

CONTENTS

道藏通考

The Taoist Canon

A Historical Companion

to the *Daozang*

VOLUME I

Antiquity through
the Middle Ages

Edited by

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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*).

small capital (e.g. The Hongkong, whose biography is found in volume 4 and page 125).

The classified index, work number index, and shows the index. The latter two can be found in the back of the book.

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As soon as Zhang Yuzhi 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 Longshu shan 龍壽山 in Jiangxi. 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 *Taiguo daofan* also contained a great number of Daoist texts. The editing work took place in the palace. The works were presented to the throne, examined by the appointed officials,

1. *Daode jing* 道德經, *Daode jing* 道德經, 1-41-b and 125. *Daode jing* 道德經.

2. See Zhang's biography by Sun Kejian 孫克堅, "Mingchu daoshi Zhang Yuzhi ji qi Xiangnan yu mingchao daode jing yu yanjiu" in *Hanyu yanjiu* 313-47. On Zhang's activities with respect to the *Daode jing*, see below.

3. The Longshu shan Shuangqing zhengyi gongtang 龍壽山雙清正一宮 Temple was rebuilt in 1200, and a revolving library for the *Daode jing* was installed in it. According to the *Longshu shan Daode jing* 龍壽山道德經, ed. by Yu Jizhong (1972-1973), this collection was much larger than the old one, the latter being, in all likelihood, the *Zhouyi daode jing* 周易道德經, described in 1181.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Kristofer Schipper

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 jinsbi lue*, 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* 大明朝藏經), was thereupon distributed to major Taoist centers, as the emperor’s gift.⁴

The Ming *Daoze jing* 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 jing*, 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 thèses 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* 抱朴子內篇 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 kelüe*.

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 *śramaṇa* 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 1.B.1.

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 Xiujing 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 I.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 yinrong 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 Scidel, *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. I124 *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi*.

71. I129 *Daojiao yishu*; according to its preface, derived from the original version of I124 *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 I129 *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, *Jielü* 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 busu 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 *Taoshang dongxuan lingbao shibao 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 閣皂山, 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 *Hunyuanyuan 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 additionelles 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 daoazang* 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 daoazang* 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 daoazang* 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 baozang* 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 baozang* 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 *Daozang* 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 *Daozang* on the basis of the sole surviving copy of the Jin canon.¹⁰³ To all appearances, the contents of this new *Daozang*, which was completed in 1244, were the same as those of the Jin *Xuandu baozang*. 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 *Daozang*, 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 *Daozang* 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 *Daozang 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 daoizang* 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 daoizang*, 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 11.34b.

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 MENG FU (1254–1322) records that around 1295 the newly enthroned Emperor Chengzong reassured the patriarch of his sympathy to Taoism (see Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 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 Jinyang 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 baoze*, which most evidently was used by the editors of the Ming canon to make 1430 *Daoze 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 *Daoze* 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 juan 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 *Daoze*. 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 Shenzhao, 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 *Daoze*, 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 miaojing*. 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 1. *Distribution of texts of the Ming canon of the Zhengtong 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>Yaju</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>Jielü</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 康有為 (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 Shipei 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 dao zang 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 Daozang 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, *Daozang 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.

Part I

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 Kings 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* 真) 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 通玄真經

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 *Sanlüe 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; *Yubai* 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 sanlüe*.

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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, commented 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 guang 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* 祛箴 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 *Lüshi 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 (*pianti 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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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 jingli* 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 lilue 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 (*xin* 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 yubeng 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 yubeng jing* (*yubeng* 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 yubeng jing* it forms the actual substance of the work. It is unlikely that the *Jingui yubeng jing* was written much earlier than the *Wuyue chungiu*. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the *Jingui yubeng 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 sanzhi 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 yubeng 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* 津逮秘書 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 *Qilüe* 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 Cangong (*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 岐伯, 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 beiqi 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 jiu zu 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 waiké 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 *jinshi* 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 Ma-wangdui 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 10b) 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 xubian dao siku quesu 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 *Huangting 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 zhibui 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 LZIT 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 xubian dao siku qieshu 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.

Fabrizio Pregadio

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 shuifang* 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 jinding 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 *Tuiping 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 jiu-ding 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 jiu-ding 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 1333 *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 jinding 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 Dao-ling (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 yuanlin 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.

Kristofer Schipper

Baopu zi shenxian jinzhuo jing 抱朴子神仙金鈎經

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 (*luandan* 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 翽, 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 闕丘方遠 (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

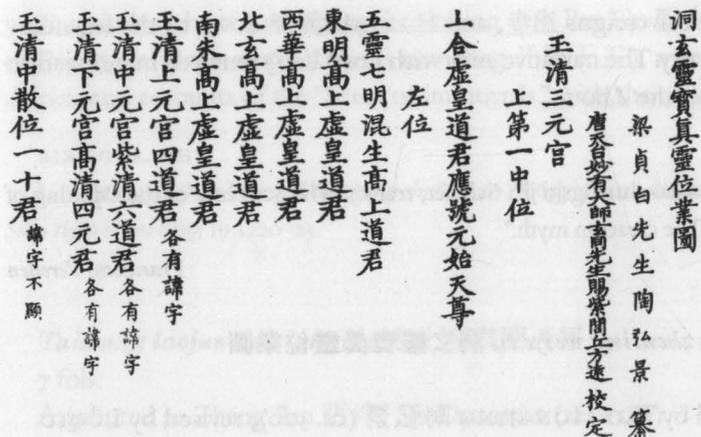


FIGURE 3. The Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning and his court, the register of deities at the highest echelon of the pantheon, according to Lüqiu's recension (167 1a–b).

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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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 *xingsfa* 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), *Poxie 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 tianong 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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Kristofer Schipper

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 jian of 292 *Han Wudi neizhuan*. Indeed, the *Xin Tang shu*, “Yiwen zhi,” 59.1519 notes that this work was composed of two jian, 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 jian

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 *Nuqing 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 (*sangqi* 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* 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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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 *Yunlong 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 (*jiuzi* 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 jingguang 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 (*jijin* 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 yinzhū 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 (*yaowu* 妖巫) and divination practices.

