道藏通考

The Taoist Canon

A Historical Companion to the *Daozang*

VOLUME 2

The Modern Period

Edited by
Kristofer Schipper and
Franciscus Verellen

The University of Chicago Press
Chicago & London

Introduction: Taoism in the Early Modern Era

The era starting with the advent of the Song dynasty in the second half of the tenth century may be considered the beginning of the modern age in the history of China. When compared to previous times, great changes in all aspects of China's civilization are manifest, and perhaps nowhere are these changes more visible than in the evolution of Taoism.

The rise of local political and religious lay organizations, especially in the regions south of the Yangzi River, is certainly one of the most important factors in this change. During the previous century, the division of the country into a great number of semi-autonomous regions greatly favored the emancipation of local societies, where Taoism had, and still has, its natural habitat.

We see, especially among the townspeople of the Jiangnan 江南 area, the rise of associations (*hui* 會) in honor of local saints. Apart from worship, these associations had many functions. The most important associations were often vocational groups comparable to European guilds and merchant corporations. Others were pilgrimage associations, maintaining networks between different localities. Still others had more precise aims, such as performing deeds of merit: keeping the temple and the locality clean, reciting scriptures and teaching literary skills, caring for the old and the sick by establishing hospitals and dispensaries, helping the physically and mentally disabled by housing them in the temples, liberating animals and advocating vegetarianism, printing and publishing, and even collecting old paper (any piece with writing on it was deemed sacred). Many associations ran schools and trained young people in the martial arts so as to be able to protect the community when the need arose. All these deeds were *gongfu* 功夫 (religious merit; a term we now associate with the Chinese martial arts as practiced within the context of temple associations). Because all these activities were performed as a service to the community, we call these associations "liturgical organizations."

The temple-and-market network greatly developed in the Five Dynasties period (907–960). Formerly only a few Taoist saints had been officially recognized. Now, in the new and generally short-lived kingdoms that emerged, many local saints came into the limelight. The worship of the great saints of the Jiangnan area—such as Guandi 關帝, the embodiment of martial virtue; Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君, who became

the patron saint of the literati; Mazu 媽祖, the fisherman's daughter who became the protectress of seafarers; Xu Jingyang, the immortal official; and many more—developed greatly, and the associations that promoted them grew in power and wealth. Over time, these powerful nonofficial organizations distributed their own sacred literature. They attracted their own clergy and created rituals in which the veneration of their saint had a central position. Thus local Taoist lineages developed, and many scriptures in the present volume bear witness to this development.

The growing importance of local centers was reinforced by imperial patronage. Already at the beginning of the Tang dynasty, imperial patronage was obtained for the worship of Xu Jingyang, and this patronage was reinforced in later periods. Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang dynasty canonized Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the First Heavenly Master. This measure did not benefit the region of northern Sichuan, where the ecclesia originally came from, but a Taoist temple in honor of this patriarch that stood at an important junction of the trade routes that linked the Jiangnan area to the provinces of Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong. This place, on Longhu shan 龍虎山, was purportedly the spot where Zhang Daoling had obtained the Tao and where his descendants had continued to live. The emperor also recognized the chiefs of this lineage as the legitimate holders of the title of Heavenly Master. Thereby the new Zhengyi 正一 patriarchy of the Longhu shan was created, which would become vastly influential during the period under consideration here. Also toward the end of the Tang (618–907), other southern centers claimed their historical ancestry and established lineages of patriarchs. The Maoshan 茅山 lineage, going back to Lady Wei Huacun, who had inspired Yang Xi in writing the Shangqing texts, was construed by a Taoist named Li Bo 李渤 in the early ninth century (see YJQQ 5). As to the Lingbao tradition, it was claimed by a temple on Gezhao shan 閣皂山 in Jiangxi province. The Lingbao declared Ge Xuan, the ancestor of Ge Hong and a famous Taoist of the Three Kingdoms period (220–265), its founder. During the Ming (1368–1644), the authority of the Longhu shan Heavenly Master lineage over the two other centers became predominant, so much so that the Maoshan and Gezhao shan gradually lost their identity before being taken over by the Quanzhen order during the Qing period (1644–1911).

In the beginning of the Song period, the development of local and regional organizations could no longer be ignored by the central government. In a series of bold religious and political actions, Emperor Zhenzong (997–1022) of the Northern Song, after having first been sanctified as the representative of the Tao on Earth by the revelation of Heavenly Letters, undertook to create a network of officially sponsored Taoist temples called Tianqing guan 天慶觀. The Taoist priests who were appointed as keepers of the sanctuaries were recognized as government officials. The state retained control of the sanctuaries, but it allowed many local associations to participate in the

different activities related to them. In the Tianqing guan, not only the Yellow Emperor, the divine ancestor of the dynasty, was worshiped. Some of these deities—such as the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官)— belonged to the Taoist ecclesia; others were dynastic deities whose worship was an imperial prerogative, such as the Lord of Taishan. Soon, next to the Tianqing guan, and with imperial approval, shrines appeared to many other saints and gods. The modern temple was born, with its lay organization that replaced the ancient dioceses of the ecclesia of the Heavenly Master.

Throughout the Northern Song, emperors maintained important Taoist functions. Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) was actually titled Lord of the Tao (Daojun 道君). Yet we cannot speak of an "official religion." The temple network of which the emperor was the head existed side by side with, but separate from, the official Confucian bureaucracy, although there were many institutional and also informal links.

At the beginning of the modern era, the interpenetration between the Three Teachings was strong. Among the Buddhist schools, Chan (Zen) Buddhism was influenced by Taoism. The other great movement, that of Pure Land Buddhism, in turn influenced Taoist ritual practice. Confucianism owed an immense debt to both Buddhism and Taoism, which had given it the transcendent dimension it was hitherto lacking. But as Taoism became more and more immersed in local society and popular culture, it became estranged from the other two religions, or, more exactly, Buddhism and Confucianism gradually distanced themselves from it. While the idea of the unity of the Three Teachings remained one of the cornerstones of the political discourse, in practice only Taoism continued to believe in the dialogue. The two other doctrines tended toward increased differentiation. The unity of the Three Teachings therefore became primarily a Taoist cause and was only actively supported by Confucianism and Buddhism at times when Chinese culture as a whole was threatened, as during the Mongol period.

The main challenge for Taoism, as reflected in the texts of the period under consideration here, were the great changes due to the emancipation of local cults. Many of these cults were survivals from antiquity, such as those that venerated the Earth God (*she* 社 or *tudi* 土地), the Thunder God (*leishen* 雷神), and many nature spirits. Others, already mentioned, were cults of local saints. Invariably, the deities of these cults manifested themselves through spirit mediums, according to the age-old traditions of Chinese shamanism. How were these deities and their priests to be assimilated within the framework of Taoist thought and practice? And even more challengingly, how were the rites performed by the shamans to be integrated with the Taoist liturgical organization?

As the texts in the *Daozang* show, the first challenge, that of incorporating the gods of ancient China and the saints of local temples into the Taoist pantheon and theology, was met simply by assimilating them with cosmic energies (qi), most often

represented by a star or a constellation. This sublimation was not unlike the translation of mortals into immortality, as already practiced through the liturgy of the great Taoist *zhai* 齋 and *jiao* 醮 services. Thus the canonization these deities had received from the imperial institution (*guofeng* 國封) was matched by the conferral of a Taoist investiture (*daofeng* 道封) to them. Far more complex, and therefore the subject of many treatises and discussions, was the profusion of rites related to these deities. These rites were by and large of an exorcistic nature, and the new saints, such as Lord Guan 關公, played an important role in them, first with the rank of general, then as marshal, and finally as a high celestial deity.

Exorcistic rites had, of course, always existed in Taoism, and many scattered references related to them may be culled from medieval source material. Some rites, like the exorcistic spells of the God of the North (Beidi 北帝), had been incorporated into the revelations of YANG XI (see *1016 Zhen'gao* 10.10a–11b,15.1a–4b and *53 Taishang dongyuan beidi tianpeng huming xiaozai shenzhou miaojing*). Exorcism was also part of medical practice, as can be seen from the "Jinjing 禁經" in SUN SIMO's *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方. However, exorcists had never gained high social recognition, and their rites had only rarely been put into writing.

All this was now to change. From the beginning of the Song dynasty onward, we are confronted with spirit-medium cults and related exorcist rituals that, although local in origin, gained wide recognition at court and obtained imperial favor (e.g., the worship of the Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖保德眞君 at the imperial court; see *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan* by WANG QINRUO). The early tenth-century work *1237 Sandong xiudao yi* presents, in addition to the traditional Tang liturgical organization and its ordination grid, the first mention of a minor exorcistic order that practiced the Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法) of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi leigong fa* 北帝雷公法; 9a). Henceforth, many rites (*fa* 法) related to these exorcist practices became institutionalized and established their own initiations and lineage organizations, independent of the existing Taoist liturgical structures.

Modern Taoism distinguishes between the liturgical capability of the Taoist Scholar (*daoshi* 道士) and that of the Ritual Master (*fashi* 法師) or Ritual Official (*faguan* 法官). This distinction is again reflected in the differences in authority conferred by the register (*lu* 籙) and by the rite (*fa* 法). Among the sources that bear on this subject, the most complete and enlightening are the *Taishang tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格 and its sequel, *Taishang hundong chiwen nüqing zhaoshu tianlü* 太上混洞赤文女青詔書天律 in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 249–52. In the latter, it is stated explicitly that "the *fa* has to follow the register [*lu*], and there can be no discrepancy between the two" (249.13b). As the regular Taoist clergy and the Ritual Masters worked side by side in the same environment, their mutual integration became a fundamental prerequisite and a continual process.

The above-quoted texts in the *Daofa huiyuan* derive from the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 lineage, which was, according to its own accounts, one of the earlier Song exorcistic lineages to obtain official recognition. Globally speaking, the Tianxin zhengfa appears to have been the first lineage to have been codified by means of a written corpus. It established a historical lineage beginning with TAN ZIXIAO in Fujian during the Five Dynasties and was well represented by DENG YOUGONG until the end of the Northern Song. The lineage claimed to be ultimately derived from the First Heavenly Master himself. During the Southern Song (1127–1279) and later, the Tianxin zhengfa was indeed considered to be a part, even a fundamental part, of the rites of the Way of the Heavenly Master. In fact, however, its exorcistic rites during which a demon is first captured and imprisoned, then interrogated and sentenced, are elaborations of ancient shamanistic séances.

Also comparatively early, and even more famous, were the Shenxiao 神霄 rites, which are said to have been introduced by the court Taoist LIN LINGSU (1076–1120) and his disciple Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153). Few precise facts can be found to link the Shenxiao texts preserved in the *Daozang* with the activities of these daoshi at the court of Song Huizong, as all of the relevant books can be shown to have been written or at least seriously reedited during the Southern Song period. The name "Shenxiao" refers to a supreme sphere in the heavenly universe, where higher deities than those hitherto recognized dwelled. This reference allowed for the establishment of a new list of nine Heavenly Worthies 天尊, the so-called Nine Sovereigns (Jiuchen 九宸), the first being the Original Saint Governor of the Heavens, the Heavenly Worthy of Long Life of the Southern Apex, Founder of the Myriad Rites of the Celestial Abodes of Shenxiao (Shenxiao tiangong wanfa zhi zong, Nanji changsheng tongtian yuansheng tianzun 神霄天宮萬法之宗南極長生統天元聖天尊). Next to the supreme god of the Shenxiao, the Taiyi jiuku tianzun 太乙救苦天尊 and the Leisheng puhua tianzun 雷聲普化天尊 represent the cosmic forces related, respectively, to death and life. These names are Taoist translations of the bodhisattva Kṣitigarba and Samantabhadra. The presence of two essentially Buddhist deities at the heart of modern Taoist ritual should not come as a surprise. The Lingbao ritual for the universal salvation of souls (*pudu* 普度) had since the late medieval period become more and more predominant, and with it the rites of sublimation (*liandu* 鍊度) that aim at forging an immortal body for the suffering dead. These rites involve the purification and divine rebirth of a spirit through the practice of Inner Alchemy by the officiant. Such Inner Alchemy techniques were combined with purification and exorcism rites that marshaled the forces of the thunder. These latter practices were by and large borrowed and adapted from Tantric Buddhism. Here much remains to be done in terms of research to elucidate the original Tantric antecedents of Song Taoist ritual. Tantrism, introduced in China during the late Tang, does not seem to have succeeded

at that time in establishing itself as an autonomous Buddhist school, but it did have an important influence on Taoism, and many Tantric practices found their way into Taoist liturgy.

During the Southern Song, the combination of the above-mentioned elements became consolidated into a large ritual synthesis that received the general appellation of the Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao (*Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法). Within this global framework, expounded in a number of important manuals and handbooks, we see the successive incorporation of different lineages, such as the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 of Lu Shizhong. Lu, at the beginning of the Southern Song period, claimed to continue the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa, but by incorporating them into the Lingbao liturgy for the universal salvation of souls. Other influential currents were the Tongchu 童初 rites of Maoshan, the Jade Pivot (Yushu 玉樞) scriptures of Bo Yuchan, and finally the Qingwei school of Zhao Yizhen. But there are many other movements, especially related to *leifa*, that call for further research.

Owing perhaps to the rupture with its historical antecedents—the Heavenly Master ecclesia and the ancient scriptural transmission of the Lingbao and Shangqing canons—and perhaps also to the emancipation of local cults and their spirit-medium rites, Taoism in the modern age seems to increasingly lose a sense of its own historical reality. Zhang Daoling 張道陵 becomes the revealing spirit of the Tianxin zhengfa rites, while Lü Dongbin continues, century after century, to transmit his Inner Alchemy secrets and to write poetry. These and other divine patriarchs also write commentaries to sacred scriptures (e.g., *99 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing jizhu*). The great commentary to the *Yuhuang benxing jing* 玉皇本行經 by the Ming scholar Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504–1564) is also adorned with prefaces by saints such as Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君 (Wenchang 文昌), Lü Dongbin, Qiu Chuji, and the Heavenly Marshal Deng 鄧元帥. These saints are moreover the authors of a large part of the commentary (see *1440 Huangjing zhujie*).

To all these changes in the Taoist traditions must be added the widespread use of printing, which made possible the dissemination of texts formerly transmitted to initiates only. Thus the exclusivity that formerly characterized the transmission of many liturgical texts could no longer be maintained. During the Yuan and Ming periods, some Taoist scriptures—such as *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* and *623 Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miao,* or *1442 Taishang sanyuan cifu shezui jie'e xiaozai yansheng baoming miaojing*—were among the most widely printed and distributed books in China, surpassing the circulation of Buddhist and Confucian works. In what respect are we then justified to maintain the heading "Texts in Internal Circulation" for this part?

Even while the old system was no longer universally adhered to, rules relating to transmission and ordination still appear to have been strictly applied. Some books

were circulated in a printed form, but they were by no means considered fit to be placed into anyone's hands. The printed versions of the successive *Daozang* were confined to Taoist centers and almost never shown to outsiders. Moreover, even popular scriptures of devotion, to be recited and venerated in people's homes, carried explicit warnings as to their exclusivity and as to the many rules to be observed when handling them. Finally, what certain scriptures may have lost in exclusivity as a result of their widespread circulation was largely made up for by the very secrecy that surrounded the new exorcist techniques of the Tianxin zhengfa and Shenxiao rites. All in all, the ritual texts of Taoism continued to be accessible for ordained daoshi and initiated practitioners only.

3.A Texts in General Circulation

3.A.1 Philosophy

3.A.1.a Commentaries on Ancient Philosophers

3.A.1.a.1 The *Daode jing*

***Daode zhenjing lun* 道德眞經論**
4 juan
By Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086)
689 (fasc. 373)

"Essay on the Way and Its Power." This essay was originally entitled *Daode lun shuyao* 道德論述要 ("A Summary of the Discourses on the *Daode jing*") and divided into two juan (VDL 153).

