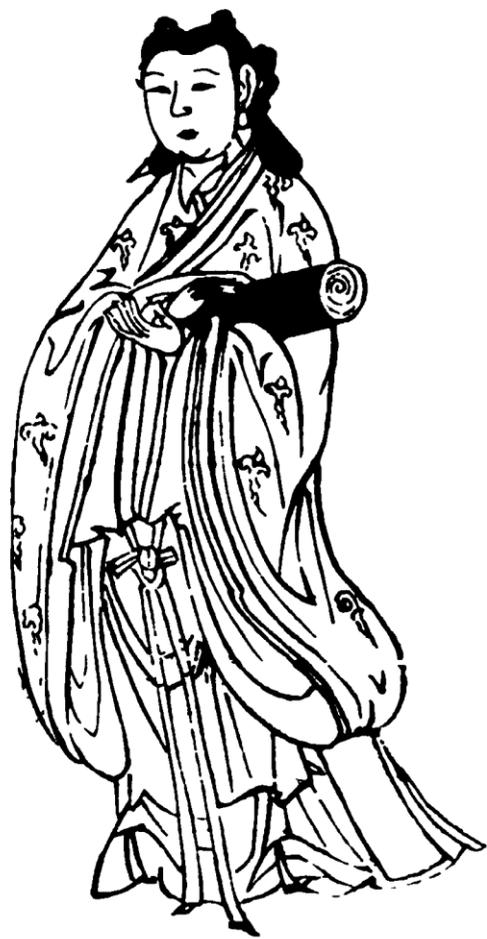


FIGURE 54. Female deity holding the register (1219 II.35a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1202)

redeemer. Similar prophecies are found in the preface of 147 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* attributed to Song Huizong concerning the year *renchen* 壬辰. These years could then correspond to the years 1124 and 1112 respectively.

In fact, however, nothing in the present work allows us to consider it as a product of the reign of Huizong and the liturgy of LIN LINGSU. The latter part of the work contains the documents for the transmission of the present ritual tradition, and there the True King is already the patron saint (*zushi* 祖師) of the order (12.9b). A passage beginning on 5.6a gives the full range of ordination titles and their correspondence with the ordinary degrees of the Taoist clergy. These grades appear to be those of the modern Zhengyi order, such as Zhengyi mengwei 正一盟威, Sanwu dugong 三五都功, Shangqing dadong 上清大洞, (5.2a–b) and this is confirmed for the offices (*zhi* 職) the masters receive (see 5.6b). The present work was therefore compiled at a time the Shenxiao revelation was already fully institutionalized and coupled with the liturgical organization of the Zhengyi order.

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3.B.7 The Qingwei School

Among the modern lineages of Thunder rites for exorcism and salvation, the Qingwei 清微 school has a special importance. As the latest of the different ritual currents, it appears as a successor to most others, extending its patriarchy well into the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). It endeavors to encompass the different traditions, such as Zhengyi 正一, Lingbao 靈寶, and Daode 道德, and reveres the Shangqing 上清 female patriarch WEI HUACUN as one of its founders. The school was officially recognized and adopted by the Zhengyi order. Its patriarchs are mentioned among those of the various schools in the prayers of 503 *Yulu shengshen zidu zhuanjing yi*, a ritual performed at the Ming court. In the ordination tables of the Qing (1644–1911) period of the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 temple in Peking, the Qingwei school ranks second in importance to the Quanzhen 全真 order (see Oyanagi Shigeta, *Hakuunkan shi*, 103–8). Indeed, during the Qing, the daoshi of the Zhengyi order were often defined, in terms of their liturgical capacity, as “Lingbao qingwei 靈寶清微” practitioners.

The Qingwei school claims its descent from the legendary female ancestor Zu Shu 祖舒, who is said to have lived during the Five Dynasties (907–960) period in the southern region of Guangxi. She had many women disciples. HUANG SHUNSHEN, a local official in Guangxi during the thirteenth century, is named in the extensive genealogies of the Qingwei school as one of the founders. The multiple references

of the scholar Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241–1318) to Qingwei rites in South China suggest their popularity at that time (see his 548 *Taiji jilian neifa*, preface and *passim*). Other daoshi whose relationship with the Qingwei school is indicated by independent sources include Ye Xizhen 葉希真, also known as Ye Yunlai 葉雲萊, who was active in the late thirteenth century (see 962 *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 3.27b), and his disciple ZHANG SHOUQING. The patriarch ZHAO YIZHEN (d. 1382) also contributed to the dissemination of the Qingwei methods. After their deaths, these patriarchs were enshrined as members of the pantheon of the Qingwei school, for this movement practiced the deification of human beings even more extensively than had the preceding Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and the Shenxiao fa 神霄法.

The Qingwei school developed a distinctive style of talismanic writing, which is found in all their scriptures and rituals (see, for instance, the rendition of the text of 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* in 80 *Yunzhuan duren miaojing*). Considering itself a successor to the Shenxiao school, the movement was mainly concerned with Thunder methods (*leifa* 雷法) for the purpose of saving the souls of the dead. However, the extensive manual of Qingwei rites included at the beginning of 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* (juan 1–55) also contains rites for obtaining offspring (juan 42) and protection against epidemics, war, locusts, tigers, and other calamities. The last chapter of the manual (juan 55) is devoted to the treatment of mental illness.

The relationship between the Qingwei school and the *Yuhuang benxing jijing* 玉皇本行集經 (10–11 *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing* and 1440 *Huangjing jizhu*) deserves attention. Although it is the fundamental scripture (*benwen* 本文) of the daoshi of the Lingbao qingwei school, the texts of the *Yuhuang jing* do not explicitly mention this relationship. Yet other closely related scriptures, such as 194 *Gaoshang yuhuang manyuan baozhan*, clearly indicate that they belong to the Qingwei school by invoking its patriarchs and saints (see, e.g., 1.1b–2a and 2.1b). The *Yuhuang jing* did not appear before the late Southern Song (1127–1279) period. It seems safe to assume that it was a scripture of the Qingwei school.

Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing 高上玉皇本行集經

3 juan

10 (fasc. 23)

“Combined Scriptures of the Founding Acts of the Jade Emperor on High.” This text comprises three scrolls (*juan*) and five chapters (*pin*). Since the late middle ages, Yuhuang 玉皇 has been an epithet given to the chief deity of the pantheon. In this most sacred scripture of modern Taoism, he is pictured as the leader of the host of gods assembling before the throne of the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning in the Qingwei 清微 heaven. There he multiplies his body in order to speak to all parts of the universe the Pure Doctrine of Salvation. Then he becomes one again and tells

the story of his birth as an avatar of the Most High Daojun and his subsequent cultivation of sainthood during 3,200 kalpas, before attaining the status of Golden Immortal with the title of Tathāgata (*rulai* 如來), King of Pure and Spontaneous Awakening, in order to teach all bodhisattva the true doctrine of Mahāyāna.

The scriptures making up *10 Yuhuang benxing jijing* are not mentioned before the thirteenth century. The appendix of the *Junzhai dushu zhi* of 1249 (“Fuzhi 附志,” 1161) gives a reference to an edition printed in 1240 by the Chengtian lingying guan 承天靈應觀 in Hangzhou, which was based on a version from Sichuan (*Shu ben* 蜀本), with a preface by Cheng Gongxu 程公許 (*jinshi* 1211; VDL 99). The Chengtian lingying guan is mentioned in *Xianchun Lin’an zhi* 75.8a. It was dedicated to the cult of Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君 and received its present name in 1236.

Quotations from the *10 Yuhuang benxing jijing* can be found in a number of Yuan (1279–1368) works, such as *103 Yuqing wuji zongzhen zhenwen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 5.17a, 25b. The second *pin* contains the revelation, by Yuanshi tianzun, of the True Writs in Vermilion Writing on Jade Tablets (*Lingbao chishu yupian zhenwen* 靈寶赤書玉篇真文) from *22 Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*.

The extent to which the present work may be a reconstitution based on the lost early Lingbao scripture *Lingbao zhenwen duren benxing miaoqing* 靈寶真文度人本行妙經 (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 265) is difficult to determine.

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***Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經**

3 juan, 6 fols. + 3 fols.; appendix (*Songjing ganying* 誦經感應), 4 fols.

Attributed to Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 187 B.C.)

11 (fasc. 23–24)

“Combined Scriptures of the Founding Acts by the Jade Emperor on High.” This undated commentary, spuriously attributed to Zhang Liang in his function as supreme minister of the Heavenly Pivot (*Tianshu shangxiang* 天樞上相), is placed directly after the “fundamental scriptures” (*benwen* 本文) text of the corresponding scripture of the same title in the Ming canon, *10 Yuhuang benxing jijing*. It is difficult to say whether this placement is the result of an oversight by the compilers or whether this commentary was equally considered to be a *benwen*. The text yields no clues as to the date of its compilation. The commentary is preceded and followed by a number of equally spurious documents pertaining to the collation and transmission of the text by two unknown saints named Lin Shaohua 林少華 and Cang Rujia 蒼汝嘉.

The appendix contains seven anecdotes illustrating the miraculous powers of the text, all dating from the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) periods. The sources of these anecdotes are unknown.

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Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jingsui 高上玉皇本行經髓

6 fols. + 3 fols. appendix, “Chuanjing yuanliu 傳經源流”

Transmitted by Liu Chuyuan 劉處源 (fl. 1344)

12 (fasc. 24)

“Essentials of the Combined Scriptures of the Founding Acts of the Jade Emperor on High.” This is an abbreviated version of 10 *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing*. According to the appended account, this abstract was passed on to Liu Chuyuan by an immortal in the year 1344. Liu was a Qingwei 清微 master of the twenty-fourth generation after the founding goddess Qingzhen Zixu yuanjun 清真紫虛元君 (WEI HUACUN).

Kristofer Schipper

Gaoshang yuhuang xinyin jing 高上玉皇心印經

1 fol.

13 (fasc. 24)

“Scripture of the Seal of the Heart of the Jade Emperor.” This text is a didactic poem in four-word verses, without any indication as to authorship or date. The mention of the practice of the Silent Audience before the Emperor-on-High (*mochao shangdi* 默朝上帝) refers to an important meditative and liturgical practice of the Southern Song (1127–1279) period.

The present text is included in the liturgy of 529 *Lingbao wujing tigang*, which is also probably a Southern Song work.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao chaotian xiezui dachan 太上靈寶朝天謝罪大懺

10 juan

189 (fasc. 79–80)

“Great Litany of Atonement, for the Audience in Heaven of the Lingbao Liturgy.” This longest of all Taoist litanies, listing no less than 1,200 Heavenly Worthies *tianzun* (天尊), is of a late date. Among the great Heavenly Worthies invoked at the beginning of each litany, we find, for instance, the Zhenming dasheng jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun, the Taoist Samantabhadra, introduced by 16 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*. Its recitation is mentioned in 467 *Da Ming xuanjiao licheng zhajiao yi* 10b (dated 1374).

Kristofer Schipper

Yuhuang youzui xifu baochan 玉皇宥罪錫福寶懺

24 fols.

By Xin Hanchen 辛漢臣; fourteenth century (?)

193 (fasc. 81)

“Precious Litany of Repentance That Moves the Jade Emperor to Grant Absolution from Guilt and the Allotment of Good Fortune.” This writing is attributed to Xin Hanchen, who was “commander-in-chief of the fierce messengers of Thunder and Lightning” (*Leiting mengli dudu* 雷霆猛吏都督; see also 1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 2.14a and 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 61.2b). The work opens with a reference to 10 *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* and gives the great invocation of Yuhuang (*baohao* 寶號) from that scripture (5a).

Eulogies of the might and glory of the gods introduce this work, featuring the guilt of man and his desire to do penance. Repentance can be realized by reciting this litany. At the end of each phrase, the honorary title of a deity was to be added. These prayers had to be spoken together with a Taoist priest. Eight paragraphs follow this part of the work. They present texts were used by Taoist priests as petitions to specific deities. The priest introduces the lay person on whose behalf he is acting to these deities. He also explains the distress of his client. Litanies appropriate to each case are provided. The first and second part (1a–5b) of this work, however, do not feature such litanies.

Florian C. Reiter

Gaoshang yuhuang manyuan baochan 高上玉皇滿願寶懺

10 juan

Fourteenth century

194 (fasc. 81–82)

“Precious Litany That Moves the Jade Emperor on High to Fulfill Wishes.” This work contains ten litanies conveying requests or prayers addressed to the Jade Emperor. The text also introduces the names of the ancestors of the Qingwei 清微 school and representatives of the other Taoist groups. They are all members of the pantheon to which the envisaged religious performance is to be directed. This internal evidence points to the fourteenth century as the most likely period for the composition of the text.

A presentation of the relevant pantheon can be found at the very beginning of the text. It is headed by the deity Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, who is labeled “Leader of the Doctrine, who preaches the scriptures.” There are some practical instructions for the performance of the recitations. Participants kneel and concentrate their minds. The priest sends a petition to the deities including the names of all participants present. Then the litanies are recited, addressing Yuhuang da tianzun xuan qionggao shangdi 玉皇大天尊玄穹高上帝. The various wishes and vows are stated in the titles of the

ten chapters of this work, for example, “Chuzui 除罪” (The Elimination of Guilt; juan 4). The pious intentions formulated in this text and the very name of the main deity seem to connect this text with 193 *Yuhuang youzui xifu baochan*.

Florian C. Reiter

Qingwei xianpu 清微仙譜

17 fols.

Transmitted by HUANG SHUNSHEN 黃舜申, hao Leiyuan 雷淵 (fl. 1224–1287);
preface by Chen Cai 陳采 dated 1293

171 (fasc. 75)

“Chronology of the Immortals of the Qingwei Heaven.” This work was transmitted by the founder of the Qingwei 清微 school, HUANG SHUNSHEN (15b). His follower Chen Cai wrote the preface, which states that the tradition featured in the chronology had always been in existence under various names: Shangqing, Lingbao, Daode, and Zhengyi. These currents had been united during the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) periods by Zhaoning zu yuanjun 昭凝祖元君 and Hunyin zhenren Nangong 混隱真人南公, respectively. The contacts between Nan Bidao 南畢道 (Nangong) and HUANG SHUNSHEN resulted in the continuation of the tradition. HUANG SHUNSHEN lived in Fujian, whence he disseminated the teachings of Qingwei. Thanks to the Qingwei Taoists’ knowledge, they were able to enlist the help of the heavenly powers to produce rain or thunder. They were also able to call forth spirits and gods to heal the sick and come to the assistance of others generally (preface, 15a). The name Qingwei stands for the highest heaven, see 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 3.1a.

This text has six paragraphs, beginning with the Qingwei lineage, followed by the other names of the tradition mentioned above. The names of deities are cited, as well as their heavenly residences and their human avatars. The text also points to the scriptures or credentials that these deities or saints have passed to their successors as tokens of legitimation. HUANG SHUNSHEN is the last name in the sixth paragraph (11b–15b), which describes the unification of all the traditions, again called “Qingwei.”

The chronology of the present work can be compared with 223 *Qingwei yuanjiang dafa* 25.8b–12b, in which the titles of the deities, however, show many variants (cf. also 224 *Qingwei zhaiifa* 1.1a–13b).

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Florian C. Reiter

Qingwei yuanjiang dafa 清微元降大法

25 juan

Fourteenth century

223 (fasc. 106–110)

“Great Rituals of the Manifestation of the Original Forces of the Qingwei Heaven.”

The writings comprised by the present text were collected after the time of HUANG SHUNSHEN (thirteenth century; 25.8b–12b; see 171 *Qingwei xianpu*).

This work includes scriptures, petitions, and fu, which are partly written in magical characters. It includes as well instructions on how to read them. They were designed for use in specific rituals. There are numerous explanations concerning the handling of such fu as well as the (visionary) appearances of the deities involved. This work also contains some theoretical essays, such as “On the Origin of Taoism” (Daoyuan 道原; 1.8b–9b) and “The Inner Basis for Taoist Rituals” (Daofa shuniu 道法樞紐; 25.3b–8b; cf. also 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 1.2b–8a). The present work is the most comprehensive title in the Taoist canon dealing with the ritual methods of the Qingwei Taoists.

Florian C. Reiter

Sandong shenfu ji 三洞神符記

23 fols.

79 (fasc. 36)

“Notes on the Divine Talisman of the Three Caverns.” This is a late compilation made from two different sources.

The first part (pages 1a to 14a), taken without any changes from YJQQ 7, is a small treatise on divine writings quoting many sources from the Six Dynasties (220–589) and Tang (618–907) periods. It presumably was part of a larger work known as the *Daomen dalun* 道門大論.

The second part, beginning on 14a, contains instructions for writing fu-talismans of the modern Qingwei 清微 school, followed by the reproduction of five cosmic writs called *Taishang fuluo wupian* 天上敷落五篇 of that same school.

Kristofer Schipper

Yunzhuan duren miaojing 雲篆度人妙經

35 fols.

80 (fasc. 36)

“Marvelous Book of Salvation in Seal Script.” The transcription of the *Duren jing* using “cloud seal” characters was very popular during the Southern Song (1127–1279). JIN YUNZHONG criticizes it thus: “In this fashion, people make a seal out of eight characters in the text. Thus, there is extant a ‘celestial seal character’ [*tianzhuan* 天篆] *Duren jing*, and it would be possible to transcribe the entire text into innumerable

seals” (1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.7b). Indeed, the Tiantai Lingbao dafa 天台靈寶大法 school did precisely that (see 219 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 5–7).

One of the chief functions of the seal in Taoism is to summon spiritual beings. In 563 *Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa* 1.6a, for example, this type of writ in “celestial seal characters” is said to be a kind of “true writ for summoning [the spirits] of the Ten Directions.” The characters that most closely resemble those in the present text are found in 223 *Qingwei yuanjiang dafa*, (Grand Method of the Descent from the Primordium of the Supreme Heaven), and the latter title may reveal something of the origin of this kind of text: the term “descent” (*jiang* 降) is often used with “brush” (*bi* 筆) to refer to mediumnistic writing.

John Lagerwey

Qingwei xuanshu zougao yi 清微玄樞奏告儀

13 fols.

School of Ye Yunlai 葉雲萊; Yuan (1279–1368)

218 (fasc. 84)

“Qingwei Ritual for Memorializing to the Mysterious Pillar [i.e., the Heavenly Chancellery].” This is a hybrid liturgy composed by the disciples of Ye Yunlai (fl. late thirteenth century), one of the successors to HUANG SHUNSHEN (fl. 1224–1286; see 1311 *Xianquan ji* 1.19a) and a senior member of the branch to which the well-known Yuan Taoist ZHANG SHOUQING (fl. 1315–1332) belonged (see 222 *Qingwei shenlie bifa* 1.3b).

In the present work, the lineage of patriarchs ends with Ye Yunlai (1b and 2b). This ordering, in the context of the Qingwei 清微 school, means that this ritual was composed by Ye’s direct disciples.

The ritual opens with a long invocation of the masters (1a–3b), followed by the invitation to the emissaries to be charged with the transmission of the memorial. After these preliminary rites follows the presentation, a mixture of a *daochang* 道場 ritual and a lamp rite for the cult of the Dipper stars.

Kristofer Schipper

Qingwei shenlie bifa 清微神烈祕法

2 juan

Fourteenth century

222 (fasc. 105)

“Secret Methods of the Divine Fire of the Qingwei Heaven.” This text is a collection of Qingwei 清微 methods. The words “Divine Fire” also form part of the titles of the two Heavenly Marshals Gou Liuji 苟留吉 and Bi Zongyuan 畢宗遠, who together with the Master of the Teachings, Zihuang taiyi tianjun 紫皇太乙天君, constitute

the highest triad of the Thunder Gods (1.3b–4a). The introductory passages explain the revelation of the “Thunder methods of the Qingwei heaven,” which are identified with the Shenxiao 神霄 methods. The subsequent line of transmission begins with WEI HUACUN, but names like ZHANG SHOUQING from Mount Wudang extend the lineage well beyond the time of HUANG SHUNSHEN (see 171 *Qingwei xianpu*; cf. 961 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 11b–12b).

The text contains fu, magical writings, and petitions that can be used to address the respective deities and the many assisting generals and messengers. They all may help to expel demons or to rescue people from distress. The text also gives practical instructions about the ways of writing out these fu and how to present them.

Florian C. Reiter

Qingwei zhaifa 清微齋法

2 juan

Fourteenth century

224 (fasc. III)

“Qingwei Liturgies of Purification.” This title describes practical procedures for presenting petitions to the Qingwei 清微 pantheon. It is a collection of texts and instructions.

The “Line of Transmission” introduces these presentations. It resembles 171 *Qingwei xianpu*, but does not contain a section on the Shangqing tradition. The names of the saints are not entirely the same as those in 171 *Qingwei xianpu*, and they occupy different sections. This transmission is followed by the “Exposition Concerning the Elimination of Doubts with Regard to the Performance of Taoist Rituals,” in which the nature of Taoist ways is compared with the Neo-Confucian ideal of the “investigation of things.” This concept is also mentioned in 222 *Qingwei shenlie bifa* 1.2a and suggests a common background of Neo-Confucian inspiration and diction. After this exposition, the text presents “The Great Rituals of Purification and Celebration of the Lingbao Tradition.” Explanations are offered concerning the divine hierarchies, the divinities, and their spheres of dominion. Finally, some explanations deal with the “nine feasts of purification” and their divine patrons. The remaining parts of this work contain mostly literary formulas, “registers,” “petitions,” “letters,” and fu. The texts describe the purposes for which they may be used (e.g., the salvation of the souls of the ancestors, help for the country). There are also some instructions about the actual composition and the presentation of such religious formulas, which include the names of the divine addressees and the transmitting messengers.

Florian C. Reiter

樓
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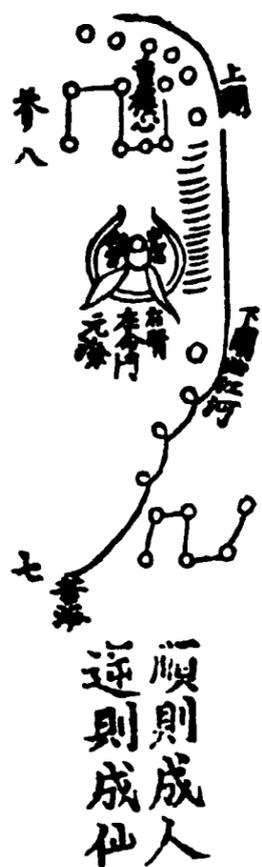


FIGURE 55. The Inner Structure, showing the Cinnabar Field and the spinal column, with the caption “Downstream makes a human being, upstream an immortal is born” (278 8b)

Qingwei danjue 清微丹訣

10 fols.

278 (fasc. 134)

“Instructions for the Practice of Inner Alchemy of the Qingwei School.” HUANG SHUNSHEN, *hao* Leiyuan 雷淵 (fl. 1224–1287), the founder of the Qingwei 清微 school, is quoted on page 3b of this work. The title constitutes a short guide to meditative practice of a very general and simple nature, in particular as a preparation for officiants before ascending the altar in liturgical services (*lintan* 臨壇). The text clearly explains the main points in the body, and a diagram of the Inner Structure is given on page 8b (fig. 55).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao hongfu miezui xiangming jing 太上靈寶洪福滅罪像名經

40 fols.

377 (fasc. 182)

“Scripture of the Metaphoric Names for Eliminating Guilt and Increasing Good Fortune.” Seeing that his son Haikong 海空, heir to the throne of the kingdom of Anren 安忍國, is determined to become a monk, the king summons to court the zhenren Peerless. Peerless transmits the *Lingbao zhenwen* 靈寶真文 and the *Sanyuan pinjie* 三元品戒 to Haikong “in accordance with the ritual code.” Thus prepared, Haikong sets off to study on the Mount of the Man-Bird. After twelve years of pure fasting, the Five Old Imperial Lords transform him into a zhenren by transmitting a book to him.

Returning to the throne, Haikong prepares and distributes “a mountain of food” on the Day of the Median Principle. The incense mounts to the Nine Heavens, where Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, seeing that Haikong is ready to be “transformed” (*huadu* 化度), sends a celestial cortege to bring him to Heaven. At the same time, the celestial assembly gathers around the Tianzun, who radiates a light of five colors. The zhenren of Immortal Powers sees that the people of “the world below” are all in trouble with the Three Officials because of their sinfulness, and he asks the Tianzun what they should do to obtain pardon.

The present text is the response of Yuanshi tianzun to this query. It consists in a triple sequence of homage to the Three Treasures, followed each time by a confession of sins and an expression of wishes. The homages take the form of the recitation of

“metaphoric names.” In the first sequence, for example, homage is paid to 120 Tian-zun, to “the venerable scripture in twelve sections,” and to twenty-two Taoists of legend, such as WEI BOYANG and Li Babai 李八百. Recitation of these names procures “immense good fortune and the elimination of guilt.”

In the first sequence, homage is paid to a series of books whose titles are the same as those in the table of contents of 8 *Taishang sanshiliu bu zunjing*; in the second sequence, several of these titles recur, but mention is also made of 1138 *Wushang biyao* and 10 *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing*. The text cannot, therefore, be earlier than the Song (960–1279) period.

John Lagerwey

Zihuang liandu xuanke 紫皇鍊度玄科

30 fols.

1451 (fasc. 1064)

“Sublimation Ritual of the Purple Sovereign.” This text provides a ritual of sublimation (first by fire, then by water) and passage to the other world (reconstitution and dressing of the deceased person’s body, transmission of the commandments). The Purple Sovereign is identified with “the unique qi of Heaven” in the *falu* 發爐 and with the Emperor of the North by his title, which includes the more usual name of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝. The Qingwei 清微 school is the first mentioned in an enumeration (3a) of various lineages, and so it seems likely that the text belongs to that school. We may note as well that some of these lineages, such as that of “the method of Fengdu,” are known only from texts in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan*.

Three things distinguish this ritual from other *liandu* 鍊度 rituals: the massive use of generals and marshals, the ascension of the ritual master onto a throne to perform the ritual in a seated position, and the transformation of the reconstituted body into a cosmic one.

John Lagerwey

Daofa huiyuan 道法會元

268 juan

Ming (1368–1644)

1220 (fasc. 884–941)

“Taoist Methods, United in Principle.” This title constitutes a vast, undated, and unsigned, collection of rites (*fa* 法) related to many forms of modern practices and cults. The table of contents of this *congshu* 叢書 lists a great number of such *fa*, but in fact many belong to larger entities constituting manuals in their own right, predominantly of “salvation through sublimation” (*liandu* 鍊度) rituals combined with the methods of Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法). A number of the prefaces and

colophons of these manuals have been preserved, thus giving us some indication as to their dates and the origins. These elements do not, however, readily resolve the problem of the compiler's identity and the date of the work's compilation. As we have not found any editions of the *Daofa huiyuan* outside the *Daozang*, it may be that the collection was especially compiled for the Ming canon, possibly by the *Daozang* editors themselves. This hypothesis may be reinforced by the fact that the *Daofa huiyuan* begins with a long section (juan 1–55) devoted to the rites of the Qingwei 清微 school that contains a certain number of texts edited by ZHAO YIZHEN (d. 1382), together with his prefaces and colophons (see, e.g., 5.39a, 7.8b, 8.3b, 14.3b, 14.15a, and 17.17b). However, in other places, and especially in the latter parts in that section (from juan 19 onward), Zhao's name and title are given in the ritual invocations addressed to deified patriarchs summoned to descend to the altar and receive homage and offerings (see 19.3b, 20.4b, 21.2b, 23.6b, 25.2b–3a, 26.9a, 32.4b, 33.2a, 34.4a, 46.2a, and 49.18b). These invocations imply that at the time this manual was compiled and included in the *Daofa huiyuan*, ZHAO YIZHEN had been dead long enough to be deified by his successors. In other words, it had to have been completed well after 1382 by a direct or indirect disciple of Zhao (cf. Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen"). The name that comes most readily to mind is that of Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (fl.1427–1454), the successor to Zhao's disciple LIU YUANRAN (1351–1432). Liu and Shao were both patriarchs of the Qingwei school. Shao became the final compiler of the Ming *Daozang* (see the general introduction). All this points to a date somewhere during the first half of the fifteenth century for the compilation of the *Daofa huiyuan*.

The real founder of the Qingwei school was HUANG SHUNSHEN, who was born in 1224 in Fujian and was received at the court of Kublai in 1286. Most of Huang's followers, and many other masters of Thunder magic as well, also came from Fujian, especially from the northern parts of the province, or else from the adjoining districts of southeastern Zhejiang. This region seems therefore to have played a major role in the origin and diffusion of the Five Thunder rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法).

It would be beyond the scope of this summary to give a detailed account of the contents of the collection. We shall present here only its major components.

The Qingwei rituals that occupy the first fifty-five juan open with a description of the well-known background of this school: the lineage of patriarchs, beginning with the two female saints WEI HUACUN and Zu Shu 祖舒, as well as the mysterious writings they received and from which the Qingwei fu derived. (See fig. 56.) Central to the Qingwei ritual is the *liandu* practice by which the souls of the deceased are saved through the meditation (i.e., Inner Alchemy) of the officiant. Some minor rituals concern the pacification of domestic deities, those of the hearth, the doors, the well, the



FIGURE 56. Primordial Revelation and the Secret Sounds of the Qingwei (1220 4.1a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1203)

privy, etc. (*antu* 安土; juan 7), the protection of candidates to the official examinations (*shijin* 仕進), protection against locusts (*qubuang* 驅蝗). Later in the *Daofa huiyuan* (juan 249 and 250), we find the complete set of initiation and ordination rules for the Qingwei school.

The next part of the collection (juan 56–71) is more heterogeneous. Here a great number of different rituals have as sole common denominator a more or less explicit relation to the Five Thunder rites of the Shenxiao 神霄 school (see part 3.B.1). The Thunder ritual reputedly founded by Wang Jun 王俊, alias Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153; see 67.25a), who obtained it from a divine immortal, the “fire master” (*huoshi* 火師) Wang Zihua 汪子華 (supposedly of the Tang dynasty, 618–907). It was later transmitted to many masters, some of whom put their signatures to the practices assembled here. First we find BO YUCHAN (fl. 1194–1229), who contributed a commentary to the *Xuanzhu ge* 玄珠歌 in juan 70. Then there are Zhang Shanyuan 張善淵 (fl. 1280–1294) and Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (fl. early twelfth century). Both authors offer explanations on the nature of thunder in juan 67. Finally, we find the names of Pan Songnian 潘松年, Yang Gengchang 楊耕常, and Mo Yueding 莫月鼎 (1226–1293). Some of the contributions are of a doctrinal nature, for instance the “Qidao baduan jin 祈禱八段錦” by Wang Wenqing, in which the patriarch explains a method of prayer combined with the practice of Inner Alchemy. There is also a commentary by a certain Yufeng 御風, mentioned by the Heavenly Master Zhang Yuchu in his 1311

Xianquan ji 2.31b–33b. Another interesting treatise is the above-mentioned *Xuanzhu ge*, also by Wang Wenqing (juan 70). Finally there is the “Powang zhang 破妄章,” a rhymed treatise by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126). This text is also found in the *Daozang* as 979 *Mingzhen powang zhangsong* 明真破妄章頌.

The following three juan (73–75), titled “Tianshu leizhuan 天書雷篆,” belong to the Maoshan tradition of *leifa* 雷法. They claim to hail from GE XUAN and the Tang (*sic*) Heavenly Master Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN). Many other “historical” patriarchs are also mentioned as revealers of these texts.

From juan 76 through 108, the rituals again belong to the Shenxiao school of Wang Wenqing and others. The “Leiting miaoqi 雷霆妙契” of juan 77 is also found in 1253 *Daofa xinshuan*. Among these many texts, a separate group is formed by juan 83–87, under the title of “Xiantian leijing yinshu 先天雷晶隱書.” This work is attributed to Wang, and contains important indications concerning the tradition of the *wulei fa* (see 84.1a–5b). The final five juan (104–108) of this part of the *congshu* stand also out as a single book called “Gaoshang jingxiao sanwu hunhe dutian dalei langshu 高上景霄三五混合都天大雷琅書,” abbreviated as “Dutian dalei fa.” It was purportedly written by BO YUCHAN, who had received it from his master CHEN NAN 陳楠 (fl. 1111–1118). In a postface dated 1212, Bo provides a biography of Chen and describes how the latter received this Thunder magic (108.15b–16b). At the end of Bo’s postface, there is an undated colophon by the great Yuan scholar Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348). Yu Ji explains that this *Jingxiao leishu* was in fact in the possession of a daoshi called Wu 吳, *hao* Puyun 浦雲, who obtained it in the north of China but was unable to understand it. Upon returning to Hangzhou, the daoshi meditated and prayed, until BO YUCHAN himself descended into the meditation room and gave him the necessary explanations. Yu Ji writes about Wu as a friend and contemporary. This story is at variance with a text by BO YUCHAN himself, the Inscription for the Pavilion of the Meeting of Immortals of the Yulong Gong (“Yulong gong huixian ge ji 玉隆宮會仙閣記”) in *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 31.1a–5b). There Bo describes his meeting with Wu Puyun at the Yulong gong at Xishan 西山 near Nanchang (Jiangxi) in the years around 1218. One of the texts must therefore be spurious, and given that the *Daofa huiyuan* contains many texts apocryphally attributed to BO YUCHAN, it seems likely that Yu Ji’s colophon here is a forgery. It does not occur in Yu Ji’s collected works.

Juan 109 and 110 contain the “Hunyuán xuánshū 混元玄書,” an exorcistic ritual, under the aegis of a certain Li Mingzheng 李明正. Juan 111–13 correspond to the *Diling baozhu wulei qidao dafa* 帝令寶珠五雷祈禱大法 transmitted by Zhu Meijing 朱梅靖 of the Jixian yuan academy to Li Xianyun 李閑雲, a high court official, the Thirty-sixth Heavenly Master Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (d. 1292), and others. The entire method appears to be based on the system of the *Yijing* 易經.

Juan 114–20 contain the “Taiji dulei yinshu 太極都雷隱書,” again a form of Shenxiao fa by Wang Wenqing, whereas with the following “Taishang sanwu Shaoyang tiemian huochewulei dafa 太上三五邵陽鐵面火車五雷大法” (juan 122–24), we are back to the subject of exorcism, this time under the auspices of XU XUN and Wu Meng 吳猛. Shaoyang is a place in Hunan, and the deity at the origin of the magic is a certain Lü Bujian 閻不漸. The work is prefaced by CHEN NAN (122.1a–2b). Juan 125–28 contain the “Jiuzhou sheling yanglei dafa 九州社令陽雷大法,” again under the aegis of XU XUN and his friends. Here the Earth Gods of the Nine Districts are to be appealed to in times of drought.

After a number of smaller texts, we come to the “Taiyi zhenlei pili dafa 太乙真雷霹靂大法” (juan 133–45). Here the forces of thunder and lightning are marshaled against heterodox cults and temples, great demons and perverse dragons, baleful stars, and other powers. There is no clear indication of authorship, but the end of juan 139 mentions that it was transmitted by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master. Juan 146 contains a single text, the “Zhengyi zhongxiao jiashu baizhuo wulei dafa 正一忠孝家書白捉五雷大法,” which, at the end, has an interesting story about its origins. While in mourning for his father, a daoshi named Zhao Lü 趙履 from Pingyang in Zhejiang obtains Thunder magic from the deity Fumo shangxiang Li zhenjun 伏魔上相李真君. By means of a seal, the daoshi is enabled to call on the help of two heavenly marshals at will. More original is the work “Dongxuan yushu leiting dafa 洞玄玉樞雷霆大法” (juan 147–53). An account of its origins written by a certain Xue Shichun 薛師淳 and dated 1296 tells us that BO YUCHAN (who here, curiously, is said to have originally been named Zhuge Meng 諸葛猛) reveals himself to the daughter of a certain Ma of the Maritime Transportation Bureau of Quanzhou. His revelation enables her to produce rain at the request of the famous merchant Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚 (here identified as executive director, *zuocheng* 左丞, of this agency). Later, a servant of Pu named Weng Leishi 翁雷室 learned the rain-producing skills and put them to practice in her master’s home region of Jianning 建寧 in the north of Fujian. Weng had more than one hundred disciples, including the author of this narrative. As van der Loon (“A Taoist collection”) points out, the merchants Ma and Pu from Quanzhou must both have been Muslims.

Juan 154 and 155 contain the “Hunyuan liutian miaodao yiqi ruyi dafa 混元六天妙道一氣如意大法,” a method that claims its origin from Lei Shizhong 雷時中, hao Mo’an 默庵, *alias* Old Man Twinbridge 雙橋老人 (1221–1295). The present rites were revealed to him by the True Lord Lu 路真君 (see 297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5.11b–14a). The True Lord Lu appears to be none other than LU SHIZHONG (fl. 1120), the creator of the Yutang 玉堂 rites (see 220 *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*). The practice of these rites were meditative and close to those of Inner Alchemy, although their function was mainly exorcistic.

Equally exorcistic is the far larger “Shangqing tianpeng fumo dafa 上清天蓬伏魔大法” (juan 156–68). The method, for once, does not originate in Fujian, but is said to have come from Sichuan’s Ximing shan 西明山. The author does indicate, however, that he has studied with specialists in northern Fujian and southern Zhejiang (see the beginning of juan 166). The great Tianpeng deity, whose secret spell is first given in 1016 *Zhen’gao*, here becomes the chief marshal of a vast number of exorcistic spirits that combat all kinds of evils.

The next part of the *Daofa huiyuan* contains rites of the modern Maoshan tradition. Here we find a “Shangqing tongchu wuyuan sufu yuce zhengfa 上清童初五元素府玉冊正法” (juan 171–78). This form of magic is also derived from the great exorcist tradition of Tianpeng, and it is reported to have been revealed to a daoshi named Yang Xizhen 楊希真 (mentioned already in relation to the *Tianpeng fa* in 156.14a). The Tongchu fu on Maoshan was a center for exorcistic ritual practices and in the early thirteenth century, the liturgist JIN YUNZHONG, author of 1223 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, appears to have been its chief. He is the editor of this ritual manual. There is an undated note signed by him on 173.14a and a colophon dated 1224 at the end of the work (178.3a–6a). It is followed by another colophon by a certain Lu Yuanlao 盧元老. The next manual, named “Shangqing wuyuan yuce jiuling feibu zhangzou bifa 上清五元玉冊九靈飛步章奏秘法” (juan 179–87) is a sequel to the preceding one. According to van der Loon (“A Taoist collection”), it may also have been produced by JIN YUNZHONG.

The “Taiyi huofu wulei dafa 太乙火府五雷大法” (juan 188–94) was edited by Huang Yixuan 黃一炫 and begins with his story (dated 1271) of the origin of the ritual tradition *fayuan shiji* 法源事跡: During the Tianbao era of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang, a local official in Mianzhou obtained a *leifa* from a Holy Mother of Northern Yin 北陰聖母. Thereupon the official became a daoshi on Qingcheng shan 青城山 in Sichuan. The Thunder magic was lost during the troubled period of the Five Dynasties (907–960), but was rediscovered later on Mount Hua. It returned to Sichuan before being brought to Yanping 延平 in Fujian. In 1225 Yang Defang brought it from Fujian to the Maoshan, where it flourished. Later Huan Xixuan obtained the method and reintroduced it to Chengdu (Sichuan). Many of the rites are related to nature, marshaling winds and rain, exorcising goblins, and healing the mental disorders caused by them.

Juan 195 to 197 contain the “Dongshen tianyi wulei dafa 洞神天一五雷大法.” The ritual is placed under the patronage of the Thirtieth Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian and is concerned with healing practices. Van der Loon (“A Taoist collection”) notes the instructions for the use of a spirit medium in 196.13b–15a.

The next manuals are related to the Shenxiao tradition: “Shenxiao jinhuo tianding

dafa 神霄金火天丁大法” (juan 198–206). The first chapter contains both an undated preface by Chen Daoyi 陳道一 stating the connection between these rites and the *liandu* methods and a colophon giving the detailed account of the transmission by his disciple Liu Yu 劉玉, hao Qingqing 清卿 (fl. 1258) of this form of magic (198.28b–27a). Liu obtained the complete rites, not from Chen, who died in Jianjiang 劍江 in northern Fujian, but from Chen’s disciple Lu Ye 盧埜 (see also 253.10b–11a). The next chapters are attributed to LIN LINGSU himself (see, e.g., the poem signed by him in 199.1b–5b). The rites in this section mainly aim at curing possession by demon spirits. A special feature is the use of female spirit soldiers.

Juan 210 contains the “Danyang jilian neizhi 丹陽祭鍊內旨,” introducing a special *liandu* method from Danyang, the heartland of Shangqing Taoism. In his preface dated 1356, the compiler Wang Xuanzhen 王玄真, a daoshi of the Quanzhen 全真 order, tells how he collected the materials of the specific Danyang tradition of the *pudu* 普度 ritual from a number of teachers and combined them into the present method. Explaining its title, he states (page 1a) that *jilian* 祭鍊 means (1) to sacrifice (*ji*) to the souls of the deceased and (2) to sublimate (*lian*) oneself. Only if one undergoes this sublimation can the souls of the dead be saved (*du* 度). At the end of the text, there is a colophon by Zhang Yu 張雨 dated 1356. Zhang Yu, author of 781 *Xuanpin lu*, lived from 1276 to 1342, so either the colophon is misdated or it is a forgery. Zhang, who himself was a student of Yu Ji, states that Wang Xuanzhen was a disciple of the great painter and Quanzhen master Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), whom Wang met in Hangzhou.

Juan 216 has a popular ritual of the Mysterious Woman of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian xuannü 九天玄女), so famous in epic literature. She is worshiped at the kitchen stove and has the power to protect children and heal their diseases. Equally popular are the rites for the expulsion of pestilence demons (*wenshen* 瘟神; juan 119–121). The present work offers the sole instance in the Taoist canon of the famous sending off of the boat with *wenshen*, a ritual still celebrated frequently in southern Taiwan.

Juan 232–40 contain the rites of the great exorcistic deity and patron of wealth Zhao yuanshuai 趙元帥, known as Black Altar (Xuan Tan 玄壇). His specific method consists in harmonizing (*hehe* 和合), uniting beings in joy, for prosperity and healing. Among his helpers we find the great theater deity of Fujian, Tian duyuanshuai 田都元帥, chief of many other saints of the theater stage (see Schipper, “The Divine Jester”).

Many of these modern exorcistic rites and cults were not easily integrated within the traditional liturgical framework. This essential problem is addressed in the next four chapters (juan 249–52), which form a separate small manual of rules and precepts called “Precious Rules” (*Taishang tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格 and *Taishang hundong*

chimen nüqing zhaoshu tianlü 太上混洞赤文女青詔書天律). The “Precious Rules” first lists the different ordination grades and titles for the most important *fa* of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and Shenxiao 神霄 schools. It then explains in detail the conditions on which these grades are to be given and how they have to match previous ordination grades of the traditional liturgical framework. As the text states clearly (249.13b), the *fa* has to follow the Register (*lu* 籙), and there can be no discrepancy between the two. Juan 250 gives detailed instruction as to how the new ritual traditions should be combined with the ancient ones. The text repeatedly quotes the *Nüqing tianlü* 女青天律 as being the fundamental law book on this and other questions. As their titles suggest, the next two chapters also refer to the precepts of Nüqing, so fundamental in the Way of the Heavenly Master (see part 1.B.A). The proscriptions of the “Precious Rules” concern not only the clergy but also the laity, and even gods and demons related to the different ritual practices. This unique book of law is thus a continuation and development of earlier similar codes, especially the 461 *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü* and 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (especially the first juan). Both of the latter works were produced by the Tianxin zhengfa school. This is probably also the case for the present work, as it states that the Tianxin tradition is at the origin of all *fa*. As known, the Tianxin zhengfa was considered in Song times (960–1279) and later to represent the esoteric tradition transmitted by the First Heavenly Master.

Liu Yu 劉玉, the editor of the above-mentioned “Tianding *fa*,” appears again in “*Diqi Wen yuanshuai dafa* 地祇溫元帥大法” (juan 253–56). Wen yuanshuai is the great Taoist saint and tutelary deity from Pingyang 平陽 county near present-day Wenzhou. Liu was the author of the hagiography of the saint, preserved in the *Daozang* as 780 *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan*, and the preface at the beginning of juan 253, dated 1258, is in fact the preface to this hagiography (see van der Loon, “Taoist collection,” 404). The hagiography was originally included in the *Diqi fa* we have here, which contains a number of different materials concerning the *diqi* deities in general and Wen yuanshuai in particular. The *Diqi fa* was compiled by Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾, who is also the author of a *Diqi xuyu lun* 地祇緒餘論 dated 1274 (253.3b–10a). Huang also wrote a biography of Liu Yu (253.10a–12a), which does not, however, contain any date.

As an officer of the guard of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak (Yuedi 嶽帝), Wen yuanshuai had all the troops of Inferno (Fengdu 酆都) under his command and was therefore a most powerful exorcistic deity. A similar position in the underworld was at that time occupied by the saint Lord Guan 關公, who in later times would rise to great eminence in Chinese religion (juan 259–60). The final chapters of the *Daofa huiyuan* (261–68) are entirely devoted to the rites of Fengdu and the administration of the

underworld. Juan 264, 265, and 267 are signed by Zheng Zhiwei 鄭知微 as compiler and by Lu Ye as commentator.

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Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Huangjing jizhu (Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing zhu)

皇經集註 (高上玉皇本行集經註)

10 juan

Compiled by Zhou Xuanzhen 周玄貞; preface dated 1585

1440 (fasc.1060–1062)

“Collected Commentaries to the Noble Scripture.” This is a profusely annotated and punctuated edition of 10 *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經 (q.v.). It combines glosses of divine as well as human origin, at least for part of the work. The edition was made by Zhou Xuanzhen, a Quanzhen daoshi from Shandong, for Bo Yunji 白雲霽 (*Daozang mulu xiangzhu*). The editorship of Zhou is undeniable, but in his preface he states that he received the text from Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504–1564). In 1585, Zhou served as compiler of the Wanli (1573–1620) supplement of the Taoist canon (his complete title was *Da Ming jiang daojing xiu Xuanzang si Quanzhen dizi Shandong Zhou Xuanzhen* 大明講道經修玄藏嗣全真弟子山東周玄貞; see 1.17a). Work on the Wanli supplement of the Ming *Daozang* had begun in the same year.

Luo Hongxian, *zi* Nianan 念庵, a *zhuangyuan* 狀元-laureate of 1529, was dismissed from public office in 1541 after a difference with the Jiajing emperor. Luo is known as an ardent admirer of Wang Shouren 王守仁, *zi* Yangming 陽明 (1472–1529). After his dismissal, Luo embraced a semireligious career as an instructor of the Three Teachings at his school Shilian dong 石蓮洞 temple in Jiangxi. Among his disciples we find the founder of the Sanyi jiao 三一教, Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩 (1517–1598). In his preface, also dated 1585 and titled “preface to the original edition” (*chuzuan qianxu* 初纂前序), Luo states that only after he had left government could he turn to the writings of the Three Teachings. He then found that Taoism was the highest of all, and the *Huangjing* (i.e., the *Yuhuang jing*) was its most profound expression. Having written a commentary, which included the glosses “by various immortals” he had no means of publishing it. He therefore presented his work to Zhou Xuanzhen, who accepted it on behalf of the Fiftieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥. The inclusion of this commentary in the present work explains why, following the titles of juan 3, 4, and 5, we find

the signatures of Zhang Guoxiang as editor, Luo Hongxian as supervisor, and Zhou Xuanzhen as compiler.

A third, brief preface by Wang Jingcui 王靜粹 (dated 1588) gives some more details. Wang, who calls himself a disciple of Zhou Yunqing 周雲清 (an alias of Wang Xuanzhen?) was charged with the copying out of texts to be included in the Wanli supplement. He also must have had a hand in arranging the different texts that went into the present edition.

The three prefaces discussed here are preceded by other prefatory matter, which came from the brushes of such eminent saints as Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君 (Wenchang 文昌), LÜ DONGBIN, QIU CHUJI, and the Heavenly Marshal Deng. As these deities are also authors of parts of the commentary, they must be the “various immortals” mentioned in Zhou’s preface. The supernatural character of their writing may well be extended to the preface and the commentary by Luo Hongxian, as it is dated 1585, a full eight years after the scholars had been reported to have died, according to *Ming shi* 383. However, Luo’s death date has not been conclusively determined. For other reasons as well, it is uncertain whether this might be a falsification or a product of planchette writing. It is possible, for instance, that part or all of the commentaries were indeed provided by Luo or his disciples, and that the preface was added with a later date. In any event, the signature of Zhang Guoxiang would not appear alongside Luo’s if the latter’s involvement had been completely fictitious.

Chapter 1, besides the three prefaces, also contains the text of the “Original Tao” (*Yuandao* 原道) essay by the “Lean Immortal” (Quxian 臞仙) Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378–1448; see 1483 *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*). There are, moreover, numerous short notes by Zhou Xuanzhen elucidating a number of terms and also a presentation of the work in his hand.

From juan 2 on, the combined commentaries begin. As we can see from the table of contents on page 2, the different chapters are arranged under the original three juan division of the *Yuhuang jing*. In spite of this and other efforts to streamline the work, it remains very heterogeneous. Although the entire work is called *Huangjing jizhu*, from juan 2 on the title changes to *Huangjing zhujie* 皇經註解. It reverts to *Huangjing jizhu* from juan 5 onward.

The juan 2 to 4, which are the commentary to the first juan of the *Yuhuang jing*, truly stand apart. They combine the “glosses” by numerous immortals, saints and deities with the commentary of Luo Hongxian. There is a note, presumably by Zhou Xuanzhen, that explains the way this part had been edited (4.29b–30b). Luo’s commentary comes after that of the others and is introduced by the words *yu’an* 愚按 (“in my benighted opinion”) or *guanjian* 管見 (“according to my limited views”). His ideas are expressed most clearly and show the influence of Wang Yangming’s think-

ing (see, for instance, 3.3a, the quote of “someone from former times” on “applied knowledge,” *zhizhi* 致知).

The remainder of the work is less clear. From juan 5 on, the glosses by the transcendent beings disappear, as well as the indications marking Luo’s commentary. Although following the title of juan 5 we still find the three signatures of Zhang, Luo, and Zhou, it is unclear who the author and editor of this and the following parts are. The tone of the commentary, sometimes followed by a subcommentary, is very different from that of the preceding part. For the time being, the question of the authorship of these later juan has to remain open.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.8 The Jingming Zhongxiao School

In the history of the saints of Taoism, none is better documented than XU XUN 許遜. According to legend, he lived during the Jin dynasty (265–420) and was at one time the local administrator of Jingyang 旌陽 in Sichuan, hence his name XU JING-YANG. The center of his legends and worship, however, is the region of the Boyang lake and the mountains west of Nanchang 南昌西山. It is there that the veneration of the saint and the holy places related to his legend grew to become an important Taoist school (see Akizuki Kan’ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*). In the *Daozang*, the earliest complete source for this tradition is 449 *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan*, which is believed to date from the late Tang (618–907) period (see part 2.A.6.b). The Way of Piety (*xiaodao* 孝道) of XU XUN and Wu Meng 吳猛 of the Tang period is represented by an important scripture that has been preserved in no less than three different versions (66 *Yuanshi dongzhen cishan xiaozhi baoen chengdao jing*, 380 *Dongxuan lingbao daoyao jing*, and 1112 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao baxian wang jiaojie jing*). The “piety” here is not only filial devotion, but a form of dedication to nature in general.

In Song times (1112), XU XUN was canonized by Emperor Huizong as True Lord of Divine Merit and Marvelous Succor (Shengong miaoji chenjun 神功妙濟真君). BO YUCHAN wrote an extensive hagiography, preserved in his *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (see 263.31 *Xiuzhen shishu*), on which all lives of the saint are based. Xu’s worship developed into a full-fledged school known as the Pure and Clear Way of Loyalty and Piety (Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道) only in the late Southern Song (1127–1279) period. As many sources attest, the school was considered to be part of the Lingbao liturgical tradition, and XU XUN, together with GE XUAN, is named as its founder.

The *Daozang* contains a large number of texts produced by the Jingming zhongxiao

dao. A remarkable feature of these texts is that, instead of being scattered in different parts of the canon, most of them are presented in two blocs of scriptures and rituals, numbers 550 to 565 in the *fangfa* 方法 section of the Dongxuan bu (with 618 and 619 in the *biaozou* 表奏 section of the same), and 1103 to 1110 (and 1112) in the beginning of the Taiping bu. Among these texts, 1110 *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* is of particular interest.

Xuanmen baoxiao zhuijian yi 玄門報孝追薦儀

15 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

481 (fasc. 265)

“Taoist Ritual for Expressing Filial Piety and Seeking Blessings for the Deceased.”

This short requiem liturgy belongs to the Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道, as shown by the evocation of the founders of the school (3b): Lan gong 蘭公, Chen mu 譔母, and XU XUN (Taishi 太史).

The first ritual is a *daochang* 道場 (1a–11a), the second a *jiao* 醮. Although certainly modern (both start with a *buxu* 步虛 hymn), they are of the regular Lingbao type.

Kristofer Schipper

Shengong miaoji zhenjun liwen 神功妙濟真君禮文

10 fols.

518 (fasc. 293)

“Ritual of Homage to the True Lord of Wonderful Succor and Divine Merit [XU XUN].” The canonization title given on page 1a, Jiuzhou duxian taishi gaoming dashi zhidao xuanying shengong miaoji zhenjun 九洲都仙太史高明大使至道玄應神功妙濟真君, corresponds to that awarded by Yuan Chengzong in 1295.

The text recited for lauding the saint alternates with seven-character verses of a narrative nature, similar to those found in later Precious Scrolls (*baojuan* 寶卷).

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Xu zhenjun shou lian xingshen Shangqing bidao fayao jiewen

許真君受鍊形神上清畢道法要節文

2 fols.

550 (fasc. 313)

“Rubrics of the Essential Method of the Ultimate Shangqing Way, Received by the True Lord Xu [Xun] for the Refining of Body and Soul.” This is a small guide to meditation and exorcism in a liturgical context, in three paragraphs with a commentary. The preface stresses the Lingbao filiation of this text, and some verses quote the 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* (for instance, 2b, lines 2 and 4). This filiation

is in keeping with the tradition of the Jingming zhongxiao school to which the text belongs.

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Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ling 天樞院都司須知令

4 fols.

551 (fasc. 313)

Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ge 天樞院都司須知格

6 fols.

552 (fasc. 313)

Lingbao jingming tianshu yuan dusi fayuan xuzhi fawen

靈寶淨明天樞院都司法院須知法文

4 fols.

553 (fasc. 313)

“Heavenly Chancellery Documents of the Pure and Clear Way.” These three liturgical documents of the Qingming zhongxiao school address the Heavenly Chancellery (Tianshu yuan). The first text, 551 *Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ling*, provides the nominative list of the officials in the different departments as well as their titles and assignments; 552 *Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ge* contains the regulations for the transmission of documents and the grid for promotion, according to merit, in the different offices (this is called the *qiange* 黔格; the black, or popular, code). The black code is followed by rules, given in a discursive form (6a–b). Finally, 553 *Lingbao jingming tianshu yuan dusi fayuan xuzhi fawen* gives a number of simple directions for meditation, for verification of the identity of spirits (*jiucha* 糾察), for transmitting messages, with a spell in the vernacular (3b).

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming yuan jiaoshi Zhou zhengong qiqing huayi

靈寶淨明院教師周真公起請畫一

9 fols.

By Zhou Fangwen 周方文

554 (fasc. 313)

“Questions for Unification by the Instructor from the Pure and Clear Hall, the Perfected Master Zhou.” Zhou Fangwen is also the author of 556 *Lingbao jingming huangsu shou shiyi bijue* and is thought to have lived in Southern Song (1127–1279) times. The questions presented here concern aspects of Taoist practice, liturgical as well as self-cultivation.

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Gaoshang yuegong taiyin yuanjun xiaodao xianwang lingbao jingming huangsu shu 高上月官太陰元君孝道仙王靈寶淨明黃素書

10 juan

Commentary by Fu Feiqing 傅飛卿

555 (fasc. 314)

“Yellow and White Book of the Pure and Clear School, Revealed by the Immortal King of the Way of Filial Piety, Original Lord of the Supreme Yin of the Moon Palace on High.” This is a theoretical and practical treatise for daily hygiene for laymen, with explicit sexual overtones (see, for instance, 8.1b and 9.1a–b).

The author of the commentary, himself a master of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school, is otherwise unknown.

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Lingbao jingming huangsu shu shiyi bijue 靈寶淨明黃素書釋義祕訣

13 fols.

By Zhou Fangwen 周方文

556 (fasc. 314)

“Secret Formulas and Glosses of the Yellow and White Book of the Pure and Clear School.” The author of this work requests the founder of the school, XU XUN (here titled *zhenshi* 真師), to clarify certain points of 555 *Gaoshang yuegong taiyin yuanjun xiaodao xianwang lingbao jingming huangsu shu*, in relation to the theories of such well-known treatises as the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (see 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16). On 10b, Zhou relates the different methods of Inner Alchemy he has obtained. None of the dates and persons mentioned have been identified.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming rudao pin 太上靈寶淨明入道品

5 fols.

557 (fasc. 315)

“Instructions for Novices in the Pure and Clear School.” The instructions contain indications regarding the first ordination into the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming yuan zhenshi migao 靈寶淨明院真師密誥

3 fols.

558 (fasc. 315)

“Secret Instructions by the Perfected Master of the Pure and Clear Hall.” These instructions, all transmitted by the patriarch XU XUN to Zhou Fangwen 周方文,

comprise an updated list of dignitaries in the different departments and sanctuaries of the Jingming yuan, a talisman given to the medium Yang Wenqing 楊文卿 in the year *jiyou* 己酉 (1129?), for the healing of possession and plague, and finally a recipe for pine needles in a diet of abstention from cereals.

Kristofer Schipper

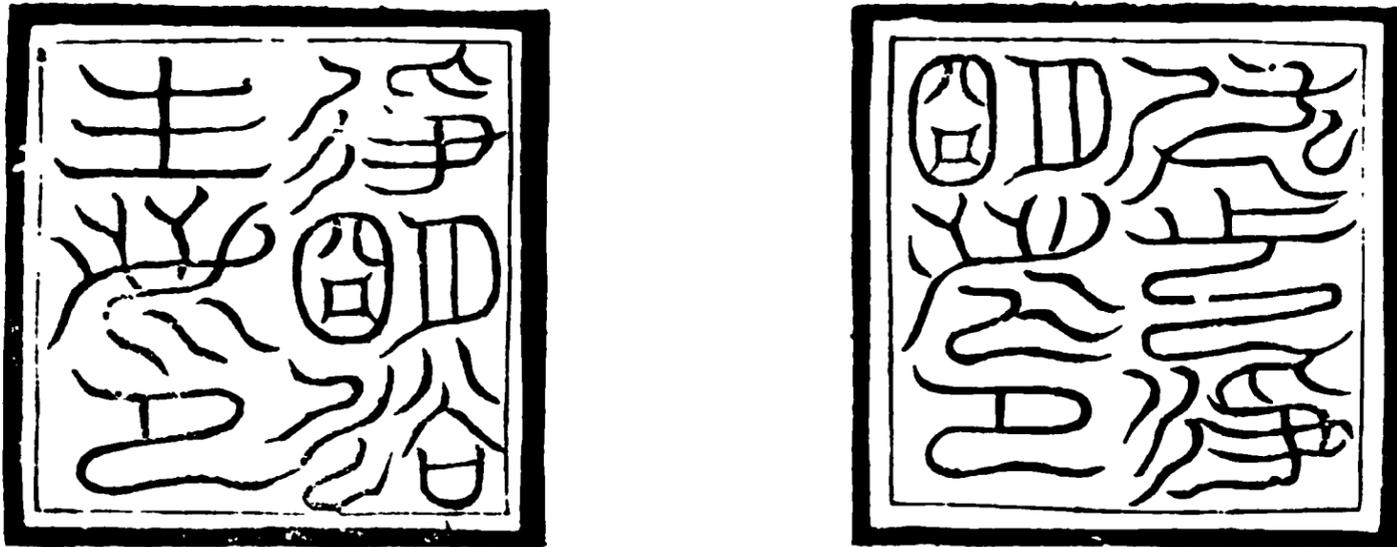


FIGURE 57. “Seal of the Most High Pure and Clear [Jingming] Order” and “Seal of the Master of Rites of the Jingming School” (559 2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/454)

Taishang lingbao jingming fa yinshi 太上靈寶淨明法印式
2 fols.

559 (fasc. 315)

“Model for the Ritual Seals of the Pure and Clear School.” This very short text contains the drawings for two liturgical seals, to be used on memorials (fig. 57). There is a long preface by XU XUN, the legendary founder of the Jingming 淨明 school, in which he claims to have written a Taoist scripture in thirty-five chapters. This “Preface to the Jingming Ritual” (*Taishang lingba jingming fa xu* 太上靈寶淨明法序), which does not mention the seals, probably belongs to another text.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming dafa wandao yuzhang bijue 靈寶淨明大法萬道玉章祕訣
38 fols.

560 (fasc. 315)

“Secret Instructions for Precious Stanzas of the Myriad Ways, of the Great Ritual of the Pure and Clear School.” In this collection, a large number of esoteric names and correspondances are given for the gods and the cosmogony of the Lingbao liturgy. On 9b–14a, for example the Thirty-two Heavens are placed in relationship with the stanzas of the *Zhutian neiyin* 諸天內音 of 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing*, and each verse is in turn related to one of the Sixty-four Hexagrams of the *Yijing*.

The second part of the text gives instructions about the meditational practices related to these esoteric formulas.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming bifa pian 太上靈寶淨明祕法篇

2 juan

561 (fasc. 315)

“Secret Rites of the Pure and Clear School.”

The first chapter (*pian*) of this work contains the preparatory rites of burning incense and invoking the gods, ending Flying Steps (*feibu* 飛步), with a complicated exercise in cosmic dancing (fig. 58).

The second chapter contains very detailed instructions on a *dhāraṇī*-based meditation called, respectively, the *Lingshu shangpian* 靈書上篇 (1a–8a) and *Lingshu xiapian* 靈書下篇 (8b–14a). This text is mentioned in 1103 *Taishang lingbao jingming dongshen shangpin jing* 2.10a. The pseudo-Sanskrit formulas correspond to the names of the gods of the body. The practice, which appears to be intended for the laity, is highly esoteric and complex.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa

靈寶淨明新修九老神印伏魔祕法

9 fols.

By He Shouzheng 何守證; 1131

562 (fasc. 315)

“New Version from the Pure and Clear School of the Secret Rites for the Quelling of Demons by Means of the Divine Seal of the Nine Ancients.” He Shouzheng, in his preface, gives an account of the origin of the Jingming 淨明 school. It proceeded from Mother Chen 謹母, who transmitted her healing rites to XU XUN.

After many generations, the original texts had become full of errors, and therefore, in the year 1129, the Six True Patriarchs revealed again the secret rites of the Jingming school and appointed the Immortal Minister Dongshen 洞神仙卿 as Training Scholar. A few years later, at the request of their disciples, the Patriarchs revealed this



FIGURE 58. Choreography of the Flying Steps, for performance in the sacred area (561 8b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/556)

new version of the old practice. (On He Shouzheng, see Akizuki Kan'ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 120 ff.)

The first part of the text concerns the divine seals and gives instructions for exorcism. The second part deals with simple breathing techniques for private practice.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa

太上靈寶淨明飛仙度人經法

5 juan

563 (fasc. 316)

Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa shili

太上靈寶淨明飛仙度人經法釋例

7 fols.

Commentary attributed to XU JINGYANG 許旌陽 (XU XUN 許遜)

564 (fasc. 317)

“Liturgical Exegesis of the Book of Salvation, by the Flying Immortals of the Pure and Clear School of the Most High Lingbao Tradition.” This esoteric commentary on 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* was revealed to He Shouzheng 何守證 in 1131 on the Xishan 西山, at the height of the crisis at the end of the Northern Song (960–1127) dynasty (see the preface to 562 *Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa*; 1110 *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 1.19b; and Akizuki Kan'ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 122 ff.). However, as Akizuki remarks, early on in the work (1.3a) XU XUN is given the title Jiuzhou duxian taishi gaoming dashi zhidao xuanying shengong miaoji zhenjun 九州都仙太史高明大使至道玄應神功妙濟真君, a form that corresponds to his canonization in 1295. The work therefore must have been revised at a later date.

The exegesis offers detailed comments, not only on the esoteric meanings of each paragraph, but also on the stages of initiation and ordination associated with each part of the scripture. The text therefore gives some insight into the liturgical organization of the school.

Among its ritual uses, we find instructions in the fifth chapter on which parts of the text should be eaten, on specific days.

The 564 *Shili* is of a philosophical nature and addresses such topics as the cosmic meaning of writing.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang jingming yuan buzou zhiju taixuan dusheng xuzhi

太上淨明院補奏職局太玄都省須知

18 fols.

Commentary attributed to XU JINGYANG 許旌陽 (XU XUN 許遜)

565 (fasc. 317)

“Vade Mecum of the Chancellery of Highest Mystery for Promotion and Assignments of Office in the Pure and Clear Hall.” This almanac of the bureaucratic organization of the Jingming yuan, with its lists of officials and grids for promotion is an appendix to the 563–564 *Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa (shili)*, which refers to the present work on 1.22b–22a, and 1.24a. Folios 9b–14b are also reproduced in 551 *Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ling*.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming yuan xingqian shi 靈寶淨明院行遣式

18 fols.

Attributed to Zhou Fangwen 周方文; Southern Song (1127–1279)

618 (fasc. 340)

Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi xingqian shi 天樞院都司須知行遣式

4 fols.

619 (fasc. 340)

“Models for the Dispatching [of Documents] of the Pure and Clear School in the Lingbao tradition.” This work bears the signature of the hereditary instructor of the Hall of Pure Light, Zhou zhenren. Zhou, probably a divine being, is also indicated as author of 554 *Lingbao jingming yuan jiaoshi Zhou zhengong qiqing huayi* and 556 *Lingbao jingming huangsu shu shiyi bijue*. As stated by Akizuki Kan’ei (*Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 201), the canonization title of XU XUN given on page 11b suggests that this text was written between the years 1112 and 1295. It therefore belongs to the Jingming 淨明 school revelations of the Southern Song period.

The text contains a number of models for liturgical documents: tallies for the armies of the Tianshu yuan, marching orders for transporting sums of money to the Heavenly Treasure House (*tianku* 天庫), mandates for arrest of demons in the case of possession-caused illness, lists of rewards (*xianzhuang* 獻狀) given to the heavenly soldiers in thanks for their assistance, an attestation of ordination for disciples (followed by the Ten Precepts they have to observe), an additional attestation for the transmission of certain holy scriptures, several secret spells, and other texts linked to initiation.

Among the scriptures mentioned in the attestation for ordination (12a) are 563–564 *Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa (shili)* and 556 *Lingbao jingming huangsu*

shu shiyi bijue, as well as an unidentified *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法 in four juan. 619 *Tian-shu yuan dusi xuzhi xingqian shi* is a short vade mecum giving a few practical indications for the writing and handling of liturgical documents.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming dongshen shangpin jing

太上靈寶淨明洞神上品經

2 juan

1103 (fasc. 756)

“Superior Scripture of Pervading Divinity, of the Pure and Clear School of the Lingbao Tradition.” Akizuki Kan’ei regards this work as “the fundamental scripture of the XU XUN movement of the Song [960–1279]” and identifies it as one of the revelations made to He Shouzheng 何守證 (*Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 241, 125).

The text, divided into thirty-five paragraphs, is of a doctrinal nature. Paragraph 29 indicates that the Jingming scriptures 淨明 number forty chapters in all, and praises the efficacy of the recitation of the *Lingshu erpian* 靈書二篇, probably a reference to the text of the second chapter of 561 *Taishang lingbao jingming fa* (*Lingshu shangpian* 2.1a–8a and *Lingshu xiapian* 2.8b–14a).

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3 fols.

1104 (fasc. 756)

“True Scripture of the Pillar of Precious Truth, from the Pure and Clear School of the Lingbao Tradition.” This is a short didactic poem in seven-character verse, with an introduction presenting its author, “the immortal Danyang zi 丹陽子.” Danyang is also quoted in 562 *Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa* (1a ff.), by He Shouzheng 何守證. The poem describes a meditation practice on the Hall of Pure Light, accompanied by the dance of Flying Steps (*feibu* 飛步).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming daoyuan zhengyin jing

太上靈寶淨明道元正印經

2 fols.

1105 (fasc. 756)

“Scripture of the Orthodox Seal of the Foundation of the Tao, from the Pure and Clear School.” This is a short doctrinal treatise, in rhymed, four-character verses, of

a philosophical nature. The text breaks off in the middle of a verse at the end of page 1b, and a section corresponding to part of the printing block numbered *feng* 奉 (3.3) appears to be missing.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming tianzun shuo yuwen jing

太上靈寶淨明天尊說禦瘟經

4 fols.

1106 (fasc. 756)

“Scripture for the Control of Plagues, spoken by the Pure and Clear Heavenly Worthy, in the Lingbao Tradition.” This short scripture is modeled on the traditional Lingbao texts. Instead of placing the revelation in some remote cosmic era, the text says that it took place in the year *jiyou* 己酉, corresponding to 1129, the year in which He Shouzheng 何守證 received the Jingming scriptures on Xishan (see the preface to 562 *Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa*).

At the request of the “new disciple” Huiwen zhenren 惠文真人, the Tianzun explains why even the faithful are not spared the plague that rages on Earth. However, a new spell and talisman, obligingly copied out by XU XUN, is given to the disciple as a means of protection.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao shouru jingming sigui mingjian jing

太上靈寶首入淨明四規明鑑經

5 fols.

1107 (fasc. 756)

“Book of the Fourfold Mirror: An Introduction to the Pure and Clear School, in the Lingbao Tradition.” Four mirrors arranged in a square around the adept (*sigui mingjing* 四規明鏡) are a common aid to the practice of ecstatic meditation (see, e.g., 1207 *Shangqing mingjian zhenjing* 1a ff.). In the title of the present work, *jian* 鑑 stands for *jing* 鏡, in avoidance of a Song (960–1279) taboo.

This is a short philosophical and moral treatise in the classical style, comprising four paragraphs (hence the title). It was intended as an introduction to the thought of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming jiuxian shuijing 太上靈寶淨明九仙水經

6 fols.

1108 (fasc. 765)

“Book of Water, from the Nine Immortals of the Pure and Clear School.” This is a short essay on the element water and its cosmological role, compared to that of blood in the human body. The reference to Nine Immortals in the title is not explained.

*Kristofer Schipper**Taishang lingbao jingming zhonghuang bazhu jing*

太上靈寶淨明中黃八柱經

6 fols.

1109 (fasc. 756)

“Scripture on the Eight Pillars of the Yellow Center of the Pure and Clear School.” This essay on the theory of Tending Life techniques comprises eight paragraphs, hence the title. The Yellow Center is seen as the rectifying norm, the nexus of the structure of the energies of the universe and the body.

According to his biography, Jingming 淨明 patriarch LIU YU (1257–1308) transmitted the *Zhonghuang dadao baji zhenquan* 中黃大道八極真詮 to his disciple Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (see 1110 *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 1.22b). This revelation may well have been the present work, as the sayings of LIU YU (*Yuzhen xiansheng yulu* 玉真先生語錄 in 1110 *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 3–5) contains a paragraph devoted to the *zhonghuang baji* that shows similarities to the present work. Moreover, the text uses *xuanwu* 玄武 for the emblem of the North, in the place of *zhenwu* 真武 in Song (960–1279) texts.

*Kristofer Schipper**Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 淨明忠孝全書

6 juan

By Huang Yuanji 黃元吉, *hao* Zhonghuang xiansheng 中黃先生 (1271–1325); edited by Xu Hui 徐慧, *hao* Danjiong daoren 丹肩道人; introduction dated 1327
1110 (fasc. 757)

“Complete Works of the Pure and Clear School.” Xu Hui (1291–1350) was a disciple of Huang Yuanji, the successor of LIU YU (1257–1308), author of the renewal of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school in Yuan (1279–1368) times. In his introduction (dated 1327), Xu tells how he collected the sayings of his master, as well as those of LIU YU. Xu added a number of documents revealed by planchette or other writings in Yuan times, edited them, and had the whole collection printed. The present edition, however, must have been reedited later, as Xu Hui’s own biography has been added to those of his masters (1.27b–31a).

Xu's preface is preceded by no less than six prefaces by different scholars of the Yuan period: Zhang Gui 張珪 (1264–1327), Zhao Shiyan 趙世延 (1260–1336), Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348), Teng Bin 滕賓 (also written 滕斌, a Hanlin academician of the years 1308–1313, who later became a daoshi), Zeng Xunshen 曾巽申 (1282–1330), and finally a certain Peng Ye 彭埜, a local academician. These prefaces have been studied by Akizuki Kan'ei (*Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 148–55). The first juan contains a number of biographies of the patriarchs of the school, and juan two has a number of planchette revelations. Juan 3–5 have the sayings of LIU YU (*Yuzhen xiansheng yulu* 玉真先生語錄), devoted to a wide range of topics, from self-cultivation to liturgy and exorcism. The last juan contains the sayings of Huang Yuanji (*Zhonghuang xiansheng wenda* 中黃先生問答), compiled by his disciple Chen Tianhe 陳天和.