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Kristofer Schipper

1.B.1.b Rituals and Rules

Nüqing guiliu 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 ershi 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 YOUNGONG'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

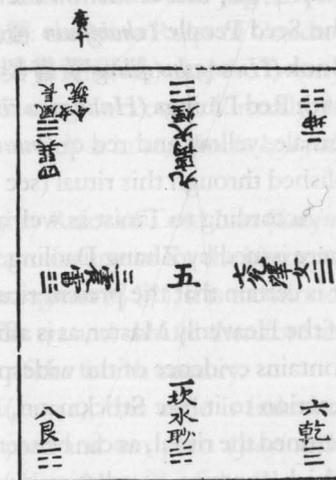


FIGURE 4. Diagram showing the order of the Nine Palaces (1343 8b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1324)

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

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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 guilü* 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 jian 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 (*jiju* 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 calendar 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 jiu fa* 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

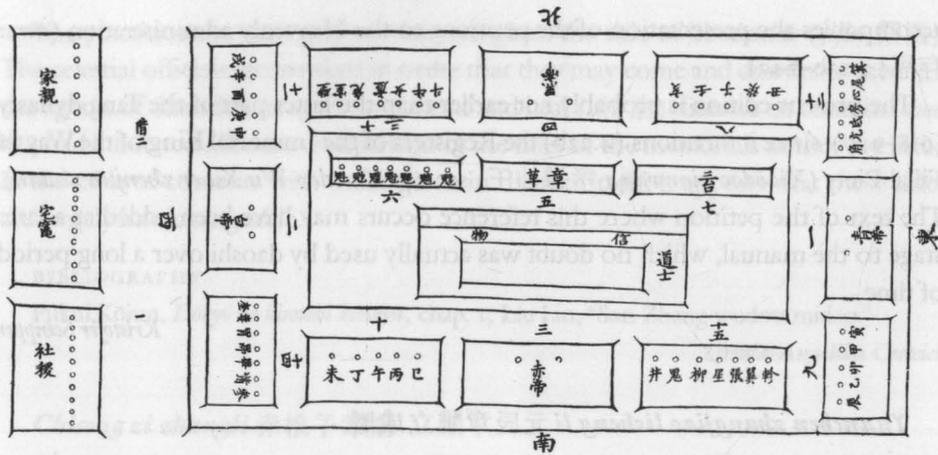


FIGURE 5. Diagram of the altar with indications for the placement of the incense burners and other items. On the West side, three small altars are dedicated to the ancestors, the Stove God, and the Earth God of the home (1288 1.1a–2a). Ming reprint of 1398. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (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 *Daotang* 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 jiu zhen zhongjing* 1.11b–15b. The names given here to the Eight Effulgences are the same as those found in 1359 *Shangqing danjing daojing 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 jinque 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 huangslou 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 ziwen 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 jiu zhen 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 jiu zhen 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 *Jiu zhen 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 *Jiu zhen 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 jiu zhen zhongjing* and 1377 *Shangqing taishang jiu zhen 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 Kicou-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 ziwen 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 1333 *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 dueren shangjing dafa* 4.1b–2b and 515 *Dongxuan lingbao hetu yangxie sanshiliu tian zhanyi* 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 ziwen 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 ziwen langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing*, 179 *Taiwei lingshu ziwen 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 ziwen* 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 ziwen 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 ziwen* 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 ziwèn xiānji zhēnji shàngjīng 太微靈書紫文仙忌眞記上經

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 ziwèn* 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* 登眞隱訣 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 (*Ziwèn 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 ziwèn* (see the articles on 639 *Huangtian shangqing jingque dijun lingshu ziwèn shangjīng* 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

洞眞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 jinbu 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 riye huanghua jue*, 639 *Huangtian shangqing jinque 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 (*Tōnkō dōkyō: Mokurokuben*, 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.

Isabelle Robinet

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* 籙), 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 jiu ling 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 jiu ling 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. Its 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

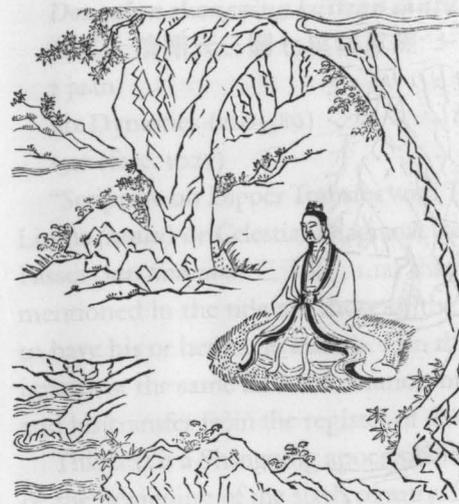


FIGURE 6. Nurturing the immortal embryo by untying the strings of death (1384 2a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1365)

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)

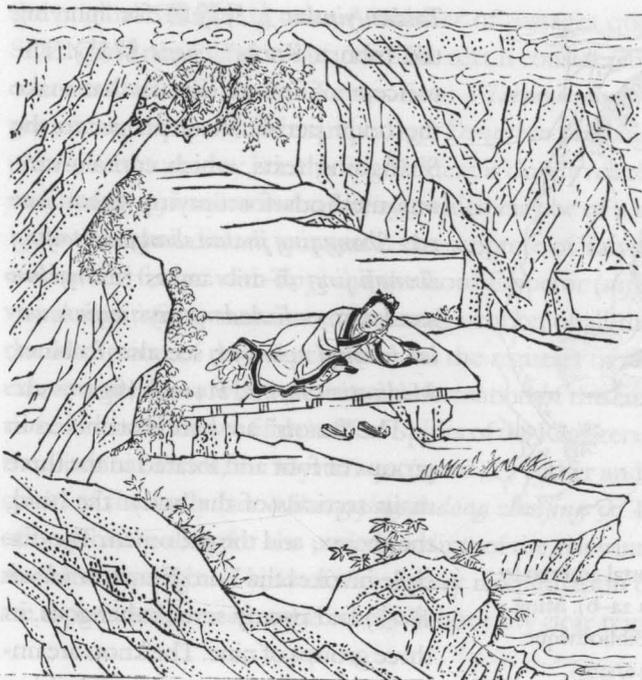


FIGURE 8. Meditating when reclining (1384 13b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1365)



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 jinggen 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 qi yuan* 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 (*nivan* 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 demonic 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 shangqing jiu ling 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 (*Zhibui 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, “Jin zhen 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 zhibui miemo shenhu yin wen* 太上八術智慧滅魔神虎隱文, a title corresponding to 1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhibui 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 jiu zhen 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 heibe lingfei yufu*). All these texts appear to have originally belonged to the same work, the *Beiyu heibe 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 jiu zhen 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 neiben* 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 neiben* 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 jiu zhen 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.