Sima Guang considers that the *Laozi* should not be divided into two books, one on the Tao, the other on the De. His commentary follows the traditional order of the chapters, with one paragraph per chapter, but without titles. Sima Guang was one of the first commentators (possibly the first) to punctuate after *you* 有 and *wu* 無 in the opening sentences of the *Laozi*: "*wu* [negation] is the name of the origin of Heaven and Earth; *you* [affirmation] is the name of the mother of the ten thousand beings; forever in the *wu* shalt thou contemplate the wonder, forever in the *you* shalt thou contemplate its fringes."

But *wu* and *you* are here seen as only makeshift names. The Confucian virtues are here seen as upheld: *ren* 仁 (humanity) and *yi* 義 (duty) are contained within the Tao, which is why they make their appearance when the Tao declines; when *Laozi* rejects knowledge and *ren,* it is because in their time of decadence, these virtues are no more than simulacra of their true meaning.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei pian* 道德眞經藏室纂微篇**
10 juan
By Chen Jingyuan 陳景元, *zi* Taichu 太初 or Taixu 太虛, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虛子 or Zhenjing 眞靖; 1072
714 (fasc. 418–420)

"Subtleties Culled From the Storehouse of the Way and Its Power." The term *pian* 篇 (text) has been added to this title to distinguish the text from the two commentaries that follow it as sequels in the *Daozang*. The author collected a great number of editions and commentaries of the *Daode jing* and kept them in a special room. In this work, he presents what he considers to be the subtle words of the ancient sages regarding the *Daode jing* (see the preface, 6b, and 9b–10a).

Chen Jingyuan (1024–1094) was a Taoist master from Tiantai who later resided at Lushan. He wrote numerous commentaries and other works, though only a few of these survive. As a disciple of Zhang Wumeng 張無夢 (952?–1051), he belongs to the lineage of Chen Tuan.

The present work is preceded by (1) an introduction by the author devoted in the main to the mythology of the *Laozi;* (2) a "Dissertation on the *Laozi*" by Ge Bi 葛郯 (*zi* Cizhong 次中, *hao* Wenkang gong 文康公) from Lingying guan 靈應觀 in Shanshan 贍山; and (3) a preface by Yang Zhonggeng 楊中庚, dated 1258, stating that a printed edition of this commentary was presented to the emperor (in 1072, as specified in *715 Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei kaiti kewen shu* 1.4b).

This commentary is noted in the bibliographies as consisting of two juan. It is also said that the same author wrote a *Daode zhu* 注, likewise in two juan (see *Song shi* 205.5178 and the biography of Chen Jingyuan in LZTT 49.5a). The question therefore arises whether Chen Jingyuan wrote two different commentaries on the *Laozi*.

The present commentary has been preserved, wholly or in part, in anthologies such as *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi* (which contains the shortest version), *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu*, *718 Daode zhenjing gushan ji*, and *716 Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei shouchao*. Some of these versions accord with each other (cf. *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu* 1.1a and *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi* 3.4a); others differ (cf. *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu* 2.17b–18a, 18b–19b, and *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi* 13.33a–34a). Occasionally, these versions correspond to the present text (e.g., 2.2b–3a and *718 Daode zhenjing gushan ji* 2.4b–5a and *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi* 13.33a); sometimes they diverge (cf. 2.1b and *718 Daode zhenjing gushan ji* 2.1b). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to consider the present text and its other versions as having issued from different sources. On the whole, they represent one and the same text, despite occasional variants. The present version of the text appears to have been abridged, especially when comparing it to quotations found in *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi*.

In his prefatory remarks (6b), the author reviews the fundamentals of his under-

standing of the *Daode jing,* which, as he states in his commentary, applies equally to governing the state and the self. CHEN JINGYUAN selects phrases from the *Laozi* that sum up his reading of the work, and he uses them to illustrate government by nonaction on the political level, a life of withdrawal without desires on the personal level, and, on the metaphysical plane, the ineffability of the Tao. His commentary is a work of recapitulation that provides a synthesis of interpretations of the *Daode jing.* It presents the distinctions between essence (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用), between the physical and metaphysical spheres, between the "root" and the "leaving of traces," between the "I" and the "other," between the notion of real nature received from Heaven (*xing* 性) and to which one must return without trespassing beyond its limits, and that of the passions (*qing* 情) that engender distinctions. All these distinctions must vanish in "total forgetfulness" and in "coalescent unity."

Our commentary does not neglect the dialectics of *wu* and *you* (nonbeing and being), and presents the most representative of the interpretations of HESHANG GONG. CHEN JINGYUAN adopts the explanation of "nourishing the spirit and purifying the body" within the context of techniques applying to the circulation of qi and blood.

On various occasions he makes a distinction between the "ancient" interpretations inspired by Taoist practices and applicable to both the individual and the state—which include practices of breathing and visual meditation as well as cosmological speculations—and contemporary interpretations that do not go beyond the sphere of individual conduct and that fall within the category of ethical and mystical practices.

This commentary is also interesting for the way it links the *Daode jing* to the commentaries of diverse schools of Taoist texts and to the Confucian classics. Among the various schools we find that of Lu Xisheng 陸希聲. There are long fragments of the now lost parts of the commentary by YAN ZUN. The Taoist texts referred to are those of the *Zhuangzi* and, above all, the *Huainan zi* (cf. *1184 Huainan honglie jie*), as well as *31 Huangdi yinfu jing, 666 Xisheng jing,* and so on. The most frequently quoted Confucian classics linked to the *Daode jing* are the *Yijing* (including many unattributed borrowed phrases and interpretations of the hexagrams), the *Lunyu*, the *Shijing,* and the *Mengzi,* whose flood-like breath (*haoran zhi qi* 浩然之氣) is assimilated to the median qi.

The cosmogonic system of our author is clearly inspired by YAN ZUN, and although Zhang Wumeng is not mentioned by name, Yang Zhongkeng in his preface states that CHEN JINGYUAN here transmits the essence of his master's doctrine. We find indeed that Inner Alchemy constitutes an important element throughout the text. The spirit of synthesis characteristic of this current of thought pervades the work, and the vocabulary of this school is reflected in the many allusions and terms stemming from Inner Alchemy (see, for instance, 2.2a, 5.12b, 10.7b). Furthermore, the Taiji 太極 is constantly assimilated to the primordial qi, which would seem to confirm the ties that no doubt linked CHEN JINGYUAN to the CHEN TUAN school.

Finally, as the author of works of a philological nature, CHEN JINGYUAN introduces into this commentary observations concerning variants in the *Laozi* text, comparing the versions of WANG BI, HESHANG GONG, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), and an ancient manuscript (*guben* 古本).

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing zhuan* 道德眞經傳**

4 juan

By LÜ HUIQING 呂惠卿; 1078

686 (fasc. 369)

"Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." LÜ HUIQING (1031–1110) held high ministerial positions. This work was presented to the emperor in 1078. It is mentioned in the bibliographical catalogues as comprising two juan (VDL 104).

The commentary is placed in the traditional order, at the end of each chapter of the *Laozi* text, and not after each sentence or phrase. It is quoted in *718 Daode zhenjing qushan ji* with important variants (compare *718 Qushan ji* 1.2b–3a; 13b; 2.5b with our text 1.1b; 1.5a; 1.11b, respectively). It is also quoted in *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi* 1.22a, 24b, and elsewhere, with substantial divergences from our text (1.4a–b) as well as from *724 Zhenjing jiyi* 5.20b–21a. The quotations in *718 Qushan ji* and *724 Zhenjing jiyi* also diverge: the commentary on chapter 1 of the *Laozi* is virtually the same in our text as in *724 Zhenjing jiyi,* but it is different in *718 Qushan ji* (compare 1.5a–b in the present text with *718 Qushan ji* 1.13a and *724 Zhenjing jiyi* 1.19b–20b).

Within each chapter, this commentary follows the development of Laozi's thought phrase by phrase, providing constant examples from the *Daode jing* as illustrations, with the result that the text comments on itself. Allusions to the *Zhuangzi* are also oblique. Digressions are rare. The beginning of the commentary reveals a Mādhyamika influence. The pedagogical usefulness of the latter can be seen in the manner by which the commentary explains the negative formulas of the *Laozi* as instructions to avoid affirmation of any sort (1.19b, see also 1.18b).

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing jizhu* 道德眞經集註**

10 juan

Colophon by Liang Jiong 梁迥; 1098

706 (fasc. 395–398)

"Collected Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." The collection comprises the commentaries of HESHANG GONG, WANG BI, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang, and WANG PANG (1042–1076). The colophon by

Liang Jiong, military judge of Yingzhou 英州, explains that an official by the name of Zhang (his personal name is not given) had these commentaries printed after having them edited by a "worthy scholar." There are many other editions of the first three commentaries in the present collection, but the fourth—by WANG PANG, the son of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), who also wrote an important commentary on the *Zhuangzi* (*743 Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan*)—survives only here in a complete version. The same commentary is partially preserved in *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi* and *718 Daode zhenjing qushan ji*. The hypothesis put forward by Wang Zhongmin in *Laozi kao* attributing the present edition to Wen Ruhai 文如海 is untenable. Wen lived under the Tang (see VDL 138).

There are three prefaces. Those by Emperor Xuanzong and GE XUAN are well known. The third is by WANG PANG, who states that it was written in 1070.

A comparison of the WANG PANG commentary in our text with the fragments preserved in *724 Zhenjing jiyi* shows that the present version, although generally complete, has been abridged in some places (compare our text 1.1a and 1.6a with *724 Zhenjing jiyi* 1.25a and 1.27a–29b, respectively; the passage from WANG PANG's commentary given in *724 Zhenjing jiyi* 5.21b–22a is missing altogether in the present version).

The commentary by WANG PANG belongs to those that attempt a synthesis between the Three Teachings (*sanjiao*): Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Wang Pang often compares Confucianism to the seasons of spring and summer, Taoism to autumn and winter, these being the times of fruition, of harvest and gathering. Laozi brings all together and makes all things return to the One, to their "fundamental nature," and to quiet peacefulness. It is this gathering that enables the renewal of blossoming in the following spring and summer (see WANG PANG's preface, page 6b, and the passages on 3.19a, 4.7b, 5.24a, 6.18a). WANG PANG opposes WANG BI's interpretation insofar as WANG PANG considers that Laozi recognized *wu* 無 (nonbeing) and *you* 有 (being) to be interdependent, but that Laozi's thought concentrates on *wu*, whereas the Confucian scriptures are concerned with *you* (compare also *724 Zhenjing jiyi* 1.28b–29b). WANG PANG follows the example of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) by placing punctuation, in the opening sentences of the first chapter of the *Daode jing*, after *wu* and *you*, and not after *yu* 欲 (desire), as is customary (see *689 Daode zhenjing lun*).

WANG PANG's commentary centers on the concept of *xing* 性 (nature), which has here the connotation of the "fundamental nature" of humanity, the vehicle of transcendence in human beings, identified by WANG PANG with the *pu* 樸, the "uncarved block" of the *Laozi* (see 5.8b, 8.21b). He also equates this concept of nature with the *haoran* 浩然 (the exaltation of the spirit), in Mengzi (see 10.9b). WANG PANG advocates humanity's "return to its nature" (*fuxing* 復性), an expression borrowed from

the Tiantai school of Buddhism and that Li Ao 李翺 (774–836) already had made the title of his famous essays, *Fuxing shu* 復性書. To "return" in this way is also "to examine the core of one's nature" (*jinxing* 盡性), an idea that refers to the *Yijing* and that here becomes synonymous with *fuming* 復命 (return to destiny), an expression taken from Laozi. All throughout his work, WANG PANG juggles with these three expressions, each of which comes from one of the Three Teachings.

WANG PANG often quotes the *Zhuangzi* (see 1.8b and especially 3.32a, where he makes an interesting comparison between Laozi and Zhuangzi), as well as the *Yijing* and the *Mengzi*. He likewise quotes many Confucian classics: the *Lunyu*, the *Shujing*, the *Shijing*, the *Liji*, and others. He uses some Buddhist concepts, especially in the context of the dialectic discourse of the conciliation of the opposites *wu* and *you*, action and nonaction, unity and duality (see, for instance, 7.11a and 12a). Wang frequently pairs double negations to demonstrate the fact that these concepts mutually abolish and also complete each other (e.g., "appearances are neither illusory nor nonreal"; 7.12a). Several times, he uses the expression "things cannot move" (*wu bu neng qian* 物不能遷; 3.8b, 8.12a), which is reminiscent of the title of an essay by Sengzhao 僧肇 (374–414).

The Taoism of WANG PANG is essentially philosophical. For him, to "nourish life" is to "forget the I" and to become a "being without mind" (*wuxin* 無心; 3.34a, 35a, 35b). Thus humans can achieve "mystical identification" (*xuantong* 玄通; 3.33b), the coincidence of opposites such as *wu* and *you*, of the One and the ten thousand transformations (see 5.4a and 25a; 6.17a). There is virtually no mention of Taoist practices, although in 2.11a we find a reference to Taoist anthropology: the triad of essence (*jing* 精), spirit (*shen* 神), and pneuma (*qi* 氣) that form the human being. Wang rejects quietism (see 4.21a and 7.9b, 25b) as well as asceticism. He considers that the wish to escape from hunger and cold are part of human nature.

Wang's commentary extols the role of the saint who "embodies the Tao" and "goes to the extreme of his own nature," who "governs the world" (4.11a, 12a; 5.25a), who masters all transformations and is capable of all things (8.29a). In this spiritual achievement resides his longevity, which establishes a smooth harmony with transformations and vicissitudes, or a vision that transcends opposition between life and death (5.15a, 21a). Leader of the people, the saint enables the people to "follow their own nature" (10.9a–b, 29a, 31b).

In conclusion, WANG PANG, who remains above all a scholar, has created an intelligent synthesis of the Three Teachings. It seems that his commentary exerted an important influence on Su Che 蘇轍 (see *691 Daode zhenjing zhu*).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing zhu 道德眞經註
4 juan
By Su Che 蘇轍; 1100
691 (fasc. 374)

"Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." Some of the Song editions of this commentary by Su Che were divided into two juan (VDL 107) and are said to date from 1100 (see *Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi* 1.9b). There were two editions printed in the thirteenth century that are no longer extant: one written in the calligraphy of Zhang Jizhi 張即之 in 1218 (cf. *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引 2398), the other produced in 1255 in Sichuan by the Taoist master Wang Daoli 王道立, *zi* Boxiu 伯修, and revised by his grandson in 1290 (see *Bisong lou cangshu zhi* 66.3a).

In this commentary, Su Che seeks to illustrate the fundamental unity linking Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. In a postface, dated 1108, he states that it was in order to prove to a Buddhist monk that the teachings of Confucianism were akin to those of Buddhism that he had undertaken to write this commentary on the *Laozi*. A more complete version of this postface is preserved in other editions. The present commentary is indeed particularly characterized by its Buddhist-oriented approach. Almost all the references to the Confucian classics are to the *Yijing*, on which Su Che wrote a separate commentary.

The dominant concept of the present work is *fuxing* 復性 (return to one's own nature). This expression, associated with the Tiantai school Buddhism, had already enjoyed a long history in both Confucianism and in Taoism, but Su Che gives it unusual prominence.

Like the Neo-Confucians and WANG PANG (*706 Daode zhenjing jizhu* 5.15a), Su Che uses a statement from the Book of Changes as a formula epitomizing individual asceticism: "By exploring the order of the world to its limits and examining their own nature, they arrived at [an understanding of] the decree [of Heaven]" (*qiongli jinxing yi zhi yu ming* 窮理盡性以至於命; *Yijing*, "Shuo gua," 1). In this way the expression *fuxing* connects with *fuming* 復命 (to restore the decree of Heaven) and a Buddhist concept can be linked to the *Yijing* (see the commentary to chapter 16, 1.19a–b).