This collection constitutes an important source for the history of the school in Yuan times.

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Kristofer Schipper

Taiwei xianjun gongguo ge 太微仙君功過格

14 fols.

By Youxuan zi 又玄子; 1171

186 (fasc. 78)

"Table of Merits and Offences [Revealed] by Taiwei Xianjun." In his preface, Youxuan zi states that in the year 1171, under the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), he ascended in a dream to the Purple Palace (*zifu* 紫府), where he received from Taiwei xianjun the standards for merits and offences and was admonished to pass them on to believers. After waking up, he noted them down—without adding any ideas of his own. The preface is signed "Youxuan zi from the Wuyou studio of the Huizhen Hall on Xishan 西山會真堂無憂軒又玄子." Since the Xishan in Jiangxi was not under Jin rule, the author's reference to the Huizhen Hall may point to his affiliation with the Jingming 淨明 tradition there (cf. Akizuki Kan'ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 197 ff.).

Thirty-six kinds of meritorious and thirty-nine kinds of impious deeds (divided into four categories each) are listed in the text, ranging on a scale of less than 1 to more than 100 points. The author recommends recording one's good and bad deeds in separate columns in a ledger every night, establishing a provisional balance once a month and an accumulative balance once a year. The aim of such bookkeeping is to become aware of one's actions and to change one's conduct accordingly.

The present text is the earliest preserved of its kind and served as a model for the various tables of merits and offences that were popular, especially in Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1912) times.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

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3.B.9 The Quanzhen Order

The founder of the Quanzhen school, WANG ZHE 王嘉, *hao* Chongyang zi (1113–1170), decided after a failed career in both the military and the civil service under the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) to lead a hermetic life in the Zhongnan shan 終南山 mountains (southern Shaanxi). In 1159 he had two encounters with immortals (usually understood to be LÜ DONGBIN and ZHONGLI QUAN), adopted a severe asceticism, and obtained the Tao. In 1167 Wang went to the tip of Shandong peninsula to preach. There he converted a wealthy notable, MA DANYANG (1123–1184), who became his prominent disciple under the surname Danyang zi. Wang converted others as well. Among these disciples, hagiography singles out the Qizhen 七真 (Seven Zhenren). In 1170, WANG ZHE took his four core disciples on a journey back to Shaanxi, but he died in modern Kaifeng en route. While in Shandong, WANG ZHE established the Quanzhen (Complete Truth) school, named after his hermitage, and founded lay congregations (*hui* 會) based on the Three Teachings. Although well corroborated, the sources for Wang’s biography are rather late; we have no funerary stele before 1232, and the first hagiographic work in the canon concerning him is 1173 *Jinlian zhengzong ji*, written in 1241. Although he seems to have been a very impressive personality, Wang seems to have become famous largely through the teachings of his disciples. The main work related to him is 1153 *Chongyang quanzhen ji*, a large collection of his poems, possibly compiled while he was still alive. Other works deal with Wang’s special relationship with MA DANYANG and were edited by Ma’s circle: 1154 *Chongyang jiaohua ji*, 1155 *Chongyang fenli shihua ji*, and the probably apocryphal 1158 *Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershisi jue*. Two other works are also attributed to Wang; 1156 *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue*, concerned with *neidan* 內丹 techniques, and the programmatic 1233 *Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun*. He is, furthermore, credited with other books in later hagiographies. It is possible that, in the course of time, some of these lost anthologies were merged in larger anthologies such as 1153 *Chongyang quanzhen*

ji. The unsystematic nature of these compilations is indicated by the duplication of numerous poems in different texts, for example in both 1153 *Chongyang quanzhen ji* and 1154 *Chongyang jiaohua ji*.

MA DANYANG is, after WANG ZHE, the most prolific author in this corpus. His poems are collected in 1142 *Jianwu ji*, 1149 *Dongxuan jinyu ji*, and 1150 *Danyang shengguang can*, and his speeches in 1057 *Danyang zhenren yulu* and 1234 *Danyang zhenren zhiyan*. We know little about the editorial history of Ma's works since none of them except 1150 *Danyang shengguang can* has a preface. Ma's funerary steles mention his poetic skills but quote no title. On the other hand, 174 *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* quotes quite a few titles we can no longer trace. In contrast, the other male apostles of Quanzhen all have literary collections: Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1152 *Yunguang ji*), LIU CHUXUAN (1141 *Xianle ji*, as well as the didactic treatise 1058 *Wuwei qingjing Changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu*), TAN CHUDUAN (1160 *Shuiyun ji*), HAO DATONG (1161 *Taigu ji*), and QIU CHUJI (1148–1227; 1159 *Panxi ji*). Sun Buer 孫不二, the only female disciple, is absent from the corpus, together with the entire, and considerable, feminine part of the Quanzhen school. We have Sun's poems only in 1100 *Minghe yuyin*, but some of these compositions seem to have originated in planchette writing. A problem of attribution is raised by 1056 *Jin zhenren yulu*, which is quoted in WANG ZHE's works and also quotes him: it may be a compilation of texts by different authors contemporary to Wang.

At first a spiritual movement outside established Taoist institutions, the Quanzhen, under the leadership of preachers such as MA DANYANG and Wang Chuyi 王處一, soon attracted many converts and became an independent order. After some conflict in the 1190s, the Jin state eventually recognised the Quanzhen order, permitting it to develop its monastic foundations in the open. Under the leadership of QIU CHUJI, the movement expanded widely and was given a strong and centralized structure. In 1220, the Mongol emperor Genghis Khan, having already invaded part of northern China, called on Qiu to visit him. This he did, with eighteen of his prominent disciples. They met near Samarkand, after a long and difficult journey. Genghis was pleased to grant him privileges and comprehensive authority over China's monks (*chujia* 出家), an edict that was to raise much controversy. The whole journey is recorded in 1429 *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*, the dialogues with Genghis Khan in 176 *Xuanfeng qinghui lu*. After these momentous events, a second generation of disciples oversaw the greatest expansion of the order.

This second generation is represented in the canon by a number of texts. From Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (1169–1251), QIU CHUJI's heir to the patriarch's seat, we have an anthology (1146 *Baoguang ji*) and a collection of sayings (1310 *Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu*). A disciple of MA DANYANG composed 1143 *Caotang ji*, and a disciple of Liu Chuxuan wrote 1264 *Lifeng laoren ji*. WANG ZHIJIN, another disciple of QIU CHUJI, who also

studied with HAO DATONG, is the subject of 1059 *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu*. A disciple of WANG ZHIJIN authored the 1140 *Yunshan ji*. From later generations come 267 *Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao* and two works by Quanzhen patriarchs of the late thirteenth century, 1147 *Xiyun ji* and 1073 *Daochan ji*.

Apart from these works by well-known masters, the canon also contains other texts from the same period (1220–1280) whose authors are clearly identified with the Quanzhen order but not well documented historically. They are 247 *Huizhen ji*, 248 *Qizhen ji*, 1064 *Dongyuan ji*, 1144 *Ziran ji*, 1145 *Xuanxu zi mingzhen ji*, and 1151 *Wuzhen ji*. These second-generation authors were not all mere imitators. If they drew on the same sources of inspiration as the patriarchs, their poetry shows an evolution in style and doctrine, especially concerning the life of the hermit. As Quanzhen enlarged its audience and gained control of the large ordination monasteries, emphasis shifted from hermetic withdrawal to community life. Selfless striving for merit is the essential theme of works of this period, and Quanzhen's social action was initially rewarded with unprecedented political autonomy. This privilege started to be restricted in the 1250s, in reponse to the Quanzhen courtship of Buddhists. The movement was severely curtailed in the early 1280s when, in a fit of rage and sudden reversal of policy, the emperor Kublai ordered its canon burned. These changes in court politics, however, did not affect Quanzhen entrenchment in the countryside. Indeed, in the early fourteenth century, the order would recover its official patronage. Meanwhile, the establishment and administration of large ordination monasteries called for monastic rules. It was during the period of consolidation in the early fourteenth century that 1235 *Quanzhen qinggui*, a compendium of rules, and 1229 *Quanzhen zuobo jiefa*, a technical manual explaining the use of a method for collective meditation, were compiled.

Although political support for the Quanzhen declined in the late thirteenth century, the reunification of China in 1279 brought it into full contact with the southern schools, among which it immediately gained considerable prestige. The various orders had in fact been acquainted for some time. As early as 1260 and 1264, masters of the Quanzhen and Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) traditions, along with other eminent Taoists, were included in comprehensive lineage charts. Travels of Taoist masters across the border are not well documented, but books did make the journey. Van der Loon points to a Southern Song (1127–1279) work, the *Taishang shilu* 太上實錄 (see the article on 770 *Hunyuan shengji*) included in the Quanzhen-sponsored canon of 1244 (VDL 56). The inclusion of 1059 *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* (an eminently Quanzhen text) in the Nanzong anthology 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* must also have come shortly after the reunification of China (1279), if not before. Quanzhen did spread to southern China, but it never managed to establish large networks of communities there. Instead, it mostly operated small but renowned cloisters attached to large Zhengyi centers in the south.

Not many post-reunification Quanzhen texts are clearly dateable. There is 276 *Xiyi zhimi lun* whose author, Niu Daochun, also wrote a commentary (727 *Wenshi zhenjing zhu*) and the hagiographic account 174 *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*. The major legacy of that period is identified with the more speculative works of southern authors such as LI DAOCHUN, Miao Shanshi 苗善時, CHEN ZHIXU, WANG JIE (mid-fourteenth century), and Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (1276–1336), who was raised in the Nanzong tradition and also initiated into Quanzhen pedagogy, thus claiming double affiliation. Although not a priori Quanzhen Taoists, these authors produced some of the most remarkable premodern Taoist literature, and eventually became regarded as authorities in modern Quanzhen. Beside this syncretic tradition, the continuity of the classical early Quanzhen tradition, at least during the early Ming (1368–1644), is documented in 1076 *Suiji yinghua lu*, a *yulu* by He Daoquan 何道全 (1319?–1399). Encyclopedic works from the Ming such as 1232 *Daomen shigui* and 1483 *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* also attest to the broad acceptance of Quanzhen practice and texts among all Taoist circles.

The comparatively small number of Quanzhen texts, amounting to less than 4 percent of the canon's volume, does not reflect the historical importance of the order that since the late twelfth century has come to be regarded as a vital element of the Taoist tradition. And yet the sixty-odd texts discussed here, casually scattered in various compilations, provide a huge wealth of historical and doctrinal information that to this day has scarcely begun to be explored by scholars. The major problem with Quanzhen writings lies in their unsystematic nature. Quanzhen is not a revelation, and there is no founding scripture on which the whole tradition can be said to rest. The fact that the school produced no classic was considered a blemish by the early Ming theoretician ZHAO YIZHEN. For a school with a deep sense of its unity and mission, the corpus left by Quanzhen is dispersed and heterogeneous.

It is not easy to define a Quanzhen text. No common formal criteria seem to link the corpus together. Reference to the patriarchs (most often WANG ZHE and QIU CHUJI) is frequent but not systematic. Neither is the word Quanzhen a reliable indicator: on one hand it is claimed by authors primarily affiliated with other schools, and on the other, it is absent from many core Quanzhen texts. Its synonyms include Golden Lotus (Jinlian 金蓮) and, more frequently, Mysterious Movement (Xuanfeng 玄風). It is indeed a rather vague term, and as Hachiya Kunio points out, its use by WANG ZHE himself is not very consistent (*Kindai dōkyō*, 15). To indicate “becoming a Quanzhen Taoist,” one employed the usual terms for entering the religious life or monastic orders (*chujia* 出家 or *rudao* 入道). For the doctrine of the Quanzhen masters, the nonsectarian *wuwei qingjing* 無爲清靜 was most commonly used. It is, moreover, hazardous to identify a Quanzhen text on the basis of doctrine. Their prominent features, *neidan* and Three Teachings “syncretism,” are common to many

writings of that period, including the Nanzong. The patriarch of this southern lineage, ZHANG BODUAN, is often quoted in Quanzhen works (although more often in second generation texts), and the two schools share the same theoretical foundations. Some scholars have tried to distinguish between the “Northern” (original Quanzhen) and “Southern” schools on the basis of their different emphases regarding *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 (mind and body) cultivation; this has been put into perspective by more recent research (see especially Chen Bing, “Jin Yuan Quanzhen dao,” 538–40).

The early Quanzhen placed great emphasis on morals. Their scriptures hold forth about karma and the necessity of accumulating merit over many generations to attain truth and dismiss all practices but the purification of the mind. This has led some contemporaries to identify Quanzhen with Chan (see 1066 *Xuanzong zhizhi wanfa tonggui* 3.7b: “Quanzhen practices the Sudden Way, it is therefore a sort of Buddhism”). This image of early Quanzhen as pure moral asceticism might primarily reflect a sociological distinction rather than a doctrinal choice. The Quanzhen order was at that time addressing very large lay congregations, and the “recorded sayings” (*yulu*) bear witness to their popular audiences. Most extant non-Quanzhen *yulu*, by contrast, are esoteric discussions between advanced adepts. The same differences can be observed among the audiences of Quanzhen and non-Quanzhen poetry. A few theoretical texts by Quanzhen authors (e.g., 1161 *Taigu ji*, 247 *Huizhen ji* 1, 248 *Qizhen ji* 3), however, show that the school’s propogators were not averse to the kind of speculative writings for which the Southern school (Nanzong) is justly famous. The most sensible way to identify a Quanzhen text, then, would be by affiliation of the author with the Quanzhen organization, with the help of historical sources, notably epigraphy. Unfortunately, many texts in the canon have either authors who are otherwise unknown, or no indication of authorship at all. Thus we have a number of texts that seem related to the Quanzhen movement, but that cannot be incorporated into a strictly defined corpus. The present set of some sixty well-identified texts, however, is large enough to allow for a description of the major genres. These are (1) hagiography, (2) recorded saying (*yulu*) and collected works, and (3) didactic writings, covering both precepts and practices.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the early Quanzhen was the edition of the 1244 canon, almost without state support, in a very short period of time and under troubled conditions. It is difficult to have a clear idea of the contents of this canon, but available evidence suggests that the compilers did not interfere with the traditional Three Caverns and Four Auxiliaries (*sandong sifu* 三洞四輔) partition, nor did they attempt to fill the canon with their own literature. At most, they added a few hagiographic works at the end. This process was completely in line with the nature of the Quanzhen movement: the masters respected the canon and strove to enlarge its diffusion, but they considered their own writings to be extracanonical. The Quanzhen

order, however, did not completely abstain from manipulating the potent symbols of the canonical tradition. There are a few cases where it tried to find a place for itself in this tradition. The first such case was the rediscovery of the *Wenshi zhenjing* 文始真經 in 1233. This scripture authored by Yin Xi 尹喜, Laozi's disciple, had been lost for centuries. When it was found in a cache of documents and presented to the patriarch Yin Zhiping 尹志平, it was considered to be an omen of the new propagation of Taoism. The coincidence of the Yin name was reinforced by the fact that Yin's master, QIU CHUJI, was himself widely considered, owing to his western travels, to be a new Laozi. The *Wenshi zhenjing* was not a real rediscovery, however, since the text (probably a tenth-century apocryphal work) had actually been in circulation for some time already.

A different kind of scriptural manipulation was the forging of new *jing*. Although this can never be proved definitely, it does seem that at least two (and probably more) "Lingbao scriptures," the *Datong jing* 大通經 and the *Chiwen donggu jing* 赤文洞古經 were written in Quanzhen circles. This authorship would explain why these two works almost always appear with commentaries by Quanzhen masters, and also why to this day they are included in almost all Quanzhen collections. Other possible cases include 646 *Taishang laojun wai riyong miaojing* and 25 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo dedao li-aoshen jing*. On the other hand, neither the *Wenshi zhenjing* nor the various "Quanzhen scriptures" ever commanded special authority among the adepts.

The history of Quanzhen texts should be understood in the framework of the Quanzhen organization, a monastic order based on a dense network of small monasteries and temples, supported by lay congregations (*hui* 會). For instance, the 1309 reprint of 176 *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* was due to fundraising organized by a number of lay members of Taoist associations spread from Hangzhou to Peking. We can therefore understand the existence of many "association members" (*huishou*) among the dedicatees of Quanzhen poetry. Most prefaces were written by lay believers who were not, properly speaking, Taoists, but whose deep faith and admiration went well beyond the polite deference of a scholar pen-friend. Du Dekang 杜德康, the sponsor of Yin Zhiping, is a telling example; Wang E 王鶚 (1190–1273), sponsor of WANG ZHIJIN and his disciple Ji Zhizhen, is another. These men were Confucians engaged in political careers; they were clearly not free to follow the ascetic path of celibacy and poverty of a Quanzhen monk but were nonetheless engaged, in a personal and not merely intellectual sense, in the Quanzhen movement.

The complete reorganization of the Quanzhen after the fall of the Yuan entailed a loss of the best part of such support. Literary output dropped dramatically and never recovered the intensity of the thirteenth century. It is likely that many works were also lost around that time. The compilers of the Zhengtong canon, who held Quanzhen in high esteem, included all the scriptures they could find (possibly in the libraries of

large monasteries), but much more was lost. It is unlikely that the 1281 condemnation played a role in this, since Quanzhen writings were not especially targeted. The burning of many temples during the Yuan-Ming transition is a more likely culprit. Moreover, although Taoist-inclined literati enjoyed Quanzhen poetry, it never caught the fancy of mainstream literary criticism, which, with some reason, found it too forceful and ideological. The Quanzhen anthologies were therefore rarely to be found in large private libraries. Quanzhen poetry is rarely included in imperial anthologies of classical poetry; it has been rediscovered by literary historians only in recent decades.

This picture is confirmed by two observations. First, very few Yuan and Ming editions of Quanzhen works in the canon survive separately. We have only a Jin edition of 1159 *Panxi ji* and Yuan editions of 1140 *Yunshan ji* and 1059 *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu*, all in the Peking Library. The 1059 *Wang zhenren yulu* is often quoted, has been included in several Ming collectanea (*congshu*), and commanded the respect of luminaries like Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541–1620). Jiao's attitude might be typical of the many scholars who, without considering the Quanzhen masters as first-class poets or essayists, were impressed by the depth of insight and spirituality conveyed by their words. The second observation concerns the listing of Quanzhen works in the bibliographic catalogues of the Ming and Qing. Thirty-six titles are mentioned, some of them since lost, belonging to all categories (see Goossaert, "La création du taoïsme moderne," 436–38). The anthologies, however, are underrepresented: it is remarkable, for instance, that WANG ZHE's works are completely absent from these catalogues. The most salient information is that hagiographic works account for almost half of the references. It seems that mainstream Chinese scholars chose to remember early Quanzhen for its historical significance rather than for its contribution to Chinese thought and literature. It is also noteworthy that, of the five early Quanzhen works that have been transmitted outside the canon (*Xuanfeng qinghui tu*, *Laozi bashiyi hua tu*, *Qizhen xianzhuan*, *Quanzhen zongyan fangwai xuanyan*, and *Daode jing zhu* by He Daoquan, all mentioned above), three are of a hagiographic nature.

Quanzhen works mentioned in epigraphy, hagiographic texts, and quotations from Ming texts, as well as their prefaces in literary collections, resuscitate titles of books now lost. A comprehensive check provided a list of eighty-one such titles. As far as we can tell from mere titles, these books seem to have been similar in format to those that are extant; mainly poetry, *yulu*, and a number of commentaries on the Taoist classics. This suggests that the selection of Quanzhen texts now extant, largely thanks to the Zhengtong canon, is representative of the larger production of early Quanzhen.

3.B.9.a Hagiography and Biography

A large collection of hagiographic works, inside and outside the canon, is concerned with the Quanzhen movement. In the canon, the oldest text is *173 Jinlian zhengzong ji*, composed by Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188–1244), coeditor of the Taoist canon of the Jin, the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 of 1244, for inclusion in that collection. Then come three works by the greatest Quanzhen historiographer, Li Daoqian (1219–1296): a chronology (*175 Qizhen nianpu*), a collection of biographies (*955 Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan*), and an anthology of stele inscriptions (*973 Ganshui xianyuan lu*). From a later date are *174 Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*, which probably aimed at the same public as *173 Jinlian zhengzong ji*: both are breviaries of the origins and early history of the Quanzhen. Also written in the fourteenth century, *1069 Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi* adopts the same format as the two works above: the Five Ancestors, *wuzu* 五祖 (Laozi, Donghua dijun 東華帝君, ZHONGLI QUAN, LÜ DONGBIN, and LIU HAICHAN; WANG ZHE may replace Laozi), and the Seven Zhenren; it also adds his own subbranch of the lineage. There existed further narratives about the Quanzhen patriarchs, as their celebrity made them public figures. For instance, one of the sources of *175 Qizhen nianpu* is a book by the Jin literary figure turned Quanzhen monk Wang Cui 王粹 (d. 1243), a work later expanded into the *Qizhen xianzhuan* 七真仙傳, still extant in a 1417 edition. These narratives in turn inspired full-fledged novels called “stories of the Seven Zhenren,” of which several examples date from the Qing. Novelists were not the only ones interested in these tales. Playwrights also plumbed them. MA DANYANG was the hero of plays written at the end of the thirteenth century (see Hawkes, “Quanzhen plays”). A variety of works from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries together provide as many as six different versions of the history of WANG ZHE and his seven apostles, not to mention some 500 extant stone inscriptions.

Although usually treated as a group, the early Quanzhen masters also have individual hagiographies in anecdotal style. *594 Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu* is concerned with one of the Seven Zhenren, Wang Chuyi 王處一; *305 Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* is the standard hagiography of LÜ DONGBIN, as well as providing the framework of the murals of the Chunyang dian 純陽殿 in the renowned Quanzhen monastery Yongle gong 永樂宮, built on Lü’s presumed birthplace (Ang, “Le culte de Lü Dongbin”). In the same monastery, the murals of the Chongyang dian 重陽殿, devoted to WANG ZHE, are in a poor state and little studied, but they were certainly based on a similar hagiographic work. The murals can be identified with an illustrated biography of Wang, *Chongyang zhenjun minhua tu*, quoted in the still partially extant 1309 edition of *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* 玄風慶會圖 (reprint Shanghai: Hanfen lou, 1925). This work by the Quanzhen monk Shi Zhijing 石志經 (1202–1275) is an illustrated biography of

QIU CHUJI. This beautifully edited work matches a full-page illustration with each anecdote. Shi Zhijing, a friend of Li Daoqian, also composed the *Laojun bashiyi huatu* 老君八十一化圖, an illustrated narration of the various apparitions of Laozi on Earth, which elicited much furore from the Buddhists since it included the old *huahu* 化胡 story. All of these works, whether written or pictorial, belong to the same genre, to which one can also add *170 Zitong dijun huashu*.

Most of these works appeared during the half century 1230–1280, when Quanzhen identity was being elaborated in a very competitive setting. In particular, Li Daoqian and Shi Zhijing were active around the time of the famous Buddho-Taoist controversies of the 1250s, and their works might very well be an answer to them, although they do not show any prejudice against other religions (see Miura Suichi, “Gendai shisō”). The *1429 Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* is also relevant to this problem. The literary, artistic, and historiographic qualities of the Quanzhen accounts of this period contrast with the offensiveness of their detractors (cf. Rachewiltz, “The *Hsi-yu lu*,” and Kubo Noritada, “Prolegomena”). The Quanzhen compilers usually mention their sources and rarely take recourse to spurious evidence (the first four ancestors being an exception). All authors mainly rely on stele inscriptions. This underlines the role of lay patrons in fashioning Quanzhen’s identity, for most steles were written by scholars, even if they used the memoranda provided by the Quanzhen monks.

Quanzhen lore is centred on lineages, not on places. The order nonetheless regarded the Zhongnan shan 終南山 (Shaanxi) as its holy land, and it is in Quanzhen circles that *956 Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* (also available in rubbing) and *957 Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* were compiled, thus acknowledging the local traditions to which the Quanzhen movement was heir.

Jinlian zhengzong ji 金蓮正宗記

5 juan

By Qin Zhian 秦志安, *hao* Changchun hutian 長春壺天, Linjian yuke 林間羽客, Shuli daoren 樗櫟道人; preface dated 1241

173 (fasc. 75–76)

“Record of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus School.” This scripture has a preface by the author, dated 1241. In Henan, Qin Zhian joined SONG DEFANG. Both Taoists assumed responsibility for the edition of the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏. Qin Zhian incorporated “The Time Line of Transmission” into this collection of Taoist literature (see Yuan Haowen 元好問, “Tongzhen zi mubei ming 通真子墓碑銘,” in *Yishan xiansheng wenjing* 31.314b–315b).

The “True Line of Transmission” comprises fourteen Taoist names. The respective biographies have been arranged according with the historical development of the lineage as understood by the author. The first patriarch of the Golden Lotus (Quanzhen)

school is Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫), who was initiated into the Taoist order by the deity Boyun shangzhen 白雲上真. Donghua dijun passed his knowledge to ZHONGLI QUAN. The biographies of LÜ YAN and LIU HAICHAN follow. These two Taoists were also spiritual ancestors of the Quanzhen school. Then the text gives the biographies of WANG CHONGYANG and his two friends from Shaanxi, He Yuchan 和玉蟾 and Li Lingyang 李靈陽, preceding the presentation of the Seven Zhenren (Qizhen 七真), who are connected with WANG CHONGYANG's activities in Shandong. The two friends from Shaanxi constitute a link with the village of Liujiang (see 955 *Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 1.1a–4a). WANG CHONGYANG is featured as a successor to LIN LINGSU. However, WANG CHONGYANG's specialty was Taoist teachings dealing with human nature and existence (*xingming* 性命).

The biographies contain a descriptive text and one or several eulogies. They also mention the honors that had been bestowed on these Taoists by emperors of the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. Finally they list the literary works written by these masters. Each biography concludes with a mediumistic poem. The “The Time Line of Transmission” aims to legitimize the Quanzhen school in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Florian C. Reiter

Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan 金蓮正宗仙源像傳

45 fols.

Compiled by Liu Zhixuan 劉志玄, *hao* Lushan qingxi daoren 廬山清溪道人, and Xie Xichan 謝西蟾; preface dated 1326

174 (fasc. 76)

“Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus [School].” Two prefaces introduce this work. The first was written by the Thirty-ninth Heavenly Master, Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子, and is dated 1327. The second preface is by Liu Zhixuan and is dated 1326. This work, like 173 *Jinlian zhengzong ji*, deals with the history of the Quanzhen school.

The short biographies, each of which is preceded by a portrait of its subject (figs. 59–61), also indicate the literary works of the master. Reference is made to the temples or cloisters, which were founded after the death of the respective master in places where he had lived, taught, and finally died. At the end of each text, the honorary titles decreed by the court of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) are listed. A short eulogy concludes the text of each biography. An independent collection of historical documents precedes the portraits and biographies. This collection was printed in 1324. The documents comprise Genghis Khan's statements inviting QIU CHUJI, the decree bestowing honorary titles on the founders of the Quanzhen school, issued in 1269 by

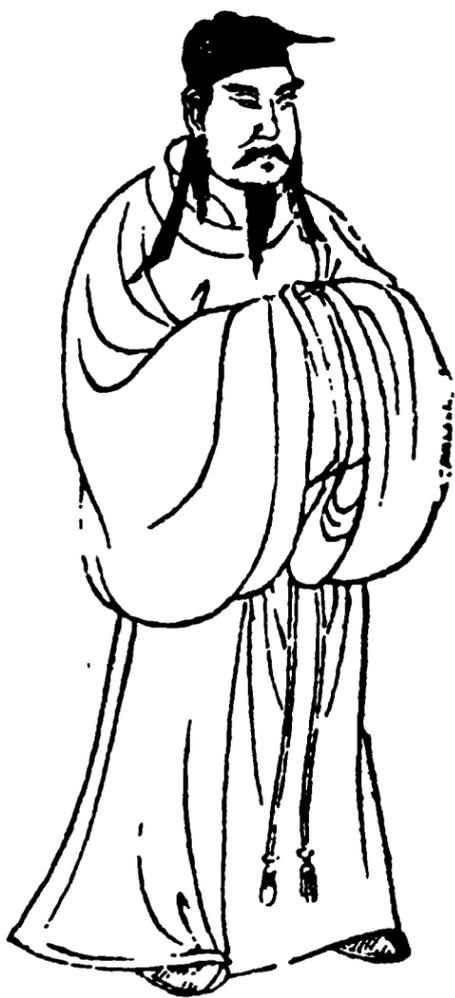


FIGURE 59. Portrait of the immortal Lü Dongbin (174 15b)



FIGURE 60. Wang Zhe, the founder of the Quanzhen order (174 18a)



FIGURE 61. Qiu Chuji, Taoist ambassador to Genghis Khan (174 32a)

Kublai, and finally four similar documents issued in 1310 by Wuzong. All these documents had been copied by Liu Zhixuan when he was serving the Quanzhen master Sun Deyu 孫德彧 (1243–1321) at the Changchun temple in the capital.

Florian C. Reiter

Qizhen nianpu 七真年譜

22 fols.

Compiled by Li Daoqian 李道謙; 1271

175 (fasc. 76)

“Chronological Biographies of the Seven Zhenren.” Li Daoqian is said to have compiled these biographies in the Ancestral Hall at Liujiang village, Shaanxi. This was the western center of the Quanzhen school. The Seven Zhenren are the seven masters of the first generation, the followers of WANG ZHE (Chongyang). At the beginning of the text, biographical data concerning WANG ZHE are given. They are taken from a biography written by Wang Cui 王粹. The chronology covers the period between the birth of the historical founder of the school, WANG ZHE (1112), and the death of QIU CHUJI (1227). QIU CHUJI (Changchun) was the last of the Seven Zhenren to die. The chronology compiles the most remarkable events and data referring to the Qizhen’s contacts with WANG ZHE and their careers as Quanzhen Taoists.

The biographies attempt to reconcile some contradictory information, which could have been drawn from older (not specified) biographies. Li Daoqian bases his correc-

tions on the literary collections of the Seven Zhenren, which are treated as authentic and reliable documents. The text also points to some other works by Quanzhen Taoists that are said to be reliable.

Florian C. Reiter

Xuanfeng qinghui lu 玄風慶會錄

9 fols.

By Yila Chucai 移刺楚才; preface 1232

176 (fasc. 76)

“Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Taoism.” This account was in fact written by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材. Yila Chucai is a distortion of that name. The anonymous preface is dated 1232. It speaks about the visit of the Quanzhen patriarch and preceptor of state, QIU CHUJI, to the temporary residence of the Khan. The preface compares this event with the famous journey to the West that Laozi is said to have undertaken. It is stated that the “Celebrated Encounter” had been written at the behest of the Khan.

The text records the encounters between QIU CHUJI and Genghis Khan in 1222. It features the Taoist’s answers to the Khan in response to his request for medicine to prolong his life. QIU CHUJI expounds his philosophy and discusses the conditions that shape a human life. He pays special attention to the conditions of the ruler. There is an intimate relationship between the external affairs of state and the human qualities of a ruler. The Khan is advised to restrain his old habits. QIU CHUJI points to the pacifying effects of the Way, which the teachings and deeds of Taoists (Zhengyi and Quanzhen) had brought to China. He also suggests imitating the example of the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) rulers, who had employed Liu Yu 劉豫 to enforce Chinese ways of government. The most interesting parts of the “Celebrated Encounter” are translated in Waley, *The travels of an alchemist*, 21–25.

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Florian C. Reiter

Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji 純陽帝君神化妙通紀

By Miao Shanshi 苗善時 (fl. 1324)

7 juan

305 (fasc. 159)

“Records of the Miraculous Manifestation of the Transcendence of the Imperial Lord Pure Yang.” Chunyang dijun is the official title LÜ YAN received in 1310 by decree of the emperor Wuzong. The author of this account, a native of Nanking, was a

disciple of LI DAOCHUN (see 1060 *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 3) and the editor of 651 *Taishang dongshen sanyuan miaoben fushou zhenjing* (postface dated 1324).

According to the preface, the records consisted of 120 tales of miraculous manifestations (*hua*) in six juan. The present edition only reaches the *hua* 108. The episodes 20–24 and 26–33 are missing; the remaining *hua* number ninety-five and are arranged in seven juan. They trace the life of the saint, from his birth in 790 at Yongle (Hezhong fu, Shanxi) to his death at the end of the Tang (*hua* 1 to 8). Next in the narrative come the many post-mortem appearances of the saints, continuing into the late thirteenth century. Many of these tales feature anecdotes known through later compilations (see 1484 *Lüzü zhi*) as well as Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) plays and vernacular literature. The author adds his comments to the tales, either as a “judgment” (*tuan* 彖) or as a poem (*shi* 詩). The first *hua* are all followed by *tuan*, whereas later *hua* are mostly followed by poems. Comments on the last stories (after number 101) are missing.

The author freely declares his views through the comments. He represents the texts of 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* and of *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* juan 14–15) as forgeries. On the other hand, the saint is said to have received 19 *Taisjang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing*, a holy book collecting the essence of the Three Teachings, during his initiation (2.5b). At the beginning of the present work, the author reproduces two imperial decrees canonizing the Five Patriarchs of Quanzhen, LÜ YAN being one of them. These decrees, dated 1269 and 1310, also feature in 174 *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*.

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Kwong Hing Foon

Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu 體玄真人顯異錄

15 fols.

Thirteenth century

594 (fasc. 329)

“Report on the Wondrous Events [in the Life of] the Adept who is United with the Mystery.” This account concerns the Quanzhen patriarch Wang Chuyi 王處一 (first generation of the Seven Zhenren), on whom Emperor Zhangzong in 1198 bestowed the title of Tixuan dashi 體玄大師. This work was compiled by his followers. It contains nineteen accounts of the wondrous deeds of the patriarch. Wang Chuyi appears to have effected the miracles in order to convert people.

In 1287, Yao Sui 姚燧 based his inscription “Yuyang tixuan guangdu zhenren Wang zongshi daoxing beiming 玉陽體玄廣度真人王宗師道行碑銘,” in 973 *Ganshui xian-*

yuan lu 2.13a, on this work. The expanded honorary title of the Taoist, which was used in the title of Yao Sui's inscription, had been conferred on Wang Chuyi in 1269 by Emperor Shizu. It is possible that the present text already existed before 1269.

Wang Chuyi is featured as a Taoist priest and healer who was well versed in magical methods. No mention is made of his affiliation with the Quanzhen school. This work describes events that are reported in part in 1152 *Yunguang ji*, such as the magic that Wang performed in order to procure rain in Peking in 1209 (4a–4b). The present work provides important information about the way of life of this Taoist who traveled widely in Shandong and Hebei, not having the habit of staying long in one place. This work and 1152 *Yunguang ji* complement one another.

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Florian C. Reiter

Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan 終南山祖庭仙真內傳

3 juan

By Li Daoqian 李道謙; preface by Wang Daoming 王道明 dated 1284

955 (fasc. 605)

“Biographies of the Immortal Zhenren of the Ancestral Hall at Mount Zhongnan.” These biographies describe the activities of Quanzhen Taoists of the first, second, and third generations. The Ancestral Hall (Liujiang village, Shaanxi) was around the end of the thirteenth century a major center of the Quanzhen school (compare 175 *Qizhen nianpu* 5b–9b). The author of the preface, Wang Daoming, was in charge of the Yuxian gong 遇仙宮 temple in Ganhe zhen 甘河鎮 (Zhongnan).

The immortals and zhenren in question were the friends and followers of WANG CHONGYANG, MA DANYANG, QIU CHUJI, and other patriarchs of the Quanzhen school, who had lived for some time in the Ancestral Hall. The biographies feature the affiliations of these Taoists. They show clearly how the Quanzhen school increasingly gained influence in society. The biographies list their subjects' literary works and sometimes officially decreed posthumous titles. Numerous biographies concern persons for whom no inscriptions had been written. This work preserves important supplements to the collection of inscriptions later compiled by the same author (see 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu*).

Florian C. Reiter

Ganshui xianyuan lu 甘水仙源錄

10 juan

By Li Daoqian 李道謙, *hao* Hefu 和甫; postface by Zhang Haogu 張好古; 1289
973 (fasc. 611–613)

“Record of the Immortals from the Sweet Water [River].” This collection of inscriptions concerns the history of the Quanzhen school. The Sweet Water River (Ganhe) flows through Ganhe county in Shaanxi where WANG CHONGYANG (1112–1170) met with zhenren and received Taoist instructions. The immortals constitute the historical and orthodox line of transmission in the Quanzhen school, from the first to the third generation. Li Daoqian hailed from Kaifeng. In 1281 he was the abbot of the Chongyang wanshou gong temple (Liujiang village, Shaanxi). Li Daoqian, who is also the author of 175 *Qizhen nianpu* and 955 *Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan*, was a student and follower of Yu Dongzhen 余洞真 (1166–1250). He was a major author and compiler of the history of the Quanzhen school. His student Zhang Haogu says in his postface (10.32a–33a) that Li collated all texts of this collection.

Li Daoqian places at the very beginning of this work the edict of Emperor Shizu (1269), which decrees religious titles for the spiritual ancestors of the Quanzhen school and for WANG CHONGYANG and his seven followers. The compilation of inscriptions that follow this edict deal with life within the Quanzhen order and with Quanzhen temples. This work also contains official and scholarly poems that refer to Quanzhen Taoists.

Some inscriptions were composed by well-known literati like Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257), Yao Sui 姚燧 (1238–1313), and Wang E 王鶚 (1190–1273). There are several different types of texts: tomb inscriptions, steles, and biographies. Comparisons with other editions show that Li Daoqian did not always transcribe his texts accurately and completely. However, most of the inscriptions in this edition cannot be found elsewhere; for this reason, the compilation remains the most important source for the history of the Quanzhen school.

Florian C. Reiter

Changchun zhenren xiyou ji 長春真人西遊記

2 juan

By LI ZHICHANG 李志常, *hao* Zhenchang zi 真常子; preface by Sun Xi 孫錫
dated 1228

1429 (fasc. 1056)

“Report on the Journey of the Adept Changchun to the West.” This account was written by the Quanzhen Taoist LI ZHICHANG, who accompanied the leader of the school, QIU CHUJI, on his journey in 1221–1224 from Peking via Central Asia to the temporary residence of Genghis Khan near Kabul.

The present text describes the travelers, itinerary, and people the two zhenren met along the way. The author observes the activities of the patriarch, who had numerous contacts with local officials and participated in religious festivities. There is only scant information about the discussions with the Khan (on that subject, see 176 *Xuanfeng qinghui lu*). This work also covers the period between QIU CHUJI's return to Peking and his death in 1227. It includes information about the arrangements for nominating a successor in the leadership of the Quanzhen school (Yin Qinghe 尹清和). The appendix (2.27b–32a) contains seven documents. Most of these had been sent either by the Khan or the administration of Peking concerning QIU CHUJI. Large portions of this report are translated by A. Waley (*The travels of an alchemist*).

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Florian C. Reiter

3.B.9.b Logia and Collected Works

Many Quanzhen masters had their own literary anthology, usually composed only of *shi* 詩 - and *ci* 詞 - poems, and various songs. Besides individual anthologies, selected collective anthologies of Quanzhen poetry were compiled to help spread the gospel of Quanzhen predication. Although it is not limited to Quanzhen authors, 1100 *Minghe yuyin* contributed to the diffusion of Quanzhen poetry. A Quanzhen monk edited the authoritative collection of LÜ DONGBIN's poetry, 1055 *Chunyang zhenren hun-cheng ji*.

The prevalence of poetry in Quanzhen literature seems quite natural; poetry was a part of the curriculum in Quanzhen schools. Quanzhen poems range between the didactic and lyric styles. The variety of subjects is matched by the variety of styles. Unlike the clearly structured poetical works of southern *neidan*, Quanzhen poetry is experimental. For instance, verses exchanged between WANG ZHE and MA DANYANG leave the first character of a verse for the recipient of the poem to guess (*cangtou* 藏頭). MA DANYANG also offers verse experiments in the repetitive style. The most common mode is the *ci* and, more generally, poetry to be sung. Beside their use as “cases for reflection” (*gongan* 公案), these songs were also chanted during meditation or ritual and more generally on collective occasions. The Quanzhen rules specify, “During the *hai* hour [9 to 11 P.M.] we sing and chant, read religious discourses, lyric and regular poetry to dispel the temptations of sleep” (1235 *Quanzhen qinggui* 6a.).

Why did Quanzhen masters prefer to communicate through poetry? Quite simply, their poetry appealed to the emotions; its aim was to convert as much as to explain. It was intended to induce a religious experience that would cause one to “enter the Tao,”

not to understand it. Quanzhen was a missionary institution, and poetry its language of conversion. A large number of Quanzhen poems were composed upon solicitation by an adept, or given to prospective adepts with a performative intent. Many verses begin with words such as “I enjoin you to . . . (*quan jun* 勸君).” In order to increase their audience, poems were engraved on stone in temples. This is why hagiographic accounts, when quoting a book, always insist on its being “spread in the world” (*xing yushi* 行于世), the very opposite of an esoteric book. The performative aspect of Quanzhen poetry is borne out by its links with Yuan theater (*zaju* 雜劇), which is replete with “Taoist aspirations” (*daoqing* 道情) lyrics and allusions to the cult of the immortals. The canon contains a set of *daoqing* songs, 1144 *Ziran ji*, that might have been sung during festivals at Quanzhen temples and monasteries, possibly to accompany the life stories of the immortals and Quanzhen saints, not unlike the Buddhist *bianwen* 變文.

Just as Quanzhen poetry was anthologized, its *yulu* (sayings) were also edited in “selections,” such as 1256 *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu*. The most remarkable examples of Quanzhen logia, however, are four longer independent works: 1057 *Danyang zhenren yulu*, 1310 *Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu*, 1059 *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu*, and 1076 *Suiji yinghua lu*. Many more Quanzhen *yulu* were compiled during the Ming and Qing periods, some of which are in the present corpus, but few match the missionary spirit of these four works. The prevalence of colloquial *baihua* now make them difficult to read, but their humor (sometimes in the tradition of Linji Chan) and the predominance of autobiographical narratives contribute to their appeal. They exhibit a pedagogy based on imitation of the lives of the saints and collective emulation of asceticism, in a exalted atmosphere. The continued relevance of these older *yulu* is documented by their edition by a Quanzhen monk at the beginning of the twentieth century (see *Liezhen yulu jiyao* 列真語錄輯要, *Daozang jinghua*, ser. 3, vol. 8) and by excerpts posted in monasteries today.

Yunguang ji 雲光集

4 juan

By Wang Chuyi 王處一; between 1213–1217

1152 (fasc. 792)

“Radiance of the Clouds.” This literary collection presents lyrical works of various genres. Originally the collection had a preface by the author, now lost (see 175 *Qizhen nianpu* 4a). There is a reference to the death of HAO DATONG (1213). Wang Chuyi died in 1217. These dates suggest that the collection was compiled between 1213 and 1217. Radiance of the Clouds is the name of a cave in Wendeng 文登 (Shandong), where Wang Chuyi was living when he joined WANG CHONGYANG in 1168.

The collection contains dedications written for friends and acquaintances, instructions for students or disciples (see, e.g., 4.28a–28b), and also many texts that deal with specific events in the life of the author. Wang Chuyi, who had received attention from the imperial court, was a renowned Taoist priest and practitioner of exorcistic and liturgical services. His activities, which were commented upon by himself and eventually by his followers, connect this work with 594 *Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu*.

Florian C. Reiter

Jin zhenren yulu 晉真人語錄

14 fols.

Thirteenth century

1056 (fasc. 728)

“Recorded Discourses by the Zhenren Jin.” This work comprises five extended sections of quite different texts. Only the first part (1a–4b) corresponds to the title and contains discourses concerning physiological and meditative self-cultivation. These discourses have been attributed to Jin Daocheng 晉道成 (cf., e.g., “Chongzhen pian 崇真篇,” in 1017 *Daoshu* 19.3b–4b). Considering the many quotations of “Adept Jin” in early Quanzhen materials, like 1153 *Chongyang quanzhen ji* 10.21a, this part of the work suggests that at an early stage some concepts of the Song (960–1279) *neidan* 內丹 school had made their way into Quanzhen teachings. However, the true author or compiler of the five sections of this work is unknown. The four subsequent texts indicate that this work could not have been compiled before the thirteenth century.

The work includes, in addition, the following texts: “Chongyang zushi xiuxian liaoxing bijue 重陽祖師修仙了性秘訣,” which deals with the way of life recommended by WANG CHONGYANG (4b–6b); “Da Ma shifu shisi wen 答馬師父十四問,” containing definitions of terms and concepts by MA DANYANG (6b–8b); and “Xuanmen zhabao shiba wenda 玄門雜寶十八問答,” with poems concerning basic concepts of the Quanzhen school (8b–11b), for example, “to leave the family behind and practice self-cultivation.” At the end of the work, Quanzhen themes are again addressed in the form of odes (11b–14b).

Florian C. Reiter

Danyang zhenren yulu 丹陽真人語錄

16 fols.

By Wang Yizhong 王頤中, *hao* Lingyin zi 靈隱子; twelfth century

1057 (fasc. 728)

“Recorded Discourses of the Adept Danyang.” These discourses contain statements made by MA DANYANG along with accounts of his lectures, which were compiled

after his death in 1183 by his follower Wang Yizhong (4b). This work illustrates how MA DANYANG's way of life was in harmony with his teachings.

Wang Yizhong starts his compilation with a short account of his first contacts with MA DANYANG in 1183 in Shandong. He presents precepts for living in accordance with the Quanzhen teachings, as expressed by MA DANYANG. "Purity and Tranquility," the absence of any distractions by the profane world, is more important than progress achieved by reading and studying books (10a). As evidence for the claim that the "elixir emerges by itself, and the immortal becomes immortal of himself," this text introduces Liu Gaoshang 劉高尚 (fl. 1100; 8b; cf. 781 *Xuanpin lu* 5.22a–22b). Many statements made in this text can be found, with variants, in related texts (see, e.g., 1234 *Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 1b [14b, "The Tao of Heaven"]). Some parallels are found in 1256 *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 1.1a–9b.

Florian C. Reiter

Wuwei qingjing Changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu

無爲清靜長生真人至真語錄

35 fols.

By LIU CHUXUAN 劉處玄; preface dated 1202

1058 (fasc. 728)

"Record of the Most True Words [of LIU CHUXUAN]." This is a well structured series of eighty didactic expositions about theories and concepts pertaining to the Quanzhen teachings of the Taoist LIU CHUXUAN, one of the Seven Zhenren (Qizhen 七真). The systematically arranged expositions present definitions of terms or concepts in the form of replies to the questions of a fictitious interrogator. The text is preceded by an index of the eighty terms or concepts. They are arranged in sets of two complementary items. Han Shiqian 韓士倩 (*zi* Yanguang 彥廣) was asked by LIU CHUXUAN to write the preface (dated 1202). Han Shiqian called himself "Taoist Xubo, from the city of Duan in Huozhe [Shanxi]," Huozhe Duancheng Shuangxi Xubo daoren 獲澤端城雙溪虛白道人. Han Shiqian had received the text of the "Most True Words" through the intermediary of two disciples of LIU CHUXUAN who also transmitted the request for a preface. Han Shiqian points in particular to the literary activities of LIU CHUXUAN. He emphasizes that this work was based on the explanations provided by the Huang-Lao 黃老 school, and that it presents the knowledge of life and death. It also shows, he says, the way of leaving behind the "ocean of misery."

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Florian C. Reiter

Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu 清庵瑩蟾子語錄

6 juan

By Chai Yuangao 柴元皋, *zi* Heian 嘿庵, *hao* Guangchan zi 廣蟾子, and others; preface dated 1288

1060 (fasc. 729)

“Sayings of Master Yingchan.” This collection contains the teachings of LI DAOCHUN (d. 1306), compiled by his main disciples, each of whom edited one juan. They are, in addition to Chai Yuangao, a Maoshan Taoist who also signed the preface, Zhao Daoke 趙道可, *zi* Dingan 定庵; Miao Shanshi 苗善時, *zi* Shian 實庵; Deng Decheng 鄧德成, *zi* Ning'an 寧庵; Zhang Yingtan 張應坦, *zi* Meng'an 蒙庵; Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤, *zi* Sun'an 損庵. There is a colophon by WANG JIE, who printed the text, after having obtained the manuscript from Cai Zhiyi.

According to the preface of 1065 *Xuanjiao da gongan* (ib), LI DAOCHUN, native of Duliang 都梁 in Hunan province, was the disciple of Wang Jinchan 王金蟾, who in turn was a pupil of BO YUCHAN. Li's teaching is considered to be a synthesis between the Northern school (i.e., the Quanzhen order) and the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗). Himself a southerner, he must have lived for a time at the Changsheng guan 長生觀 temple in Henan province (see *Gujin tushu jicheng* 396, “Lixing bu” 李姓部). According to the preface of the present work, Li stayed for a period on Maoshan. It was, however, at Nanking, in the Zhonghe jingshe 中和精舍, that his teaching took place (see 249 *Zhonghe ji* 4.11a).

LI DAOCHUN's logia concern a variety of subjects: Chan Buddhism, Inner Alchemy, explanations on the *Daode jing*, and so forth. Juan 2, especially, concerns the eighty-one chapters of the *Daode jing*, which the master quotes in “case” fashion (*gongan* 公案); these explanations are called “the spiritual understanding of the *Daode jing*.” Additional explanations were provided when LI DAOCHUN transmitted the 699 *Daode huiyuan* to Zhao Daoke, a passage of which is quoted here.

The last juan contains a series of twenty-five poems on alchemical themes, with the title “Essentials of Alchemy” (“Jindan biyao 金丹秘要”; 6.14b–18b). The introduction refers to thirty-five themes, but this must be an error. At the end of this juan, there is an annotated hymn in praise of the Three Teachings.

Catherine Despeux

Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu 盤山棲雲王真人語錄

44 fols.

Compiled by Lun Zhihuan 論志煥; preface dated 1247

1059 (fasc. 728)

“Record of the Discourses by the Adept Wang Qiyun from Mount Pan.” This title contains reminiscences and instructions concerning the teaching activities of the Quan-

zhen Taoist WANG QIYUN. Wang was active as lecturer and preacher between the years 1219 and 1227 at Mount Pan 盤山 in Shaanxi, the period this work focuses upon. The preface (dated 1247) was written by Lun Zhihuan, a disciple of WANG QIYUN. Lun calls this work a “compass” for the beginner in Taoist studies. The work, he says, is based on materials collected by Mr. Liu 劉, who had served as Wang’s companion for a considerable period of time.

By means of Wang’s replies to questions about the religious life and its specific demands, the work presents practical instructions that appear to be typical of the Quanzhen school (e.g., see 16a–17a, “the ascetic self-cultivation”). Certain statements by WANG QIYUN about the words or deeds of MA DANYANG and QIU CHUJI clearly link this work (and Wang himself) directly to the generation of the founders of the Quanzhen school (20a, 22a).

This work has been incorporated, with many abridgments and variants, into 263.53 *Xiuzhen shishu* 1a–41b.

Florian C. Reiter

Panshan yulu 盤山語錄

41 fols.

263.53 *Xiuzhen shishu* 53 (fasc. 130)

“Record of the Discourses from Mount Pan.” This is a different arrangement of the sayings of WANG QIYUN (1178–1263), the Quanzhen master from Mount Pan (cf. 1059 *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu*).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Dongyuan ji 洞淵集

5 juan

By Changquan zi 長筌子 (fl. 1231)

1064 (fasc. 732–733)

“Collected Works of the Abyssal Cavern.” This collection is signed by Master Fish Trap, from Guishan 龜山 (Shandong). The identity of the author concealed behind this peculiar penname is unknown. In the present work (4.1a), he declares that in 1231 he fled the war with the Mongols and settled as a recluse in the district of Biyang 泌陽 (Henan). To judge from his writings, he must have been a scholar who sought refuge in Quanzhen Taoism during the great upheavals of that period. Other works signed by him in the *Daozang* are 101 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaoqing zhu* and 106 *Taishang chiwen donggu jing zhu*. They do not yield any additional information as to his identity.

Juan 1 and 2 contain the first and second parts of a philosophical and mystical treatise entitled “Zhiyi shu 至一書,” comprising seventy-two short chapters. Juan 3

contains thirty poems (plus an additional one) written under the inspiration of the thirty famous poems by Liu Xiyue 劉希岳, alias Langran zi 朗然子 (see 271 *Taixuan langran zi jindao shi*). These poems were very popular in Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) times.

The remainder of the contents are either rhapsodies (*wenfu* 文賦) or songs (*ci* 詞). Some are inspired by the author's religious career, such as the piece in commemoration of his religious training as a Quanzhen monk at the Changchun guan 長春觀 temple in Tangzhou 唐州, Shanxi ("Tangzhou Changchun guan jinlian hui 金蓮會"; 4.11a–12a) or of his preaching to the multitude ("Shengtang shizong 昇堂示衆"; 4.9a–10b).

Kristofer Schipper

***Daochan ji* 道禪集**

9 fols.

By Wang Zhitan 王志坦, *zi* Gongping 公平, *hao* Chunhe zhenren 淳和真人 (1200–1272)

1073 (fasc. 739)

"Collected Works on the Tao and Chan." The author of this collection was the successor of Zhang Chengming 張誠明 at the Changchun gong 長春宮 temple in Peking. He was promoted by Empress Regent Nimaocar (Naimazhen) to fifth patriarch of the Quanzhen order and for six years lived at the imperial palace (see 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 7.1a–5b). Among his actions, it is recorded that he distributed to the entire court copies of the *Illustrated Eighty-one Transformations of Laozi* (*Bashi yi hua tu* 八十一化圖), published by LI ZHICHANG (see *Bianwei lu* 3.768a).

The present work consists of an introduction and seventy-three poems (instead of the seventy-four announced in the title on page 2b). The poetry takes as its subject Chan Buddhist themes, such as the taming of the buffalo (poems 22, 32, and 38), although there are also references to Inner Alchemy (22, 13, 47, 60) and to the Quanzhen order (5, 27, 41, 47).

Catherine Despeux

***Huanzhen ji* 還真集**

3 juan

By WANG JIE 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子; preface by the Forty-third Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu 張宇初, dated 1392.

1074 (fasc. 739)

"Collected Works on the Return to the True." WANG JIE, the author of this collection, was acquainted with the disciples of LI DAOCHUN (see his colophon to 1060 *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu*). Heavenly Master Zhang Yuchu states in his preface that



FIGURE 62. Mind and Mystery, as the foundations of the alchemical process (1074 1.1a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1060)

on fundamental nature (*xingshuo* 性說) in 2.9a–10b. A poem entitled “Hunran ge 混然歌” describes the author’s delight in meditation (2.14b–15b). A liturgical “Buxu ci 步虛詞” in five stanzas seems to have been written for ritual performance in the author’s temple (2.18b–19a).

Catherine Despeux

Daoxuan pian 道玄篇

15 fols.

By WANG JIE 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子; fourteenth century

1075 (fasc. 740)

“Volume on the Tao and Its Mystery.” This volume is a collection of fifty-five poems on Taoist and Confucian themes, such as the Great Way (*dadao* 大道), the Mysterious Ultimate (*xuanji* 玄極), rites and music (*liyue* 禮樂), and the Doctrine of the Mean (*zhongyong* 中庸). On the author, see 1074 *Huanzhen ji*.

Catherine Despeux

Wang came from the region of Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi). Zhang obtained the manuscript from his disciple Yuan Wenyi 袁文逸, who brought it back from a visit to the Wu 吳 region in the spring of 1392.

Juan 1 is devoted to Inner Alchemy and expounds the three stages in which the immortal embryo is formed and nourished so as to become the *yangshen* 陽神. The text is illustrated by diagrams. At the end of this juan, there are lists of the different terms used for the cauldron, the elixir, and the fire phases of this process. (See fig. 62.)

The next two juan contain songs and poems often dedicated to disciples. Each is concerned with a particular alchemical issue. A short treatise on dreams (*mengshuo* 夢說) is found in 2.8a–9a, and a longer one

Suiji yinghua lu 隨機應化錄

2 juan

By He Daoquan 何道全, *hao* Wugou zi 無垢子 (d. 1399); edited by Jia Daoxuan 賈道玄; preface by Lingtong zi 靈通子 dated 1401

1076 (fasc. 740)

“Record of Conversions Made according to Circumstances.” This is a collection of logia of the early Ming Quanzhen master He Daoquan, consisting of dialogues and poems recorded during his numerous travels.

He Daoquan, alias Songxi daoren 松溪道人, was born in Qiantang 錢塘 (Hangzhou). He later traveled through Jiangsu and Henan, and most of the pieces in this collection are set in these two provinces. In 1386 he sojourned at the Temple of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue miao 東嶽廟) at Huayang 華陽 in Jiangsu (1.16b). A few days later, on the fifteenth day of the ninth month, he conducted the traditional Quanzhen Retreat of the Alms-Bowl Clepsydra (*zuobo* 坐鉢) at the Danyang Wanshou gong 丹陽萬壽宮 temple in Chang’an 長安 (1.16b–17a). Two years later, in 1388, he was at the temple called Wangxiang tai 望鄉台 (“The tower for Gazing Homeward,” one of the places in the Inferno, and thus linked to a Temple of the Eastern Peak in the “valley of Huayang”). There he entered into a Retreat of one hundred days (2.9a). It is not known at what time he retired to the Guifeng 桂峰 on Mount Zhongnan (Shaanxi), where he “accomplished the Tao.” A stele was erected to commemorate the event (preface, 1a). He died in 1399 in an infirmary at Chang’an (preface, 1a). Two years later, his grandson, a daoshi named Shoutong zi 壽通子, asked the author of the preface to publish the teachings of He, edited by his disciple Jia Daoxuan.

The topics of these logia are very general. Only in one instance is Inner Alchemy discussed. The answers given by He Daoquan are strongly influenced by Chan Buddhism. A third of his partners are Buddhists. He quotes the great classics of Buddhism and of Quanzhen Taoism, as well as LI DAOCHUN.

Catherine Despeux

Minghe yuyin 鳴鶴餘音

9 juan

Edited by Peng Zhizhong 彭致中 in 1347; preface by Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348)

1100 (fasc. 744–745)

“Echoes of the Call of Cranes.” This is a collection of the poetry of major Taoist figures of the Song (960–1279). It contains approximately 500 items, for the most part *ci*-詞 lyrics, written to more than 150 tunes, by forty different authors.

According to Yu Ji’s preface, the Taoist master Feng from Guiji 會稽 composed twenty *ci*-poems to the well-known tune “Su Wu man 蘇武慢” on the study of the Tao and the cultivation of immortality (see 2.1a–8b). Encouraged by a friend named

Fei Wuyin 費無隱, Yu Ji composed eleven poems to the same tune (2.8b–13a), mostly during the years 1343 and 1344. Three years later, in 1347, Peng Zhizhong, a Taoist from Mount Xianyou 仙游 in the Huagai range in Zhejiang (see 778 *Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi* 6.12b–13a), joined these poems to his anthology of Taoist poetry and had the entire collection printed.

The collection is composed for the most part of works by the Quanzhen patriarchs, although there are also poems by Taoists from other schools, such as BO YUCHAN (3.7a–11a). Some of the poems of the Quanzhen patriarchs have been separately transmitted in the *Daozang*. Among the poetry uniquely preserved here, there are seventy-one pieces by SONG DEFANG. His biography in 955 *Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 3.23b mentions his collected works under the title *Lequan ji* 樂全集, a work that is no longer extant. Our collection (8.18a–20a) also includes eight poems by Langran zi (d. 989), corresponding to poems 1, 2, 3, 4, 27, 28, 29, and 30 in 271 *Taixuan langran zi jindao shi*. In the present collection, these poems are followed by a biographical colophon signed Fanghu Zhizu 方壺知足 and dated 1131.

Juan 8 contains mostly poems on alchemy, such as a “Qinyuan chun 沁園春” similar to 136 *Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*. There is also “Chunyang zhenren baizi tu 純陽真人百字圖” (8.17b–18a), which has a number of variant readings with respect to 1055 *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 1.13a–b. Among the poems ascribed to semilegendary persons, those by LÜ DONGBIN are the most numerous, totaling 115. Some poems were revealed by spirit writing, like those by legendary immortals such as Han Xiangzi 韓湘子 (8.17a–b), or by the Taoist deity Xin tianjun 辛天君, revealed on Mount Wudang 武當 (3.11a).

The poems of master Feng and of Yu Ji have been edited separately, under the same title as the present collection, in a single juan, by Jin Tianrui 金天瑞 (preface dated 1364). That version quotes a *Minghe yuyin* in eight juan.

Catherine Despeux

Addendum

In the early Ming (1368–1644), another edition of this anthology was printed under the title *Quanzhen zongyan fangwai xuanyan* 全真宗眼方外玄言 (see Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature*, 188–90). This later edition, preserved in the Taiwan National Library and the Naikaku bunko 內閣文庫, is shorter but includes some additional prose texts. It features the same preface by Yu Ji 虞集 (see Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben xuba jilu*, vol. 子.4, 414). This preface, along with Yu’s and Feng’s original poems are also found in Yu’s anthology, *Daoyuan yigao* 6.3a–4a (cf. Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 798). A note appended to this text by Jin Tianrui 金天瑞, dated 1364, mentions that Master Feng’s works were also included in a collection titled *Dongyuan ji* (*Daoyuan yigao* 6.18a–b). Indeed, almost all of Feng’s poems found

in 1100 *Minghe yuyin* are also extant in 1064 *Dongyuan ji*, the work of an author known as Master Fish Trap (Changquan zi 長筌子), who took refuge in the Quanzhen community after the final onslaught of the Mongols on the Jin in 1232. The *Minghe yuyin* was to become the main vehicle by which Quanzhen literature spread in Southern China.

Vincent Goossaert

Yunshan ji 雲山集

8 juan

By Ji Zhizhen 姬志真; prefaces by Pei Xian 裴憲, zi Zifa 子法, dated 1250, and by Wang E 王鶚; dated 1265

1140 (fasc. 783–784)

“Clouds and Mountains.” The author of this literary collection was one of the followers of the Quanzhen master WANG ZHIJIN. Pei Xian states that his friend Lun Boyu 論伯瑜 presented him with this collection, which Lun wished to have printed and distributed. Pei’s preface was presumably commissioned for that occasion. In 1265 Wang E wrote his preface as a favor for LI ZHICHANG, with whom he had long been acquainted. LI ZHICHANG was in turn acquainted with Pei Xian. This collection of Ji Zhizhen’s literary works was printed in the author’s lifetime.

The collection is arranged according to literary categories. It contains prose, songs, and poems of various meters. Most texts deal with themes typical of the Quanzhen school, e.g. “Traveling like Clouds” (3.3b) or “The Three Teachings” (4.15a). Many of the texts are dedicated by the author to his friends and acquaintances. Juan 7–8 contain inscriptions concerning temples and rituals, among other things, some of which describe Ji Zhizhen’s life as a Taoist and follower of the Quanzhen school.

Florian C. Reiter

Xianle ji 仙樂集

5 juan

By LIU CHUXUAN 劉處玄, hao Changsheng zi 長生子 (after 1201)

1141 (fasc. 785)

“Pleasure of the Immortals.” The author of this literary collection is the Quanzhen patriarch LIU CHUXUAN. To his Taoist name “Changsheng zi” are added the words “Shenxian wuwei yingyuan 神仙無爲應緣.”

The “Discourses on Guilt and Good fortune [in the Light of the] Heavenly Tao,” which introduces the collection (1.1a–3b), consists of 102 sentences. The discourses contain antithetical descriptions of human actions with their ensuing retributions. The lyrical texts that follow the discourses present didactic instructions, for example, describing the way of life that will lead to the experience of the “pleasures of the im-

mortals.” LIU CHUXUAN, who had met with WANG CHONGYANG in 1169, lived and taught as a Quanzhen Taoist in Shaanxi and Shandong. He also performed Taoist liturgies. In 1201 he acted as master of ordinations for the order (3.9b). LIU CHUXUAN combines the way of life of the Quanzhen school with the profession of the Taoist priest.

Florian C. Reiter

Jianwu ji 漸悟集

2 juan

By MA DANYANG 馬丹陽 (1123–1184)

1142 (fasc. 786)

“Gradual Enlightenment.” This literary collection contains lyrical works by MA DANYANG from Mount Kunyu 崑嶺山 (Shandong). Their inclusion suggests that the collection was compiled during the years 1182 and 1183.

The lyrical texts describe MA DANYANG’s personal development. Some of the texts are dedicated to friends, like LIU CHUXUAN (1.34b), QIU CHUJI (1.19a), and HAO DATONG (1.35b). A few names, for example, Quan Zhiwei 權知微 (2.7b) and Wang Zhixuan 王知玄 (1.2b), connect this collection with other works written by MA DANYANG (see 1150 *Danyang shengguang can* 5a, 6a). In accordance with the title, MA DANYANG presents several linked poems (e.g., 2.26a–28a) featuring the gradual cultivation of self that a Quanzhen Taoist should strive toward (1.26a, 27b).

Florian C. Reiter

Caotang ji 草堂集

41 fols.

By Wang Dangui 王丹桂, *zi* Changling 昌齡, *hao* Boyun zi 白雲子; late twelfth century

1143 (fasc. 786)

“Grass-Hall.” This literary collection is the work of Wang Dangui, a follower of MA DANYANG. The two men probably met in 1183, when Wang was living at Mount Kunyu in Shandong (18a–b).

The collection includes “Instructions for Novices” (e.g., 40a–b). One text features the bestowal of a Taoist name on a student or new follower named Yang Deyuan 楊德遠 (11b). However, most texts in this collection have descriptive and poetic contents referring to the life of the Quanzhen Taoist. This way of life, which was free of all social restraints and obligations, is represented by the terms “Grass-Hall (Moon and Wind).” Attention should be drawn to the section entitled “Building Activities” (1233 *Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun* 2b), where it is said that the hut built of reeds or “grasses” constitutes the ideal surroundings within which to practice the Quanzhen way. The

collection also contains many dedications written for disciples, friends, and acquaintances.

Florian C. Reiter

Ziran ji 自然集

11 fols.

Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) or Yuan (1279–1368)

1144 (fasc. 787)

“Spontaneity.” The author of this literary collection is unknown. The texts make some references to the founders of the Quanzhen school. This fact as well as the work’s terminology connect the collection with the movement. The texts must have been written and compiled either during the late Jin or the Yuan period (10b–11a).

The “*Ci*-詞 lyrics on the Tao” is concerned with physiological and meditative self-cultivation. It refers to ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN as the patriarchs of those methods of self-cultivation (4b, 11a). “Sudden enlightenment” is emphasized over book-learning as the way to ascend as an immortal (8a). The state of Wuwei zhenren 無爲真人 will spontaneously result from the prescribed methods.

Florian C. Reiter

Xuanxu zi mingzhen ji 玄虛子鳴真集

12 fols.

By Xuanchong shi 玄冲師; preface by Zhang Zhiming 張志明; dated 1251

1145 (fasc. 787)

“Heralding Truth.” The preface to this literary collection was composed in 1251 on the occasion of the title’s printing. The preface suggests that the name Xuanxu zi was missing from the original title. It is likely that the title of this work was extended by later editors. The honorary name Xuanchong shi may refer to the Taoist Liu Zhiyuan 劉志淵 (fl. at the end of the Jin), an identification strengthened by indications in the preface. Liu Zhiyuan and his disciple Zhang Zhiming lived for a short while at the Longxing guan 龍興觀 temple in Fenyin 汾陰 (Shanxi). Liu Zhiyuan was an admirer of QIU CHUJI.

Most poems in this collection are dedicated to friends and acquaintances. There are some descriptive and contemplative texts like “Admonishing Contemporaries” (4b–5b). Themes found in texts such as “Sudden Enlightenment” (2a) and “The Way of Life” (4b, 6a) are typical of the Quanzhen school.

Florian C. Reiter

Baoguang ji 葆光集

3 juan

By Yin Zhiping 尹志平, *zi* Dahe or Taihe, *hao* Qinghe zi (1169–1251); preface by Yanxia yiren 煙霞逸人, dated 1299

1146 (fasc. 787)

“Anthology of Concealed Lights.” Yin Zhiping was heir to QIU CHUJI (1148–1227) as leader of the Quanzhen school. The present work is a poetic anthology. Its title, derived from the *Zhuangzi* (“Qiwu lun 齊物論”) alludes to the name of a pavilion in the Baoxuan 寶玄堂 temple in the Da Changchun gong 大長春宮 in the capital. Yin enjoyed spending time in this pavilion, hence the name for his book.

The first chapter contains 258 poems and two prose texts: the first, a discourse (“Yulu 語錄,” 42b–44a) composed on demand for a Tianzhen daoren 天真道人 (also named Longxi gong 隴西公), explaining the basic tenets of the Quanzhen school, and the second, “straightforward words” (“Zhiyan 直言,” 44a–45a) aimed at the Taoists of the Youde temple 祐德觀 of the Chongyang gong 重陽宮 monastery, to remind them of their privileges and obligations to those fortunate enough to dwell at the cradle of their teaching, the Zuting 祖庭. The two remaining chapters include 169 lyric poems (*ci* 詞). The poems and lyrics describe Yin’s travels, thoughts, religious life, and contacts with Taoists and Confucian scholars.

Some pieces are dated. One of them confirms an event frequently mentioned by Yin’s biographers: when QIU CHUJI returned to the capital after his travels to the West, he settled at the Taiji gong 太極宮 temple. Yin stayed for a while with his master, but afterward renounced life in the town and withdrew to the Longyang guan 龍陽觀 temple in Dexing county 德興縣. These events have been dated to the years *guiwei* (1223) or *jiashen* (1224; see 175 *Qizhen nianpu* 18b–19a; 955 *Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 3.2b–3a), or again to the year *yiyou* (1225; see 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 3.4b; 957 *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 2.4b). The poem here pertaining to these events gives the date Yin took leave of his master as the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the year *jiashen* 甲申 (1224; 1.9b–10a).

According to the preface by Yanxia yiren, the anthology was published by Du Dekang 杜德康, prefect of Qinzhou 沁州, who was acquainted with Yin Zhiping. Du once invited Yin to perform a large *jiao* 醮 in the Qinzhou area. Our anthology features a lyric poem composed as a farewell gift to Du Dekang (3.8b–9a).

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Kwong Hing Foon

Xiyun ji 西雲集

3 juan

By Guo Zhicheng 郭志誠, *hao* Dongming zi 洞明子 (1219–1293)

1147 (fasc. 788)

“Anthology of Western Clouds.” Guo Zhicheng was the disciple of and heir to SONG DEFANG. Before becoming leader of the Quanzhen school in 1272, he stayed in the Lequan an 樂全庵 temple and then in the Yunxi guan 雲溪觀 temple on Mount Jin’ge 金閣山 (Yunzhou 雲州) outside the capital. The burning of the *Daozang* in 1281 took place during his mandate as Taoist leader. He retired four years later to the Pengshan 蓬山道院 monastery (see the inscription “Xuanmen zhangjiao da zongshi cunshen yinghua dongming zhenren Qigong daoxing zhi bei 玄門章教大宗師存神應化洞明真人祁公道行之碑” in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 699–700).

The present anthology collects 238 poems, all of them quatrains (*qiyun jueju* 七言絕句). They do not come in chronological sequence, but are ordered according to the themes of a Taoist life. The first chapter is completely devoted to the author himself, dealing with six topics; 13 poems focus on his life in the mountains (“Shanju 山居”), 50 on his states of mind (“Shuhuai 述懷”), 5 detail his pleasures (“Qianxing 遣興”), 7 are occasional pieces (“Ouzuo 偶作”), 2 are on leisure (“Xianyong 閑詠”), and 2 others were written for amusement (“Xizuo 戲作”). Throughout, the concern is with the poet’s enjoyment of the contemplative life and his dislike for the agitation of everyday life. Some poems are more specific. For instance, the first poem must have been written after 1285, for Guo mentions his retirement (1.1a). The thirtieth and forty-fifth poems of the “Shuhai” set were written when he was in his forties (1.5a–b, 6b); the thirty-second and thirty-sixth in the same set may allude to the conflicts between Taoists and Buddhists (1.5b, 6a).

The second chapter is less homogenous. Poems were written for various purposes, such as public speeches (2.2a–4a), advice (2.4a–b), answers to questions on Taoist practice or other topics (2.5a–6a), homages (2.6a–8b), birthday wishes (2.9b), and condolences (2.9b–10a).

The events mentioned in the third chapter are just as varied as in the second but more decisive for the author’s official life: his missions at the imperial behest to Ji’nan 濟南 (1273), Taishan, Tiantan, Lake Dongting 洞庭湖, Zhurong feng 祝融峰, Jiyuan 濟源, and Mount Song 嵩山 to present offerings to mountains and rivers (3.6a–8a). There are, moreover, a number of poems composed to match others’ rhymes (“Ciyun 次韻,” 3.1a–3a), poems on traditional celebrations (3.3b), as well as on the weather (3.4a–b), on temples (3.5b, 8.a–b, 9b, 10a), on geographical sites (3.7b–9a, 10b), on Guo’s health in 1293 (3.11a), and others. Finally, there are two poems bidding farewell to the world (“Yishi 遺世,” 3.11b–12a).