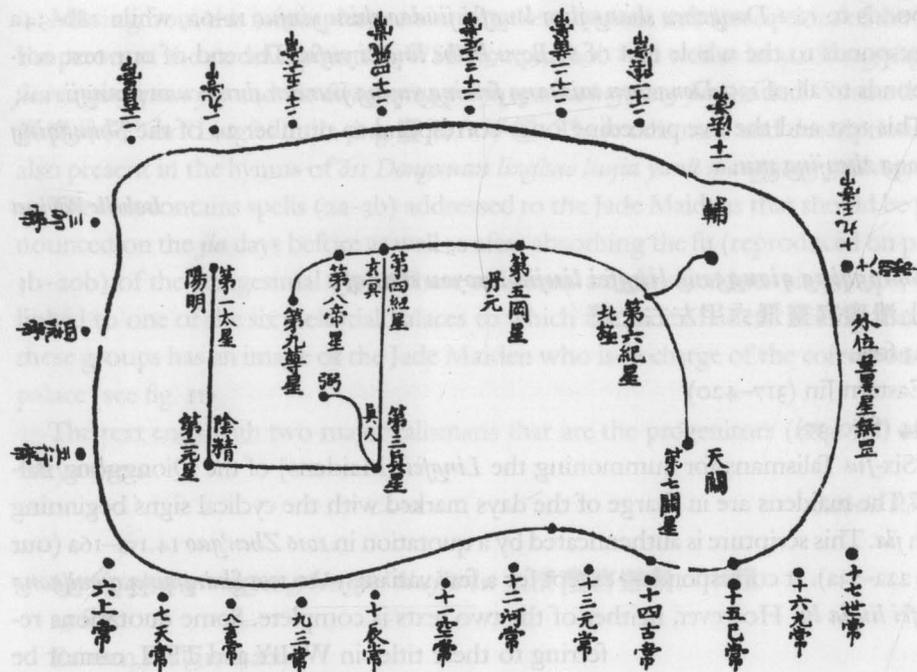


FIGURE 10. Choreography for the Dance of the Dipper Stars (876 5b–6a).

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 lingfei 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.

甲
甲
太
素
玉
女
名
字
瓊
真
石
乙

玉女青衣絳裙青
紅黃裳綾朱履捧
綠玉神符餘取宜



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 上清瓊宮靈飛六甲籙

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 yiwen lue* (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 shangqing 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 shangqing 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 [*yuangqi* 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 (*shaqui 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 miaojing* 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 zhibui 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 shenbu 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 TPLYL 678.7a). It soon enjoyed a wide circulation (1344 *Dongzhen taishang shuo zhibui 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 liu* 正一玄都律 (see 7a). They can still be found in 188 *Xuandu liuwen* 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 (*huaiifeng* 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 *huaiifeng* meditation (254 7a–b)

Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing

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

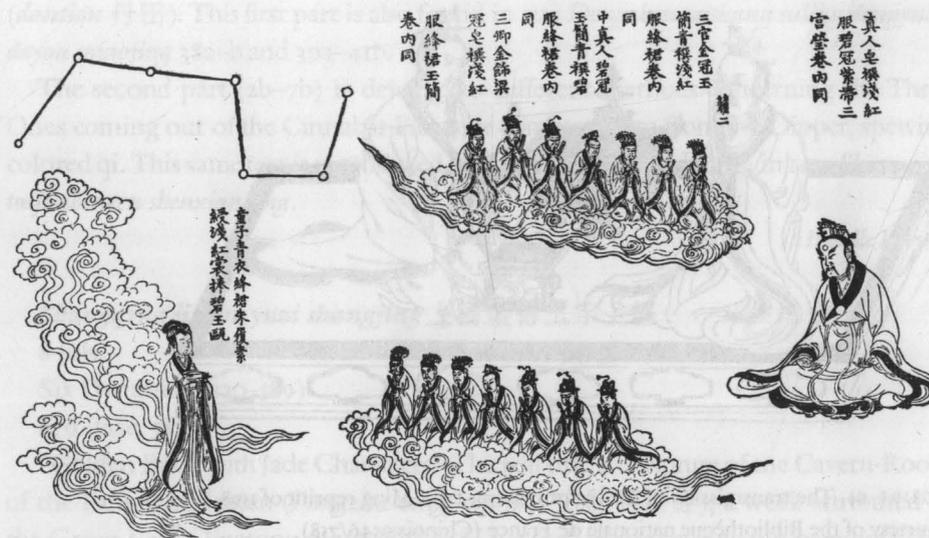


FIGURE 13. Vision of the Dipper stars in spring (765 1a–b). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/758)

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 miaojing* 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

洞真太微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 Splendor 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 juitian 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

洞真太徽黃書九天八籙真文

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 fu*, 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 daoqing 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 daoqing 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 miaojing* 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

洞真金房度命綠字週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* 2.11a. 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 zhibui 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 摹召法主 (?), [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 許翺 (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 Liquefied 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 jingguang 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 *Dengzhen 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 (*fumu 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* 太徽飲日氣開明靈符” (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 Shoots) 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 上清太微帝君結帶真文法

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* 太微交帶經). This scripture undoubtedly corresponds to 257 *Dongzhen taiwei huangshu jiutian balu zhenwen*, the self-proclaimed eighth jian of a *Taiwei huangshu* 太微黃書, 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 jian. 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 jian, 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.