Xing 性 is the ultimate reality, understood with the transcendental connotation that Buddhism attaches to it. It is the seat of the Tao in humanity (1.10a), so vast that it fills all Heaven and Earth; neither life nor death have power to alter it, nor can they in any way increase or diminish it (1.14b). *Xing* is also the primary source through which the senses experience the world and whence all beings originate (1.15a; 2.4a). *Xing* is attained not by a quietism leading to the immobility of "withered wood" but by a kind of immobility, a quiescence, that is radiant action (1.17b–18a). *Ming* 命 (decree of Heaven) is the *miao* 妙 transcendent, the wondrous aspect of *xing*. *Xing* remains in the realm of the word; *ming* transcends the word (1.19a).

On various occasions, Su Che makes a distinction between the metaphysical world and the world of forms *(xing)*. The former is that of the immeasurable, ineffable Tao (2.12a, 4.10b), where there is neither negation (*wu* 無) nor affirmation (*you* 有); the latter is that which can be spoken of and measured (1.2a, 7b, 12b), that which encompasses Heaven and Earth "beyond the ten thousand beings" yet is finite (1.20a) and not self-engendered (1.8a).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing jie 道德眞經解
2 juan
By Chen Xianggu 陳象古; preface 1101
683 (fasc. 364)

"Explication of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." The present commentary on the *Daode jing* has a short preface dated 1101. The author was "gentleman of discussion" (*chengyi lang* 承議郎) at Song Huizong's (r. 1100–1125) court (see *Song huiyao jigao* 4:3895). The commentary is quoted in *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu* by PENG SI, and in *710 Daode zhenjing zhushu*, corresponding to 2.4b in the present text.

Chen treats the *Laozi* as a continuous text, without using the traditional chapter divisions. Thus, for instance, on 1.18a the last sentence of chapter 25 is followed directly by the first phrase of chapter 26.

The version of the *Daode jing* used here shows some textual differences in relation to the traditional HESHANG GONG and WANG BI editions. For example, the last sentences of chapters 48 (here on 2.7b) and 52 (here 2.10a) are lacking.

Chen's glosses are short and do not develop any particular system. The explanations are sometimes rather original (see, for instance, the commentary on the sentence in chapter 13 (here on 1.9a): "If I had no body, how could I suffer?", which reads: "Only when one no longer relies on the fact that one has a body, can the Tao operate its mysterious function in the body."

Isabelle Robinet

Song Huizong yujie Daode zhenjing 宋徽宗御解道德眞經
4 juan
By Emperor Huizong 徽宗; ca. 1111–1118
680 (fasc. 359)

"Imperial Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power by Song Huizong." This commentary dates from the Zhenghe period (1111–1118). It was engraved on stone and included in the *Daozang* after 1118 (VDL 105 and 44, note).

The main references used by Emperor Huizong are the *Yijing* and the *Zhuangzi*. Huizong punctuates the first sentences of the *Laozi* after *wu* and *you*, following the

example of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), and, like many commentators, he uses a phrase of *Zhuangzi* as his model. As a result, he places special emphasis on *changyou* 常有 and *changwu* 常無 (absolute existence and nonexistence), which are parallel to *zhiwu* 至無 (the supreme *wu*), *zhenwu* 眞無 (the real *wu*), and *miaoyou* 妙有 (the transcendent *you*; 2.1a). This emphasis reveals the persistent influence of Mādhyamika and the commentators of the Chongxuan 重玄 school: the *wu* underlies and encompasses the *you,* and vice versa. Here, the *changwu* is associated with *li* 理 (the norm of the world), and the *changyou* with *shi* 事 (the mundane, affaires, i.e., Buddhist categories). Other Buddhist influences can be discerned in the text: "return to one's nature" (*fuxing* 復性; e.g., 1.19b, 3.3b); "immobility of beings" (e.g., 1.5a,7a); "total forgetfulness" or "forgetfulness of contradictions" (e.g., 3.17b, 18a, 18b). The influence of Neo-Confucianism can also be seen, for instance, in the distinctions made by Huizong between the metaphysical and the physical world (e.g., 1.27a, 2.12b), in a leitmotiv borrowed from the *Yijing*—"to go to the limit of the norm of the world and to the extremes of one's own nature in order to arrive at the decree [of Heaven]—and in his discussion on the nonabsolute (*wuji* 無極) and the absolute (*youji* 有極; 2.11b).

Isabelle Robinet

***Song Huizong Daode zhenjing jieyi* 宋徽宗道德眞經解義**

10 juan

Commentary by Zhang An 章安; before 1125

681 (fasc. 360–362)

"On the Meaning of Song Huizong's Explication of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." This subcommentary to the commentary *680* on the *Daode jing* by Huizong (r. 1100–1125) was probably written during the emperor's lifetime and addressed to him personally. It follows the "classical" pattern insofar as it echoes features from Guo Xiang's commentary on the *Zhuangzi*.

Zhang An states that the fundamental tenet of the *Laozi* is to be found in Laozi's doctrine of weakness and nonresistance (10.14a). On several occasions the commentator affirms that he also is a partisan of nonaction. He returns repeatedly to the theme of *feiyou feiwu* 非有非無 (neither being nor nonbeing) already elaborated by the Chongxuan 重玄 school of Double Mystery (see *745 Nanhua zhenjing zhushu*) and to the formula that places the Tao in "forgetfulness of the self and of others." The Tao resides in everything, and everyone possesses it within himself. Nature (*xing* 性) is the One (5.13b). The general system of thought underlying this commentary is summarized as follows: "to go to the very limits of one's nature and thus reach supreme emptiness, forgetful of oneself and others. Those who forget that they have forgotten find that their destiny has returned to the Great Beginning (Taichu 太初). Thus, by nonaction they rediscover the substance of the Tao, and since therefore there is nothing that is not done, they achieve the function of the Tao. At rest, they are saints; in action, kings" (7.7b).

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing shuyi* 道德眞經疏義**

14 juan

By Jiang Zheng 江澂

694 (fasc. 378–383)

"Commentary with Explanations of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." This work, probably written during the lifetime of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125) and addressed to him, includes a commentary of the *Daode jing* by the emperor and a subcommentary by Jiang Zheng that repeats Huizong's commentary and develops it phrase by phrase.

Jiang's work presents the same themes that are found in the Huizong commentary, perhaps most frequently "neither being nor nonbeing" (*feiyou feiwu*), influenced by the commentators of the Double Mystery (Chongxuan) school: the absolute *wu* is the *wu* that is not *wu,* and the absolute *you* is the *you* that is not *you* (1.7a), that is to say, the transcendent *wu* that is the transcendent *you,* and the *you* that is the real *wu*.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing zhushu* 道德眞經註疏**

8 juan

Attributed to Gu Huan 顧歡 (420–483) and others

710 (fasc. 404–406)

"Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." This is an anthology of twenty-three commentaries on the *Daode jing*. The editors of the Ming canon indicated Gu Huan, Recruit for Office from the Wu Commandery (*Wujun zhengshi* 吳君徵士), as the compiler. This attribution is plainly mistaken, as the present anthology can date only from the twelfth century at the earliest. The commentaries placed under the name of Chen are those of Chen Xianggu 陳象古 (see *683 Daode zhenjing jie*) that were published in 1101.

The main commentary, marked *zhu* 註, is that of Heshang Gong; the subcommentary (*shu* 疏) is by Cheng Xuanying. Among the other glosses, the most frequently quoted are (1) the *Jiejie* 節解 commentary by an unknown author, sometimes identified as Ge Xuan; (2) a subcommentary to that of Heshang Gong by a certain Wang, who may be identified as Wang Xuanbian 王玄辯, reported to have written such a subcommentary at the end of the eighth century (see *725 Daode zhenjing*

guangsheng yi 1.3b); (3) a commentary by the above-mentioned GU HUAN; and (4) a commentary by Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fujiwara Takao, "Kokan Rōshi chukō"; Kusuyama Haruki, *Rōshi densetsu no kenkyū*, 199–238; Liu Ts'un-yan, "Lun *Daozang* ben Gu Huan zhu Laozi xingzhi"; Robinet, *Les commentaires du Tao tö king*, 215–19.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing zhijie* 道德眞經直解**

By Shao Ruoyu 邵若愚, *hao* Benlai *zi* 本來子; 1159

Revised by Zhang Zhixin 張知新, *hao* Qinghe jushi 清河居士

688 (fasc. 372)

"Straightforward Explication of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." This commentary has an introduction dated 1159 by Shao Ruoyu, a native of Qiantang 錢塘 (cf. the biblography of Song commentaries *Song jiejing xingshi* 宋解經姓氏 appended to the preface of *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu*, 2a). It ends with an epilogue dated 1160, signed Chen Yuanqing 陳元卿, which records comments by Shao Ruoyu and states that this work had been previously printed. The commentary is accompanied by the glosses, usually textual, of Zhang Zhixin. It adopts its own division of the *Laozi*. Shao Ruoyu explains that for him the quintessence of the *Daode jing* can be summarized as: the absence of desire, corresponding to *youxuan* 又玄 (multiple mystery) and to the four final stages of asceticism in Buddhism, centering on the dialectics of *you* and *wu* until their ultimate dissolution in neither *you* 有 nor *wu* 無 (neither being nor nonbeing). This process, which is presented in the epilogue of the present text, and elaborated in the first chapter of the *Laozi*, corresponds to that of the Chongxuan 重玄 school (see *745 Nanhua zhenjing zhushu*).

Shao Ruoyu chooses quietism and rejects all religious practices. He does however, distinguish four steps on the way to the Tao: these steps he links to the four Primal Stages of the *Liezi* (Taiyi 太易, Taichu 太初, Taishi 太始, Taixu 太虛), as well as to the words in the *Laozi*, "The Tao gives birth to the One, the One gives birth to the Two . . ." The step of the Three is that of "exterior virtue," and the step of the Two, of "interior virtue" and of yin-yang. The step of the One is that of the Breath-of-the-One, the primordial qi that is the "uncarved block," the "empty virtue," and that is the origin of all things. The Breath-of-the-One in humanity is the heart-mind (*xin* 心), which is the name given to all the essential elements contained within the body and which characterizes the human being, the *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 souls, the spirit (*shen* 神), the essence (*jing* 精) or real nature (*xing* 性), and the passions (*qing* 情). The fourth step is that of *youxuan*, of *xin* without *xin;* it is the ultimate stage of the Tao and the Taiyi, the first of the Primal Stages of the *Liezi*.

Shao Ruoyu reconciles his interpretation of the *Daode jing* with the "four verities" of the Mādhyamika, as well as with *Zhongyong* 中庸 (the Doctrine of the Mean). He cites Mencius and the Analects, but more often the *Zhuangzi,* the Taoist texts of ZHANG BODUAN, and *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*. Nonetheless his efforts to establish a Three Teachings synthesis remain generally inchoate.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing quanjie* 道德眞經全解**

2 juan

Attributed to Shi Yong 時雍, *hao* Xiaoyao 逍遙; preface 1159

696 (fasc. 385–386)

"Full Explication of the *Daode jing*." The preface, dated 1159, is signed by Shi Yong of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), residing at Bo 亳, the birthplace of Laozi. The author recounts that he received an anonymous manuscript bearing this title from Xi Quhua 郤去華 and that he had it printed. The *Daozang* editors attributed the work to Shi himself.

Throughout the commentary, the author makes a distinction between the absolute Way, that of Heaven, and the Way of Earth. The absolute Tao is the state of fusion of yin, yang, and harmony—in other words, the state of Primordial Chaos. From this One are born yin and yang as well as Heaven and Earth. The One is the Absolute Name. The Tao of Heaven is without body, without desire, without action; it is the way of the Spirit and of the yang containing the yin.

The Tao of Earth is immobility and quiescence; it is the way of qi and of the yin containing the yang. The union of the Tao of Heaven and of Earth in humanity produces the harmony of the center. To incorporate the Tao of Heaven is to govern without action; to incorporate the Tao of Earth is to become female and concentrate qi; to incorporate the absolute Tao is to attain the state of primordial chaos and non-cognition, which comprises all things.

The *you* 有 is defined as matter (*xing* 形) and the *wu* 無 as spirit (*shen* 神); these definitions are similar to the interpretation Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) gives these terms: both are perfectly complementary.

Xuan 玄 is black blended with red (corresponding to the trigrams *qian* 乾 and *kun* 坤). The second *xuan* in chapter 1 of the *Laozi* lies in the heaven Dafan 大梵 (the supreme Heaven, according to certain Taoist texts) and governs the celestial palaces of the brain and heart (*niwan* 泥丸 and *jianggong* 絳宮), as well as the five qi and the one hundred spirits of the universe. Indeed, on several occasions our author uses terms and notions that are specifically Taoist: the Primordial Chaos results from the fusion of the essence (*jing* 精), breath (*qi* 氣), and spirit (*shen* 神); mention is also made of the Southern Palace and the Capital of Mystery.

The second juan has been reproduced entirely in *700 Daode zhenjing jie,* as juan 3 of that work.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing jie* 道德眞經解**

3 juan

Probably Southern Song (1127–1279)

700 (fasc. 388)

"Explication of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." The date of this anonymous commentary is not known. The last juan has been borrowed from *696 Daode zhenjing quanjie*. The original final part of the present commentary is missing.

The commentary consists, for the most part, of lengthy reflections, partly mystical and partly poetical, on the state of the primordial One, or original chaos prior to differentiation. This is the state of *pu* 朴 (the uncarved block) and *su* 素 (undyed silk), the "real" state corresponding to the *qiwu* 齊物 (the identity of all things) of the *Zhuangzi* where there is neither image, nor sound, nor movement (*wuqian* 無牽, a term with Buddhist connotations), where *xing* 性 (nature) is undivided. Since it represents in humanity a state both primordial and ultimate, to which one must "return," the notion of *xing* here is quite central.

The notions of *ti* 體 (substance) and *yong* 用 (function) are used to distinguish between, "absence"—or the transcendence of the Tao (which is nowhere), corresponding to the Void, to spontaneity, to the One, and to *xing*—and "presence"—or the immanence of the Tao (which is everywhere), corresponding to the original separation and dispersal into movement and action.

With the frequent use made of the notions of yin and yang, and in one instance of Inner Alchemy (1.16b: the "River Chariot," "Purple Chamber," and "stove"), this commentary displays a slight tinge of Taoism despite the fact that the term *ming* 命 (decree) is given a completely different significance from the one given to it in Inner Alchemy: in our text it is related to *wu* or nonbeing and contrasted with form (*xing;* 1.18b).

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing qushan ji* 道德眞經取善集**

12 juan

By Li Lin 李霖, *zi* Zongfu 宗傅, Hermit of Raoyang 饒陽; preface 1172

718 (fasc. 424–427)

"Select Anthology of *Daode jing* Commentaries." This anthology contains an undated preface by Li Lin, written in his later years, and a second preface by Liu Yunsheng 劉允升 dated 1172, according to which the work was divided into six juan and printed.

The anthology joins together fifty-four authors from different periods. The most frequently quoted are Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125) of the Song and WANG PANG. The eclectic selection includes, in addition to the commentaries of WANG BI and HESHANG GONG, several commentaries belonging to the Chongxuan 重玄 school, some of which are now lost. Among these are the commentaries by Sun Deng 孫登, Zang Xuanjing 藏玄靜, Liu Jinxi 劉進喜, CHENG XUANYING, Cai Zihuang 蔡子晃, and Li Rong 李榮. The anthology also contains extracts from other lost commentaries, such as the one attributed to Kumārajīva (344–413). Certain commentaries date back to the Jin (265–420) and the Sui (581–618) dynasties, for example those by Zhong Hui 鍾會 and the Taoists GU HUAN, TAO HONGJING, and Pei Chuen 裴楚恩 (on the latter, see *725 Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi,* preface, 3a). Other texts date from the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279), such as those by Che Huibi 車惠弼, the Taoist Zhang Junxiang 張君相 (1254–1322), WU YUN, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), Liu Zhongping 劉仲平 (who signs his name Liu Ji 墅 in *707 Daode zhenjing zhu*), Lu Dian 陸佃 (under the name of Lu Nongshi 陸農師 in *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi*), Li Tian 李畋, Lü Jifu 呂吉甫 (i.e., LÜ HUIQING; cf. *686 Daode zhenjing zhuan*), and the female Taoist Cao Daochong 曹道沖 (cf. *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu*, preface, 7b). The date of the commentary by the Immortal from Songling 松靈仙人 is unknown (cf. *725 Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi,* preface, 3a). There are also a half dozen commentaries that are completely unknown and not mentioned elsewhere; among these, the most quoted in our text are those by She Wang 舍王 and Ma Juji 馬巨濟. The quotations from Lü Jifu are often at variance with *686 Zhenjing zhuan*. The remaining quotations accord on the whole rather well with this text.