Dongxuan jinyu ji 洞玄金玉集

10 juan

By MA DANYANG 馬丹陽, *hao* Wuwei qingjing 無爲清靜 (1123–1184)

1149 (fasc. 789–790)

“Gold and Jade of the Cavern Heaven.” This literary collection contains works written by MA DANYANG from Mount Kunyu 崑嶺 (Shandong) arranged according to genre. Some of the texts were written in Shandong as late as 1183. The collection was edited after the death of MA DANYANG in that year (6.8b). The key words in the title of this collection are derived from Ma’s Taoist name, Yu 鈺, which symbolizes the essence of his refined and sublimated body, in accordance with Quanzhen teachings (e.g., 7.11a, 10.13b). In 1183, MA DANYANG lived for some time in a Gold and Jade Hermitage (1.23a).

MA DANYANG himself is the theme of the literary presentations in this collection. The work gives many insights into his way of life. It speaks about friends and acquaintances and displays his methods, like the “burning of nets and boats,” which would effect the miracle of the Fata Morgana (9.9b). MA DANYANG affirms his position within the ranks of the Quanzhen Taoists, referring to the legacy of WANG CHONGYANG, which he had received shortly before Wang died in 1170. Part of this legacy was the instruction to spread the teachings of the Quanzhen school (1.2a–3b).

Florian C. Reiter

Danyang shengguang can 丹陽神光燦

37 fols.

By Ma Jue 馬珏; preface by Ning Shichang 甯師常, dated 1175

1150 (fasc. 791)

“Radiance of the Spiritual Force of Danyang.” This literary collection consists of one hundred *ci*-詞 lyrics written to the tune “Manting fang 滿庭芳.” This number is also indicated in Ning Shichang’s preface, which says that the texts were composed in Shaanxi after the death of WANG CHONGYANG in 1170 (2a).

There are verses dedicated to friends and acquaintances, some of whom are mentioned in 1149 *Dongxuan jinyu ji*. Certain texts display concepts or ideas then current in the Quanzhen school. Quietude and purity of mind were the most desirable state. The achievement of such a favorable state is referred to in the title expression “radiance of the spiritual force” (*shengguang can* 神光燦), a formula that was said to allow one’s “original face” to emerge. This formula links the present work with other works of the early Quanzhen school, notably 1152 *Yunguang ji* 4.9a and 1141 *Xianle ji* 4.5b.

Florian C. Reiter

Wuzhen ji 悟真集

2 juan

By Master Li xiansheng 李先生, *hao* Tongxuan zi 通玄子; thirteenth century
1151 (fasc. 791)

“Awakening to Truth” This literary collection was written by a Mr. Li (or Taoist Li), who hailed from Mount Jinping 錦屏 (in Henan). The author says that WANG CHONGYANG was his patriarch (1.26a), and thus he affiliates himself with the Quanzhen school. Taoist Li most likely lived in the thirteenth century, as the quotation of SONG DEFANG (1183–1247) suggests (1.19b).

The collection comprises songs and poems of various meters, some with dedications to acquaintances and friends. It also includes didactic texts admonishing disciples (e.g., 1.23b–24a, 2.9b–10a) or encouraging “persons, who have not yet realized the Tao” (1.9a–9b). Some of the demands clearly refer to tenets of the Quanzhen school, such as deliberate detachment from one’s social background (2.1a) or retirement to a hermitage (1.25b). Some texts express the sentiments of the author and describe his way of life.

Florian C. Reiter

Chongyang quanzhen ji 重陽全真集

13 juan

By WANG ZHE 王嘉, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子; preface by Fan Yi 范懌, dated 1188
1153 (fasc. 793–795)

“Complete Perfection according to Chongyang.” This literary collection presents lyrical works by WANG ZHE. The poems are arranged by genre. When WANG ZHE was still alive, a collection of his works entitled *Quanzhen ji* already existed (see 1149 *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 1.2b). “Zhongnan shan Chongyang zushi xianji ji 終南山重陽祖師仙跡記” (a title dated 1232 in 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 1.12b–13a) cites the work *Quanzhen qianhou ji* 全真前後集. The preface by WANG ZHE himself is not extant (see 175 *Qizhen nianpu* 5b–6a). The preface by Fan Yi 范懌, dated 1188, explains that the poems had circulated in Shaanxi and that LIU CHUXUAN had them reprinted in order to make them available in Shandong as well. That Shaanxi edition comprised nine juan. Presumably, the editors of the Ming *Daozang* of 1445 rearranged the materials into thirteen juan. The quotations of the *Wang Chongyan quanzhen ji* in 1005 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 2.18b–19a are not found in the present edition, which is incomplete.

This collection contains a great number of dedications, for example, to local administrators. The texts are often designed to instruct and encourage. WANG ZHE (Chongyang) also speaks about self-cultivation, about the conversion of MA DANYANG, and about the line of transmission in the Quanzhen school. Wang also gives

autobiographic information. The materials gathered here thus accurately reflect the teachings and personality of WANG ZHE.

Florian C. Reiter

Chongyang jiaohua ji 重陽教化集

3 juan

By WANG ZHE 王嘉, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子; prefaces dated 1183
1154 (fasc. 795–796)

“Instruction and Conversion according to Chongyang.” This literary collection originally had the title *Jiaohua xiashou chi* 教化下手遲 (see preface, 6a). Both this title and 1155 *Chongyang fenli shihua ji* are the remains of a larger compilation in three parts, dated 1183. The title of the third part, now lost, was “Hao lixiang 好離鄉 [ji 集]” (Content to Leave Home). There are six prefaces, written by followers of MA DANYANG and dated 1183. The prefaces on 1a–10a refer to the original edition. Each of its three parts originally had individual prefaces attached to them. The preface by Liang Dong 梁棟 (10a–11b) refers to the present work, and the preface on 11b–13b refers to the now lost “Hao lixiang.” The appendix of our collection contains a text erroneously labeled “postface” that also refers to the “Hao lixiang.” Among the authors of the prefaces, Fan Yi 范懌 (2b–4a) is a good example of MA DANYANG’s local connections in Shandong (cf. 1153 *Chongyang quanzhen ji*).

This collection contains lyrical works by MA DANYANG and WANG ZHE. It was originally printed in Shaanxi between the years 1170 and 1182. Because of the great geographical distance between Shaanxi and Shandong, a new edition had to be printed in Shandong in 1183. This happened before the death of MA DANYANG that year (preface, 9a–9b). The texts in this collection focus on the initiation of MA DANYANG by WANG ZHE into the Quanzhen teachings. They also feature the development of the relationship between the two men.

Florian C. Reiter

Chongyan fenli shihua ji 重陽分梨十化集

2 juan

By WANG ZHE 王嘉, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子; preface by Ma Dabian 馬大辨, dated 1183
1155 (fasc. 796)

“Dividing the Pear in Periods of Ten [Days].” In this title, the expression *fenli* 分梨, “dividing the pear,” can be understood literally and metaphorically. It stands for the phrase *fufu fenli* 夫婦分離, “husband and wife separate” (see 1149 *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 7.6b). “Periods of ten days” refers to the time schedule according to which WANG ZHE distributed fifty-five pieces of pear to MA DANYANG. When the number 55

had been reached, WANG ZHE had achieved his purpose: MA DANYANG and his wife separated, and each of them retired to live a celibate life as befitted Quanzhen Taoists.

This collection contains lyrics featuring the conversion of MA DANYANG and his wife, who both joined the Quanzhen school and made their way as members of the Seven Zhenren. Each time WANG ZHE distributed the pieces of pear, he also composed lyrics of various meters, to which MA DANYANG responded. On the compilation of this literary collection, compare the article on 1154 *Chongyang jiaohua ji*.

Florian C. Reiter

Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershisi jue 重陽真人授丹陽二十四訣

4 fols.

Twelfth century

1158 (fasc. 796)

“Twenty-four Instructions of the Zhenren Chongyang to Danyang.” This collection was compiled by followers of MA DANYANG, who is called “Master Danyang” (4b). The text presents definitions of concepts and terms phrased in the manner of didactic dialogues. The number 24 signifies completeness.

This work aims to demonstrate that the Quanzhen teachings did justice to the key concepts of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism). The Quanzhen Taoist and practitioner wishing to live up to their standard had to abandon all profane pursuits.

Florian C. Reiter

Panxi ji 磻溪集

6 juan

By QIU CHUJI 丘處機, *hao* Changchun zi 長春子; prefaces dated 1186–1208

1159 (fasc. 797)

“Panxi Collection.” The title of this literary collection derives from a place name in Shaanxi, where QIU CHUJI “from Qixia 棲霞” (Shandong) resided between 1174 and 1180. The collection contains lyrical works, some of which must have been composed after his departure from Panxi (see, e.g., 1.9a, the poem dated 1194). There are four prefaces. The first, by Hu Guangqian 胡光謙, is dated 1186, and the last, by Chen Daren 陳大任, is dated 1208. They give no indication as to the editing and printing history of this collection. The Peking National Library holds a printed edition that is believed to date from 1209. The Peking edition shows that the work originally comprised three juan. There are conspicuous omissions and distortions in the present version (cf. the descriptions by Wang Yuliang and Reiter cited below).

Most of the texts convey autobiographical details and contemplative reflections, which mirror the attitude of the Quanzhen Taoist. Mention is made of the later sojourns of the Taoist in Longmen shan 龍門山 and Zhongnan shan 終南山. The texts also speak about QIU CHUJI's contacts with LIU CHUXUAN, TAN CHUDUAN, and MA DANYANG. This work antedates QIU CHUJI's visit to the temporary residence of the Mongol Khan in 1222, but it mentions the author's contacts with the Jin emperor Shizong in 1188 (3.6a–7a). The text Song of Azure Sky (“Qingtian ge 青天歌”) (3.1a–1b) is the basis for 137 *Qingtian ge zhushi*.

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Florian C. Reiter

Taigu ji 太古集

4 juan

By HAO DATONG 郝大通, *hao* Guangning zi 廣寧子 and Taigu daoren 太古道人; prefaces by Fan Yuanxi 范圓曦 and others, dated 1178–1236

1161 (fasc. 798)

“Works of [Master] High Antiquity.” This work contains the few remains of a larger collection comprising fifteen juan in three books. The extant texts deal with the cosmic elements and forces represented in ancient documents like the *Hetu* 河圖 and *Luoshu* 洛書. Such documents preserved the guidelines for “the seeker of the Way.” HAO DATONG explains the title in that sense (see his preface, dated 1178, 6b–8a). The preface by Feng Bi 馮璧 (1a–3b) introduces the title *Kunyu wenji* 崑嶮文集, which is said to stem from the time of “the Zhenren [HAO DATONG].” However, it is not clear what relationship between this work and the *Taigu ji* may have existed. Most important for the revision and new edition of HAO DATONG's literary works were the efforts of his disciple Fan Yuanxi (see prefaces, 5a–6a). Judging by the indications concerning the contents and titles of HAO DATONG's literary works in the different prefaces, it appears that substantial materials were lost after 1236.

This work still contains the “Zhouyi cantong qi jianyao shiyi 周易參同契簡要釋義” (1.1a–8b), Explanations about the Essential Contents of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (the preface of this text is dated 1178). Thirty-three charts and expositions deal with topics taken from the *Yijing*. There are also thirty poems on the Gold Elixir (4.1a–8b), using the terminology of *neidan*.

Florian C. Reiter

Danyang zhenren zhiyan 丹陽真人直言

3 fols.

Twelfth century

1234 (fasc. 989)

“Forthright Words of the Zhenren Danyang.” As its subtitle (“Instructions for the Disciples”) indicates, this text presents a practical and theoretical program for Taoists. Compiled by an unknown follower of MA DANYANG, these instructions were probably transmitted around 1178 to followers in Longmen shan 龍門山 (Shaanxi). They correspond with parts of 1057 *Danyang zhenren yulu*. Although there are parallels, this work has to be regarded as an independent edition. Its introductory passages can be found in 1256 *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 1.1a ff. The text “Ma Danyang zhenren zhiyan 馬丹陽真人直言” in 1257 *Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 2.15a–16a is not identical with this work.

Florian C. Reiter

Zhenxian zhizhi yulu 真仙直指語錄

2 juan

Compiled by Xuanquan zi 玄全子, hao Haitian qiuyue daoren 海天秋月道人;

Yuan (1279–1368)

1256 (fasc. 998)

“Recorded Discourses and Forthright Instructions of the Zhenren and Immortals.” The author, an unknown follower of Quanzhen Taoism, compiled these texts after the death of Yin Qinghe 尹清和 in 1251 (Yin’s Discourses are presented in juan 2).

Juan 1 of this work contains discourses of MA DANYANG, which correspond in part (1.1a–2a) to passages in 1234 *Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 1a–2a and in 1057 *Danyang zhenren yulu*. The “Recorded Discourses [of TAN CHUDUAN]” is the same as 1160 *Shuiyun ji* 1.20b–21a. The present work also preserves some records that otherwise would have been lost: see the texts concerning Liu Changsheng 劉長生 [LIU CHUXUAN] (1.10b–12a) and HAO DATONG (1.19a–22b). Although the contents of these texts fit well with earlier Quanzhen materials, their origins are unknown. There is one short description of a dream referring to the theme “rebirth and retribution,” which seems to be somewhat out of place within the frame of this work (1.18a–19a).

Florian C. Reiter

Lifeng laoren ji 離峰老人集

By Yu Daoxian 于道顯, hao Lifeng zi 離峰子 (1168–1232)

1264 (fasc. 1001)

“Collected Works of the Old Man of Lifeng.” This title comprises 319 poems, of which 225 are four-line poems, and 94 eight-line poems. The author was a follower of LIU CHUXUAN (1147–1203), one of the direct disciples of WANG ZHI, whom he

served for several years at the Changsheng guan 長生觀 temple (see 2.29b and 297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 2.7a). After this service, Liu went to southern China, where his reputation spread rapidly. During the Zhengda era (1224–1231), he was made superintendent of the Taiqing gong 太清宮 temple at Bozhou 亳州 (Henan), the birthplace of Laozi. In 1232 he went to Lushi 廬氏 in the south of Henan, where he died the same year. The main source for Yu's life is the tomb inscription by Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257) in 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 4.2b–5b.

One third of the poems in the present collection are intended as “teachings” (*shi* 示 or *gao* 告). Another third are dedicated to friends, and a final third are written in answer to queries from disciples or in honor of certain occasions. Most of the recipients were at that time living in Henan, not far from Luoyang. Many were of Jurchen origin and were high officials such as censors, astronomers, and prefects. Forty-four poems are addressed to women, either Taoist nuns (*gu* 姑) or high-born ladies (*furen* 婦人).

The general themes of the poems are mysticism, peace, and emptiness of the mind, the joys of hermetic life. Only a few poems refer to Inner Alchemy.

Catherine Despeux

Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu 清和真人北游語錄

4 juan

By Yin Zhiping 尹志平, *hao* Qinghe 清和 (1169–1251); compiled by Duan Zhijian 段志堅 in 1237

1310 (fasc. 1017)

“Recorded Sayings of the Northern Journey of the Zhenren Pure Harmony.” This is one of the richest pieces of the Quanzhen literature. Yin Zhiping had been head of the Quanzhen order for six years when he made his journey to south Liaoning in the autumn 1233. Two of his four epitaphs detail this voyage: those by Li Zhiquan 李志全 (1191–1261; in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 538–41) and by Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304; in *Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji* 56.8a–13b). All four epitaphs, as well as Yin's biography in 955 *Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* (3.1a–6a), mention the present text, pointing to its popularity. It is a major source for Yin's (somewhat standardized) hagiography, for example, his dramatic first encounter with LIU CHUXUAN (2.16), which he says he has never disclosed before and which is narrated in all the above-mentioned texts.

In the course of his journey, Yin gave general instructions to the assemblies of seven different monasteries, apparently all within a small area north of today's Jinzhou 錦州. The text was assembled by disciples, among whom the otherwise unknown Duan Zhijian is mentioned as the compiler. Of the three prefaces, the first two were written by local literati in 1237, and the last in 1240 by Yin's successor to the seat of Quanzhen

patriarch, LI ZHICHANG (1193–1256). The prefaces indicate that the edition was commissioned and financed by Du Dekang 杜德康, also responsible for the edition of 1146 *Baoguang ji*. Back from his northern journey, Yin moved to the East, where he engaged actively in temple repairing and building. He met Prefect Du in Shanxi in 1235 and performed rainmaking feats at his request, earning Du's gratitude. Actually, Du was already a convert of QIU CHUJI's, and his wife a fervent follower of Quanzhen (cf. Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 480–81).

Most of the master's fifty-eight discourses were not written in response to a specific question, but when there is an introduction, evoking a place, date, name, or question, it is by an editorial oddity attached to the previous paragraph. The last two juan form a separate entity; they record the master's comments on *Daode jing* at the Tongxian guan 通仙觀 temple. The chapters of the *Daode jing* 道德經 are commented upon in their usual order. They are named before the exegesis and range from the first to the seventy-third; they do not all receive individual attention. It may be that the series is incomplete. The style, however, is consistent from the opening chapters to the last, and the master freely uses narrative discourse throughout.

Although this text, like Yin Zhiping's other *yulu* 語錄 (juan 2 of 1256 *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu*), uses fewer vernacular expressions than, for instance, 1059 *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* (which suggests some rewriting before publication), it is nonetheless highly narrative and exoteric. The audience comprises an entire assembly, no doubt including the local Taoists, residents of the monasteries, lay patrons and association members. One of the protagonists is an artisan of religious sculpture (2.4a). Yin stresses that given the low spiritual level of most newcomers to Taoism, certain subtle teachings are better left aside. He even shuns the discussion of chapter 42 of *Daode jing*, arguing that this should not be aired in public. All the same, he repeatedly dismisses the usefulness of secret teachings, or oral transmissions. To prove his point, Yin makes extensive use of stories concerning himself and the Quanzhen patriarchs. Thus, though he never met him, Yin evokes WANG CHONGYANG, most of all through the striking narrative of Wang's last moments (2.9b–11a). Yin's own masters, MA DANYANG and QIU CHUJI (*shifu*, "my master"), are invoked on almost every page; Wang Chuyi 王處一 and LIU CHUXUAN are mentioned frequently; HAO DATONG and TAN CHUDUAN, several times. Only Sun Buer is completely absent.

Of particular importance to Yin's rhetoric is the notion of merit. It is endlessly repeated that without merit no achievement is possible. The patriarchs themselves had reached the Tao only because of their store of merit from previous existences. The actual acquisition of merit is not clearly detailed, but it is connected to cultivation of mind as well as service to the community. In this context, monastic life is essential (see 3.11b), and several examples of independent-minded Taoists gone astray prove this further. This is again a theme developed in a section of Yin's anthology 1146 *Baoguang*

ji (1.42b), also called *yulu*: solitude and subtle metaphysics are of no benefit to young Taoists.

The problem of language and transmission of the Tao is at the heart of the Quanzhen masters' discourse. Yin Zhiping is nowhere as radical on this point as the Chan masters he is so keen on quoting. Whereas oral exchanges with the master are prominent in his pedagogy, reading the classics is equally necessary. He is also ready to allude to Quanzhen poetry (cf. 2.17b). On the other hand, the Tao is ineffable, and the words of the saints can only be understood by an accomplished adept. The authors of the prefaces also try to deal with the tension between the urge to educate, the distrust for all techniques and recipes, and the wordlessness of the Tao. Therefore, Yin's approach to the *Daode jing* is very practical, and he praises the HESHANG GONG commentary. His interpretation, though, is not an alchemical reading, but points to ways of life and relations to society. Song Huizong's (r. 1100–1125) commentary is discussed; Su Zhe's commentary (691 *Daode zhenjing zhu*) is also used, despite its Buddho-Confucian approach.

Given this ecumenical stance, persons and texts quoted cover a large range: from the Confucian classics (*Lunyu* 論語, *Mengzi* 孟子, *Yijing* 易經); Taoist scriptures (*Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Liezi* 列子, *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, *Qingjing jing* 清靜經, and works by ZHANG BODUAN); Buddhist sūtra (the Lotus sūtra, the *Avatamsaka sūtra*); Chan masters (his favorite is Yongjia 永嘉 [665–713], whose *Yongjia ji* circulated widely outside the Buddhist canon); to poets (in particular, Du Fu 杜甫 [712–770]).

Vincent Goossaert

Huizhen ji 會真集

5 juan

By Wang Jichang 王吉昌, *hao* Chaoran zi 超然子 (active early thirteenth century)
247 (fasc. 116–117)

“Anthology on Gathering Truth.” This title represents the collected works of Wang Jichang, who also authored a short exegetical work, 313 *Shengtian jing songjie*. Wang was active around 1220–1240, as we know from the funerary steles of two of his pupils, the Quanzhen masters Li Zhiming 李志明 (1200–1266) and Shen Zhizhen 申志貞 (1210–1284; see 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 6.22a and 8.26a). A short undated preface by his disciple Yang Zhipu 揚志朴 suggests that Wang's skills in *neidan* 內丹 were so great as to attract immortals. The first juan introduces the basic cosmological notions through charts and comments, and the principle of reversal that was central to *neidan*. Wang then goes on to alchemical procedures. Juan 2 through 5 are lyric poems (*ci* 詞) on various tunes: those in juan 2 and 3 are topically arranged, while those in juan 4 and 5 are independent, freer lyrical compositions.

In contrast to his pupil Liu Zhiyuan's anthology (248 *Qizhen ji*), the present work

introduces a rather systematic method based on *wuxing* 五行 (Five Phases), trigrams, ordinal, and cyclical numbers. In the more theoretical first juan, Wang only occasionally uses the physiological imagery that is prevalent in the last four juan. Throughout the whole work, the author rarely insists on moral training. He frequently quotes ZHANG BODUAN and only once alludes to WANG CHONGYANG (3.16a). However technical the work might seem, the lyrical voice is not absent, as in the first *ci* of juan 4, which is very much in the style of mainstream “Taoist feelings” (*daoqing* 道情) poetry that focused on the misery of this world and the bliss of immortality.

Vincent Goossaert

Qizhen ji 啓真集

3 juan

By Liu Zhiyuan 劉志淵, *hao* Tongxuan zi 通玄子 (1186–1244)

248 (fasc. 117)

“Anthology of Expounding Truth.” A preface by the otherwise unknown Dong Shiyan 董師言, dated 1244, indicates that the author was a disciple of the Quanzhen master Wang Jichang 王吉昌, author of 247 *Huizhen ji*. An obituary notice (3.13b–14b), which largely repeats the preface, specifies that Liu Zhiyuan died aged fifty-nine. His works were collected and arranged by Li Zhiquan 李志全 (1191–1261), who at that time was helping the celebrated Quanzhen leader SONG DEFANG (1183–1247) with the compilation of the 1244 canon (see 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 8.1). The first juan collects the master’s regular verses (seventy-one quatrains and four octaves). The second is made of fifty-six lyrics (*ci* 詞) for twenty-seven tunes, fifteen of which are also used in 247 *Huichen ji*; the first tune used is “Manting fang 滿庭芳,” a favorite among Quanzhen masters. The third juan contains thirteen essays (*zhang* 章) that obscurely describe the progression of the *neidan* 內丹 process. They are followed by the obituary notice and a few eulogies. The dedicatees are all unknown locals, but we may note two “association members” (*huishou* 會首) and a Confucian teacher. Place names point to Shaanxi and Shanxi provinces.

Although he never uses the term *quanzhen*, Liu quotes QIU CHUJI (3.4a) and MA DANYANG along with BO YUCHAN (3.7a). He seems little involved in the institutional and liturgical aspects of religion. His instructions are less didactic than other Quanzhen writings, touching on many techniques without apparent system.

Vincent Goossaert

Shuiyun ji 水雲集

3 juan

By TAN CHUDUAN 譚處端, *hao* Changzhen zi 長真子; 1229

1160 (fasc. 798)

“Water and Clouds.” This literary collection contains lyrical works of different genres, which the author, a native of Mount Kunyu 崑嶺 (Shandong), composed after 1170 in Shaanxi. TAN CHUDUAN preached his Quanzhen teachings in Shaanxi. Originally Wang Liuhui 王琉輝 had this collection printed in Junzhou 濬州, but in 1186 the printing blocks were lost. In Shandong, LIU CHUXUAN arranged for new printing blocks to be cut (see the preface by Fan Yi 范懌, dated 1187). Because of the impact of military actions in the area, there soon was no complete edition available. Later, Lu Qian’gao 路鈐高 and others found a complete edition, which had been owned by disciples of TAN CHUDUAN. That edition was then reprinted, and a postface by a son of Fan Yi attached to it (3.18b–19a). A second edition of this printed version was issued in 1229 due to the efforts of the Quanzhen Taoist Zhang Zhiquan 張志全 (see the second postface by the son of Fan Yi, dated 1229, 3.19b–20a).

The expression “Water and Clouds” refers to TAN CHUDUAN’s admonition to his disciples to discard all emotional and social bonds and lead the way of life known as Quanzhen.

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Florian C. Reiter

3.B.9.c Rules and Organization

Although less important than poetry, recorded sayings, and hagiography, didactic works also feature in Quanzhen literature. Several masters wrote commentaries on the classics, such as the *Laozi* 老子 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子 or major scriptures of the Lingbao 靈寶 tradition. Examples are 122 *Huangdi Yinfu jing zhu* and 401 *Huangting neijing yujing zhu*, both by the patriarch LIU CHUXUAN; 974 *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu* by Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (d. 1196); and 313 *Shengtian jing songjie* by Wang Jichang. On the other hand, no liturgical work is ascribed to a Quanzhen author, a surprising fact given the dominant place of ritual activities for Quanzhen masters in North China over a long period of time. Chapter 210 of the ritual compendium 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* is a stand-alone *liandu* 鍊度 ritual compiled in the late Yuan (1279–1368) by a “Quanzhen daoshi” (postface dated 1354), but the connection with Quanzhen doctrine and practice seems tenuous. All in all, it is likely that the conservative outlook of the Quanzhen order pushed the daoshi to use established scriptural

traditions rather than create a new one. An analysis of the ordination registers mentioned in Quanzhen historiography suggest that they had by the mid-thirteenth century incorporated all the major current liturgical traditions. The didactic works other than commentaries authored by Quanzhen masters can be grouped into two unequal categories: (1) rules and organizations and (2) individual practice. The first category only accounts for three texts, a trifle compared to the amount of Vinaya literature in the Buddhist canon. This paucity of material in the canon may come as a surprise, since the real innovation of the Quanzhen school lay in its creation of a monastic order with very specific institutions and a strong hierarchy. The organization is actually documented in much more detail in the epigraphic sources. Of the three canonical texts, the 1235 *Quanzhen qinggui* is a compendium of short rules attributed to the patriarchs; it may have been used as a model collection for monasteries to design their own rules. The 1229 *Quanzhen zuobo jiefa* is a technical manual explaining the use of the sinking clepsydra, a device used for collective meditation in Taoist monasteries from the last decade of the thirteenth century onward. The 1233 *Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun*, although often translated and quoted in the secondary literature, is simply a short programmatic description of the Quanzhen lifestyle of uncertain date and authorship.

The majority of the didactic works are concerned with individual practice. It should be noted that none was written during the early stage of the Quanzhen order. Although early masters such as HAO DATONG, and later ones such as Wang Jichang (247 *Huizhen ji*), Liu Zhiyuan (248 *Qizhen ji*), or Ji Zhizhen (1140 *Yunshan ji*) wrote theoretical essays (included in their anthologies), one has to wait until the late thirteenth century to see the appearance of complete prose works devoted to self-cultivation, specifically Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹): these works are 276 *Xiyi zhimi lun*, still half-way between logia and treatise and 267 *Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao*. All the others texts were authored by masters from southern China, who were affiliated with Quanzhen but mostly heir to the Nanzong pedagogy. Their syncretic approach was to become the Taoist orthodoxy of the late imperial period. LI DAOCHUN, who taught in Nanking, and his disciple Miao Shanshi 苗善時, as well as CHEN ZHIXU seem to have been independent masters, whereas WANG JIE (mid-fourteenth century) and Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (1276–1336), the supposed master of the famous painter Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), were very close to Zhengyi circles. These authors wrote theoretical *neidan* essays and poetry as well as commentaries on the Taoist classics. Li's works are 249 *Zhonghe ji*, 250 *Santian yisui*, 251 *Quanzhen ji xuan biyao*, and 1060 *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu*. His disciple Miao Shanshi authored 1065 *Xuanjiao da gongan* as well as the hagiographic work 305 *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji*. CHEN ZHIXU composed 1067 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao* and its sequels 1068 *Jindan dayao tu*, 1069 *Jindan dayao liexian zi*, 1070 *Jindan dayao xianpai*; the anonymous 1077 *Xiulian xuzhi* belongs to the

same milieu. WANG JIE wrote 137 *Qingtian ge zhushi*, 1074 *Huanzhen ji*, and 1075 *Daoxuan pian*. Huang Gongwang wrote or transmitted 242 *Zhichou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi*, 281 *Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue*, and 576 *Baoyi hansan bijue*.

The central importance of *neidan* in Quanzhen identity makes the absence of early Quanzhen patriarchs in this realm even more surprising. Although 1156 *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* and 244 *Dadan zhizhi* are systematic texts on *neidan* attributed to WANG ZHE and QIU CHUJI, respectively, these attributions are highly doubtful. The explanation for this lack of purely Quanzhen reference work is likely the same as for liturgy: Quanzhen masters were happy to use the classics at their disposal. Although detailed information on the Quanzhen curriculum is lacking, it seems that classics (*Daode jing*, *Qingjing jing*, *Yinfu jing*, and others), along with major *neidan* writings (ZHANG BODUAN's in particular), were often used. Buddhist and Confucian classics were also taught to adepts: WANG ZHE's oft-quoted advice to study the *Daode jing* 道德經, *Xiao jing* 孝經, and the Heart sūtra is a case in point. Indeed, Quanzhen writings are rarely polemical. One of QIU CHUJI's most prominent disciples, Feng Zhiheng 馮志亨 (1180–1254), instructed his disciples in the Four Books, and was probably one of the earliest of Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) followers in northern China. Feng even directed the academy of the Confucius temple in Peking, providing a model for the nonsectarian educational role of the Quanzhen.

Quanzhen zuobo jiefa 全真坐鉢捷法

4 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)

1229 (fasc. 988)

“Practical Method of Meditation Using the Clepsydra.” The clepsydra was used in cloisters of the Quanzhen school to measure the time of sessions of meditation. On the context of Quanzhen monasticism, especially during the Yuan period, see also 1235 *Quanzhen qinggui* 5a–b.

The present work describes the clepsydra, the principles of its construction, and its use. It concludes with precise instructions for the handling and appropriate setting of the clepsydra in combination with the calendar. On page 4a, the text gives a chart representing the cosmic phases according to which the envisaged meditation should be practiced. The two sentences that express the guiding principles are taken from the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, “To observe the Tao of Heaven,” and “To behold the Movements of Heaven” (see 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing* 1a).

Florian C. Reiter

Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun 重陽立教十五論

6 fols.

By WANG ZHE 王嘉, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子 (1113–1170)

1233 (fasc. 989)

“Fifteen Lessons for the Establishment of the Doctrine.” This work comprises short essays on the basic tenets of the Quanzhen school. The fifteen titles are “Living in Retreat” (1a), “Wandering” (1a–b), “Learning from Books” (1b–2a), “Proper Blending of Medicines” (2a–b), “On Dwelling” (2b–3a), “Spiritual Companionship” (3a), “Active Meditation” (3b), “Disciplining the Mind” (3b–4a), “To Nurture One’s Being” (4a), “Matching the Five Vital Energies” (4b), “Union of Being and Existence” (4b), “Way of the Sages” (5a), “Escaping the Three Realms” (5a–b), “Body of the Law” (5b), and “Leaving the World of Men” (5b–6a). Each of these texts discusses an aspect of self-cultivation or the Quanzhen way of life. A poem by MA DANYANG in 1149 *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 2.13a–13b shows that Ma knew an exposition by WANG ZHE concerning the theme of “Wandering” and indeed imitates the structure and the contents of that essay in the present work. The “Fifteen Lessons” has been widely studied and repeatedly translated as a manifesto of Quanzhen teaching (see the bibliographical references below).

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Florian C. Reiter

Quanzhen qinggui 全真清規

16 fols.

Compiled by Lu Daohe 陸道和, *hao* Tongxuan zi 通玄子; fourteenth century

1235 (fasc. 989)

“Pure Rules of the Quanzhen School.” This title consists of a collection of twelve texts on the conditions of celibate life in a cloister. The work begins with the admission of youths to the community (inquiries into family background; 1a–2b), their investiture as Taoists, and the search for an appropriate master (2b–4b). The author describes the rules for maintaining order within the monastic community (e.g., compliance with the laws of the country; 12a) and stipulates the need for well-organized meditation sessions in which the entire community participates. The texts on pages 11b–16a are attributed to WANG CHONGYANG, QIU CHUJI, Zhao Wuxuan 趙悟玄 (1148–1211), and Liu Zhenyi 劉真一. The title of Dijun 帝君 for WANG CHONGYANG points to a date after 1310 for the compilation of this work (11b).

The text documents an advanced phase in the history of the Quanzhen school,

which was characterized by well-organized forms of monastic activity (cf. 1229 *Quanzhen zuobo jiefu*).

Florian C. Reiter

3.B.9.d Individual Practice

Dadan zhizhi 大丹直指

2 juan

Attributed to QIU CHUJI 丘處機, *hao* Changchun 長春; early Yuan (1279–1368)
244 (fasc. 115)

“Clear Directions on the Great Elixir.” This is a *neidan* 內丹 (see fig. 63.) work attributed to the Quanzhen patriarch QIU CHUJI (cf. 1159 *Panxi ji*). The techniques described in the text are based on the theory and methods of 1191 *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* and 246 *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*. The former divides its procedure into ten steps, as does the present text, with some differences in headings and order.

Our work quotes SHI JIANWU at length, but a comparison with 246 *Xishan qunxian hui zhen ji* shows that it is not exactly the same text (cf., e.g., 1.11b, 4.4a, 9b, 1.12a, and 5.6a with 1.6a, 8a, and 12a of our text). The passage on the ten demonic manifestations (2.2a–6b) is an excerpt from 263.14 *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 16.25a–26a). QIU CHUJI appends his own explanations to these techniques, which he illustrates with diagrams.

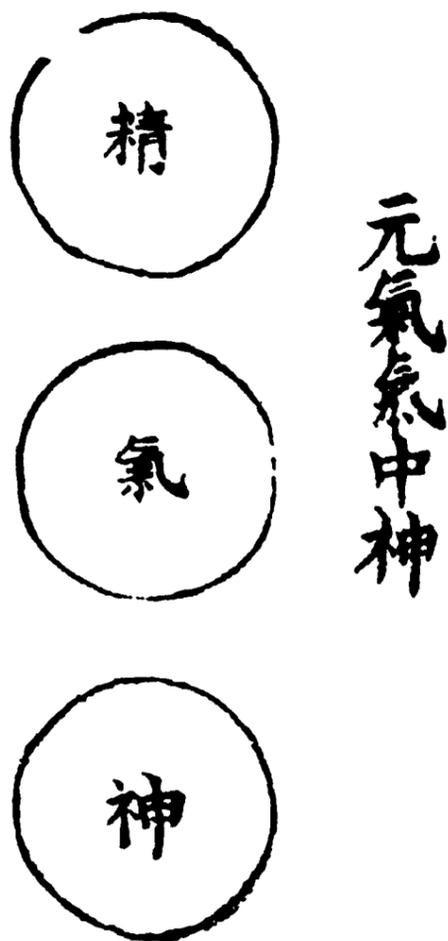


FIGURE 63. Essence, Energy, Spirit: The three elements of Inner Alchemy (244 2.13a)

In his preface (1a–3a), Qiu explains the working of the macrocosm and the microcosm: the qi of the Great Void 太空一氣, having reached extreme stillness, gave rise to movement, separated into yin and yang, and formed Heaven and Earth. But the qi, having once acquired motion, could not remain still, hence the qi of yin and yang began their cyclical rotation. The alternation of yin and yang, sun and moon, day and night is made possible through a central axis (*zhongqi* 中氣), which resides in the handle of the Dipper (1a–b). The embryo develops similarly; after birth, the Primordial Qi (*yuanqi* 元氣) is found in the center, that is, the navel. Through breathing exercises, this center is activated, leading to an unhampered natural circulation of the body fluids. Through the practice of these exercises, the adept acquires long life and eventually sainthood.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Baoyi hansan bijue* 抱一函三秘訣**

28 fols.

Compiled by Jin Yueyan 金月巖, transmitted by Huang Gongwang 黃公望
(1269–1354)

576 (fasc. 321)

“Secret Instructions on Holding the One and Encasing the Three.” This work is a pedagogical *neidan* 內丹 manual of the late Yuan period (1279–1368) and contains no internal indication of authorship. However, the term *baoyi* in the title might refer to the Liu xiansheng 劉先生 of 281 *Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue*, and the text is rather consistent with both that work and 242 *Zhizhou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi*.

The text is divided into some fifteen explanations (*ming* 明), treatises (*lun* 論), and discourses (*shuo* 說), most of them accompanied by a chart, like the sketch of a meditation room on 25b. Each section begins with the inception of the embryo and ends with its divine apotheosis, offering detailed explanations on physiology and time cycles. Some parts are written in dialogue style (5b). The need for oral instructions (*koujue* 口訣) is repeatedly indicated.

Vincent Goossaert

***Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue* 抱一子三峰老人丹訣**

18 fols.

Compiled by Jin Yueyan 金月巖, transmitted by Huang Gongwang 黃公望
(1269–1354)

281 (fasc. 134)

“Alchemical Instructions of the Old Man Three Peaks, the Master Holding the One.” This work raises problems of identification, both with regard to the compiler and the author (see 242 *Zhizhou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi*). The work is attributed to a Liu xiansheng 劉先生, bearing the appellation “Old Man Three Peaks, Master Holding the One,” but it is not clear if he is a historical figure.

The first lines list the contents of the work, which are Liu’s Oral Instructions on the Celestial Immortals’ Chart (“Tianxian tu koujue 天仙圖口訣”), Oral Instructions on False *Xingming* (“Jia xingming koujue 假性命口訣”), Oral Instructions on True *Xingming* (“Zhen xingming koujue 真性命口訣”), and sixteen poems on the lowest pass of the spine (“weilü xue 尾閭穴”). The text then proceeds with an introduction (1a–6b). Its general tone is comparable to that of 242 *Quanzhen zhizhi*, being quite polemical against heterodox practices. The term *quanzhen* is absent here.

The work does not in fact follow this precis exactly. The first section comprises oral instructions on both the false *xingming* (6b–9a), the small achievement of those who fix their mind only on the lower *dantian* 丹田 (which should be practiced only

initially; see 13a), and the true *xingming* (9a–15a), the great achievement of those who effect the reversal of the true yin and yang to have them circulate throughout the body. The “celestial immortals’ chart” (15a–16b) is actually composed of four trigrams. The chart of the *weili* 尾閭 and its accompanying sixteen poems come last (16b–18b). All textual references are to Quanzhen patriarchs (ZHONGLI QUAN, LÜ DONGBIN, LIU HAICHAN, WANG CHONGYANG, and SONG DEFANG), but the idea that the state of zhenren can be attained in three hundred days (like gestation; see 15a–b) is uncommon in Quanzhen texts. This method seems to be intended solely for male adepts. The term *sanfeng* 三峰 (Three Peaks) sometimes refers to sexual techniques in other contexts, mostly in later works like the *Sanfeng caizhan fangzhong miaoshu bijue* 三峰采戰房中妙術秘訣 in the *Shesheng zongyao* 攝生總要 (Ming [1368–1644]) and the *Sanfeng danjue* 三峰丹訣 in the *Zhengdao bishu* 證道秘書 (Qing [1644–1911]). But that is probably not the case here.

Vincent Goossaert

Yuanshi tianzun shuo dedao liaoshen jing 元始天尊說得道了身經

4 fols.

25 (fasc. 27)

“Pronouncement of the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning on Obtaining the Tao and Understanding the Body.” Despite the title, the rhythm of this text suggests that it was not likely used for recitation. At the beginning, the Heavenly Worthy illustrates (*xian* 現) the Tao and discourses upon the Tao of Complete Truth (*quanzhen dadao* 全真大道). Then, after incorporating the first sentence of 24 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing*, the text says that the Heavenly Worthy “pronounced” the *Shengtian dedao quanzhen liaoshen jing*.

An explanation of the Quanzhen Way follows. This explanation begins precisely with “the ban of the mouth” (*jinkou* 禁口). When “the heart has been washed clean” of all thoughts and when “one has forgotten the environment,” the practice of the circulation of the qi is recommended. This will lead to the “exhaustion of the yin, the purification of the yang, and the formation of the saint’s embryo” (2a). Thus, the adept unites with Spontaneous Emptiness, that is, with the True One of the Primordial Beginning (*Yuanshi zhenyi* 元始真一), who is the adept’s “real body.” The remainder of the text explains this process in greater detail, using alchemical terminology. One learns, in particular, that “to understand the body” means to understand how to combine nature, *xing* 性 (mercury, produced by wood and fire, which is linked to expiration and heart) and life, *ming* 命 (lead, produced by metal and water, which is linked to inspiration and kidneys).

John Lagerwey

Qingtian ge zhushi 青天歌註釋

8 fols.

Commentary by WANG JIE 王玠 (fl. 1331–1380)

137 (fasc. 60)

“Glosses on *Song of the Azure Sky*.” This text is also found in QIU CHUJI’s collected works (see 1159 *Panxi ji* 3.1a–b), in an identical version. According to WANG JIE’s preface, Qiu wrote this song in thirty-two verses with reference to the Thirty-two Heavens of 1 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing*.

WANG JIE divides the song in three parts, with eight verses on innate nature (*xing* 性), eight on vitality (*ming* 命), and eight on the fusion of *xing* and *ming* that enables the spirit (*shen* 神) of the adept to be delivered from the body. His commentary draws on sources of the Three Teachings. For Taoism, he uses principally 1 *Duren jing*.

The text of the “Song of the Azure Sky” was engraved on stone in 1273.

Catherine Despeux

Zhonghe ji 中和集

6 juan

By LI DAOCHUN 李道純 (fl. 1288–1306); edited by Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤, *zi* Sun’an 損菴, *hao* Baochan zi 寶蟾子 (late thirteenth century); preface by DU DAOJIAN 杜道堅 (1237–1318); printed in 1306

249 (fasc. 118)

“Collection of Central Harmony.” According to the preface written in 1306 by DU DAOJIAN, Cai Zhiyi of Weiyang (Yangzhou), disciple of LI DAOCHUN, collected the fragmented manuscripts of his master and edited them into the present collection. It is named after LI DAOCHUN’s meditation room, the Hermitage of Central Harmony (*Zhonghe jingshe* 中和精舍) in Nanking (see 4.11a). Du Daoqian had the work printed in 1306. His preface was written in the Xuanyuan zhenguan 玄元真館 temple at Qiantang 錢塘 (Hangzhou).

An earlier edition of the work, dating from Yuan (1279–1368) times, is mentioned in *Bisong lou cangshu zhi* 66.29a under the title *Qing’an xiansheng zhonghe [ji]* 清庵先生中和 [集] in six juan, divided into two parts (*qianji* 前集 and *houji* 後集). A copy of this edition is preserved in the Seikadō bunkō (see Seikadō bunkō, *Seikadō bunkō kanseki bunrui mokuroku*, 612).

After an explanation of the Taiji 太極 and the *Taiji tu* 太極圖 of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073), the work is mainly composed of regular and *ci* 詞-poetry, songs, short prose texts, and dialogues between master and disciples. The subjects concern spiritual exercises, alchemy, and so on. The author refers to the Quanzhen school, and he gives a definition of its name (3.28b). The second juan is devoted to Inner Alchemy. It contains numerous illustrations and diagrams concerning the ingredients, the fur-

nance, the three fundamental stages of the alchemical process, fire-phasing, the inner and outer remedies. The author lists nine heretical schools of alchemy and explains the different techniques associated with the technical terms used by those schools. Above these schools there are the Three Superior Vehicles (in ascending order) and the Supreme Vehicle, which corresponds to the stage in which LI DAOCHUN situates himself (2.12b–17a).

Catherine Despeux

Santian yisui 三天易髓

12 fols.

By LI DAOCHUN 李道純 (d. 1306); revised by WANG JIE 王玠, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子 (fl. mid-fourteenth century)

250 (fasc. 119)

“Quintessence of the Changes of the Three Heavens.” The author mentions this work in his preface, dated 1290, to 699 *Daode huiyuan*. The *Santian yisui* must consequently be earlier than that date.

The title comprises three distinct texts. To begin with, there is an alchemical treatise, which is again subdivided into two parts. The first part is a collection of sayings from the Book of Changes (*Zhouyi* 周易) with a rhymed commentary. This part deals, according to the sayings, with what the Confucians call the Great Ultimate (Taiji 太極). The second part of the treatise lists the nine phases of transformation, also with a rhymed commentary. The text adds: “This is what Taoists call cinnabar [*dan* 丹].”

The two other texts are (1) a commentary to the *Xinjing* 心經 (The *Hṛdaya-sūtra* or Sūtra of the Heart of Prajñā-pāramitā 般若波羅蜜多心經), which LI DAOCHUN wrote at the request of his disciple Ji’an 濟庵, and (2) a commentary to 31 *Huangdi yinfu jing*.

Catherine Despeux

Quanzhen ji xuan biyao 全真集玄祕要

18 fols.

By LI DAOCHUN 李道純, *hao* Qing’an 清菴 (d. 1306)

251 (fasc. 119)

“Secret Principles of the Collected Quanzhen Writings.” There are two parts to this work. The first (1a–6a) is a commentary to one of the sections of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 called While Reading the *Cantong qi* (“Zhudu *Zhouyi cantong qi* 註讀周易參同契”; see 141 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, 8.1 and 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 3.3b). According to LI DAOCHUN, this text concerns the principles of the art of fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候). The second part (6a–18b) is a commentary on the “Explications

on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate” (*Taiji tujie* 太極圖解) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073).

The author draws on different sources, such as the Book of Changes (*Yijing* 易經), the *Laozi* 老子, the Neo-Confucian thinkers Zhou Dunyi and SHAO YONG, the *Wuzhen pian*, and the *Cantong qi* 參同契.

Catherine Despeux

Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao 上乘修真三要

2 juan

By Gao Daokuan 高道寬, *hao* Yuanming laoren 圓明老人 (1195–1277)

267 (fasc. 132)

“Three Essentials for the Cultivation of the True according to the Superior Vehicle.” The author, a hermit on Mount Zhongnan 終南山, was a disciple of the Quanzhen patriarchs MA DANYANG and Li Chongxu 李冲虛.

The first juan contains an illustrated didactic poem titled “Sanfa song 三法頌” (Song of the Three Methods), which describes the spiritual discipline of the heart (*xin* 心) and of fundamental human nature (*xing* 性) by means of the allegory of the training of a horse. The song comprises twelve verses in an irregular *daoqing* 道情 meter of seven- and three-character lines with accompanying illustrations. In addition, there is a commentary in small print, also rhymed and in five-character verses.

The metaphor of the training of the horse, current in Quanzhen Taoism, seems to have been inspired by the analogous allegory of the training of the buffalo of Chan Buddhism in four, six, eight, ten, or twelve scenes. We have here the sole fully illustrated version of the training of the horse of the mind in the *Daozang* (see figs. 64 and 65). The ten illustrations of the horse training are similar to those of the training of the buffalo in ten scenes by the Chan master Puming 普明 (end of the eleventh century).

The second juan is devoted to the life force (*ming* 命). It is composed of twelve sections, each with its own title and illustrated by a diagram, with one or two lyrical *ci*-詞 poems and a rhymed formula (*jue* 訣). Following the tradition of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (q.v.),



FIGURE 64. Practitioner preparing to eradicate the Roots of Impermanence (267 I.1b)



FIGURE 65. Steps in Taming the Horse of the Mind (267 1.2a–9a) (continued)

the author exposes the essential phases of Inner Alchemy: the choice of the cauldron and the furnace, fire-phasing, the transmutation of cinnabar, the deliverance of the body, the return to the true origin and to nonaction. At the end the Song of the Pure Awakening of Heart and Nature (“Chunjue xinxing ge 純覺心性歌”; 2.15a–16a) describes the *xing* as a white buffalo and the *xin* as the shepherd. This metaphor may be compared to the phrase “the Superior Vehicle of the great buffalo is the method of true cultivation and inner refinement” (*da niuju shangsheng zhe, xiuzhen neilian zhi fa ye* 大牛車上乘者，修真內鍊之法也) in 275 *Sanji zhiming quanti* (9a) by Wang Qingsheng.

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Catherine Despeux

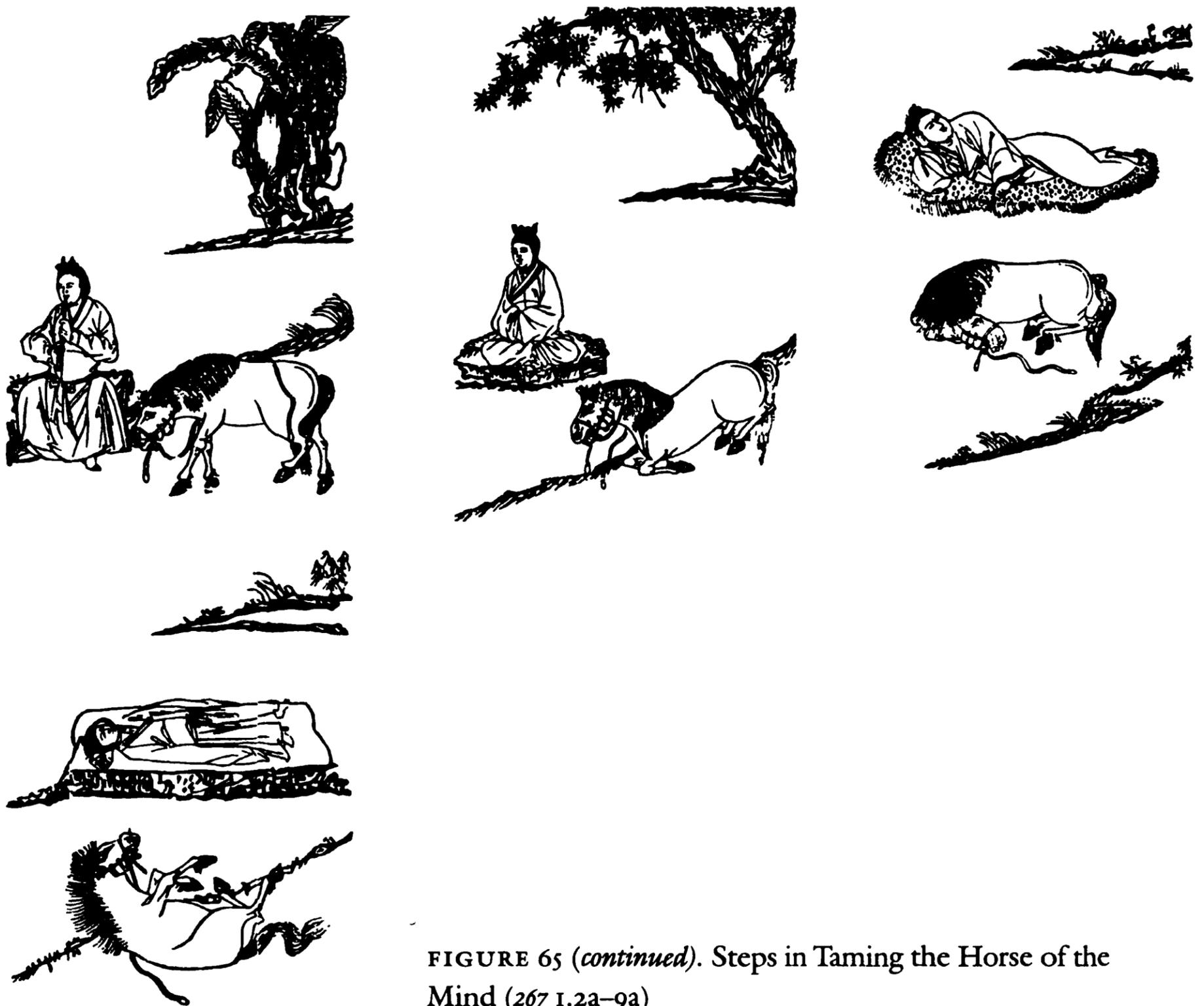


FIGURE 65 (continued). Steps in Taming the Horse of the Mind (267 I.2a–9a)

Xiyi zhimi lun 析疑指迷論

16 fols.

By Niu Daochun 牛道淳, *hao* Shenfeng xiaoyao dashi 神峰逍遙大師; 1299
276 (fasc. 134)

“Discussions for Resolving Doubts and Pointing out Errors.” These discussions were composed by Niu Daochun, according to his own preface, dated 1296. There is a colophon by Liu Daozhen 劉道真 dated 1298, which together with a preface by Wang Daoheng 王道亨 dated 1299, precedes the preface by Niu Daochun. Wang Daoheng explains that Niu Daochun continues the (Quanzhen) tradition of MA DANYANG, TAN CHUDUAN, LIU CHUXUAN, and QIU CHUJI.

Niu Daochun answers the questions of his disciple Li Zhiheng 李志恆, who inquires about the principles of the Quanzhen school, the “Secrets of the True Tao,” the meaning of *xingming* 性命, and especially the methods of self-cultivation. The discussions in the second part of this work (8a ff.) are conducted between two probably fictitious persons, Guangmo xiansheng 廣漠先生 and Zhaoran zi 昭然子. These dialogues deal with definitions of technical terms and practices. They also list specific

means of self-cultivation, which Niu Daochun rejects (12b–13a). Niu Daochun emphasizes the “sudden enlightenment” and the recovery of the “original face.” However, his fundamental attitude seems to be that “actually there is nothing to say and nothing to transmit” (15b). This type of statement is characteristic of the Quanzhen school.

Florian C. Reiter

Xuanjiao da gongan 玄教大公案

2 juan

By Miao Shanshi 苗善時, *zi* Taisu 太素, *zi* Shian 實菴 (fl. fourteenth century);

edited by Wang Zhidao 王志道, *zi* Cheng'an 誠庵; preface dated 1324

1065 (fasc. 734)

“Great Cases in the Teaching of Mystery.” This book is composed of sixty-four paragraphs called “rules” (*ze* 則) in harmony with the hexagrams of the *Yijing* 易經 (see prefaces, 1b and 5b), and three additional paragraphs on the “three poles” (*sanji* 三極), which contain the quintessence of the Teaching. Wang Zhidao was a disciple of Miao Shanshi. In addition to Wang’s preface, there are three others: one by Ke Daochong 柯道沖, *hao* Yuanhei daoren 淵嘿道人; one by Tang Daolin 唐道麟, *hao* Jiuqu yimin 九曲逸民, who apparently had the work printed; and one by Wang Congyi 王從義, investigating censor of the Branch Censorate (*Xingtai jiancha yushi* 行台監察御史).

Miao Shanshi was a disciple of LI DAOCHUN. At his master’s temple, the Zhonghe jingshe 中和精舍 in Nanking, he occupied the function of *zhitang* 知堂 (see 1060 *Qing’an Yingchan zi yulu* 3.1a). According to the preface by Wang Congyi (3b–4a), he wrote supplementary notes in order to complement the *Yizhuan* 易傳, the great commentary on the *Yijing* by Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), as well as a *Yiwang jiehuo* 易網解惑.

Each paragraph is composed of quotations of different Taoist scriptures, such as the *Daode jing* 道德經, the *Wenshi* 文始, the *Liezi* 列子, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the *Yijing* 易經, or of sayings of great Taoists such as LÜ YAN, WANG ZHI, BO YUCHAN, and the three Mao brothers. These texts are followed by judgments and interpretations as to the true meaning of those texts (see prefaces, 5b), hence the title “Great [Judicial] Cases.” At the end of each case, there is a hymn (*song* 頌).

Catherine Despeux

Shangyang zi jindan dayao 上陽子金丹大要

16 juan

By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; ca. 1331

1067 (fasc. 736–738)

“Master Shangyang’s Essentials of the Elixir.” This work includes an introduction (2.1a–7b) by CHEN ZHIXU (dated 1331) and two prefaces written by his disciples (ca. 1335). The text must therefore have been compiled between these two dates.

CHEN ZHIXU, a Taoist of the Zixiao jiang gong 紫霄降宮 temple, lived in the Hunan and Hubei region: he met his master in Hengyang 衡陽 (Hunan), and in the course of his peregrinations gathered many disciples in the Jiugong shan 九宮山, mountains in Hubei (11.8a, 12.1a). Chen belonged to an offshoot of the Quanzhen school tracing its lineage to MA DANYANG (12.5b, 14.8b; see also 1069 *Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi* 7a–9a). Although CHEN ZHIXU claims to adhere to the syncretist movement uniting the Three Teachings (*sanjiao wei yi* 三教爲一; see especially 14.3b ff.), Taoist and Chan teachings predominate. On the Taoist side, he is strongly influenced by ZHANG BODUAN and BO YUCHAN. CHEN ZHIXU was familiar with most of the texts in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu*, as is evident from his quotations (see, e.g., the quotation from the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 in 5.9a).

On the Buddhist side, he greatly admired the teachings of the master Nanquan 南泉 (748–834) and his disciple Zhaozhou 趙州 (777–896). Chen's work alludes throughout to Chan *gongan* 公案 riddles (see especially 15.6a ff. and 16.4b ff.). Also of interest is his frequent use of Chan technical terms, such as *jianxing cheng fo* 見性成佛 (14.13a, 16.1a), that is, the attainment of buddhahood upon beholding the buddha-nature within oneself. Among the standard Buddhist sūtra, the Diamond Sūtra, the scripture most revered by the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 惠能 of the Southern school of Chan, is most frequently quoted in the text.

CHEN ZHIXU's work represents a harmonious concord between *xing* 性 (Chan) and *ming* 命 (Taoism). The entire work is theoretical, cryptic, and allusive—as Chen himself says, the text alone, without indications from a master, was of no use (5.9b). The elixir *jindan* 金丹, is for him the ineffable, all-embracing, immanent, and transcendental qi of “Former Heaven” (1.4a; 5.1b–2a). CHEN ZHIXU nevertheless, in keeping with the *Wuzhen pian* tradition, shows a close familiarity with alchemical terminology that may be applied to both *neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹 (see juan 5–8). The way to attain the elixir consists first in acquiring a thorough understanding of social rules, then in meditation resulting in wisdom (2.7a).

Juan 1 of this text is in fact the introduction to the work (cf. the *Daozang jinghua* edition, where it is featured separately as a preface). According to this introduction (1.11a–11b), the composition of the *Jindan dayao* is as follows:

1. “Xuwu 虛無,” three *zhang* 章
2. “Shangyao 上藥,” one *zhang*
3. “Miaoyong 妙用,” nine *zhang* (only seven *zhang* in the present text; for the missing two, cf. the *Daozang jinghua* edition)
4. “Xuzhi 須知,” seven *zhang*
5. “Jigong shige 積功詩歌”
6. “Leixing 累行”

7. “Fazhen wenda 發真問答”
8. “Xiuzhen tu xiang 修真圖象”
9. “Yuege nigu 越格擬古”
10. “Chaozong 超宗”

The entire work should comprise ten juan, but the present version follows a different division.

Juan 2, titled “Void,” comprises a preface and commentary on the first section of the *Daode jing* 道德經.

Juan 3 and 4, titled the “True Medicine,” include a discussion of preserving the original *jing* 精 (essence), *qi* 氣 and *shen* 神 (spirits, divinities), also called the “*jing*, *qi*, *shen* existing before the formation of Heaven and Earth” (3.1a).

Juan 5 and 6 comprise seven of the nine discussions on the “subtle” use of certain ingredients (*miaoyong* 妙用). These deal with the elixir *jindan*, ingredients, alchemical vessels, the best moment for collecting the ingredients, the true catalyst (*zhentu* 真土), fire-phasing, and divine transformation. The *Daozang jinghua* edition includes the last two discussions concerning *huandan* 還丹 (cyclically transformed elixir) and *diandao* 顛倒 (reversal of the natural order).

Juan 7 and 8 offer additional explanations of alchemical terms, from fire-phasing to transfiguration. These are entitled “Requisite Knowledge.” The additional explanations mainly concern the problem of transmission. Chen advocates the Chan idea of *xinshou* 心授 (mental transmission, which enables the adept to behold the buddha-nature within himself intuitively; 8.3b–5b).

The juan that follows (9), under the heading “Accumulation of Merit,” consists of a collection of poems.

Juan 10 comprises eighty-one couplets on the *Daode jing*.

Juan 11 and 12 are entitled “Accumulation of Pious Acts” (“Leixing 累行”) and are epistles addressed to the author’s disciples. This section is incomplete (cf. the *Daozang jiyao* edition).

Juan 13 and 14 are entitled “Fazhen 發真” (from a term meaning to manifest the truth or exhibit the innate buddha-nature). Both are in the form of “recorded conversations” (*yulu* 語錄) and concern universal problems such as life, death, the origin of the universe, realization of one’s innate buddha-nature, and others.

The titles of the last two juan (15 and 16), “Yuege 越格” and “Chaozong 超宗,” are taken from a Buddhist expression meaning to surpass the origin of the great dharma and go beyond rules and norms. Juan 15 examines *gongan* 公案 riddles. Juan 16 is an exposition concerning the phrase “to attain buddhahood upon beholding ones own innate nature” (*jianxing cheng fo* 見性成佛).

紫陽丹房寶鑑之圖



FIGURE 67. Dragon and tiger as alchemical symbols (1068 8a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1054)

Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi 上陽子金丹大要列仙誌

9 fols.

By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; ca. 1331
1069 (fasc. 738)

“Record of Famous Immortals Pertaining to Master Shangyang’s Essentials of the Elixir.” This is a collection of sixteen biographies of CHEN ZHIXU’s school, starting with Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫 and ending with Chen himself. Chen traces the direct lineage of his school back to MA DANYANG: from Ma to Song Youdao 宋有道, Li Jue 李珣, Zhang Mu 張模, Zhao Youqin 趙有欽, and finally CHEN ZHIXU.

CHEN ZHIXU received instruction from Zhao Youqin in a year *jisi* 己巳 (1269 or 1329) at Hengyang 衡陽.

Shangyang zi jindan dayao xianpai 上陽子金丹大要仙派

10 fols.

By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; ca. 1331
1070 (fasc. 738)

“Lineage Pertaining to Master Shangyang’s Essentials of the Elixir.” This short work details the “lineage of the immortals” (*xianpai* 仙派) of CHEN ZHIXU’s school (1a–2b), and includes as well a description of the ritual ceremony on the occasion of ZHONGLI QUAN’s and LÜ DONGBIN’s birthdays (“Zhong Lü erxian qingdan yi 鍾呂二仙慶誕儀”). Since LÜ DONGBIN and ZHONGLI QUAN were born on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the fourth month, respectively, the offerings in their honor were presented together.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xiulian xuzhi 修鍊須知

20 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)

1077 (fasc. 740)

“Essential Knowledge about the Practice [of Inner Alchemy].” This text is a short *neidan* 內丹 treatise by an unknown author, although he latter must have belonged to the Quanzhen order. He refers to the instructions given by Quanzhen teachers in the practice of Inner Alchemy (page 5a) and speaks of LÜ DONGBIN as the Pure Yang Patriarch (Chunyang zushi 純陽祖師), also referring to him as the Imperial Lord Pure Yang (Chunyang dijun 純陽帝君). The latter title was granted LÜ DONGBIN in 1310.

The work draws on a great variety of sources, not only quoting classical Confucian texts, but also referring to the Taoist activities of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (Zhu Huian 朱晦庵; 1130–1200). Buddhist scriptures are also drawn upon. Reference to Taoist works mostly concern the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗). Of BO YUCHAN (Ziqing Bo zhenren 紫清白真人) it is said that he met his master CHEN NAN (Niwan weng 泥丸翁) when he was already sixty-four years old (6a). Among the later masters, special reference is made to LI DAOCHUN (Yingchan zi 瑩蟾子; 1b), Zhao Youqin 趙友欽 (Yuandu zi 緣督子; fl.1329) and CHEN ZHIXU (Shangyang zi 上陽子). Chen is quoted more than ten times, and the entire last part of the treatise, the “Seven Steps in the Cultivation of True Nature” (*Xiuzhen qishi* 修真七事) is entirely his work. The present work is therefore likely to belong to his school.

Kristofer Schipper

Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣

23 fols.

By WANG ZHE 王嘉, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子 (1113–1170)

1156 (fasc. 796)

“Instructions concerning the Golden Bar and the Jade Lock.” This title has been attributed to WANG ZHE. The character *zhe* 嘉 used here could point to the years between 1159 and 1167, when WANG ZHE was still living in Shaanxi, for the approximate date of the compilation of this work (see 1154 *Chongyang jiaohua ji* 1.15b). It should be noted that the contents and predominant terminology of this work differ greatly from other writings that can be confidently attributed to WANG ZHE. Those works, however, were written later, when WANG ZHE was preaching in Shandong.

This work contains didactic dialogues dealing with methods to preserve and sublimate the Three Treasures (essences, breath, blood). The Golden Bar and the Jade Lock also represent procedures, “the guiding of the gold-essences up to the brain and their fixation in the brain” and “the clenching of the teeth” (6b, 11b). Both procedures represent a great number of meditative and physiological methods, which are all said to effect self-cultivation. These methods are not introduced or mentioned in other works connected with WANG ZHE’s activities in Shandong, where he founded the Quanzhen school. Yet some of the tenets set forth here can be regarded as typical of his later Quanzhen teachings, for example, concerning the three schools of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism.

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Florian C. Reiter

Zhuzhen neidan jiyao 諸真內丹集要

3 juan

Compiled by Xuanquan zi 玄全子, *hao* Haitian qiuyue daoren 海天秋月道人;

Yuan (1279–1368)

1258 (fasc. 999)

“Collection of Essentials concerning the Inner Alchemy of the Zhenren.” This title was compiled by Xuanquan zi (see also 1256 *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu*), either after 1264 or 1274. The date Song Xianchun jiazi 宋咸淳甲子 (3.10b) is erroneous.

This work contains a few short texts concerning *neidan* self-cultivation attributed to the Zhong-Lü school (e.g., 1.1b–4b). In most cases, the author is not indicated, and the literary sources are never named. The majority of the texts are “songs” or “instructions” that can be attributed to the later Quanzhen school, for example, the “Twelve Sentences with Secret Instructions concerning Fire-phasing in Inner Alchemy” (2.6b–

8a), which this work attributes to Chunyang 純陽. The texts “True Proofs of the Inner Alchemy” (2.9a ff.) and “Discourse on the Eight Joints” (3.10b ff.) are identical. The list of terminologies concerning the Gold-Elixir (2.13a–14b) clearly documents the didactic purpose of this work.

Florian C. Reiter

Zhizhou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi 紙舟先生全真直指

7 fols.

Compiled by Jin Yueyan 金月巖, transmitted by Huang Gongwang 黃公望, *hao* Dachì 大癡 (1269–1354)

242 (fasc. 114)

“Straightforward Directions on Quanzhen by Master Paper Boat.” This text purports to reproduce the teaching of Jin Yueyan, transmitted by Huang Gongwang, both heirs to the Quanzhen lineage (*si* Quanzhen 嗣全真). Master Jin must be Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (1276–1336), surnamed Pengtou 蓬頭, whose biography by Zhang Yuchu can be read in 1311 *Xianquan ji* (4.9a–11a). Jin, who lived on Mounts Longhu 龍虎山 (Jiangxi) and Wuyi 武夷山 (Fujian), attained a considerable reputation for his mastery of *neidan* 內丹.

This identification is from Rao Zongyi, *Huang Gongwang*. The renowned painter Huang Gongwang indeed seems to have been the disciple of Jin Pengtou. How-

ever, his association with the present work must remain a hypothesis since the name Yueyan is absent from all extant biographical material concerning Jin Pengtou. The two other works similarly ascribed to Jin Yueyan or Jin Pengtou (281 *Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue* and 576 *Baoyi hansan bijue*) do not shed further light on this question. The identity of Master Paper Boat is not known.

The text is divided into four parts: an introduction (1a–2b), followed by a theoretical outline of the Quanzhen teachings (2b–3b), a description of the seven phases of Truth (3b–4b), and ten practical instructions for meditation (5a–7b; fig. 68). The introduction is a eulogy to Quanzhen, and a criticism of both secret longevity techniques and pure metaphysics. Becoming an immortal is indeed possible, but it requires serious individual efforts and accumulation of merit. These are standard Quanzhen themes. The theoretical outline is merely a symmetrical presentation of form (*xing* 形) and spirit (*shen* 神), with charts, poems, and prose developments.

普度後學
以真覺真



鼓棹迎棹往復回
有緣即上此舟來
真超彼岸成真覺
自利須教更利他

FIGURE 68. The Skiff of Salvation, for crossing to immortality (242 5a)

The seven phases of Truth (*zhen* 真), which are the result of the interaction of spirit and form, are each introduced by a small drawing and a quatrain. The final ten instructions on meditation are of a more practical nature; they deal with body control (instructions 1 to 3) and the supranormal effects of meditation (instructions 4 to 10).

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Vincent Goossaert

Taishang laojun nei riyong miaoqing 太上老君內日用妙經

2 fols.

645 (fasc. 342)

“Taishang Laojun’s Wonderful Scripture for Daily Inner Practice.” This is a short work containing rules for the exercises of meditation that are to be practiced every day. The rules mainly consist in preserving the spirit (*cunshen* 存神) and concentrating thought (*dingyi* 定意), while shutting out all external thoughts and sensual perceptions. The purity and tranquility that have to be maintained constantly for twenty-four hours lead, via Inner Alchemical intermediate stages, to the vision of the intracorporeal region (*guan neijing* 觀內境) and from there, after a ninefold cyclical transformation, to the preparation of the Great Elixir (*dadan* 大丹) itself.

The text, which is probably affiliated with the Quanzhen school (cf. 646 *Taishang laojun wai riyong miaoqing*), figures in an abridged and slightly different version entitled *Riyong jue* 日用訣 in Dong Jinchun’s 1257 *Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 1.1a–b.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang laojun wai riyong miaoqing 太上老君外日用妙經

1 fol.

646 (fasc. 342)

“Taishang Laojun’s Wonderful Scripture for the External Daily Practice.” The title of this short work suggests that the compilers of the *Daozang* saw a direct relation between it and 645 *Taishang laojun nei riyong miaoqing*, the “scripture for the inner daily practice.” The recommendations for the moral conduct of life, which are the message of this mnemonic poem of forty-seven trisyllabic lines, are obviously meant to round off externally the spiritual exercises described in the preceding 645 *Nei riyong miaoqing*.

The text of this poem, which is clearly influenced by the Quanzhen tradition, was engraved in stone in 1352 under the title *Taishang laojun riyong miaoqing* and erected

by the Mongolian governor of Zhouzhi 盩厔 (Shaanxi), Ding An 定安, at the ancient Louguan 樓觀 temple at Zhongnan shan 終南山 (*Jinshi cuibian weike gao* 金石萃編未刻稿 3.37a–b). The inscription differs from the *Daozang* version by one omission (verse 4) and three minor textual variants.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

3.B.10 The Beidi and Xuantian Shangdi Cult

The rationale for the present section is somewhat theoretical, as it does not correspond to a historically or bibliographically well-defined school. Beidi, the god of the North, appears at an early stage as the ruler of the dark regions of death, the lord of Fengdu 酆都, the defunct capital of the heroes who founded the kingdom of Zhou, and hence the Chinese city of Hades. As the commander of the legions of the souls of the dead, Beidi is also a powerful exorcist spirit. The early Shangqing revelations contain an exorcist rite of Beidi (*Beidi shagui zhi fa* 北帝煞鬼之法) in which the demon spirit of Tianpeng 天蓬 is invoked (see 1016 *Zhen'gao* 10.10a–11b and 421 *Dengzhen yinjue* 2.11a–13b). This short text has provided the basis for a number of scriptures, mostly in relation to the Dongyuan 洞淵 tradition (see 53 *Taishang dongyuan beidi tianpeng huming xiaozai shenzhou miaojing*) and also some minor rituals. For a distinct class of Taoist practice under the aegis of Beidi, we have to turn to the early Song (960–1279) work 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi*, which lists, after the well-known orders of the Taoist organization of the Tang period (618–907), an exorcistic order that practiced the Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法) of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi leigong fa* 北帝雷公法; 9a).