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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 zhibui 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 jitian 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 *pradaksina* 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 shumu* 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 miaojing 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 (*falu* 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 miaojing* 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

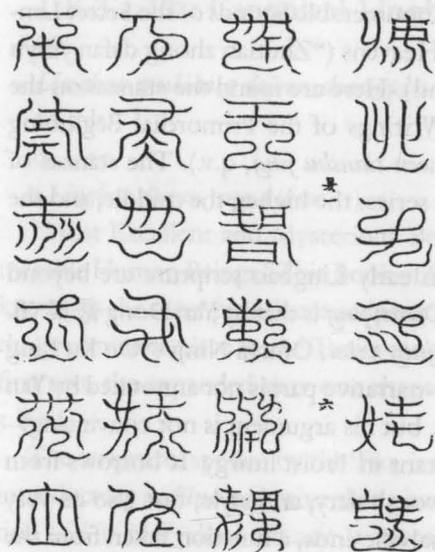


FIGURE 15. The True Writs of the East
(22 I.7b–8a)

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 (I132 *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 3.6b; I129 *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 miaojing

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 (I.31a–35a) corresponds also, mostly verbatim, to 388 *Wufu xu* (I.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 (I.5a–8a). The subsequent part (I.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 (*jiaojì* 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 I124 *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen davi* 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, Zurokuben*, 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 daje 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.

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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: Moku-rokuhen*, 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 (*sambu* 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

14II (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.

Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo quanjie falun miaojing

太上玄一真人說勸誡法輪妙經

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.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo santu wuku quanjie jing

太上玄一真人說三途五苦勸誡經

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 zhuan shen 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.

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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 daje 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.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao ershisi sheng tujing 洞玄靈寶二十四生圖經

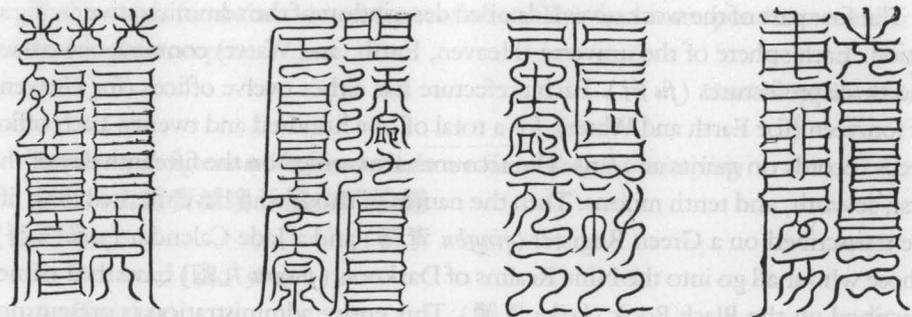
48 fols.

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



上真一景 腦神名
 覺元子字 道都色
 白一景玉符上元
 洞天炁部一景神
 上真二景 髮神名
 玄父華字 道銜色
 玄二景玉符上炁
 洞天炁部二景神
 上真三景 皮膚神
 名通衆仲字 道連
 色黃三景玉符上
 元洞天炁部三景
 神
 上真四景 百神名
 虛監字 道童五色
 四景玉符上元洞
 天炁部四景神

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* 籙) 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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Bokenkamp, “Sources,” 450–58, 483–84; CGF 64–66; Kaltenmark, “Ling-pao”; idem, “Quelques remarques sur le *T'ai-chang Ling-pao wou-fu siu*”; Kobayashi Masayoshi, “Taijō reihō gofu jo.”

John Lagerwey

Shangqing taiji yinzhū 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.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

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 juyou 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.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang taiji taixu shang zhenren yan taishang Lingbao weiyi dongxuan zhenyi ziran jing jue 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.

Kristofer Schipper

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 (*rändeng* 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* 治錄).

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 daje 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 daje 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: Mokurokuben*, 61–66; *Zurokuben*, 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 daje 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 daje 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 zhibui zuigen shangpin daje 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, *Tōnkō 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 天皇眞一經. 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 *jiangong* 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)

III9 (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

太上洞玄靈寶誠業本行上品妙經

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* 元一金真法輪誠業本行因緣上品, 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.

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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.

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Taishang lingbao yuanyang miaojing 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: Mokurokuben*, 104) rightly thinks belongs instead to 356 *Dongxuan lingbao shangshi shuo jiuku 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 (Falin, *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 zhibigui* 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).

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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 jiu* 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 *dasabhūmi* [*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 shumumu* 靈寶經書目, *Lingbao jingmumu* 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 chishou 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: Mokurokuben*, 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: Mokurokuben*, 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 *sugi* 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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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 miaojing*. 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 jinyou 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 (*suqi* 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 *suqi*, 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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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, *Tōkō 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 shumumu* 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 shengtū 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).

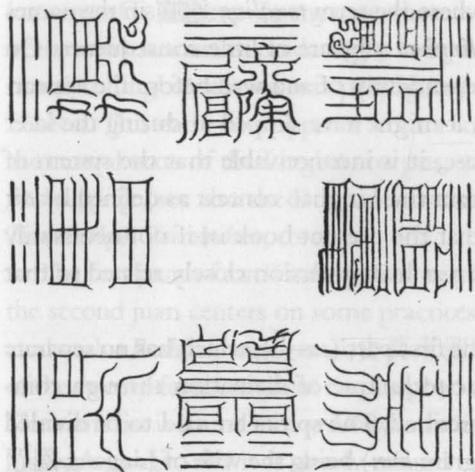


FIGURE 20. Fu of the Eight Archivists (767 3b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/760)

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* 雜籙; 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 shumū* 三洞經書目, perhaps for several reasons. Some texts, like the *Taiqing 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, *Tōkō dōkyō: Zurokuben*, 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 yingshi* 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.

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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* 沖和), 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*).

Kristofer Schipper

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 *śramaṇa* 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 (*Taiping 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 fushi* 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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Kristofer Schipper

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 commentarial 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 王眞 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 任眞子, 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 yuzhu 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 *Zhibai*. 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 zhihui 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 *Zhihui* 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 zhihui 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 Huang 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)

7II (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 I.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 I.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 I.9a the remarks found in 722 *Daode zhenjing zhu* I.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

7I3 (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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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 (*Daode jing*) 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 yuzhu 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 zhu to Kō Shū no Sōshi zhu"). 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-

aries (Wang Shumin, *Zhuazi 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 qieshu mu*. The *Junzhai dushu zhi* 11.476, 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).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

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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 衡嶽眞子; 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 Juzé 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 sheng qieshu 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



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* 眞如) 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

I + 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 lun 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 qieshu mu*) attributes it to WU YUN. The question of its authorship remains uncertain.