Throughout the present text, which is divided into the traditional chapters of the *Daode jing,* Li Lin adds his own personal commentary to each of the commentaries he has chosen. He reveals a tendency toward Quanzhen 全眞 Taoism, especially in relation to Inner Alchemy. He states that he who attains the Tao is a Quanzhen person who perfects his essence (*jing* 精), his breath (qi) and his spirit (*shen* 神). This statement is an explicit reference to the works on Inner Alchemy mentioned in 2.11a. However, Li Lin's concepts are his own: *jing* is the prime element and carries a cosmological meaning; sublimation seems to occur from the *jing* to the *shen* without the qi playing an important part (cf. 6.14a–b). On the other hand, the *jing* is the basis of *xing* 性 (real nature) in contrast to the qi (which in this context is cosmological). The qi is the basis of the body (*xing*); indeed the *jing* sometimes forms one common entity with the spirit (*jingshen* 精神) as described in the *Huainan zi*.

Our text ends with a brief Essay on the Unifying Coalescence of the Tao and the De, where Li Lin insists on the fundamental unity of the Tao "prior to forms," and of the De 德 "after the appearance of forms." Quoting Sima Guang, he seems to decry the division of the *Daode jing* into two distinct books.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing sizi gudao jijie 道德眞經四子古道集解
10 juan
By Kou Caizhi 寇才質; preface dated 1179, postface dated 1180
684 (fasc. 365–67)

"Collected Explications of the Ancient Teachings of the Four Masters on the *Daode zhenjing*." The original title of the work, as stated in the author's preface and in the postface by Liu E 劉諤 of Fanzhi 繁畤 (Shanxi), was *Sizi gudao yi* 四子古道義 (Interpretations according to the Ancient Teachings of the Four Masters).

Neither preface nor postface contain much factual information on the identity of Kou Caizhi. Apparently, he also authored a *Jingshi shu* 經史疏 in ten juan, which was lost by the time the *Siku quanshu* was compiled.

Kou describes himself as an obscure rustic who spent his early manhood indulging in simple pleasures. He first studied works on *neidan* 內丹 and divination. Only at a later age did he discover the ancient Taoist works and their commentaries. Frustrated with the way lecturers on the Tao all seemed to ignore the basis of Laozi's teachings and to restrict themselves to theories relating to *kongxing* 空性 (*sūnyāta*), Kou decided to elucidate his own understanding of the *Daode jing*, drawing solely upon material culled from the works of the four masters that both Kou and Liu E considered to be the direct disciples of Laozi: the *Nanhua jing* 南華經 (Zhuangzi), *Chongxu jing* 沖虛經 (Liezi), *Tongxuan jing* 通玄經 (Wenzi) and *Dongling jing* 洞靈經 (attributed to Gengsang Chu). The present text has been preserved only in the *Daozang*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Daode zhenjing jizhu 道德眞經集註
18 juan
By Peng Si 彭耜, *hao* Helin zhenyi 鶴林眞逸; preface dated 1229
707 (fasc. 398–402)

Daode zhenjing jizhu shiwen 道德眞經集註釋文
1 + 21 fols.
708 (fasc. 403)

Daode zhenjing jizhu zashuo 道德眞經集註雜說
2 juan
709 (fasc. 403)

These three works by Peng Si, disciple of Bo Yuchan, are complementary. The preface to *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu* (An Annotated Anthology of the Commentaries on the *Daode jing*) is dated 1229 and signed by Peng Si. In a preface missing from the Yiwen edition of the *Daozang* but present in both the Commercial Press edition

and *Daozang jiyao*, "Xin 心" 6.1, Peng Si presents himself as the successor to Chen Jingyuan (1025–1094).

The commentaries included in *707 Zhenjing jizhu* do not reflect Peng's predilection for alchemy. The compiler does not cite his own master, although Bo Yuchan also wrote a commentary on the *Laozi*. Twelve of the score of authors Peng does cite have much fuller versions of the commentaries in *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi*. Most of these commentaries date from the Song (960–1279), and apart from those by Chen Jingyuan, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), Su Che 蘇轍 (see *691 Daode zhenjing zhu*), and Chen Xianggu 陳象古, the majority are lost. The commentaries by Li Wenhe 李文和 and Lin Dong 林東 are found exclusively in the present work.

The *708 Daode zhenjing jizhu shiwen* is a philological study of the *Laozi* in which Peng Si compares textual variations and glosses, relying to a large extent upon Lu Deming 陸德明 (ca. 550–630) and Chen Jingyuan, and includes data taken from *707 Zhenjing jizhu*.

The *709 Daode zhenjing jizhu zashuo* offers "Various Observations" as an addition to the anthology *707 Zhenjing jizhu* and reports instances where the *Laozi* was quoted, often by emperors, going back as far as the Han. It provides information about certain commentaries or anthologies of commentaries, occasionally quoting from them. There is interesting information to be gathered from these observations. For instance, the mention of a lost catalogue of the *Daozang* that describes the contents of the anthology by Zhang Daoxiang 張道相 (also known as Zhang Junxiang 張君相, 1254–1322), now no longer extant, adds another fragment to the case history of that controversial matter (1.2a–3a).

The author's various sources are nearly always indicated: official dynastic histories, local gazetteers, literary works, and commentaries.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing jijie 道德眞經集解
4 juan
By Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (fl. 1185–1232)
695 (fasc. 384–385)

"Collection of Commentaries on the *Daode jing*." This work is attributed to Scholar Zhao (Zhao xueshi 學士). This appellation is identified by the *Guiqian zhi* 1.5–6 and 9.97–98 with Zhao Bingwen, who was named academician in 1217 (his biography appears in the *Jin shi* 110.2426–29). Zhao was the author of numerous commentaries on the classics. Oddly, however, this collection includes individual commentaries attributed by name to Zhao Bingwen; his name is not placed at the beginning or end of individual commentaries as is customary for the authors of compilations.

The collection consists of seventeen commentaries by different authors, including extracts assigned to Kumārajīva (344–413) and Sengzhao 僧肇 (374–414). The first anonymous sentences of each commentary are in fact taken from the commentary by Su Che 蘇轍, *691 Daode zhenjing zhu*. The commentaries given under the name Juji are by Liu Juji 劉巨濟 of the Song (960–1279; *723 Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi* 1.10a; cf. our text 1.12b with *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi* 20.11a). Those attributed to Lu are by Lu Xisheng 陸希聲 (compare the present text 1.10ab with *685 Daode zhenjing zhuan* 1.5b). The commentaries attributed to Ye are by Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148; compare the present text 2.3a–b with *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu* 6.4b), the author of various commentaries on the classics.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing jijie* 道德眞經集解**

4 juan

By Dong Sijing 董思靖; preface dated 1246

705 (fasc. 393–394)

"Anthology of Explications of the *Daode jing*." A long preface by the author precedes this work. A list of commentators on the *Laozi* is given here (1.2b–4a), drawn in part from the preface by Du Guangting to *725 Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*. Added to this list is a good deal of valuable information concerning subsequent commentaries and the number of characters contained in the various editions of the *Daode jing*.

Our anthology ends with postfaces. One is signed Xie Zhi 謝㪺 and dated to the Baoyou period (1253–1259; the cyclical dates given in the text appear to be erroneous); the other is signed by Huang Bichang 黃必昌, *zi* Jingfu 景父, and dated 1257. The latter was a scholar from Quanzhou, the native place of Dong Sijing.

A reedition of this commentary in the *Shiwan juan lou congshu* 十萬卷樓叢書—revised and corrected by Liu Ruoyuan 劉若淵, *zi* Yuanran 淵然, with apparently only minor typographical differences in the text—carries a preface by Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1893).

This commentary is also quoted in *712 Daode zhenjing jiyi* (e.g., 1.5b, 10a), under the name of Dong Sijing, with the variant character 靜.

Despite its title, the book is not really a "collection" of commentaries. The author limits himself to quoting a number of commentators, among them, in particular, Su Che 蘇轍 (referred to by his *zi* Wending 文定), Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), and the emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), as well as some authors known from other compilations whose works have not survived independently. Dong Sijing also discusses the various interpretations given to certain passages or phrases (particularly 1.3b–4b, 10a–11b, 16a–18a, and 3.20a–21b). He provides an account of interpretations of the *Daode jing* in terms of Taoist practices going beyond the commentaries themselves.

A major place, however, is devoted to his own interpretations. On two occasions the author sums up the meaning of the *Daode jing* in a few formulas: ataraxy, nonaction, spontaneity, responding to events with the Void, noncompetitiveness (preface, 4a, 7a). For him the Tao is everywhere and therefore immanent, yet at the same time it is transcendent since it is "beyond and anterior to all things." The Tao is the "substance" of which qi is the "function." The Tao is indefinable (nameless) and metaphysical; qi is definable (named) and physical. Tao and qi do not exist one without the other, and they share the same origin (1b, 3a, 4a). Chapter 3 of the *Laozi,* according to the author, deals with "the substance and function of the Tao" and "the yin and yang of qi." The Spirit of the Valley is a term that stems from *li* 理 (principle), which is empty; the "obscure female" denotes yin and yang and originates from qi; "Heaven and Earth," in the same paragraph, belong to the world of matter.

This is a work that assembles commentaries based on purely Taoist interpretations of the *Laozi* and at the same time borrows heavily from Neo-Confucian concepts.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei kaiti kewen shu* 道德眞經藏室纂微開題科文疏**

5 juan

By Xue Zhixuan 薛致玄, *zi* Yongqi 庸齊, *hao* Taixia laoren 太霞老人; prefaces 1249

715 (fasc. 420–421)

***Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei shouchao* 道德眞經藏室纂微手鈔**

2 juan

716 (fasc. 421)

This commentary on Chen Jingyuan's commentary on the *Daode jing* (*714 Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei pian)* is divided into two parts: *715 Kaiti kewen shu* (An Analysis of the Introduction) and *716 Shouchao* (A Hand Copy). The author of both parts is Xue Zhixuan (see the prefaces to the first of the present texts and to *114 Zuanwei pian*, 1.11a).

The first part, *715 Kewen shu,* is preceded by three prefaces—signed by Li Ting 李庭 from Fuyang 浮陽, by Guo Shizhong 郭時中 (dated 1249), and by Feng Fu 馮復 (of the same year)—that state that both parts had been printed. It deals in the main with the mythology concerning Laozi, his birth and reincarnations. It includes a long biography of Chen Jingyuan (1.3b–8b).

The second part, *716 Shouchao,* refers almost entirely to the many quotations from the classics made by CHEN JINGYUAN in his commentary and gives their sources. It contains only the second half of the *Daode jing,* namely the *Dejing*, as the first half is missing.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing kouyi 道德眞經口義

4 juan

By LIN XIYI 林希逸, *hao* Juanzhai 鬳齋; 1261

701 (fasc. 389)

"Oral Explanations of the *Daode jing*." LIN XIYI also wrote commentaries on the *Zhuangzi* and the *Liezi*. The present work was printed in Fujian in 1261, together with the latter. The original edition in two juan was frequently reprinted but seems no longer extant.

Perhaps because of its "oral" nature, the commentary is clear and simple. It proceeds from chapter to chapter, analyzing each sentence in turn and often providing a summary at the end of a chapter. The passages on the art of government are interpreted as metaphors on the art of self-conduct. There is no mystical terminology. There are a number of comparisons with Neo-Confucian themes and with terms used in the *Yijing* and the *Zhuangzi*. Particular account is taken of the language of the *Laozi*, which for the most part is deemed metaphorical or deliberately paradoxical and is on many occasions compared to the language of the *Zhuangzi*. LIN XIYI examines the special meaning that, in his view, the *Laozi* gives to words and then suggests that the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* can be read only by applying criteria and values that are different from those appropriate to Confucian texts. He also takes into consideration what he calls Laozi's rhetorical style and sometimes situates the *Laozi* within the general context of Chinese culture in order to attenuate the paradoxes or lessen their novelty. He summarizes the whole system of the *Laozi* as "knowing how to be full and empty," "have and have not," or as "being" (*you* 有) and "not being" (*wu* 無), that he calls "to preserve the feminine and the black." He returns often to the need to have a heart-mind that is nonoccupied.

On the whole, this is a kind of translation of the *Laozi* that effaces the difficulties of the thought and of the text, as it also obliterates its riches.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing yijie 道德眞經義解

4 juan

By Xizhai daoren 息齋道人

721 (fasc. 429–430)

"Explications of the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." The *Yuan shi yiwen zhi*, 5:41–42, mentions two Xizhai daoren as authors of a *Laozi jie*. One is Li Rong 李榮 (*Laozi jie* in four juan), the other Li Kan 李衎 (*Laozi jie* in two juan).

Li Rong, *zi* Jiamou 嘉謀, was a Taoist master who also commented on *3 Yuanshi shuo xiantian daode jing zhujie* in the Baoyou period (1253–1259). The inspiration and the references that characterize that work are very different from those dominating the present commentary. This work *3 Daode jing zhujie* has definite particularities, among them a theory of primordial origins and precise references to Inner Alchemy, as well as a propensity to make comparisons with Buddhism. The references in our text, by contrast, are mostly to the Confucian classics and especially to the *Mengzi*. It is true that Chinese authors frequently change the tenor of their writing as they comment on different works, but in this case the commentaries are on quite similar texts. In the commentary on *Laozi* 25, for instance, there is, surprisingly, none of the mystery of the origin that pervades *3 Daode jing zhujie*; on the other hand, the rare references made in the latter to the *Mengzi* reflect none of the observations made in the present commentary.

Indeed, our commentator, to judge by his references to Confucianism and his tendency to use the term *li* 理 in the sense of "ultimate truth," can probably be identified as Li Kan. Li Kan (fl. 1312), *zi* Zhong Bin 仲賓, posthumous name Wen Jian 文間, was born in Ji Qiu 薊邱. He was also the author of a *Zhupu xiangji* 竹譜詳集 in one juan.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode huiyuan 道德會元

2 juan

By LI DAOCHUN 李道純, *hao* Qing'an 清庵; Yingchan *zi* 瑩蟾子; preface dated 1290

699 (fasc. 387)

"Return to the Source of the Meaning of the *Daode jing*." The author states that having read BO YUCHAN's commentary to the *Laozi*, he felt he should write his own. He reproaches the previous commentators for having developed a particular viewpoint, be it theoretical, alchemical, or other, whereas his own explanation wells up from the very source of the spirit of the work and tends to give a global interpretation while stressing the link that unites the different chapters.

The present commentary is divided into three parts: a literal gloss of the text, sentence by sentence; a commentary at the end of each chapter explaining its general meaning; and, also for each chapter, a poem in the Chan Buddhist style.

According to the preface, LI DAOCHUN adopted the HESHANG GONG version of the text of the *Daode jing*. He furthermore compares this edition with two others, including BO YUCHAN's commentary, now preserved in the *Taishang daode baozhang yi* 太上道德寶章翼 (*Daozang jiyao,* "Xin 心" 3–4). He considers the latter to be the best edition. Li discusses the variants between the three editions in his introduction (*xuli* 序例).