The cult of Beidi flourished in modern times. During the Northern Song (960–1127), the worship of the Yishen baode zhenjun 翊聖保德真君, a powerful protector of the dynasty linked to Beidi and his demon kings, became an officially recognized cult, with which the above-mentioned Tianpeng and other spirits were associated. The new schools of Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法, Shenxiao 神霄, and Qingwei 清微, with their Thunder rites, all incorporated these deities and related spirits of the realm of Beidi. Under the Ming (1368–1644), the god of the North became the High Divine Ancestor of the Dark Heaven, Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, the protector of the dynasty (cf. Nikaidō Yoshihiro, “Genten jōtei no henyū”). The present section is therefore far from complete, containing only those scriptures and rites that have not already been discussed within the context of the above-mentioned schools. The reader is therefore invited to consult the corresponding sections for more extensive information.

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miao jing

太上元始天尊說北帝伏魔神咒妙經

10 juan

Compiled by Ouyang Wen 歐陽雯; Song (960–1279)

1412 (fasc. 1053–1054)

“Wondrous Scripture of Divine Incantations for Subduing Demons of the Emperor of the North, Set Forth by Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning.” This book is a compilation of exorcistic methods associated with the god Beidi, Emperor of the North. A list of texts containing such methods is found in 1237 *Sandong xiudao yi* 8b–9a, where they are said to be practiced by the Taoists of the Great Obscurity of the Emperor of the North (Beidi taixuan daoshi 北帝太玄道士). The Taoists of this group are said to have specialized in exorcising evil influences and averting calamity by regulating the demons and spirits of the Six Heavens, that is, Fengdu shan 酆都山, the underworld below the northern sky. They wear the Seals of Fengdu (*Fengdu yin* 酆都印) and their books include a *Fumo jing* 伏魔經 in three juan; a *Tianpeng jing* 天蓬經 in ten juan, and a *Beidi jinzhou jing* 北帝禁咒經 in three juan.

There can be little doubt that the present book forms part of these practices and materials. It includes, for instance, the Twelve Seals of Fengdu (5.2b–5b), the “Tianpeng zhou 天蓬咒” (1.15b–17b and passim), and the list of the names of the palaces of the Six Heavens (1.13a–15a and passim). However, the date of its compilation remains uncertain. It is clear that a book with the title *Beidi jing* 北帝經, containing some of the material of our text, had already been transmitted during the Tang dynasty (618–907). This is borne out by quotations in YJQQ 47.1a and 6a, of which the first is also found in the present book (1.15a–b), and by the “incantation of the Emperor of the North for killing demons” (*Beidi shagui zhou* 北帝殺鬼咒), found both in YJQQ 46.19a–b and 47.6b and in the present book (4.7a). Note also the quotation from a *Beidi jing* concerning the Seals of Fengdu, found in TPYL 676.9b. But the present redaction of the material cannot be earlier than the end of the tenth century. It includes a postscript that mentions the Four Saints (Sisheng 四聖), and gives the name Yisheng 翊聖 to the divine protector of the Song dynasty (10.8a; see 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan*).

A probable *terminus ante quem* may be fixed by the reference to a *Beidi da fumo shenzhou jing* 北帝大伏魔神咒經 in the commentary of 1167 *Taishang ganying pian* 1.4b (dating from around 1233). The work is quoted there as one of the sources for an account of the underworld—an account that relies heavily on the notions presented in the present book (see, for instance, 1.3a–4a). See also the mention in the early Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) work 466 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 320.19a of the *Jiuzhen jie* 九真戒 and two fu said to be described in the *Beidi fumo jing* and in fact included in the present book (6.5b–7a). It may be noted, finally, that a book in ten juan with the title *Beidi shenzhou jing* and possibly identical with the present work, is listed in the

Chongwen zongmu (1042) and mentioned in the *Quejing mulu* as lost (VDL 95). Recent archaeological evidence has been interpreted as suggesting a late Northern or early Southern Song date, that is, roughly twelfth century (see Zhang Xunliao, “Jiangxi Gao’an chutu”).

A good deal of the book may well be derived from early Shangqing texts. Thus, for instance, some of the key elements are found also in 1317 *Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing* 2.5a–6b, under the heading “Beidi fengdu liugong dusi fa,” and in 1016 *Zhen’gao* 10.9b–11b. Both texts include versions of ritual recitation of the names of the Six Heavens of Fengdu 酆都六天宮名. In the *Zhen’gao* this incantation is followed by the “Tianpeng zhou.” The passage from the *Zhen’gao* is quoted in YJQQ 45.16a–18a, where it is stated that the two incantations derive from the Shangqing tradition, and that the Zhengyi corpus also includes them. The relationship with the Zhengyi tradition is confirmed in the present book by the fact that the transmission of a series of fu is described as taking place within the tradition of the Heavenly Masters 天師門下 (8.1b; see also 1413 *Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi* on the list of Heavenly Masters invited in this ritual).

The Shangqing 上清 texts quoted by title include 1356 *Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shenhui yuqing yinshu* (1.19b) and 1366 *Shangqing tianguan santu jing* (1.13a). Both texts contain versions of the names of the Six Heavens of Fengdu and appear to be the sources for the first version of this incantation in the present book (1.13a–15a). Our book, however, also incorporates a good deal of material from Lingbao 靈寶 rituals of the Tang or Song dynasties, for instance, 181 *Taishang jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing* and 75 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo ganlu shengtian shenzhou miaojing*, which are combined to make up most of juan 6. Note also the occasional references to elements of the Dongyuan tradition, for instance the *Sanmei jiangjun* 三昧將軍 (9.1a), as well as the correspondence between 4.1a–2b and 53 *Taishang dongyuan beidi tianpeng huming xiaozai shenzhou miaojing* 1a–2b. The syncretic character of the book is reflected in the series of legends concerning the early practitioners of the tradition found in 1.18b–20b. It begins with TAO HONGJING, continues with Zhang Daoling 張道陵 and Wang Yuan 王遠, and ends with Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (ZHENG YIN) and GE XUAN.

The book takes the form of a scripture set forth by the supreme deity, in the setting of an assembly of the gods before Yuanshi tianzun. Questioned by the Zhenren of Wondrous Actions (Miaoxing zhenren 妙行真人), the deity describes the topology of the northern sky presided over by Beidi, and of the underworld situated below, that is, Mount Fengdu with its six palaces governed by the demon kings of the Six Heavens (Liutian mowang 六天魔王). Further asked about the ways of avoiding the harmful influences from this underworld, Yuanshi tianzun orders Beidi to descend with his army into the world in order to deal with the matter. As a result, the present book is

transmitted into the world, and the majority of its methods are presented as the sayings of Beidi. The six harmful effects caused by the demon kings of the Six Heavens are described (1.12a–b), but it is understood that by means of the methods of the book these forces can be turned to a protective use (see for instance 10.2a).

The purpose of the methods is mainly exorcistic and for the benefit of the living, from the healing of sickness and protection against the dangers of childbirth to the control of insect pests (1.9a–12a). In addition, a series of elements of the funeral liturgy makes up juan 6. It is explained that the incantations of the book should be accomplished as part of larger services, notably comprising the construction of an altar for the seven stars of the Dipper (*qiyuan tan* 七元壇) and an Offering (*jiaoji* 醮祭) to the lords of the stars (see, e.g., 1.9b–10b). Descriptions of methods of the *jiao* (including the *jiao* that accompanies the transmission of this book) are found in juan 9 and 10. Note also the ritual framework for the recitation of this scripture, described in two separate texts, 1413 *Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi* and 1414 *Fumo jing tan xieen jiaoyi*.

The present work is in several respects close to the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法. See, for instance, the first version of the “Tianpeng zhou 天蓬咒” found in the book, in which each four characters of the incantation is associated with a particular deity or group of deities (1.16a–17b). This interpretation of the spell is also found in 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 3.18b–28b, where the deities are further represented by fu. It would appear that the tradition of the present book served as a source for the Tianxin zhengfa, and it may be significant that the preface to 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (1a) states that Mount Huagai 華蓋山, the place of origin of a part of the Tianxin zhengfa, was earlier the site of the appearance into the world of the *Fumo jing*.

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Zhang Xunliao, “Jiangxi Gao’an chutu Nan Song Chunxi liunian Xu Yong mu.”

Poul Andersen

Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi 北帝伏魔經法建壇儀

19 fols.

By Lu Zhongling 盧中苓; Ming (1368–1644)?

1413 (fasc. 1054)

“Ritual for the Construction of the Altar [according to the] Method of the Scripture for Subduing Demons of the Emperor of the North.” Both this and the following ritual (1414 *Fumo jing tan xieen jiaoyi*) belong together with the preceding scripture, 1412 *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing*. The scripture has a postscript entitled “Arcane Instructions for the Recitation of the Scripture” (Songjing xuanjue 誦經玄訣), which states that in addition to the rite of Announcement (*fa*

wenzi 發文字) in the early morning and the subsequent optional recitation, the main recitation ceremony includes two major rituals: the construction of the altar (*jiantan* 建壇), performed after midday and comprising the actual recitation, and the concluding presentation of offerings to the deities (*shejiao* 設醮), performed in the evening.

It is clear that the present ritual and the presentation of offerings were created especially to fulfill these functions. The two texts are presumably contemporary, and on the evidence found in the presentation of offerings, they may be dated as later than 1377. Both rituals contain invitations of the divine masters (5a–b and 1414 *Jiaoyi* 1b–2a), opening with the two *zhenren* Sun 孫 and Min 閔, who are referred to as the founders of the tradition (*qijiao* 啓教), and continuing with the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126). In the offering ritual he is followed by a whole series of Heavenly Masters, up to the Forty-second, Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (1335–1377).

The present book contains descriptions of many visualization practices used in connection with the construction of the altar and during the recitation of the *Fumo jing* (10a, 11a–b, 15b–18a). The altar has three levels (*sanji tan* 三級壇), corresponding to the three levels of Heaven, and a special seat is reserved on it for Beidi, who is identified as the Patriarch of the Subduing of Demons (*Fumo zushi* 伏魔祖師; 3a, 11a). During his recitation, the priest is seated in the way of *Yuanshi tianzun*, who lectures the host of deities inside the precious pearl, like the Most High upon the Jade Throne (*yuju* 玉局; 15a). The whole ceremony of recitation is termed a Retreat (*zhai* 齋), and it includes the announcement of the purpose of the *zhai* (*xuanyi* 宣意; 8b).

Poul Andersen

Fumo jing tan xieen jiaoyi 伏魔經壇謝恩醮儀

10 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)?

1414 (fasc. 1054)

“Offering Ritual of Thanksgiving, of the Altar for [the Recitation of] the Scripture for Subduing Demons.” See 1413 *Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi*.

Poul Andersen

Beidi shuo huoluo qi yuan jing 北帝說豁落七元經

10 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)?

1415

Qiyuan zhen jueyu quyì bijing 七元真訣語驅疫祕經

5 fols.

1416

Qiyuan xuanji zhaomo pinjing 七元璇璣召魔品經

3 fols.

I417

Yuanshi shuo du Fengdu jing 元始說度酆都經

5 fols.

I418

Qiyuan zhaomo fu liutian shenzhou jing 七元召魔伏六天神咒經

12 fols.

I419

Qiyuan zhenren shuo shenzhen lingfu jing 七元真人說神真靈符經

9 fols.

I420 (fasc. 1055)

These six texts deal with the war waged by the Emperor of the North against the demonic forces of Fengdu 酆都, or the Six Heavens. His strategy, transmitted by the Heavenly Worthy in the first year of the mythical Longhan era—a *jiawu* 甲午 year (I417 *Qiyuan xuanji zhaomo pinjing* 1b)—and subsequently transmitted to the Heavenly Master, consists essentially in the use of the spirits of the seven stars of the Big Dipper. These spirits, called the Seven Zhenren, or the Zhenren of the Seven Principles, could be summoned by means of fu such as the *huoluo fu* 豁落符 of the Shangqing 上清 tradition and then dispatched to drive away the “demon officers” (*guiguan* 鬼官; the term is used in all but I420 *Qiyuan zhenren shuo shenzhen lingfu jing*) who cause epidemics (cf. I416 *Qiyuan zhen jueyu quyi bijing*) and other disorders.

Reference is frequently made to the establishment of the Altar of the Seven Principles, or of the Northern Bushel (I415 *Beidi shou huoluo qiyuan jing* 5a; I418 *Yuanshi shuo du Fengdu jing* 2b; I419 *Qiyuan zhaomo fu liutian shenzhou jing* 1b; I420 *Lingfu jing* 5b). At the altar, officiants “Pace the Mainstay” (*bugang* 步綱), recite “divine formulas” (*shenzhou* 神咒), dispatch “red memorials” (*zhuzhang/biao* 朱章表), and make offerings (*jiaoji/xie* 醮祭謝). The officiants are known variously as “Taoist master of the Three Caverns,” “Taoist master of the latter days,” “male/female officer,” or “libationer.” The “Shangqing Taoist,” who lives as a hermit in the mountains, seems to form a separate category (I420 *Lingfu jing* 1a). The preeminent role accorded to the lords and the qi of the Three and the Five (which appear in all but I420 *Lingfu jing*) confirms the close relationship of these texts to the Heavenly Master movement.

Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (“*Sandō hōdō kakai gihan*,” 52–53) rightly draws attention to the similarity between these texts and those in 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*, but since the latter work did not assume its present form before the early ninth century, the similarity is hardly a reason for dating these texts to the late Six Dynasties (220–589).

Yoshioka's other argument for a Six Dynasties date is even less acceptable, for though it is true that the Seven Zhenren appear in 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*, there is nothing else to link the exorcistic Taoism of these texts to the monastic Taoism of that work.

Other features suggesting a late Tang (618–907) or even a Northern Song (960–1127) date are the role of the Emperor of the North himself and the references to “destiny-money” (*mingcai* 命財; 1416 3a), to “money and horses” (1415 6b; 1418 4a), and to the Black Killer, Heisha 黑殺 (1418 3a; 1420 2b).

John Lagerwey

Zhenwu lingying hushi xiaozai miezui baochan 真武靈應護世消災滅罪寶懺
6 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)

814 (fasc. 567)

“Litany of the Spirit of the North, for the Extirpation of Sins.” This ritual is cognate with 1412 *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing* and the following liturgies (1413–1414) since in the present text (1a), the Heavenly Worthy says: “Therefore I revealed the *Fumo jingfa* 伏魔經法.” However, there are no textual correspondences. The present ritual prescribes abstinence and acts of devotion (*chizhai* 持齋) on specific days of the year and the month (2a).

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Taishang shuo ziwei shenbing huguo xiaomo jing

太上說紫微神兵護國消魔經

3 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)

655 (fasc. 343)

“Scripture of Quelling Demons, by the Divine Soldiers for the Protection of the State, spoken by the Most High.” This is a short text in honor of Zhenwu 真武, the great exorcist spirit of the North (Ziwei 紫微), and divine protector (*huguo* 護國) of the Song empire. The text writes *zhen* 真 for *xuan* 玄, not only for the name of the god, but in such instances as the names of the three primordial pneumata *xuan* 玄, *yuan* 元, and *shi* 始, here named *zhen*. (1b.8). It is therefore a Song text, notwithstanding the title of the god given on 3a, which dates to the Yuan (1279–1368).

The present scripture relates the story of Zhenwu, his merits as an exorcist, and his appointment as protector of the state.

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Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benchuan shenzhou miaoqing

太上說玄天大聖真武本傳神咒妙經

11 fols.

775 (fasc. 556)

“Scripture of the Divine Spell Personally Transmitted by Zhenwu, Great Saint of the Dark Heaven, and Spoken by the Most High.” The compilers of the Ming canon of 1445 placed this work in the *pulu* 譜錄 section of the Dongshen 洞神 division, assuming no doubt that it was a biography (*benzhuan* 本傳). The text, however, only mentions the Zhenwu 真武 legend in passing and focuses on his worship. The commentary of the present text by Chen Zhong 陳公 (754 *Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng*) explains that the divine spell (6a–b) was transmitted by the god personally; hence the title. Chen also seems to indicate that this text was revealed by planchette in 1184, to be recited by the Taoists of the age, according to an equally revealed text titled *Xuandi shilu* 玄帝實錄 (1.4b–5a). The *Xuandi shilu*, qualified by Chen as “recent” (4b), must indeed be of a later date, as it features the Yuan title for Xuandi (see 961 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 9a).

The present work does not observe the Song (960–1279) taboo on the character *xuan* 玄 and in every respect appears to be a modern popular book. It begins with a hymn in seven-character verses and is in general narrative in nature.

*Kristofer Schipper**Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benchuan shenzhou miaoqing*

太上說玄天大聖真武本傳神咒妙經

6 juan

By Chen Zhong 陳公, *hao* Tianfang zi 田方子; Yuan (1279–1368)?

754 (fasc. 530–531)

“Commentary on the Scriptures of the Divine Spell.” This text bears the same title as the scripture it takes as its subject. The author is unknown beyond this work. The mention of the ordination title of Shengxuan neijiao dizi 昇玄內教弟子 is surprising for someone who certainly lived after the Song (960–1279) period (see 3a), and who calls himself “a man from the market,” *chanren* 塵人, to indicate his place of origin.

It is equally surprising to find such a thorough and long commentary on what was certainly a popular text. Chen eclectically quotes a wide range of works, from the classics to modern Taoist scriptures.

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Beiji zhenwu puci dushi fachan 北極真武普慈度世法懺

10 juan

Ming (1368–1644)

815 (fasc. 567)

“Litany of Salvation by the True Warrior of the North Pole of Universal Compassion.” In this text, the canonization title of Zhenwu is given on page 1.3b as *Beiji zhentian yousheng zhushun zhenwu lingying fude zhenjun* 北極鎮天佑聖助順真武靈應福德真君, followed by the Taoist title, *Yuxu shixiang Xuantian shangdi* 玉虛師相玄天上帝. On the same page, the legend of the recluse of the Wudang shan 武當山 is recalled: during forty-two years Xuantian shangdi underwent eighty-one transformations, and it is stated that the god became united with the constellations of Xuanwu 玄武. Therefore, although the canonization title is of Song (960–1279) date (see 962 *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 3.1a), the remainder of the titles are Yuan (1279–1368) or Ming, with a greater likelihood for the latter dating.

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Beiji zhenwu yousheng zhenjun liwen 北極真武佑聖真君禮文

12 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

816 (fasc. 567)

“Rite of Homage to the True Warrior of the North Pole, True Lord of Saintly Succor.” This text is cognate with the previous 815 *Beiji zhenwu puci dushi fachan*. It gives the god the title of *Yuxu shixiang Xuantian shangdi* 玉虛師相玄天上帝 (1a). The various acts of grace are intermingled with descriptive poems in seven-character verse of a distinctly vernacular flavor. In this the text resembles a Precious Scroll (*baojuan* 寶卷).

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Yuanshi tianzun shuo beifang zhenwu miaojing 元始天尊說北方真武妙經

7 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

27 (fasc. 27)

“Marvelous Book of the Perfected Warrior of the North.” This title is a popular scripture, otherwise unknown, for the cult of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, the divine protector of the Ming dynasty. The legend of his forty-two years of ascetic practice on the Wudang shan 武當山 is mentioned on 3a.

The text opens with a hymn in seven-character verse in the style of the vernacular incantations of modern popular ritual.

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FIGURE 69. The Emperor of the Pole Star (1215 8b–9a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1198)

Taishang beiji fumo shenzhou shagui lu 太上北極伏魔神咒殺鬼錄

20 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

1215 (fasc. 879)

“Register of the Lord of the North Pole [Star] Who Subdues Demons and Whose Divine Spells Kill Ghosts.” Like 1214 *Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu*, which precedes this work in the Ming *Daozang* of 1445, the present register was issued by the Longhu shan 龍虎山 headquarters of the Heavenly Masters and is signed by Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427), Heavenly Master of the forty-fourth generation (19b).

The register is followed by an illustration representing the Emperor of the Pole Star as ruler of the Fengdu 酆都 hells in the North (8b; fig. 69) with the seven stars of the Dipper (7b–8a). The text also gives the secret names of the residences of the devils in Fengdu (Fengdu liugong 酆都六宮), as a requisite for subduing them.

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Taishang xuantian zhenwu wushang jiangjun lu 太上玄天真武無上將軍錄

9 fols.

1213 (fasc. 879)

“Register of the Supreme General, the Real Warrior of the Most High Black Heaven.” This is a protective talismanic *lu*, issued for a fee to lay believers by the Heavenly Masters of the Longhu shan 龍虎山. The present version is reproduced from a printed copy (8a) distributed under the Forty-fourth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427).



FIGURE 70. Xuantian zhenwu (1213 1b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1196)

The attestation of transmission is illustrated by an image of Zhenwu 真武 (fig. 70). The register itself is coupled with a large talisman and accompanied by several exorcistic spells. A number of other documents linked to the transmission are appended.

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Taishang ziwei zhongtian qiyuan zhenjing

太上紫微中天七元真經

4 fols.

1421 (fasc.1055)

“True Scripture of the Seven Primordial [Luminaries] at the Center of Heaven.” A short text with spells to invoke the seven stars of the Dipper constellation, which governs the universe. This text was doubtlessly intended for the rituals of the Dipper Lamp (*doudeng* 斗燈) for the preservation of life and the avoidance of calamities. Coming right after the series 1415 *Beidi shou huoluo qiyuan jing*, 1416 *Qiyuan zhen jueyu quyì bijing*, 1417 *Qiyuan xuanji zhaomo pinjing*, 1418 *Yuanshi shuo du Fengdu jing*, 1419 *Qiyuan zhaomo fu liutian shenzhou jing*, and 1420 *Qiyuan zhenren shuo shenzhen lingfu jing*,

concerning the cult of the Seven Primordial Shiners (*huoluo qiyuan* 豁落七元), the present work could well be connected with these ritual texts.

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Taishang jiutian yanxiang di'e sisheng miaojing

太上九天延祥滌厄四聖妙經

14 fols.

Fourteenth century (?)

26 (fasc. 27)

“Most High Miraculous Scripture of the Four Saints in the Nine Heavens Who Grant Good Fortune and Dispel Distress.” The Four Saints (*sisheng* 四聖), Tianpeng 天蓬, Tianyou 天猷, Yisheng 翊聖 (previously Heisha 黑殺), and Zhenwu 真武, signify a constellation around the North Pole, to which special exorcistic powers are ascribed. Their significance is attested by the role that the *sisheng* acquire in the modern exorcistic Taoist schools of the Song (960–1279) period (see, e.g., 1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 7.34b–35a). At least as early as the tenth century, there

existed officially maintained places of worship to this constellation of four (see, e.g., 958 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 2.13a–b).

Judging by the honorary titles that the deities bear in this work, meant for recitation, the text in its present form could not have been written prior to 1306 (cf. Zhenwu's title on page 2b with 961 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 10b).

The work comprises several talismans that were to be hung in the house to obtain the deities' assistance, as well as instructions for the ritual recitation of the scripture, for which up to forty-nine Zhengyi daoshi 正一道士 could be invited.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Xuantian shangdi baizi shenghao 玄天上帝百字聖號

56 fols.

1482 (fasc. 1108)

“Holy Appellations in One Hundred Characters of the Emperor of the Dark Heaven.” This title constitutes the introduction to the main work, the “All-Responding Oracle Slips of the Emperor of the Dark Heaven” (*Xuantian shangdi ganying lingqian* 玄天上帝感應靈籤; 2b).

The oracles collected here are of the kind commonly used in temples for divination through oracle slips (*lingqian* 靈籤). Besides the hundred-characters appellation, the introduction also includes a eulogy of the True Warrior, Zhenwu 真武 (1a–b), identified from the Yuan (1279–1368) onward with the Emperor of the Dark Heaven. The eulogy, which the present work attributes to the Song emperor Renzong (r. 1023–1063), is also included in 958 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 8.24b, which names 1184 as the date of the first apparition of the Emperor of the Dark Heaven (1.21a).

If the present collection was indeed written in connection with the cult of this deity, it is not likely that it was compiled before the late Song (960–1279). The existence of a slightly different version in 1298 *Sisheng zhenjun lingqian* suggests, however, that some of its elements may date from an earlier period. The present edition was revised in 1607 by Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 for the publication of the supplement to the canon, the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏.

The work contains forty-nine numbered oracles, allowing the user seeking divination to select the oracle corresponding to the number on the slip previously drawn. The oracles then indicate their auspicious or inauspicious nature, a holy counsel (*shengyi* 聖意) in four verses of seven characters, a set of prognostics in verse ordered by categories, and finally, a comment (*jie* 解) in prose.

Marc Kalinowski

Xuantian shangdi shuo bao fumu enzhong jing 玄天上帝說報父母恩重經

3 fols.

By ZHAO YIZHEN 趙宜真 (d. 1382)

663 (fasc. 345)

“Scripture on the Recompense for Parental Kindness, Spoken by Xuantian Shangdi.” The present text consists of the actual scripture (*jing* 經), an invocatory formula with the canonical titles (*shenghao* 聖號) for Zhenwu 真武, and an explanatory postface by ZHAO YIZHEN (for biographical details on Zhao, see 1071 *Yuanyang zi fayu* and Schipper, “Master Chao I-chen”). It is stated in this work that Taiqing dadi 泰清大帝 after his eighty-second physical transformation proclaimed this scripture as Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 to express gratitude to his parents. The 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 5.9b prescribes the recitation of a *Zhenwu lingying zhenjun bao fumu ende jing* 真武靈應真君報父母恩德經 in one juan within the *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 Retreat, probably referring to the text of the present *jing*.

Concerning the *shenghao*, Zhao explains a practice by pious sons and daughters, who during a three-year period of fasting (corresponding to the feeding period for infants) recite the litany of these titles 18,000 times (corresponding to the number of sections, *pianmu* 篇目, in the complete canon of Taoist scriptures).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu 玄天上帝啓聖錄

8 juan

Yuan (1279–1368)?

958 (fasc. 606–608)

“Record of the Epiphany of the Supreme Ancestor of the Dark Heaven.” This title represents a comprehensive hagiography of the God of the North. The appellation “Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝” is part of the imperial canonization bestowed on the saint under the Yuan in 1303, “Yuansheng renwei xuantian shangdi 元聖仁威玄天上帝.” The present work has neither preface nor colophon, but on page 1.5a there is a commentary, dated 1291, quoting the 962 *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* (2.14b) by Liu Daoming 劉道明. In a general manner, the present hagiography appears to be inspired by the *Zongzhen ji*. Some episodes seem to have been taken from other sources, such as the one signed by Dong Suhuang 董素皇, *hao* Feixia lingguang zhenren 飛霞靈光真人, dated 1184 (1.20b–21b). The work contains no datable materials from the Ming (1368–1644); it probably belongs to the Yuan period (1279–1368).

The narratives concern the deeds of the saint, his life on earth, and his posthumous miracles. The bulk of the stories date from the Tang, Five Dynasties, and both Song periods (seventh through thirteenth centuries). The beginning of the work retraces the saint’s life, from his birth, his youth, through awakening, to his ascent to Heaven



FIGURE 71. Apparition of Xuantian shangdi above the summit of Wudang shan in 1413 (959 16a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/952)

(1.10a). The stories of his later manifestations all are highly moral in tone but set in a distinctly Taoist context.

Kristofer Schipper

Da Ming xuantian shengdi ruiying tulu 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄

25 fols.

959 (fasc. 608)

“Illustrated Album on the Auspicious Miracles Performed by the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven.” Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 (Xuanwu 玄武) was reputed to have assisted the founder of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) in his rise to power and therefore became the patron saint of the empire. The present hagiography reproduces a series of decrees by the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424), attesting to his devotion to the deity and to his support of the great complex of sanctuaries on Wudang shan 武當山.

The richly illustrated text further features a series of apparitions of Xuantian shangdi at Wudang shan between 1412 and 1413 (see fig. 71). The manifestations are again in response to Yongle’s devotion and temple-building activities and give evidence of the tutelary god’s active support of the dynasty.

Caroline Gyss-Vermande

Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu 玄天上帝啓聖靈異錄

18 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)

961 (fasc. 608)

“Records of the Miraculous Manifestations that Occurred in Response to the Worship of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven.” This title is a collection of Yuan (1279–1368) inscriptions, petitions, decrees, and prefaces written between 1270 and 1326. The author is unknown. The first two texts, inscriptions for the founding of the Zhenwu miao 真武廟 and the Zhaoying gong 昭應宮 temples in Peking, both dedicated to the saint, are dated 1270 and written by the Hanlin academician Xu Shilong 徐世隆 (1206–1285). The temples were founded by order of Kublai Khan in response to the miraculous appearances, in 1268 and 1269 respectively, of a turtle and a snake in the vicinity of the town. This was regarded as an auspicious omen for the Yuan dynasty.

An inscription by Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫 (1249–1346), dated 1315, concerns the founding of the great Tianyi zhenqing wanshou gong 天一真慶萬壽宮 temple on Mount Wudang by Emperor Renzong (r. 1312–1320), on the initiative of the daoshi ZHANG SHOUQING. Cheng relates the beginning of the cult on Mount Wudang 武當山 during the Zhenguang era (627–649) and the stages of its development.

Next come the decrees for canonization: in 1304 for the saint himself, with the title Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi 玄天元聖仁威上帝 (10b); in 1314, for his parents and for ZHANG SHOUQING; in 1325 for the turtle and the snake.

The present work also retains a certain number of prefaces of illustrated tracts published by ZHANG SHOUQING. The authors are the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (1312); WU QUANJIE, patriarch of the Xuanjiao school (1314); the academician Zhang Zhongshou 張仲壽 (1322); ZHAO MENGFU (1312); the academician Zhao Bian 趙焮 (1312); Yu Ji 虞集 (1312); and Bao Siyi 鮑思義 (1311).

Caroline Gyss-Vermande

Zhenwu lingying zhenjun zengshang yousheng zunhao cewen

真武靈應真君增上佑聖尊號冊文

2 fols.

By Emperor Huizong 徽宗 of the Song; 1108

776 (fasc. 556)

“Imperial Order Upgrading the [Canonical] Title of Zhenwu Lingying Zhenjun with [the Epithet] Yousheng.” This canonization by Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) was granted in 1108 in response to a memorial presented by Yu Shen 余深 (d. 1132). In the same month, a Lingbao Golden Register Liturgy (*Jinlu lingbao daochang yifan* 金籙靈寶道場儀範) was also published (see *Song shi* 20.380).

Kristofer Schipper

Yuzhi Zhenwu miao bei 御製真武廟碑

3 fols.

By Emperor Ming Chengzu 明成祖; 1415

960 (fasc. 608)

“Imperial Stele Inscription for the Zhenwu Temple.” This commemorative inscription by the Yongle emperor for the foundation of the Zhenwu miao 真武廟 temple in Peking is dedicated to the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven (Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝). The text is appended to 959 *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*.

*Kristofer Schipper**Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 武當福地總真集

3 juan

By Liu Daoming 劉道明; hao Dongyang zi 洞陽子; 1291

962 (fasc. 609)

“Comprehensive Collection of True [Facts] concerning the Land of Bliss of Wudang.” This work is a gazetteer of the holy mountain Wudang 武當山 and its cult of Zhenwu 真武, or Xuandi 玄帝. There is a preface by the author, dated 1291, and a postface, dated 1301, by Lü Shishun 呂師順, a retired official.

Liu was named superintendent (*tidian* 提點) of the imperial foundations of the Wudang shan in 1286 (1b). His monograph covers the geography (juan 1 and 2), as well as the history of the cult (juan 3). It contains much valuable information, and quotes a number of sources that are lost today, such as the *Xuandi zhuanji* 玄帝傳記 (3.2b–12b).

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.11 The Wenchang Cult

The worship of Wenchang 文昌, patron of students, literati, and officials, originated as a local nature cult in the mountains of Zitong 梓潼 in northern Sichuan. An ancient god of Zitong appears in the fourth-century *Huayang guozhi* (91) as a serpentine Thunder deity. Situated on the road to Shu 蜀, the cult received imperial recognition by the two Tang emperors exiled to Sichuan, Xuanzong (r. 712–756) and Xizong (r. 873–888). The Divine Lord of Zitong’s 梓潼帝君 transformation into Wenchang and the spread of the cult throughout China were stimulated by a series of apparitions and manifestations under the Northern Song (960–1127). In 1181, the medium Liu

Ansheng 劉安勝 recorded the god's revelations by means of spirit writing (*fujū* 扶乩). The text thus obtained is an early specimen of the morality book (*shanshu* 善書) genre, in the guise of the god's autobiography, or "Book of Transformations" (*Huashu* 化書; see Kleeman, *A god's own tale*).

This twelfth-century *Huashu* is at the foundation of the small scriptural corpus associated with the Wenchang cult as transmitted in the *Daozang*. The *Daozang* version, 170 *Zitong dijun huashu*, a Yuan (1279–1368) recension, is followed here by a Ming (1368–1644) compilation of related hagiographic material, 169 *Qinghe neizhuan*. Two scriptures, 28 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun yingyan jing* and 29 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun benyuan jing*, probably dating to the thirteenth century, feature the Lord of Zitong in audience with Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, discussing his mission as savior and keeper of the Cinnamon Record, in which the names and careers of scholar-officials were inscribed. The section concludes with an illustrated *lu*-錄 register for Wenchang adepts.

Zitong dijun huashu 梓潼帝君化書

4 juan

Presented in 1316

170 (fasc. 74)

"Book of Transformations of the Divine Lord of Zitong." This title constitutes a first person account, revealed through planchette, of the avatars and divine offices of the god eventually appointed Wenchang, god of literature and patron of examination candidates.

The "Book of Transformations" survives in two recensions, one from the Southern Song entitled *Wendi huashu* 文帝化書, reprinted in *Daozang jiyao* ("Xing 星"), and the present *Daozang* text from the Yuan (1279–1368). Prefaces to the *Wendi huashu* record that the first seventy-three episodes (*hua* 化) were revealed to a medium named Liu Ansheng 劉安勝 and three of his kinsmen in a temple on the otherwise unknown Baoping shan 寶屏山 near Chengdu, Sichuan, in 1181, and that the next twenty-one episodes were revealed in 1194. Internal evidence shows that the last three episodes date from around 1267. The preface to the *Daozang* edition states that at the beginning of the fourteenth century there were northern and southern editions in circulation. The recension presented to the Yuan emperor in 1316, at the time of the ennoblement of the Divine Lord of Zitong as Wenchang, was based on the northern edition, but had been revised by the Divine Lord. Comparison of the two recensions reveals that this revision primarily involved emending or deleting passages unfavorable to non-Chinese peoples and rearranging the text to fill the gaps. All other editions of the work, including those in Wenchang collectanea like *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書 (preface 1775; edited by Liu Tishu 劉體恕) seem to be of the Southern Song (1127–1279) version

(e.g., Pelliot B1374, British Library 15113.b.4 and 5113.b.8). The earliest extant edition seems to be the one from 1645 in the Naikaku Bunkō 內閣文庫 and at Harvard (discussed in Sakai Tadao, *Chūgoku zensho*, 412).

A number of other texts were revealed to Liu Ansheng 劉安勝 during these spirit-writing sessions in the latter half of the twelfth century, including an earlier recension of 5 *Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing* (1168), 169 *Qinghe neizhuan* (1168–1181), and 1214 *Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu* (1181).

The *Huashu* is an early example of the morality book genre. Through concrete examples drawn from his many temporal and divine incarnations, the Divine Lord teaches basic virtues such as filial piety, loyalty to the state, honesty, and compassion. Many, but not all, episodes center on appropriate behavior for officials, reflecting the important role of aspiring officials in the cult. The work is unique in its first-person viewpoint and its emphasis on the Sichuan region.

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Terry Kleeman

Qinghe neizhuan 清河內傳

18 fols.

Ming (1368–1644) compilation; original revelation between 1168 and 1177

169 (fasc. 73)

“Secret Biography of Qinghe.” This short autobiography, revealed by planchette, of one of the incarnations of the Divine Lord of Zitong (Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君), is followed by documents concerning the god and his cult and several ethical treatises. During the Western Jin (265–316), the god is born to the Old Man of Qinghe 清河 (i.e., Zhang Daoling 張道陵, see 1463 *Han tianshi shijia* 2.5b) and awakens to his divine family in a Cavern-Heaven.

The “Secret Biography” itself was revealed between 1168 and 1177, and was inscribed on a stele in the god’s temple in the capital Lin’an 臨安 (modern Hangzhou) in 1177 (see *Liang Zhe jinshi zhi* 9.55b–57a). This text provided the nucleus for the first seventy-three chapters of the *Huashu* 化書, predecessor of 170 *Zitong dijun huashu* (see *Wendi huashu* 文帝化書 15a–b and 86b–87a, in *Daozang jiyao*, “Xing 星”). The preface to 1299 *Xuanzhen lingying baoqian* states that the “Secret Biography” was revealed at Shuang-song 雙松, a place otherwise unknown but probably to be identified with Baoping shan, where most of the Wenchang 文昌 scriptures were revealed (see the abstract for 170 *Huashu*). The “Secret Biography” is followed by an ennoblement of the god dated 1265 and ennoblements of members of his family dated 1269. These appointments are different from the twelfth-century ennoblements recorded in *Song huiyao jigao* 1:792.

Next is a Yuan (1279–1368) enfeoffment and a text bestowing a temple placard, dated 1316. The “Exhortation to the Twenty-one Officers” (“Gaoyu ershiyi si wen 告諭二十一司文”) in which the god instructs subordinate officials on the performance of their duties, is also of Yuan date (cf. the reference to Dadu 大都, the Yuan capital). The “Subsidiary Shrine Record” (“Xingci ji 行祠記”) commemorates the construction of a new shrine to the god in Chengdu in 1341. The work concludes with two moral essays that seem to be of early Ming date, the “Tract Encouraging Reverence for Writing Paper” (“Quan jing zizhi wen 勸敬字紙文”) and the “Tract Cautioning Scholars” (“Jie shizi wen 戒士子文”).

Terry Kleeman

Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun yingyan jing

元始天尊說梓潼帝君應驗經

4 fols.

Thirteenth century (?)

28 (fasc. 27)

“Scripture of the Responses and Proofs of the Divine Lord of Zitong, expounded by Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning.” At an audience before the Heavenly Worthy, the Divine Lord of Zitong (Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君) vows to save all living creatures from the impending kalpa disasters. The scripture concludes with the divine appellation (*hao* 號) of the Lord of Zitong.

This scripture derives from the Zitong dijun, that is, the Wenchang 文昌 cult, which arose during the Southern Song (1127–1279). A reference to ninety-four transformations (3b) dates the work no earlier than 1194, the date of composition of the last fourteen episodes of the Book of Transformations (170 *Zitong dijun huashu*). Episodes 95–97 of this work date to around 1267; therefore the reference to ninety-four transformations can probably date the present text to the period 1191–1267, but it is possible that the ninety-four chapter recension remained in circulation into the Yuan period (1279–1368). Identification of the Divine Lord with Fenghuang shan 鳳凰山 rather than, as is more common, Qiqu shan 七曲山 may indicate that this text derives from a rival cult center in the Zitong 梓潼 area in northern Sichuan.

The Heavenly Worthy praises the Divine Lord’s repeated incarnations and refers to the Divine Lord’s role as keeper of the Cinnamon Record, which determines one’s fate as an official, as patron of literature, and as savior. He is to save the world by preaching moral transformation through the planchette.

Terry Kleeman

Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun benyuan jing

元始天尊說梓潼帝君本願經

12 fols.

After 1194

29 (fasc. 27)

“Scripture of the Original Vow of the Divine Lord of Zitong, as Expounded by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning.” In his Buddhist-inspired writ, the Divine Lord of Zitong (Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君), better known as Wenchang 文昌, the patron deity of the literati and the examination system (see 170 *Zitong dijun huashu*), is selected by the Heavenly Worthy to save men before the arrival of the impending kalpa disasters.

Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 presides over an audience at which the declining state of world morality and the impending disasters are discussed. When the Zhenren of Compassionate Salvation (Ciji zhenren 慈濟真人) asks that someone be sent to relieve men in their misery, Yuanshi tianzun suggests a great god of Sichuan named Zitong, who controlled the fate of officials through his Cinnamon Record, had manifested himself in more than ninety transformations, had been entrusted by the Jade Emperor with a *ruyi* 如意 scepter, and had been assigned to convert the populace through the “flying phoenix,” or spirit-writing (2a). The reference to “ninety-odd transformations 九十餘化” dates the text to the period after 1194 (see 170 *Zitong dijun huashu*). Although it most probably was produced during the thirteenth century, before the cult was suppressed at the beginning of the Yuan (1279–1368), it is also possible that the text appeared only after the cult’s revival in the later Yuan. Unlike 28 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun yingyan jing*, which links the god to an alternate cult-site on Fenghuang shan 鳳凰山 (also near Zitong 梓潼), this scripture clearly links the god to the traditional cult center on Sevenfold Mountain (Qiqu shan 七曲山).

Terry Kleeman

Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing

太上無極總真文昌大洞仙經

5 juan

Attributed to Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君; revealed in 1168, revised in 1264, with an addition dated 1302

5 (fasc. 16)

“Great Cavern Scripture according to Wenchang.” This text is a ritualized version of the *Dadong jing* (see 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* and 7 *Dadong yujing*) attributed to the popular saint Wenchang 文昌. The preface is attributed to the saint himself under his canonical name Gengsheng yongming tianzun 更生永命天尊. The saint tells how he once received the visit of three spirits who gave him the *Dadong jing*, together with

an accompanying register (*lu* 錄) and a ritual (*fa* 法). This same preface is given in the commentary to the work: 103 *Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 2.17a–21a. The commentary version has a few variant readings. The preface in our text here quotes, in an abridged form, a number of passages from 170 *Zitong dijun huashu* (especially from juan 1.3a–b and 1.8a–9a of this hagiography).

In an additional note, beginning on 1.5a5 of the preface, it is written that the saint presented a certain Liu Ansheng 劉安勝 with this version through spirit writing (“jiangbi yu luntai 降筆於鸞臺”) in 1168 and that almost a hundred years later, in 1264, a certain Luoyi zi 羅懿子 received a revised version, presumably also by planchette, at the Mowei dong 摩維洞 grotto on Aotou shan 鰲頭山 (southern Sichuan, near Chongqing). The author of the revision was, according to the signature at the beginning of the book, a saint named Taixuan wushang shangde zhenjun 太玄無上上德真君, otherwise unknown. An additional revelation of hymns (*song* 頌) related to the scripture was made in 1302. The saint says, on this occasion: “The *Duren jing* 度人經 and the *Dadong shu* 大同書 are the ancestors of all scriptures. . . . Previously I have written hymns to the *Duren jing*. I have now made those for the *Dadong jing* and order all disciples to print this version and distribute it.”

The major differences of the present version with those of 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* and 7 *Dadong yujing* can be summarized as follows:

1. There are only thirty-eight stanzas, instead of the traditional thirty-nine, as numbers 10 and 11 have been combined to form a single stanza.
2. The text of the stanzas is given here without additional notes or commentary mentioning the names of the deities of the body and giving their description. From this we may conclude that the stanzas are simply meant to be recited here and were not intended to be accompanied by visualizations.
3. There is an introductory ritual (juan 1 and 2), attributed to the saint Wenchang. This ritual is very similar to that given in 103 *Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu*.
4. Among the textual variations from other versions, stanza number 4 (3.3a) here reads “likan 離坎” instead of “lizi 離子,” and stanza number 26 (5.3b) refers to “canghu jie 倉胡頡,” the name of a pearl (similar to that mentioned in the *Duren jing*).

The stanzas that here occupy juan 3, 4, and 5 are in general closer to those found in the version of 7 *Dadong yujing* than to the version of 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*. It is not clear whether the present text is the “old version” mentioned in 103 *Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu*, as there appear to be many discrepancies with that text, notably in the sequence of the stanzas (in 103 *Dadong xianjing zhu*, 3.13a begins with stanza number 11).



FIGURE 72. Wenchang dijun and his acolytes (1214 1.1b–2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1197)



FIGURE 73. Stellar guardian (1214 2.13b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1197)

Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu 高上大洞文昌司祿紫陽寶籙

3 juan

Fifteenth century (?)

1214 (fasc. 879)

“Precious Register of Purple Yang of the Career Controller Wenchang of the Highest Category.” The present *lu* is said to have been issued by the Heavenly Masters of the Longhu shan, reproduced from a copy delivered by the Forty-fourth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427; see 3.18a). The certificate of transmission is illustrated with a portrait of Wenchang dijun and his acolytes. The register itself is divided into twenty-four chapters (*pin* 品), and the table of contents is given on 3.17b.

The accompanying images for visualization are of a great variety: generals, scholars, officials, goddesses, and even, in the last chapter (3.11b–12b), eight visions of animals, monsters, and strange situations, which, when seen in a dream, announce great felicity (*yingmeng* 應夢). (See figs. 72–74.) The illustrations of the dream visions are

應虎五斬法



應鬼大



應鹿白



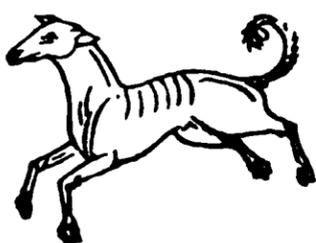
應貓玉



應人三擊怒



應犬黑



應牛黃



應馬白

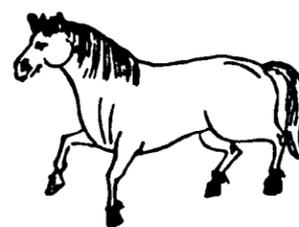


FIGURE 74. Auspicious dream images (1214 3.11b–12b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1197)

followed by a number of examples of famous men of different periods in history who have owed their successes to this practice.

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3.B.12 The Hongen Lingji Zhenjun Cult

The writings in this section all come from the same temple cult located in central Fujian, in the vicinity of the city of Fuzhou. There, in the Lingji gong 靈濟宮 temple of Aofeng 鰲峰, two historical persons, Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhie 徐知諤, the fourth and fifth sons of Xu Wen 徐溫 (862–927), a statesman under the last emperor of the ephemeral Wu 吳 dynasty (902–937), are still honored today. During the troubled times of the Five Dynasties (907–960), the two brothers settled in Fujian, and some time after their death, they manifested themselves as the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor (*Hongen lingji zhenjun* 洪恩靈濟真君) through spirit-writing of a very high quality. Fujian during the Song (960–1279) and until the late Ming (1368–1644) was a region of great wealth and high cultural standards. Fuzhou especially was a center of literature and book printing. The fact that this local cult was highly literate was no doubt related to this cultural context. Imperial patronage was

extended to the cult, and subsidiary temples were founded in Nanking and Peking. The acclaim of the writings of the Xu brothers was such that many of them were included in the Taoist canon of 1445 and again in the supplement of 1607.

Xuxian hanzao 徐仙翰藻

14 juan

1468 (fasc. 1083–1085)

“Literary Writings of the Immortal Xu [Brothers].” In the province of Fujian, at Aofeng 鰲峰 near Fuzhou, a spirit-medium cult devoted to two local saints arose in the Northern Song period (960–1279) (see 1.6b in the present text and *Fuzhou fu zhi* 14.24b), continuing until modern times (see *Minhou xian zhi* 17.2a). These two saints are identified with two historical persons of the Five Dynasties period (907–960): Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhi’e 徐知諤, the fourth and fifth sons of Xu Wen 徐溫 (862–927), a statesman under the last emperor of the Wu 吳 dynasty (902–937) and also the adoptive father of Li Bian 李昇 (alias Xu Zhigao 徐知誥), the first emperor of the equally short-lived Southern Tang dynasty (r. 937–945). When the Southern Tang dynasty was founded, the two brothers received the titles of Jiangwang 江王 and Raowang 饒王.

Among the many books that were produced by the cult of the Xu brothers and included in the Ming *Daozang* of 1445, the present collection is doubtless the earliest. In the edition seen by the authors of the *Siku tiyao* (147.37b–38a), these “literary writings” were originally prefaced, in 1295, by an educational intendant named Zhou Zhuangweng 周莊翁. This preface is lacking in the *Daozang* edition. Indeed, the information in the *Siku tiyao* appears to be problematic, for an essay dedicated to the same Zhou Zhuangweng and dated 1299 is included in the collection (6.5b–7a). The colophon, by a certain Chen Menggen 陳夢根 (14.6b), is dated 1305, and this is also the latest date to be found in the book. It therefore seems probable that the present work was edited during the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty. It was probably printed only under the Ming (1368–1644), at the same time as the other collection produced by the cult (see the prefaces to 1470 *Xuxian zhenlu*).

All the pieces contained in this collection were “written” by the immortal Xu brothers themselves, by spirit-writing (*luanji* 鸞箕 or *jibi* 箕筆; see 3.13a). The technique made use of a winnow basket.

The collection is classified according to genre: commemorative inscriptions, poems, petitions, letters, and so forth. There are a few discrepancies between the table of contents and the actual text. Certain pieces are missing (e.g., “Shudu 書讀” and “Changming deng shuo 長明燈說” at the end of juan 6). Some pieces of juan 7 are now to be found in juan 9 and vice versa.

Xuxian zhenlu 徐仙真錄

4 juan

Initially compiled by Huang Heng 黃恒, *hao* Linqiu sanren 林丘散人 (1424); printed by Sun Jingkan 孫景康 (1443); with later additions 1470 (fasc. 1086–1088)

“True Records of the Immortal Xu [Brothers].” As the title makes clear, this is a collection of materials related to the temple and worship of the immortal Xu brothers. The initial editor appears to have been Huang Heng, an old gentleman from the locality who had been associated with the temple for a long time. He explains this in his own words on 1.8b. There are three prefaces. The earliest is that of Ma Mian 麻勉, member of the Fujian provincial administration commission, dated 1424. Ma visited the temple and met Huang Heng, who showed him his manuscript and asked him to write a preface. At that time, the text had not yet been printed. The second preface, by Zhu Wei 朱徽, dated 1441, relates that the printing in that year was sponsored by Sun Jingkan, the military commander of Fujian. Sun also financed a reprinting two years later, in 1443, and this time asked Wang Yongsheng 王用盛, professor at the Confucius temple in Fuzhou (Minxian ruxue 閩縣儒學) to write a preface. The work does, however, contain much later material, such as the text of a long imperial inscription for the restoration of the Peking temple (“Yuchi chongxiu Hongen lingji gongbei 御製重修洪恩靈濟宮碑”; 3.6a–13b), dated 1485.

Ma’s preface reports that the first temple was built at Zhiyu 芝嶼 (Aofeng?) in 983. Juan 1 contains the most complete record available on the history of the cult and the different canonizations that were bestowed on the Xu brothers and their temple from Song times onward. Juan 2 contains the rituals that are also found separately in 468–475 *Hongen lingji zhenjun*. Added to these are the oracle slips of the temple, “Hong-en lingji gong zhenjun lingqian 洪恩靈濟宮真君靈籤” (2.76a–95b). Juan 3 and 4 contain materials on the construction of the temples at Aofeng and in Peking under the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424), as well as on their disposition and the consecration rituals. Juan 5 contains various records on the temple, including land deeds.

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Zanling ji 贊靈集

4 juan

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)

1469 (fasc. 1085)

“In Praise of the Spirit.” This is a collection of different writings in honor of the immortal Xu 徐 brothers, this time not by the gods themselves, but by various human authors. Juan 1 contains inscriptions (*beiji* 碑記); juan 2, ritual documents; juan 3, prefaces and other literary compositions; and juan 4, poems. The earliest inscriptions

are most informative with regard to the history of the Lingji temple 靈濟宮. In the undated “Lingji gong ji 靈濟宮記” (1.1a1), we learn that the sanctuary was founded on the site of an earlier temple. The Lingji wang ci 靈濟王祠 had been the center of a local cult to an unidentified deity who made use of spirit writing. When the old temple was restored under its new name, divination ascertained the identity of the writing deity, revealed as a spirit by the name of Xu. Later, believers learned that in fact two spirits were involved, the souls of two well-known historical figures, the Xu brothers. Once their identity had been established, written documents poured forth at an astonishing rate. These events are more fully described in the stele inscriptions (dated 1293) that follow the history (“Chongxiu Lingji gong ji 重修靈濟宮記”; 1.9a–12b). The text that was written to accompany a map of the place (“Aofeng shenxiu tu 鰲峰神秀圖”), by Wang Bao 王褒, a local scholar who had been a secretary of the Hanlin academy, is dated 1411. At this time the gods had not yet received the great imperial honors they were to obtain a few years later in 1417.

Among the prefaces there are two unsigned colophons for 1468 *Xuxian hanzao* 徐仙翰藻.

Yuan Bingling

Hongen lingji zhenjun shishi 洪恩靈濟真君實事

9 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)

476 (fasc. 265)

“Veritable Account of the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor.” The saints of this title are two historical persons, Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhi’e 徐知諤, the fourth and fifth sons of the statesman Xu Wen 徐溫 (862–927). On the history of their cult, see also 1468 *Xuxian hanzao*.

The Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424) was cured from a serious illness thanks to the talismans and remedies emanating from the temple of the Xu brothers. As a token of his gratitude, the emperor had a new temple built for the saints at Aofeng 鰲峰, near present-day Fuzhou (Fujian). The name of the new temple was Lingji gong 靈濟宮, and the two saints received new honorary titles preceded by the epithet “Vast Mercy” (*hongen*). The temple was inaugurated by the Forty-fourth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427). Similar temples were built in the two capitals of Nanking and Peking. Zhang Yuqing conducted a service of universal salvation (*pudu* 普度) with thousands of daoshi at the temple in Nanking (see 1463 *Han tianshi shijia* 3.30a–b).

The present work contains the text of the commemorative stone inscription for the founding of the Lingji gong temple by the Yongle emperor (1a–3a). Next is found a short account of the lives of the immortal Xu brothers and some poetry. Finally, there

is a memorial presented by a certain Master Wang, ordained in the Five Thunder magic Order of the Heavenly Pillar (Tianshu yuan 天樞院; see 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 249). The memorial concerns the performance of certain rituals written by the saints themselves, some of which have been preserved in the *Daozang*, such as 468–473 *Hongen lingji zhenjun yi*, 474 *Hongen lingji zhenjun liyuan wen*, and 475 *Hongen lingji zhenjun qizheng xing dengyi*.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao tianzun shuo Hongen lingji zhenjun miaoqing

靈寶天尊說洪恩靈濟真君妙經

2 fols. + 3 fasc.

Preface by the Yongle 永樂 emperor; 1420

317 (fasc. 165)

“Book of the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy Lingbao.” This small scripture for the cult of the immortal brothers Xu 徐 in northern Fujian recalls through its title and in the text the canonization obtained from the imperial court in 1417 (see 1470 *Xuxian zhenlu* 1.5b). In his preface, the emperor recommends the recitation of this scripture, and its distribution in print. The exalted position given to the present work as first scripture of the Dongxuan 洞玄 division of the Ming *Daozang* of 1445 may well be linked to this imperial patronage. The book is reproduced in 1470 *Xuxian zhenlu* 1.34a–38a. The story of its revelation in Heaven is told in the same work (1.12a).

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Hongen lingji zhenjun ziran xingdao yi 洪恩靈濟真君自然行道儀

7 fols.

468 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun jifu suqi yi 洪恩靈濟真君集福宿啓儀

6 fols.

469 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun jifu zaochao yi 洪恩靈濟真君集福早朝儀

8 fols.

470 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun jifu wuchao yi 洪恩靈濟真君集福午朝儀

9 fols.

471 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun jifu wanchao yi 洪恩靈濟真君集福晚朝儀

9 fols.

472 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun qixie shejiao ke 洪恩靈濟真君祈謝設醮科

9 fols.

473 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun liyuan wen 洪恩靈濟真君禮願文

Preface 1 fol. + 43 fols.

474 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun qizheng xing dengyi 洪恩靈濟真君七政星燈儀

16 fols.

Published in 1397

475 (fasc. 265)

“Rituals for the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor.” This title represents a collection of liturgical rites for the cult of the Hongen lingji zhenjun 洪恩靈濟真君, the two immortal Xu brothers of northern Fujian (see also the article on 1468 *Xuxian hanzao*). According to the “Preface to the Rituals of Zhenjun,” written in 1397 by Ouyang Zhufang 歐陽柱芳 (1469 *Zanling ji* 3.1a–2a), these eight texts were dictated by the immortal brothers themselves.

The first six rituals are for a *jiao* 醮 liturgy. They are in a traditional format, the only remarkable feature being that the two zhenjun occupy the place of the highest gods, and thus replace the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝) at the head of the pantheon at the end of the consecration formula of the incense burner (*falu* 發爐; see 468 1b).

The votive ritual 474 *Hongen lingji zhenjun liyuan wen* is also reproduced in 1470 *Hongen lingji zhenjun qizheng xing dengyi* (2.16b–45b), as is 475 *Hongen lingji qizheng xing dengyi* (2.45b–60b).

Kristofer Schipper

Hongen lingji zhenjun lingqian 洪恩靈濟真君靈籤

8 fols.

1301 (fasc. 1011)

“Oracle Slips of the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor.” This is a collection of oracles used for divination through oracle slips (*lingqian* 靈籤). Hongen

lingji zhenjun 洪恩靈濟真君 is the title given to the euhemerized figures of the two Xu 徐 brothers. They were model officials of the Southern Tang dynasty (937–975). Their cult appeared in Fujian, where it flourished under the Southern Song (1127–1279). It was later given imperial support during the Ming (1368–1644) dynasty (see 476 *Hongen lingji zhenjun shishi* 1a–6a).

The divination through oracle slips is intimately linked to the cult of the gods governing the oracle, in this case the Lingji zhenjun. The present collection must therefore have originated in one of their temples. Its date is uncertain; it may be as early as the Song (960–1279), or as late as the Ming, when the old temple in Fujian was restored and a new one built in the capital (476 *Hongen lingji zhenjun shishi* 2a, 6a).

Each of the fifty-three oracles has a number that allows one to match it with the number of the slip previously drawn by the believer seeking a divination. Every oracle also indicates its auspicious or inauspicious nature, and provides a poem in four verses of seven characters in a literary style. This style, also used in 1302 *Lingji zhenjun Zhusheng tang lingqian*, distinguishes these two collections from other oracles preserved in the *Daozang*.

Marc Kalinowski

Lingji zhenjun Zhusheng tang lingqian 靈濟真君注生堂靈籤

10 fols.

1302 (fasc. 1012)

“Oracle Slips of the Hall of Recording Births of the True Lords of Marvelous Succor.” This is a collection of oracles used for divination through oracular slips (*lingqian* 靈籤). Its origin and dating are similar to those of 1301 *Hongen lingji zhenjun lingqian*. The present work differs from that text only by the number of oracles, sixty-four in the place of fifty-three. The title indicates that the divination through the slips took place in the Zhusheng tang, or Hall of Recording Births, probably a part of the temple devoted to the Lingji True Lords.

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3.B.13 The Zhenyuan Scriptures

The ten texts that make up this section, scattered in different parts of the Zhengtong canon, share a number of significant characteristics and clearly belong to the same movement. This movement refers to itself as the “True Origin” (Zhenyuan 真元) school. Many of its texts feature this term. Another recurring expression is “Shang-

fang 上方,” the highest sphere among the ten cardinal points: the eight points of the compass, the zenith, and the nadir. Prominent among the practices of the school is the meditation on the ten deities of these ten directions of space. These are the Ten Heavenly Worthies (*tianzun* 天尊), or Ten Buddhas. They constitute the origin of the cosmos. At the same time, the deity of the uppermost direction (*shangfang*) is given the name of “Minghuang 明皇,” and this Minghuang *tianzun* 明皇天尊 is identified with the Taoist Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), whose posthumous name was Minghuang (see 436 *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* 上方大洞真元妙經品). Tang Minghuang thus becomes the supreme deity, the great ancestor, and the revealing spirit of the school.

This mixture of theology and history is characteristic of the Zhenyuan movement. An appendix to 57 *Shangfang tianzun shuo zhenyuan tongxian daojing* (16a–21a) contains liturgical instructions attributed to a certain Master Shi of the Highest Purity (Taiqing Shi gong 太清時公). This Master Shi may well be Shi Yong 時雍 (fl. 1159), *zi* Yaomin 堯民, the editor of the commentary in 696 *Daode zhenjing quanjie* who is mentioned at the beginning of 437 *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing tu*. On the other hand, in the appendix to 57 *Zhenyuan tongxian daojing*, Shi addresses himself to a certain “Ziming 子明,” the *zi*-字 style of the Tang master CHEN SHAOWEI (fl. between 712 and 734). Such anachronisms are plentiful. For instance, both the preface and the text of 696 *Daode zhenjing quanjie* are signed “Shi Yong Xiaoyao 時雍逍遙,” which seems to indicate that Shi Yong’s *hao* was Xiaoyao. A person named Xiaoyao is also one of the patriarchs of the movement that produced the Shangfang texts. The colophon of 436 *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* cites a Master Shi Xiaoyao speaking to an unidentified Taiqing yuke 太清羽客, and the author calls himself a disciple of Xiaoyao (Xiaoyao menxia 逍遙門下). But 439 *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan tushu jishuo zhongpian* begins with Ziming (CHEN SHAOWEI) saying to Li Fang 李昉, the minister of Song Taizong (r. 976–997): “I once heard Xiaoyao say . . . when I met Master Sima Boyun 司馬白雲 [i.e., SIMA CHENGZHEN (647–735)] on [Mount] Wangwu. . . .” It is clear, then, that the Shangfang movement took great liberties with history, freely mixing historical and divine figures. These features suggest that the Zhenyuan or Shangfang scriptures emanated from a highly syncretistic lay movement within the realm of modern popular Taoism.

Although few in number, some of the texts of this school have been noticed by scholars in modern times and singled out as important documents. For example, the diagrams of 437 *Zhenyuan miaojing tu* have drawn the attention of students of Neo-Confucianism. Feng Yu-lan, in his *History of Chinese Philosophy* (2:438), considers that Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073) may have been inspired by the schema in 437 *Zhenyuan miaojing tu* for the design of his own Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji tu* 太極圖), since the *Daozang* text, prefaced by the Tang emperor Xuanzong, was of

a much earlier date. As we shall see below, however, that preface cannot be authentic, nor can the Zhenyuan texts be of such an early date.

On the basis of internal evidence, we must conclude that the works under consideration here belong to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Some of the indications are specific, such as the use of the title Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, the Ming canonical name for Xuanwu 玄武, in 995 *Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian* 7a. Others are more circumstantial, such as the use of spirit money for an offering to the same deity, or the insistence on female self-immolation. The anachronistic conflation of history and theology in these texts evoke the intellectual and devotional world of the religious novels of the Ming period.

Shangfang tianzun shuo zhenyuan tongxian daojing

上方天尊說真元通仙道經

22 fols.

57 (fasc. 30)

“Scripture of the Tao on the [Deity of the] True Origin Who Attained Immortality, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy of the High Regions.” The text is divided into three chapters (*pian* 篇). The first, under the title Revelation of the Virtue of the Highest Ultimate (“Taiji jiangde shangpian 太極降德上篇”) describes the hierophany of the Heavenly Worthy of the High Regions as born from the Very Great One Pneuma of the True Origin (*zhenyuan haohao yiqi* 真元浩浩一氣). In the beginning, he pronounced the Ten Names (*shihao* 十號) of the supreme deities of the universe. The second chapter (5a) is titled Virtue’s Return to Simplicity and the Void (“Degui suwu 德歸素無”). It advocates the union of all Taoist scriptures of the canon with the classics of Confucianism (*sanfen zhi dian* 三墳之典). The last chapter, The [God of] True Origin’s Attainment of Immortality (“Zhenyuan tongxian 真元通仙”), tells about the revelation of cosmic texts (*zhang* 章) written in “cloud seal” (*yunzhuan* 雲篆) characters, as instruments for salvation.

An appendix (16a–21a) contains instructions for the ritual practices related to the foregoing revelations. These instructions are attributed to a Master Shi of the Highest Purity (Taiqing Shigong 太清詩公), referring perhaps to Shi Yong 時雍, *zi* Yaomin 堯民, *hao* Xiaoyao 逍遙 (see the introduction to this section).

The ritual practices are (1) the recitation of the Ten Names and (2) the invocation of protective deities by writing on given days the “cloud seal” characters on paper and making “charm water” (*fushui* 符水) with them.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin 上方大洞真元妙經品

8 fols.

Preface attributed to Tang Minghuang 明皇 (Emperor Xuanzong, r. 712–756)

436 (fasc. 196)

“Chapters from the Marvelous Scripture of True Origin, the Great Cavern, and the Highest Direction.” In the preface, fictitiously attributed to Tang Minghuang, the emperor relates his awakening to the Tao and its esoteric traditions. It stresses the need to be initiated and to receive the registers and charts (*lu* 籙 and *tu* 圖), as revealed by the Divine Ancestor of the True Origin (Zhenyuan shengzu 真元聖祖) and Heavenly Worthy of the Highest Direction (Shangfang tianzun 上方天尊). The preface quotes from 987 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianguan jing*, a short Tang-period Lingbao scripture. The citation is taken from 5b–6a, but is largely emended and altered to suit the purposes of the present work. The author of the present scripture may have been inspired by the fact that 987 *Lingbao tianguan jing* introduced the Heavenly Worthy of the Ten Directions and gave the Shangfang tianzun the name of Minghuang. From this, he appears to have concluded that this Heavenly Worthy was the same person as the historical Tang Xuanzong, whose posthumous name was Minghuang.

There is an undated colophon (6a–b) by an anonymous disciple of the Liberty school (*xiaoyao menxia* 逍遙門下), reporting a discussion by his master Shi Xiaoyao 時逍遙 (Shi Yong 時雍; fl. 1159), who explained that there were three grades of scriptures: the *Shangfang kaihua jing* 上方開化經 and the *Yanfan jing* 演範經 constituted the lowest degree; the *Zhenyuan jing* 真元經 the middle class, and the *Dadong [zhen]jing* 大洞真經 the highest attainment.

The text is composed of three sections (*pin* 品), the first of which (1a–2b) has the same title as the book. It describes the revelation of the Zhenyuan scriptures. The second section presents itself as spoken by an unidentified Shenfeng xiansheng 神峰先生. The third, spoken by an equally unknown Qingyun jushi 青雲居士, deals with the divine efficacy of the scripture. It recommends that each year, on the festival day of the Immortal of the True Origin (Zhenyuan xianjie 真元仙節), the third day of the third lunar month, one should recite the *Zhenyuan jing* one hundred times and present an offering of “life-bestowing spirit money” (*shousheng mingqian* 受生冥錢) equivalent to ten thousand strings of cash. Adepts are also told to wear a special talisman, represented on page 5a, which should be renewed every year on the festival of the Immortal Holy Prince (Shengwang xianjie 聖王仙節), that is, the saint Zhenyuan.

Yuan Bingling



FIGURE 75. Cultivating immortality through the sublimation of the True Person (437 10b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/435)



FIGURE 76. Official going to audience at the Gold Portal (437 12b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/435)

Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing tu 上方大洞真元妙經圖
9 fols.

437 (fasc. 196)

Shangfang dadong zhenyuan yinyang zhijiang tushu houjie
上方大洞真元陰陽陟降圖書後解
13 fols.

438 (fasc. 197)

“Diagrams of the Marvelous Scripture of True Origin, the Great Cavern, and the Highest Direction,” and “Additional Explanations on the Diagrams and Texts on Ascent and Descent.” These two titles in fact refer to a single work. The second title appears to be a subtitle to the first. Presumably, the editors of the *Daozang* divided the original work into two.

The present work is in all respects a sequel and an enlargement of the preceding 436 *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin*. It starts out with Shi Yaomin 時堯民, that is, Shi Yong 時雍 (fl. 1159), questioning the Immortal Lord (*xianjun* 仙君) on the True Origin of the Great Cavern. The text then introduces twelve diagrams to illustrate Taoist cosmogony, beginning with a chart of the Void Spontaneous (*xuwu ziran* 虛無自然). Next come diagrams, for example, on Primordial Chaos (*hunyuan* 混元) and the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極). The long text that follows the diagram on the energy cycle (*qi*yun 氣運; 5a–9a) is very similar to that of 995 *Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian*.

As in 436 *Zhenyuan miaojing pin*, the worship of the great saint of the North Xuanwu 玄武 (here called Zhenjun 真君) figures prominently, and the legend of his forty-two years of ascetic retreat on Wudang shan is mentioned on page 3a.

The “Diagrams of the Marvelous Scripture” has only five diagrams, and the “Additional Explanations” contains the remaining seven. The first drawing illustrates the phases of yin and yang, and hence fire-phasing in alchemy. The text quotes the Song of Alchemy (“Jindan ge 金丹歌”) by Gao Xiangxian 高象先 (fl. 990–1013; see 1079 *Zhenren Gao Xiangxian jindan ge*). Minhuang 明皇, the Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), is mentioned on page 10b. (See figs. 75 and 76.)

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Shangfang dadong zhenyuan tushu jishuo zhongpian

上方大洞真元圖書繼說終篇

6ff.

439 (fasc. 197)

“Final Chapter of the Continued Explanations of the [Marvelous Scripture of] True Origin, the Great Cave, and the Highest Direction.” In spite of its title, this fragment of the Zhenyuan scriptures appears to be distinct from the preceding texts. The work begins with a discussion between “Ziming 子明” (the *zi* of CHEN SHAOWEI, fl. 712–734) and the early Song statesman Li Fang 李昉 (924–995), a glaring anachronism. “Xiaoyao 逍遙,” that is, Shi Yong 時雍 (fl. 1159), is also present, as is Sima lianshi 司馬鍊師, probably referring to SIMA CHENGZHEN. The subject of the discussion is the origin of the Zhenyuan scriptures and their distribution: These books should be printed and given away by all those blessed with good health and fortune. The highest merit would accrue from this action. The text continues by explaining the origins and the development of the Taoist canon and the Three Caverns from the three original pneumata. The final lines of the text resemble those in 995 *Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian*.

Yuan Bingling

Taishang qingjing yuandong zhenwen yuzi miaojing

太上清靜元洞真文玉字妙經

6 fols.

986 (fasc. 618)

“Marvelous Scripture of True Writs and Jade Characters.” This book consists of a collection and explanation of secret names that may have been linked to certain Shangqing 上清 and Lingbao 靈寶 registers. The names of the five Lingbao emperors, for example, are those of 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.6a. These names are the “true writs and jade characters” of the title, but the present scripture gives their “translation” into characters of this world from their original form as “cloud characters.” Without these

“cloud characters,” the present text makes little sense. Moreover, the relation between the text and the first part of its title is not clear.

John Lagerwey

Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian 淵源道妙洞真繼篇

3 juan

Attributed to Li Jingyuan 李景元

995 (fasc. 619)

“Sequel to the Dongzhen [Scriptures], Marvels of the Tao of Abyssal Origins.” This is a short medical handbook, concerning in particular the energy cycles (*qiyun* 氣運) and other cosmological factors. The author signs it as “disciple of the Zhenyuan [school]” (*zhenyuan menren* 真元門人). The main text comes with a commentary, most likely by the same author. Juan 3 is devoted to miscellaneous matters. It quotes the *waidan* 外丹 of Langran zi 朗然子, said to have been head of the Tongxuan guan 通玄觀 temple in Tang times (618–907) and of the Jizhen guan 集真觀 temple under the Song Duangong era (988–989), during which period he rose up to Heaven. The citation in question (3.3a, line 3) can be found in the preface to 291 *Taixuan Langranzi jindao shi*. In a final commentary, the author introduces Minghuang tianzun 明皇天尊 and Minghuang jiaozhu 明皇教主 of the Zhenyuan school and its scriptures. He also mentions the worship of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, the Ming canonical name for Xuanwu 玄武 (3.7a, line 1). At the end of the book, there is a note advocating lay Buddhism (3.6a), as well as a memorial by the author presenting the book to an unidentified emperor.

Yuan Bingling

Shangfang lingbao wuji zhidao kaihua zhenjing 上方靈寶無極至道開化真經

3 juan

1133 (facs. 766)

“True Scripture of the Transformation through the Infinite and Supreme Tao, of the Highest Direction Lingbao Canon.” According to the colophon of 436 *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* 上方大洞真元妙經品 (6a), a work called the *Shangfang kaihua jing* 上方開化經 corresponded to the initial phase of attainment within this school. This must be the present work, which is manifestly intended for a lay audience.

The three juan are subdivided into twenty-four chapters (*zhang* 章). The first eight, in juan 1, are dedicated to Confucian instructions concerning the correct moral behavior of rulers, subjects, fathers, mothers, elder and younger brothers, and sons and daughters. The last chapter emphatically stresses female chastity, not only of daugh-

ters, but also of wives, and advocates their self-sacrifice as “female martyrs” (*lienü* 列女). This section also has a long “commentary” explaining Inner Alchemy theory, particularly for women.

Juan 2 and 3 are related more to the practice of the Tao, not only by the individual, but also liturgically. For instance, the first *zhang* of juan 2 gives instructions about how to conduct funeral and requiem services for deceased family members. The text is very syncretistic, constantly mixing Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist precepts and concepts. For instance, in 2.9a, the study of the *Shujing* 書經 and the *Yijing* 易經, of the *Daode jing* 道德經 and the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, as well as the Nirvāṇa sūtra is recommended in a single sentence. The theory of the unity of the Three Teachings is expounded in 3.19b.

Yuan Bingling

Shangfang juntian yanfan zhenjing 上方鈞天演範真經

2 fols.