The present edition is due to an otherwise unknown Zhenjing jushi 眞靜居士, 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 *Zuowang 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 lüe*, 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 王一清 (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 *Tuyu lu* 圍余錄 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

Haikē 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 shumu* 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, *Ersi 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 yiwén lüè* 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 (*yuambao* 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 queshu 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 lüe*,” 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 lüe,” 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* 11.489–90 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 1. 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 *Cantong 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 fen zhang 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 fen zhang 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 fen zhang 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 (*yan chu* 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 lüe” (see VDL 139). The text is not divided into chapters (*zhang* 章), unlike 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang 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 *Jinbai* 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 fen zhang 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 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* 蜀耨机, 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 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 zhajijing 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 zhajijing* 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” (*jintai 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.

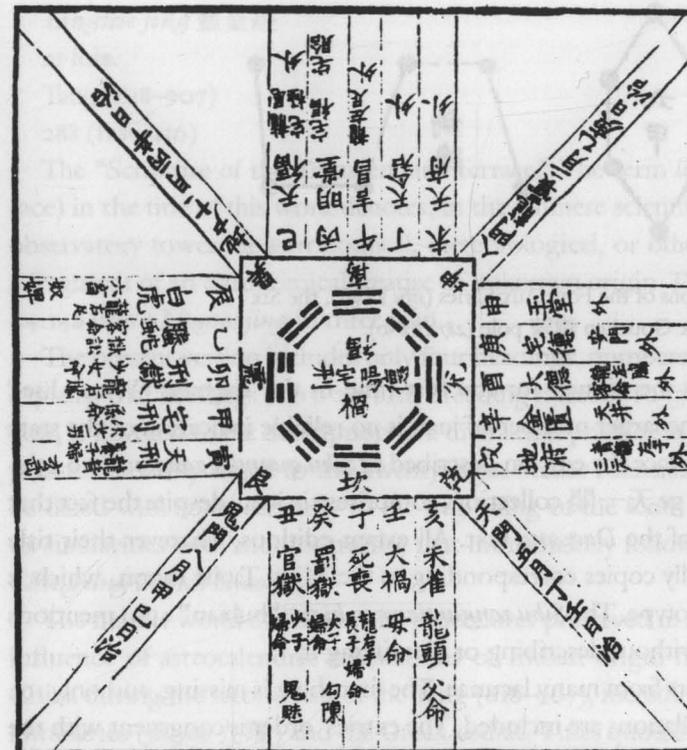


FIGURE 22. The spatial orientation and siting of yang dwellings (282 2.1a–b).

The *Huangdi zhajijing* 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.

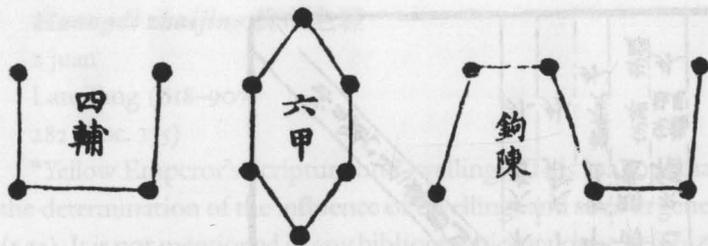


FIGURE 23. The constellations of the Four Auxiliaries (*sifū* 四輔), the Six Periods (*liújiǎ* 六甲), and the Gouchen 鉤陳 pole (287 1.1a–b).

The Star Scripture is mentioned for the first time in the *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lüe,” 44.12b, in three júan. The larger number of júan 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 júan, 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 (júan 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).

Marc Kalinowski

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 júan.

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 (*shiwu* 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 shummu* 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 *yiwei* 乙未 year of the Baoli era (825–827).” In fact, this era does not comprise a *yiwei*, 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 yiwen zhi* 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 fangzhuān 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

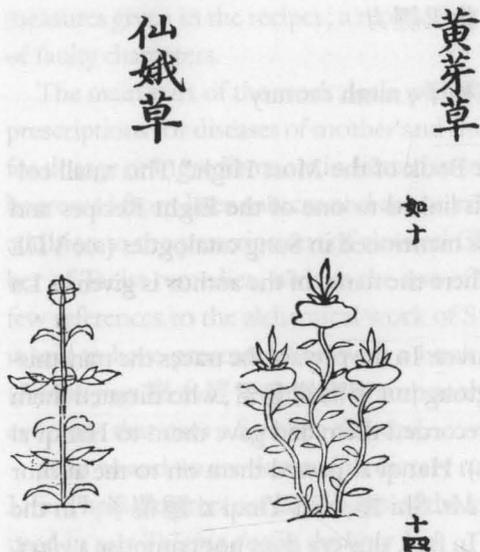


FIGURE 24. Imaginary herbs for medical meditation—the Immortal Beauty and the Yellow Shoot (932 17a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/925)

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 daoxue 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 (*Shenmong 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 *Shenyang 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 tiaopi 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)

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 lüe” (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

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

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 *Xiuuzhen shishu* 54 incorporates extensive passages of the present work (54.10b of the *Xiuuzhen shishu* corresponds to 5b of our text) that do not feature in the extant edition of 432 *Buxie tu*. Moreover, both 263 *Xiuuzhen 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 edition 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

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

肺
神
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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)

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 子梁丘子 (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” (*fugqi* 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 Liqiu 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 interdiction 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 dusku 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 (*jinshi* 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 *yiyin* 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 spiritual 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 (871 3a–b).



FIGURE 30. The Three Corpses (871 7a–b, 8b).



FIGURE 31. Pathogenic agents in the body (871 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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 lüe,” 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 (*yuanqi* 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 tiaopi 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 *Songsshan 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 queshu 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 *Songsshan 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 lüe,” 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, respresented by such works as 820 *Taiqing tiaoqi 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 zhiyue* (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 zhiyue* 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 tiaoqi 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 jue* 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 jue* 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 qieshu 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候訣, 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 biezhì 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 jiu Zhang 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 (20c 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 quesbu mu* 2.36a (cf. VDL 171–72). 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 wujiu shu jue*.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

Zhang zhenren jinsbi 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 (*yingju*) 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

Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue

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21 fols.

890 (fasc. 586)

Dadong lian zhenbao jing jiuhuan jindan miaojue

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 miaojue* 1a and 4b; 891 *Jindan miaojue* 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 miaojue* 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 jue*).