LI DAOCHUN transmitted the *Daode huiyuan* to Zhao Daoke 趙道可, *hao* Dingan 定庵, who was one of his closest disciples (cf. *1060 Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 2.1a). A Yuan edition of the present work, dated 1350, is preserved at the Sichuan Provincial Library (see Yan Lingfeng, *Zhou Qin Han Wei zhuzi zhijian shumu*, 1:138)

Catherine Despeux

***Daode zhenjing san jie* 道德眞經三解**

4 juan

By Deng Yi 鄧錡, *hao* Yubin *zi* 玉賓子; preface 1298

687 (fasc. 370–371)

"Three Explications of the *Daode jing*." These explications are preceded by four introductory texts, including a preface by the author, dated 1298. One of these four texts is a genealogical presentation of the transmission of Inner Alchemy; this text was originally a separate work entitled *Dadao zhengtong* 大道正統 (Authentic Transmission of the Supreme Tao) written by Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝, disciple of PENG SI and author of juan 9–13 of *263 Xiuzhen shishu*. In this latter text, which was printed by the author in 1260, he describes ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN as the masters of Haichan zi 海蟾子 (LIU CAO 劉操), from whom the two schools of ZHANG BODUAN and WANG ZHE are said to have descended. Another of the introductory essays, the *Dadao lishu* 大道歷數 (Chronicle of the Great Tao), bears the signature Qingcheng zhenren 青城眞人 (the zhenren of the Green City), who may possibly be identified as Zhang Yun 張氳 (635–745; cf. *781 Xuanpin lu* 5.6a).

Throughout this commentary there are three levels of explanation. The first level, the *jing* 經, which explains the text itself. The second level explains the Tao 道 from an overall point of view often related to cosmology or based on general practices. This level includes frequent allusions to the *Yijing*; for example, the thirty spokes around the hub of the wheel (*Laozi* 11) symbolize the twenty-eight stars around the Pole Star, and the doors and windows of a room symbolize the sun and moon. The third level refers to the practices of the De 德, for the most part alchemical exercises, with frequent references to ZHANG BODUAN and LÜ DONGBIN. The phrase "the Tao gives birth to the One, which gives birth to the Two" (*Laozi* 42) is explained on the level of the Tao as meaning that the One, the Great Ultimate Taiji, has given birth to the Two (the Four Emblems), which have given birth to the Three (the Eight Trigrams). Explained on the level of the De, however, the reference is to the Void that gave birth to the two qi that gave birth to nature (*xing* 性). Deng's interpretation of *Laozi* 50 gives rise, on the level of the Tao, to speculation about cosmic numbers, with reference to SHAO YONG; on the level of the De, he offers an alchemical interpretation. "Know the male but preserve the female" (*Laozi* 28) means, on the level of the Tao, knowing that the hexagram *qian* 乾 represents the Great Beginning, and *kun* 坤 the Completion, while on the level of the De it signifies the ascendancy of mercury over lead and of wood over metal.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi* 道德眞經集義大旨**

3 juan

By Liu Weiyong 劉惟永, Ding Yidong 丁易東, and others; 1299

723 (fasc. 431)

***Daode zhenjing jiyi* 道德眞經集義**

17 juan

By Liu Weiyong 劉惟永, Ding Yidong 丁易東, and others; 1299

724 (fasc. 432–439)

The *723 Daode jing dazhi* (General Purport of the Anthology of Commentaries on the *Daode jing*) contains various prefaces and diagrams and, as the title indicates, serves as an introduction to *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi*, the anthology proper.

The first nine pages of *723 Jiyi dazhi* are devoted to diagrams illustrating phrases from the *Laozi* in terms of cosmology and Taoist techniques (fig. 1). Thus the Spirit of the Valley (*Laozi* 6) is described as designating the abode where the spirits of the viscera are hidden; the thirty spokes of the wheel (*Laozi* 11) correspond to the number of the viscera (1.1b); the Mysterious Female (*Laozi* 6) denotes the left and right kidneys. The diagram on 1.8b–9a is also found in *688 Daode zhenjing zhijie* (preface, 6b).

Although *723 Jiyi dazhi* provides a list of the eighty-one authors cited in the anthology (1.9b–12b), it also gives the number as seventy-eight (3.26a–26b), and sometimes provides the date of the commentaries, most of which belong to the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. The passages from these commentaries were selected from earlier anthologies. The prefaces (*723 Jiyi dazhi,* from 1.12b to the end) are the same as those preceding the commentaries in the anthology *724 Zhenjing jiyi*. Introductions also taken from the commentaries are found in *723 Jiyi dazhi* 2.1a–3.21b. They include one by Wang Yuanze 王元澤 (i.e., WANG PANG) that is missing from *706*



FIGURE 1. Projection of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions onto the human body (*723* 1.6a)

Daode zhenjing jizhu, although the latter work contains the most extensive extant extracts from his commentary.

723 Jiyi dazhi 3.21b–27a contains a number of colophons or postfaces dating from the end of the thirteenth century, signed by Yang Ke 陽恪 (1296), Liu Weiyong (1299), Su Qiweng 蘇起翁, Yu Qingzhong 喻清中, and by the Heavenly Master Zhang Yucai 張與材 (1300). Liu Weiyong explains that his anthology and that of Ding Yidong were amalgamated. Ding's commentary is included in our anthology under the name of Shitan 石潭. Yu Qingzhong, in his postface, mentions the "new edition" of this commentary, which included his own commentary, in collaboration with his master Ding Yidong.

The anthology *724 Zhenjing jiyi* originally comprised a total of thirty-one juan, of which only the first seventeen remain. It now ends at chapter 11 of the *Laozi;* the first four chapters of the anthology are devoted to chapter 1 of the *Daode jing*. The commentators are presented in *724 Zhenjing jiyi* more or less in the same order as the list given in the introduction (*723 Jiyi dazhi* 1.9a–11b). Quotations of the commentaries are in extenso. The commentary by Wang Yuanze in our anthology is much more complete than the text given in *706 Daode zhenjing jizhu*. Each chapter of *724 Zhenjing jiyi* ends with a commentary by Shitan.

Many of the commentaries in *724 Zhenjing jiyi* are uniquely preserved here, for example, the commentary by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and several other commentaries also found in *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu* (in eighteen juan), but in much abridged form. The latter include a commentary by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) that is otherwise lost, as well as numerous commentaries by Taoists: ZHAO SHIAN, whose commentary dates from 1152 and is the longest in the book; BO YUCHAN (1194–1229); Yang Zhiren 楊智仁 (1287), using the vocabulary of Inner Alchemy; and Niu Miaozhuan 牛妙傳 (1280). BO YUCHAN's approach is mystical: "It is I who am the Saint," he writes; "the ten thousand beings become one with me. . . . I am Heaven and Earth, Heaven and Earth are I" (12.25a). He identifies himself with the cosmos (10.30a); the root of the cosmos is *xin* 心 (heart-mind 11.27b). Xie Tu'nan 謝圖南 (1246) explains the *Daode jing* in terms of the *Yijing* (11.30b; 12.27a), Zhang Chongying 張沖應 (1253) interprets the *Laozi* in terms of Tending Life and breathing exercises (5b;11.26b,27a;15.1a).

Zhao Shian, whose personal name was Daosheng 道昇 and who was known for his practice of the Yellow Register Retreat (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋; see *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shengjing dafa* 49.18b; *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 34.4a), distinguishes three possible practices of the *Daode jing* (*723 Jiyi dazhi* 2.17a): first, following the way of *wuwei* 無爲 or nonaction, which is that of "total forgetfulness" (*724 Zhenjing jiyi* 14.13b); second, using techniques to achieve longevity (see *724 Zhenjing jiyi* 7.3b, where he states that the *Laozi* is the origin of methods for attaining longevity); third, applying of the *Daode jing* to government. The Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong* 中庸) is presented as complementary to the *Laozi* (*723 Jiyi dazhi* 2.15a–b), and the "flood-like breath" of the *Mengzi* becomes the principal springboard for techniques of longevity. In *724 Zhenjing jiyi,* Zhao uses a Neo-Confucian vocabulary (2.1a–b) and can be considered a pioneer of the Heart-Mind school (Xinxue 心學): the *xin* is the Tao (13.18b) and the fundamental nonbeing (*benwu* 本無 14.12b), while the *xing* 性 (nature) is the first qi and the Spirit of the Valley (11.13a). Zhao Shian also employs Buddhist terminology: *zhenwu* 眞無 (real nonbeing) and *zhenkong* 眞空 (real void; 2.4a, 9a–b, 19b). He uses the concepts of *wu* 無, and *you* 有 (being and existence) are dealt with according to the tenets of the Double Mystery school (Chongxuan 重玄); and he approaches the question concerning gradual or sudden enlightenment in the same vein (2.16a, 17a; 5.27a); the negation of negations follows the Mādhyamika doctrine (2.16b). Nevertheless, references to Inner Alchemy are also present (2.18b, 19a; 7.36b; 12.15a). The Spirit of the Valley and the Mysterious Female are interpreted in various ways, but always within the framework of breathing techniques (11.12a–17b).

A comparison of all the commentaries in this anthology gives rise to the following observations:

1. A distinction can be made between those commentaries that give precedence to *xin* (heart-mind) or to *xing* (real nature). For BO YUCHAN, *xin* is the "root of the universe" (11.27b); for Yu Qingzhong, *xin* existed before the universe (12.34a; see also Shao Ruoyu 邵若愚, *688 Daode zhenjing jijie* 1.12a: the one qi of chaos is the *xin* of humanity). As for the commentaries that give precedence to *xing*, the text by Chu Boxiu 褚伯秀 states that *xing* is the Taiji 太極, the Supreme Pole (11.35a), while in the commentary by Xiuxiu an 休休庵, dated 1288, the *xing* precedes the Taiji (12.30a).

2. There are two distinct ways of understanding the first chapter of the *Daode jing,* depending on whether it is punctuated before *wu* and *you,* or after *ming* 名 (name) and *yu* 欲 (desire). To punctuate before *wu* and *you,* as does Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086; cf. *689 Daode zhenjing lun*), is to place emphasis on the *changwu* 常無 and *changyou* 常有 (the absolute nonbeing and absolute being). Several commentators in our anthology follow this interpretation, including Cheng Taizhi 程泰之, an author with Confucian leanings (2.32a; commentary dated 1069); the Taoist Niu Miaozhuan; Lin Juanzhai 林鬳齋 (i.e., LIN XIYI; 3.11b; commentary dated 1261); BO YUCHAN (3.3a); Su Jingjing 蘇敬靜 (4.7b); Wang Anshi 王安石 (1.19a–b); Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (4.14a); Lu Dian 陸佃 (1.24b); and Liu Zhongping 劉仲平 (1.31a–b). There are

also differences in the first phrase of the *Laozi:* some commentators read it as "The Tao that can be spoken of is not the absolute Tao," while others take it to mean "The Tao I speak of is not the ordinary Tao."

3. The Mysterious Female is explained either in terms of *wu/you* (by Lü Jifu 呂吉甫, i.e., Lü Huiqing, 11.7b–8a), or as the Void (by Benyian jushi 本一庵居士, 11.45b; Wang Pang, 11.9a; Shao Ruoyu, 11.18a–b; Wang Zhiran 王志然, 11.18b, commentary dated 1069), or in terms of Tending Life and Inner Alchemy (by Heshang gong, 11.2a–b; Liu Ji 劉驥, 11.11a–12b, commentary dated 1146; Zhao Shian, 11.12a–13b; Zhang Chongying 張沖應, 11.41b; and Wu Huanzhong 吳環中, 11.43b).

4. In chapter 7 of the *Daode jing,* the sentence "*Yi qi bu zisheng*" has engendered two conflicting interpretations: in one case it is translated "They do not exist for themselves," in another, "They do not exist of themselves." Advocates of the former translation include the emperor Xuanzong, Lu Dian, and Liu Ji; among those who prefer the latter translation are Su Che, Huang Maocai 黃茂材 (commentary dated 1179), and Xue Yongzhai 薛庸齋.

5. A number of commentators believe that the thirty spokes of the wheel, in chapter 11 of the *Laozi*, symbolize the thirty days of the month (see, e.g., 17.30a, 33b, 35a, 37a); others see the figure 30 as the earthly Five Elements multiplied by the celestial Six Breaths (17.24a–b, 38a).

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing yanyi shouchao* 道德眞經衍義手鈔**

20 juan (juan 1 and 2 are missing)

By Wang Shouzheng 王守正, *hao* Wufeng Qing'an yishi 五峰清安逸士; early Yuan (1279–1368)

717 (fasc. 422–24)

"*Daode zhenjing* with Elaborations of Its Purport, Copied by Hand." This work is no longer fully extant. The first two juan, corresponding to the first eight *Daode jing* chapters with their commentaries, are lost. The book, attributed to a certain Wang Shouzheng (the Pure and Quiet Recluse from the Five Peaks [Wufeng Qing'an yishi]), is clearly the work of two authors. The *yanyi* 衍義 section, ascribed to Wang Shouzheng, offers elucidations on the text of the *Daode jing*. Each paragraph of *yanyi* is followed by a further explanatory paragraph headed by the character *chao* 鈔, and ascribed to a disciple of Wang Shouzheng. An interesting document in this context is a preface by Wang Yun 王惲 (d. 1304), the "Laozi yanyi xu 老子衍義序." It relates his meeting in 1292 in the capital with an old Taoist master from the Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (one of the leading Quanzhen temples in modern Shaanxi) named Wang, a native of Shu, and obviously the real author of our work. As the title of Wang Yun's preface suggests, the *chao* sections were later additions to Wang Shouzheng's original *Laozi yanyi* (see *Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji* 42.11b–12a).

The sources quoted most often in the *yanyi* sections are the *Zhuangzi* and the Book of Changes. The *chao* sections, mostly considerably longer than the *yanyi*, draw upon a wide variety of sources, including all of the Confucian classics, philosophical works such as the *Han Fei zi* 韓非子 and Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 B.C.–A.D. 18) *Fayan* 法言, historical works such as the *Shiji*, and more recent commentaries such as Du Guangting's *725 Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*. The present text is uniquely preserved in the *Daozang*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Daode xuanjing yuanzhi* 道德玄經原旨**

4 juan

By Du Daojian 杜道堅, *zi* Chuyi 處逸, *hao* Nangu zi 南谷子; 1305

702 (fasc. 390)

"Original Meaning of the Mysterious Scripture of the Tao and the De." This work is introduced by several prefaces, each signed by scholars of the same period. The first two prefaces are dated 1305.

Du Daojian (1237–1318), a native of Dangtu 當塗 in Anhui, was a Taoist master who entered the order at fourteen years of age and later became abbot of several monasteries, including that of Shengyuan in Huzhou 湖州. He also wrote a commentary on the *Wenzi* 文子 and was the master of Li Taiwu 李太無.

He compares the teaching of the *Laozi* with that of the *Yijing*. The Spirit of the Valley in the *Laozi* is the Taiji 太極 of the *Yijing*. The *Laozi* is explained in terms of *you* and *wu* (existence and nonexistence), and the *Yijing* in terms of mobility and quiescence. The antithesis between *wu* and *you* in the *Daode jing* is illustrated in the *Yijing* by the Taiji, which gives birth to the two principles. For Du Daojian the term *wuji* 無極, which Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073) associates with the Taiji, does not mean "that which has no pole" but instead designates the Supreme Void (*taixu* 太虛) that precedes the Taiji. Here our author enters into the controversy surrounding these terms and joins the ranks of many Taoists who disagree with Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). Du Daojian punctuates the first phrases of the *Laozi* after *wu* and *you* in the same way as Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) and interprets the absolute *wu* as "prior to Heaven" (*xiantian* 先天) and the absolute *you* as the "posterior to Heaven/world of phenomena" (*houtian* 後天). He also supports the theory held by the alchemists that *xing* 性 (nature) and *ming* 命 (the physical pole of life) are complementary.

He joins those who equate the heart-mind (*xin*) with the Tao in humanity: the heart-mind is the root, the pivot of the Tao that existed before Heaven and Earth; to be resonant, it must be totally empty, like the valley.

The teachings of the *Daode jing* are addressed to the Superior man (*junzi* 君子) and give special importance to the way of the August Ones and to the power of emperors. In this text, DU DAOJIAN borrows the *Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世 classification used by SHAO YONG: the Three August Ones, the Five Emperors, the Kings and Hegemons. Throughout his commentary, he makes references to the exemplary conduct of Confucian heroes—Yao, Shun, Yu the Great, etc.—advocating government by nonaction. He also adopts the equally Taoist and Confucian precept according to which governing one's own body is on a par with government of the family and of the country.