1134 (fasc. 767)

“True Scripture Expounding the Model of High Heaven of the Highest Direction.”

As with 1133 *Shangfang lingbao wuji zhidao kaihua zhenjing*, this is a doctrinal treatise for beginners in the Zhenyuan school (see 436 *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* 上方大洞真元妙經品 6a). Divided into three chapters (*zhang*), this short text rehearses a number of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist commonplaces. The text ends with a poem by BO YUCHAN.

Yuan Bingling

3.B.14 Other Popular Cults

The emancipation of lay communities and their temple organizations is the foremost characteristic of Chinese religion in modern times. Whereas Taoism during the medieval period was opposed to temple cults devoted to one’s ancestors (that is, mortals), as against the worship of the “pure” immortals, this changed, as we have seen, with the development of the great merchant centers, especially in the Jiangnan era, from the Five Dynasties (907–960) and the Song (960–1279) period onward. It should be noted that this development of urban society and the growing importance of temple organizations occurred during a period of Confucian renewal and, as many texts in the Taoist canon show, of a close association between Confucianism and Tao-

ism. The worship of local saints was common to both traditions. Yet in the *Zhengtong Daozang*, scriptures devoted to the worship of a given saint are few. Tianfei 天妃 (Mazu 媽祖) is honored through the 649 *Taishang laojun shuo Tianfei jiuku lingyan jing*, and Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君 with several works, such as 29 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun benyuan jing*. The Xu 徐 brothers from Fuzhou's Hongen lingji gong 洪恩靈濟宮 temple produced the 317 *Lingbao tianzun shuo Hongen lingji zhenjun miaojing*, which was placed, with a preface by the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424), at the very beginning of the Dongxuan 洞玄 division. Many other saints were not represented at all. This situation changed dramatically with the 1607 supplement to the *Daozang*, which contains the holy books of numerous popular saints such as Guandi 關帝 and Bixia yuanjun 碧霞元君, as well as whole collections of the divination slips to be used in their temples. During the Ming period (1368–1644) as well, widely distributed religious literature in the form of popular handbooks for astrology, everyday magic, home remedies, and simple exercises in meditation and recitation flourished, and these also found their way into the canon. The present section groups such texts under the common heading “popular cults.”

3.B.14.a Scriptures of Popular Cults

Taishang laojun shuo Tianfei jiuku lingyan jing

太上老君說天妃救苦靈驗經

7 fols.

Between 1409–1413

649 (fasc. 342)

“Scripture of the Miracles [Worked] by the Celestial Consort for Saving from Distress, Pronounced by Taishang Laojun.” This work documents the inclusion of Mazu 媽祖, the popular protector of seafarers, into the Taoist pantheon. The cult to the goddess, which originated on Meizhou 湄州, a small island off the Fujian coast, had since the twelfth century gained an increasing popularity, reflected in successive bestowals of official honorary titles. Some of these titles are mentioned in the present text, the latest among them being the one conferred in 1409 (1b, 3b). A printed edition of the work with illustrations, kept in the Tenri Library, has a colophon dated 1414 in which the donor declares that by its publication he had fulfilled a vow made in the previous year (Sawada Mizuho, “Tenri-toshokan shoken dōsho shiroku,” 90; the text of that edition is reproduced in Li Xianzhang, *Baso shinkō no kenkyū*, 34–38).

In the present work, the former local deity becomes the incarnation of a Jade Maiden dwelling in the Northern Dipper 北斗. After a short meritorious life on Earth, she vows to act as a protector in difficult situations (seafaring, commerce, childbirth). Thereupon she is appointed “Support of the Dipper” (Fudou 輔斗) and

“Saint Empress of the Gold Portal” (Jinque shenghou 金闕聖后) in the Taoist pantheon. A fu, together with a formula of invocation, concludes the short work.

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Dahui jingci miaole tianzun shuo fude wusheng jing

大惠靜慈妙樂天尊說福德五聖經

8 fols.

1192 (fasc. 875)

“Scripture of the Five Saints of Good Fortune, Pronounced by the Heavenly Worthy Dahui Jingci Miaole.” This text is presented in the framework of the ritual of canonization that confirmed fusion of the Taoist deity Zhengyi lingguan [Ma] yuanshuai 正一靈觀[馬]元帥 with Wuxian lingguan dadi 五顯靈觀大帝, that is, the Wuxian deities who had descended from the illegitimate cult of the Wutong 五通 spirits. Although the fusion of Ma yuanshuai’s Wutong into their orthodox alter ego had been under way for some time (see, e.g., 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 222.4a; 250.15b), a direct identification would hardly have been acceptable to Taoists prior to the national recognition of the Wuxian by Ming Taizu (r. 1368–1398; see the article on 206 *Wuxian lingguan dadi dengyi*).

Our text, which also alludes to the association of the Wuxian with Huaguang 華光 (cf. 1448 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao Wuxian guan Huaguang benxing miaojing*), already contains numerous elements that reappear in a narrative form in the popular Ming novel *Nanyou ji* 南遊記. Besides fu-talismans and specifically Taoist titles for the five deities, we also find the official honorary titles granted to the deities in 1257.

The popular character of this work is underlined by the recommendation to promote the scripture through printing.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang shuo Qingxuan leiling faxing yindi miaojing

太上說青玄雷令法行因地妙經

5 fols.

1198 (fasc. 875)

“On the Origin of the Religious Practice of the Green-Black Thunder Commander, a Scripture Spoken by the Most High.” This holy book is a hagiographic product of the cult of the god Wen Qiong 溫瓊, from Pingyang 平陽 (Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang). The presentation of the god and his powers as an exorcist corresponds in general

to his biography given in the Ming (1638–1644) *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan*, and is different from his story in 780 *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan*. From internal evidence (1b), we can deduce that this scripture was produced in northern Sichuan (*Shujing zhi zhong* 蜀境之中), whereas the cult originated in Zhejiang. This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the cult was very active in Sichuan. Wen Qiong's hagiography narrates, for example, how the god liberated the Shu 蜀 region (Sichuan) from a plague demon (see 780 *Wen taibao zhuan* 4b–5b).

The invocation of the god in seven-syllable verse that stands at the beginning of the present work is still in use today.

Kristofer Schipper

*Yuanshi tianzun shuo dongyue huashen jisheng dushi bazui jieyuan baoming
xuanfan gaozhou miaojing* 元始天尊說東嶽化身濟生度死拔罪解冤保命玄
範誥咒妙經

12 fols.

1441 (fasc. 1063)

“Marvelous Scripture of Redemption by the Emperor of the Eastern Peak.” During a séance in the Daluo heaven, four zhenren ask the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning to save the living and the dead from all their miseries. The Heavenly Worthy responds by telling them of the divine origin of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak. He then gives them a series of invocations addressed to that emperor and a number of his underlings. It is the recitation of this text, and in particular of “the invocations of the Celestial Chart” it contains, that will “save the living and the dead” from the sins and grievances mentioned in the title of the text. The illiterate may ask a Zhengyi priest to perform the recitation for them.

John Lagerwey

Taishang sanyuan cifu shezui jie'e xiaozai yansheng baoming miaojing
太上三元賜福赦罪解厄消災延生保命妙經

11 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

1442 (fasc. 1063)

“Most High Marvelous Life-Protecting Scripture of the Three Principles Granting Happiness, Forgiving Sins, and Averting Disasters.” This work is also known as the Book of the Three Officials (*Sanguan jing* 三官經). The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water have been important deities in liturgical Taoism since Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) times. At a later stage, their cosmological function earned them the title “Three Principles,” that is, the primordial cosmic forces.

The scripture, one of the most popular texts for recitation in modern Chinese reli-

gion, is referred to in the commentary by Wei Qi 衛琪, dated 1309, in *103 Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu*. It should therefore have existed at least since Yuan times (1279–1368) and possibly even during the Southern Song (1127–1279).

Its vast popularity made this text one of the most widely printed scriptures in Ming times. The edition in the 1607 supplement to the canon, the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏 reproduces one such printing, intended for lay readers, giving all the indications and introductory formulas usually known to a daoshi as applicable to all scriptures of this kind. See also the edition of 1470 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (detail in Little, *Taoism and the arts of China*, 236).

The present text does not begin with the scripture proper. What we have first are the usual formulas for the purification of the mind and the mouth, followed by those for the body, for the pacification of the God of the Earth (who might be frightened by the sudden outburst of cosmic responses caused by the recitation), for the purification of the sacred area, and so on. Then there are the solemn Precious Announcements (*baogao* 寶誥), also known as Precious Titles (*baobao* 寶號), one for each of the Three Officials. These onomastic formulations contain not only the canonical titles of the gods, but also list their many attributes, as well as, in some cases, elements of their hagiography.

The actual scripture opens on page 5a. It describes in sequence the divine powers and functions of the Three Officials, and the merits to be gained from their veneration.

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Kristofer Schipper

Taishang yuanyang shangdi wushi tianzun shuo huochewang lingguan zhengjing 太上元陽上帝無始天尊說火車王靈官真經

12 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

1443 (fasc. 1063)

"True Book Spoken by the Supreme Ancestor Most High Original Yang, the Heavenly Worthy without Beginning, on the Divine Officer Wang of Chariots of Fire." Wang lingguan 王靈官 is a powerful exorcist deity of modern Taoism (see *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 141–43), being the incarnation of one of the fiery stars of the Southern Dipper (Nandou 南斗). Fire chariots were an offensive weapon in traditional Chinese warfare. Wang lingguan hurls these burning vehicles at malevolent spirits that have incurred his wrath. He also is the guardian spirit of Taoist monasteries.

The legend of Wang lingguan's conversion to Taoism by the zhenren Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (see *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 4.1a–3a) is well known in popular

literature and drama. The legend is here referred to on pages 2a–3b. Most of the subsequent scripture is in five-syllable verse, in the style of Ming popular “precious scrolls” (*baojuan* 寶卷).

Kristofer Schipper

Yuanshi tianzun shuo yaowang jiu bashiyi nan zhenjing

元始天尊說藥王救八十一難真經

8 fols.

1444 (fasc. 1063)

“True Scripture on Deliverance from the Eighty-one Difficulties by the King of Medicine.” Revealed by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning in the Daluo 大羅 heaven, this text consists primarily of a litany of the Eighty-one Difficulties from which the King of Medicine, Bian Que 扁鵲, can save the reciter. The faithful may also ask a Taoist to recite the text for them. It is further recommended that one keep the book at home or even carry it on one’s person.

The Eighty-one Difficulties of the title have nothing in common with the medical work of that name (see 1024 *Huangdi bashiyi nan jing zuantu jujie*).

John Lagerwey

Bixia yuanjun huguo bimin puji baosheng miaojing

碧霞元君護國庇民普濟保生妙經

8 fols.

1445 (fasc. 1063)

“Scripture of the Lady of the Clouds of Dawn, for the Protection of the State and the Succor of the People, and for the Salvation of All Creatures.” In response to the question of one Yuluo 鬱羅, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning explains how the Lady of the Clouds of Dawn came “to transform herself into a woman in order to save all creatures.” Born on the eighteenth day of the fourth month, she “revealed her compassionate face on Taishan.” Her merits on Earth were such that the Jade Emperor set her at the head of the soldiers of the Eastern Peak and charged her with the inspection of human behavior.

A lengthy discussion of the system of moral causality follows this account, ending with a “divine formula” of the tale of the Lady that frees people from the consequences of their sins in previous lives. Yuluo urges believers to invite a Taoist who keeps “the pure commandments” (*qingjie daoshi* 清戒道士) to recite this book for them.

The Precious Title (*baogao* 寶誥) of the Lady is given at the end of the text.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dasheng langling shangjiang huguo miaojing

太上大聖朗靈上將護國妙經

2 fols.

1446 (fasc. 1065)

“Marvelous Scripture on the Saintly General Protector of the Nation.” The “great saint and commander-in-chief” of the title is Guan Yu 關羽, called here Chongning zhenjun 沖寧真君. He “protects the country” and “promotes peace” with the soldiers entrusted to his charge by the Jade Emperor. The enumeration of his military forces in an incantation forms the core of the present text. One of the opening enumerations ends with the mention of “those who obtained the Tao on Mount Yuquan 玉泉山.”

John Lagerwey

Taishang laojun shuo chenghuang ganying xiaozai jifu miaojing

太上老君說城隍感應消災集福妙經

5 fols.

1447 (fasc. 1063)

“Scripture Proffered by the Most High Lord Lao concerning the City God’s Efficacy in Averting Catastrophes and Increasing Good Fortune.” The administrative system described in this punctuated text is that of the Ming (1368–1644). The scripture begins with Taishang laojun 太上老君 vaunting the powers of the god of the capital city. Then a zhenren pays homage to the city gods of all levels, as well as to their assistants, the “censors” (*panguan* 判官). Moved, the god of the capital promises his assistance to whoever recites this book. Laojun provides a calendar for such recitations.

This work is also known by the title 1447b *Huguo baoning yousheng wang weiling gong ganying chenghuang jing*, based on the declaration of the capital god in the appendix (5b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao Wuxian guan Huaguang benxing miaojing

太上洞玄靈寶五顯觀華光本行妙經

9 fols.

1448 (fasc. 1063)

“Wonderful Lingbao Scripture on the Origin of the Wuxian [Ling] Guan and [the Bodhisattva] Huaguang.” This title is, after 206 *Wuxian lingguan dadi dengyi* and 1192 *Dahui jingci miaoluo tianzun shuo fude Wusheng jing* (q.v.), the third document for the integration of the Wuxian into the Taoist pantheon. Unlike its companion texts, the work shows a distinct Buddhist tinge. It mentions various manifestations of the five heavenly marshals (among others, as Jixiang rulai 吉祥如意來, cf. the Ming novel *Nanyou ji* 南遊記 1), but expressly confirms their identity with Huaguang pusa, who,

like the Wuxian, was still vehemently opposed by the Taoists as late as the thirteenth century (see “Wen taibao zhuan buyi,” 780 *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* 1b–2b).

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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

3.B.14.b The Cult of the Northern Dipper

Beidou zhifa wuwei jing 北斗治法武威經

8 fols.

870 (fasc. 579)

“Scripture of Martial Power, of the Method of Government of the Northern Dipper.” This book is said to have been transmitted by the Mysterious Woman of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian xuannü 九天玄女) to a man named Yuan Qing 遠清, who served as an official in Luoyang in the first years of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Yuan helped pacify the empire by means of the method described here and was granted the title of left chancellor of the Mobile Administration (*xingtai zuo puye* 行臺左僕射; 1a–b). The story is reminiscent of that of the famous diviner of the same period, Yuan Tiangang 袁天綱, to whom it may allude (see *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* III.2298, *Jiu Tang shu* 191.5092–94, *Taiping guangji* 221.1694–97).

The first part of the book (2a–5b) contains astrological information related to the nine stars of the Dipper and to the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions. The second part (5b–8a) describes a method of warfare (*bingfa* 兵法), in particular a rite of “Pacing the Mainstay” (*bugang* 步綱) by means of which the seventh star of the Dipper, Tiangang pojun 天綱破軍, is pointed in the direction of threatening dangers. The rite is accompanied by an incantation entitled “Tiangang shenzhou 天罡神咒,” which is closely related to the “Beidou zhou 北斗咒” of the Book of the Dipper, the *Beidou jing* 北斗經 (see 622 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 6a). According to the commentary of Fu Dongzhen 傅洞真, this incantation derives from the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (752 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.23a), and in fact we find in 566 *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* both a version identical to that of the *Beidou jing* (4.18b–19a), and a version closer to that of the present book (7.2b).

Poul Andersen

Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou besheng zhenjing

玉清無上靈寶自然北斗本生真經

4 fols.

45 (fasc. 29)

“True and Unsurpassed Lingbao Scripture from the Yuqing Heaven on the Spontaneous Origin of the Northern Dipper.” This work was transmitted, according to its subtitle, by Baoming da tiandi 保命大天帝. It deals with the origin of the stellar deities of the Beidou in the frame of a revelation to Baoshang zhenren 寶上真人 by Yuanshi dadi 元始大帝 (also called Taiji zhenzun 太極真尊). While the goddess Ziguang furen 紫光夫人 is bathing, nine lotus blossoms unfold, from which Tianhuang dadi 天皇大帝, Ziwei dadi 紫微大帝, and the other seven stars of the constellation are born.

The recitation of the text, alternatively named Scripture of the Nine Luminaries (*Jiuguang zhenjing* 九光真經), is recommended for the first day of the New Year, in connection with an Offering to the Nine Luminaries (*Jiuguang jiao* 九光醮).

This work is cited in 1167 *Taishang ganying pian* 29.3b (commentary of Li Changling 李昌齡) and 752 *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.19a–20a (commentary of Fu Dongzhen 傅洞真).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Yuqing taiyuan neiyang zhenjing 玉清胎元內養真經

3 fols.

63 (fasc. 32)

“True Scripture of the Yuqing Heaven on Internally Nourishing the Original Embryonic State.” This scripture was transmitted, as it is said, by Yuantai zhenjun 元臺真君 (a name mentioned in 42 *Yuqing yuanshi xuanhuang jiuguang zhenjing* 2b). It contains Yuanshi shangdi’s instruction to propagate methods for restoring one’s original vital forces, which consist in enriching one’s immanent qi with the cosmic “true spirit.” In terms of individual practice, this means concentration of the mind (*dingxin* 定心), shutting out external distractions (like alcohol, sex), as well as restriction of the inner ambitions and thoughts. By observing first the small and eventually the great precepts (*xiaojie*, *dajie* 小戒大戒), the adept finally attains the state of nonacting. By multiplying their persons (*fenshen* 分身), Taishang laojun and Ziguang tianmu 紫光天母 ensure the diffusion of the scripture and the salvation of innumerable beings, who, for their part, promise in a hymn to continue the work of salvation (see also 64 *Yuqing wushang neijing zhenjing*).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Yuqing yuanshi xuanhuang jiuguang zhenjing 玉清元始玄黃九光真經

4 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

42 (fasc. 29)

“True Scripture of the Yuqing Heaven on the Nine Luminaries of Primordial Black and Yellow.” Although the term “Nine Luminaries” is not used in this text, it undoubtedly refers to the Nine Heavens and to the saints of these heavens who recite this scripture (2a). The text itself is referred to as a “sacred text [made by the mixture] of yellow and black [*xuanhuang yuwen* 玄黃玉文; 1a].” Its recitation leads “to the union of vital breath and the spirits.”

The brief but dense text appears to be the product of mediumistic writing, for in the Taoist ritual described at the end—reference is even made to the “lighting of the incense burner [*falu* 發爐]”—the revealing divinity descends to add (*jiangyue* 降曰) to “my sacred text” (*wo yujing* 我玉經) a “secret formula,” which the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning is said to have used of old in order “to save all the Powers.” The recitation of the text in “300-odd characters” replaces the recitation of the “great books in more than 260 juan,” and that of the final formula enables one “to live forever in Jade Purity.” This formula is said to be an order of the Primordial Beginning himself and of the Saintly Lord of Pulu zhenan 毘盧遮那大聖主: it “orders the unification of the two religions.”

John Lagerwey

Yuqing wushang neijing zhenjing 玉清無上內景真經

2 fols.

64 (fasc. 32)

“True Scripture from the Yuqing Heaven on the Supreme Inner Landscape.” This scripture was transmitted, like 644 *Taishang neidan shouyi zhending jing*, by the goddess Ziguang tianmu 紫光天母 (on whom see 45 *Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhenjing*). The scripture treats the creation by Yuanshi zhizhen dasheng 元始至真大聖 of the external images in the Brahma heaven as symbols of the Inner Landscape and the differentiation of the pneumata of the Five Directions and their divinities in correspondence to the five organs of the human body. As a result, the Inner Alchemical process can be started and completed. The restriction of the senses (*jie* 戒) and mental concentration (*ding* 定) lead to wisdom (*zhi* 智), or in other words, “inner illumination through reversed contemplation” (*fanguan neizhao* 反觀內照).

At the same time, the revelation of the scripture symbolizes the enlightenment resulting from the completion of the process. Yuanshi’s rays of light evoke the awakening of the original mind (*benxin* 本心). In the empty darkness of the Yuqing heaven,

the moon (symbol of Ziguang mu) appears, and in it, in the midst of a purple pneuma, the newborn, who praises the teaching once more in a *gāthā*.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

***Taishang neidan shouyi zhending jing* 太上內丹守一真定經**

1 fol.

644 (fasc. 342)

“Supreme *Neidan* Scripture on True Concentration and Holding the One.” This scripture was transmitted by the Celestial Empress Purple Radiance (Ziguang tianhou 紫光天后; cf. 45 *Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhen jing*). The brief work resembles 64 *Yuqing wushang neijing zhenjing* transmitted by the same goddess. It recommends and expounds spiritual concentration (*dingshen* 定神), which along with respiratory regulations (*yuqi* 御氣), enables the adept to Hold the One (*shouyi* 守一), thus forming the basis for the Inner Alchemical process (*neidan* 內丹).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

***Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Bao yueguang huanghou shengmu tianzun kongque mingwang jing* 太上元始天尊說寶月光皇后聖母天尊孔雀明王經**

34 fols.

1433 (fasc. 1058)

***Shengmu kongque mingwang zunjing qibo yi* 聖母孔雀明王尊經啓白儀**

23 fols.

1434 (fasc. 1058)

***Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo kongque jing bowen* 太上元始天尊說孔雀經白文**

21 fols.

1435 (fasc. 1058)

The three titles “Scripture of the Empress of Precious Moonlight, Heavenly Worthy Holy Mother and Luminous Peacock Queen, Pronounced by Taishang Yuanshi Tianzun,” “Ritual of Invocation of the Venerable Scripture of the Holy Mother and Luminous Peacock Queen,” and “Text of Invocation of the Peacock Scripture, Pronounced by Taishang Yuanshi Tianzun” represent the headings of three juan of a single work: a scripture to be recited within a complete ritual including invocations, litanies, and an offering.

According to a colophon preceding Zhang Guoxiang’s 張國祥 imprimatur of 1607, this Buddho-Taoist text was found by the superintendent Li *tidian* 李提點 of the Zixiao gong 紫霄宮 temple on Wudang shan 武當山. Recovered from a nearby grotto and kept in the temple since, the scripture was appended to a copy of the *Duren*

jing 度人經 in eighty-five juan. Possibly its discoverer was Li Youyan 李幽巖, who, together with Hu Guya 胡古崖, was appointed to the office of the superintendant in 1413 (959 *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 5a–b).

In its present form, the work certainly dates no earlier than the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), as is suggested by the folk tunes (“Caicha ge 採茶歌” or “Qingjiang yin 清江引”) prescribed for the ritual, and especially the name of a dragon deity, Da Mingguo zhongping da longwang 大明國中平大龍王 (1435 *Kongque jing baiwen* 6b). A reference to the dragon deities of a *Kongque jing* 孔雀經 is also found in the commentary to 754 *Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benzhuo shenzhou miaojing* 2.14b.

The goddess at the center of this ritual for controlling *gu* 蠱 magic and bewitchments is a fusion of Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, mother of the Buddha, who plays a significant role in Buddhism and especially in Tantrism, with the Taoist Bao yueguang huanghou 寶月光皇后, mother of the Jade Emperor (see 10 *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 1.5a–6b). Among the other deities invoked are the hosts of female *rākṣasas* (*luocha nü* 羅叉女), *nagas* (*longwang* 龍王, *longnü* 龍女), and daughters of Māyā (*moye nü* 魔耶女), the traditional divinities of the thirty-two heavens and twenty-eight stellar constellations invoked. Thus the equivalence of Buddhism and Taoism is consciously emphasized (see, e.g., 1435 *Kongque jing bowen* 2a).

A 1551 edition of a comparable Buddhist work entitled *Kongque zunjing keyi* 孔雀尊經科儀 is found in *Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō* 2.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Xiantian doumu zougao xuanke 先天斗母奏告玄科

18 fols.

1452 (fasc. 1064)

“Prayer Mystery Ritual of the Mother of the Bushel of Former Heaven.” The deity invoked in this scripture, the Mother of the Bushel, is Marīci (Molizhi 摩利支), Queen of Heaven of Purple Glow (*Ziguang tianhou* 紫光天后), a goddess of Tantric origin who has been popular in China since late Tang times (618–907). She acquired a Taoist form as *Dasheng yuanming daomu tianzun* 大聖圓明道母天尊 (on these titles, see pages 2b and 12b). In the present ritual, she is visualized in meditation and worshiped.

Accompanying the meditation, a number of pseudo-Sanskrit mantra are pronounced (10b–12a). A general invocation of gods, saints, and patriarchs precedes the worship of Marīci. Among the patriarchs invoked, we find on page 3b the name of Mo Yueding 莫月鼎 (1226–1293), which suggests that the ritual is of Yuan (1279–1368) or, more probably, Ming (1368–1644) date.

Kristofer Schipper

Sanguang zhuling zifu yanshou miaojing 三光注齡資福延壽妙經

1 fol.

20 (fasc. 25)

“Scripture on the Improvement of Fate and Prolongation of Life [Thanks to] the Influence of the Three Luminaries.” This very brief text encourages adepts to live on a sacred mountain in order to avoid the diversions of the senses. Thus, one may devote oneself to the absorption of the Liquified Gold (*jinyi* 金液) and the cyclically transformed elixir (*huandan* 還丹). By so doing, one benefits from the nourishment of the spontaneous qi of the Three Luminaries and from the protection of the Seven Mechanisms (*ji* 機) of the Northern Dipper.

John Lagerwey

3.B.14.c Popular Rites

Taishang xiaozai qifu jiaoyi 太上消災祈福醮儀

11 fols.

810 (fasc. 566)

“Ritual of the Offering of the Most High for Dispersing Calamity and Praying for Blessing.” This ritual may be dated after 1117, as it refers to Taihuang wanfu zhenjun 太皇萬福真君 (5a–b), the deity who transmitted the secrets of the Shenxiao 神霄 tradition to LIN LINGSU (cf. 1219 *Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 1b). Indeed, the names of the other deities cited are reminiscent of those of the nine Shenxiao masters (cf. 1219 *Zishu dafa* 1.18a–b), and the ritual may belong to that tradition. However, the text is also quite similar to 807 *Tianxin zhengfa xiuzhen daochang shejiao yi*. The initial “Weiling zhou 衛靈咒” of both texts is the extensive version, derived originally from 330 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing* 6a–7a, and the “exteriorization of the officials” (*chuguan* 出官) of the present ritual (3a–4a) is identical with the first part of the *chuguan* in 807 *Daochang shejiao yi*. A difference between the two rituals is in the form of the consecration of the incense-burner (*yalu* 發爐), where the present ritual has a short version with no reference to the local earth-deities (2b–3a).

Poul Andersen

Taishang bifa zhenzhai lingfu 太上祕法鎮宅靈符

21 fols.

Ming (1318–1644)?

86 (fasc. 37)

“Powerful Talismans for Stabilizing the Home.” This is a popular book with charms for domestic use: to avert harmful happenings such as pigs eating their litter, money

fleeing the house, poltergeists, neighborly slander, baleful stars, hobgoblins, and so on. There are no accompanying spells or documents.

A short text at the beginning relates an anecdote about Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty, who, when taking a walk in the district of Hongnong 弘農縣 (Lingbao hsien 靈寶縣), discovered an ill-sited house that should have brought great distress upon its inhabitants. The latter, however, were prosperous, thanks to the present book, given to them by two young boys, who in fact were the gods of the Northern and Southern Dippers.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao wuyue guben zhenxing tu 洞玄靈寶五嶽古本真形圖

27 fols.

Attributed to Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (145–93 B.C.). Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?
441 (fasc. 197)

“Old Version of the Chart of the True Form of the Five Peaks.” This is a modern version of the ancient protective talismans mentioned by GE HONG and found in 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*. The legends and rituals connected to the ancient versions are all assembled in 1281 *Wuyue zhenxing xulun* (q.v.). As the “old version,” this text presents itself as a register (*lu* 錄) of the lords of the Five Peaks and the four accessory holy mountains (Qingcheng shan 青城山, Lushan 廬山, Huoshan 霍山, and Qianshan 潛山) and their subalterns. (See fig. 77.)

After a preface attributed, in the tradition of the *Han Wudi neizhuan* and 598 *Shizhou ji*, to Dongfang Shuo, the text presents the rulers of the holy mountains, their servants, and their outward appearance (e.g., clothes, attributes). The documents for the ritual for the transmission of the register are also given (4b–5b), imitating the old models. The talismans themselves are partly of the well-known “archaic sealscript” kind, and partly of the “geological map” type. The latter were studied for the first time by Inoue (“Gogaku shinkei zu ni tsuite”), in comparison with modern geographical maps. In fact, these drawings correspond to outlines for so-called lamp maps (*dengtu* 燈圖). These outlines were used in requiem services of the modern *liandu* 鍊度 kind. They were copied on a flat surface, and lamps were placed at given spots. Then the officiants would walk on these diagrams according to a ritual pattern, thus “inspecting” the holy mountains and retrieving the souls imprisoned in them (see Schipper, “Gogaku shinkei zu no shinkō”). These liturgical diagrams are used here for antiquarian purposes.

Kristofer Schipper

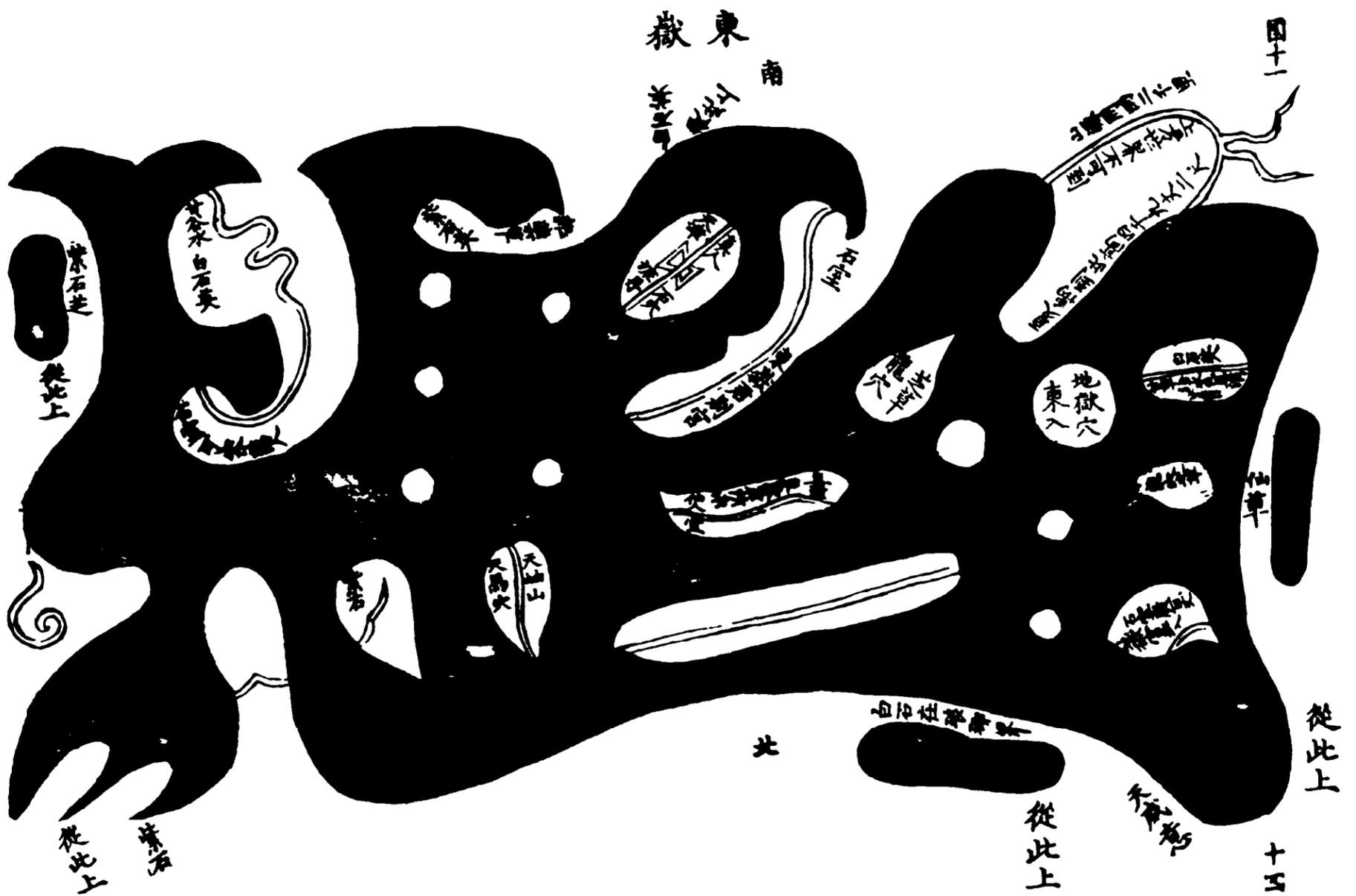


FIGURE 77. Mount Taishan (44I 17b–18a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/438)

Jiutian shangsheng bizhuan jinfu jing 九天上聖秘傳金符經

14 fols.

1267 (fasc. 1002)

“Book of the Golden Talisman Secretly Transmitted by the Supreme Saint of the Nine Heavens.” This work is a short hemerological treatise for popular use. It belongs to the “Three Origins and Nine Stars” (*sanyuan jiuxing* 三元九星) tradition and probably dates from a period no earlier than the late Song (960–1279). The first part of the title refers to an earlier work repeatedly quoted in the text as *Jinfu jing* (7b) or *Jinjing* (1a, 1b).

The present text can be divided into a short introduction devoid of factual elements (1a–b) and three main parts. The first part (1b–7b) deals with the mantic values of the nine stars and their distribution among the sexagesimal binoms of the days. The names of the stars are totally different from those in common use. The second part (7b–11a) discusses the mantic values of the generals of the Three Origins (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍) and their distribution among the days of each month. The system is placed under the aegis of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮. The text ends with more general notions of calendrology (11b–14a).

Tianhuang taiyi shenlü bibui jing 天皇太一神律避穢經

2 fols.

1268 (fasc. 1002)

“Book of Maleficences to be Avoided, According to the Divine Prescriptions of the Celestial Sovereign of Great Unity.” This is a brief exposition of the interdictions concerning space and time and pertaining to alchemical work. The author gathered them in twelve categories of maleficences (*shier hui* 十二穢). The contents are somewhat meager and obviously date from a late period. The text is in fact an appendix to 1267 *Jiutian shangsheng bizhuan jinfu jing*.

Marc Kalinowski

Taishang dengzhen sanjiao lingying jing 太上登真三矯靈應經

7 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)?

286 (fasc. 136)

“Scripture on the Ascent to Truth and the Magic Efficacy of the Three Nimble Movements.” The text describes three minor rituals for the visualization of the deer, tiger, and dragon, of which the adept can avail himself in order to move at will across the earth and through the air. These techniques depend on the use of the Jade Emperor’s seal (*Yudi yin* 玉帝印). The text concludes by explaining in detail how to make this seal.

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Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo jiusheng zhenjing 太上老君說救生真經

2 fols.

630 (fasc. 341)

“True Scripture for Saving Life, Spoken by Taishang Laojun.” In this brief scripture the provenance of which is unknown, but which was probably intended for lay-believers, Taishang laojun 太上老君 orders the divinities of the six cyclical *jia* 甲 and *ding* 丁 combinations (*liujia* 六甲, *liuding* 六丁) to keep devotees from harm and to ensure their well-being. It is recommended that believers recite the text seven times to thirty-seven and to copy it by hand.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Guigu zi tiansui lingwen 鬼谷子天髓靈文

2 juan

Southern Song (1127–1279) or later

867 (fasc. 579)

“Numinous Writ of the Essence of Heaven, by Master Guigu.” The book defines itself as “the secret celestial writ” (*bimi tianwen* 秘密天文) of Guigu zi, the master of the Waterfall Cave, Shuilian dong zhu 水濂洞主 (1.1a–b, 6b). The opening passage confirms that the author of 1025 *Guigu zi* is intended, but the present book is otherwise unrelated to that text.

The book is not likely to be earlier than the Southern Song dynasty. Note, for instance, the mention of the Black Killer, Heisha jiangjun 黑殺將軍 (2.16a; cf. 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan*), and the list of deities on page 1.5a, which seems to reflect the Shenxiao pantheon (see 1219 *Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 1.18a). The work contains a mixture of minor methods for the cultivation of immortality—including instructions for the inner circulation of qi (1.5b–6a) and recipes for the preparation of pills—as well as exorcistic methods based on the use of fu and seals. In an effort to legitimize these methods, references are made to a line of transmission that includes several of the immortals of the Shangqing tradition (1.11b–13a). However, the book is intended for the use of people living in the world, and of both sexes (*zaishi nannü* 在世男女; 1.2a), and the practitioner is described in several places as having the appearance of a popular exorcist, performing barefooted and with loosened hair, and using techniques such as biting the tongue and spurning the blood out (see, e.g., 2.1a–b). Note also the inclusion of a version of the divinatory technique based on the use of the *Sanjia fu* 三甲符 and the *Tongmu fu* 通目符 (cf. the versions in 589 *Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu* 17b–22a and 860 *Shangqing zhenyuan rongling jing* 16a–17a), here opening with the summoning of the judges and guards of hell, who are called upon to protect the altar (1.17b–21b).

Poul Andersen

Yuanyang zi wujia lun 元陽子五假論

5 fols.

864 (fasc. 578)

“Treatise on the Five Simulations, by Master Yuanyang.” A postscript to this book (5a–b) attributes its methods to Yuanyang zi from Changbo shan 長白山真人. Several alchemical works in the *Daozang*, including a commentary to the *Cantong qi* 參同契 found in 1017 *Daoshu* 34, are attributed to this figure (see CGF 287–88 and VDL 72, 118, 119, 163). The contents of the present book, however, are unrelated to these alchemical writings.

The method of Five Simulations (*wujia fa* 五假法) is here described as a way of avoiding danger by separating oneself from the body (*fenshen* 分身). In the presence of evil influences, one may grasp an object and make one's body enter it, or one may unite the body with one of the elements. In both cases, one becomes invisible and is at liberty to leave on a spiritual journey. Other, and generally simpler, versions of the method are found in several Song dynasty (960–1279) texts (see, e.g., 589 *Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu* 10a–11b, 855 *Taiqing jinque yuhua xianshu baji shenzhang sanhuang neibi wen* 3.7a–13a, 858 *Taishang dongshen xuanmiao boyuan zhenjing* 10b–13a, and 867 *Guigu zi tiansui lingwen* 1.8b–11b). In style and content, the present version is similar to that found in 867 *Tiansui lingwen*, and it seems likely that they belong to the same period.

Poul Andersen

Kuigang liusuo bifa 魁罡六鎖祕法

8 fols.

582 (fasc. 323)

“Secret Methods of the Six Locks of the Dipper Constellation.” This is a short text with instructions on how to provoke cosmic changes, by abolishing day and night, provoking black gales and yellow sandstorms and other apocalyptic phenomena. These cataclysms are obtained through the use of a Spell of the Heavenly Chaos (“*Huntian zhou* 混天咒”) and other magic means. There is a list of the Thirty-two Heavens, which appears with pseudo-Buddhist names. Some of the spells are in pseudo-Sanskrit. The text is undatable.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang sanbi wujie bifa 太上三辟五解祕法

13 fols.

583 (fasc. 323)

“Secret Methods for the Three Evasions and Five Liberations.” Following the title, a subtitle in small characters reads: “A Correct Way to Reach Immortality, Consisting of Eight Methods to Hide in the Earth, by the Great Official of Chu 楚大夫隱地八術通仙正道.” The methods of evading this world cause the spirits to leave the body, and enable one to liberate oneself through feigned death, leaving behind a substitute body (*shijie* 尸解). The simulacrum may look like a corpse, but it is in fact a substitute object. Alternatively, one may practice the “hidden period” (*dunjia* 遁甲) magic to vanish or travel to other places. One of the other ways to make oneself invisible is to make use of a “heavenly garment” (*tianyi* 天衣) made of the placenta of a male baby. This “garment” has been dried and then inscribed with a talisman, and it will enable

its wearer to be invisible at will. This text could be of almost any period, except for some modern colloquialisms (e.g., “*yige yue* 一個月; 2b1).

Kristofer Schipper

Dadong jing jixiang shenzhou fa 大洞經吉祥神咒法

6 fols.

1461 (fasc. 1064)

“Method of the Auspicious Divine Spell of the Great Cavern Scripture.” This is a magical formula aiming at conjuring auspicious forces. The formula for their manifestation is constructed around the phrase “Jixiang tanchijun 吉祥檀熾鈞,” repeated one hundred times. The expression *tanchijun* corresponds to a sound originally produced by the Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王 that contains the entire True Great Cavern Scripture (*Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經). The formula is explained in a commentary and illustration by Wei Qi 衛琪, in his 103 *Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 1.22b (dated 1309). The image depicts various kinds of musical instruments, and the surrounding commentary explains the meaning of the three syllables of the spell.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing liujia qidao bifa 上清六甲祈禱祕法

10 fols.

584 (fasc. 323)

“Secret Shangqing Method for Invoking the Six Jia.” This is a small ritual centered on the cult of the decade spirits of the sexagesimal cycle, the six *jia* 甲, and the six spirits of the fourth day (*ding* 丁).

The account of the work’s transmission (1a–b) relates that the *Liujia tianshu* 六甲天書 in three juan that constitutes the basis of this ritual was instituted upon the return of Xuanyuan laojun 玄元老君 to the Taiqing gong 太清宮 temple. It may be assumed that the arrangement of the present work is not earlier than the Tang. It differs from other compilations of the same type in that the decade spirits here are associated with unusual female deities: the five Nayan tiannü 那延天女 and the twelve Xinü 溪女.

Marc Kalinowski

Taiyi yuanzhen baoming changsheng jing 太乙元真保命長生經

2 fols.

46 (fasc. 29)

“Scripture on Guarding Vitality and Extending Life.” The core of this text revealed by Taiyi yuanzhen 太乙元真 is an incantation, the recitation of which, followed by visualizations and the circulation of the vital qi and the spirit, ensures “the protection of your original life force” (*baoming* 保命) and even “eternal life” (*changsheng* 長生).

The core scripture is enclosed in cosmological and liturgical wrappings. At the end of the text, mention is made of a *Taiyi shengzhen jing* 太乙聖真經, which is said to contain the instructions for the use of this book in a ritual setting in which statues are cast of Taiyi and sixteen zhenren. The book must only be transmitted to serious adepts, on “an altar of the covenant” (*mengtān* 盟壇).

John Lagerwey

Yuqing shanggong ke taizhen wen 玉清上宮科太真文

25 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

1408 (fasc. 1052)

“Writs of the Most True Ones, [according to] the Standard of High Palaces in the Jade Pure [Heaven].” This text combines a set of rules for conduct in the mode of the Standards for Merit and Demerit (*gongguo ge* 功過格) with a “register” of gods and saints.

The *Taizhen ke* 太真科 is an important ancient code of the early Heavenly Master church (see 615 *Chisongzi zhangli*). It was adapted by the Shangqing 上清 scriptures into a code for the transmission of texts (see 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 太真玉帝四極明科經). The present code is entirely different and clearly intended for the laity.

Although since medieval times there had been a strong connection between rules of conduct and registers—the observance of the former conditioning the authority to utilize the latter—this is not truly an ordination document. The register lists the names of the lords of the Thirty-two Heavens, together with their “taboo names” written in “cloud sealscript” (*yunzhuan* 雲篆). Next come eighteen of the highest Heavenly Worthies, all hypostases of the Tao, among which in the first place was the Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, but also Guanshiyin 觀世音 (Avalokiteśvara; see 11b and 12a). Later names of heavenly rulers also have distinct Buddhist connotations.

Kristofer Schipper

Xuanpu shan lingqin bilu 玄圃山靈籙祕錄

3 juan

Preface by Huangfu Peng 皇甫朋; traditionally dated to the Tang period (618–907)

580 (fasc. 322)

“Secret Register of the Golden Casket from the Mysterious Garden Mountain.” This is a small compendium of magical arts, based on talismans and pseudo-Sanskrit spells. Mudrās (*xuanyin* 玄印) and *vajrapāni* 金剛, called “Brahma gods” (*fanshen* 梵神) are also mentioned. The introduction gives a detailed but fantastic account

玄圃山圖

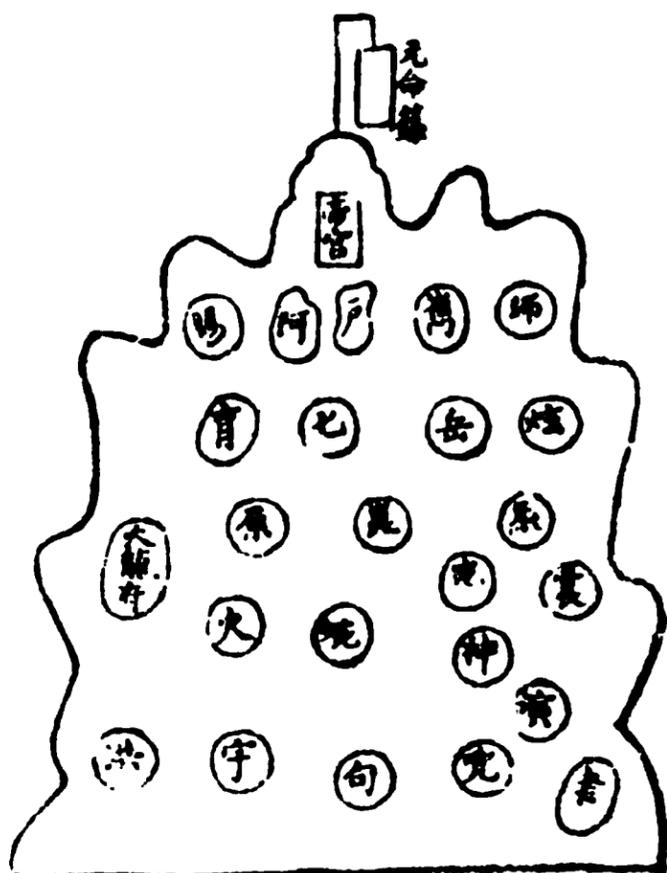


FIGURE 78. Map of Mount Xuanpu (S80 3.16a)

of the transmission of the work. A certain Xiapi xiansheng 下邳先生, “obtained it on Taishan.” This must be Laozi, inasmuch as the Great Sage appeared during the reign of Qin Shi huangdi of Xiapi shan (see 1483 *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuci* 1.28b). The sage transmitted it to Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 187 B.C.), the celebrated Han general. From here it passed through many other semihistorical or legendary persons up to a certain Zhang Jing 張晶, said to be a descendant of the Heavenly Masters on Longhu shan 龍虎山. The methods explained here should therefore be seen as belonging to the Heavenly Master tradition. The author of the preface, Huangfu Peng, retired from his post as prefect of Xunyang 潯陽, Jiangxi, and returned to Chang’an. There he met one day a stranger by the name of Lin Ziyao 林自遙, who was able to walk on water and who gave him these ancient methods. Both Huangfu and Lin loved wine, and many of the magical arts call for the use of this ingredient. The preface is dated from the first year of the “Zhoutong 周通” era. This may be a graphic error for Xiantong 咸通 (860–874). In any case, the date must be considered fictitious. The work is mentioned under the title *Xuanpu shan lingjin dafa* 玄圃山靈金大法 in 1483 *Taiqing yuci* 3.29b–30a, together with a table of contents that makes the identification certain.

The Mysterious Garden mountain is another name for the holy Kunlun mountain, Xuanpu, the dwelling place of a god named Xutuo dijun 虛陀帝君. Under this deity are twenty-four generals, corresponding to the twenty-four energy nodes (*jieqi* 節氣). The methods of invoking and employing these deities are given on pages 1.5a–17a. Next follow twenty-four magical methods, eight in each juan. Those of juan 1 concern the mastery of the elements (wind, rain, and so forth). Juan 2 is devoted to warfare. Juan 3 has different magical arts, like becoming invisible or transmitting messages to others through dreams. At the end of the work there is a supplement (*bieji* 別集) that includes a drawing of the Xuanpu shan for ritual use (fig. 78).

Yuan Bingling

Taishang jingui yujing yansheng dongxuan zhuyou chan

太上金櫃玉鏡延生洞玄燭幽懺

12 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)?

811 (fasc. 566)

“Jade Mirror in the Golden Casket and Torch in the Darkness of the Cavern of Mystery.” This litany is a hybrid text of uncertain antecedents, proposing a short ritual of purification and atonement for individual use. A preface by a Xuyi zhenren 虛一真人 reveals that this is a scripture in three juan with three different titles (two of which are incorporated in the present title). Before its recitation, the adept must bathe and fast. A ritual for this bathing (*muyu* 沐浴) in perfumed water is included in the present text (9a–10b).

Kristofer Schipper

Tianlao shengguang jing 天老神光經

15 fols.

Attributed to Li Jing 李靖 (571–649)

866 (fasc. 578)

“Scripture of the Divine Light of the Celestial Elder.” The Celestial Elder, Tianlao 天老, is a minister of the Yellow Emperor, who according to legend was particularly knowledgeable about omens, divination, and the arts of war (see *Xuanyuan benji* in YJQQ 100.4b, 6b, 7a–b, 10b, 15a–b; see also Zhu Yueli, “Tianlao kao”). The divine light is described in the present book as a spark seen behind the eyelids and representing the ability to discern the star Fuxing 輔星 (Alcor, 80 Ursae Majoris), the small companion of the sixth star of the Big Dipper (preface, 1a–b). The loss of this ability is said to be an omen of misfortune and—when concomitant with illness—a presaging of imminent death (1a–b).

The book is attributed to Li Jing, the famous general of the Sui (581–618) and early Tang (618–907) periods (biographies in *Jiu Tang shu* 67.2475–83 and *Xin Tang shu* 93.3811–17). It is prefaced by a memorial (dated 633), in which Li Jing presents the book to Emperor Taizong (r. 626–649). However, the attribution seems to be spurious and is absent from the listings of the title in Song bibliographies. The *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” mentions a Cai Deng 蔡登 as author, while the *Song shi* has a Su Deng 蘇登 (VDL 83).

The first part of the present book (1a–5b) describes the technique of divination based on visualization of the Fuxing. Good or bad fortune is determined both according to whether the star is actually seen and according to the color of the light that appears. The remainder of the book is entitled “Image of Addressing the Mystery” (“Gaoxuan tu 告玄圖”; 5b–13b). It contains a method of praying to various stars,

comprising the presentation of offerings and written petitions, as well as forms of “Pacing the Mainstay” (*bugang* 步綱).

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Poul Andersen

Taishang laojun taisu jing 太上老君太素經

2 fols.

1424 (fasc. 1055)

“Book of the Great Simplicity, by the Most High Lord Lao.” This is a short philosophical text of uncertain date and authorship. The term *taisu* 太素 refers to the origin of the world and relates to the the phase of the beginning of matter. It is an ancient term, already present in many early texts, such as the *Huainan zi* 淮南子 and the *Yijing* 易經 apocrypha *Qianzuo du* 乾鑿度. A *Taisu jing* 太素經 is listed in the bibliographical chapter of the BPZ (19.96).

The present short text offers itself as an ancient work of philosophy, combining various sources such as the *Laozi* 老子 with excerpts from the appendixes of the *Yijing*. Despite the antiquity of these sources, the text is very likely a modern amalgam.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhongdao miaofa lianhua jing 太上中道妙法蓮華經

10 juan

1432 (fasc. 1058)

“Scripture of the Lotus of the Marvelous Law of the Central Tao of the Most High.” This is a popular pastiche of the Buddhist Lotus sūtra, placed at the very beginning of the 1607 supplement of the Taoist canon. Its ten juan contain seventeen chapters (*pin* 品) of very uneven length, some amounting to a single page, others covering a full juan. The pastiche superficially borrows a number of chapter titles, terms, and concepts from its Buddhist model. The text itself is, however, poorly written, with little or no development either in logic or in narrative. The work is probably the result of crude planchette writing.

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.14.d Divination Slips

Sisheng zhenjun lingqian 四聖真君靈籤

49 fols.

1298 (fasc. 1010)

“Oracle Slips of the Four Saintly True Lords.” This is a collection of oracles used for divination by means of oracular slips (*baoqian* 寶籤). The names of the True Lords are mentioned in the introduction (1a). The oracles all issued from Northern Song religious movements, notably the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (1227 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 3.10a). A temple was devoted to the True Lords in Luoyang (958 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 2.11b–13b). Divination through oracular stems was very common in the milieus that propagated their cult, and Zhenwu 真武 in particular usually presided over requests for oracles (1227 *Zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 2.14b–15a, 7.13a–14b).

The present work can be considered as representative of the *lingqian* collections of the Song (960–1279) period. It is possible that it was the source of 1482 *Xuantian shangdi baizi shenghao*, clearly a later work, as it uses the Yuan (1279–1368) title Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝. In any case, both collections spring from the same tradition, as is apparent in their introductions (compare 1a–b in the present text with 1482 *Baizi shenghao* 1b–2a) as well as in the number of oracles (forty-nine in both cases) and the text of some oracles.

Each oracle provides its number, name, and auspicious or inauspicious nature; 1482 *Baizi shenghao* also adds the names of two of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, according to an order that explains their total number of forty-nine. Each oracle then provides an oracular poem in twelve verses of seven characters, a Holy Advice (*shengyi* 聖意) in prose (in 1482 *Baizi shenghao* the Holy Advice is in four verses and included in the oracular poem), a prognostic passage (*zhan* 占) in rhythmic prose, and a final poem in four verses of five characters.

Marc Kalinowski

Xuanzhen lingying baoqian 玄真靈應寶籤

3 juan

1299 (fasc. 1010–1011)

“All-Powerful Oracle Slips of the True Mystery.” This is a collection of oracles used in divination by oracular slips (*baoqian* 寶籤). The preface is attributed to the god who governed the oracle or who dwelled in the temple where the divination took place (*wumiao* 吾廟; preface 1a). His name, Xuanzhen 玄真, refers to the Wenchang 文昌 cult and the tradition of the Dadong xianjing 大洞仙經 as it appeared in Sichuan under the Southern Song (1127–1279; CGF 18). He is also said to have authored the

preface to 5 *Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing* (1.1a). The title appended to our preface as an edict (*gao* 誥; 1b–2a) is also included in that work, with some variants (2.8a–b, 2.15b–16a).

The factual preface explains that this collection was compiled in answer to the growing popularity of divination by oracle slips in the area (Sichuan). It mentions several titles of oracle sets that were used for the present compilation. Divination must have started to supplant the oniromancy tradition linked to the 169 *Qinghe neizhuan* (1a). Indeed, the Yuan edition of that work in the *Daozang* opens with the interpretation of a dream (169 *Qinghe neizhuan* 1b–2a). It also reproduce the title appended to the preface of the present work (2b–3a), with more variants than in *Dadong xianjing*. The dating of the present work is thus linked to that of the *Qinghe neizhuan*. A Yuan (1279–1368) date can be considered as likely.

The 365 oracles all conform to the same pattern: number, name, and auspicious or inauspicious verdict, an oracular poem in four verses of five characters, and finally a prose comment on the poem.

Marc Kalinowski

Daci haosheng jiutian weifang shengmu yuanjun lingying baoqian

大慈好生九天衛房聖母元君靈應寶籤

23 fols.

1300 (fasc. 1011)

“All-Responding Oracle Slips of the Holy Mother Protecting the Bedchamber, from the Nine Heavens, Loving Life, and Greatly Compassionate.” This is a collection of oracles used in divination by oracle slips (*baoqian* 寶籤). The Holy Mother protecting the bedchamber belongs to the pantheon of the *Yushu baojing* 玉樞寶經. This text is mentioned in several places, in the introduction quoting the passage (99 *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing jizhu* 2.2a–b) pertaining to the goddess as well as in the oracles (21a, 22a, 22b). The date of the present text must therefore be later than that of the *Yushu baojing*, pointing to the Southern Song (1127–1279) or Yuan (1279–1368) period.

The Holy Mother is introduced as the deity governing requests for oracles. The collection contains ninety-nine oracles. Each of them has a number to match it with the slip drawn by the person seeking divination, the oracular poem in four verses of seven (sometimes five) characters, and a comment (*jie* 解) in rhythmic prose.

Marc Kalinowski

Futian guangsheng ruyi lingqian 扶天廣聖如意靈籤

61 fols.

1303 (fasc. 1012)

“Oracle Slips of the Assembly of Saints Assisting Heaven.” This is a collection of oracles used in divination by oracle slips (*lingqian* 靈籤). Nothing in the title nor in the contents of the work points to a precise date. Since the other oracle collections preserved in the *Daozang* were compiled between the Southern Song (1127–1279) and the Ming periods (1368–1644), this is likely to be the case also for the present text.

The 120 oracles are all written according to the same model, giving their number and auspicious or inauspicious nature, an oracular text in rhymed prose, and a prognosis (*zhan* 占), including numbers, dates, and directions to be favored.

Marc Kalinowski

Ganzhou Shengji miao lingji li 贛州聖濟廟靈跡理

6 fols.

By Song Lian 宋濂; 1371

1304 (fasc. 1012)

Huguo Jiaji Jiangdong wang lingqian 護國嘉濟江東王靈籤

41 fols.

By Fu Ye 傅燁; var. Fu Yu 傅煜; 1225–1227

1305 (fasc. 1012)

“Miraculous Events at the Shengji Temple in Ganzhou.” Song Lian’s inscription concerning this title, dated 1371 (cf. the more comprehensive version in *Song Wenxian gong quanji* 宋文憲公全集 4), serves here as an introduction to the text of the well-known divination series (*lingqian* 靈籤) of the god Prince East of the River (Jiangdong wang 江東王) and provides details about the historical development of the cult from which the oracle originated.

Tradition had it that the local hero Shi Gu 石固 from Ganzhou 贛州 (southern Jiangxi) manifested his divine power for the first time in 196 B.C. by helping the general Guan Ying 灌嬰 to subdue Zhao Tuo 趙陀 under the Han. In A.D. 847, a certain Wen Liang 聞諒 (Song’s *Quanji* reads “Zhou Liang 周亮”; *Jiajing Ganzhou fuzhi* 6.30 has “Zhou Cheng 周成”) founded the historical temple east of the river Gong 貢江, from which the popular name for the deity, Jiangdong wang, was derived. As the cult grew during the following centuries, it received numerous official honors. Song mentions the renaming of the temple from Jiaji miao 嘉濟廟 to Shengji miao 聖濟廟 under the Song emperors (between 1056 and 1064, according to the *Jiajing Ganzhou fuzhi*) and the bestowal of the epithet *huguo* 護國 under the Yuan dynasty (*Ganzhou fuzhi* gives 1334 as the date). Between 1225 and 1227, a certain Fu Ye (the *Quanji* reads “Fu Yu”)

from Putian 莆田 (Fujian), who held a military post in the subprefecture Gan 贛縣, wrote a series of a hundred divinatory verses (*yaoci* 繇辭), which immensely increased the cult's popularity. The assumption that the present *lingqian* (one hundred poems of four heptasyllabic lines each) are identical with Fu's oracles seems justified on the grounds of the corresponding number of verses. The appended explanations (*jie* 解) and exegesis of their "holy meaning" (*shengyi* 聖意)—the latter again being poems of eight lines of three characters each—are possibly of a later date.

Song Lian's inscription for the temple in Ganzhou was composed a few years after Ming Taizu (r. 1368–1398) had decreed that an official representative should attend the temple festivities on every eighth day of the first month (according to the *Ganzhou fuzhi*, the decree was issued in 1368).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Tables of Contents

Daozang quejing mulu 道藏闕經目錄

2 juan

Compiled by the editors of the *Da Ming Daozang jing*; fifteenth century

1430 (fasc. 1056)

"Catalogue of the Missing Books in the *Daozang*." When the editors of the Zhengtong canon had finished their work, they drew up a list of titles included in previous Taoist canons but no longer extant. The catalogue comprised 794 titles (VDL 62). The editors made this list, according to a note placed under the title, on the basis of an old catalogue (*yu jiu mulu nei chaochu* 於舊目錄內抄出). Which list or lists they may have used has been the subject of debate. The compilers did not reproduce the material at their disposal, as had been done in previous canons (see the present text 2.21a) and as was also regularly done in Buddhist canons. There is likely to have been a reason for this omission. Whatever it may be, the list of "lost works" is a most important source for the study of Taoist bibliography.

Chen Yuan 陳垣 (*Nan Song chu Hebei xin dao jiao kao*, 28) has argued that the editors of the Ming *Daozang* of 1445 based their listing of lost works solely on the comparison with the catalogue of the very last canon to be compiled before their own, that is, the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 of 1244, compiled by the Quanzhen 全真 order under the direction of SONG DEFANG (1183–1247). Chen's argument is based on the following evidence: In an epitaph for the Quanzhen patriarch Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188–1247), who, as a disciple of SONG DEFANG had participated actively in the editing, the Yuan

scholar Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257) wrote that at the very end of the canon, Qin added four historical works written by himself, the 173 *Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記, the *Yanxia lu* 煙霞錄, the *Yixian zhuan* 繹仙傳, and the *Wuxian zhuan* 婺仙傳 (see *Tongzhen zi muji ming* 31.12a–13b). The present catalogue lists at the very end (2.21a) three of the above-named works that are not in the Ming *Daozang*. In support of Chen Yuan’s argument it could be said that on the same last page we have the titles of the lost catalogues of the former Song (960–1279) and Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) canons, while that of the Yuan (1279–1368) canon is not mentioned. Thus the editors of the Ming *Daozang* did have access to it, but did not reproduce it other than through this checklist of missing titles. Against Chen’s hypothesis, however, stands the fact that between the three Quanzhen historical works, the *Quejing mulu* inserts an altogether different title, that of a *Wushan Huanglu dazhai jingyao* 無山黃籙大齋精要 (*wushan* 無山 is an error for *wushang* 無上). This title probably does not come from the same Yuan canon catalogue, but must have been taken from another inventory. So the compilers of the *Quejing mulu* must at least have had two catalogues at their disposal.

In his detailed discussion of the compilation of the Yuan canon of 1244 (which he calls a “reprint”) and its subsequent destruction by Kublai Khan in 1281, van der Loon argues that the editors had several catalogues, or fragments of catalogues, at their disposal, since the shelflist of the imperial library of 1441 contains a number of “Taoist Catalogues.” One of these catalogues was of the Taoist books actually shelved in that library. Another was a single fascicle with “several lists of the Taoist canon.” Still another was a work in ten fascicles (VDL 61–62). It therefore is probable that the editors did indeed use several different catalogues, which may explain a number of inconsistencies and errors signaled by van der Loon.

Still, it would seem that the main source used by the compilers of the Ming canon for their verification was the catalogue of the Yuan canon of 1244. We may be certain that they had it at their disposal, and it is tempting to suppose that the one large list in ten fascicles in the imperial library was that. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that, as an appendix to the *Quejing mulu*, we find the text of an inscription dated 1275 and named “Short Inventory of the Taoist Canons through the Ages” (*Daozang zunjing lidai gangmu* 道藏尊經歷代綱目), which must have been placed at the Yongle gong 永樂宮 temple in Shanxi where SONG DEFANG was abbot and from where he directed the compilation of the 1244 canon. The inscription is very much to the glory of his enterprise and of his canon, the printing blocks of which were kept in the Yongle gong temple. It is logical that the text of such an inscription would have been added to the catalogue of the 1244 canon.

The logic of the above hypothesis is important, inasmuch as the *Quejing mulu* does show a pattern in the way it lists the lost Taoist works. Indeed, it clearly follows the classification of the Three Caverns and Four Auxiliaries of the previous canons.

Beginning on page 1a and numbering the titles in sequence, we find the following in juan 1:

- Numbers 1 through 32 (1a–2b5) are Dongzhen 洞真 texts.
- Numbers 33 through 45 (2b6–3a9) are Dongxuan 洞玄 texts.
- Numbers 46 through 103 (3a10–6b2) are also Dongzhen texts.
- Numbers 104 through 109, on 6b, are miscellaneous entries (such as the *Xiang'er zhu* 想爾注 of the Laozi and catalogues such as the *Sui Yuwei jingmu* 玉緯經目 and the *Tang Sandong qionggang* 三洞瓊綱; see CGF 112–14).
- Numbers 110 through 229 (6b8–13a7) are again Dongxuan texts.
- Numbers 230 through 234 (13a–b) are miscellaneous texts on divination.
- Numbers 235 through 298 (13b4–16b6) are Dongshen 洞神 texts.
- Numbers 299 through 388 at the end of juan 1 (21a) are Taixuan bu 太玄部 texts, many beginning with Laozi's Song-period canonical title *Taishang hunyuan shangde huangdi* 太上混元上德皇帝 (at the end of this part, we find many doctrinal and polemical works as well as hagiographies).

Coming now to juan 2, we see that it continues with the listing of hagiographical texts, the last being a monograph on Qingcheng shan 青城山 (no. 404). This part of the Taixuan bu therefore covers more than a hundred titles (299 to 404).

- Number 405 is the *Yiqie daojing yinyi* 一切道經音義 (see 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*).
- Numbers 406 and 407 are Taiqing bu 太清部 works, standing wrongly just before 408 and 409.
- Numbers 408 and 409, the Taiping bu 太平部 scriptures. The *Taiping jing* itself is listed as lost (see 1101a *Taiping jing*).
- Numbers 410 through 500 are all Taiqing bu texts, some marked as such, others clearly related to alchemy, Tending Life, and so on, including Inner Alchemy texts inspired by the *Cantong qi* (e.g., 459, on page 4b2).
- Numbers 501 through 557 are texts from the Zhengyi bu 正一部.

The remainder of the list is filled with titles of books that are mostly from later periods, comprising even some Southern Song (1127–1279) works, and listed without any apparent order. These may have been the works that had no direct relationship with the traditional Seven Divisions and were therefore placed at the end of the canons as a supplement.

To conclude, although there are some manifest overlappings and irregularities and the use of at least two and probably more catalogues is evident, the *Quejing mulu* follows in general the subdivision of the Three Caverns and Four Auxiliaries, and large parts are composed of works of a single category. Within these, the Dongxuan division

stands out as the largest, with 127 texts, followed by the Taixuan (105), the Taiqing (90), and the Dongzhen divisions (89). As always, the Dongshen division is small and the Taiping division amounts to almost nothing. As to the size of the Zhengyi division, as in the Ming canon, coming at the very end, it has been enlarged by many later additions.

Although in some instances texts of a certain type are grouped together, such as hagiographies, rules of conduct, and “discussions” (*lun* 論), there is no trace of a subdivision in Twelve Categories (Shi'er lei 十二類) as we find in the Ming canon. The *Quejing mulu* does give us a key to the original organization of the Taoist canons, as they were organized and structured from the times of WANG YAN at the end of the fifth century until the Yuan canon of 1244. It is thus an invaluable and hitherto largely untapped source for the study of Taoist bibliography.

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Kristofer Schipper

Da Ming Daozang jing mulu 大明道藏經目錄

Xu Daozang jing mulu 續道藏經目錄

4 juan

1431 (fasc. 1057)

“Table of Contents of the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming.” This listing stands at the very end of the Zhengtong canon of 1445, whereas that of the Wanli supplement of 1607 stands at the very beginning of the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏. There is no possibility of confusion between the two since the typography is strikingly different, in keeping with the graphic forms of the characters prevalent in the respective parts. The colophon at the end of the two tables of contents by the Fiftieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, dated 1607, therefore applies to the contents of the supplement only.

The table of contents of the Zhengtong canon is preceded by a short text entitled “Origins of Taoism” (*Daojiao zongyuan* 道教宗源), an introduction to the genesis and structure of the Daoist canon. It can therefore be considered as the preface to the *Daozang*. It is followed by even shorter “instructions for use” (*fanli* 凡例).

The introduction makes the origin of the canon coequal with that of the universe:

How remote! The beginning of the Family of the Tao (*Daojia* 道家)! It started from where there was nothing before; it manifested itself in response to stimulus;

it was born from the Marvelous One. From this Marvelous One came the division into Three Principles. These Three Principles transformed into the Three Qi [energies], and these again transformed into the Three Kinds [Heaven, Earth, and Life]. The Three Kinds then began to give birth and the ten-thousand beings attained their fullness.

The Three Principles . . . produced the Lord of Heavenly Treasure, the Lord of Marvelous Treasure, and the Lord of Divine Treasure. . . . They reigned over the Three Pure Regions, which are Jade Purity, Supreme Purity and Most High Purity, also named the Three Heavens. . . . But as the [318] *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing* says: “Although these names are different, their foundation is One. These Three Lords are also the chief teachers of the Three Caverns. They are the Dongzhen, the Dongxuan, and the Dongshen . . . , each containing twelve divisions. From the Three Caverns sprang the Four Auxiliaries, Taixuan, Taiping, Taiqing, and Zhengyi.

And so the canon came into being. The introduction then sets forth explanations of the division, of the works included in each of the Three Caverns, and into Twelve Categories (*shi'er lei* 十二類), going to great lengths to justify the need for each of them. The *fanli* does likewise, adding concrete examples.

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Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

道藏通考

The Taoist Canon

A Historical Companion

to the *Daozang*

VOLUME 3

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Indexes

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Biographical Notices

FREQUENTLY MENTIONED TAOISTS

Bao Jing 鮑靚, *zi* Taixuan 太玄 (260–330?). According to legend, Bao Jing was born in Chenliu 陳留, southeast of Kaifeng in Henan (some sources indicate Shangdang 上黨 or Donghai 東海). He is famous for having announced to his father, at age five, that he was the reincarnation of a son of the Li family of Quyang 曲陽 who had died when he was nine years old after falling into a well. Bao is also said to be a descendant of Bao Xuan 鮑宣 (d. A.D. 3), a well-known scholar at the time of the Han emperor Aidi (r. 7 B.C.–A.D. 1). Bao Jing was versed in Taoism, Confucianism, and astronomy. In 318, he met the immortal Yin Changsheng 陰長生, who recognized his aptitudes and passed on to him his techniques of immortality. Bao rose to be governor of Nanhai 南海 (modern Canton). He was a friend of the Eastern Jin official XU MI and master of the latter's elder brother, the hermit XU MAI. GE HONG married Bao's daughter. On Bao Jing's alleged rediscovery of the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 texts, see the general introduction in volume 1, section E, "Lu Xiujing and the Canon of the Three Caverns." Bao was buried in a place named Shizi gang 石子岡. Soon thereafter, his remains disappeared by means of "corpse liberation."

Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾, *zi* Ruhui 如晦, Ziqing 紫清, Bosou 白叟, *hao* Haiqiong 海瓊 (1194–1229; traditional dates 1134–1229). Bo Yuchan was born Ge Changgeng 葛長庚, but he was adopted into the family of his mother's second husband. His lack of family background contributed to his reputation as a genial, independent, freewheeling person: he is said to have spent most of his life roaming, as did his master, CHEN NAN (1171?–1213). Bo's reputation as a provocative Taoist did not preclude his integration within the Taoist establishment. During his formative years (1205–1214), Bo rapidly mastered the traditional Zhengyi 正一 liturgy, various Thunder rites, and *neidan* 內丹 techniques. He later lived in the Wuyi shan 武夷山 range in Fujian, but also settled for some time on Xishan 西山 (modern Jiangxi) where he promoted the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school. Bo had many disciples who formed the nucleus of the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) and who edited his abundant works (99 *Baojing jizhu*, 757 *Qingjing jing zhu*, 914 *Danjing bizhi*, 1307 *Bo zhenren yulu*, 1308 *Wendao ji*, 1309 *Chuandao ji*, and parts of 263

Xiuzhen shishu; see also 1220 *Daofa huiyuan*). Several large anthologies of his prose and poetry were compiled during the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing (1644–1911) periods.

Chen Jingyuan 陳景元, *zi* Taichu 太初, *hao* Zhenjing 真靖, Bixu 碧虛 (1025–1094). Chen was born into a family of literati in Nancheng 南城 (modern Jiangxi). He became a Taoist at age seventeen when he was orphaned. He benefited early from an excellent education and made a rapid ascent in the Taoist administration, mainly through his exceptional scholarly talents. According to his oldest extant biography (*Xuanhe shubu* 6.10a–12a), Chen was a disciple of Zhang Wumeng 張無夢 (952?–1051) at Mount Tiantai 天台山 in Zhejiang. He later came to live in the Liqian guan 醴泉觀 temple at the capital. Historical sources also mention his accomplishments as a painter, and he belonged to a poetic circle that included the most famous politicians of the age. He retired in 1083 to devote himself entirely to recovering and editing ancient scriptures. The list of his works is impressive, and although many did not survive, eight are extant. They are mostly commentaries on Taoist classics. His interest in *neidan* 內丹 is not well reflected in this corpus, although it is possible that the alchemical treatise 241 *Qinchuan zhizhi* can be attributed to him. Chen died on Lushan 廬山 (Jiangxi) at the age of seventy.