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 *Longshu 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 shenbua 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 *shenbua* 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” (*yinming* 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*, *Danjing 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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Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*; Liao and Ding, “Daojiao waidan shu”; Pregadio, “Un lessico alchemico”; Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*; Wong Shiu-hon, *Daozang danyao yiming*.

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 qieshu 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 bielü*. Three entries—those on *shi guiyi* 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 11.199.

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 lü* 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

Longhu 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 (I.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 (I.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 I.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, I.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* I.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* I.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 zhubiao* 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 biao shu* 通玄祕要術 in three juan to an anonymous author of the Xiantong period (860–874), while *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesbu 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 *atractylis* (*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 quesbu 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 beiqian 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 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 紇干臯, 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 eryl* 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).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 VDL157). 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 the 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 jinding 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 kuifu 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 jiuding 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 qieshu 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 *dantian* 丹田 to protect the *yuanyi* 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 陶埴 [埴] (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 quesbu 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 柳冲用, 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 (*da huandan 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 jinbu 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,” *jinbu* 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 xubian dao 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 ge jue*, 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 ge jue* 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 ming-shan ji*).

Taishang bunyuan 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 bunyuan 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 Daocheng 薛道衡 (fl. 570, see *Sui shu* 57.1405–8), citing the *Laozi beiming* 老子碑銘 (cf. *Wenyuan yinghua* 84.8.1a–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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Lidai chongdao ji 歷代崇道記

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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 jinshu 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 qieshu 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 金明七眞. 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 (*sanbao* 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 [眞形圖] 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 miaojing* 天童護命妙經. This scripture, an antecedent of 632 *Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing*, 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 juan, the Song version comprised ten juan (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 anteceding 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)

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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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 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.

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 kewei fu* 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 quesbu 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 lead 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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Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan 孝道吳許二真君傳

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 *Xianzhen 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 *chaoling 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 壩城集仙錄

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 阡.

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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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 daoqing 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, *Tōnkō 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 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 yuyue 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 daojing 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 daojing 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 *Chuanhou 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, *jūchu* 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 *Ziliie*), 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 queshu 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: Mokurokuben*, 349–51; *Zurokuben*, 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 1113 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* 朝真; 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 lüeshuo*. 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* 籙; 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 *niguan* 女冠 as in our version, the manuscripts consistently write *niguan* 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.

Franciscus Verellen

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 lüeshuo* 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 (*wufu* 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.

Kristofer Schipper

Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo 傳授三洞經戒法錄略說

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 1125 *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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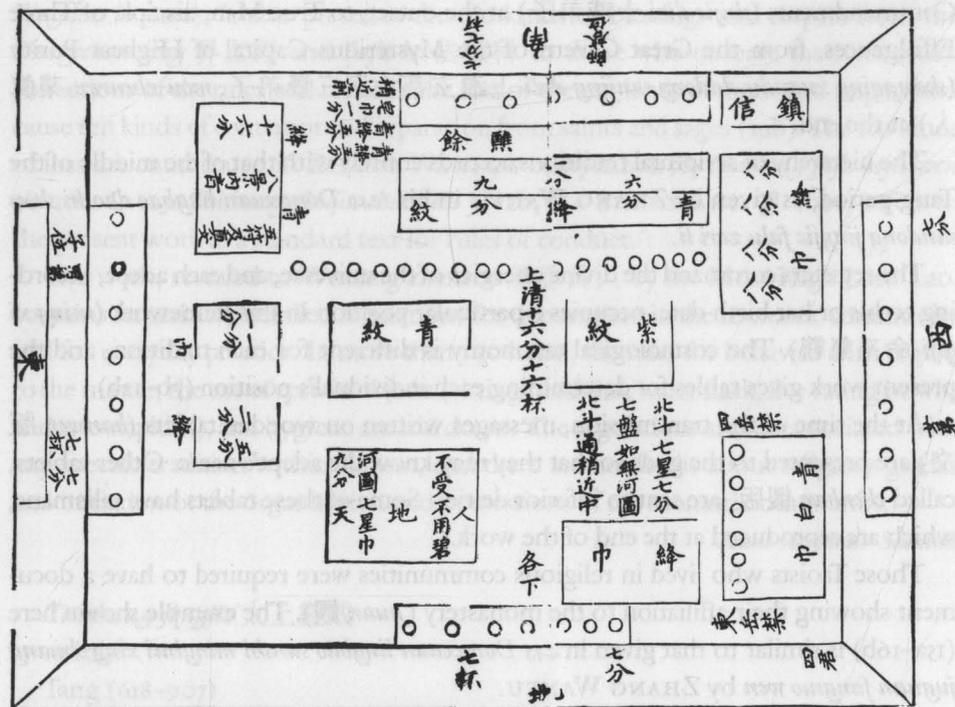


FIGURE 37. Diagram of the altar with indications for the placement of offerings (1212 4a–5a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1195)

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* 儼版, 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 1 (*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 zhibui 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 zhibui 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 (*jiuji 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 玄壇刊誤論

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 (*sansqing* 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 Officials, 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 *Taoxian 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 *Taoxian 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 cidì faxin yì*) 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 jì* 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 金明七眞; 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 lüwen 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 daje 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 *Yaoxin 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 liu* 戒頌律), regulations for the communal organization (*zhidu liu* 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 liu* 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 *Taoxiu 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 lüeyi* 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 *Taoxiu keyi jielu 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 biguan* 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 (*xin* 宿).

Franciscus Verellen

Zhengyi xiuzhen lueyi 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 cidì faxin 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* 碾磧), 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 (*Ersihisi 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 buguo 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.

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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 (*Sambao yuqian* 三寶御前) of a monastery (*guan* 觀) for the rite to be performed.

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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.

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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

[*jiju* 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 daoxue 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 (*suqi* 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 “officials 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 jiejiaoyi* (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籙狀章; 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* 洗滌新婦). 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). Their 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 jinji* 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 qi yuan 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 eight 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 zhubguo 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

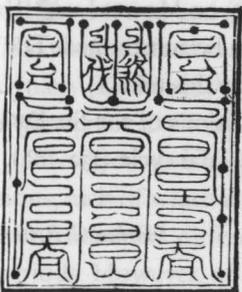


FIGURE 38. Seal for use in exorcism (1270 19b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1252)

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.