Isabelle Robinet

Xuanjing yuanzhi fahui 玄經原旨發揮

2 juan

By DU DAOJIAN 杜道堅; 1306

703 (fasc. 391)

"Dissertation on the Original Meaning of the Mysterious Scripture." This text, in twelve sections, is a complement to *702 Daode xuanjing yuanzhi,* as the title implies. It opens with a preface by the author, dated 1306, followed by two other prefaces: one by Huangshi weng 黃石翁 (Old Man of the Yellow Stone) and the other, also dated 1306, by Ren Shilin 任士林, a disciple of the author.

As he explains in his preface, DU DAOJIAN proposes to gloss the *Laozi* with the aid of the *Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世 by SHAO YONG. In the first six sections of our text, DU DAOJIAN uses the categories and computations of SHAO YONG to recast a cosmic chronology that begins with the manifestation of Heaven and continues with the Five Greats (of the *Laozi*). These "greats" are the four beginnings of the *Liezi,* to which the author adds the Taiji, corresponding to chaos in the *Liezi*. The chronology continues, using the same categories as SHAO YONG: three times Three August Ones, then the Five Emperors, followed by the Kings and Hegemons. His aim seems to be to introduce the Taiji into this cosmology.

The six final sections are devoted to the transmission of the *Daode jing* and to the legend of the reincarnations of Laozi. The last section is an index of key terms of the *Laozi*.

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing zhu 道德眞經註

4 juan

By WU CHENG 吳澄, *zi* Youqing 幼請, *hao* Caolu 草廬 (1249–1333)

704 (fasc. 392–393)

"Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." WU CHENG is also the author of a commentary on the *Yijing* and of a critical edition of the *Zhuangzi* (*741 *Nanhua neipian dingzheng*). Wu, one of the foremost scholars of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), was a disciple of Lu Xiangshan 陸象山 (1139–1193). He divides his commentary into sixty-eight sections, devoting much of his work to textual and philological analyses.

For WU CHENG, the essence of the *Laozi* is that every concept evokes its opposite and that these opposites are mutually dependent and even reinforce each other. Asserting this opinion (3.12a), he states that the second chapter of the *Laozi* presents in itself a complete summary of the *Daode jing* (1.5a). Elsewhere he takes the view that "to act by nonaction" is equally a major concept in Laozi's work. The Tao is seen as a metaphysical entity. It is the *li* 理—the "norm" of the thought of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200)—not yet infused with qi, and it corresponds to the "eternal nonbeing" of the *Zhuangzi*.

The De, on the other hand, is a physical entity in which *li* is infused with qi; it corresponds to Taiyi 太一 (the Great Unity) of the *Zhuangzi*. This "eternal non-being" is designated by Laozi as the "root of Heaven and Earth" and is the "ancestor of the original beginning (*yuanshi* 元始) of Prior Heaven."

The Great Unity is named the Mysterious Female and the Spirit of the Valley and is the Primordial Qi and the "source of the Lingbao of Prior Heaven." It is clear that the commentator establishes equivalents between the *Laozi*, the *Zhuangzi*, and a number of terms associated with religious Taoism.

The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 146 indicates, on what appears to be inconclusive evidence, a similarity between this commentary and that of Su Che 蘇轍 (q.v.).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing zhangju xunsong 道德眞經章句訓頌

2 juan

By Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (d. 1343); preface dated 1322

698 (fasc. 387)

"Admonitory Hymns to the Chapters of the *Daode zhenjing*." As Judith Boltz has noted (*A survey of Taoist literature*, 223) this text constitutes the only *Daode jing* commentary in the *Daozang* linked to the Heavenly Master hierarchy. Its author, Zhang Sicheng, was the thirty-ninth Zhengyi patriarch.

Similar to a number of older Taoist masters who had produced exegetical works on the *Daode jing*, Zhang composed the "Admonitory Hymns" mainly because of his frustration with the widespread ignorance of his contemporaries, including those who considered themselves Laozi's followers, regarding the master's teachings. As Zhang states in his preface, reciting these hymns not only will enhance insight into the true meaning of the classic, but also will enable one to cultivate one's person, regulate the family, rule the people, and bring peace to the realm, literally echoing the Confucian *Daxue*.

The effects of the recitation described above are, as Zhang concedes, only the coarser aspects of the message of the *Daode jing*. True wisdom must be sought in the cultivation of *jindan* 金丹.

Thirteen of the eighty-one hymns, written in four-, five-, and seven-character lines, are enlarged with extra commentary. In this text, one can find elucidations of the nature of the Tao in terms of principle (*li* 理), qi, nature (*xing* 性), and life (*ming* 命) (1.1b), as well as Zhang's opinion regarding HESHANG GONG's division of the original text of the *Daode jing* into eighty-one chapters (1.19a).

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Daode zhenjing zhu* 道德眞經註**

2 juan

By Lin Zhijian 林志堅, *zi* Renzhai 仁齋, *hao* Xuanmen kaizhen hongjiao da zhenren 玄門開眞弘教大眞人; preface 1354

720 (fasc. 429)

"Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." Lin Zhijian, from Guanglin 廣林, must have been an important Taoist master at the end of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). He is not otherwise known. His commentary, which was printed during the Yuan dynasty, consists of short sentences taken from the *Daode jing* itself.

Isabelle Robinet

***Da Ming Taizu gao huangdi yuzhu Daode zhenjing* 大明太祖高皇帝御註道德眞經**

2 juan

By Emperor Taizu 太祖 of the Ming dynasty; 1374

676 (fasc. 354)

"Imperial Commentary on the *Daode jing* by Ming Taizu" (see also the entry in *Ming shi*, "Yiwen zhi," 74.2451). The author states in his preface that this commentary on the *Daode jing* was written in 1374. The *Laozi* text is presented in an unusual format of sixty-seven chapters. It is inspired by the WU CHENG commentary *704 Daode zhenjing zhu,* which it follows closely and quotes frequently (the latter consists of sixty-eight chapters, of which chapter 65 is not included in the present text).

Some emphasis is laid upon breathing techniques (cf. the interpretation of the Spirit of the Valley; 1.6b and 1.10a) and upon the importance of the mind as the dwelling place of the souls, the spirit, and the Tao. But this commentary primarily views the text in political and governmental terms. The saint governs by peaceful means, bringing aid and benefit to all creatures, a phrase that occurs repeatedly. The preface strongly opposes any alchemical interpretation of the *Daode jing*.

Isabelle Robinet

***Daode zhenjing cijie* 道德眞經次解**

2 juan

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

697 (fasc. 386)

"Ordered Explications of the *Daode zhenjing*." According to the preface, the impetus for writing this text was the author's visit to the Longxing guan 龍興觀 (in Suizhou 遂州, near Yizhou 易州, south-west of modern Peking). This temple housed a stele that carried the texts of the *Dao jing* 道經 and the *De jing* 德經. If this is the same stele as the one from the Longxing guan in Yizhou referred to in Chen Yuan's *Daojia jinshi lüe* (98–99), it would date from the second year of the Jinglong period (708). When the author read the text on the stele, he found it to differ substantially from the text of the *Daode jing* current in his own day, occasioning major discrepancies in the interpretation. Thereupon he decided to produce a commentary to the classic and to systematically note all textual variants found on the stele. These variants (sixty-nine instances in the case of the *Dao jing* and seventy for the *De jing*) are grouped in two different chapters, added to the two parts of the annotated classic.

In the writing of the commentary, the author claims not to have followed any other interpretations, instead forming a school of his own. In reality, some of the explanations are rather bland. The value of the *Daode zhenjing cijie* lies not so much in its qualities as commentary as in the fact that it preserves the text of the Longxing guan stele.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Daode zhenjing jiyi* 道德眞經集義**

10 juan

By Wei Dayou 危大有; 1387

712 (fasc. 414–416)

"Collected Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power." This collection of commentaries on the *Daode jing* is preceded by two prefaces. One is by the Heavenly Master ZHANG YUCHU and dated 1393, the other, dated 1387, is by the author. In the latter, the author states, in agreement with the *zhishen zhiguo* 治身治國 school of commentaries, that the *Daode jing* was a text as relevant to self-cultivation as to governance. This interpretation explains the choice of commentators in the present work, ranging from HESHANG GONG to contemporaries of the author. This second preface ends with a list of the authors included in the collection; to this list should be added Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072; 1.7b), Sima 司馬 (4.10a; this is not Sima Guang 司馬光), WANG BI (5.1b and 9.20b), and Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), a total of sixteen authors.

Many of these authors, however, are quoted only in passing. Among the most cited authors are LIN XIYI; WU CHENG; He Xinshan 何心山, *zi* Chuyin 處尹 (fl. 1387);

Li Daochun; and Lü Zhizhang 呂知常, the author of a *Laozi jiangyi* 老子講義 in twelve juan (VDL 107), of which a sixteenth-century copy is preserved in the National Library of Peking.

He Xinshan frequently quotes the *Zhuangzi*, the *Liezi*, and the *Yijing*. The explications he provides are inspired by Inner Alchemy (1.11b: the husbanding of essence and qi, the method of the eruption of the trigram *li* 離 and the filling of *kan* 坎; see also, e.g., 2.8a. 8.3a).

The commentary by Lü Zhichang was presented to the throne in 1188. He quotes the *Xisheng jing* (see *666 Xisheng jing* and *726 Xisheng jing jizhu*) and the *Huangting jing* (see *332 Taishang huangting waijing yujing* and *331 Taishang huangting neijing yujing*) repeatedly and tends to explain the *Laozi* in terms of Taoist practice (e.g., 1.4a, 5a, and 20a–21b).

Isabelle Robinet

Daode zhenjing song 道德眞經頌

13 fols.

By Jiang Rongan 蔣融庵; Ming (1368–1644)?

978 (fasc. 615)

"Hymns on the *Daode jing*." Of the otherwise unknown author, the only detail is given in his signature: "from Maoshan." The present collection of eighty-one poems, one for each chapter of the *Daode jing*, has been preserved only in the *Daozang*. The ideas expressed in the four-line, seven-character poems bear no direct relationship to the content of the chapters of the book under which they are classified.

Kristofer Schipper

Laozi yi 老子翼

6 juan

By Jiao Hong 焦竑, *zi* Ruohou 弱侯, *hao* Danyuan 澹園 (1541–1620)

1486 (fasc. 1115–16)

"Wings to the *Laozi*." This text is by the Ming scholar and bibliophile Jiao Hong and is the next to the last work of the supplement *Xu Daozang* 續道藏, which was added to the Zhengtong canon in 1607. To realize the extent to which the original work was truncated by the editors of the canon, it is useful to compare the text of the *Xu Daozang* with two other easily accessible versions: the original Wanli print (copied into the *Daode jing mingzhu xuanji*) and the version in the *Siku quanshu*.

Both the Wanli and the *Siku quanshu* editions open with Jiao Hong's own preface, dated 1587, and with a list of the sixty-four *Daode jing* commentaries used by Jiao in establishing his own critical commentary. Despite the interest of these items, they were excluded from the *Xu Daozang* edition. In the main body of the work as found in the Wanli and Siku editions, the text of each *Daode jing* chapter is followed not only by a glossary of terms, but also by abundant quotations from older commentaries, including the now lost commentary by Shao Bian 邵弁 (twelfth century). Most numerous are quotations from the writings of Su Che 蘇轍, Lü Jifu 呂吉甫, Li Jiamou 李嘉謀, Lu Xisheng 陸希聲, Wang Yuanze 王元澤 (i.e., Wang Pang), and Cheng Ju 程俱. In the *Xu Daozang*, however, all this wealth has been reduced to quotations from the Su Che commentary, with only one exception, where Lü Jifu is quoted.

Eighteen of the *Daode jing* chapters also carry Jiao Hong's own notes (*bicheng* 筆乘). Fortunately, in the *Xu Daozang* these have been retained almost entirely.

The last two juan of the *Laozi yi* (corresponding to juan 3 in the Wanli and *Siku* editions) are formed by supplements consisting of quotations from historical, epigraphic, and other sources. These juan deal with the life of Laozi and the history of the *Daode jing*, and they contain chronologically arranged notes on a host of *Daode jing* commentators. Some of these notes concern commentators whose commentaries have long been lost, such as Qin Xi 秦系 (eighth century). Other commentators, like Wu Yun, were included in recognition of brief but remarkable comments they made about the *Laozi*.

Jiao Hong's work concludes with observations on textual variants in the *Daode jing* ("Laozi kaoyi 老子考異"), drawing on a dozen or so different redactions of the text, including the one on a stele in the Longxing guan 龍興觀 (see *697 Daode zhenjing cijie*).

Jan A. M. De Meyer

3.A.1.a.2 The *Zhuangzi*

Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan 南華眞經新傳

20 juan

By Wang Pang 王雱, *zi* Yuanze 元澤 (1044–1076)

743 (fasc. 503–506)

Nanhua zhenjing shiyi 南華眞經拾遺

8 fols.

744 (fasc. 506)

"New Exegesis of the *Zhuangzi*." The qualification of this commentary as "new" may be explained by the fact that the author wrote another commentary to the same book in ten juan (see VDL 67), now lost, which is quoted in *734 Nanhua zhenjing yihai zuanwei* 3.7b and 4.12b. The short *744 Nanhua zhenjing shiyi* is a supplement that is also given, under the title *Zashuo*, in the appendix of *1487 Zhuangzi yi*.

Wang was the son of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) and assisted his father in his work; he thus attained a great erudition.

There is an unsigned preface, dated 1096, that explains that the present text was found in Sichuan during the years 1075–1085 and thereupon edited and printed. Although this version claims to be more complete that those current at the time of its discovery, the commentary on chapters 7 to 13 is lacking, as well as that on part of chapter 22. In a unsigned colophon to the preface, the author says that before him the *Zhuangzi* had never been properly understood.

The text of the *Zhuangzi* used here can be identified as the "old manuscript" (*jiuben* 舊本) edited by Zhang Junfang and described by Chen Jingyuan in his *737 Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi*.

Wang Pang's exegesis is not based on philology. His aim is to explain Zhuangzi's thought through the words of Zhuangzi himself, without imposing his own philosophy. He demonstrates the articulations of Zhuangzi's thought and analyzes its progression from chapter to chapter. At the beginning of each chapter, the link with the preceding one is explained. At the end of each chapter, its different parts are discussed. The explanations are almost always based on citations from the book itself, confronting one passage with another, and using only the terminology and the metaphors of Zhuangzi himself. Laozi is rarely quoted, and Buddhist or Confucian terminology is even less in evidence. There are a few instances where Neo-Confucian terminology is used, as well as the concepts of *ti* 體 and *yong* 用 (substance and function; see, e.g., 6.6b and 9b; 10.20b–21a). The concepts of *zhiming* 至命 (to go to the utmost of one's destiny) and *jinxing* 盡性 (to examine the core of one's nature) are often mentioned (see, e.g., 4.2b; 6.12a and 18b). The text of the *Zhuangzi* itself remains, however, the basic material on which Wang Pang builds his exegesis.

There are several characteristic aspects of this exegesis. There is almost no mysticism, as becomes clear when one examines the way the famous passage on the Fast of the Heart and the "whiteness" that rises up from the "empty chamber" are interpreted (1.13b–14a). On the other hand, the exegesis occasionally evokes Wang Bi (see, for instance, 3.1a). The foremost characteristic seems to be the rejection of the body and the material world. The body is only a temporal abode (it is merely "borrowed" [*wei* 委]; 4.12b). The body is "the branch" (3.3b); it should not be "nourished" (3.4a). The corporeal principle is the origin of all differences and multiplicity, whereas "forgetting the body" allows the practitioner to merge into unity (*yi* 一; 2.18b, 4.19a) and become one with the ten thousand beings (6.2b). Diversity is our lot (*fen* 分), whereas unity is our natural destiny (*ming* 命), the heavenly order. The material world (*xingqi* 形器) and the world of humans (*jingshi* 經世) are forever opposed to the Tao. Wang Pang considers that Confucianism is limited to the material world (see *734 Nanhua zhenjing yihai zuanwei* 4.12b).