Chen Nan 陳楠, *zi* Nanmu 南木, *hao* Cuixu weng 翠虛翁, Niwan xiansheng 泥丸先生 (d. 1213). Chen Nan is recognized as one of the patriarchs of the Southern School (Nanzong 南宗), being the fourth successor to the alleged founder, ZHANG BODUAN. The lineage includes SHI TAI, author of 1091 *Huanyuan pian* and direct disciple of ZHANG BODUAN, and XUE DAOGUANG, the third patriarch in the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 lineage. The tradition seems to have been formulated first by BO YUCHAN (see “Xie Zhang Ziyang shu 謝張紫陽書” in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 6.4a). Chen “Niwan” (nirvana) is supposed to have been the master of BO YUCHAN. His spiritual legacy is represented by his collected poems in 1090 *Cuixu pian* 翠虛篇, compiled by Wang Sicheng 王思誠, *zi* Zhenxi zi 真息子 (fl. 1217). Chen is said to have hailed from Huizhou 惠州 (in present Guangdong province) and to have been a cooper by trade. He won fame as a Thunder magic exorcist in the southern regions before he was called to the capital during the Zhenghe period (1131–1138) and appointed Taoist registrar by Emperor Huizong. After the fall of the Northern Song (960–1127), he returned to the south to live on Mount Luofu 羅浮山 near Canton. He traveled a great deal and visited the coastal cities of Chaozhou, Zhangzhou, and Fuzhou and also went inland as far as Changsha in present-day Hunan. He sought deliverance from the body, by drowning himself in Zhangzhou in the year 1213 (or perhaps 1211). He had said of himself that, having waited forty-three years before attaining the Tao, he would see four generations pass before leaving the world.

Chen Niwan 陳泥丸. See CHEN NAN.

Chen Shaowei 陳少衛, *zi* Ziming 子明; *hao* Hengyue zhenren 衡嶽真人 (fl. 712–734). Chen Shaowei was an important Taoist alchemist of the High Tang (618–907) period who can be ascertained to have been active during the early years of Xuanzong's reign (after 712). The few facts we have concerning his life and work come from two works preserved in the *Daozang* (890 *Xiufu lingsha miaojue*, 891 *Jiuhuan jindan miaojue*) and the few words he devotes to himself in the preface to the first of these texts. He tells us that he left his residence at the sacred mountain of Hengshan 衡山 (in present Hunan) and went to Mount Huanglong (near modern Nanchang in Jiangxi province), where he met a holy person who transmitted to him the alchemical secrets of XU XUN. According to Chen, XU XUN had obtained those secrets from his master, Wu Meng 吳猛, who had received them from his own initiator, Ding Yi 丁義. Mount Huanglong is considered to be the place where XU XUN practiced alchemy. The transmission of alchemical secrets to Wu Meng by a certain Ding Yi is also recorded in other hagiographies (compare *IIIIO Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 1.1b and 1.3b). The relationship between Chen Shaowei and XU XUN's Way of Filial Piety of the Tang period (618–907) can therefore be assumed. Chen's presence at Hengshan is also attested. He is said to have initiated Jia Ziran 賈自然 (see LZTT 33.11b) and to have appeared in a dream to SIMA CHENGZHEN (see 606 *Nanyue zongzheng ji* 18a).

Chen Tuan 陳搏, *zi* Tu'nán 圖南, *hao* Fuyao 扶搖, Boyun xiansheng 白雲先生, Xiyi xiansheng 希夷先生 (871?–989). The title Boyun xiansheng was bestowed on Chen Tuan by Emperor Shizong of the Later Zhou (r. 954–959); the title Xiyi xiansheng by the Song emperor Taizong (r. 976–997). Chen, a native of Bozhou, was probably an unsuccessful examination candidate. He spent more than twenty years at Jiushi yan 九室岩, on Wudang shan 武當山, after which he settled for forty years at the Yuntai guan 雲臺觀 temple in the Huashan 華山 range. There he practiced the asceticism of Inner Alchemy. He is said to have been able to sleep a hundred days without waking. This detail is mentioned in his official biography, in the History of the Song (*Song shi* 457.13420). An ascetic Method of the Hibernating Dragon (*Zhelong fa* 螻龍法) is attributed to him. It is said that he received it from LÜ DONGBIN. Chen Tuan's diagrams had a great influence on the Confucianists of the Northern Song (960–1127). His only surviving work now extant is a book on *neidan* 內丹, the 134 *Huandan ge zhu*. Chen died in 989, allegedly at the age of 118 *sui*.

Chen Xianwei 陳顯微, *zi* Zongdao 宗道, *hao* Baoyi zi 抱一子 (fl. 1223–1254). A native of Yangzhou, Chen Xianwei was active as a Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) daoshi at the Yousheng guan 佑聖觀 temple in Lin'an 臨安 (Hangzhou). In 1223, he is said to have had an encounter with a "superior person" who transmitted

the “true alchemical method” to him. This later enabled him to gain special insights into the *Cantong qi* 參同契. He is best known for his teaching and commentary on that work (1007 *Cantong qi jie*).

Chen Zhixu 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子 (b. 1290). Chen Zhixu was a native of Luling 廬陵 (Ji'an 吉安, Jiangxi) but was active in the Hunan and Hubei regions. In 1329, Chen became a disciple of the alchemist Zhao Youqin 趙有欽. In the course of his peregrinations in the Jiugong shan 九宮山 range in Hubei, Chen acquired many followers. The school he founded (see 1070 *Jindan dayao xianpai*) constituted a branch of the Quanzhen 全真 movement that traced its origin to MA DANYANG. Chen Zhixu also linked it to the syncretist movement “uniting the Three Teachings” (*sanjiao wei yi* 三教爲一). In his own writings, Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) Taoism and Chan teachings predominate. Chen is credited with numerous works in the *Daozang* that are mostly concerned with Inner Alchemy and self-cultivation. He is also the author of major commentaries on the Book of Salvation (91 *Shangpin miaojing zhujie*) and the “Essay on the Realization of Perfection” (see 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*).

Cheng Xuanying 成玄英, *zi* Zishi 子實. Cheng Xuanying was an eminent philosopher and commentator who lived in the early Tang period (618–907). The little we know of his life comes from a short note in the bibliographical chapter of the *Xin Tang shu* (VDL 106). He hailed from Shanzhou 陝州 (present-day Shanxian 陝縣 in Henan province) and appears to have been trained as a classical scholar, as suggested by his *zi*. His Taoist career began in Donghai (eastern Shandong). In 631, he was invited to the court by Emperor Taizong, who honored him with the title Xihua fashi 西華法師 (Ritual Master of Western Luster), no doubt an allusion to the sacred mountain of Huashan 華山, the Western Peak. When Taizong died (649) and his successor Gaozong (r. 649–683) came to the throne, Cheng was banished to a place called Yuzhou 郁州. It was there that he wrote his famous commentaries to the *Laozi* 老子, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and the *Duren jing* 度人經. Of these, his interpretation of the *Zhuangzi* (see 745 *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu*) is the most important. Presented as a subcommentary to GUO XIANG's celebrated glosses, Cheng in fact shows a superior understanding of the text, not only of its grammar and semantics, but also of its philosophical meaning. He therefore often, with great elegance, corrects GUO XIANG's errors and misinterpretations, opening a new age of *Zhuangzi* studies, which flourished under the Song (960–1279). It is sometimes claimed that Cheng belonged to a Chongxuan 重玄 (Double Mystery) school, inspired by Mādhyamika Buddhist thought. In fact there is no historical evidence of such a school. Cheng's thought and his use of the term *chongxuan* are consistent with the epistemology of the Taoist thinkers of the Warring States period (475–221 B. C.) and were defined and defended as such by Cheng himself.

Deng Yougong 鄧有功, *zi* Zida 子大, *hao* Yuechao 月巢 (1210–1279?). Deng Yougong was a scholar official of the Southern Song period (1127–1279) who practiced the Tianxin zhengfa methods of exorcism and edited several works of this school. Poetry attributed to Deng is reproduced from an unidentified source in *Quan Song ci* 4.2977, which is the source of his dates. A native of Nanfeng 南豐 (Jiangxi), he obtained the *jinsshi* 進士 degree at an early age and became a local official, serving at one time at Jinhuo 金谿 in the prefecture of Fuzhou 撫州 (Jiangxi). The *Daozang* preserves two works edited by Deng: 566 *Tianxin zhengfa* and 461 *Lingwen guiliu*, the second work being ascribed to one of the legendary founders of the school, RAO DONGTIAN (fl. 994).

Du Daojian 杜道堅, *zi* Chuyi 處逸, *hao* Nangu zi 南谷子, Fujiao dashi 輔教大師 (1237–1318). A native of Dangtu 當塗 (Anhui), Du Daojian entered Taoist orders at age seventeen. He subsequently lived at Maoshan 茅山, where he received his ordination from the Shangqing patriarch Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛 (d. 1281). His initiation at Maoshan was followed by years of wandering in the area of Danyang 丹陽 and Yixing 義興 (also in modern Jiangsu). During the Xianchun period (1265–1274), the Southern Song ruler Duzong bestowed the title Fujiao dashi and other imperial favors on Du and made him abbot of the Shengyuan baode guan 昇元報德觀 temple in Wuxing 吳興 (modern Huzhou 湖州, Zhejiang). After the Mongol conquest of southern China in 1279, Du was granted an audience by Kublai Khan (1215–1294) in Dadu, the Yuan capital. In 1303, Emperor Chengzong appointed Du Taoist registrar (*daolu* 道錄) of Hangzhou 杭州. The succeeding emperor, Renzong, bestowed further honors on him in 1312, including the title Longdao chongzhen chongzheng zhenren 隆道沖真崇正真人. After Du Daojian's death in 1318, his disciple ZHAO MENGFU (1254–1322) composed a stele inscription in his honor: *Longdao chongzhen chongzheng zhenren Du gong bei* 隆道沖真崇正真人杜公碑. It is preserved in Zhao's collected works (*Songxue zhai ji* 松雪齋集 9). Du was the author of several commentaries on Taoist classics. After the fall of the Song dynasty (960–1279), he combined elements of Taoist and Confucian political and moral philosophy in an endeavor to create an ideological basis for a return to order and stability under the new regime.

Du Guangting 杜光庭, *zi* Binsheng 賓聖, *hao* Guangcheng xiansheng 廣成先生, Dongying zi 東瀛子, Huading/Tianmu feng yuren 華頂、天姥峰羽人 (850–933). Du Guangting was born in the region of Chuzhou 處州 in Zhejiang. Around 870, after failing to obtain the *mingjing* 明經 examination degree in the Confucian classics, he received his Taoist training and initiation at Mount Tiantai 天台山 in Zhejiang. Soon after the accession of Emperor Xizong (r. 873–888), Du was summoned to court. He performed various official and Taoist functions in Chang'an until the Huang Chao 黃巢 rebellion (880–885). After the sack of the capital by

Huang in early 881, Du followed the court into exile in Chengdu. As a textual and liturgical scholar, he deplored the loss of sacred Taoist books in the wake of the destruction of Chang'an, and he eventually reconstituted parts of the canon from temple libraries in Sichuan. Du announced the divine restoration of the Tang under the auspices of Lord Lao in the memorial 593 *Lidai chongdao ji*, presented to the emperor on the eve of his return to the capital in 885. When Xizong was obliged to flee his temporary quarters there again, Du Guangting obtained permission to return to Sichuan. Subsequently, many of Du's voluminous works were written during the period of political transition while he was a priest in the Yuju guan 玉局觀 temple in Chengdu and a frequent visitor to nearby Mount Qingcheng 青城山. The next phase in Du's career brought him into contact with Wang Jian 王建 (847–918) and his local staff and allies, who were to proclaim the kingdom of Shu 蜀 after the fall of the Tang in 907. Under the Shu, Du resumed his earlier functions as court Taoist and official, reaching the rank of vice president of finance (*hubu shilang* 戶部侍郎) in 916. Around the time of the fall of the Former Shu kingdom in 925, Du seems to have retired to Qingcheng shan, where he died in 933. Most of Du's surviving works have been transmitted through the *Daozang*.

Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫. Ge Chaofu was the grandnephew of GE HONG (283–343) and lived in Jiangnan at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries. He was identified by TAO HONGJING (456–536) as the author of the Lingbao scriptures. He is also held to be the creator of the Ge family lineage, which included GE XUAN and served retroactively to document the Lingbao scriptures' revelation and transmission.

Ge Hong 葛洪, *zi* Yichuan 稚川, *hao* Baopu 抱朴 (283–343). The descendant of a learned but poor family of Jurong 句容 county in Jiangsu, Ge Hong was the grandnephew of GE XUAN. Selling wood to pay for his studies, Ge Hong acquired a vast knowledge in literature as well as various sciences and techniques, especially alchemy, medicine, and Taoist methods. He became the disciple of the hermit ZHENG YIN, who taught him a method for transforming cinnabar. Later, Ge served as a high military official. Eventually moving to Guangdong, he led a hermitic life on Mount Luofu 羅浮山. His aspiration was to achieve immortality, and his thought was a synthesis of Confucianism and longevity techniques, based mainly on outer alchemy. His most famous extant works are contained in the two collections 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* and 1187 *Baopu zi waipian*. His Biographies of divine Immortals (*Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳), often quoted in ancient texts, is now lost but has been partially reconstructed. Other lost works include the *Zhenzhong shu* 枕中書 (cf. 166 *Zhongxian ji*) and the *Yuhan fang* 玉函方. The 917 *Shenxian jinshao jing*, 940 *Jinmu wanling lun*, 842 *Baopu zi yangsheng lun*, 939 *Dadan wenda*, 1306 *Ge xianweng zhouhou beiji fang*, and 915 *Huandan zhouhou jue* are attributed to Ge or are based on his writings.

Ge Xuan 葛玄, *zi* Jiaoxian 教先 (traditional dates 164–244). Also known as Zuo xiangong 左仙公, Zuo xianweng 左仙翁, or Ge xiangong 葛仙公, Ge Xuan was a native of Jurong 句容 county (in Jiangsu). Ge was Zuo Ci's 左慈 disciple and became ZHENG YIN's master. He was Ge Hong's great-uncle. He is said to have practiced asceticism on Gezao shan 閣皂山 in Jiangxi and was an expert in Outer Alchemy. In 1104, he received the title Chongying zhenren 冲應真人, elevated in 1243 to Chongying fuyou zhenjun 冲應孚佑真君. Two works in the *Daozang*, 543 *Xiaozai jiuyou chan* and a commentary to the *Yinfu jing* (III *Yinfu jing jijie*) are attributed to him.

Gu Huan 顧歡, *zi* Jingyi 景怡, Xuanping 玄平 (420–483). A Taoist thinker under the southern dynasties Liu Song (420–479) and Qi (479–502), Gu Huan was a native of Yanguan 鹽官 (Haining 海寧, Zhejiang). After a Confucian education, he retired to Mount Tiantai 天台山 in Zhejiang. There his interests turned to Huang-Lao philosophy, alchemy, as well as Taoist ritual and techniques, and he acquired a considerable following as a teacher on these subjects. Under the Qi emperor Gaodi (479–482), Gu Huan served as registrar (*zhubu* 主簿) in Yangzhou. Gu is mainly remembered as a commentator on the *Daode jing* 道德經. He died aged sixty-four at Shanshan 剡山 (Shengxian 嵊縣, Zhejiang).

Guo Xiang 郭象, *zi* Zixuan 子玄, 252–312. A celebrated philosopher of the Western Jin period (265–316), Guo was a native of Luoyang. He held several honorific court appointments, including gentleman-in-attendance at the Palace Gate (*huangmen shilang* 黃門侍郎). An expert on the *Laozi* 老子 and the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and an adept of the art of “pure conversation” (*qingtan* 清談), Guo Xiang expanded upon the work of Xiang Xiu 向秀 (ca. 221–300) to produce the most famous of *Zhuangzi* commentaries. In the *Daozang*, it has been incorporated into 745 *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu*.

Hao Datong 郝大通, *zi* Taigu 太古, *hao* Guangning zi 廣寧子 (1140–1213). Hao Datong was one of the founding patriarchs of the Quanzhen 全真 order. According to 173 *Jinlian zhenzong ji* 5.6b, he was given his names by the founder of the order, WANG CHONGYANG. Other sources indicate that Hao's personal name was Lin 璘 or Sheng, written 升 or 昇, and his *hao* was Tianran zi 恬然子 or Taigu zhenren 太古真人. According to the memorial inscription by Xu Yan 徐琰, in 973 *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 2.18a–24b, Hao came from a distinguished family in Ninghai 寧海 (Shandong). He did not choose an official career, but established himself as a fortune-teller in his hometown. When WANG CHONGYANG arrived in Ninghai in 1167, Hao became his follower. However, his precise relationship with the incipient Quanzhen movement under WANG CHONGYANG and MA DANYANG remains unclear. After an unsuccessful bid to join the community that had established itself in Shanxi around the tomb of the founding patriarch, Hao set himself up at

Wozhou 沃州 in Hebei. His asceticism, his teaching based on the *Yijing* 易經, as well as his skill in predicting the future, all set him apart from the main current of the Quanzhen movement. Having succeeded in converting members of the gentry, Hao preached at Zhending 真定 near Wozhou, where the monastery Taigu guan 太古觀 had been established. In his later years, his reputation reached the court and he was awarded a title. Toward the end of his life, Hao returned to Ninghai, where he died. His only surviving work, 1161 *Taigu ji*, has come down to us in a fragmentary state. Hao's studies on the *Yijing* and especially on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 are partially preserved in this collection.

Heshang gong 河上公. Heshang gong, also known as Heshang zhangren 河上丈人, is an obscure figure in the history of Taoism. His existence itself is doubtful. According to Sima Qian's *Shiji*, he was a venerable of the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.) and the master of the immortal Anqi Sheng 安期生. According to GE HONG's *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, Heshang gong was a hermit living in retirement on the banks of the Yellow River. Emperor Wen (r. 180–157 B.C.) of the Western Han dynasty sought him out there to inquire about the Tao. The influential *Laozi* 老子 commentary 682 *Daode zhenjing zhu* is attributed to this sage.

Heshang zhangren 河上丈人. See HESHANG GONG.

Huang Shunshen 黃舜申, hao Leiyuan 雷淵 Bishui leiyuan zhenren 碧水雷淵真人 (fl. 1224–1286). Huang Shunshen can be considered as the true founder of the modern Qingwei 清微 school of exorcism. His biography in 297 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5 states that he hailed from Jianning 建寧, at that time a prosperous county of northwest Fujian. While serving as an official in Guangxi, Huang encountered Nan Bidao 南畢道, who initiated him. The dates of his life are provided by 171 *Qingwei xianpu*, a chronology of which Huang himself is supposed to have been the original author. His biography appended to that work (14b–15b) states that he was born in 1224 and that he was summoned to the Yuan court in 1286. Huang had a great number of disciples, only five of whom obtained his full instruction. The patriarch ZHAO YIZHEN (d. 1382) later unified the teaching and continued the Qingwei lineage into the Ming period (1368–1644). Heavenly Master ZHANG YUCHU wrote a eulogy for the portrait of Huang, which he presumably had in his collection (see 1311 *Xianquan ji* 5.8b).

Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔, zi Hongju 鴻舉, hao Chongde wuzhen dashi 崇德悟真大師 (fl. 1086 [1081–1121?]). Little is known about Jia's life, except for a short and not very factual biography in LZTT 51. He originally hailed from Pengzhou 蓬州 (in modern Sichuan), and he seems to have made a career in the central Taoist administration, to judge by a title given at the head of one of his four works extant in the *Daozang*. He was preaching and conducting rituals at the Taiqing gong 太清宮 (Laozi's 老子 reputed birthplace, at Bozhou 亳州, modern Henan) just before

his death. Jia wrote a compilation of biographies of famous Taoists, the *Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳, now lost but known in part through numerous quotations. The four extant works are: a ritual for entering the celibate clergy (1236 *Chuandu yi*), a hagiography of Laozi (774 *Youlong zhuan*) and two commentaries on the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (739 *Zhenjing zhiyin* and 740 *Nanhua miao*).

Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔興, *zi* Shaohan 少韓, *Dezhan* 德詹, *hao* Cunzhai 存齋 (1162–1223). Jiang Shuyu, born into a family of literati in Yongjia 永嘉 (southern Zhejiang), seems to have had several callings. Two extant epitaphs written by contemporary scholars describe him as a man versed in the Neo-Confucian tradition of the Cheng brothers and as a devoted administrator who, to the loss of the empire, languished in minor postings, never advancing beyond the magistracy of a small county (Yiyang 弋陽, modern Jiangxi). He is described as learned in many technical subjects, including astronomy, strategy, and music, but Taoist ritual is not named among them. Jiang is nevertheless remembered chiefly as the compiler of a major ritual manual (508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*) and an important authority on Lingbao liturgy, which he studied with LIU YONGGUANG (1134–1206) from 1195 onward. He would appear to be one of the numerous Southern Song magistrates featured in the *Yijian zhi* who were initiated in Zhengyi lineages and Thunder rituals and who made use of this liturgical know-how in the course of their duties.

Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–1225). Jin Yunzhong is the author of a very influential Lingbao liturgical compendium, 1223 *Lingbao dafa*, but he is not otherwise known in a historical context. He signed his magnum opus with a title that mentions his initiation into the Tongchu 童初 liturgical lineage. This connection is also documented by a preface he wrote for Tongchu documents included in 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 171–78, where he states that he had been a Confucian before becoming a Taoist, and that his master was a certain Liu Hunpu 劉混朴. The reasons for his polemical posture and controversial position among the various currents of Southern Song (1127–1279) Taoism remain difficult to ascertain.

Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之, *zi* Fuzhen 輔真 (365–448). Kou Qianzhi was a native of Changping 昌平 in the area of modern Peking, but he spent most of his younger years in seclusion on Mount Hua 華山 in Shaanxi, where he received his Taoist initiation from Chenggong Xing 成公興, and on the Central Peak, Songshan 嵩山. At the latter site, in the year 415, Lord Lao appeared to Kou, conferring on him the title of Heavenly Master. A version of the extant 785 *Laojun yinsong jiejing* was said to have been revealed to him on that occasion. In 423, Kou received the visitation of Laozi's "great-great-grandson" (*xuansun* 玄孫) Li Puwen 李譜文, who enjoined him to serve the northern "True Lord of Great Peace" (*taiping zhenjun* 太平真君). These events set the stage for a sweeping reform of Taoism and, after Kou's

installation at the northern Tuoba Wei capital Pingcheng 平城 (modern Datong, Shanxi), in 424, for the institution of his theocratic school of northern Heavenly Master Taoism (Bei tianshi dao 北天師道). On the recommendation of his chief minister, Cui Hao 崔浩 (381–450), Emperor Taiwu 太武 (r. 424–452) elevated Kou to the role of supreme spiritual leader and eventually adopted the prophesized Taoist reign title Taiping zhenjun (440–451).

Lady Wei 魏夫人. See WEI HUACUN.

Li Daochun 李道純, *zi* Yuansu 元素, *hao* Qing'an 清菴, Yingchan 瑩蟾 (fl. 1288–1306). One of the major Taoist authors of the Yuan period (1277–1368), Li Daochun stands at the junction of all the main trends of this period. His principal affiliation was with the Southern School (Nanzong 南宗), as he was a disciple of one of BO YUCHAN's pupils, but he later became acquainted with Quanzhen 全真 masters, and his own disciples were considered Quanzhen. Li himself came from Duliang 都梁 (modern Hunan) and studied on Maoshan 茅山; he later settled and taught at Nanking, where, in contrast to most of the well-known Taoists of this period, he did not play any institutional role. His extant writings are numerous, including an anthology (249 *Zhonghe ji*), a *yulu* (1060 *Yingchan zi yulu*), two speculative works (250 *Santian yisui*, 251 *Quanzhen ji xuan biyao*) and five commentaries (101 *Xiaozai huming miaoqing zhu*, 105 *Datong jingzhu*, 107 *Chiwen donggu zhenjing zhu*, 699 *Daode huiyuan*, and 755 *Chang qingjing jing zhu*).

Li Hanguang 李含光 (683–769). The thirteenth patriarch of the Shangqing lineage, Li Hanguang was the successor of prominent masters and the disciple of SIMA CHENGZHEN. Although held in high esteem by the court, by the emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) in particular, Li preferred to spend most of his life on Maoshan 茅山, where he devoted himself to the collation of the textual legacy of his lineage and the construction of many institutions on the mountain. Li was the scion of a prestigious family that maintained both a scholarly and a Taoist tradition. He was ordained a daoshi in 705, then followed his master SIMA CHENGZHEN, and eventually settled on Maoshan in 730. Li attended the court only for the Taoist initiation conferred on Emperor Xuanzong in 748. His numerous writings have not survived separately.

Li Zhichang 李志常, *zi* Haoran 浩然, *hao* Zhenchang zi 真常子, Tongxuan dashi 通玄大師 (1193–1256). Li Zhichang was a native of Guancheng 觀城, Kaizhou 開州, in modern Shandong. After being orphaned at the age of six, Li was raised in the household of his uncle Li Meng 李蒙. He later became a disciple of QIU CHUJI, whom he accompanied on a historic journey to Central Asia for an audience with Genghis Khan, of which Li left a detailed account (1429 *Xiyou ji*). After Qiu's death, Li succeeded him as patriarch of the Quanzhen 全真 movement. As Taoist registrar at the capital (*du daolu* 都道錄) and abbot of the Changchun gong 長春宮

temple, the Yuan (1277–1368) court summoned him repeatedly to perform rituals of state. The imperial court also bestowed on him the title Xuanmen zhengpai sifa yanjiao zhenchang zhenren 玄門正派嗣法演教真常真人 and the posthumous title Zhenchang shangde xuanxiao zhenren 真常上德宣孝真人.

Lin Lingsu 林靈素, *zi* Tongsu 通叟 (1076–1120). As the founder of the Shenxiao 神霄 school, Lin Lingsu is a major figure of Song (960–1279) Taoism, but he is hardly known as a historical personage. Lin appeared at the court of Song Huizong (r. 1101–1125) in 1114 and quickly gained prominence through the emperor's patronage of his Shenxiao cosmology, but he had disappeared again as early as 1119. Lin Lingsu was singled out by contemporary and later Confucianists as the epitome of the evil Taoists who ushered in the demise of the Northern Song (960–1127). The Taoist tradition, however, consistently held him in high esteem. His hagiographies contain a rich lore but few factual details. He was a native of Yongjia 永嘉 in southern Zhejiang. As befits the founder of a new dispensation, Lin had no known master, but was recommended to the court by prominent members of the Taoist hierarchy and appears to have been trained in one of the major Taoist centers in Zhejiang.

Lin Xiyi 林希逸, *zi* Suweng 肅翁, *hao* Juanzhai 麴齋, Zhuxi 竹溪 (fl. 1234–1263). An eminent scholar of the Southern Song (1127–1279) period, Lin Xiyi was born in Yuxi 漁溪, Fuqing 福清 county, south of present Fuzhou in Fujian province. In 1234, Lin became the first laureate in the provincial examinations and entered the Taixue 太學 academy at the capital. The next year, he obtained the *jinsi* 進士 degree. After a brilliant career as academician, he became governor of Xinghua 興化 (present Putian) near his native region in Fujian. Lin devoted himself to publishing the works of his eminent family members and teachers. Taking an unorthodox stance toward the Confucian scholarship of his times, he immersed himself in the Taoist classics and wrote “oral explanations” of the *Laozi* 老子, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and the *Liezi* 列子. These works have been preserved in the *Daozang*. His frequently quoted commentary 735 *Nanhua zhenjing kouyi*, published in 1261, has been especially influential.

Liu Cao 劉操, Xuanying 玄英, *zi* Zongcheng 宗成, Zhaoyuan 昭遠, *hao* Haichan zi 海蟾子. Generally known as Liu Haichan, Liu Cao is one of the *neidan* 內丹 masters of Taoist and popular lore at the beginning of the Song (960–1279) period, appearing in the complex and rarely historical narratives concerning the transmission of *neidan* literature. The first references to Liu in various *biji* 筆記 “jottings” present him as a disciple of CHEN TUAN. In later hagiography, as determined by the Quanzhen 全真 order, he features as a minister of the state of Yan 燕 during the Five Dynasties (907–960) period who was converted by ZHONGLI QUAN. Liu abandoned his political life and eventually became an immortal. From the eleventh

to the thirteenth centuries, he was usually associated with ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN in a trio that appeared to worthy adepts to guide them through the arcana of self-cultivation. This trio was canonized by both the Quanzhen and the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) traditions. Although Zhongli and Lü have enjoyed a more durable popularity, Liu plays an eminent role in some stories (e.g., the conversion of MA ZIRAN). No anthology of his alchemical writings has come down to us, but they are quoted in many Song and Yuan (1277–1368) *neidan* works. His autobiographical “Song on Becoming a Taoist” (*Rudao ge* 入道歌, probably a Quanzhen apocryphal work) was carved in stone in several locations.

Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄, *zi* Tongmiao 通妙, *hao* Changsheng 長生 (1147–1203). Liu Chuxuan, the descendant of a family of military officers, was at age twenty-two converted by WANG ZHE, serving as his novice during the final months of Wang’s life. Liu mourned his master and led a hermitic life in the area of Luoyang, exhibiting his austere ways to a large public. He returned in 1176 to Shandong, where he founded several Quanzhen 全真 communities. Liu gained the court’s attention and was invited to the capital in 1197, both as a famed ritualist and as a leader of the Quanzhen order, which had just been recognized by the Jin state. Liu’s contribution to Quanzhen consists mainly in his scholarship and his theoretical writings, which grounded Quanzhen pedagogy in the Taoist speculative tradition. Four extant works in the canon attest this: his poetic anthology (1141 *Xianle ji*), two commentaries—a rare genre among early Quanzhen Taoists, to the *Yinfu jing* (122 *Yinfu jing zhu*) and the *Huangting jing* (401 *Huangting jing zhu*), and a short didactic treatise (1058 *Zhizhen yulu*). The list of his lost works includes seven anthologies and a commentary to the *Daode jing*.

Liu Haichan 劉海蟾. See LIU CAO.

Liu Hunkang 劉混康, *zi* Zhitong 志通 (1036–1108). The twenty-fifth patriarch of the Shangqing 上清 lineage, Liu Hunkang reached his highest honors under the reigns of the Taoist emperors Zhezong (1086–1100) and Huizong (1100–1125). Born in Jinling 晉陵 (modern Jiangsu), Liu had entered a monastery as a novice at the age of twelve and was ordained at twenty-four. Soon thereafter, in 1063, he went to Maoshan 茅山, where he became a disciple of the twenty-fourth patriarch, Mao Fengrou 毛奉柔, whom he was to succeed. Liu became famous through his talismanic therapeutics and was summoned to the court to cure the empress. He therefore held a high position in the official clergy before his return to Maoshan. Indeed, Huizong summoned him to court again in 1101–1102, 1105–1106, and finally in 1108. Liu died that year in Kaifeng. He had made the most of the imperial patronage and friendship to expand the size and fortune of the Taoist institutions on his mountain.

Liu Xuanying 劉玄英. See LIU CAO.

Liu Yu 劉玉, *zi* Yizhen 頤真, *hao* Yuzhen zi 玉真子 (1257–1308). Liu Yu was the major architect of the renewal of the cult of XU JINGYANG and the Way of Filial Piety (Xiaodao 孝道), which he transformed into the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school. According to his extensive hagiography in *III0 Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 18b–25b, Liu hailed from Nankang 南康 in southern Jiangxi. He became a daoshi on the Huangtang shan 黃堂山 in the Xishan 西山 range near Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi). In 1292, he had a spiritual encounter with Hu Huichao 胡慧超, the foremost patriarch of the Xiaodao during the Tang (618–907) dynasty. These visions recurred. According to an ancient prophecy, 1,240 years after the departure of the saint from this world, his teachings would experience a renaissance. An island would appear in the middle of the Yuzhang River 豫章河 near Nanchang as the sign heralding this rebirth. This and similar miracles occurred during the following years, and as a consequence Liu Yu was recognized as the heir to the orthodox tradition, which was reformed as the Jingming zhongxiao dao. The scriptures and rituals of this newly reformed movement were without exception the products of spirit writing (*jiangshou* 降授), dictated by XU JINGYANG and explicitly addressed to Liu Yu.

Liu Yuanran 劉淵然, *hao* Tixuan zi 體玄子 (1351–1432). Liu Yuanran was an eminent court Taoist at the beginning of the Ming (1368–1644) dynasty. A native of Ganzhou 贛州 in southern Jiangxi, Liu entered Taoism as a disciple of the Zhengyi 正一 order at the Xiangfu gong 祥符宮 temple at Tanzhou in Hunan. He was a disciple of ZHAO YIZHEN, the patriarch of the Qingwei 清微 school, who sought to unite all Taoist orders into one liturgical framework and whose works Liu edited as *1071 Yuanyang zi fayu* and *1165 Xianchuan waike bifang*. Summoned to court by the Hongwu emperor in 1393, Liu was attached to the Chaotian gong 朝天宮 residence of the Heavenly Masters. When the capital was moved to Peking by the Yongle emperor, he followed the court and was installed as Taoist registrar. Later Liu apparently fell out of favor and was sent to Mount Longhu 龍虎山 in Jiangxi, and from there to Yunnan. In the south he established many temples and furthered the dissemination of Taoism. This won him great renown, and after the death of Yongle in 1424, he was recalled to the capital and received many honors. As teacher of the Forty-third Heavenly Master, ZHANG YUCHU, Liu's influence was very important for the development of Taoism under the Ming dynasty. The compiler of the last *Daozang*, Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (d. 1462), was his disciple and successor.

Liu Yongguang 留用光, *zi* Daohui 道輝, *hao* Chongjing xiansheng 冲靖先生 (1134–1206). A native of Guixi 貴溪 (Jiangxi), Liu Yongguang was active at the nearby Shangqing Zhengyi gong 上清正一宮 temple, the Heavenly Master headquarters on Longhu shan 龍虎山. He also held an appointment as Taoist registrar in the capital (*zuoyou jie daolu* 左右街道錄). A specialist of Thunder magic and

rainmaking rituals, Liu edited and transmitted Five Thunder and Zhengyi 正一 liturgies. These were mostly published by his disciple JIANG SHUYU (1162–1223) in the compendium 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*.

Lu Shizhong 路時中, *zi* Dangke 當可 (fl. first half of the twelfth century). Lu Shizhong is the founder and foremost representative of the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 school of liturgy, an elaboration of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 school of the Northern Song (960–1127) period, which was more narrowly concerned with exorcism. Since most information on Lu can be found in the *Yijian zhi* by Hong Mai (1123–1203), Lu must have had some renown in his own time (see the article on 220 *Yutang dafa*). Hong Mai states that Lu hailed from Shangshui 商水 in Chenzhou 陳州 (Henan). In a note in 220 *Yutang dafa* 1.7a–8a, Lu himself tells us that in 1120 he received a vision of Zhao Sheng 趙昇, the foremost disciple of Zhang Daoling 張道陵, who showed him where to find secret texts on Maoshan 茅山. These texts combined the exorcist rituals of the Tianxin zhengfa type with the traditional meditation technique of the Shangqing tradition and the liturgy of the *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 retreat for the salvation of the deceased. Lu's teachings are therefore often quoted in the liturgical manuals of the Southern Song (1127–1279) period, such as 466 *Jidu jinshu* and 1223 *Lingbao dafa*.

Lu Xiujing 陸修靜, *zi* Yuande 元德, *shi* Jianji xiansheng 簡寂先生, Danyuan zhenren 丹元真人 (406–477). Lu Xiujing was a native of Wuxing 吳興 in Zhejiang. A Taoist priest, he was also well versed in Confucianism and Buddhism. After first living in seclusion on Mount Yunmeng 雲夢, he traveled through southern and western China. In 453, he settled at the capital Jiankang 建康 (modern Nanking in Jiangsu), where he sold medicines. In 461, he founded a sanctuary on Lushan 廬山 (Jiangxi). Six years later, Emperor Mingdi (r. 465–472) of the Liu Song dynasty recalled him to Jiankang. Lu's fame rests primarily on his compilation of a Taoist canon, in 1,128 juan organized into the three great "receptacles" Dongzhen 洞真, Dongxuan 洞玄, and Dongshen 洞神, which became the traditional divisions for classifying Taoist scriptures. Lu Xiujing also attempted to reform Taoism and its liturgy and is ranked as the seventh patriarch of the Shangqing 上清 lineage. He died at Jiankang but was buried on Lushan. Several of his works, such as 1127 *Daomen keliie*, 528 *Shoudu yi*, 1278 *Wugan wen*, and 410 *Zhongjian wen* are still extant in the Ming *Daozang*.

Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓. See LÜ YAN.

Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿, *zi* Jifu 吉甫 (1032–1111). A native of Jinjiang 晉江 (Fujian), Lü Huiqing passed the *jinshi* 進士 examination during the Jiayou period (1056–1063) and became an active participant in the reforms of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086). Lü eventually reached the rank of councilor for policy deliberations (*canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事). In 1074, he composed a stele inscription in honor of the god Taiyi 太乙 at the behest of Emperor Shenzong (see 967 *Taiyi gong beiming*). His

Daode jing commentary 686 *Daode zhenjing zhuan* was presented to the same emperor in 1078. Later Lü Huiqing distinguished himself as a local administrator and as a military commander in the wars against the Xi Xia 西夏 (1038–1227). Several of his commentaries on Confucian and Taoist classics circulated outside the Taoist canon until the fourteenth century but were subsequently lost. A partial copy of Lü's commentary on the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, however, was recovered in Karakorum in 1909 (see 734 *Yihai zuanwei*), and a Tangut translation of his commentary on the *Xiaojing* 孝經 survives in the Kozlov collection in St. Petersburg.

Lü Yan 呂巖, *zi* Dongbin 洞賓, *hao* Chunyang 純陽. The historicity of the celebrated immortal Lü Dongbin has been debated in many studies, and the issue is likely to remain unresolved. Lü appears toward the end of the tenth century in several *biji* 筆記 “jottings,” where he is variously described as a poet, a roaming inkseller, and a wonder-worker. Later more detailed hagiographic accounts tell of his birth in the ninth century into a literati family of southern Shanxi. A major temple, the Yongle gong 永樂宮, was erected at his supposed birthplace. He is considered a patriarch by most of the *neidan* 內丹 schools and was finally canonized in the late thirteenth century thanks to the Quanzhen 全真 order. Very early, alchemical poems were ascribed to him and enjoyed a wide circulation, notably the *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 lyric. Thanks to planchette writing, this literature constantly increased, from the eleventh century to the present day (see 1055 *Huncheng ji*, 1100 *Minghe yuyin*, and 1484 *Lüzü zhi*).

Lüqiu Fangyuan 閻丘方遠, *zi* Dafang 大方, *hao* Miaoyou dashi 妙有大師, Xuan-dong xiansheng 玄洞先生 (d. 902). Lüqiu Fangyuan was a native of Susong 宿松, Anhui. After studies in the Confucian classics, the Book of Changes, and alchemy, Lüqiu became the disciple of the Zhengyi 正一 master Ye Zangzhi 葉藏質 (fl. 860–874) of the Yuxiao gong 玉霄宮 temple on Mount Tiantai 天台山 in Zhejiang. Ye ordained him a daoshi. In 893, Lüqiu settled at the Dadi dong 大滌洞 grotto on Tianzhu shan 天柱山 (Lin'an 臨安, Zhejiang). In the late Tang period, Emperor Zhaozong (r. 888–904) repeatedly summoned Lüqiu to court, but he declined to leave his mountain retreat. He died and was buried at Dadi dong in 902.

Ma Congyi 馬從義, *zi* Yifu 宜甫, *faming* Yu 鈺, *fazi* Xuanbao 玄寶, *hao* Danyang 丹陽 (1123–1184). Known in later life as Ma Yu and more often as Ma Danyang, Ma Congyi was heir to an affluent family living at the tip of the Shandong peninsula. He seems to have led an idle life, with only a passing interest in Taoist pursuits until 1167, when he received a visit from WANG ZHE, a hermit from Shaanxi. Until Wang's death, the two were never to part again. Ma put his wealth and connections at Wang's disposal for conversions, and he and his wife, Sun Buer 孫不二, accepted separation in order to become celibate disciples of Wang. When Wang died in Kaifeng in 1170, Ma was considered to have completed his spiritual transformation

and was anointed as the successor. He buried his master in the Zhongnan shan 終南山 range (modern Shaanxi) and gathered a community, the first of the Quanzhen 全真 order, in this area. Expelled by a government suspicious of Quanzhen proselytism, he returned in 1182 to his native Shandong, where he was equally active. Ma's abundant poetry was separately anthologized by various groups of disciples (see 1142 *Jianwu ji*, 1149 *Jinyu ji*, and 1150 *Shengguang can*). Many of his poems are also included in WANG ZHE's anthologies. In addition, Ma left the *yulu* 語錄 1057 *Zhenren yulu* and 1234 *Zhenren zhiyan*.

Ma Danyang 馬丹陽. See MA CONGYI.

Ma Xiang 馬湘. See MA ZIRAN.

Ma Yu 馬鈺. See MA CONGYI.

Ma Ziran 馬自然. There are at least two Ma Zirans in Taoist history: Ma Xiang 馬湘 (d. 856), whose *ming* or *zi* (according to different sources) was Ziran, and a tenth- or eleventh-century Ma Ziran. Little is known about the latter, but he himself relates in his short alchemical treatise 1157 *Jindan koujue* that he became the disciple of LIU HAICHAN at the age of sixty-four. This late encounter, as well as the verse exchanged between the two, is frequently quoted in subsequent literature as evidence of the possibility of beginning self-cultivation at a ripe age.

Meng Anpai 孟安排 (fl. 699). Meng Anpai was an important Taoist scholar at the court of the empress Wu Zitian (r. 684–705). Author of a now lost catalogue of the Taoist canon called *Yuwei qibu jing shumu* 玉緯七部經書目, Meng also compiled a number of important doctrinal works, of which only his 1129 *Daojiao yishu* survives in complete form. In this work, Meng is titled Qingxi daoshi 青溪道士, indicating that he came from the mountain of that name in Hubei. Scholars have long been unable to establish the dates of Meng's life. The only precise detail comes from a stele inscription on the establishment of a Taoist temple in honor of Wu Zitian's father, the "Jingzhou da chongfu guan ji 荊州大崇福觀記" (erroneously attributed to Chen Ziang 陳子昂 [656–695] in Chen Yuan et al., *Daojia jinshi lue*, 91). The text of the inscription tells us that Meng lobbied energetically at court to obtain imperial patronage for this temple, and that his efforts were crowned with success in 699. The location of Jingzhou, where the temple was established, is not far from Qingxi.

Pan Shizheng 潘師正, *zi* Zizhen 子真, *hui* Tixuan xiansheng 體玄先生 (584–682). Pan Shizheng was a native of Zanhuang 贊皇 (modern Zhaoxian 趙縣, near Shujiazhuang) in Hebei. Born into a prominent family—his grandfather and father had served as prefects under the Northern Zhou (557–581) and the Sui (586–618), respectively—Pan was orphaned at an early age. His mother had been a devout follower of Huang-Lao Taoism and is said to have instructed Pan in the *Daode jing* 道德經 as a young child. In the Daye reign (605–618), Pan became the disciple of Wang

Yuanzhi 王遠知 (d. 635) on Maoshan 茅山. Although he would eventually succeed Wang as the eleventh patriarch of the Shangqing 上清 lineage, Wang himself declared that Pan was destined to practice the Way on the Central Peak, Songshan 嵩山, in Henan. Pan consequently spent the remainder of his life in seclusion on that holy mountain, mostly in the Xiaoyao valley 逍遙谷. In 676, the fame of the recluse came to the attention of Emperor Gaozong (650–684), who was traveling to the eastern capital, Luoyang. In 679, Gaozong ordered the construction of the Longtang temple 隆唐觀 in the Xiaoyao valley, with the Jingsi oratory 精思院 as Pan's personal residence. In subsequent years (679–681), the emperor repeatedly made the journey to Songshan from nearby Luoyang to call on Pan Shizheng in person and receive his instruction in the principles of Taoism. Their dialogues are recorded in 1128 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu*, a work that also contains important clues to the early structure of the Taoist canon (see “The Seven Parts” and “The Twelve Categories” in the general introduction in volume 1). Pan Shizheng was succeeded as Shangqing patriarch by SIMA CHENGZHEN, who had been his disciple at Songshan.

Pei Xing 裴鏘 (825–880). In addition to his Taoist works, Pei Xing is mainly remembered as the author of the literary collection *Chuangqi* 傳奇, which lent its name to the genre of short narrative fiction that flourished under the Tang dynasty. During the Xiantong reign (860–874), Pei served as secretary to the Taoist general Gao Pian 高駘 (d. 887). Gao was at the time military governor of Lingnan province, based in Jiaozhi 交趾 (Hanoi). In 878, Pei Xing was appointed to the post of vice military governor of Chengdu.

Peng Jiyi 彭季益. See PENG SI.

Peng Si 彭耜, *hao* Helin zhenyi 鶴林真逸 (1185–after 1251). Born in Changle 長樂 (Fujian), Peng Si, originally named Peng Jiyi 季益, came from a wealthy and influential family of the Fuzhou area. In his youth, he successfully passed the entrance selection of the Ministry of Rites and served as an imperial official. At the age of forty-three, however, Peng decided to retire and to return home. At that time, he changed his name from Jiyi to Si and adopted a Taoist *hao*. Around 1225, Peng met BO YUCHAN and became his disciple. Bo transmitted his Thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法) to Peng, which Peng applied in the ritual for saving the souls of the deceased. An accomplished scholar, Peng wrote several important studies on the *Daode jing* 道德經 (707 *Zhenjing jizhu*, 708 *Jizhu shiwen*, 709 *Jizhu zashuo*) and published the logia of his master (1307 *Bo zhenren yulu*).

Peng Xiao 彭曉, *zi* Xiuchuan 秀川, *hao* Zhenyi 真一 (d. 955). One of the earliest *neidan* 內丹 authors, Peng Xiao was both an accomplished alchemist and a minister of the kingdom of Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) during the Wudai (907–960) period. He was a native of Yongkang 永康. According to one source (LZTT 43.7b), his

original surname was Cheng 程. He was initiated into the Zhengyi 正一 order, as is indicated by his liturgical title linking him with one of its dioceses (*zhi* 治). Peng is said to have been renowned for his original talismans, which cured many people. His Taoist interests, however, seem to have been mainly concerned with alchemy, as shown by a treatise included in 1032 *Yunji qiqian* 70, and more famously, by his exegeses on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (1002 *Fenzhang tongzhen yi*, 1003 *Dingqi ge mingjing tu*).

Qiu Changchun 丘長春. See QIU CHUJI.

Qiu Chuji 丘處機, *zi* Tongmi 通密, *hao* Changchun 長春 (1148–1227). Qiu Chuji is the youngest of the Seven Zhenren, the paradigmatic group of WANG ZHE's disciples and the first generation of Quanzhen 全真 masters. Qiu came to Wang as a twenty-year-old orphan keen on self-cultivation but unable to find proper guidance, and learned from him *neidan* 內丹 techniques. Qiu later spent six years in Panxi 磻溪 (Shaanxi), and seven more in Longmen 龍門 (also in Shaanxi), practicing austerities. Between 1186 and 1191, he taught at the Zuting 祖庭, the first Quanzhen community that was to become the important Chongyang gong 重陽宮 monastery. He was invited to the Jin court in 1188. In 1191, Qiu returned to his native Shandong, where he gathered disciples and gradually assumed the direction of the Quanzhen order. He was already an old man when the Mongol emperor Genghis Khan summoned him in 1219. Qiu undertook the long and arduous journey to central Asia and returned to Peking in 1224 with huge prestige and privileges (see 1429 *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*). He died shortly afterward, and one of his disciples assumed his position of Quanzhen patriarch. Of Qiu's own writings, only a partial anthology (1159 *Panxi ji*) is extant. More of his poetry is included in 1429 *Xiyou ji* and 1100 *Minghe yuyin*. A *neidan* treatise (244 *Dadan zhizhi*) is ascribed to him, but it is very likely a later attribution.

Quan Deyu 權德輿, *zi* Zaizhi 載之 (759–818). A native of Lüeyang 略陽 in modern Gansu, Quan Deyu was a prominent official, serving as vice president of the Board of Rites (*libu shilang* 禮部侍郎) from 802 to 810. Quan was a well-known author in his time, writing in many genres (see his collected works *Quan Zaizhi wenji* 權載之文集). A disciple of the Taoist master Wu Shanqing 吳善經 (731–814), Quan is remembered by Taoists as the biographer of WU YUN, whose works he was also instrumental in publishing.

Rao Dongtian 饒洞天 (fl. 994). Rao Dongtian was a minor official in Linchuan 臨川 county in the Fuzhou 撫州 prefecture (Jiangxi) during the Five Dynasties period (907–960). He dreamed that a deity announced to him that he had been selected to become an immortal. Subsequently, he went to the holy mountain of Huagai 華蓋山, situated south of Nanchang 南昌 in Jiangxi province, and there he discovered a sacred book containing the Orthodox Rites of the Heart of Heaven

(Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法). These rites were supposed to represent the true tradition of Zhang Daoling 張道陵, who had concealed them to ensure their later revelation. Rao propagated this view, which gained wide acceptance later in the Song period (960–1279). The Tianxin zhengfa rites of exorcism were considered to be a fundamental part of the Zhengyi 正一 liturgy and were integrated into the mainstream of Taoism.

Shao Yong 邵雍, *zi* Yaofu 堯夫, *hao* Kangjie 康節 (1012–1077). Shao Yong was born into a distinguished but uninfluential family in Henan. In 1049, he settled in Luoyang, where he remained until his death. In his own time, Shao was considered a chief exponent of some of the main intellectual preoccupations of Neo-Confucianism: moral philosophy, *Yijing* 易經 studies, ontological and epistemological speculation. A senior figure in the early phase of the movement, he associated with some of the greatest philosophical and political minds of the period, especially Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086). The Southern Song systematizer of Neo-Confucianism, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), ranked Shao as one of the five leading innovators of the Northern Song (960–1127) period. His praise was somewhat reluctant, however, for Shao Yong's Taoist leanings and steadfast refusal to serve in public office, contravening some of the central ideals of his group, had also earned him a reputation as eccentric and marginal. Shao Yong's importance to the Taoist tradition is borne out by the transmission of his two main works through the *Daozang*: his collected poems 1042 *Yichuan jirang ji* and the symbolic chronology 1040 *Huangji jingshi*, which incorporates Shao's metaphysical writings under the heading "Inner Chapters on Investigating Phenomena" ("Guanwu neipian 觀物內篇").

Shi Chong 史崇, alias Shi Chongxuan 史崇玄 (d. 713). Shi Chong rose from humble origins as a cobbler to become an influential court Taoist under three Tang emperors: Emperor Zhongzong (r. 705–710) made him chancellor of the Directorate of Education (*guozi jijiu* 國子祭酒) with the rank of a duke. Emperor Ruizong (r. 710–712) appointed Shi preceptor of his daughters, the princesses Yuzhen 玉真 and Jinxian 金仙. They received his instruction before being ordained as Taoist priestesses in 711 and 712 (see 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu liieshuo*). In 712–713, finally, Shi Chong headed a major Taoist compilation project as abbot of the imperial Taiqing gong 太清宮 temple in Chang'an (see 1123 *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*). He also obtained the titles of a high-ranking Taoist priest. A protégé of the Taiping 太平 princess, Shi was executed in the wake of the power struggle opposing the future emperor Xuanzong and the princess in 713.

Shi Chongxuan 史崇玄. See SHI CHONG.

Shi Jianwu 施肩吾, *zi* Xisheng 希聖, *Qizhen zi* 栖真子, Qingxu dongtian Huayang zhenren 清虛洞天華陽真人 (*jinshi* 進士 815). Shi Jianwu was a native of Fenshui

分水 (modern Tonglu 桐廬, Zhejiang). A Confucian scholar and poet interested in Taoist practice, Shi went into early retirement soon after the accession of Emperor Muzong in 820. Living in seclusion on Xishan 西山 in Hongzhou 洪州 (modern Xinjian 新建 county, Jiangxi), he devoted himself to Taoist pursuits. To judge by his extant works (see 853 *Yangsheng bianyi jue* and his writings preserved in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 and *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文), these included mainly alchemical and Tending Life techniques. See also the entry below.

Shi Jianwu 施肩吾, *hao* Dongzhai 東齋, Huayang zhenren 華陽真人, Huayang zi 華陽子 (late tenth/early eleventh century). A native of Jiujiang 九江 in Jiangxi, Shi Jianwu was an acquaintance of CHEN TUAN (d. 989) and a Taoist master of the early Northern Song (960–1127) period. His works are mainly concerned with Inner Alchemy. See also the entry above (many Taoist and secular sources conflate the two figures).

Shi Tai 石泰, *zi* Dezhi 得之, *hao* Xinglin 杏林, Cuixuan zi 翠玄子 (d. 1158). As the foremost follower of the Inner Alchemy of ZHANG BODUAN, Shi Tai is considered to be the second patriarch of the so-called Southern School (Nanzong 南宗). Particulars about his life are very scarce. The sole factual detail in his biography (in LZTT 49.12b–13b) is that he hailed from Changzhou 常州 (Jiangsu). This and other accounts of his life are primarily concerned with his fortuitous and undated meeting with ZHANG BODUAN, whom he saved on that occasion from an undeserved punishment. The meeting took place at Binzhou 邠州 in Shaanxi, perhaps the reason why another source, the biography of Shi's disciple XUE DAOGUANG (in the same juan of LZTT), states that Shi came from Fufeng 扶風 county in Fengxiang 鳳翔 prefecture, also in Shaanxi. The same source states that Shi was a tailor by profession. He is known as a scholar of *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 exegesis. The collection of his alchemical poems 1091 *Huanyuan pian* appears to have been popular and is often quoted.

Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎, *zi* Ziwei 子微, *hao* Boyun zi 白雲子, *fahao* Daoyun 道隱, *shi* Zhenyi 貞一 (647–735). One of the foremost Taoists of the mid-Tang period, Sima Chengzhen succeeded PAN SHIZHENG (587–684) as the twelfth patriarch of the Shangqing 上清 lineage. His services as court Taoist were solicited by the empress Wu Zetian (r. 684–704) and especially by the emperors Ruizong (r. 710–712) and Xuanzong (712–756). The Tongbo guan 桐柏觀 temple on Mount Tiantai 天台山 in Zhejiang was founded for Sima Chengzhen by Emperor Ruizong in 711. Emperor Xuanzong, who had been initiated by Sima into the teachings of the Shangqing lineage, commissioned an inscription of the *Daode jing* 道德經 in Sima's calligraphy. Sima Chengzhen also presented Xuanzong with designs for Taoist swords and mirrors, an illustrated description of which survives in the *Daozang* (431 *Hanxiang jianjian tu*). Highly appreciated by leading literati and statesmen

of his time, including Zhang Yue 張說 (667–731), Sima contributed much to the esteem in which Shangqing writings were held in literary circles under the Tang (618–907). Despite this official attention, Sima spent much of his life in seclusion. His best-known works are concerned with Shangqing meditation methods and the hagiography of Wangzi Jin 王子晉, the principle saint of the Tongbo temple (612 *Tongbo zhenren zhen tuzan*). According to the commemorative inscription 970 *Zhengyi xiansheng miaojie*, Sima Chengzhen finally settled in Wangwu shan in 724, where he died in 735.

Sima Ziwei 司馬子微. See SIMA CHENGZHEN.

Song Defang 宋德方, *zi* Guangdao 廣道, *hao* Piyun 披雲 (1183–1247). Song Defang was a native of Yecheng 掖城 in Caizhou 萊州 (Shandong). In Qixia 棲霞 (Shandong), Song joined the entourage of QIU CHUJI, whom he accompanied in 1220, as one of eighteen select disciples, on a historic encounter with Genghis Khan in Central Asia. After their return to Yanjing, Song served as superintendent (*tidian* 提點) of the Changchun gong 長春宮 temple there. A prominent Quanzhen 全真 leader and poet (see 1100 *Minghe yuyin*), Song was later abbot of the great Yongle gong 永樂宮 temple in Shanxi. Among other writings, Song Defang composed a lineage of Quanzhen patriarchs titled *Quanzhen liezu fu* 全真列祖賦, which was engraved on the stele *Chongdao zhaoshu bei* 崇道詔書碑 in 1302. His collected works *Lequan ji* 樂全集 is no longer extant. Beginning in 1234, Song undertook the recompilation of the Taoist canon with the help of his disciple Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188–1244) and other assistants, traveling widely in search of lost books in dispersed temple collections. The resultant edition of the canon, sponsored by the Quanzhen order, was titled *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏. It was printed in Pingyang 平陽 (Wenchow 溫州) in Zhejiang in 1244. In 1247, Song returned to the Yongle gong. He died and was buried there the same year.

Song Wenming 宋文明 (fl. 549–551). An eminent Taoist scholar of the late Six Dynasties period (220–589), Song Wenming, originally named Wentong 文同, was born in Wujun 吳郡 (today's Suzhou, in Jiangsu province). Song was influential in the establishment of Taoist scriptural and liturgical authority in the southern dynasties. A short biographical note is preserved in the *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳 (in TPLYL 666), stating that during the reign of Emperor Jianwen of the Liang (549–551), Song presented a commentary of the *Lingbao jing* 靈寶經 to the court, which was titled *Tongmen* 通門 (*lun* 論). He is also known as the author of a commentary to the *Daode jing* 道德經 titled *Daode yiyuan* 道德義淵, which still existed in Song times (VDL 74) and is partially preserved in occasional quotations. Ōfuchi Ninji (“On Ku Ling Pao Ching”) has identified the Dunhuang manuscript P. 2256 as a fragment of the *Tongmen lun*. It preserves essential information on the formation of the Taoist canon as initiated by LU XIUJING and continued by Song himself.

Sun Simo 孫思邈 (581–682). A celebrated physician of the early Tang period (618–907), Sun Simo was a native of Huayuan 華原 in Shaanxi. According to his own testimony, Sun was born in the year 581. His biography in the official New History of the Tang records his death, at just over a hundred years of age, in 682. Even in his lifetime, however, Sun's perennial youthfulness was remarked upon and he was widely rumored to be an immortal. As a young man, Sun retired to Mount Taibo 太白 in the Zhongnan shan 終南山 range in Shaanxi, whence he repeatedly declined summonses to serve at court. His prophecy around the year 600 that a sage worthy of his services would arise half a century later seemingly accords with the historical record of his court appointments under Emperor Gaozong (650–684). Among the favors Gaozong bestowed on Sun Simo was a royal mansion for his residence. There is evidence that Sun was in the imperial entourage in 673, but he may have returned to Taibo soon thereafter. In addition to his acclaimed expertise in medicine and the related arts of alchemy, Tending Life (*shesheng* 攝生; see, e.g., 841 *Sheyang lun*), prognostication, and magic, Sun was known for his now lost commentaries on the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi*. He was also a noted poet and calligrapher. Sun Simo's main medical and alchemical writings are here represented by the *Daozang* edition of his popular manual "Priceless Prescriptions" (*Qianjin fang* 千金方; see 1162–1163 *Qianjin yaofang*) and the *Taiqing danjing yaojue* 太清丹經要訣 (in YJQQ 71).

Tan Changzhen 譚長真. See TAN YU.

Tan Chuduan 譚處端. See TAN YU.

Tan Qiao 覃峭, *zi* Jingsheng 景昇 (fl. ca. 880–950). Tan Qiao was the son of a ranking official, Tan Zhu 洙. To his father's chagrin, he spent his adult life as a recluse and a drifter. After brilliant classical studies in his youth, instead of heeding his parent's admonitions to prepare for the civil service examinations, Tan turned to the teachings of Huang-Lao 黃老, Taoist hagiography, and mystical pursuits. He first withdrew to Mount Taibo 太白 in the Zhongnan 終南 range not far from the Tang capital, Chang'an. CHEN TUAN, who refers to Tan Qiao as his mentor, states that he met him in the Zhongnan mountains and obtained the 1044 *Huashu* from him there. Thereafter Tan roamed the holy mountains of Shaanxi, Henan, and Shandong practicing *yangsheng* 養生 (Tending Life), alchemy, and dietary techniques. At the end of his life, Tan is said to have resided at the Southern Peak, Hengshan 衡山, in Hunan, where he refined an elixir of immortality before leaving the world at Qingcheng shan 青城山 in Sichuan. On the conflation in many sources of Tan Qiao with his contemporary TAN ZIXIAO, see the article on 1044 *Huashu*.

Tan Yu 譚玉, *daoming* Chuduan 處端, *zi* Boyu 伯玉, *daozi* Tongzheng 通正, *hao* Changzhen *zi* 長真子 (1123–1185). Tan Yu, who is usually known by his name in religion as Tan Chuduan or by his *hao* as Tan Changzi, is revered as one of the

Seven Zhenren (Qizhen 七真) of Quanzhen 全真 Taoism. He was born into a wealthy family in Ninghai 寧海 (Shandong). Little is known about his life before his conversion. In 1167, Tan fell incurably ill but was miraculously healed by WANG CHONGYANG, who was then engaged in the conversion of MA DANYANG in Ninghai. The next year, having renounced his family and possessions as required of early Quanzhen disciples, Tan followed WANG CHONGYANG in his travels until the latter's death in 1170. Tan Chuduan devoted the following ten years to ascetic practices and preaching his message of radical detachment in Shaanxi and Henan. His hagiographies report numerous miracles performed during this period. In 1181, Tan moved to Luoyang, where he resided in the Chaoyuan gong 朝元宮 temple. During the last two years of his life, 1183–1185, Tan is said to have acted as head of the Quanzhen movement. He had a number of disciples and left a literary collection, including didactic poems, entitled "Water and Clouds" (1160 *Shuiyun ji*).

Tan Zixiao 覃紫霄 (fl. 936–976). Tan Zixiao was a native of Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian. He served the Ten Kingdoms ruler of Min 閩, Wang Chang 王昶 (r. 935–939), who conferred the title Zhengyi xiansheng 正一先生 on him. Tan befriended the court medium and Heavenly Master Chen Shouyuan 陳守元. Chen's discovery of a set of ancient fu written on wooden slips led to the foundation of the Correct Method of the Heart of Heaven when Tan Zixiao identified their provenance as the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 of Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (see the article on 566 *Tianxin zhengfa*). After the fall of the Min kingdom in 945, Tan settled on Mount Lu 廬山 in Jiangxi, where he practiced Tianxin zhengfa magic and rituals and gathered many disciples. The ruler of the Southern Tang, Li Yu 李煜 (r. 961–976), a noted poet and patron of the arts, summoned Tan Zixiao to his capital in Jiankang 建康 (Nanking) and bestowed high honors on him. Following the example of the Shu 蜀 kingdom in the west, Li Yu wished to appoint Tan to the official functions of the court Taoist DU GUANGTING. But Tan declined and left the Southern Tang for regions further south, where he is said to have attained immortality. See also the entry on TAN QIAO.

Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, *zi* Tongming 通明, *hao* Huayang yinju 華陽隱居, *shi* Zhenbo xiansheng 貞白先生 (456–536). A descendant of an aristocratic family of Danyang 丹陽 county (near modern Nanking), Tao Hongjing was interested in immortality from childhood and began a hermitic life at age fifteen. In 480, Emperor Gaodi of the Southern Qi dynasty summoned him to court. At thirty, he moved to Maoshan 茅山 and became the disciple of the eighth Shangqing 上清 patriarch, Sun Youyue 孫游岳, who made him his successor as ninth patriarch of the Shangqing lineage. During several years, Tao traveled among the sacred mountains to encounter hermits and increase his knowledge of Taoism, medicine, and talismans. In 492, he left his service at the court and retired to Maoshan. Tao

recognized the fundamental unity of Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. He declined to serve Emperor Wu (r. 502–549) of the Liang dynasty, although he seems to have maintained some influence at court from his mountain retreat and to have escaped the persecution of Taoism at the time. A scholar of broad and profound learning, Tao left an impressive oeuvre, including both technical works and some of the most inspired writings of Taoist literature: 1016 *Zhen'gao*, 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*, 167 *Zhenling weiye tu*, 838 *Yangxing yanming lu*, 302 *Zhoushi mingtong ji*, 589 *Chiwen dongshen sanlu*, and 1050 *Huayang Tao yinju ji*.

Tao Zhi 陶埴 or 植 (d. 825?). Tao Zhi appears to have been a daoshi of the mid-Tang (618–907) period. He is said to have died in 825 in the Siming shan 四明山 range in Zhejiang. However, some sources place Tao in the Five Dynasties period (907–960). His alchemical treatises, especially “Explanations on Cyclically Transformed Gold” (922 *Huanjin shu*), were very popular and were frequently quoted under the Five Dynasties and the Song (960–1279).

Wang Bi 王弼, *zi* Fusi 輔嗣 (226–249). Wang Bi, whose ancestral home was in Gaoping 高平 (Shanyang 山陽, Shandong), was born in Luoyang in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Later Han dynasty (25–220). A member of a powerful clan with a distinguished intellectual and literary tradition, Wang Bi moved in influential and fashionable circles associating, for example, with the Wei dynasty (220–265) minister of personnel (*libu shangshu* 吏部尚書) and famed debater He Yan 何宴 (ca. 190–249). One of the most prominent exponents of the Mystery school (Xuanxue 玄學) of philosophy, Wang Bi expressed his highly original ideas in the form of commentaries on the classics. At the end of his short life, he left influential commentaries on the *Laozi* 老子 and the *Yijing* 易經. His exploration of the ontological concepts of *wu* 無 (nonbeing) and *you* 有 (being), in particular, opened new perspectives for cross-fertilization with the Buddhist theory of emptiness (*kong* 空) on the one hand, and the evolving Confucian phenomenology of substance (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用), on the other. Giving free rein to his critical and analytical powers, Wang Bi exemplified the ideal of youthful, untrammelled genius that briefly enjoyed a heyday in his time.

Wang Bing 王冰, *hao* Qixuan *zi* 啓玄子 (fl. 762). Wang Bing is famous as the editor and commentator of the great medical classic 1018 *Huangdi neijing suwen*, but apart from this work and his presentation to the throne in 762, nothing is known about him. The Song editor of Wang's work, Lin Yi 林億 (1058–1064), who also corrected the text, introduces Wang with the title *taipu* 太僕 (see Lin's presentation at the head of 1018 *Suwen*, 1b). This title can denote a wide variety of palace servants, from slaves to chamberlains, and accordingly with different ranks and salaries. While the authority of Lin Yi cannot be corroborated from other sources, we have to assume that Wang Bing was employed at the Tang (618–907) court when he edited

and annotated the medical classic. Moreover, in Lin Yi's edition, the suffix "chief" is added to Wang Bing's name as author at the beginning of the work (1.1a). This would imply that he occupied a rather eminent position.

Wang Chongyang 王重陽. See WANG ZHONGFU.

Wang Daoyuan 王道淵. See WANG JIE.

Wang Jie 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子 (fl. 1331–1380). Born in Xiujiang 脩江 near Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi), Wang Jie was a prolific author, commentator, and editor of Taoist works during the later part of the Yuan dynasty (1277–1368) and the early Ming (1368–1644). Although generally considered to have belonged to the Quanzhen 全真 order, Wang is not mentioned in the Quanzhen histories we know, and his work does not explicitly mention any Quanzhen affiliation. Generally known as Wang Daoyuan, the only sources for his biography are his own writings and a preface to 1074 *Huanzhen ji*, dated 1392, by the Forty-third Heavenly Master, ZHANG YUCHU (1361–1410). The preface mentions Wang's place of origin, as well as the fact that he was from a distinguished family and enjoyed a certain fame. ZHANG YUCHU also writes that he once met Wang Jie at an inn on his travels, but that they had no time to form a true acquaintance. This means that Wang was still alive when Zhang was of an age to travel the world, a time we may conservatively place around 1360. As Wang also must have known CHEN ZHIXU (fl. 1331–1338), this may serve as the earlier limit for the period of his activities. The work of Wang bears many resemblances to that of CHEN ZHIXU, who certainly belonged to the Quanzhen order. There are eight works in the *Daozang* signed by Wang, mostly on the subject of Inner Alchemy.

Wang Pang 王雱, *zi* Yuanze 元澤 (1044–1076). Son of the eminent statesman Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), Wang Pang has his biography in the *Song shi* 327, appended to that of his father. He was born in Fuzhou 撫州 (Jiangxi). Wang Pang is described as exceptionally gifted. Having brilliantly obtained the *jinshi* 進士 degree, his interests turned to Buddhism and Taoism, and he authored important works in both fields. His study on the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, 743 *Nanhua zhenjing xin-zhuan*, has been very influential. Its originality lies in Wang's method of explaining Zhuangzi's thought by retrieving the original meaning of the work itself, without imposing extraneous ideas on the author.

Wang Qinruo 王欽若, *zi* Dingguo 定國 (962–1025). The son and grandson of local magistrates, Wang Qinruo was tutored early in his life for a political career and indeed reached the summit of this ambition under the reign of Zhenzong (998–1023), whom he assisted in his centralizing policies. Wang entered the bureaucracy in 991, received his first appointment in the capital in 997, served as vice grand counselor (1001), commissioner for military affairs (1006), and reached the position of chief minister in 1017. He was disgraced in 1019 but reinstated as chief minister

in 1022, a position he held until his death. Wang acquired the somber reputation of a wonder-worker, partly owing to his exceptional influence, and partly to his involvement with religious affairs, especially Taoism. Wang supervised the codification of Taoist imperial liturgy (now lost) and was active in the compilation of the canon (1009–1016). He was also implicated in the controversial “celestial letters” (*tianshu* 天書) affair in 1012, which endowed the dynasty with its primeval ancestor. Wang’s only extant work, 1285 *Yisheng baode zhuan*, is an account of these revelations.

Wang Qiyun 王棲雲. See WANG ZHIJIN.

Wang Yan 王延, *zi* Zixuan 子玄 (529–604). Wang Yan was the foremost Taoist scholar and bibliographer of the late Six Dynasties (220–589) and the Sui (586–618) period. He played an important role in the division of the Taoist canon into seven parts, which laid the groundwork for the Taoist organization of the Tang period (618–907). Wang was born in Shiping 始平 near Fufeng 扶風 (Shaanxi) and at the age of nine became the disciple of Chen Baochi 陳寶熾, *hao* Zhenyi xiansheng 貞一先生 (d. 549), at the important temple Louguan tai 樓觀臺. Later he went to Mount Huashan 華山 to study with Jiao Kuang 焦曠. When Emperor Wu of the Later Zhou (561–578) took the throne, Wang was called to the capital. After a while, he was allowed to retire and was given the sanctuary of Yuntai shan 雲臺山 in Sichuan, one of the major Taoist temples at the time. At the end of Wudi’s reign, Wang was again summoned to the capital in order to assist with the establishment of Taoism as a state religion. Together with eight of his disciples from Yuntai shan, he was installed in the newly built Tongdao guan 通道觀 temple. Here he began his vast enterprise of collecting, copying, and editing texts for inclusion into the Taoist canon. He continued this work under the Sui dynasty. Wang produced a catalogue of the collection he had assembled entitled *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 in seven jian (now lost; to be distinguished from the encyclopedia SDZN). This catalogue is reputed to have listed all Taoist works, as well as those of the classical philosophers. It is said to have comprised 8,030 jian.

Wang Zhe 王嘉. See WANG ZHONGFU.

Wang Zhijin 王志謹, *zi* Qiyun 棲雲 (1178–1263). Wang was a native of Dongming 東明 in Caozhou 曹州 (Shandong). At the age of nineteen he left his home, escaping from an arranged marriage. At the time, HAO DATONG was preaching in Ninghai, and Wang became his disciple. After Hao’s death in 1212, Wang became a follower of QIU CHUJI. Later Wang Zhijin settled on Panshan 盤山 in Shaanxi, where he became a highly successful Quanzhen 全真 preacher, combining the teaching of the Scripture on Purity and Quietude (620 *Chang qingjing miaojing*) with Chan and karmic doctrines. Wang’s sayings from this period were collected by his numerous disciples and edited by Lun Zhihuan 論志煥 as 1059 *Wang zhenren yulu*.

Wang Zhongfu 王中孚, *zi* Yunqing 允卿, *faming* Zhe 嘉, *fazi* Zhiming 智明, *hao* Chongyang 重陽 (1113–1170). Wang Zhongfu was born into a wealthy family near Xianyang 咸陽, west of Xi'an. When he was a teenager, this area became engulfed in the war between the Jin (1115–1234) and the Southern Song (1127–1279), and Wang's ambitions for a scholarly and subsequently a military career were thwarted. He is said to have become a drunkard and a local bully until, in 1159 and 1160, he met two extraordinary persons, whom the Quanzhen 全真 tradition identifies as LÜ DONGBIN and ZHONGLI QUAN. Following these encounters, Wang devoted himself entirely to self-cultivation. He lived first in a tomb, symbolizing the death of his former self, and then in a hermitage, which he burned down before setting out for Shandong in 1167. In Shandong, his predications met with great success. Among his disciples the later tradition isolated a paradigmatic group of seven (MA DANYANG, TAN YU, LIU CHUXUAN, QIU CHUJI, Wang Chuyi 王處一, HAO DATONG, and Sun Buer 孫不二). Wang intended to lead this core group back to Shaanxi in order to convert his native area, but he died on the way in Kaifeng (Henan). His disciples then began disseminating Wang's teachings as the Quanzhen school. The movement transformed into a powerful independent order under the leadership of QIU CHUJI. Wang's highly original poetry was edited by MA DANYANG (1153 *Quanzhen ji*, 1154 *Jiaohua ji*, and 1155 *Shihua ji*). The canon also includes works of a more doubtful attribution to Wang (1158 *Danyang ershisi jue*, 1156 *Yusuo jue*, and 1233 *Lijiao shiwu lun*).