Kristofer Schipper

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Strickmann, “The Seal of the Law,” 10–20.

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 (*jiu* 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 (*mudi* 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

無上三天法師說陰育衆生妙經

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 zhafu* 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 (*sangqing* 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 lueyi* 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* 河圖九星籙 (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 zhibui 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 zhuju 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 xiegou 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).

John Lagerwey



FIGURE 41. Vision after ten thousand recitations of the *Daode jing* (875 23b–24b).



FIGURE 42. How to meditate before sleeping (875 12b).

碧冠青帳
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)

64I (fasc. 342)

“Book of the Inner Vision, by the Most High Lord Lao.” In 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 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.).

Kristofer Schipper

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-sīla* 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 daje 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* 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為大道應感真精). 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 tubuang 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.

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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.

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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.

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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 (*sugui 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.

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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 太上洞淵說請兩龍王經

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 *Taoxian 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 太上三五榜救醮五帝斷瘟儀

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 qingtan 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
zhigui zhengjin 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 miaojing
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 miaojing*) that also continued to exist in later times (see 1412 *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing*) 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 (*zhai zhu* 齋主; 8b), and all the souls in hell (10b). These confessions should be performed according to the Lingbao rites (*Lingbao zhafu* 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 huiguozhi 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 *saṅgha*. 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 112 *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 daojing 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 智顓 (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 (*shangqiao 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 ershi 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 (*fannao bing* 煩惱病) can be healed by the medicine of wisdom (*zhibui 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 *1123 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 daojun 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 (Öfuchi 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: Mokurokuben*, 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 zhibui 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 (*Jinyou 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 zhibshuo* 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 Buddho-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 禮州 (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 *fōzang* 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 (*dao* 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 (*dao* 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 dao* 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).

John Lagerwey

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* 龍蹻經, 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” (*Sanshilu 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 yingguo 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 yingguo 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 *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

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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)

1113 (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)

1116 (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 jiu zhen 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: Mokurokuben*, 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 jiu zhen 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 (*Jiuqing 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 zhayiyi* 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 hushen 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 nannü* 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* 末世); 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 jingong 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 yangqing 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 xiaozhi 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 worshipping 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 xiaozhi 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 miaojing 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 (Öfuchi 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 miaojing zhu*), by WANG JIE (100 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai shuo huming miaojing*), and by Zhang Bo 張白 (312 *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing 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 zhengqi* 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 qiye 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 (*zhaiizhu* 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 zhibui 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 zhibui 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 八鶯林, 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* 蟲道), “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 *Gan-shui xianyuan lu* 1.8a). For the recitation of the scripture during the Huanglu 黃籙 ritual in the Song dynasty, see 529 *Lingbao wujing tigan*.

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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.

1117 (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 jiubuang 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 *ksamā* (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 the 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 duren jing fa* (not of 573 *Xuanzhu ge*, as the text announces on page

ra) 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 太上帝清禳災延壽寶懺

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 (*sansqing* 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 jiuazhen 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 fusing dadi 水府扶桑大帝, in the presence of all the bodhisattvas (*zbutian 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 zhibui 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 zhibui 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 zhibui shangpin daje* 5a, 2b; 325 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui dingzhi tongwei jing* 7b; 457 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhibui zuigen shangpin daje 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 (*zhaizhu* 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 (*fulu* 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 Officials (*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 moudu* [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 (*sansxian* 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懺方儀

9 fols.

519 (fasc. 293)

Taishang lingbao yugui mingzhen dazhai chanfang yi

太上靈寶玉匱明真大齋懺方儀

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 (*bobu 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 ershi 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 sambu ershi 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* 紫鳳籙). 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 yuzhen 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 太玄八景籙

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” (*jinsbu 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籙 is given). The same register is also mentioned in 1239 *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* 18a (under the title *Taishang bajing chentu lu* 太上八景晨圖籙). 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

Xuhuang 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] Compartment." 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 wufu 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 ri yue 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 ri yue 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 yangguang 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 (*zhaixie* 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 jinlu 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玉咒經, 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 洞真太上倉元上籙

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 taimiao 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

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 giban*, 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* 一百五十將軍錄) 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* 治錄. 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 *falü* 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.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Shangqing gaoshang Guishan xuanlu 上清高上龜山玄錄

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 shangqing 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 lüeyi* 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), *jiutian* 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 1203 *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 1203 *Zhengfa jing* 11a–b; further along, other titles, which also figure in 1203 *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 1240 *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 1367 *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 *Taishang zhengyi mengwei falu yibu* 34b–38b.

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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 上清衆經諸真聖祕

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 *Xianzhen shishu* 55–60) and therefore dates, at the earliest, from the second half of the Tang.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing huoluo qiyan 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 qiyan* 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.

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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. Talismanic Register of the Golden Tiger (*Taishang dijun jinhu 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).

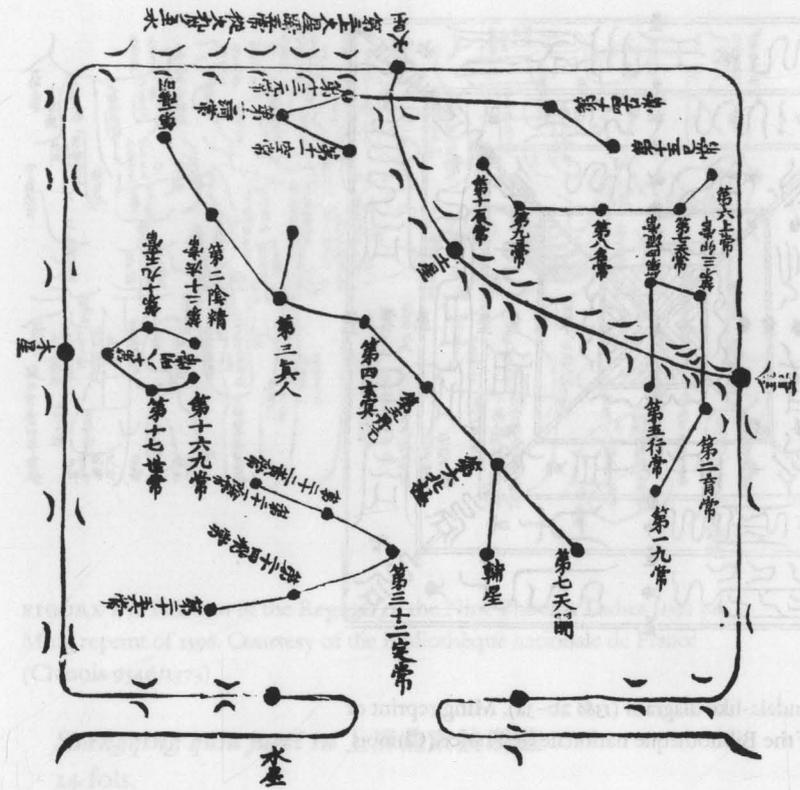


FIGURE 45. Choreography for the paces of the Kongchang stars (1385 1.18b–19a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1366)