Wang Pang uses several expressions and concepts borrowed from Guo Xiang, including "spontaneous realization" (*zide* 自得; 1.1a; 4.3b), "coincidence" (*dang* 當; 1.8a; 4.12a), and to "plunge to one's limit" (*ming qi ji* 冥其極; e.g., 1.4b; 2.14b). Like Guo, Wang emphasizes the attainment of truth and the accomplishment of the self through spontaneity (*zi* 自; 10.23b). Wang reproaches Guo Xiang, however, for having reduced the "free wandering" (*you* 遊) of Zhuangzi to a state of simple contentment with one's lot (1.1b). In *743 Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan,* Wang frequently quotes the expression of Zhuangzi, "Go along with things and let the mind wander freely 乘物以遊心" (3.20b; see also 4.16a; 6.2b and 17a). This phrase clearly means to him to "wander beyond the material and multiple world." That is the core of his commentary.

Isabelle Robinet

***Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* 南華眞經章句音義**
14 juan
By Chen Jingyuan 陳景元, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虛子; 1084
736 (fasc. 495–96)

***Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* 南華眞經章句餘事**
20 fols.
737 (fasc. 497)

***Nanhua zhenjing yushi zalu* 南華眞經餘事雜錄**
2 juan
738 (fasc. 497)

The three works of Chen Jingyuan are philological notes to the *Zhuangzi*. The main text is the *736 Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* ("Phonetic and Semantic Glosses"). The two shorter works, the *737 Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* ("Additional Notes") and the *738 Nanhua zhenjing yushi zalu* ("Miscellaneous Documents"), contain additions and complements.

Chen Jingyuan (1025–1094) compares different editions of the *Zhuangzi*. His basic text is the official Guozi jian 國子監 edition of 1007. To the printed editions he adds eight manuscripts (see the list in *737 Zhangju yushi* 20b). One of these manuscripts was collated by Xu Lingfu 徐靈府, *hao* Moxi zi 墨希子, a scholar who lived at the end of the ninth century and who wrote a commentary on the *Wenzi* 文子 (see LZTT 40.5a). Three other manuscripts contain versions of the *Zhuangzi* revised by Zhang Junfang. Another manuscript is by Liu Deyi 劉德一, who lived at the beginning of the eleventh century. Although Chen does not explicitly say so, a good number of his glosses are borrowed from the *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 by Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627).

The "additional notes" of *737 Zhangju yushi* contain the tables of the divisions that CHEN JINGYUAN made in the book of *Zhuangzi*. He also lists errors discovered in the Guozi jian edition.

The "miscellaneous documents" of *738 Yushi zalu* originally comprised three chapters on the *Gongsun Long zi* 公孫龍子 (see the preface of *763 Zhangju yinyi* [2b]). Only two of these chapters are preserved in the *Daozang* version. The commentary in *738 Yushi zalu* is the same as the one found in *1172 Gongsun Long zi* 1.4b–8a, 2.1a–2b. Among these miscellaneous documents, Chen also gives the texts of the prefaces to the *Zhuangzi* by GUO XIANG and by CHENG XUANYING (1.9a–10a and 1.10a–12b, respectively), and the text of the imperial edict conferring official titles on the *Zhuangzi* and the *Liezi*. Finally, he gives the *Jiuzheng xinjie* 九證心戒, an essay by Yang Sifu 楊嗣復 dated 827. This essay is based on the Nine Tests (*guan* 觀) explained by Kongzi in chapter 32 of the *Zhuangzi*.

Isabelle Robinet

***Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin* 南華眞經直音**

2 + 12 fols.

By JIA SHANXIANG 賈善翔; preface dated 1086

739 (fasc. 497)

"Phonetic Gloss of the *Zhuangzi*." This text is mentioned under the title *Zhuangzi zhiyin* in *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.3a (VDL 137). In the preface, JIA SHANXIANG, author of the *Gaodao zhuan* and other works, states that it was his intention to help readers of the *Zhuangzi* who might not be familiar with some of its more abstruse vocabulary.

The title of this work suggests that the pronunciation of each character is indicated by citing another, homophonous character (*zhiyin*). This rule is only partly applied. In many instances, the *fanqie* 反切 method is used in order to provide the pronunciation, and sometimes only the tone of the character is given.

The *Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin*, which is now found only in the *Daozang*, has not been preserved in its entirety: the text breaks off after the fourteenth *Zhuangzi* chapter ("Tianyun 天運"). In all, more than one thousand characters are provided with pronunciation or tone. It should be noted that the present edition is not flawless. A number of misprints obstruct the determination of the correct pronunciation.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Nanhua miao* 南華邈**

3 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)

740 (fasc. 497)

"Profundities of the *Zhuangzi*." The title of this short work first occurs in small characters beneath the title of the previous work, *739 Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin*, to which it is appended. The *Daozang mulu xiangzhu* (3.20a) considers it to be the work of JIA SHANXIANG, but the present text, which is devoid of preface or colophon, does not allow such a conclusion. In the bibliographic chapters of the *Song shi* (205.5180), a *Zhuangzi miao* 莊子邈 is mentioned, with Wen Ruhai 文如海 as the author. Wen Ruhai presumably lived in the eighth century and also authored a *Zhuangzi zhengyi* 莊子正義 in ten juan. Whether Wen Ruhai's *Zhuangzi miao* is related to the work now found in the *Daozang* is impossible to ascertain.

The full text of the *Nanhua miao*, which offers explanations of the titles of the chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, has not been preserved. What remains are explanations to the following chapter headings: "Tiandi 天地," "Tiandao 天道," "Tianyun 天運," "Keyi 刻意" (incomplete), "Shuo jian 說劍," and "Yufu 漁父." Of the explanations to the "Lie Yukou 列禦寇" chapter, only the title is left. Apart from the *Daozang* version, no other editions of this text have been transmitted.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Nanhua zhenjing kouyi* 南華眞經口義**

32 juan

By LIN XIYI 林希逸, *zi* Suweng 肅翁, *hao* Zhuqi 竹溪 (ca. 1210–ca. 1273); postface by Lin Jingde 林經德; dated 1260

735 (fasc. 488–494)

"Colloquial Interpretation of the *Nanhua Zhenjing*." According to Lin Jingde, LIN XIYI's aim in writing this text was "to cleanse Guo Xiang's 郭象 filth off the Old Immortal Nanhua" ("Houxu," 1.b; see GUO XIANG). The same postface, moreover, explains that LIN XIYI chose the term *kouyi* 口義 (oral interpretation) in order to make clear that literary style was not his main concern in making this commentary. In effect, the language Lin uses is simple and unadorned and contains many instances of Southern Song vernacular.

The present version in the *Daozang* is the oldest edition of our text. A ten-juan edition can also be found in the *Siku quanshu*, under the title *Zhuangzi kouyi*.

LIN XIYI was first and foremost a Confucian scholar-official, but his *Zhuangzi* commentary betrays a better-than-average knowledge of Buddhism, in particular the Chan Buddhist style of discourse. At the same time, and contrary to many of his fellow Confucians, Lin's interpretations reveal a genuine sympathy for the *Zhuangzi*, as for

the *Daode jing* and the *Liezi*, to which Lin also wrote colloquial interpretations (*701 Daode zhenjing kouyi* and *729 Chongxu zhide zhenjing Juanzhai kouyi*).

In his own introduction ("Zhuangzi kouyi fati 發題"), LIN XIYI elaborates on five types of difficulty that obstruct our correct understanding of the *Zhuangzi*, a book that "deserves its place under Heaven despite its not being a Confucian classic" ("Fati" 1.b). He seems to have regarded WANG PANG's and LÜ HUIQING's views on the *Zhuangzi* as especially detrimental to the book's reputation ("Fati," 2.b). In establishing his own commentary, LIN XIYI draws upon a wide variety of texts and commentators, among them the *Mengzi* 孟子, the *Zhongyong* 中庸, Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra,* and Lin's own teacher Chen Zao 陳藻.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Nanhua zhenjing yihai zuanwei* 南華眞經義海纂微**

106 juan

By Chu Boxiu 褚伯秀, *zi* Xueyan 雪巖; preface dated 1265

734 (fasc. 467–487)

"Collected Subtleties from the Sea of Meanings of the True Scripture of Southern Florescence." This is a collection of commentaries on the *Zhuangzi* with an additional interpretation by the editor, Chu Boxiu. Chu, who was born in 1230 and must have died after 1278, was a native of Wulin 吳林. In 1246, he met Fan Yuanying 范元應—a Taoist master from Sichuan, abbot of the Shouning guan 壽寧觀 on Hengshan 衡山, and author of a still extant *Laozi daode jing guben jizhu* 老子道德經古本集注—during the latter's stay at the capital. Chu studied the *Zhuangzi* with Fan during two years. Afterward, following his master's instructions, Chu continued studying by himself for seven years; he then compiled the present edition and had it printed. There are three prefaces, by Liu Zhensun 劉震孫 (1197–1268), Wen Jiweng 文及翁 (fl. 1279), and Tang Han 湯漢 (ca. 1198–1275), all dated 1265. They are followed by a note (preface, 4a–6a) by the editor, which shows that Chu based himself on CHEN JINGYUAN's edition of major commentaries in *736 Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* (compare also the list in Chen's *737 Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* 20b), but he added a number of other interpretations. Most of the commentaries listed are, however, quoted only sporadically, as is the case of the glosses by Chu's master Fang Yuanying and by WANG PANG. The commentary by WANG PANG as given here appears, moreover, to be different from Wang's *743 Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan* and may represent another commentary by the same author, now lost. The commentary by Li Yuanzhuo 李元卓, *alias* Li Shibiao 李士表, also differs from Li's work in *1263 Zhuang Lie shilun*.

Only six commentators out of the seventeen listed by Chu are in fact included in the present anthology. They are, in the order as listed:

1. GUO XIANG (252–312). His commentary is quoted here from a Wumen official edition (*guanben* 吳門官本), corrected through the critical notes by CHEN JINGYUAN. This version of GUO XIANG's text differs from that of *745 Nanhua zhenjing zhushu* and also from that used by Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627).

2. LÜ HUIQING (1031–1110). This text is quoted here from a Sichuan edition. Lü is also the author of *686 Daode zhenjing zhuan* and of *965 Song dong Taiyi gong beiming*. According to the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* (see VDL 138), his commentary to the *Zhuangzi* in ten juan was presented to the throne in 1084. The work is listed as lost in *1430 Daozang quejing mulu* 2.20b. In 1920, a copy was found in Khara-khoto (Karakorum) by P. K. Kozlov (see his *Comptes rendus* and *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto*). From this copy, it could be ascertained that Chu Boxiu had not quoted the complete text. Until then, the work was extant only in the form of the long citations made by Chu, which were used by Jiao Hong 焦宏 (1541–1620) in his *1487 Zhuangzi yi*.

3. Lin Yidu 林疑獨 (fl. 1268). Chu quotes his commentary from a printed edition from Masha 麻沙 in Fujian. Lin gives a hermeneutic and symbolical reading of the *Zhuangzi*, which emphasizes the limits of human language. According to Lin, the *Zhuangzi* uses metaphors and symbols in the same way as the *Yijing* uses images (*xiang* 象; see 95.7a). Lin Yidu often refers to the dialectics of *wu* 無 (nonbeing) and *you* 有 (being). He clearly dissociates himself from Taoist interpretations of the book of *Zhuangzi* in terms of bodily exercises (see, for instance, 5.16b). The most remarkable aspect of his commentary, however, is his emphasis on the concepts of *ming* 命 (mandate), *xing* 性 (nature), and *li* 理 (principle), which he takes here from the famous words of the *Yijing*: "to explore *li* to its limits, to examine the very core of one's *xing,* so as to reach [an understanding of] *ming*.

Lin distinguishes three levels of explorations. "To explore *li* to its limits" corresponds to ordinary life and therefore means "to listen with one's ears." "To examine the very core of one's *xing*" corresponds to "listening with one's heart" and to "reverse hearing." Finally, "to reach [an understanding of] *ming*" consists in "listening with the qi, or with the Void" (see 8.4b and 99.3b). These interpretations are related to the meaning Lin gives to the three concepts: *Ming* existed before life and also constitutes the very substance of life (see 36.10a and 74.4a); it thus stands for the Origin in terms of the Void. The *ming* as attribute of an individual is subjective, and thus plural. This subjective and plural aspect of the *ming* is the *xing,* which appears here following the spirit. *Xing* is the "true nature," a particular aspect of the *ming* that one has to retrieve. The *li,* finally, is the objective (*zaiwu* 在物) aspect of the *xing* and thus opposed to the subjective *xing*. The ultimate stage of the Tao is therefore the *ming* as origin of all beings and as the point at which they all are still undifferentiated (to illustrate this stage, Lin Yidu uses the term *qiwu* 齊物 of the *Zhuangzi*, that is, the fusion into unity of all

beings). This stage is superior to "the answer" given to the exterior world (see 8.4b; 99.3b; 74.4a; 36.9b–10a; 105.5a, 106.10b). However, the relationship between *ming* and *xing* is the same as that between Heaven (here equated with *ming*) and humanity (here equated with *xing*), as well as that between yang and yin. In other words, *ming* and *xing* are complementary and both necessary.

4. Chen Xiangdao 陳詳道, *zi* Yongzhi 用之 (1053–1093). Chen was from Minqing 閩清 in Fujian, a Confucian scholar, and author of a Book on Ritual (*Lishu* 禮書) and of a commentary to the Analects (*Lunyu* 論語). His commentary is quoted only in the first half of Chu Boxiu's anthology.

5. Chen Jingyuan is the author of the *Zhuangzi* commentary *736 Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi*. The text quoted here under his name is, however, another commentary, otherwise unknown. Chen's interpretation is more mystical than others and recommends renunciation and forgetting.

6. The next commentary is that of Lin Xiyi, which corresponds, with many variants, to Lin's *735 Nanhua zhenjing kouyi*. The edition quoted here was printed in Fujian.

7. Chu Boxiu's own commentary comes last. Chu adds to his interpretation a general conclusion for each chapter. He often uses philological methods, compares variant readings, avows the difficulties in understanding certain terms, compares passages, and so on. Chen, however, also proposes his own system of interpretation, centering on the notions of *yangxing* 養性 (to nourish one's nature) and *fuxing* 復性 (to return to one's nature). This return can be accomplished through "total forgetting" (*jianwang* 健忘), which is the "nonmental" (*wuxin* 無心). Because of this *wuxin*, Chen rejects the qi techniques and also criticizes Inner Alchemy. He declares that the "I" (*wo* 我) that is eternal is not the body of flesh but the "marvelous void," which is colorless and cannot be seen. Chen therefore is also opposed to all Taoist techniques of visualization. He reconciles Taoism and Confucianism and declares that Zhuangzi reveals "the heart" of the teachings of Confucius (98.10a). For him, Confucianism proposes the "inner learning" that culminates in the "outward learning" of Taoism (49.7a–b). He quotes the *Ximing* 西銘 of Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1076) as being close to the spirit of Zhuangzi (19.13a), and he often quotes the famous words of the *Yijing*, also regularly adduced by the Confucians: "to explore *li* to its limits, to examine the very core of one's *xing*, so as to reach [an understanding of] *ming*." He sees, for instance, a connection between these three concepts and the three first chapters of the *Zhuangzi* (see 5.5a).

Isabelle Robinet

***Zhuang Lie shilun* 莊列十論**

29 fols.

By Li Yuanzhuo 李元卓, *zi* Shibiao 士表; Song (960–1279)

1263 (fasc. 1001)

"Ten Discussions on the *Zhuangzi* and the *Liezi*." This is a collection of short essays on particular passages of these works, nine having been taken from the *Zhuangzi* and one from the *Liezi*.