Wei Ao 魏翱, *zi* Boyang 伯陽, *hao* Yunya 雲牙. Wei Ao is a central but historically obscure figure in the Taoist tradition. He is said to have been a native of Shangyu 上虞 (Guiji 會稽 in modern Zhejiang) and to have lived under the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220). Born into a distinguished family, he refused an official career and retired to the mountains in order to practice alchemy. Wei is the supposed author of many works in the *Daozang*, especially on Inner Alchemy (see numbers 899 and 999–1008). On the problems surrounding WEI BOYANG's identity, see the introduction to 2.A.I.d in vol. 1.

Wei Boyang 魏伯陽. See WEI AO.

Wei furen 魏夫人. See WEI HUACUN.

Wei Huacun 魏華存, *zi* Xian'an 賢安 (251–334). A native of Rencheng 任城 (near modern Jining 濟寧 in Shandong), Wei Huacun was the daughter of Wei Shu 魏舒 (200–290), a minister of the Western Jin dynasty (265–316). Also known as Lady Wei (Wei furen 魏夫人) and Lady of the Southern Peak (Nanyue furen 南岳夫人), she received a thorough classical education. But at the age of twenty-four, despite her wish to lead a life of celibacy in order to practice longevity techniques, she was constrained by her parents to marry Liu Wen 劉文 of Nanyang 南陽, with whom she had two sons, Liu Pu 劉樸 and Liu Xia 劉瑕. Later she received visitations

from four immortals and obtained instruction in the Tao from Wang Bao 王褒 (Wang Zideng 王子登, Qingxu zhenren 清虛真人). Wei Huacun's importance in the history of Taoism history is due to her revelations of Shangqing 上清 scriptures to YANG XI. She was revered as the first of the lineage of Shangqing patriarchs. The 1404 *Zhenren shenxian jing* is specifically attributed to her.

Weng Baoguang 翁葆光, hao Wuming zi 無名子. Weng Baoguang was the foremost expert on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 during the early stages of the transmission of this major scripture, and his critical editions and commentaries (141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, 143 *Sancheng biyao*, 144 *Wuzhen pian shiyi*, 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi*) seem to have formed the foundation of most later editions. He is not, however, considered a patriarch of the Southern School (Nanzong 南宗), and hardly anything is known of his life. He is said to have been the disciple of Liu Yongnian 劉永年, an equally unknown disciple of ZHANG BODUAN. As he dated one of his prefaces 1173, he must have been a contemporary of XUE DAOGUANG. According to Weng's own testimony, he hailed from Xiangchuan 象川 (corresponding perhaps to Xiangzhou 象州, in modern Guangxi).

Wu Cheng 吳澄, zi Youqing 幼請 hao Caolu 草廬 (1249–1333). Wu Cheng, whose posthumous name was Wenzheng 文正, was born in Linchuan, Jiangxi. He is the author of a commentary of the *Yijing* 易經 and of a critical edition of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (741 *Zhuangzi neipian dingzhen*). Wu was a disciple of Lu Xiangshan 陸象山 (1139–1193) and served as a Hanlin academician.

Wu Quanjie 吳全節, zi Chengji 成季, hao Xianxian 閑閑 (1269–1346). Wu was a native of Anren 安仁 in Raozhou 饒州 (modern Yujiang 余江, Jiangxi). He took up residence in Peking following his ordination as a daoshi at the age of sixteen. A descendant of a family of noted Confucians, Wu Quanjie became the disciple of the influential court Taoist Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248–1322), whom he succeeded as patriarch of the Mongol-sponsored Xuanjiao 玄教 movement in southern China. A highly respected Taoist priest and Confucian scholar, Wu served as court prelate, political counselor, and head of the Jixian yuan 集賢院 Academy of Worthies. The latter oversaw the Taoist clergy as well as Confucian affairs and state-sponsored scholarship. Wu associated widely with prominent literati and artists of his time, including ZHAO MENGFU, whose portrait of Wu Quanjie survives (see Little, *Taoism and the arts of China*, 222). As a liturgist, Wu performed numerous Taoist rituals for the emperor both at court and on his behalf at sacred sites throughout China. Wu Quanjie was also responsible for the restoration and construction of numerous Taoist temples in many parts of the empire. Most notably, he restored the great Shangqing and Zhengyi temples 上清正一宮 on Longhu shan 龍虎山 in Jiangxi and supervised the building of the Temple of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue miao 東嶽廟) in Peking, realizing its completion in 1322, a project originally conceived by

Zhang Liusun. The Chronicle of Maoshan (304 *Maoshan zhi*), was compiled on Wu's initiative, and several important books and collections of the Yuan period bear his prefaces.

Wu Yun 吳筠, *zi* Zhenjie 貞節, *hao* Dongyang zi 洞陽子, Zongxuan xiansheng 宗玄先生 (d. 778). A younger contemporary of Li Bo 李白 (701–762), Wu Yun, the great Taoist poet of the mid-Tang period, was probably born in the early years of the reign of Xuanzong (712–756). The descendant of minor officials, Wu received a Confucian education but lived in seclusion until his summons to the imperial court around 745. Despite his failure to obtain the *jinsshi* 進士 degree, his literary reputation earned him an appointment as a Hanlin 翰林 academician. Wu received Taoist instruction and his ordination from a member of the Shangqing 上清 lineage, probably a disciple of PAN SHIZHENG, during the years after his arrival at the capital. Shortly after presenting his *Xuangang lun* 玄綱論, or “Arcane Principles” (see 1052 *Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun*), to the emperor in 754, Wu Yun obtained permission to return to the life of a wandering recluse. Whereas his activities had previously been centered on the Shaanxi and Henan region, from the time of the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755–756) onward, Wu moved south and east among the famous Taoist sites of Jiangxi, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang. He died in 778 in Xuancheng 宣城 (Anhui), and under his posthumous title Zongxuan xiansheng left a voluminous oeuvre of Taoist poetry and prose in the form of *fu* 賦-rhapsodies and verse in various fixed meters as well as numerous *lun* 論-discourses (see his collected works, 1051 *Zongxuan xiansheng wenji*). Wu's Taoist writings are characterized by a strong penchant for Confucianism and distaste for Buddhism.

Xie Shouhao 謝守灝, *zi* Huaiying 懷英, *hao* Guanfu dashi 觀復大師 (1134–1212). Xie was a native of Yongjia 永嘉 (modern Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang). Initially a Confucian scholar, he became a Taoist after a mystical encounter with the zhenren Huangfu Tan 皇甫坦. A sometime daoshi of Qingxu an 清虛菴 hermitage on Lushan 廬山 (Jiangxi), as abbot of the Yulong wanshou gong 玉隆萬壽宮 temple at Xishan 西山 (also in Jiangxi) and court-appointed Taoist prelate, he became a well-known author and scholar of the Laozi 老子 Annals tradition. The Southern Song (1127–1279) emperor Guangzong bestowed the *hao* Guanfu dashi on Xie at the beginning of the Shaoxi reign (1190–1194), around the time of the presentation of Xie's main work, the 770 *Hunyuan shengji*, to the emperor.

Xu Jingyang 許旌陽. See XU XUN.

Xu Mai 許邁, *zi* Shuxuan 叔玄, Yuanyou 遠遊 (300–349). Xu Mai, also known by the personal names Ying 映 and Xuan 玄, was a Taoist practitioner and hermit of the early Eastern Jin period (317–420). He was born in Jurong 句容, Danyang 丹陽 (Jiangsu), and was supposedly XU MI's elder brother. Xu Mai was acquainted with many famous aristocrats of his time, including the great calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王

羲之 (303–361). In 346, Xu established himself as a hermit on Xishan 西山 at Lin'an 臨安 (near Hangzhou 杭州, Zhejiang), where he attained immortality.

Xu Mi 許謐, *zi* Sixuan 思玄 (305–373). A high official and chief of the palace guard (*zhangshi* 長史) during the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420), Xu Mi, who also bore the personal name Mu 穆, hailed from Jurong 句容 in Danyang 丹陽 county (Jiangsu). Beginning in the year 364, one of the members of Xu's household, YANG XI, received visions, messages, and entire scriptures from a number of immortals and deities, all belonging to the traditional southern and locally worshiped Taoist pantheon. At the same time, the Xu family were members of the Heavenly Master ecclesia, and a libationer named Li Dong 李東 officiated as family chaplain. The messages and scriptures were mostly intended for Xu Mi and his youngest son, Yufu 玉釜. Together, they form the core of the Shangqing 上清 revelations.

Xu Rongdi 許榮弟 (d. 435). Xu Rongdi was a great-grandson of XU MI, who played a major role in the transmission, as well as the falsification, of the *Shangqing jing* 上清經 scriptures. The original texts were transmitted to XU MI and his son Xu Hui 翽, alias Yufu 玉釜. Xu Hui's son Huangmin 黃民 (d. 329) kept all the original texts in his possession and later entrusted them to Ma Lang 馬朗. When Xu Huangmin died, his son Xu Rongdi wished to retrieve the scriptures, but Ma Lang would not give them up. Only after a protracted period did he permit Xu Rongdi to copy a few of them. Xu Rongdi then proceeded to divulge these texts, providing them with colophons of his own invention, frequently linking the revelation of the scriptures to his ancestor XU MAI. Xu Rongdi also falsified some of the original revelations (see, for instance, 1378 *Shangqing jinzhen yuguang bajing feijing*).

Xu Xun 許遜 *zi* Jingzhi 敬之, *hao* Xiandu taishi 仙都太使 (239?–292/374). Xu Xun, also known as Xu Jingyang 許旌陽, is an important figure in Taoism, but we know very little about his real life. He has many, but very different, late and historically unreliable biographies in the *Daozang*, for example in 449 *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan* or the *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (1224) of BO YUCHAN, in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu*. The most common story presents him as an official, at one time county magistrate of Jingyang (whence his name Jingyang), who became Wu Meng's 吳猛 disciple. In 280, he gave up serving the decadent Western Jin dynasty (265–316) and entered a retreat in order to practice ascetics. He is famous for having ascended to Heaven with his whole family in 292 or 374, although his cult did not immediately gain prominence. But during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), the legend that he had left a stone box containing secret teachings and that he would return in 1,240 years in order to take 800 disciples with him greatly promoted his cult. In the twelfth century, Xu Xun was regarded as a divine person whose imminent return was expected. In 1112, Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) bestowed on him the title Shengong miaoji zhenjun 神功妙濟真君. Many writings on Inner Alchemy were

attributed to Xu. However, the most significant aspect of his career is his role as the patriarch of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school. Many writings of this school are also attributed to him (561 *Bifa pian*, 570 *Lingjian zi*, 951 *Shihan ji*, 1480 *Yuxia ji*, and others). See also the introduction to section 3.B.8 in vol. 2.

Xue Daoguang 薛道光, *ming* Shi 式, Daoyuan 道源, *zi* Taiyuan 太原 (1078?–1191). According to the later hagiography of the Southern School (Nanzong 南宗), Xue Daoguang was its third patriarch, being a disciple of CHEN NAN, himself the disciple of ZHANG BODUAN. Xue resembled Zhang in several respects. Like Zhang, Xue is said to have been a Chan 禪 monk in Sichuan before converting to Taoist self-cultivation. His Buddhist enlightenment, the decisive encounter with his master in 1106 in western Shaanxi, and his subsequent conversion occupy the best part of the few sources available on his life. Xue's Buddhist name was Zixian 紫賢, which he later seems to have used as his Taoist *hao*. He is often referred to by this name. Xue's two extant works are his commentary on the 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* (for which he wrote a preface, dated 1169) and the independent *neidan* 內丹 scripture that is closely modeled on it (1088 *Fuming pian*).

Yan Junping 嚴君平. See ZHUANG ZUN.

Yan Zun 嚴遵. See ZHUANG ZUN.

Yang Xi 楊羲, *ming* Xihe 羲和 (330–386/388). A native of Jiangxi, Yang Xi was a scholar who retired at age twenty-nine to Jurong 句容 county near Maoshan 茅山. Beginning in the year 364, he began receiving revelations from LADY WEI's elder son, Liu Pu 劉璞. His disciples were XU MI and Xu Hui 許翺. With LADY WEI, they are the founders of the Shangqing 上清 lineage. Yang was appointed secretary of a ducal establishment (*gongfu sheren* 公府舍人) under the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420).

Yanluo zi 煙蘿子 (fl. 937–942). Yan Luozi is the *hao* of an important Taoist author of the Later Jin dynasty, which occupied northern China during part of the Five Dynasties period (907–960). Yanluo zi is the author of many works on philosophy and also on Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) practices, some of which have been preserved in the *Daozang*. It is known that his family name was Yan 燕, but his personal name has not been transmitted. His residence on Mount Wangwu 王屋山 in southern Shanxi suggests that he was a recluse.

Ye Fashan 葉法善, *zi* Daoyuan 道元 (616?–720). A native of Chuzhou 處州, in Zhejiang, Ye Fashan belonged to a long lineage of Heavenly Master Taoists comprising several recorded generations of both ancestors and descendants. After entering religious life in 622, at the age of seven, Ye became versed in a wide range of Taoist and related arts, including astronomy, divination, and talismanic magic. His long association with the Tang imperial court began under Gaozong (649–684). In 678 he performed a great *jiao* 醮 ritual on Taishan 泰山 at the imperial behest. Gaozong

later granted him a land title on Hengshan 衡山 (Hunan) in 684. In 710, Ye reported a prophecy from Laozi regarding the ascension of Xuanzong (r. 712–756). After the Taoist's death, Emperor Xuanzong composed a eulogy for him. Ye Fashan has biographies in the dynastic histories of the Tang. In the Taoist tradition, he is primarily remembered as a specialist of Zhengyi 正一 ritual, exorcism, and magic. Even in Tang times, however, he had become a popular figure of legend, owing to his exploits as a court magician under Xuanzong. In time, he was revered as an immortal and became the object of a cult.

Yin Wencao 尹文操, *zi* Jingxian 景先 (622–688). Yin Wencao was a native of Tianshui 天水, Longxi 隴西, in modern Gansu. According to his hagiographers, his birth was supernatural. In 636, after an early initiation into Taoism, Yin became a monk at the ancient Louguan 樓觀 temple in the Zhongnan shan 終南山 range of southern Shaanxi. One of Taoism's earliest monastic institutions, the Louguan marked the site of Yin Xi's 尹喜 discipleship of Laozi. Yin Wencao extolled the ancient sage as his spiritual and family ancestor. Later Yin lived in seclusion on nearby Mount Taibo 太白. Moving to the capital Chang'an in 656, he performed the functions of a court Taoist and received many imperial favors under Gaozong (r. 650–684). Yin was believed to have attained immortality in 688, not long after the demise of his great patron. Yin Wencao is remembered as a major bibliographer of the Taoist scriptural tradition and author of the catalog *Yuwei jingmu* 玉緯經目, as well as of an early chronicle of Laozi 老子 manifestations titled *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji* 玄元皇帝聖紀, now lost (see 954 *Hunyuan zhenlu*).

Yu Yan 俞琰, *zi* Yuwu 玉吾, *hao* Quanyang zi 全陽子, Linwu shanren 林屋山人, Shidong daoren 石洞道人 (1253–1314). Born in Wujun 吳郡 (modern Suzhou 蘇州 Jiangsu), Yu Yan excelled in poetry and music. When the Song dynasty (960–1279) came to an end during his youth, he did not seek an official career. Yu lived by his brush, as a specialist in the *Yijing* 易經 and Inner Alchemy. He published many works on these subjects, seeking to divest Inner Alchemy of its excessively esoteric language and sexual aspects in order to make it more accessible to scholars with a Confucian background. Being thoroughly versed in both the history of Taoism and contemporary trends, Yu Yan published a book of notes and anecdotes entitled *Xishang futan* 席上腐談, an important source on Taoism of this period.

Zeng Zao 曾慥, *zi* Duanbo 端伯, *hao* Zhiyou 至游, Zhishu 至淑 (1091–1155). Zeng Zao hailed from Jinjiang 晉江 (modern Fujian). He had a long political career, during which he worked as a compiler at the capital and had several postings as prefect. He was also a prolific writer. In addition to his *biji* 筆記 “jottings,” he left several anthologies of various kinds of literature, including poetry, and sayings, most famously the *Leishuo* 類說, as well as the collection of *neidan* 內丹 texts 1017 *Daoshu*. Zeng is also known as Zhiyou zi 至游子, after his *hao*.

Zhang Boduan 張伯端, *bieming* Yongcheng 用成, *zi* Pingshu 平叔, *hao* Ziyang 紫陽 (984?–1082). The celebrated author of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, Zhang was elevated to the status of first patriarch of the Southern School (Nanzong 南宗) almost two centuries after his death. Despite his renown, it is difficult to trace the person behind the book. Hagiography presents him as a scholar from Tiantai 天台 (Zhejiang) who worked for various officials. Some sources consider him to have been a Buddhist monk, and he is said to have been cremated, a story that may be related to the syncretic contents of his writings. Other alchemical works are attributed to him, such as the 1081 *Jindan sibaizi*.

Zhang Guo 張果, *hao* Tongxuan zi 通玄子 (d. ca. 742). Zhang Guo, also known as Zhang Guolao 張果老, was a reputed immortal even in his lifetime, his birth date shrouded in mystery from the earliest accounts. Later he would become one of the popular Yuan dynasty (1277–1368) group of Eight Immortals (*baxian* 八仙). Zhang was a native of Hengzhou 恒州, near modern Shijiazhuang (Hebei). He is said to have spent many years in retirement in the Zhongtiao shan 中條山 range in that area, repeatedly refusing or evading the imperial summonses of Taizong (r. 626–649), Gaozong (r. 649–683), and Wu Zetian (r. 684–705). In the year 735, Zhang finally succumbed to the respectful entreaties of Xuanzong (r. 712–756). Henceforth he lived in the imperial palace at Chang'an, where he acquired great fame as one of several Taoist court magicians, including YE FASHAN (d. 722) and Luo Gongyuan 羅公遠. Despite the chronological discrepancy, the body of legends that soon sprang up around their exploits, performed under the admiring gaze of Xuanzong, frequently feature the three divines together. Among the favors bestowed on Zhang Guo by Xuanzong were an imperial decree extolling his supernatural powers, the honorific appointment as grand master of imperial entertainments with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon (*yingqing guanglu dafu* 銀青光錄大夫), and the religious title Master Penetrating the Mysteries (Tongxuan xiansheng 通玄先生). Zhang, however, haughtily declined the offer of Xuanzong's Taoist sister, the Yuzhen 玉真 princess, in marriage. Finally, Zhang Guo begged leave to return to Hengzhou. When Xuanzong summoned him once again in 742, Zhang feigned death and underwent "corpse liberation."

Zhang Guolao 張果老. See ZHANG GUO.

Zhang Junfang 張君房, *zi* Yinfang 尹方 (fl. 1005–1028). Zhang Junfang was a native of Anlu 安陸 in modern Hubei. He was active under the reigns of the Northern Song emperors Zhenzong (997–1022) and Renzong (1022–1064) and died, aged eighty, in the 1040s. Zhang entered the civil service after passing an examination in 1005. Around 1009–1010, he seems to have served as adjutant for personnel evaluation in Kaifeng superior prefecture (*Kaifeng fu gongcao canjun* 開封府功曹參軍), later accepting other posts in the central administration and then in Ninghai jun

寧海軍 (Shandong). In 1015 or 1016, Zhang Junfang was appointed to the post of assistant editorial director (*zhuzuo zuolang* 著作左郎) in the imperial palace library. Zhang was the author of several works, but he made his mark as a Taoist bibliographer under the patronage of WANG QINRUO. His main contribution was the important Taoist anthology 1032 *Yunji qiqian*. Zhang's own claims to have been significantly involved in the compilation of the Taoist canon of the Northern Song (960–1127), however, have been discounted by modern scholarship (see the general introduction in volume 1, "The Song and Yuan Canons").

Zhang Shangying 張商英, *zi* Tianjue 天覺, *hao* Wujin jushi 無盡居士 (1043–1121). A high state official at the time of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1121–1086), Zhang Shangying hailed from Xinjin 新津 (Sichuan). Serving as a magistrate in Nanchuan 南川, he sought to implement a Taoist way of governance. Invited to the court, he was appointed to high positions. He wrote numerous works on Taoist subjects, on theology (see 155–156 *Sancai dingwei tu*), and on philosophy. Zhang was, moreover, requested by Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) to revise the liturgy of the Golden Register Retreat (see 498 *Jinlu zhai toujian yi*), and his work was to have a lasting influence on the evolution of Taoist liturgy.

Zhang Shouqing 張守清, *hao* Yuexia sou 月峽叟, *hui* Dongyuan 洞淵 (1254–1336). Zhang Shouqing was a native of Yidu 宜都, Xiazhou 峽州 (modern Yichang 宜昌, Hubei). After a Confucian education and the beginning of an official career, Zhang converted to Taoism at the age of thirty-one and was ordained a monk at Wudang shan 武當山. His subsequent activities were divided between that site and the Yuan (1277–1368) court. At Wudang shan, Zhang constructed an important temple named Tianyi zhenqing wanshou gong 天一真慶萬壽宮 at the behest of the emperor Renzong (r. 1312–1320). In Peking, he celebrated Taoist rituals for the court and acquired a reputation for his ability as a conjurer of rain and snow. Reputedly the heir to the teachings of the elusive Zhang Sanfeng 張三峰, Zhang Shouqing was recognized in his time as a leading master of Qingwei 清微 and Zhengyi 正一 ritual. The Mongol court appointed him prelate in charge of Taoist affairs and in 1314 bestowed upon him the title Tixuan miaoying taihe zhenren 體玄妙應太和真人.

Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 (fl. 711–713). Zhang Wanfu is revered, together with LU XIUJING and DU GUANGTING, as one of the great medieval patriarchs of the Lingbao liturgical tradition. The *Daozang* contains eight works wholly or partially ascribed to his name, comprising ritual protocols and manuals on liturgical and clerical subjects (ordination documents and pledges, precepts, almanacs for ritual observances, and vestments). His Transmission of the Scriptures, Rules, and Registers (1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo*) contains, in an appendix, Zhang's account of the Taoist ordinations of the imperial princesses Jinxian 金仙 and Yuzhen 玉真,

daughters of Emperor Ruizong (r. 710–712), at which Zhang officiated in 711 and 712. This appears to have been the high point of Zhang Wanfu's forty-year career as a Taoist priest. At the time, he was serving under the court prelate and abbot SHI CHONG in the imperial Taiqing gong 太清宮 temple in Chang'an.

Zhang Yuchu 張宇初, *zi* Zixuan 子璿, *hao* Qishan 耆山 (1361–1410). The Forty-third Heavenly Master of Longhu shan 龍虎山 in Jiangxi, Zhang Yuchu was a very talented and learned young man when, in 1378, at the age of seventeen, he succeeded his father as patriarch of the Zhengyi 正一 order. He stood in high favor at the court of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398), the founder of the Ming dynasty, but during the brief reign of Zhu's successor, the Jianwen emperor (r. 1399–1403), Zhang suffered punishment and his title was abolished. When the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1425) came to power, Zhang Yuchu was reinstated and quickly regained wide esteem. In 1407, he was ordered to proceed with the editing of a new Taoist canon. The next year, the emperor asked him to find the famous but mysterious and elusive Taoist hermit Zhang Sanfeng 張三峰, but his attempts failed. Zhang Yuchu died a few years later. Although he never achieved a new edition of the *Daozang*, he is recognized for many other works, for example, his collected writings, 1311 *Xianquan ji* (published in 1407), and 1232 *Daomen shigui*.

Zhang Ziyang 張紫陽. See ZHANG BODUAN.

Zhao Daosheng 趙道昇, *zi* Shian 實庵, *hao* Chongzhen baoyuan dashi 沖真寶元大師 (fl. 1152). Zhao Daosheng was an important commentator on the Taoist classics and also an expert in liturgy. He lived at the Yuxu guan 玉虛觀 temple at Fushan 浮山, probably referring to the mountain of that name near Jurong 句容 and part of the Maoshan 茅山 range (Jiangsu). He was known for his practice of the Yellow Register Retreat (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋; see 219 *Wuliang duren shengjing dafa* 49.18b; 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 34.4a) and for his commentary on the *Daode jing* (723 *Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi*).

Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, *zi* Ziang 子昂, *hao* Songxue daoren 松雪道人, Shuijing gong daoren 水晶宮道人 (1254–1322). A member of the Song imperial clan, the celebrated painter, calligrapher, and author Zhao Mengfu was an active Taoist devotee and practitioner throughout his life. Following a family tradition, his initiation began in 1260 when he became a disciple of DU DAOJIAN, a leading Taoist master of the Song/Yuan transition period. Zhao drew the portraits for the album 163 *Xuanyuan shizi tu* at the request of Du. Toward the end of his life (after 1311), Zhao received a Shangqing 上清 ordination by the forty-fifth Maoshan patriarch, Liu Dabin 劉大彬. Liu was also the compiler of 304 *Maoshan zhi*, a work to which Zhao had contributed a colophon and a set of illustrated biographies. When the Southern Song were invaded and defeated by the Mongols in 1279, Zhao was living in Hangzhou. Despite his prominence among Song loyalists in the south,

Zhao Mengfu eventually responded to an invitation extended by Kublai Khan to southern literati in 1286 and subsequently accepted a series of appointments from the Mongol court. During his official career, Zhao continued to associate with prominent court Taoists, including Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248–1322), WU QUAN-JIE, and Zhang Yu 張雨 (1276–1342). By 1316, Zhao had risen to the prestigious position of president of the Hanlin 翰林 academy. In the course of official travels in the north, Zhao Mengfu established an important collection of Five Dynasties (907–960) and Northern Song (960–1127) masters. His own paintings were strongly influenced by these works. Zhao's wife, Guan Daosheng 管道昇, was also a noted calligrapher and painter.

Zhao Shian 趙實庵. See ZHAO DAOSHENG.

Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真, *hao* Yuanyang zi 原陽子 (d. 1382). A scion of the Song imperial family and an important Taoist leader of the late Yuan (1277–1368) and early Ming (1368–1644), Zhao Yizhen elaborated the ecumenical fusion of the main Taoist traditions of his time into one system, the Qingwei 清微 school, named after the highest of the Taoist heavens. Born in Anfu 安福 (southern Jiangxi), Zhao had prepared for the *jinsi* 進士 examination, but he fell ill at the capital. A religious experience then moved him to relinquish an official career and to enter Taoism. He joined the Longhu shan 龍虎山 center of the Zhengyi 正一 order and studied there and in other centers in the south with different masters. The troubled times at the end of the Yuan made him leave Jiangxi with his disciples and travel to Sichuan to gather historical materials on the early history of the Heavenly Master ecclesia. After the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368, Zhao continued traveling and collecting materials. At the end of his life, he retired at the Ziyang guan 紫陽觀 temple in Yudu 雩都 in southern Jiangxi. Zhao left a rich legacy of works on philosophy, medicine, and ritual. His great disciple LIU YUANRAN continued his work.

Zheng Yin 鄭隱, *zi* Siyuan 鄭思遠. Little is known about Zheng Yin, a scholar who lived during the Western Jin dynasty (265–316). He is said to have retired to Mount Maji 馬跡山 (Lujiang 廬江). Other sources affirm that, seeing the decline of the dynasty, he retired to Mount Huo 霍山 and disappeared there. He is famous for having been GE XUAN's disciple and GE HONG's master. In the "Xialan pian 遐覽篇" (BPZ 19), GE HONG describes the great number of books written by Zheng Yin and extols his extraordinary nature. The 924 *Zhenyuan miaodao yaolie* has been attributed to Zheng Yin. It should be noted that Zheng Yin was also the name of a hermit on Mount Hua 華山 during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127).

Zhiyou zi 至游子. See ZENG ZAO.

Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 *zi* Yunfang 雲房, *hao* Zhengyang 正陽. Zhongli Quan appears in Taoist lore shortly after LÜ DONGBIN, who was his disciple. It seems that the first reference to their relationship is in the alchemical text 233 *Zhongxian*

lun, dated 1052. Later hagiography arranged by the Quanzhen 全真 order, which made him their second patriarch, claimed that Zhongli lived under the Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) and was the spiritual heir of the mythical Donghua dijun 東華帝君. The first references to Zhongli Quan as an author, under the Song (960–1279), include several short *neidan* 內丹 works, notably 270 *Pomi zhengdao ge*, but more important, the various anthologies of his didactic exchanges with Lü: the “Baiwen pian 百文篇” in 1017 *Daoshu*, the 263.14 *Chuandao ji*, and the 1191 *Lingbao bifa*.

Zhu Ziyong 朱自英, *zi* Yinzhi 隱芝, *hao* Guanmiao xiansheng 觀妙先生 (976–1029). Twenty-third patriarch of the Maoshan 茅山 Shangqing 上清 order, Zhu Ziyong was one of the foremost religious leaders of the Northern Song period (960–1127). Born in Juqu 句曲 near the Maoshan in a poor peasant family, he herded the family livestock as a boy. At the age of twelve, Zhu was adopted as a disciple by a Taoist master. As a young adult, he traveled extensively to various Taoist centers, visiting places as far away as Sichuan in search of scriptures. In 1004, he was chosen as patriarch of his order. A few years later, in 1007, he was summoned to court by Emperor Zhenzong (r. 998–1023) and was honored as preceptor of state (*guoshi* 國師). Zhu resided at the Yuqing zhaoying gong 玉清昭應宮 temple in the capital and served under different emperors, ordaining each of them with the highest Taoist registers of the Shangqing 上清 tradition. Along with many other works by his hand, the documents related to the ordination of Empress Zhangxian Mingsu, Zhenzong’s widow, in 1024, have been preserved in the *Daozang* (see 777 *Shangqing bifa lu ji*).

Zhuang Zun 莊遵 or 尊, *zi* Junping 君平 (59–24 B.C.). Also known as Yan Zun 嚴遵 and Yan Junping 嚴君平 —“Yan” serving as substitute for the character “Zhuang” after the latter was tabooed in deference to the personal name of Emperor Mingdi (r. A.D. 57–75) — Zhuang Zun was a native of Shu 蜀 (Sichuan). A philosopher and specialist of *Yijing* 易經 divination, he told fortunes and lectured on the *Laozi* 老子 in Chengdu. The influential *Laozi* commentary “Return to the Meaning of the Tao” (693 *Daode zhenjing zhigui*), is attributed to Zhuang. He was the teacher of Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.–A.D. 18), a fellow philosopher from Shu and author of the Book of Supreme Mystery (*Taixuan jing* 太玄經).

Zixian 紫賢. See XUE DAOGUANG.

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

BPZ	<i>Baopu zi neipian</i>
CGF	Chen Guofu, <i>Daozang yuanliu kao</i>
DX	Dunhuang Manuscripts in the Institut Narodov Azii (St. Petersburg)
LZTT	296 <i>Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian</i>
SDZN	1139 <i>Sandong zhunang</i>
T	<i>Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō</i>
TPYL	<i>Taiping yulan</i>
VDL	Van der Loon, <i>Taoist books in the libraries of the Sung</i>
WSBY	1138 <i>Wushang biyao</i>
YJQQ	1032 <i>Yunji qiqian</i>

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Xin wenfeng: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi 新文豐出版公司 edition (Taipei, 1977), in sixty volumes.

Sanjia ben: Beijing wenwu 北京文物, Shanghai shudian 上海書店, and Tianjin guji chubanshe 天津古籍出版社 edition (Peking, Shanghai, and Tianjin, 1988), in thirty-six volumes.

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125	<i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i>	4:2606	4:147	2:829
126	<i>Huangdi yinfu jing jiasong jiezhu</i>	4:2612	4:153	2:833
127	<i>Huangdi yinfu jing jijie</i>	4:2630	4:171	2:845
128	<i>Taishang qiuxian dinglu chisu zhenjue yuwen</i>	4:2644	4:185	2:855
129	<i>Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jue</i>	4:2660	4:201	2:865
130	<i>Taixi jing zhu</i>	4:2665	4:206	2:868
131	<i>Taixi biyao ge jue</i>	4:2666	4:208	2:869
132	<i>Taiqing zhenren luoming jue</i>	4:2668	4:210	2:871
133	<i>Taishang dongfang neijing zhu</i>	4:2673	4:215	2:874
134	<i>Yin zhenjun huandan ge zhu</i>	4:2679	4:221	2:878
135	<i>Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie</i>	4:2683	4:227	2:881
136	<i>Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie</i>	4:2692	4:237	2:887
137	<i>Qingtian ge zhushi</i>	4:2698	4:243	2:890
138	<i>Xuexian bianzhen jue</i>	4:2702	4:248	2:893
139	<i>Taishang dongzhen ningshen xiuxing jingjue</i>	4:2705	4:251	2:895
140	<i>Shangqing wozhong jue</i>	4:2707	4:253	2:897
141	<i>Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu</i>	4:2727	4:273	2:910
142	<i>Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu</i>	4:2815	4:363	2:968
143	<i>Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao</i>	4:2891	4:440	2:1019
144	<i>Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian shiyi</i>	4:2907	4:457	2:1030
145	<i>Wuzhen pian zhushi</i>	4:2913	4:463	3:1
146	<i>Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi</i>	4:2960	4:511	3:32
147	<i>Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu</i>	4:3005	4:557	3:62
148	<i>Wuliang duren shangpin miaojing pangtong tu</i>	4:3043	4:596	3:88
149	<i>Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu</i>	4:3052	4:605	3:93
150	<i>Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu</i>	4:3061	4:615	3:99
151	<i>Jinyi huandan yinzheng tu</i>	4:3065	4:620	3:102
152	<i>Xiuzhen liyan chaotu</i>	4:3077	4:632	3:110
153	<i>Longhu shoujian tu</i>	4:3086	4:641	3:116
154	<i>Shangqing Taixuan jiuyang tu</i>	4:3088	4:644	3:118
155	<i>Sancai dingwei tu</i>	4:3094	4:650	3:122
156	<i>Shangqing dongzhen jiugong zifang tu</i>	4:3104	4:660	3:128
157	<i>Zhouyi tu</i>	4:3107	4:663	3:130
158	<i>Dayi xiangshu goushen tu</i>	4:3158	4:715	3:165
159	<i>Yishu gouyin tu</i>	4:3210	4:769	3:210
160	<i>Yishu gouyin tu yilun jiushi</i>	4:3234	4:794	3:217
161	<i>Yixiang tushuo neipian</i>	4:3241	4:801	3:222
162	<i>Yixiang tushuo waipian</i>	4:3271	4:832	3:241
163	<i>Xuanyuan shizi tu</i>	4:3295	4:856	3:257

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164	<i>Shangqing sanzun pulu</i>	5:3301	5:1	3:262
165	<i>Lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen sanbao dayou jinshu</i>	5:3307	5:8	3:266
166	<i>Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji</i>	5:3311	5:13	3:269
167	<i>Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu</i>	5:3316	5:18	3:272
168	<i>Yuanshi gaoshang yujian dalu</i>	5:3332	5:34	3:282
169	<i>Qinghe neizhuan</i>	5:3338	5:40	3:286
170	<i>Zitong dijun huashu</i>	5:3347	5:49	3:292
171	<i>Qingwei xianpu</i>	5:3399	5:101	3:326
172	<i>San Mao zhenjun jiafeng shidian</i>	5:3407	5:110	3:332
173	<i>Jinlian zhengzong ji</i>	3:3424	5:127	3:343
174	<i>Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan</i>	5:3457	5:160	3:365
175	<i>Qizhen nianpu</i>	5:3479	5:183	3:380
176	<i>Xuanfeng qinghui lu</i>	5:3490	5:194	3:387
177	<i>Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie</i>	5:3495	5:199	3:391
178	<i>Sandong zhongjie wen</i>	5:3503	5:208	3:396
179	<i>Taiwei lingshu ziwen xianji zhenji shangjing</i>	5:3512	5:217	3:402
180	<i>Xuhuang tianzun chuzhen shijie wen</i>	5:3514	5:219	3:403
181	<i>Taishang jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing</i>	5:3518	5:223	3:406
182	<i>Taishang shier shangpin feitian falun quanjie miaojing</i>	5:3522	5:228	3:409
183	<i>Taiji zhenren shuo ershisi men jie jing</i>	5:3527	5:233	3:412
184	<i>Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing</i>	5:3531	5:237	3:415
185	<i>Chisong zi zhongjie jing</i>	5:3537	5:282	3:444
186	<i>Taiwei xianjun gongguo ge</i>	5:3582	5:289	3:449
187	<i>Taiqing wushiba yuanwen</i>	5:3589	5:296	3:453
188	<i>Xuandu lüwen</i>	5:3593	5:300	3:456
189	<i>Taishang lingbao chaotian xiezui dachan</i>	5:3604	5:311	3:463
190	<i>Taishang yuqing xiezui dengzhen baochan</i>	5:3674	5:383	3:510
191	<i>Taishang shangqing rangzai yanshou baochan</i>	5:3677	5:387	3:512
192	<i>Taishang taiqing bazui shengtian baochan</i>	5:3680	5:390	3:514
193	<i>Yuhuang youzui xifu baochan</i>	5:3684	5:394	3:516
194	<i>Gaoshang yuhuang manyuan baochan</i>	5:3696	5:406	3:524
195	<i>Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baochan</i>	5:3732	5:444	3:549
196	<i>Leiting yushu youzui fachan</i>	5:3738	5:450	3:552
197	<i>Yuhuang shiqi ciguang dengyi</i>	5:3742	5:455	3:555
198	<i>Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi</i>	5:3752	5:466	3:562
199	<i>Nandou yanshou dengyi</i>	5:3756	5:470	3:565
200	<i>Beidou qi yuan xing dengyi</i>	5:3759	5:473	3:567
201	<i>Beidou benming yanshou dengyi</i>	5:3763	5:477	3:569

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202	<i>Sanguan dengyi</i>	5:3765	5:479	3:570
203	<i>Xuandi dengyi</i>	5:3767	5:481	3:572
204	<i>Jiutian San Mao siming xian dengyi</i>	5:3769	5:484	3:573
205	<i>Wanling dengyi</i>	5:3772	5:487	3:575
206	<i>Wuxian lingguan dadi dengyi</i>	5:3774	5:489	3:576
207	<i>Tusi dengyi</i>	5:3776	5:492	3:578
208	<i>Dongchu siming dengyi</i>	5:3780	5:496	3:581
209	<i>Zhengyi wensi bidu shendeng yi</i>	5:3783	5:499	3:582
210	<i>Liming ruixiang dengyi</i>	5:3785	5:502	3:584
211	<i>Huanglu jiuyang fanqi dengyi</i>	5:3789	5:506	3:586
212	<i>Huanglu jiuzhi dengyi</i>	5:3794	5:512	3:590
213	<i>Huanglu poyu dengyi</i>	5:3796	5:514	3:591
214	<i>Huanglu wuku lundeng yi</i>	5:3800	5:518	3:594
215	<i>Difu shiwang badu yi</i>	5:3803	5:521	3:596
216	<i>Shangqing tianbao zhai chuye yi</i>	5:3809	5:527	3:600
217	<i>Taiyi huofu zougao qirang yi</i>	5:3814	5:532	3:603
218	<i>Qingwei xuanshu zougao yi</i>	5:3822	5:541	3:609
219	<i>Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa</i>	5:3829	5:549	3:613
220	<i>Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa</i>	6:4501	6:341	4:1
221	<i>Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu</i>	6:4684	6:529	4:122
222	<i>Qingwei shenlie bifa</i>	6:4703	6:549	4:135
223	<i>Qingwei yuanjiang dafa</i>	6:4729	6:577	4:153
224	<i>Qingwei zhaifa</i>	7:4924	6:779	4:282
225	<i>Taishang jiuyao xinyin miaojing</i>	7:4967	6:823	4:311
226	<i>Zi yuanjun shoudao chuanxin fa</i>	7:4971	6:828	4:314
227	<i>Zhen longhu jiuxian jing</i>	7:4976	6:833	4:317
228	<i>Longhu zhongdan jue</i>	7:4983	6:840	4:321
229	<i>Jiuhuan qifan longhu jindan xili zhenjue</i>	7:4986	6:844	4:324
230	<i>Zhuzhen lun huandan jue</i>	7:4991	6:849	4:327
231	<i>Zhenyi jindan jue</i>	7:4993	6:852	4:328
232	<i>Huandan bijue yang chizi shenfang</i>	7:4998	6:857	4:331
233	<i>Huandan zhongxian lun</i>	7:5001	6:861	4:333
234	<i>Xiudan miaoyong zhili lun</i>	7:5013	6:874	4:342
235	<i>Danqing jilun</i>	7:5018	6:879	4:345
236	<i>Jinjing lun</i>	7:5024	6:885	4:349
237	<i>Huandan xianmiao tongyou ji</i>	7:5027	6:888	4:351
238	<i>Yuanyang zi jinyi ji</i>	7:5032	6:894	4:354
239	<i>Huandan jinyi ge zhu</i>	7:5040	6:902	4:359
240	<i>Yuqing jinsi qinghua bimen jinbao neilian danjue</i>	7:5044	7:1	4:362
241	<i>Bixu zi qinchuan zhizhi</i>	7:5068	7:26	4:378
242	<i>Zhizhou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi</i>	7:5074	7:32	4:382

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243	<i>Chen Xubo guizhong zhinan</i>	7:5077	7:36	4:384
244	<i>Dadan zhizhi</i>	7:5088	7:47	4:391
245	<i>Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao</i>	7:5107	7:67	4:404
246	<i>Xishan qunxian huizhen ji</i>	7:5133	7:95	4:422
247	<i>Huizhen ji</i>	7:5163	7:126	4:442
248	<i>Qizhen ji</i>	7:5201	7:165	4:467
249	<i>Zhonghe ji</i>	7:5224	7:189	4:482
250	<i>Santian yisui</i>	7:5287	7:254	4:524
251	<i>Quanzhen ji xuan biyao</i>	7:5293	7:260	3:528
252	<i>Gushen pian</i>	7:5302	7:269	4:534
253	<i>Jinjue dijun sanyuan zhenyi jing</i>	7:5323	7:291	4:548
254	<i>Dadong jinhua yujing</i>	7:5327	7:295	4:551
255	<i>Taiwei lingshu ziweng langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing</i>	7:5333	7:301	4:555
256	<i>Yujing jiutian jinxiao weishen wangzhu taiyuan shangjing</i>	7:5337	7:305	4:557
257	<i>Dongzhen taiwei huangshu jiutian balu zhenwen</i>	7:5342	7:310	4:561
258	<i>Taixuan bajing lu</i>	7:5346	7:314	4:563
259	<i>Tao zhenren neidan fu</i>	7:5367	7:337	4:578
260	<i>Qinxuan fu</i>	7:5376	7:347	4:584
261	<i>Jindan fu</i>	7:5381	7:352	4:587
262	<i>Gushen fu</i>	7:5405	7:376	4:603
263	<i>Xiuzhen shishu</i>	7:5409	7:381	4:605
264	<i>Zhenqi huanyuan ming</i>	8:5819	7:801	4:879
265	<i>Huandan gejue</i>	8:5828	7:811	4:885
266	<i>Jinyi huandan baiwen jue</i>	8:5840	7:824	4:893
267	<i>Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao</i>	8:5856	7:840	4:903
268	<i>Qianyuan zi sanshi lun</i>	8:5869	7:854	4:912
269	<i>Zhizhen zi longhu dadan shi</i>	8:5871	7:856	4:913
270	<i>Pomi zhengdao ge</i>	8:5875	8:1	4:916
271	<i>Taixuan langran zi jindao shi</i>	8:5878	8:5	4:918
272	<i>Liaoming pian</i>	8:5882	8:9	4:921
273	<i>Mingdao pian</i>	8:5890	8:17	4:926
274	<i>Zhenxian bichuan huohou fa</i>	8:5899	8:27	4:932
275	<i>Sanji zhiming quanti</i>	8:5904	8:32	4:935
276	<i>Xiyi zhimi lun</i>	8:5921	8:51	4:947
277	<i>Xiuzhen jingyi zalun</i>	8:5930	8:61	4:953
278	<i>Qingwei danjue</i>	8:5943	8:74	4:961
279	<i>Xiantian jindan dadao xuanao koujue</i>	8:5948	8:79	4:965
280	<i>Jinyi dadan koujue</i>	8:5955	8:86	4:969
281	<i>Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue</i>	8:5960	8:92	4:973
282	<i>Huangdi zhaijing</i>	8:5969	8:101	4:979

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283	<i>Huangdi longshou jing</i>	8:5978	8:110	4:985
284	<i>Huangdi jingui yuheng jing</i>	8:6004	8:137	4:1002
285	<i>Huangdi shou sanzi xuannü jing</i>	8:6016	8:149	5:1
286	<i>Taishang dengzhen sanjiao lingying jing</i>	8:6018	8:152	5:2
287	<i>Tongzhan daxiang li xingjing</i>	8:6021	8:156	5:4
288	<i>Lingtai jing</i>	8:6048	8:183	5:22
289	<i>Chengxing lingtai biyao jing</i>	8:6059	8:194	5:29
290	<i>Guang huangdi benxing ji</i>	8:6062	8:199	5:32
291	<i>Mu tianzi zhuan</i>	8:6068	8:206	5:36
292	<i>Han Wudi neizhuan</i>	8:6086	8:224	5:47
293	<i>Han Wudi waizhuan</i>	8:6101	8:240	5:58
294	<i>Liexian zhuan</i>	8:6111	8:251	5:64
295	<i>Xu xian zhuan</i>	8:6130	8:271	5:77
296	<i>Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian</i>	8:6163	8:305	5:99
297	<i>Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian</i>	9:6637	8:789	5:414
298	<i>Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji</i>	9:6687	8:841	5:448
299	<i>Yixian zhuan</i>	9:6749	9:1	5:489
300	<i>Huayang Tao yinju neizhuan</i>	9:6764	9:17	5:499
301	<i>Huan zhenren shengxian ji</i>	9:6785	9:38	5:513
302	<i>Zhoushi mingtong ji</i>	9:6792	9:45	5:518
303	<i>Ziyang zhenren neizhuan</i>	9:6828	9:82	5:542
304	<i>Maoshan zhi</i>	9:6838	9:93	5:548
305	<i>Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji</i>	9:7070	9:333	5:703
306	<i>Taihua Xiyi zhi</i>	9:7116	9:379	5:734
307	<i>Xiyue Huashan zhi</i>	9:7131	9:395	5:744
308	<i>Ningyang Dong zhenren yuxian ji</i>	9:7144	9:409	5:753
309	<i>Zhu shizhen gao</i>	9:7152	9:417	5:758
310	<i>Jinlu zhai sandong zanyong yi</i>	9:7161	9:426	5:764
311	<i>Huangdi yinfu jing song</i>	9:7174	9:439	5:772
312	<i>Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing song</i>	9:7177	9:443	5:775
313	<i>Shengtian jing songjie</i>	9:7181	9:447	5:777
314	<i>Sandong zansong lingzhang</i>	9:7184	9:451	5:779
315	<i>Song Zhenzong yuzhi yujing ji</i>	9:7208	9:477	5:795
316	<i>Taishang jidu zhangshe</i>	9:7242	9:513	5:818
317	<i>Lingbao tianzun shuo Hongen lingji zhenjun miaojing</i>	9:7277	10:1	5:841
318	<i>Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing</i>	9:7280	10:4	5:843
319	<i>Dongxuan lingbao benxiang yundu jieqi jing</i>	9:7288	10:13	5:849
320	<i>Dongxuan lingbao danshui feishu yundu xiaojie miaojing</i>	9:7296	10:21	5:854

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321	<i>Dongxuan lingbao zhutian shijie zaohua jing</i>	9:7307	10:32	5:861
322	<i>Taishang lingbao tiandi yundu ziran miaojing</i>	9:7313	10:39	5:865
323	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan wuliang shou jing</i>	9:7316	10:43	5:867
324	<i>Shangqing wuchang biantong wanhua yuming jing</i>	9:7323	10:50	5:872
325	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing</i>	9:7347	10:75	5:888
326	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao guanmiao jing</i>	9:7359	10:88	5:896
327	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo datong jing</i>	9:7360	10:89	5:897
328	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao hu zhu tongzi jing</i>	9:7361	10:89	5:897
329	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao kaiyan bimizang jing</i>	9:7362	10:91	5:898
330	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing</i>	9:7370	10:99	5:903
331	<i>Taishang huangting neijing yujing</i>	9:7378	10:107	5:908
332	<i>Taishang huangting waijing yujing</i>	9:7384	10:114	5:913
333	<i>Lingbao tianzun shuo luku shousheng jing</i>	9:7387	10:117	5:915
334	<i>Taishang lingbao yuanyang miaojing</i>	10:7389	10:121	5:916
335	<i>Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing</i>	10:7495	10:229	6:1
336	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing</i>	10:7615	10:353	6:81
337	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao shihao gongde yin- yuan miaojing</i>	10:7688	10:429	6:129
338	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao suming yinyuan mingjing</i>	10:7693	10:434	6:132
339	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao chujia yinyuan jing</i>	10:7698	10:440	6:136
340	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhuan-shen duming jing</i>	10:7708	10:450	6:143
341	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao shishi duren miao- jing</i>	10:7713	10:455	6:146
342	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao taixuan puci quan- shi jing</i>	10:7719	10:461	6:150
343	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao sifang dayuan jing</i>	10:7724	10:467	6:153
344	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing</i>	10:7727	10:471	6:155
345	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao jieye benxing shang- pin miaojing</i>	10:7736	10:481	6:161
346	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing</i>	10:7750	10:495	6:170
347	<i>Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo miaotong zhuan- shen ruding jing</i>	10:7753	10:498	6:172

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348	<i>Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo quanjie falun miaojing</i>	10:7757	10:503	6:175
349	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao fazhu jing</i>	10:7761	10:507	6:178
350	<i>Taishang lingbao zhibui guanshen jing</i>	10:7766	10:512	6:181
351	<i>Taiyi jiuku hushen miaojing</i>	10:7767	10:513	6:182
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353	<i>Shangqing jingui yujing xiuzhen zhixuan miaojing</i>	10:7802	10:550	6:205
354	<i>Shangqing sanyuan yujian sanyuan bujing</i>	10:7810	10:559	6:211
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356	<i>Dongxuan lingbao shangshi shuo jiuhu shenming jing</i>	10:7833	10:583	6:227
357	<i>Taishang lingbao tianzun shuo rangzai due jing</i>	10:7839	10:589	6:231
358	<i>Taishang shenzhou yanshou miaojing</i>	10:7840	10:590	6:232
359	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao xiaorang huozai jing</i>	10:7841	10:591	6:233
360	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo yang- can yingzhong jing</i>	10:7843	10:592	6:234
361	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao bawei zhaolong miaojing</i>	10:7847	10:597	6:237
362	<i>Taishang dongyuan shuo qingyu longwang jing</i>	10:7860	10:611	6:245
363	<i>Taishang zhao zhu shenlong anzhen fenmu jing</i>	10:7862	10:613	6:247
364	<i>Taishang lingbao buxie zaowang jing</i>	10:7864	10:614	6:248
365	<i>Taishang shuo liyi canwang miaojing</i>	10:7865	10:616	6:249
366	<i>Taishang shuo niuhuang miaojing.</i>	10:7866	10:617	6:249
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374	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing</i>	10:7917	10:670	6:283
375	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo jiku jing</i>	10:7919	10:672	6:284
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387	<i>Taishang sansheng jieyuan miaojing</i>	10:7961	10:718	6:313
388	<i>Taishang lingbao wufu xu</i>	10:7964	10:721	6:315
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489	<i>Jinlu jietan yi</i>	15:11616	15:139	9:86
490	<i>Jinlu shejiao yi</i>	15:11619	15:142	9:88
491	<i>Jinlu fangsheng yi</i>	15:11623	15:146	9:91
492	<i>Jinlu qishou zao, wu, wanchao yi</i>	15:11625	15:148	9:92
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495	<i>Jinlu xuanling zhuanjing zao, wu, wanchao xingdao yi</i>	15:11640	15:166	9:102
496	<i>Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao kaishou yi</i>	15:11654	15:181	9:112
497	<i>Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao zhuanjing yi</i>	15:11668	15:196	9:121
498	<i>Jinlu zhai toujian yi</i>	15:11683	15:211	9:131
499	<i>Yulu zidu suqi yi</i>	15:11688	15:217	9:134
500	<i>Yulu zidu jietan yi</i>	15:11692	15:221	9:137
501	<i>Yulu zidu shejiao yi</i>	15:11696	15:225	9:139
502	<i>Yulu zidu zao, wu, wanchao yi</i>	15:11699	15:229	9:142
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505	<i>Yulu sanri jiuchao yi</i>	15:11730	15:262	9:162
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508	<i>Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi</i>	15:12052	15:607	9:378
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519	<i>Taishang lingbao yugui mingzhen zhai chanfang yi</i>	16:12692	16:468	9:805
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523	<i>Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhaiyi</i>	16:12713	16:491	9:819
524	<i>Dongxuan lingbao zhai shuo guang zhu jie fa deng zhuyuan yi</i>	16:12716	16:494	9:821
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529	<i>Lingbao wujing tigang</i>	16:12772	16:551	9:858
530	<i>Dongxuan lingbao yulu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing</i>	16:12777	16:557	9:861
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532	<i>Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhaijie weiyi zhujing yaojue</i>	16:12785	16:566	9:867
533	<i>Taishang lingbao shangyuan tianguan xiaoqian miezui chan</i>	16:12797	16:578	9:875
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537	<i>Taishang xiaomie diyu shengzhi tiantang chan</i>	16:12817	16:599	9:892
538	<i>Taiyi jiuku tianzun shuo badu xuehu baochan</i>	16:12823	16:606	9:892
539	<i>Qingxuan jiuku baochan</i>	16:12831	16:614	9:897
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544	<i>Taishang cibe jiuyou bazui chan</i>	16:12975	16:765	10:90
545	<i>Taishang cibe daochang miezui shuichan</i>	16:13021	16:815	10:121
546	<i>Lingbao yujian mulu</i>	16:13033	17:1	10:129
547	<i>Lingbao yujian</i>	16:13048	17:17	10:139
548	<i>Taiji jilian neifa</i>	17:13499	17:483	10:439
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554	<i>Lingbao jingming yuan jiaoshi Zhou zhengong qiqing huayi</i>	17:13584	17:570	10:496
555	<i>Gaoshang yuegong taiyin yuanjun xiaodao xian- wang lingbao jingming huangsu shu</i>	17:13588	17:575	10:499
556	<i>Lingbao jingming huangsu shu shiyi bijue</i>	17:13618	17:606	10:519
557	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming rudao pin</i>	17:13625	17:613	10:523
558	<i>Lingbao jingming yuan zhenshi migao</i>	17:13627	17:616	10:525
559	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming fa yinshi</i>	17:13629	17:618	10:526
560	<i>Lingbao jingming dafa wandao yuzhang bijue</i>	17:13630	17:619	10:527
561	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming bifa pian</i>	17:13649	17:638	10:539
562	<i>Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa</i>	17:13660	17:649	10:547
563	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa</i>	17:13665	17:655	10:550
564	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa shili</i>	17:13738	17:730	10:553
565	<i>Taishang jingming yuan buzou zhiju taixuan dusheng xuzhi</i>	17:13742	17:734	10:601
566	<i>Shangqing tianxin zhengfa</i>	17:13751	17:743	10:607
567	<i>Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa</i>	17:13807	17:801	10:645
568	<i>Lingbao guikong jue</i>	17:13825	17:820	10:657
569	<i>Shangqing dadong jiugong chaoxiu bijue shang- dao</i>	17:13829	17:824	10:660
570	<i>Lingjian zi</i>	17:13834	18:1	10:663
571	<i>Lingjian zi yindao ziwu ji</i>	17:13845	18:13	10:670
572	<i>Yangming jiguan jindan zhenjue</i>	17:13852	18:20	10:675
573	<i>Xuanzhu ge</i>	17:13858	18:26	10:679
574	<i>Xuanzhu xinjing zhu</i>	17:13860	18:28	10:680
575	<i>Xuanzhu xinjing zhu</i>	17:13865	18:33	10:683
576	<i>Baoyi hansan bijue</i>	17:13883	18:51	10:695
577	<i>Cunshen guqi lun</i>	17:13897	18:66	10:705
578	<i>Shesheng zuanlu</i>	17:13900	18:70	10:707
579	<i>Yangsheng bilu</i>	17:13914	18:84	10:716
580	<i>Xuanpu shan lingqin bilu</i>	18:13931	18:101	10:727
581	<i>Lingbao liuding bifa</i>	18:13962	18:133	10:748
582	<i>Kuigang liusuo bifa</i>	18:13970	18:141	10:753
583	<i>Taishang sanbi wujie bifa</i>	18:13974	18:146	10:756
584	<i>Shangqing liujia qidao bifa</i>	18:13980	18:153	10:760
585	<i>Guandou zhongxiao wulei wuhou bifa</i>	18:13985	18:158	10:763
586	<i>Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue</i>	18:13993	18:166	10:768

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587	<i>Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue</i>	18:14007	18:180	10:778
588	<i>Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue</i>	18:14016	18:190	10:784
589	<i>Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu</i>	18:14029	18:204	10:793
590	<i>Daojiao lingyan ji</i>	18:14041	18:217	10:801
591	<i>Luyi ji</i>	18:14124	18:301	10:856
592	<i>Shenxian ganyu zhuan</i>	18:14162	18:340	10:881
593	<i>Lidai chongdao ji</i>	18:14201	18:379	11:1
594	<i>Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu</i>	18:14211	18:390	11:7
595	<i>Jiang-Huai yiren lu</i>	18:14218	18:398	11:12
596	<i>Xianyuan bianzhu</i>	18:14231	18:411	11:21
597	<i>Daoji lingxian ji</i>	18:14267	18:448	11:45
598	<i>Shizhou ji</i>	18:14276	18:457	11:51
599	<i>Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji</i>	18:14282	18:465	11:55
600	<i>Meixian guan ji</i>	18:14291	18:474	11:61
601	<i>Jinhua Chisong shan zhi</i>	18:14304	18:487	11:69
602	<i>Xiandu zhi</i>	18:14314	18:498	11:76
603	<i>Tiantai shan zhi</i>	18:14335	18:519	11:90
604	<i>Longrui guan Yuxue Yangming dongtian tujing</i>	18:14345	18:530	11:97
605	<i>Siming dongtian danshan tu yong ji</i>	18:14347	18:532	11:98
606	<i>Nanyue zongsheng ji</i>	18:14367	18:552	11:111
607	<i>Yuyin fashi</i>	18:14380	18:567	11:120
608	<i>Shangqing zhuzhen zhangsong</i>	18:14418	18:606	11:146
609	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui lizan</i>	18:14425	18:614	11:150
610	<i>Lingbao jiuyou changye qishi duwang xuanzhang</i>	18:14429	18:618	11:153
611	<i>Dongxuan lingbao liujia yunü shanggong gezhang</i>	18:14434	18:623	11:156
612	<i>Shangqing shi dichen Tongbo zhenren zhen tuzan</i>	18:14438	18:625	11:157
613	<i>Zhongxian zangsong lingzhang</i>	18:14445	18:635	11:164
614	<i>Dongxuan lingbao shengxuan buxu zhang xushu</i>	18:14452	18:642	11:168
615	<i>Chisong zi zhangli</i>	18:14459	18:649	11:173
616	<i>Guangcheng ji</i>	18:14547	18:739	11:231
617	<i>Taishang xuanci zhuhua zhang</i>	18:14664	18:860	11:310
618	<i>Lingbao jingming yuan xingqian shi</i>	18:14704	18:901	11:336
619	<i>Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi xingqian shi</i>	18:14713	18:910	11:342
620	<i>Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing</i>	19:14715	19:1	11:344
621	<i>Taishang xuanling doumu dasheng yuanjun benming yanshen xinjing</i>	19:14717	19:3	11:345
622	<i>Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing</i>	19:14719	19:5	11:346
623	<i>Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miao</i>	19:14723	19:10	11:349
624	<i>Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing</i>	19:14725	19:12	11:350

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625	<i>Taishang shuo dongdou zhusuan huming miaojing</i>	19:14729	19:17	II:353
626	<i>Taishang shuo xidou jiming hushen miaojing</i>	19:14731	19:19	II:354
627	<i>Taishang shuo zhongdou dakui baoming miaojing</i>	19:14733	19:21	II:355
628	<i>Taishang shuo zhongdou dakui zhangsuan fumo shenzhou jing</i>	19:14735	19:23	II:356
629	<i>Taishang beidou ershiba zhang jing</i>	19:14736	19:24	II:357
630	<i>Taishang laojun shuo jiusheng zhenjing</i>	19:14750	19:38	II:366
631	<i>Taishang laojun shuo xiaozai jing</i>	19:14751	19:39	II:367
632	<i>Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing</i>	19:14754	19:42	II:369
633	<i>Taishang taiqing huanglao dijun yunlei tiantong yinfan xianjing</i>	19:14756	19:45	II:371
634	<i>Taishang laojun shuo anzhai bayang jing</i>	19:14758	19:47	II:372
635	<i>Taishang laojun shuo buxie bayang jing</i>	19:14759	19:48	II:372
636	<i>Taishang shuo shilian shengshen jiuhu jing</i>	19:14760	19:49	II:373
637	<i>Taishang feibu wuxing jing</i>	19:14761	19:50	II:374
638	<i>Taishang feibu nandou taiwei yujing</i>	19:14766	19:55	II:377
639	<i>Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziweng shangjing</i>	19:14770	19:61	II:380
640	<i>Dongshen badi miaojing jing</i>	19:14777	19:69	II:385
641	<i>Taishang laojun neiguan jing</i>	19:14793	19:85	II:396
642	<i>Taishang laojun shuo liaoxin jing</i>	19:14797	19:88	II:398
643	<i>Taishang laojun neidan jing</i>	19:14797	19:89	II:398
644	<i>Taishang neidan shouyi zhending jing</i>	19:14799	19:90	II:399
645	<i>Taishang laojun nei riyong miaojing</i>	19:14799	19:91	II:400
646	<i>Taishang laojun wai riyong miaojing</i>	19:14800	19:92	II:400
647	<i>Taishang shuo zhuanlun wudao suming yinyuan jing</i>	19:14801	19:92	II:401
648	<i>Taishang huadao dushi xianjing</i>	19:14805	19:97	II:403
649	<i>Taishang laojun shuo Tianfei jiuku lingyan jing</i>	19:14812	19:104	II:408
650	<i>Taishang laojun shuo changsheng yisuan miaojing</i>	19:14815	19:109	II:410
651	<i>Taishang dongshen sanyuan miaoben fushou zhenjing</i>	19:14820	19:115	II:414
652	<i>Taishang laojun shuo jieshi Zhouzu jing</i>	19:14825	19:120	II:417
653	<i>Taishang laojun shuo wudou jinzhang shousheng jing</i>	19:14826	19:122	II:418
654	<i>Taishang dongshen tiangong xiaomo huguo jing</i>	19:14830	19:126	II:420
655	<i>Taishang shuo ziwei shenbing huguo xiaomo jing</i>	19:14841	19:137	II:427
656	<i>Taishang riyue hunyuan jing</i>	19:14842	19:139	II:428
657	<i>Taishang dongshen wuxing zhusu riyue hunchang jing</i>	19:14843	19:140	II:429

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658	<i>Taishang miaoshi jing</i>	19:14847	19:145	11:431
659	<i>Taishang haoyuan jing</i>	19:14850	19:149	11:434
660	<i>Hunyuán bajing zhenjing</i>	19:14851	19:150	11:434
661	<i>Laozi xiangming jing</i>	19:14878	19:177	11:452
662	<i>Taishang laojun shuo bao fumu enzhong jing</i>	19:14906	19:205	11:470
663	<i>Xuantian shangdi shuo bao fumu enzhong jing</i>	19:14910	19:209	11:473
664	<i>Daode zhenjing</i>	19:14911	19:211	11:474
665	<i>Daode jing guben pian</i>	19:14923	19:223	11:482
666	<i>Xisheng jing</i>	19:14934	19:235	11:489
667	<i>Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing</i>	19:14970	19:271	11:513
668	<i>Chongxu zhide zhenjing</i>	19:14989	19:291	11:525
669	<i>Dongling zhenjing</i>	19:15035	19:339	11:556
670	<i>Nanhua zhenjing</i>	19:15050	19:355	11:567
671	<i>Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shangjing</i>	19:15149	19:457	11:632
672	<i>Taishang laojun shuo yisuan shenfu miaojing</i>	19:15163	19:472	11:642
673	<i>Taishang laojun hunyuán sanbu fu</i>	19:15166	19:475	11:644
674	<i>Wushang sanyuan zhenzhai linglu</i>	19:15214	19:525	11:676
675	<i>Shangqing dantian sanqi yuhuang liuchen feigang siming dalu</i>	19:15225	19:537	11:684
676	<i>Da Ming Taizu gao huangdi yuzhu Daode zhenjing</i>	19:15233	19:545	11:689
677	<i>Tang Xuanzong yuzhu Daode zhenjing</i>	19:15273	19:587	11:716
678	<i>Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu</i>	19:15323	19:637	11:749
679	<i>Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu</i>	19:15414	19:731	11:809
680	<i>Song Huizong yujie Daode zhenjing</i>	19:15464	19:783	11:843
681	<i>Song Huizong Daode zhenjing jieyi</i>	20:15527	20:1	11:885
682	<i>Daode zhenjing zhu</i>	20:15644	10:123	12:1
683	<i>Daode zhenjing jie</i>	20:15678	20:159	12:23
684	<i>Daode zhenjing sizi gudao jijie</i>	20:15705	20:187	12:41
685	<i>Daode zhenjing zhuan</i>	20:15815	20:301	12:115
686	<i>Daode zhenjing zhuan</i>	20:15864	20:351	12:147
687	<i>Daode zhenjing san jie</i>	20:15919	20:407	12:184
688	<i>Daode zhenjing zhijie</i>	20:15997	20:487	12:236
689	<i>Daode zhenjing lun</i>	20:16036	20:527	12:262
690	<i>Daode zhenjing zhu</i>	20:16051	20:543	12:272
691	<i>Daode zhenjing zhu</i>	20:16079	20:573	12:291
692	<i>Daode zhenjing xinzhu</i>	20:16126	20:621	12:322
693	<i>Daode zhenjing zhigui</i>	20:16154	20:651	12:341
694	<i>Daode zhenjing shuyi</i>	20:16236	20:735	12:395
695	<i>Daode zhenjing jijie</i>	21:16462	21:119	12:546
696	<i>Daode zhenjing quanjie</i>	21:16518	21:177	12:583

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697	<i>Daode zhenjing cijie</i>	21:16561	21:223	12:612
698	<i>Daode zhenjing zhangju xunsong</i>	21:16582	21:245	12:626
699	<i>Daode huiyuan</i>	21:16606	21:269	12:642
700	<i>Daode zhenjing jie</i>	21:16632	21:295	12:659
701	<i>Daode zhenjing kouyi</i>	21:16687	21:351	12:696
702	<i>Daode xuanjing yuanzhi</i>	21:16730	21:395	12:725
703	<i>Xuanjing yuanzhi fahui</i>	21:16781	21:447	12:758
704	<i>Daode zhenjing zhu</i>	21:16813	21:481	12:780
705	<i>Daode zhenjing jijie</i>	21:16874	21:545	12:821
706	<i>Daode zhenjing jizhu</i>	21:16936	21:607	13:1
707	<i>Daode zhenjing jizhu</i>	21:17093	21:767	13:106
708	<i>Daode zhenjing jizhu shiwen</i>	22:17306	22:149	13:248
709	<i>Daode zhenjing jizhu zashuo</i>	22:17317	22:161	13:255
710	<i>Daode zhenjing zhushu</i>	22:17346	22:191	13:274
711	<i>Daode zhenjing xuande zuanshu</i>	22:17469	22:317	13:357
712	<i>Daode zhenjing jiyi</i>	22:17742	22:597	13:589
713	<i>Daode jing lunbing yaoyi shu</i>	22:17881	22:740	13:631
714	<i>Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei pian</i>	22:17913	23:1	13:652
715	<i>Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei kaiti kewen shu</i>	23:18024	23:117	13:727
716	<i>Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei shouchao</i>	23:18064	23:157	13:753
717	<i>Daode zhenjing yanyi shouchao</i>	23:18086	23:179	13:768
718	<i>Daode zhenjing qushan ji</i>	23:18199	23:295	13:843
719	<i>Daode zhenjing shuyi</i>	23:18348	23:449	13:942
720	<i>Daode zhenjing zhu</i>	23:18383	23:485	14:1
721	<i>Daode zhenjing yijie</i>	23:18399	23:502	14:11
722	<i>Daode zhenjing zhu</i>	23:18437	23:541	14:37
723	<i>Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi</i>	23:18467	23:571	14:57
724	<i>Daode zhenjing jiyi</i>	23:18508	23:613	14:84
725	<i>Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi</i>	24:18845	24:129	14:309
726	<i>Xisheng jing jizhu</i>	24:19232	24:529	14:566
727	<i>Wenshi zhenjing zhu</i>	24:19287	24:587	14:603
728	<i>Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi</i>	24:19418	24:719	14:690
729	<i>Chongxu zhide zhenjing Juanzhai kouyi</i>	24:19482	25:1	14:735
730	<i>Chongxu zhide zhenjing jie</i>	24:19585	25:107	14:802
731	<i>Chongxu zhide zhenjing yijie</i>	25:19735	25:261	14:903
732	<i>Chongxu zhide zhen jing sijie</i>	25:19782	25:309	15:1
733	<i>Liezi chongxu zhide zhenjing shiwen</i>	25:20023	25:558	15:162
734	<i>Nanhua zhenjing yihai zuanwei</i>	25:20042	25:577	15:174
735	<i>Nanhua zhenjing kouyi</i>	26:20811	26:525	15:687
736	<i>Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi</i>	26:21120	27:1	15:894
737	<i>Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi</i>	26:21208	27:91	15:952
738	<i>Nanhua zhenjing yushi zalu</i>	26:21218	27:102	15:959

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739	<i>Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin</i>	26:21230	27:114	16:1
740	<i>Nanhua miao</i>	26:21237	27:121	16:5
741	<i>Zhuangzi neipian dingzheng</i>	26:21238	27:123	16:6
742	<i>Nanhua zhenjing xunben</i>	26:21261	27:146	16:21
743	<i>Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan</i>	27:21460	27:349	16:154
744	<i>Nanhua zhenjing shiyi</i>	27:21634	27:527	16:270
745	<i>Nanhua zhenjing zhushu</i>	27:21639	27:533	16:273
746	<i>Tongxuan zhenjing</i>	28:22240	28:233	16:673
747	<i>Dongling zhenjing</i>	28:22326	28:323	16:731
748	<i>Tongxuan zhenjing zuanyi</i>	28:22360	28:357	16:754
749	<i>Tongxuan zhenjing</i>	28:22461	28:459	16:821
750	<i>Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu</i>	28:22537	28:539	17:1
751	<i>Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhujie</i>	28:22595	28:600	17:39
752	<i>Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu</i>	28:22633	28:639	17:65
753	<i>Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang</i>	28:22667	28:673	17:87
754	<i>Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu bench- uan shenzhou miaojing</i>	28:22671	28:679	17:90
755	<i>Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu</i>	28:22746	28:755	17:141
756	<i>Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu</i>	28:22781	28:759	17:143
757	<i>Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu</i>	28:22784	28:791	17:164
758	<i>Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu</i>	28:22796	28:807	17:174
759	<i>Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu</i>	28:22808	28:820	17:182
760	<i>Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing zuantu jiezhu</i>	28:22826	28:838	17:194
761	<i>Taishang laojun yuandao zhenjing zhujie</i>	28:22839	28:853	17:204
762	<i>Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing zhu</i>	28:22849	28:861	17:209
763	<i>Laozi shuo wuchu jing zhu</i>	28:22854	28:866	17:213
764	<i>Taishang sanyuan feixing guanjin jinshu yulu tu</i>	28:22857	29:1	17:215
765	<i>Shangqing jinque dijun wudou sanyi tujue</i>	28:22861	29:6	17:218
766	<i>Siqi shesheng tu</i>	28:22871	29:16	17:224
767	<i>Taishang tongling bashi shengwen zhenxing tu</i>	28:22885	29:30	17:234
768	<i>Tujing yanyi bencao</i>	28:22892	29:37	17:238
769	<i>Tujing yanyi bencao</i>	29:22947	29:93	17:274
770	<i>Hunyuan shengji</i>	30:23705	30:1	17:779
771	<i>Taishang laojun nianpu yaolie</i>	30:23862	30:161	17:884
772	<i>Taishang laojun jinshu neixu</i>	30:23869	30:168	17:888
773	<i>Taishang hunyuan Laozi shilie</i>	30:23872	30:171	17:890
774	<i>Youlong zhuan</i>	30:23908	30:207	18:1