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 jinbian 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)

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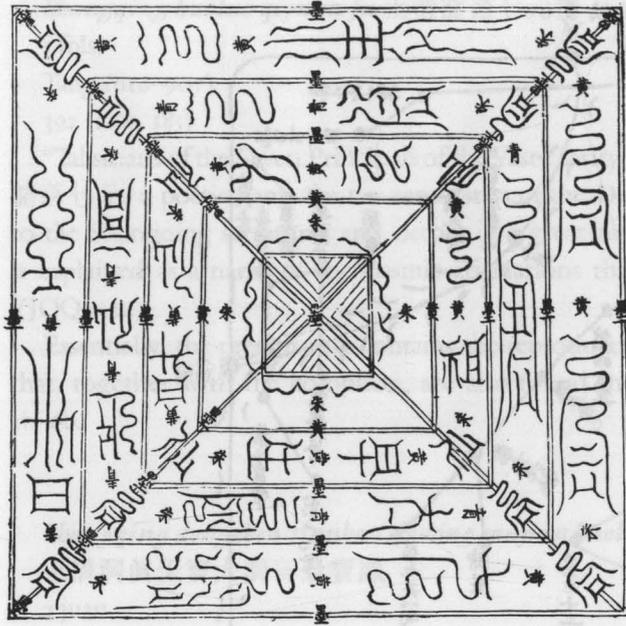


FIGURE 46. Mandala-like diagram (1386 2b-3a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1367)

Shangqing dadong sanjing yuqing yinshu juelu 上清大洞三景玉清隱書訣錄
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).

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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 shangqing* (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 shangqing* 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 shangqing*, 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.

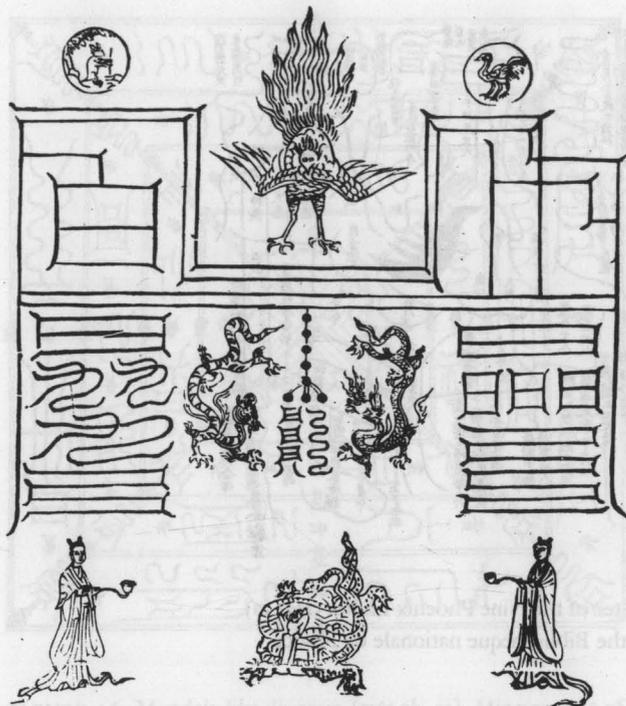


FIGURE 48. Cosmic diagram showing the emblematic animals of the four quarters, the sun and the moon, with a character for *dragon* in the center (1392 10b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/1373)

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* 八威召龍籙; 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 jiu xing lu* 上清太玄河圖九星籙; 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 yishi* 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.

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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.

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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*.

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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.

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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*.

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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.

Isabelle Robinet

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 許翺, 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 jiuozhen 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 jiuixiao 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 jiuizhen 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

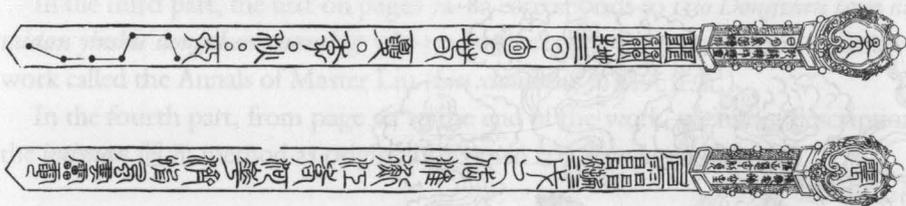


FIGURE 53. Magic swords (431 5a–6b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/428)

(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

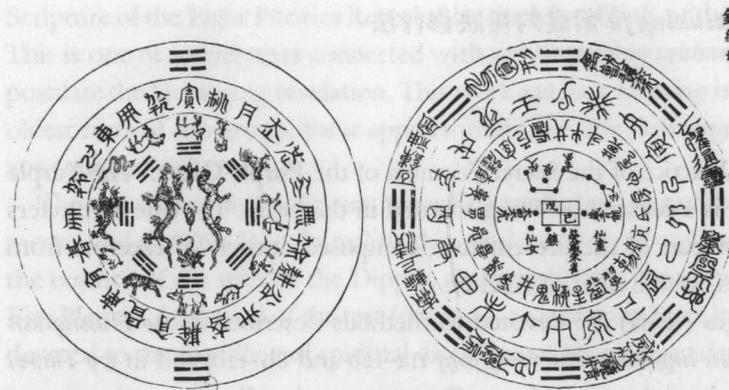


FIGURE 54. Magic mirrors (429 1a–2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 9546/426)

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 ziwen shangjing* 11a–12b and 8b–12b, and in 179 *Taiwei lingshu ziwen 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 miaojue

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 wei yi 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 yinshu 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 桓闔, 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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