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775	<i>Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benchuan shenzhou miaojing</i>	30:23964	30:265	18:38
776	<i>Zhenwu lingying zhenjun zengshang yousheng zunhao cewen</i>	30:23969	30:271	18:42
777	<i>Zhangxian mingsu huanghou shou shangqing bifa lu ji</i>	30:23970	30:272	18:42
778	<i>Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi</i>	30:23973	30:275	18:44
779	<i>Tang Ye zhenren zhuan</i>	30:24024	30:327	18:78
780	<i>Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan</i>	30:24042	30:347	18:90
781	<i>Xuanpin lu</i>	30:24052	30:355	18:97
782	<i>Dadi dongtian ji</i>	30:24117	30:422	18:140
783	<i>Yongcheng jixian lu</i>	30:24154	30:461	18:165
784	<i>Taishang laojun jiejing</i>	30:24208	30:517	18:201
785	<i>Laojun yinsong jiejing</i>	30:24222	30:532	18:210
786	<i>Taishang laojun jinglü</i>	30:24233	30:543	18:218
787	<i>Taishang jingjie</i>	30:24239	30:549	18:222
788	<i>Sandong fafu kejie wen</i>	30:24249	30:559	18:228
789	<i>Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing</i>	30:24254	30:565	18:232
790	<i>Nüqing guilü</i>	30:24266	30:577	18:239
791	<i>Zhengyi weiyi jing</i>	30:24285	30:597	18:252
792	<i>Xuanmen shishi weiyi</i>	30:24295	30:608	18:259
793	<i>Taiqing daode xianhua yi</i>	30:24304	30:617	18:265
794	<i>Zhengyi jiee jiaoyi</i>	30:24314	30:627	18:271
795	<i>Zhengyi chuguan zhangyi</i>	30:24318	30:631	18:274
796	<i>Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei yuelu jiaoyi</i>	30:24328	30:642	18:281
797	<i>Taishang zhengyi yuelu yi</i>	30:24335	30:649	18:286
798	<i>Zhengyi zhijiao zhai yi</i>	30:24343	30:658	18:291
799	<i>Zhengyi zhijiao zhai qingdan xingdao yi</i>	30:24346	30:661	18:293
800	<i>Zhengyi chitan yi</i>	30:24349	30:664	18:295
801	<i>Zhengyi jiaozhai yi</i>	30:24353	30:667	18:297
802	<i>Zhengyi jiaomu yi</i>	30:24356	30:670	18:299
803	<i>Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi</i>	30:24358	30:673	18:301
804	<i>Dongshen sanhuang qishier jun zhai fangchan yi</i>	30:24364	30:680	18:305
805	<i>Taishang dongshen taiyuan hetu sanyuan yangxie yi</i>	30:24368	30:684	18:308
806	<i>Taishang jinshu yudie baozhang yi</i>	30:24385	30:701	18:319
807	<i>Tianxin zhengfa xiuzhen daochang shejiao yi</i>	30:24391	30:708	18:323
808	<i>Taishang sandong chuanshou daode jing zixu lu baibiao yi</i>	30:24397	30:714	18:327
809	<i>Taishang sanwu bangjiu jiao wudi duanwen yi</i>	30:24407	30:724	18:333
810	<i>Taishang xiaozai qifu jiaoyi</i>	30:24413	30:730	18:337

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811	<i>Taishang jingui yujing yansheng dongxuan zhuyou chan</i>	30:24418	30:736	18:341
812	<i>Taishang yaotai yisuan baoji yannian chan</i>	30:24424	30:742	18:345
813	<i>Taishang zhengyi chaotian sanba xiezui fachan</i>	30:24429	30:747	18:348
814	<i>Zhenwu lingying hushi xiaozai miezui baochan</i>	30:24435	30:753	18:352
815	<i>Beiji zhenwu puci dushi fachan</i>	30:24438	30:756	18:354
816	<i>Beiji zhenwu yousheng zhenjun liwen</i>	30:24475	30:794	18:379
817	<i>Taiqing zhonghuang zhenjing</i>	31:24483	30:801	18:383
818	<i>Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing</i>	31:24500	30:819	18:394
819	<i>Taishang yangsheng taixi qijing</i>	31:24509	30:829	18:401
820	<i>Taiqing tiaopi jing</i>	31:24514	30:834	18:404
821	<i>Taishang laojun yangsheng jue</i>	31:24525	30:846	18:411
822	<i>Taiqing fuqi koujue</i>	31:24529	30:850	18:414
823	<i>Zhuang Zhou qijue jie</i>	31:24533	30:854	18:416
824	<i>Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing</i>	31:24535	30:856	18:418
825	<i>Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing</i>	31:24544	31:1	18:424
826	<i>Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue</i>	31:24558	31:15	18:433
827	<i>Taixi baoyi ge</i>	31:24566	31:23	18:438
828	<i>Youzhen xiansheng funa yuanqi jue</i>	31:24568	31:25	18:440
829	<i>Taixi jingwei lun</i>	31:24575	31:33	18:445
830	<i>Fuqi jingyi lun</i>	31:24579	31:37	18:447
831	<i>Qifa yaoming zhijue</i>	31:24585	31:43	18:451
832	<i>Shangqing siming Mao zhenjun xiuxing zhimi jue</i>	31:24591	31:49	18:455
833	<i>Shenqi yangxing lun</i>	31:24594	31:52	18:457
834	<i>Cunshen lianqi ming</i>	31:24595	31:53	18:458
835	<i>Baosheng ming</i>	31:24597	31:55	18:459
836	<i>Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu</i>	31:24597	31:56	18:459
837	<i>Zhenzhong ji</i>	31:24606	31:65	18:465
838	<i>Yangxing yanming lu</i>	31:24620	31:79	18:474
839	<i>Sandong shuji zashuo</i>	31:24636	31:96	18:485
840	<i>Pengzu shesheng yangxing lun</i>	31:24643	31:103	18:490
841	<i>Sun zhenren sheyang lun</i>	31:24644	31:104	18:491
842	<i>Baopu zi yangsheng lun</i>	31:24647	31:107	18:492
843	<i>Yangsheng yongxuan ji</i>	31:24648	31:109	18:493
844	<i>Shenxian fushi lingcao changpu wan fangzhuan</i>	31:24662	31:123	18:502
845	<i>Shangqing jing zhendan bijue</i>	31:24664	31:126	18:504
846	<i>Taiqing jing duangu fa</i>	31:24667	31:129	18:506
847	<i>Taishang zhouhou yujing fang</i>	31:24673	31:135	18:510
848	<i>Hunsu yisheng lu</i>	31:24676	31:138	18:512
849	<i>Baosheng yaolu</i>	31:24687	31:149	18:519
850	<i>Xiuzhen bilu</i>	31:24692	31:154	18:522

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851	<i>Sanyuan yanshou canzan shu</i>	31:24697	31:161	18:526
852	<i>Taishang baozhen yangsheng lun</i>	31:24744	31:208	18:557
853	<i>Yangsheng bianyi jue</i>	31:24746	31:211	18:559
854	<i>Taishang sanhuang baozhai shenxian shanglu jing</i>	31:24748	31:213	18:560
855	<i>Taiqing jinque yuhua xianshu baji shenzhang sanhuang neibi wen</i>	31:24751	31:216	18:562
856	<i>Sanhuang neiwen yibi</i>	31:24780	31:245	18:581
857	<i>Bizang tongxuan bianhua liuyin dongwei dunjia zhenjing</i>	31:24786	31:258	18:585
858	<i>Taishang dongshen xuanmiao boyuan zhenjing</i>	31:24816	31:284	18:605
859	<i>Taishang tongxuan lingyin jing</i>	31:24826	31:294	18:612
860	<i>Shangqing zhenyuan rongling jing</i>	31:24831	31:300	18:615
861	<i>Taishang liuren mingjian fuyin jing</i>	31:24840	31:309	18:621
862	<i>Xiandao jing</i>	31:24875	31:345	18:644
863	<i>Shenxian liandan dianzhu sanyuan baozhao fa</i>	31:24882	31:353	18:649
864	<i>Yuanyang zi wujia lun</i>	31:24886	31:358	18:652
865	<i>Taiqing yuanji zhimiao shenzhu yuke jing</i>	31:24889	31:361	18:654
866	<i>Tianlao shengguang jing</i>	31:24907	31:380	18:666
867	<i>Guigu zi tiansui lingwen</i>	31:24915	31:388	18:671
868	<i>Xiantian Xuanmiao yunü Taishang shengmu zichuan xiandao</i>	31:24942	31:416	18:689
869	<i>Si yin qi juefa</i>	31:24947	31:421	18:692
870	<i>Beidou zhifa wuwei jing</i>	31:24950	31:424	18:694
871	<i>Taishang chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing</i>	31:24954	31:429	18:697
872	<i>Taishang laojun xuanmiao zhenzhong neide shenzhou jing</i>	31:24966	31:442	18:705
873	<i>Huangting dunjia yuanshen jing</i>	31:24968	31:443	18:706
874	<i>Ziting neibi jue xiuxing fa</i>	31:24973	31:449	18:710
875	<i>Taishang laojun da cunsi tu zhujue</i>	31:24981	31:457	18:715
876	<i>Taishang wuxing qiyuan kongchang jue</i>	31:24993	31:470	18:723
877	<i>Shangxuan gaozhen Yanshou chishu</i>	31:25005	31:482	18:731
878	<i>Zituan danjing</i>	31:25014	31:491	18:737
879	<i>Shangqing jinshu yuzi shangjing</i>	31:25023	31:501	18:743
880	<i>Taiqing jinyi shendan jing</i>	31:25028	31:507	18:746
881	<i>Taiqing shibi ji</i>	31:25052	31:532	18:763
882	<i>Taiqing jinyi shenqi jing</i>	31:25073	31:554	18:776
883	<i>Taiqing jing tianshi koujue</i>	31:25089	31:570	18:787
884	<i>Taiqing xiudan bijue</i>	31:25096	31:578	18:792
885	<i>Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue</i>	31:25100	31:583	18:795
886	<i>Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan zisheng xuanjing</i>	31:25198	31:683	19:1
887	<i>Zhang zhenren jinshi lingsha lun</i>	31:25204	31:690	19:5

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888	<i>Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue</i>	31:25209	31:695	19:8
889	<i>Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue</i>	31:25212	31:699	19:10
890	<i>Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue</i>	31:25216	31:703	19:13
891	<i>Dadong lian zhenbao jing jiuhuan jindan miaojue</i>	31:25229	31:716	19:22
892	<i>Taishang weiling shenhua jiuzhuan dansha jue</i>	31:25238	31:725	19:27
893	<i>Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan</i>	31:25241	31:729	19:30
894	<i>Jiuzhuan qingjin lingsha dan</i>	31:25247	31:735	19:34
895	<i>Yinyang jiuzhuan cheng zijin dianhua huandan jue</i>	31:25250	31:738	19:35
896	<i>Yudong dashen dansha zhenyao jue</i>	31:25252	31:741	19:37
897	<i>Lingsha dadan bijue</i>	31:25263	31:752	19:44
898	<i>Biyu zhusha hanlin yushu gui</i>	31:25274	31:764	19:52
899	<i>Dadan ji</i>	32:25279	31:769	19:54
900	<i>Danfang xuzhi</i>	32:25282	31:773	19:57
901	<i>Shiyao erya</i>	32:25289	31:780	19:61
902	<i>Jichuan zhenren jiaozheng shu</i>	32:25296	31:787	19:66
903	<i>Chunyang Lü zhenren yaoshi zhi</i>	32:25301	31:792	19:69
904	<i>Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi</i>	32:25306	31:798	19:73
905	<i>Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao</i>	32:25326	31:819	19:86
906	<i>Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei</i>	32:25329	31:822	19:88
907	<i>Jinshi bu wujiu shu jue</i>	32:25350	31:843	19:102
908	<i>Shangqing jiuzhen zhongjing neijue</i>	32:25355	31:848	19:105
909	<i>Longhu huandan jue</i>	32:25358	32:1	19:107
910	<i>Jinhua yuyi dadan</i>	32:25388	32:32	19:127
911	<i>Ganqi shiliu zhuan jindan</i>	32:25398	32:42	19:134
912	<i>Xiulian dadan yaozhi</i>	32:25403	32:48	19:137
913	<i>Tongyou jue</i>	32:25422	32:67	19:150
914	<i>Jinhua chongbi danjing bizhi</i>	32:25436	32:81	19:159
915	<i>Huandan zhouhou jue</i>	32:25451	32:97	19:169
916	<i>Penglai shan xizao huangdan ge</i>	32:25474	32:120	19:185
917	<i>Baopu zi shenxian jinzhuo jing</i>	32:25502	32:149	19:204
918	<i>Zhujia shenpin danfa</i>	32:25518	32:165	19:214
919	<i>Qiangong jiageng zhibao jicheng</i>	32:25567	32:214	19:247
920	<i>Danfang aolun</i>	32:25610	32:259	19:275
921	<i>Zhigui ji</i>	32:25618	32:268	19:281
922	<i>Huanjin shu</i>	32:25624	32:274	19:285
923	<i>Dadan qiangong lun</i>	32:25629	32:279	19:288
924	<i>Zhenyuan miaodao yaolie</i>	32:25633	32:284	19:291
925	<i>Danfang jianyuan</i>	32:25643	32:294	19:298
926	<i>Da huandan zhaojian</i>	32:25652	32:303	19:304
927	<i>Taiqing yubei zi</i>	32:25664	32:315	19:311

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928	<i>Xuanjie lu</i>	32:25670	32:321	19:315
929	<i>Xuanyuan huangdi shuijing yaofa</i>	32:25674	32:326	19:318
930	<i>Sanshiliu shuifa</i>	32:25681	32:333	19:323
931	<i>Jusheng ge</i>	32:25687	32:339	19:327
932	<i>Boyun xianren lingcao ge</i>	32:25689	32:342	19:328
933	<i>Zhong zhicao fa</i>	32:25699	32:352	19:335
934	<i>Taibo jing</i>	32:25702	32:355	19:337
935	<i>Danlun juezhi xinjian</i>	32:25707	32:361	19:340
936	<i>Dahuan xinjian</i>	32:25714	32:368	19:345
937	<i>Da huandan jinhu bolong lun</i>	32:25717	32:371	19:347
938	<i>Dadan pian</i>	32:25720	32:374	19:349
939	<i>Dadan wenda</i>	32:25724	32:379	19:352
940	<i>Jinmu wanling lun</i>	32:25726	32:381	19:353
941	<i>Hongqian ru heiqian jue</i>	32:25728	32:383	19:354
942	<i>Tongxuan bishu</i>	32:25731	32:386	19:356
943	<i>Lingfei san chuanxin lu</i>	32:25742	32:397	19:363
944	<i>Yanmen gong miaojie lu</i>	32:25745	32:401	19:365
945	<i>Xuanshuang zhangshang lu</i>	32:25749	32:405	19:368
946	<i>Taiji zhenren zadan yaofang</i>	32:25750	32:406	19:369
947	<i>Yuqing neishu</i>	32:25757	32:414	19:374
948	<i>Shenxian yangshen bishu</i>	32:25768	32:425	19:381
949	<i>Taigu tudui jing</i>	32:25777	32:435	19:387
950	<i>Shangdong xindan jingjue</i>	32:25790	32:449	19:396
951	<i>Xu zhenjun shihan ji</i>	32:25815	32:474	19:412
952	<i>Jiuzhuan liuzhu shenxian jiudan jing</i>	32:25837	32:497	19:427
953	<i>Gengdao ji</i>	32:25852	32:513	19:437
954	<i>Taishang hunyuan zhenlu</i>	32:25957	32:621	19:507
955	<i>Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan</i>	32:25971	32:636	19:516
956	<i>Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji</i>	32:26011	32:676	19:543
957	<i>Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji</i>	32:26021	32:686	19:549
958	<i>Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu</i>	33:26055	32:719	19:571
959	<i>Da Ming xuantian shengdi ruiying tulu</i>	33:26145	32:812	19:632
960	<i>Yuzhi Zhenwu miao bei</i>	33:26158	32:824	19:640
961	<i>Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu</i>	33:26159	32:826	19:641
962	<i>Wudang fudi zongzhen ji</i>	33:26168	33:1	19:647
963	<i>Wudang jisheng ji</i>	33:26200	33:34	19:668
964	<i>Xichuan Qingyang gong beiming</i>	33:26216	33:50	19:679
965	<i>Song dong Taiyi gong beiming</i>	33:26228	33:63	19:687
966	<i>Song xi Taiyi gong beiming</i>	33:26231	33:66	19:689
967	<i>Song zhong Taiyi gong beiming</i>	33:26233	33:69	19:690
968	<i>Longjiao shan ji</i>	33:26236	33:72	19:692
969	<i>Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji</i>	33:26248	33:85	19:700

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970	<i>Tang Wangwu shan Zhongyan tai Zhengyi xiansheng miaojie</i>	33:26257	33:94	19:706
971	<i>Tang Songgao shan Qimu miao beiming</i>	33:26260	33:96	19:708
972	<i>Gongguan beiji</i>	33:26263	33:100	19:710
973	<i>Ganshui xianyuan lu</i>	33:26280	33:117	19:722
974	<i>Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing song- zhu</i>	33:26420	33:261	19:815
975	<i>Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang</i>	33:26424	33:266	19:818
976	<i>Taishang dongshen wuxing zan</i>	33:26426	33:268	19:819
977	<i>Daode pianzhang xuansong</i>	33:26429	33:272	19:821
978	<i>Daode zhenjing song</i>	33:26464	33:308	19:844
979	<i>Mingzhen powang zhangsong</i>	33:26470	33:315	19:848
980	<i>Zhuzhen gesong</i>	33:26474	33:319	19:851
981	<i>Da Ming yuzhi xuanjiao yuezhang</i>	33:26485	33:331	19:858
982	<i>Taishang sandong biaowen</i>	33:26490	33:337	19:861
983	<i>Cuishan lu</i>	33:26523	33:371	19:883
984	<i>Xuanjing bixia lingbao juxuan jing</i>	33:26547	34:1	19:899
985	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyi wuqi zhenjing</i>	33:26579	34:34	19:921
986	<i>Taishang qingjing yuandong zhenwen yuzi miaojing</i>	33:26582	34:38	19:923
987	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianguan jing</i>	33:26585	34:41	19:925
988	<i>Shangqing wuying zhentong heyong neibian yujing</i>	33:26588	34:44	19:927
989	<i>Shangqing shenbao dongfang zhenhui shangjing</i>	33:26590	34:46	19:928
990	<i>Dongxuan lingbao jiu zhenren wufu sangui xingdao guanmen jing</i>	33:26593	34:50	19:930
991	<i>Taishang changwen dadong lingbao youxuan shangpin miaojing</i>	33:26597	34:55	20:1
992	<i>Taishang changwen dadong lingbao youxuan shangpin miaojing fahui</i>	33:26603	34:62	20:5
993	<i>Shangqing bidao jiuqing huiyao heshen shang- zhen yujing</i>	33:26613	34:72	20:11
994	<i>Shangqing taiyuan shenlong qiongtai chengjing shangxuan yuzhang</i>	33:26615	34:74	20:12
995	<i>Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian</i>	33:26617	34:77	20:14
996	<i>Guwen longhu jing zhushu</i>	33:26646	34:107	20:33
997	<i>Guwen longhu shangjing zhu</i>	33:26682	34:144	20:57
998	<i>Du longhu jing</i>	33:26690	34:152	20:63
999	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi</i>	33:26691	34:153	20:63
1000	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi zhu</i>	33:26740	34:203	20:96
1001	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi</i>	33:26773	34:237	20:118
1002	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi</i>	33:26793	34:258	20:131

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I003	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu</i>	33:26830	34:297	20:157
I004	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi zhu</i>	33:26838	34:304	20:161
I005	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi fahui</i>	34:26885	34:351	20:192
I006	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi</i>	34:26989	34:460	20:262
I007	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi jie</i>	34:27003	34:475	20:271
I008	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi</i>	34:27043	34:515	20:297
I009	<i>Yiwai biezhu</i>	34:27065	34:538	20:312
I010	<i>Xuanpin zhi men fu</i>	34:27077	34:550	20:320
I011	<i>Yishi tongbian</i>	34:27079	34:553	20:322
I012	<i>Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu</i>	34:27099	34:573	20:335
I013	<i>Hetu</i>	34:27101	34:575	20:336
I014	<i>Yitu tongbian</i>	34:27102	34:576	20:337
I015	<i>Jinsuo liuzhu yin</i>	34:27127	34:603	20:354
I016	<i>Zhen'gao</i>	34:27332	35:1	20:490
I017	<i>Daoshu</i>	34:27512	35:187	20:610
I018	<i>Huangdi neijing suwen buzhu shiwen</i>	35:27868	35:553	21:1
I019	<i>Huangdi neijing lingshu lue</i>	35:28442	36:247	21:383
I020	<i>Huangdi suwen lingshu jizhu</i>	35:28446	36:252	21:386
I021	<i>Huangdi neijing suwen yipian</i>	36:28556	36:365	21:459
I022	<i>Suwen rushi yunqi lun'ao</i>	36:28595	36:406	21:485
I023	<i>Suwen liuqi xuanzhu miyu</i>	36:28630	36:441	21:508
I024	<i>Huangdi bashiyi nan jing zuantu jujie</i>	36:28758	36:571	21:593
I025	<i>Guigu zi</i>	36:28872	36:689	21:669
I026	<i>Tianyin zi</i>	36:28916	36:735	21:699
I027	<i>Sulü zi</i>	36:28919	36:736	21:701
I028	<i>Wuneng zi</i>	36:28928	36:748	21:707
I029	<i>Xuanzhen zi waipian</i>	36:28945	36:765	21:718
I030	<i>Liuzi</i>	36:28957	36:777	21:726
I031	<i>Shanhai jing</i>	36:29041	37:1	21:782
I032	<i>Yunji qiqian</i>	36:29134	37:95	22:1
I033	<i>Zhiyan zong</i>	38:30411	38:551	22:850
I034	<i>Taixuan baodian</i>	38:30442	38:583	22:871
I035	<i>Daoti lun</i>	38:30457	38:599	22:880
I036	<i>Zuowang lun</i>	38:30473	38:616	22:891
I037	<i>Dadao lun</i>	38:30483	38:626	22:898
I038	<i>Xinmu lun</i>	38:30495	38:638	22:906
I039	<i>Sanlun yuanzhi</i>	38:30497	38:640	22:907
I040	<i>Huangji jingshi</i>	38:30508	38:651	23:1
I041	<i>Lingqi benzhang zhengjing</i>	39:31189	39:467	23:455
I042	<i>Yichuan jirang ji</i>	39:31236	39:515	23:486
I043	<i>Taishang xiuzhen xuanzhang</i>	39:31387	39:671	23:587
I044	<i>Huashu</i>	39:31391	39:675	23:589

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1045	<i>Haike lun</i>	39:31414	39:698	23:605
1046	<i>Wuxuan pian</i>	39:31425	39:711	23:612
1047	<i>Taixu xinyuan pian</i>	39:31431	39:718	23:616
1048	<i>Xuanzhu lu</i>	39:31435	39:722	23:619
1049	<i>Yungong fayu</i>	39:31456	39:743	23:633
1050	<i>Huayang Tao yinju ji</i>	39:31467	39:755	23:640
1051	<i>Zongxuan xiansheng wenji</i>	39:31486	39:774	23:653
1052	<i>Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun</i>	39:31517	39:807	23:673
1053	<i>Wu zunshi zhuan</i>	39:31530	39:820	23:682
1054	<i>Nantong dajun neidan jiuzhang jing</i>	39:31531	39:821	23:683
1055	<i>Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji</i>	39:31534	39:824	23:685
1056	<i>Jin zhenren yulu</i>	39:31551	40:1	23:696
1057	<i>Danyang zhenren yulu</i>	39:31558	40:9	23:701
1058	<i>Wuwei qingjing Changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu</i>	39:31566	40:17	23:706
1059	<i>Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu</i>	39:31584	40:35	23:718
1060	<i>Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu</i>	39:31616	40:57	23:733
1061	<i>Shangqing Taixuan ji</i>	39:31650	40:102	23:762
1062	<i>Jin dongtian haiyue biao</i>	39:31757	40:211	23:834
1063	<i>Dongyuan ji</i>	39:31760	40:214	23:835
1064	<i>Dongyuan ji</i>	39:31788	40:242	23:854
1065	<i>Xuanjiao da gongan</i>	40:31841	40:295	23:889
1066	<i>Xuanzong zhizhi wanfa tonggui</i>	40:31896	40:329	23:911
1067	<i>Shangyang zi jindan dayao</i>	40:31951	40:406	24:1
1068	<i>Shangyang zi jindan dayao tu</i>	40:32055	40:512	24:70
1069	<i>Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi</i>	40:32061	40:518	24:74
1070	<i>Shangyang zi jindan dayao xianpai</i>	40:32065	40:523	24:77
1071	<i>Yuanyang zi fayu</i>	40:32070	40:528	24:80
1072	<i>Jindan zhizhi</i>	40:32085	40:542	24:90
1073	<i>Daochan ji</i>	40:32091	40:549	24:94
1074	<i>Huanzhen ji</i>	40:32095	40:554	24:97
1075	<i>Daoxuan pian</i>	40:32134	40:593	24:123
1076	<i>Suiji yinghua lu</i>	40:32142	40:601	24:128
1077	<i>Xiulian xuzhi</i>	40:32163	40:623	24:142
1078	<i>Yushi jing</i>	40:32173	40:633	24:149
1079	<i>Zhenren Gao Xiangxian jindan ge</i>	40:32176	40:636	24:151
1080	<i>Jindan zhenyi lun</i>	40:32179	40:640	24:153
1081	<i>Jindan sibai zi</i>	40:32191	40:652	24:161
1082	<i>Longhu huandan jue song</i>	40:32197	40:658	24:165
1083	<i>Longhu yuanzhi</i>	40:32207	40:668	24:171
1084	<i>Longhu huandan jue</i>	40:32211	40:673	24:174
1085	<i>Neidan bijue</i>	40:32219	40:681	24:180

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1086	<i>Yuzhuang xiehou lu</i>	40:32225	40:687	24:183
1087	<i>Jindan zhengzong</i>	40:32230	40:693	24:187
1088	<i>Huandan fuming pian</i>	40:32236	40:699	24:191
1089	<i>Yuanqing zi zhiming pian</i>	40:32242	40:706	24:195
1090	<i>Cuixu pian</i>	40:32253	40:717	24:202
1091	<i>Huanyuan pian</i>	40:32267	40:731	24:212
1092	<i>Huandan zhiyao pian</i>	40:32272	40:736	24:215
1093	<i>Danjia ji</i>	40:32275	40:739	24:217
1094	<i>Jinyi dadan shi</i>	40:32278	40:743	24:219
1095	<i>Zhengdao ge</i>	40:32285	40:750	24:224
1096	<i>Chen xiansheng neidan jue</i>	40:32288	40:753	24:225
1097	<i>Dongyuan zi neidan jue</i>	40:32301	40:767	24:234
1098	<i>Neidan huanyuan jue</i>	40:32322	40:788	24:248
1099	<i>Changsheng zhiyao pian</i>	40:32324	40:790	24:249
1100	<i>Minghe yuyin</i>	40:32333	40:800	24:256
1101	<i>Taiping jing</i>	40:32417	41:1	24:311
1102	<i>Taiping jing shengjun bizhi</i>	41:32847	41:444	24:598
1103	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming dongshen shangpin jing</i>	41:32852	41:449	24:601
1104	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming yuzhen shu zhenjing</i>	41:32867	41:465	24:611
1105	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming daoyuan zhengyin jing</i>	41:32868	41:467	24:612
1106	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming tianzun shuo yuwen jing</i>	41:32869	41:468	24:613
1107	<i>Taishang lingbao shouru jingming sigui ming- jian jing</i>	41:32871	41:470	24:614
1108	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming jiuxian shuijing</i>	41:32874	41:473	24:616
1109	<i>Taishang lingbao jingming zhonghuang bazhu jing</i>	41:32877	41:476	24:618
1110	<i>Jingming zhongxiao quanshu</i>	41:32880	41:481	24:620
1111	<i>Taixuan zhenyi benji miaojing</i>	41:32930	41:533	24:653
1112	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao baxian wang jiaojie jing</i>	41:32939	41:543	24:659
1113	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao guowang xingdao jing</i>	41:32943	41:547	24:662
1114	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing</i>	41:32949	41:553	24:666
1115	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing yinyuan jing</i>	41:32957	41:561	24:671
1116	<i>Dongxuan lingbao taishang zhenren wenji jing</i>	41:32961	41:565	24:674
1117	<i>Taiji Zuo xiangong shuo shenfu jing</i>	41:32976	41:581	24:684
1118	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao feixing sanjie tong- wei neisi miaojing</i>	41:32980	41:585	24:686

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1119	<i>Dongxuan lingbao xuanyi zhenren shuo shengsi lunzhuan yinyuan jing</i>	41:32988	41:593	24:692
1120	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhonghe jing</i>	41:32992	41:597	24:694
1121	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanshier tianzun yinghao jing</i>	41:32997	41:602	24:698
1122	<i>Taishang lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing zhonghe pin shuyi shu</i>	41:33009	41:615	24:706
1123	<i>Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi</i>	41:33031	41:637	24:720
1124	<i>Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi</i>	41:33051	41:658	24:734
1125	<i>Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi</i>	41:33061	41:668	24:741
1126	<i>Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi</i>	41:33099	41:708	24:766
1127	<i>Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe</i>	41:33119	41:728	24:779
1128	<i>Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu</i>	41:33124	41:733	24:782
1129	<i>Daojiao yishu</i>	41:33154	41:764	24:803
1130	<i>Daodian lun</i>	41:33206	42:1	24:837
1131	<i>Taishang miaofa benxiang jing</i>	41:33236	42:32	24:857
1132	<i>Shangqing dao leishi xiang</i>	41:33262	42:59	24:874
1133	<i>Shangfang lingbao wuji zhidao kaihua zhenjing</i>	41:33287	42:85	24:891
1134	<i>Shangfang juntian yanfan zhenjing</i>	41:33318	42:117	24:912
1135	<i>Taiping liangtong shu</i>	41:33319	42:119	24:912
1136	<i>Dongxuan lingbao Zuoxuan lun</i>	41:33330	42:130	24:920
1137	<i>Shangqing Taixuan jianjie lun</i>	41:33353	42:154	24:935
1138	<i>Wushang biyao</i>	41:33359	42:161	25:1
1139	<i>Sandong zhunang</i>	42:33803	42:627	25:296
1140	<i>Yunshan ji</i>	42:33904	42:731	25:364
1141	<i>Xianle ji</i>	42:33993	43:1	25:423
1142	<i>Jianwu ji</i>	42:34040	43:49	25:454
1143	<i>Caotang ji</i>	42:34078	43:88	25:480
1144	<i>Ziran ji</i>	42:34099	43:109	25:494
1145	<i>Xuanxu zi mingzhen ji</i>	42:34104	43:115	25:497
1146	<i>Baoguang ji</i>	42:34110	43:121	25:501
1147	<i>Xiyun ji</i>	42:34156	43:167	25:532
1148	<i>Wuzhai xiansheng wenji</i>	42:34172	43:183	25:542
1149	<i>Dongxuan jinyu ji</i>	41:34197	43:209	25:559
1150	<i>Danyang shengguang can</i>	42:34292	43:307	25:622
1151	<i>Wuzhen ji</i>	42:34310	43:326	25:635
1152	<i>Yunguang ji</i>	42:34330	43:347	25:648
1153	<i>Chongyang quanzhen ji</i>	43:34393	43:411	25:689
1154	<i>Chongyang jiaohua ji</i>	43:34511	43:534	25:768
1155	<i>Chongyan fenli shihua ji</i>	43:34544	43:567	25:790
1156	<i>Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue</i>	43:34556	43:580	25:798
1157	<i>Ma Ziran jindan koujue</i>	43:34568	43:592	25:806

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1158	<i>Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershisi jue</i>	43:34569	43:594	25:807
1159	<i>Panxi ji</i>	43:34571	43:597	25:808
1160	<i>Shuiyun ji</i>	43:34626	43:655	25:845
1161	<i>Taigu ji</i>	43:34657	43:687	25:865
1162	<i>Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang mulu</i>	43:34681	44:1	26:1
1163	<i>Sun zhenren beiji qianjin yaofang</i>	43:34718	44:39	26:25
1164	<i>Jijiu xianfang</i>	44:35579	45:185	26:599
1165	<i>Xianchuan waike bifang</i>	44:35669	45:277	26:659
1166	<i>Fahai yizhu</i>	44:35766	45:377	26:723
1167	<i>Taishang ganying pian</i>	45:36199	46:1	27:1
1168	<i>Taishang laojun zhongjing</i>	45:36411	46:219	27:142
1169	<i>Taishang laojun qingjing xin jing</i>	45:36432	46:241	27:156
1170	<i>Taishang laojun shuo shangqi miezui jifu miao- jing</i>	45:36434	46:243	27:157
1171	<i>Yuzi</i>	45:36436	46:245	27:159
1172	<i>Gongsun Long zi</i>	45:36450	46:260	27:168
1173	<i>Yin Wen zi</i>	45:36460	46:270	27:175
1174	<i>Zihua zi</i>	45:36470	46:281	27:181
1175	<i>Heguan zi</i>	45:36501	46:313	27:202
1176	<i>Mozi</i>	45:36540	46:353	27:228
1177	<i>Han Fei zi</i>	45:36657	46:471	27:306
1178	<i>Huangshi gong sushu</i>	45:36829	46:651	27:421
1179	<i>Huangshi gong sushu</i>	45:36840	46:662	27:428
1180	<i>Sunzi zhujie</i>	46:36853	46:675	27:436
1181	<i>Sunzi yishuo</i>	46:37062	46:892	27:575
1182	<i>Tianyuan fawei</i>	46:37075	47:1	27:584
1183	<i>Jizhu taixuan jing</i>	46:37309	47:243	27:740
1184	<i>Huainan honglie jie</i>	46:37441	47:377	28:1
1185	<i>Baopu zi neipian</i>	46:37696	47:639	28:171
1186	<i>Baopu zi biezhi</i>	47:37816	47:761	28:251
1187	<i>Baopu zi waipian</i>	47:37817	47:763	28:252
1188	<i>Tuoyue zi</i>	47:37954	47:903	28:343
1189	<i>Yindan neipian</i>	47:37958	47:907	28:346
1190	<i>Tianji jing</i>	47:37960	47:909	28:347
1191	<i>Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa</i>	47:37964	47:913	28:349
1192	<i>Dahui jingci miaole tianzun shuo fude wusheng jing</i>	47:37986	48:1	28:364
1193	<i>Taishang zhengyi zhongui jing</i>	47:37990	48:6	28:367
1194	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo luotian dajiao shangpin miaojing</i>	47:37995	48:11	28:370
1195	<i>Laojun bianhua wuji jing</i>	47:37997	48:13	28:371
1196	<i>Taishang jinhua tianzun jiujiie huming miaojing</i>	47:38001	48:17	28:374

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1197	<i>Wushang santian fashi shuo yinyu zhongsheng miaojing</i>	47:38003	48:19	28:375
1198	<i>Taishang shuo Qingxuan leiling faxing yindi miaojing</i>	47:38005	48:22	28:377
1199	<i>Shangqing taixiao yinshu yuanzhen dongfei erjing jing</i>	47:38008	48:25	28:379
1200	<i>Dongxuan lingbao taishang liuzhai shizhi shengji jing</i>	47:38011	48:28	28:381
1201	<i>Daoyao lingqi shengui pin jing</i>	47:38016	48:34	28:384
1202	<i>Dongshen badi yuanbian jing</i>	47:38030	48:49	28:393
1203	<i>Taishang santian zhengfa jing</i>	47:38049	48:69	28:406
1204	<i>Taishang zhengyi fawen jing</i>	47:38055	48:75	28:410
1205	<i>Santian neijie jing</i>	47:38059	48:79	28:413
1206	<i>Shangqing mingjian yaojing</i>	47:38066	48:87	28:418
1207	<i>Taishang mingjian zhenjing</i>	47:38073	48:94	28:422
1208	<i>Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu</i>	47:38078	48:101	28:426
1209	<i>Taishang zhengyi mengwei falu yibu</i>	47:38139	48:163	28:466
1210	<i>Zhengyi fawen shilu zhaoyi</i>	47:38166	48:186	28:481
1211	<i>Zhengyi fawen chuan dugong ban yi</i>	47:38175	48:200	28:490
1212	<i>Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi</i>	47:38177	48:203	28:492
1213	<i>Taishang xuantian zhenwu wushang jiangjun lu</i>	47:38190	48:217	28:500
1214	<i>Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu</i>	47:38195	48:222	28:503
1215	<i>Taishang beiji fumo shenzhou shagui lu</i>	47:38222	48:250	28:522
1216	<i>Taishang zhengyi yansheng baoming lu</i>	47:38232	48:261	28:528
1217	<i>Taishang zhengyi jie wuyin Zhouzu bilu</i>	47:38237	48:267	28:532
1218	<i>Zhengyi fawen jing zhangguan pin</i>	47:38241	48:271	28:534
1219	<i>Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa</i>	47:38276	48:307	28:557
1220	<i>Daofa huiyuan</i>	47:38443	48:479	28:669
1221	<i>Shangqing lingbao dafa</i>	51:41023	51:617	30:649
1222	<i>Shangqing lingbao dafa mulu</i>	52:41996	52:767	31:345
1223	<i>Shangqing lingbao dafa</i>	52:42012	52:784	31:356
1224	<i>Daomen dingzhi</i>	52:42459	53:393	31:653
1225	<i>Daomen kefan daquan ji</i>	52:42616	53:555	31:758
1226	<i>Daomen tongjiao biyong ji</i>	53:42929	54:1	32:1
1227	<i>Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao</i>	53:43007	54:81	32:53
1228	<i>Zhengyi lun</i>	53:43115	54:193	32:125
1229	<i>Quanzhen zuobo jiefu</i>	53:43118	54:197	32:127
1230	<i>Taiping yulan</i>	53:43120	54:199	32:128
1231	<i>Daoshu yuanshen qi</i>	53:43143	54:222	32:143
1232	<i>Daomen shigui</i>	53:43147	54:226	32:146
1233	<i>Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun</i>	53:43157	54:237	32:153

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I234	<i>Danyang zhenren zhiyan</i>	53:43160	54:241	32:155
I235	<i>Quanzhen qinggui</i>	53:43161	54:243	32:156
I236	<i>Taishang chujia chuandu yi</i>	53:43169	54:251	32:161
I237	<i>Sandong xiudao yi</i>	53:43176	54:258	32:166
I238	<i>Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue</i>	53:43182	54:264	32:169
I239	<i>Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi</i>	53:43190	54:273	32:175
I240	<i>Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li</i>	53:43200	54:284	32:182
I241	<i>Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo</i>	53:43204	54:288	32:184
I242	<i>Zhengyi fawen falu buyi</i>	53:43224	54:308	32:198
I243	<i>Zhengyi fawen taishang wailu yi</i>	53:43236	54:321	32:206
I244	<i>Shoulu cidi faxin yi</i>	53:43251	54:337	32:216
I245	<i>Dongxuan lingbao daoshi mingjing fa</i>	53:43266	54:352	32:226
I246	<i>Dongxuan lingbao kezhong fa</i>	53:43268	54:354	32:227
I247	<i>Taiqing yusi zuoyuan. biyao shangfa</i>	53:43272	54:358	32:229
I248	<i>Sandong qunxian lu</i>	53:42378	54:365	32:233
I249	<i>Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu</i>	53:43480	54:571	32:368
I250	<i>Chongxu tongmiao sichen Wang xiansheng jiabua</i>	53:43513	54:605	32:390
I251	<i>Xujing chonghe xiansheng Xu shenweng yulu</i>	53:43522	54:613	32:395
I252	<i>Jingyu xuanwen</i>	53:43544	54:637	32:411
I253	<i>Daofa xinchuan</i>	53:43547	54:640	32:413
I254	<i>Leifa yixuan pian</i>	53:43565	54:658	32:424
I255	<i>Laozi weizhi lilüe</i>	54:43573	54:667	32:429
I256	<i>Zhenxian zhizhi yulu</i>	54:43577	54:672	32:432
I257	<i>Qunxian yaoyu zuanji</i>	54:43596	54:692	32:445
I258	<i>Zhuzhen neidan jiyao</i>	54:43616	54:714	32:458
I259	<i>Longhu jingwei lun</i>	54:43637	54:735	32:472
I260	<i>Sanyao dadao pian</i>	54:43641	54:739	32:475
I261	<i>Liugen guidao pian</i>	54:43642	54:740	32:476
I262	<i>Yilin</i>	54:43644	54:743	32:477
I263	<i>Zhuang Lie shilun</i>	54:43713	54:814	32:523
I264	<i>Lifeng laoren ji</i>	54:43723	54:825	32:530
I265	<i>Beidi qi yuan ziting yansheng bijue</i>	54:43752	55:1	32:549
I266	<i>Deng tianjun xuanling bamen baoying neizhi</i>	54:43757	55:7	32:552
I267	<i>Jiutian shangsheng bizhuan jinfu jing</i>	54:43764	55:14	32:557
I268	<i>Tianhuang taiyi shenlü bihui jing</i>	54:43771	55:21	32:562
I269	<i>Shangqing xiushen yaoshi jing</i>	54:43772	55:22	32:562
I270	<i>Zhengyi fawen xiuzhen zhiyao</i>	54:43787	55:37	32:572
I271	<i>Dongxuan lingbao zhenren xiuxing yannian yisuan fa</i>	54:43797	55:48	32:579
I272	<i>Sandong daoshi jushan xiulian ke</i>	54:43803	55:54	32:583

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1273	<i>Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue</i>	54:43818	55:69	32:593
1274	<i>Xuanhe zi shier yue gua jin jue</i>	54:43820	55:72	32:594
1275	<i>Yuyang qihou qinji</i>	54:43824	55:77	32:597
1276	<i>Pantian jing</i>	54:43832	55:86	32:602
1277	<i>Daofa zongzhi tu yanyi</i>	54:43840	55:94	32:607
1278	<i>Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen</i>	54:43856	55:111	32:618
1279	<i>Lingshu zhouhou chao</i>	54:43860	55:115	32:621
1280	<i>Xuantan kanwu lun</i>	54:43863	55:119	32:623
1281	<i>Wuyue zhenxing xulun</i>	54:43871	55:128	32:628
1282	<i>Gaoshang shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi</i>	54:43884	55:141	32:637
1283	<i>Taishang dongshen xingdao shoudu yi</i>	54:43887	55:145	32:639
1284	<i>Taishang dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi</i>	54:43895	55:153	32:644
1285	<i>Yisheng baode zhuan</i>	54:43903	55:161	32:649
1286	<i>Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi</i>	54:43920	55:179	32:661
1287	<i>Zhengyi fawen jing huguo jiaohai pin</i>	54:43982	55:243	32:702
1288	<i>Yuanchen zhangjiao licheng li</i>	54:43988	55:250	32:706
1289	<i>Liushi jiazi benming yuanchen li</i>	54:44004	55:267	32:717
1290	<i>Taishang dongshen dongyuan shenzhou zhibing kouzhang</i>	54:44008	55:271	32:719
1291	<i>Shangqing jing bijue</i>	54:44026	55:289	32:731
1292	<i>Lingbao liandu wuxian anling zhenshen huang- zeng zhangfa</i>	54:44027	55:291	32:732
1293	<i>Shangqing taiwei dijun jiedai zhenwen fa</i>	54:44030	55:295	32:734
1294	<i>Shangqing huangshu guodu yi</i>	54:44031	55:296	32:735
1295	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao erbu chuanshou yi</i>	54:44043	55:308	32:743
1296	<i>Dongxuan lingbao bajie zhai suqi yi</i>	54:44048	55:313	32:746
1297	<i>Dongxuan lingbao wulao shezhao beifeng guimo chishu yujue</i>	54:44053	55:318	32:749
1298	<i>Sisheng zhenjun lingqian</i>	54:44056	55:323	32:752
1299	<i>Xuanzhen lingying baoqian</i>	54:44081	55:348	32:768
1300	<i>Daci haosheng jiutian weifang shengmu yuanjun lingying baoqian</i>	54:44138	55:407	32:806
1301	<i>Hongen lingji zhenjun lingqian</i>	54:44150	55:420	32:814
1302	<i>Lingji zhenjun Zhusheng tang lingqian</i>	54:44155	55:425	32:817
1303	<i>Futian guangsheng ruyi lingqian</i>	54:44160	55:431	32:821
1304	<i>Ganzhou Shengji miao lingji li</i>	54:44190	55:462	32:841
1305	<i>Huguo Jiaji Jiangdong wang lingqian</i>	54:44193	55:465	32:843
1306	<i>Ge xianweng zhouhou beiji fang</i>	54:44214	55:487	33:I
1307	<i>Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu</i>	55:44381	55:657	33:III
1308	<i>Haiqiong wendao ji</i>	55:44424	55:701	33:140
1309	<i>Haiqiong chuandao ji</i>	55:44435	55:713	33:147

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I310	<i>Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu</i>	55:44444	55:723	33:153
I311	<i>Xianquan ji</i>	55:44483	55:763	33:179
I312	<i>Taishang dadao yuqing jing</i>	55:44636	56:1	33:281
I313	<i>Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing</i>	55:44785	56:155	33:381
I314	<i>Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing</i>	55:44814	56:185	33:400
I315	<i>Dongzhen shangqing qingyao zishu jin'gen zhongjing</i>	55:44849	56:220	33:423
I316	<i>Dongzhen shangqing taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing</i>	55:44871	56:243	33:438
I317	<i>Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing</i>	55:44886	56:258	33:448
I318	<i>Dongzhen taishang sanyuan liuzhu jing</i>	55:44901	56:273	33:458
I319	<i>Dongzhen xi wang mu baoshen qiju jing</i>	55:44904	56:277	33:460
I320	<i>Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing jingyao san- jing miaojue</i>	55:44914	56:287	33:466
I321	<i>Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing xiuxi gongye miaojue</i>	55:44917	56:291	33:468
I322	<i>Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing sanwu xing- hua miaojue</i>	55:44924	56:298	33:473
I323	<i>Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing fushi riye huanghua jue</i>	55:44929	56:304	33:477
I324	<i>Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing dengtan fuzha miaojue</i>	55:44942	56:317	33:485
I325	<i>Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing zhanhou rud- ing miaojue</i>	55:44949	56:324	33:490
I326	<i>Dongzhen shangqing longfei jiudao chisu yinjue</i>	55:44954	56:329	33:493
I327	<i>Dongzhen taishang sanjiu suyu yujing zhenjue</i>	55:44960	56:335	33:497
I328	<i>Dongzhen taishang badao mingji jing</i>	55:44967	56:343	33:502
I329	<i>Taishang jiuchi banfu wudi neizhen jing</i>	55:44991	56:368	33:518
I330	<i>Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing</i>	55:45007	56:385	33:528
I331	<i>Dongzhen shangqing shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing</i>	55:45030	56:409	33:544
I332	<i>Dongzhen taishang zidu yanguang shenyuan bian jing</i>	55:45044	56:424	33:553
I333	<i>Dongzhen taishang shenhu yujing</i>	55:45061	56:441	33:564
I334	<i>Dongzhen taishang shenhu yinwen</i>	55:45063	56:444	33:566
I335	<i>Dongzhen taishang ziwu danzhang</i>	55:45067	56:448	33:568
I336	<i>Dongzhen taishang jinpian hufu zhenwen jing</i>	55:45069	56:451	33:570
I337	<i>Dongzhen taiwei jinhu zhenfu</i>	55:45072	56:454	33:572

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I338	<i>Dongzhen taishang taisu yulu</i>	55:45081	56:463	33:578
I339	<i>Dongzhen bajing yulu chentu yinfu</i>	55:45085	56:467	33:580
I340	<i>Dongzhen taishang cangyuan shanglu</i>	55:45089	56:471	33:583
I341	<i>Dongzhen taishang shanghuang minji dingzhen yulu</i>	55:45092	56:475	33:585
I342	<i>Dongzhen taishang zishu luzhuan</i>	55:45095	56:478	33:587
I343	<i>Dongzhen huangshu</i>	55:45101	56:484	33:591
I344	<i>Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing</i>	55:45109	56:493	33:597
I345	<i>Dongzhen taishang daojun yuandan shangjing</i>	55:45135	56:519	33:614
I346	<i>Dongzhen jinfang duming luzi huinian sanhua baoyao neizhen shangjing.</i>	55:45155	56:541	33:627
I347	<i>Dongzhen taishang shangqing neijing</i>	55:45161	56:547	33:631
I348	<i>Dongzhen taishang danjing daoqing jing</i>	55:45166	56:553	33:635
I349	<i>Dongzhen taishang qingya shisheng jing</i>	55:45170	56:557	33:637
I350	<i>Dongzhen santian bihui</i>	55:45172	56:559	33:638
I351	<i>Dongzhen taishang feixing yujing jiuzhen shengxuan shangji</i>	55:45175	56:563	33:641
I352	<i>Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu</i>	56:45183	56:571	33:645
I353	<i>Shangqing daobao jing</i>	56:45265	56:659	33:699
I354	<i>Shangqing taishang kaitian longqiao jing</i>	56:45312	56:709	33:731
I355	<i>Shangqing taishang yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing</i>	56:45338	56:737	33:748
I356	<i>Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shenhui yuqing yinshu</i>	56:45359	56:759	33:762
I357	<i>Shangqing gaoshang miemo dongjing jinyuan yuqing yinshu jing</i>	56:45369	56:769	33:769
I358	<i>Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu jing</i>	56:45375	56:775	33:773
I359	<i>Shangqing danjing daoqing yindi bashu jing</i>	56:45389	56:789	33:782
I360	<i>Shangqing jiutian shangdi zhu baishen neiming jing</i>	56:45398	56:799	33:788
I361	<i>Shangqing qisheng xuanji jing</i>	56:45402	56:804	33:791
I362	<i>Shangqing taishang huiyuan yindao chu zuiji jing</i>	56:45404	56:806	33:792
I363	<i>Shangqing taiji zhenren zhuan suo shixing biyao jing</i>	56:45407	56:810	33:794
I364	<i>Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen</i>	56:45411	56:814	33:797
I365	<i>Shangqing yuanshi pulu taizhen yujue</i>	56:45423	56:826	33:805
I366	<i>Shangqing tianguan santu jing</i>	56:45428	57:1	33:808
I367	<i>Shangqing hetu neixuan jing</i>	56:45444	57:18	33:819
I368	<i>Shangqing huishen feixiao dengkong zhao wuxing shangfa jing</i>	56:45460	57:35	33:830

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1369	<i>Shangqing huaxing yinjing dengsheng baoxian shangjing</i>	56:45464	57:39	33:832
1370	<i>Shangqing huiyao feiguang riyue jinghua shangjing</i>	56:45467	57:42	33:834
1371	<i>Shangqing suling shangpian</i>	56:45469	57:45	33:836
1372	<i>Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing</i>	56:45474	57:51	34:1
1373	<i>Shangqing waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen</i>	56:45486	57:63	34:8
1374	<i>Shangqing zhu zhenren shoujing shi song jinzhen zhang</i>	56:45517	57:94	34:29
1375	<i>Shangqing wushang jinyuan yuqing jinzhen feiyuan buxu yuzhang</i>	56:45519	57:97	34:31
1376	<i>Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing</i>	56:45522	57:101	34:33
1377	<i>Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue</i>	56:45543	57:122	34:46
1378	<i>Shangqing jinzhen yuguang bajing feijing</i>	56:45554	57:133	34:54
1379	<i>Shangqing yudi qisheng xuanji huitian jiuxiao jing</i>	56:45566	57:147	34:62
1380	<i>Shangqing taishang huangsu sishisi fang jing</i>	56:45582	57:164	34:73
1381	<i>Shangqing mingtang xuandan zhenjing</i>	56:45593	57:175	34:80
1382	<i>Shangqing jiudan shanghua taijing zhongji jing</i>	56:45596	57:178	34:82
1383	<i>Shangqing taishang yuanshi yaoguang jinhu fengwen zhang baojing</i>	56:45609	57:192	34:91
1384	<i>Shangqing taiyi dijun taidan yinshu jiebao shier jiejie tujue</i>	56:45617	57:200	34:96
1385	<i>Shangqing dongzhen tianbao dadong sanjing baolu</i>	56:45625	57:209	34:101
1386	<i>Shangqing dadong sanjing yuqing yinshu juelu</i>	56:45663	57:249	34:126
1387	<i>Shangqing yuanshi gaoshang yuhuang jiutian pulu</i>	56:45671	57:258	34:132
1388	<i>Shangqing jinzhen yuhuang shangyuan jiutian zhenling sanbai liushiwu bu yuanlu</i>	56:45679	57:266	34:137
1389	<i>Shangqing gaosheng taishang dadao jun dongzhen jinyuan bajing yulu</i>	56:45691	57:279	34:145
1390	<i>Shangqing dongtian sanwu jin'gang xuanlu yijing</i>	56:45700	57:289	34:151
1391	<i>Shangqing qionggong lingfei liujia lu</i>	56:45715	57:305	34:161
1392	<i>Shangqing qusu jueci lu</i>	56:45726	57:317	34:169
1393	<i>Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao Guishan xuanlu</i>	56:45738	57:329	34:177
1394	<i>Shangqing gaoshang Guishan xuanlu</i>	56:45818	57:410	34:230
1395	<i>Shangqing dadong jiuwei badao dajing miaolu</i>	56:45837	57:430	34:243

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I396	<i>Shangqing hetu baolu</i>	56:45840	57:433	34:245
I397	<i>Sidou ershiba xiu tiandi dalu</i>	56:45844	57:437	34:247
I398	<i>Dacheng miaolin jing</i>	56:45855	57:449	34:254
I399	<i>Taishang yuanbao jinting wuwei miaojing</i>	56:45886	57:481	34:275
I400	<i>Shangqing huangting yangshen jing</i>	56:45895	57:490	34:281
I401	<i>Taishang huangting zhongjing jing</i>	56:45900	57:495	34:284
I402	<i>Shangqing huangting wuzang liufu zhenren yuzhou jing</i>	56:45906	57:502	34:289
I403	<i>Shangqing xianfu qionglin jing</i>	56:45912	57:508	34:293
I404	<i>Shangqing taiji zhenren shenxian jing</i>	56:45924	57:520	34:301
I405	<i>Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing</i>	56:45937	57:533	34:309
I406	<i>Taishang lingbao zhicao pin</i>	57:45947	57:543	34:316
I407	<i>Dongxuan lingbao ershisi sheng tujing</i>	57:45979	57:576	34:337
I408	<i>Yuqing shanggong ke taizhen wen</i>	57:46003	57:601	34:353
I409	<i>Taishang jiuzhen mingke</i>	57:46015	57:614	34:361
I410	<i>Dongxuan lingbao qianzhen ke</i>	57:46027	57:626	34:369
I411	<i>Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke</i>	57:46042	57:641	34:379
I412	<i>Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shen- zhou miaojing</i>	57:46061	57:661	34:392
I413	<i>Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi</i>	57:46122	57:725	34:433
I414	<i>Fumo jing tan xieen jiaoyi</i>	57:46132	57:735	34:439
I415	<i>Beidi shuo huoluo qiyuan jing</i>	57:46137	57:741	34:442
I416	<i>Qiyuan zhen jueyu quyì bijing</i>	57:46142	57:747	34:446
I417	<i>Qiyuan xuanji zhaomo pinjing</i>	57:46144	57:750	34:447
I418	<i>Yuanshi shuo du Fengdu jing</i>	57:46146	57:752	34:448
I419	<i>Qiyuan zhaomo fu liutian shenzhou jing</i>	57:46148	57:755	34:450
I420	<i>Qiyuan zhenren shuo shenzen lingfu jing</i>	57:46154	57:761	34:454
I421	<i>Taishang ziwei zhongtian qiyuan zhenjing</i>	57:46159	57:766	34:457
I422	<i>Zhenzhong jing</i>	57:46161	57:768	34:458
I423	<i>Taiqing yuandao zhenjing</i>	57:46162	57:770	34:459
I424	<i>Taishang laojun taisu jing</i>	57:46167	57:775	34:462
I425	<i>Lingxin jingzhi</i>	57:46168	57:776	34:463
I426	<i>Tang taigu miaoying Sun zhenren fushou lun</i>	57:46172	57:780	34:466
I427	<i>Taiqing Daolin shesheng lun</i>	57:46174	57:782	34:467
I428	<i>Shi dichen Donghua shangzuo siming Yangjun zhuanji</i>	57:46186	57:794	34:475
I429	<i>Changchun zhenren xiyou ji</i>	57:46193	57:803	34:480
I430	<i>Daozang quejing mulu</i>	57:46226	57:836	34:502
I431	<i>Da Ming Daozang jing mulu</i>	57:46248	57:859	34:517
	<i>Xu Daozang jing mulu</i>	57:46307	57:918	34:556
I432	<i>Taishang zhongdao miaofa lianhua jing</i>	57:46310	58:1	34:558

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I433	<i>Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Bao yueguang huanghou shengmu tianzun kongque ming- wang jing</i>	57:46334	58:26	34:574
I434	<i>Shengmu kongque mingwang zunjing qibo yi</i>	57:46351	58:43	34:585
I435	<i>Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo kongque jing bowen</i>	57:46363	58:55	34:593
I436	<i>Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing</i>	57:46373	58:67	34:600
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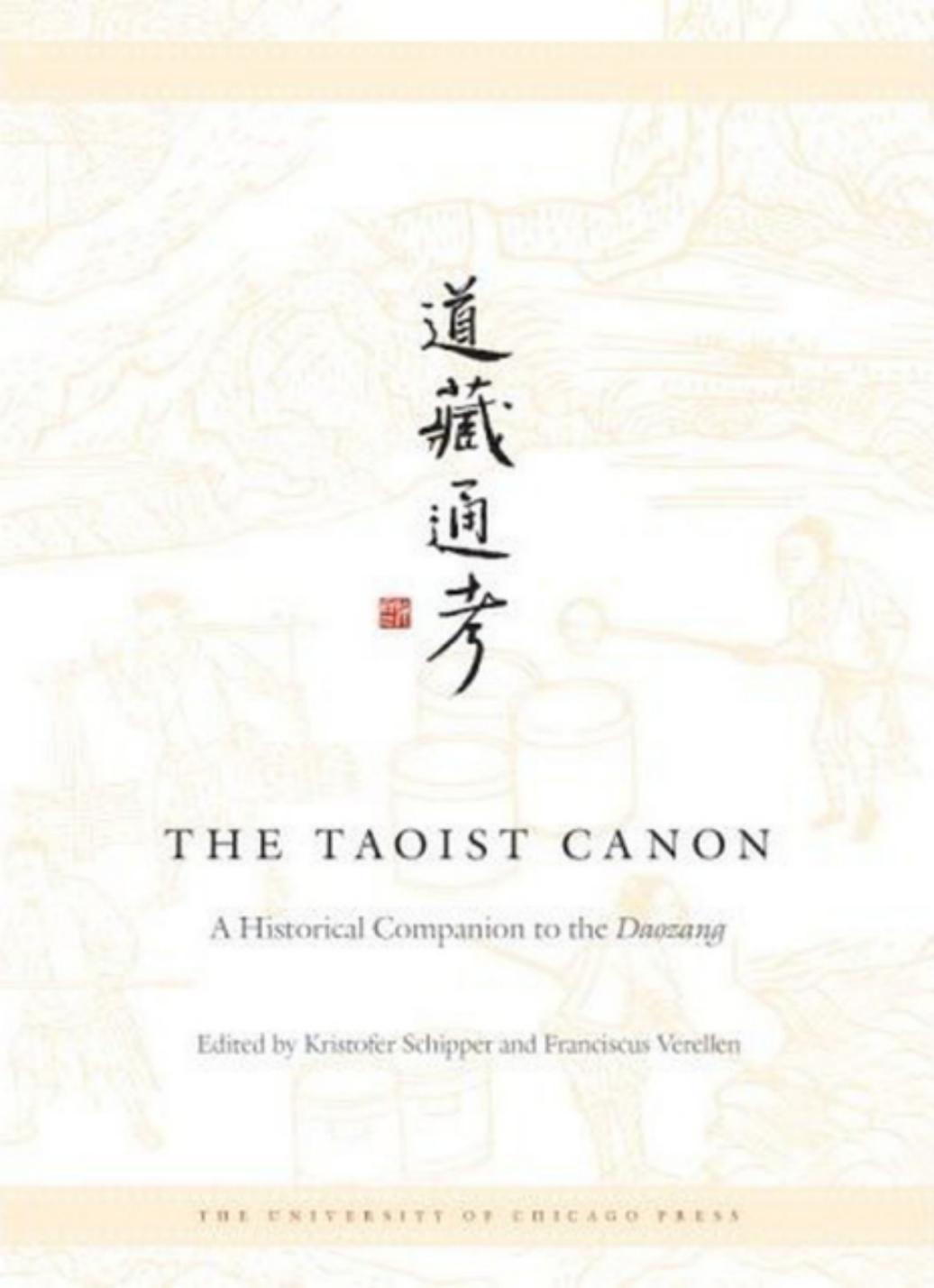
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A Historical Companion to the *Daozang*

Edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen

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PREFACE

The *Daozang*, or Taoist canon, is a vast collection of texts in a wide variety of genres that comprehensively define Taoism and its scriptural development through the ages. Along with revealed books, ritual texts, inspired poetry, and other religious documents, this library of the Tao contains works on subjects of broad interest to students of Chinese thought—philosophy, cosmology, medicine—as well as encyclopedic compendia, literary anthologies, and collected works of individual authors. At every turn, the *Daozang* holds new and significant discoveries in store that are transforming our perceptions of Chinese religion and society.

The exploration of this neglected treasure house of information has been held back by its apparent impenetrability. To some extent, this is due to the esoteric or ahistorical nature of certain Taoist writings. In large part, however, generations of scholars have come to regard the Taoist canon as inaccessible as a result of the manner by which the *Daozang* was assembled and organized over the centuries. As Taoism evolved through history, the Taoist canon outgrew its original rationale.

The first organizational structure, dating from the fifth century, separated the canon into three divisions named the Three Caverns. This structure and its subsequent additions relate sets of scriptures to grades of Taoist initiation. Subordinate to this system, a twelve-fold generic organization indicates the types of writings represented in each division. Beside scripture, exegesis, and ritual, we find categories comprising historical annals and lives of saints, precepts, graphic materials, and works on miscellaneous Taoist arts and techniques. The *Daozang* thus charts the path for an adept's initiation, while simultaneously functioning as a library for all branches of Taoist learning.

Successive editions of the Taoist canon were compiled under imperial auspices and distributed to selected temples. Clergy close to the court generally supervised the editorial work. But Taoism at no time knew a determinant ecclesiastical authority. The Taoist canon is, rather, the fruit of a prolonged negotiation. The “Repository of Taoist Scriptures of the Great Ming” (*Da Ming daoze jing* 大明道藏經), the basis of the work presented here, was completed in the Zhengtong reign (1436–1450), a thousand years after the fundamental organization of the Three Caverns had been laid down. It still stands as the provisional conclusion to the drawn-out process of constituting a canonized corpus for Taoism.

The Three Caverns initially served to channel a flood of new, fourth-century texts and to integrate them with existing Taoist traditions. A comparable reconfiguration of the canon took place in early modern China, beginning in the tenth century, when local medium cults generated a new upsurge of texts claiming canonization. Many of

their scriptures and rituals found a place in the *Daozang*. At one level, therefore, the question of whether or not a work belongs in the canon reflects the give and take over the integration of distinct cults and text traditions into the liturgical system of Taoism. From the Taoist perspective, the object of this negotiation was the evolving corporate identity of Taoism in Chinese society.

The changing contents of the *Daozang* provide, on another level, a key to the historical self-definition of the Taoist tradition within China's religious and intellectual landscapes. Some borderline inclusions are controversial: works from several Warring States (475–221 B.C.) schools of thought were adopted alongside the *Laozi* 老子 and the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. At the other extreme, the *Daozang* preserves and transmits a significant number of works of Chinese popular religion from all periods. The original Three Caverns accommodated far-reaching assimilations of Buddhist thought and practices that were gaining ground in the fourth and fifth centuries. Whereas the Buddhist canon (*Dazang jing* 大藏經) upheld the *non-Chinese* origin of a work as a criterion for canonicity, the *Daozang* was looked upon as a bastion of Chinese *indigenous* tradition. Yet just as Buddhist writings of Chinese origin soon found their way into the Buddhist canon, the *Daozang* also incorporated Buddhist-style sutras, Tantric rituals, and hymns boasting the sanctity of Brahmanism. The history of the Taoist canon, set out in the general introduction below, can be read as a core history of Taoism itself in its continuous interaction with the rest of the Chinese religious system.

The concept “canon” is implicit in the Chinese designations *jing* 經, meaning “classic” or “scripture,” and *zang* 藏, “repository.” The fundamental Taoist scripture, Laozi's “Classic of the Way and its Power” (*Daode jing* 道德經), was a *jing* in the received canon of early Chinese philosophy. Later, the Buddhist and Taoist canons were referred to as the “aggregate scriptures” (*yiqie jing* 一切經) in their respective domains. The first deliberate canon formation in China, the “Five Classics” (*Wujing* 五經) made up of the ancient writings revered by Confucius, was undertaken in the reign of Han Wudi (140–87 B.C.) with a view to defining the values of China's emerging state orthodoxy. The *Daozang*, by contrast, reveals the unofficial face of China. It constitutes perhaps the richest, and still scarcely explored mine of primary sources on all aspects of the history, thought, and organization of the various strata of China's civil society that were labeled as “Taoist.” Over the past century, a growing number of specialists have discovered the rewards of investigating this unexpected virgin territory in the midst of a civilization as prestigious and well studied as China's. It is the editors' hope that the present *Companion* will stimulate wider circles of China scholars and nonspecialists alike to participate in this discovery.

The pioneering work of the original Tao-tsang Project is described in the general introduction. The task of shaping the inchoate materials inherited from the early

research phase into the present book raised equally demanding challenges. An organization of the material on historical principles had been envisaged by Kristofer Schipper from his inception of the project. The long editorial phase, meanwhile, spanning the period 1991 to 2003, brought the benefit of new insights that enabled us to sharpen the historical focus of this *Companion*. The format finally adopted invites the reader to explore, for the first time, the whole of the Taoist canon in a historically meaningful chronological framework and by categories corresponding to the needs of modern scholarship.

The funding and institutional organization of the Tao-tsang Project were coordinated by the European Science Foundation. The editors wish to express their deep appreciation of the Foundation's decisive role in this multinational undertaking. At different stages, we were generously helped by the many colleagues and collaborators named in the introduction. Here I would like to acknowledge my personal debt to Mrs. Shum Wing Fong 岑詠芳 of the library of the Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, Collège de France, for her painstaking assistance provided over the years. The Institute for Advanced Study of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences opened its resourceful and congenial facilities to both editors to work on this project, myself as fellow-in-residence in 1996–97. Finally, I am honored to record in this place our gratitude to Mrs. Monique Cohen, curator of oriental books and manuscripts, for permission to reproduce the illustrations from the Ming edition of the *Daozang* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Our special thanks go to Mr. Alan Thomas, editorial director for humanities and sciences at the University of Chicago Press, with his expert staff, and to Professor Anthony C. Yu of the Divinity School, University of Chicago, for their unfailing support in seeing this work into print.

Franciscus Verellen

USER'S GUIDE

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

The *Companion* assigns an entry to each work in the *Daozang*. The works are identified by their full titles and by “work numbers” in the sequential order of their original appearance in the Ming canon.

For the intents of this *Companion*, the works in the Ming canon are grouped here in categories based on historical principles. In the first place, all works are assigned to one of three periods: (1) Eastern Zhou to Six Dynasties; (2) Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties; or (3) Song, Yuan, and Ming.

Within these chronological divisions, the classification follows a typological scheme that applies roughly the same structural pattern across the different periods. For each period, a first distinction is made between texts in general circulation (A), and texts in internal circulation (B). Within the category A, the texts are classified according to subject, whereas in category B the framework is determined by the orders, schools, or textual traditions to which the works belong. The principles for the grouping of the texts by major categories is further explained in the chapter and section introductions. For an overview, see the tables of contents for volumes 1 and 2 and the classified title index in volume 3. For further information on the historical and thematic arrangement of the contents of the Ming canon for the purposes of this *Companion*, the reader is referred to the general introduction, pp. 48–50.

In addition to the works included in the canon, a number of titles that are not or no longer found as integral entities in the *Daozang* form the subject of separate entries. These fall into two categories: (1) canonical works missing from the Ming canon that can be recovered among the manuscripts from Dunhuang, identified according to manuscript numbers in the respective collections Stein, Pelliot, and DX; and (2) major works that are anthologized in two collections contained within the *Daozang* (1032 *Yunji qiqian* and 263 *Xiuzhen shishu*) but do not feature as separate titles in the canon. These are numbered by a combination of the work and first chapter numbers of the anthology in which they occur (e.g., 263.26 *Wuzhen pian* denotes the edition of that work preserved in 263 *Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30).

The *Companion* can be read as a historical guide to Taoist literature or as a classified and annotated bibliography of individual works. To find the entry for an individual work, the user is referred to the indexes described below under the heading Accessory Materials.

ENTRIES

Each entry consists of a heading, an article and, if applicable, a bibliography.

Heading. Set off from the main body of the entry, the heading comprises several lines containing the following categories of bibliographic information:

1. The complete title as given at the beginning of the work
2. The length of the work in chapters (juan) or folios (fols.)
3. Attribution and date: the proper names of authors, commentators, and preface writers mentioned at the beginning of the work (information on authorship established by research in other sources is found in the main body of the article), followed by courtesy names (*zi* 字), styles (*hao* 號), and posthumous titles (*shi* 諡) as applicable. This is followed by the date of compilation of the work or its prefaces, if known, or the best available approximation in the form of authors' dates or historical period. Exceptionally, lacking all of these criteria, the work's placement within the chronological plan of the *Companion* indicates the editors' best estimation as to its date.

4. The work number according to the title concordance by Shi Zhouren [Kristofer Schipper] and Chen Yaoting, *Daozang suoyin*, followed by the serial number of the fascicles in parentheses (fasc.) in the Commercial Press edition of 1926. Users of the Yiwen yinshu and Xin wenfeng reprints of 1977 or the Sanjia edition of 1988 may obtain corresponding volume and page numbers from the Finding List for Other *Daozang* Editions in volume 3.

Article. The main body of each entry focuses on the following items: translation or paraphrase of the work's title; details of provenance, authorship, and transmission, based on factual evidence from prefaces, postfaces, colophons, or bibliographic sources; important independent editions outside the Ming *Daozang*; internal evidence bearing on chronological relationships and affiliations with other works in the canon; description of the nature and the purpose of the work, including a characterization or brief summary of its contents.

Bibliography. Here are included only references to studies that are exclusively or substantially concerned with the subject of the entry. References concerning points of detail appear in the text of the entry. All references are given in abbreviated form. For full details, the reader is referred to the main bibliography in volume 3.

ACCESSORY MATERIALS

In addition to the general index, the materials in volume 3 include:

Biographical notices. This section features short biographies of frequently mentioned Taoists. In the main body of the work, their names are typographically set off in

small capitals (e.g., TAO HONGJING, whose biography is found in volume 3, on page 1277).

Bibliography. This is a list of the complete references to primary and secondary sources cited in abbreviated form throughout the *Companion*. In addition, selected titles of general interest concerning the *Daozang* and the historical bibliography of Taoist literature are included here.

Work indexes. The classified title index, work number index, and *pinyin* title index each permit the localization of a work's main entry in the *Companion*. The latter two indexes list in addition all cross-references to works outside their main entries. For the entries on Dunhuang manuscripts, the work indexes give the corresponding manuscript numbers in the Pelliot (P.), Stein (S.), and St. Petersburg (DX) collections in the place of *Daozang* work numbers.

CONTRIBUTORS

The list of contributors is found at the beginning of each volume. The authors of the entries are indicated at the end of each article. The editors have endeavored to preserve individual contributor's translations and vocabulary to the extent that demands for consistency and standardization throughout the *Companion* permitted. Biographical notes on the contributors are found in volume 3, followed by lists of their respective contributions identified by work number in the *Daozang* for articles and by section number in the *Companion* for introductions.

OTHER CONVENTIONS

Selected Chinese terms have been left untranslated to allow for multiple meanings in different contexts (e.g., qi) or, occasionally, for lack of a corresponding concept or satisfactory translation (e.g., zhenren, fu). As terms adopted into the English vocabulary of the *Companion*, these are printed in roman type.

All references to works in the *Daozang*, other than the title given in the main entry, are in the form of the complete or abbreviated title in *pinyin* romanization, preceded by the work number in italics (e.g., 690 *Daode zhenjing zhu*).