The author is identified as instructor of the Imperial College (Taixue jiaoshou 太學教授). He appears not to be known elsewhere. The work is mentioned in several Song catalogues under the title *Zhuangzi shilun* 莊子十論 (VDL 137). The ten essays concern:

1. The dream of Zhuangzi (*Qiwu lun* 齊物論)
2. Bao Ding (*Yangsheng zhu* 養生主)
3. Hiding the boat (*Da zongshi* 大宗師)
4. Yan Hui's meditation (*Da zongshi* 大宗師)
5. Hu Zi and the shaman (*Ying diwang* 應帝王)
6. The Mysterious Pearl (*Tiandi* 天地)
7. Zhuangzi and the fishes (*Qiushui* 秋水)
8. The drunk who fell from the cart (*Dasheng* 達生)
9. The Tao of old (*Tianxia* 天下)
10. The story of Songhua zi (*Zhou Muwang* 周穆王)

Nine topics come from the *Zhuangzi* and one from the *Liezi*. The work is quoted by Jiao Hong 焦宏 (1541–1620) at the end of his *1487 Zhuangzi yi* ("Fulu 附錄," 22a ff.) under the title *Zhuangzi jiulun* 莊子九論.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

***Zhuangzi neipian dingzheng* 莊子內篇訂正**

2 juan

By Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249–1333)

741 (fasc. 497)

"*Zhuangzi*'s Inner Chapters Correctly Arranged." When Wu Cheng produced his commentary on the *Daode jing* (*704 Daode zhenjing zhu*), he rearranged the traditional eighty-one paragraphs into sixty-eight larger units. Apparently acting on the same impulse, Wu composed this text. As indicated by the title, Wu Cheng's own contribution limits itself to providing paragraph divisions for the *Zhuangzi*'s seven Inner Chapters.

Similar to his treatment of the text of the *Daode jing*, Wu Cheng's tendency is to concentrate more material into one paragraph than is customary today. Thus,

clearly separated subdivisions of the original text are often found together in one new paragraph, which in itself is not problematic. WU CHENG's idiosyncratic approach becomes objectionable, however, where subdivisions of the *Zhuangzi* that form one logical unity are divided over two new paragraphs, as in the final section of the fifth *Zhuangzi* chapter ("Dechong fu 德充符," 2.6a–b).

The *Zhuangzi neipian dingzheng* has been preserved only in the *Daozang*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Nanhua zhenjing xunben 南華眞經循本

30 juan

By Luo Miandao 羅勉道 (d. 1367), collated by his disciple Peng Xiang 彭祥

742 (fasc. 498–502)

"Fundamental *Zhuangzi*." The author explains the title of his work in the short prefatory essay "Nanhua zhenjing xunben shiti 釋題." According to Luo Miandao, the *Zhuangzi* was misinterpreted on numerous occasions by commentators who sought to explain the text in Pure Conversation (*qingtan* 清談), Chan Buddhist, or Confucian terms. What all these commentators lacked was a profound knowledge of the language and culture of the Late Zhou period, which spawned the *Zhuangzi*. Luo Miandao, on the other hand, claims to have succeeded in interpreting the text "in accordance with its basic purport" (*xun qi benzhi* 循其本指), hence the term *xunben* 循本 in the title.

Luo Miandao's commentary does not extend to all of the *Zhuangzi*'s chapters. Juan 28, 29, and 30 of the *Nanhua zhenjing xunben* limit themselves to reproducing the text of six of the *Zhuangzi waipian* chapters that Luo Miandao judged not to have been written by Zhuang Zhou 莊周 himself. These chapters are: "Keyi 刻意," "Shanxing 善性," "Rangwang 讓王," "Daozhi 盜跖," "Shuojian 說劍," and "Yufu 漁父." Apart from a few critical remarks, Luo Miandao considers these chapters unworthy of commentary.

The *Nanhua zhenjing xunben* exerted quite some influence on later commentators. It is, for instance, one of the five *Zhuangzi* commentaries quoted most often in Jiao Hong's *1487 Zhuangzi yi*. The *Nanhua zhenjing xunben* is preserved only in the *Daozang*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Zhuangzi yi 莊子翼

8 juan

By Jiao Hong 焦竑, *zi* Ruohou 弱侯, *hao* Danyuan 澹園; (1541–1620) preface dated 1588

1487 (fasc. 1117–1120)

"Wings to the *Zhuangzi*." This text by the Ming scholar and bibliophile Jiao Hong, is the last work printed in the *Xu Daozang*, the 1607 addition to the Zhengtong canon.

As in the case of Jiao Hong's *1486 Laozi yi*, the *Daozang* edition of the present work is a severely abridged version of the original 1588 print by Wang Yuanzhen 王元貞, which can be conveniently consulted in the *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* 中國子學名著集成 edition.

In Wang Yuanzhen's print, the main body of the text is preceded by Jiao Hong's own preface (dated 1588), Wang Yuanzhen's preface of the same year, the original table of contents of the *Zhuangzi yi*, the list of commentaries and other works consulted by Jiao Hong, and an essay "On Reading the Zhuangzi" ("Du Zhuangzi 讀莊子"). These items are not without interest. Jiao Hong's preface, for instance, contains his views on the relation between Zhuangzi, Laozi, Confucius, and Mencius. However, none of the introductory items are to be found in the *Daozang* edition.

In compiling this text, Jiao Hong consulted a total of forty-nine works dealing with the *Zhuangzi*, including commentaries and works on textual criticism and the pronunciation of the *Zhuangzi*'s more obscure vocabulary. The commentaries quoted most often by Jiao Hong are those by GUO XIANG, LÜ HUIQING (1031–1100), Chu Boxiu 褚伯秀 (thirteenth century), Luo Miandao 羅勉道 (fourteenth century), and Lu Xixing 陸西星 (sixteenth century). Other works quoted regularly include Hong Mai's *Rongzhai suibi* and JIA SHANXIANG's *739 Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin*. In the *Daozang* edition, however, almost all commentaries, with the exception of the one by GUO XIANG and Jiao Hong's own notes (*bicheng* 筆乘), have been excised. Similarly, CHEN JINGYUAN's *Zhuangzi quewu* 莊子闕誤, which in Wang Yuanzhen's edition is inserted between the main text and the appendixes, is omitted in the *Daozang* edition.

Only in the appendixes does the *Daozang* match Wang Yuanzhen's edition. The appendixes include Zhuang Zhou's *Shiji* biography; Ruan Ji's 阮籍 (210–263) "Zhuang lun 莊論"; Wang Anshi's 王安石 (1021–1086) "Zhuangzi lun 莊子論"; Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1036–1101) "Zhuangzi citang ji 莊子祠堂記"; Li Shibiao's 李士表 "Zhuangzi jiulun 莊子九論" (the nine chapters dealing with the *Zhuangzi* in Li's *1263 Zhuang Lie shilun*); and a "Farewell Address" ("Zengbie 贈別") by the obscure Five Dynasties Pan You 潘佑. WANG PANG's (1042–1076) "Zashuo 雜說" can also be found in *744 Nanhua zhenjing shiyi*.

Jan A. M. De Meyer

3.A.1.a.3 The *Liezi*

Liezi chongxu zhide zhenjing shiwen 列子沖虛至德眞經釋文
2 juan
By Yin Jingshun 殷敬順; Tang (618–907); supplemented by CHEN JINGYUAN 陳景元, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虛子; 1069
733 (fasc. 466)

"Textual Explanations of the *Liezi*." In his preface dated 1069, CHEN JINGYUAN provides details on the origin of the work: he based himself on an already heavily damaged manuscript in two juan. The manuscript was in the calligraphy of Moxi zi 墨希子 (Xu Lingfu 徐靈府; fl. 815) and contained textual explanations of the *Liezi;* it was compiled by the assistant prefect of Dangtu 當塗 county, Yin Jingshun of the Tang (apparently a contemporary of Xu). In addition, Chen used another manuscript in Xu's calligraphy, the *Liezi* with a commentary by Lu Chongxuan 盧重玄 (see *732 Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie*), as well as the *Liezi* edition printed in 1007 by the Directorate of Education (*guozi jian* 國子監). After having compared the different readings, he compiled a list of 106 variant characters in one juan, which he added as a supplement to Yin's explanations.

In the present text, Chen's list is no longer found as a separate appendix but is incorporated into Yin's explanations. Thus in most cases it is no longer possible to distinguish the provenance of the individual notes. They are limited to phonetic and semantic explanations and point out more than 200 textual differences that concern not only the text of the *Liezi*, but also the commentary by Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 370) and the report by Liu Xiang 劉向 (see the article on *668 Chongxu zhide zhenjing*).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Chongxu zhide zhenjing jie 沖虛至德眞經解
20 juan
By Jiang Yu 江遹; ca. 1110
730 (fasc. 457–460)

"Explanations of the *Liezi*." The title of the otherwise unknown Song author—scholar of the Inner College at the Prefectural Academy in Hangzhou (*Hangzhou zhouxue neishe sheng* 杭州州學內舍生)—allows a rather precise dating of his work: an examination system in three grades (*sanshe* 三舍), introduced under Shenzong for the National Academy in the capital (Taixue 太學), was also applied to the academies on the prefectural level (Zhouxue 州學) in the period between 1099 and 1121 (*Huang Song shichao gangyao* 14.6b; 18.9b).

Judging from the formula at the beginning of the text, this work was meant to be presented to the court. The *Siku quanshu zongmu* 146.1245 notes that Jiang Yu relies on the style of GUO XIANG's *Zhuangzi* commentary—without philological annotations and with intuitive understanding. His explanations are highly praised for their elegance of style and thorough textual understanding, and are placed above LIN XIYI's commentary to the *Liezi*.

The present edition has some lacunae (4.25a; 9.1b; 20.11a) that are also found in the *Daozang jiyao* edition (in three juan) as well as in the *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 edition (in eight juan).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Chongxu zhide zhenjing yijie 沖虛至德眞經義解
6 juan
By Song Huizong 宋徽宗; 1118
731 (fasc. 460)

"Explanation of the Meaning of the *Liezi*." The imperial text, in the present form, is fragmentary and treats only half of the *Liezi*. In Song bibliographies, Huizong's *Liezi* commentary is listed as comprising eight juan (VDL 101). His explanations were also included unabridged in the collection *732 Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie*, where the complete commentary has been preserved. The part missing here begins in juan 12 of the latter work. Huizong's preface of 1118 has also been preserved only in that collection. In this preface, the emperor writes that after having commentated the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, it would be impossible not to expound the *Liezi* (an edict to have the imperial commentary to the *Liezi* printed by the Directorate of Education and to distribute it to scholars was issued in 1123; see *Tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 127.9b–10a). Huizong does not linger over philological details but gives an elegant exegesis of the philosophical thought of the work. The main text does not show any substantial textual variants but contains interspersed information about variant readings that come from Zhang Zhan's 張湛 (fl. 370) commentary.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie 沖虛至德眞經四解
20 juan
Compiled by Gao Shouyuan 高守元, *zi* Shanzhang 善長, *hao* Heguang sanren 和光散人; 1189
732 (fasc. 461–466)

"Four Explanations of the *Liezi*." Little is known about the life of the compiler. The *Jin shi* 131.2813 mentions that he held the position of a collator in the Imperial Library (*jiaoshu lang* 校書郎) during the Tiande period (1149–1153). His compilation contains four commentaries together with their prefaces, a brief biography of Liezi (from *163*

Xuanyuan shizi tu), Liu Xiang's 劉向 report, and a preface to Gao Shouyuan's compilation, written by Mao Hui 毛麾 in 1189.

The authors of the four commentaries, the first three of which are listed as independent works in Song bibliographies (see VDL 101), are as follows:

1. Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 370). For his preface, in which he gives an account of the textual history, see Graham, "The date and composition of the Liehtzyy" (144 ff). His commentary in the present edition differs only slightly from the Song print reproduced in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊.

2. Lu Chongxuan 盧重玄 (fl. 735; cf. *295 Xu xian zhuan* 2.4b–5a). According to his preface, he wrote his explanations of the *Liezi* at the behest of Xuanzong (r. 712–756). From the title—Kaiyuan shengwen shenwu huangdi 開元聖文神武皇帝, by which he refers to the emperor—it can be concluded that this commentary was written between 739 and 742 (cf. *Jiu Tang shu* 9.210; 9.215).

3. Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1125). For his commentary and preface dated 1118, see *731 Chongxu zhide zhenjing yijie*.

4. Fan Zhixu 范致虛. He was the executive assistant of the Left in the Department of State Affairs (Shangshu zuocheng 尚書左丞); the preface to his explanations is by Wu Shizhong 吳師中 and dated 1119.

Like Zhang Zhan's and Huizong's explanations, the two other commentaries were probably also included unabridged, so that in this collection four of the oldest *Liezi* commentaries have been preserved virtually complete (in juan 18, Lu's annotations are missing).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Chongxu zhide zhenjing Juanzhai kouyi 沖虛至德眞經鬳齋口義
8 juan
By Lin Xiyi 林希逸, *hao* Juanzhai 鬳齋; ca. 1260
729 (fasc. 455–456)

"Colloquial Explanations of the *Liezi*." Apart from this work, Lin Xiyi wrote commentaries in the same style on the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. To the latter, a postface by Lin Jingde 林經德 dated 1260 has been preserved (see *735 Nanhua zhenjing kouyi*); it contains an explanation of the term *kouyi* 口義 as well as biographical information about Lin Xiyi, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the present work was also written around that year.

Lin's explanations are preceded by a brief biography of Liezi (from *163 Xuanyuan shizi tu*) and by Liu Xiang's 劉向 memorial (see *668 Chongxu zhide zhenjing*). Lin, who repeatedly calls himself a (Neo-) Confucian (*wuru* 吳儒; 7.11b), consistently indicates text parallels to the *Zhuangzi, Huainan zi,* and elsewhere, and he frequently points out relations to (Zen) Buddhism (e.g., 4.24a–25a). In text-critical notes he specifies

which passages in the *Liezi* he considers authentic, and which portions he discounts (e.g., 8.26b).

In the 1574 Jingyi tang 敬義堂 edition of the *Sanzi kouyi* 三子口義, Lin's commentary is divided into two juan but does not show substantial textual differences.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

3.A.1.a.4 Others

Xisheng jing jizhu 西昇經集註
6 juan
By Chen Jingyuan 陳景元, *hao* Bixu *zi* 碧虛子 (1025–1094)
726 (fasc. 449–450)

"Collected Commentaries on the Scripture of the Ascent to the West." The scripture contains the teachings that Laozi left to the Guardian of the Pass, Yin Xi 尹喜, when Laozi headed west. Its contents rely heavily on the *Daode jing*. For individual practice, the importance of *yangshen* 養身 (nourishing the body) and *shouyi* 守一 (holding the One) are emphasized. The latter is to be preferred to alchemical practices (3.19b). The scripture is divided into thirty-nine sections with large portions rhymed—mostly in mnemonic verses of eight or ten syllables (sections 5–14).

Possibly the work was written before the mid-fourth century, as its opening sentences are cited (without, however, explicitly naming the source) in *Zhengwu lun* 1.7b (see Zürcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, 311–12 and 436 n. 111). These very opening and concluding passages were repeatedly the object of Buddhist polemics in the course of the *huahu* 化胡 disputes, since by small textual modifications it could be proven either that the Buddha was Laozi's teacher or the reverse (for the Buddhist argumentation, see *Zhenzheng lun* 2.564c–565a; for the Taoist view, see also *770 Hunyuan shengji* 3.8a–b and *954 Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 22a–b). Laozi's biography in *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 also mentions a *Xisheng jing*.

There is no reason to doubt that the present work is identical with the *Xisheng jing* frequently cited and attacked in the historical texts in the Buddhist Canon, as all citations—with minor textual variants and apart from one probably erroneous ascription—can be found in today's text. Similarly, all the citations in early Taoist compilations (e.g., WSPY, *1129 Daojiao yishu*, *1123 Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*), correspond closely to the present text.

For his collection, Chen Jingyuan used five originally separate commentaries, which he verified before producing his definitive main text. Within the work, Chen limits himself to pointing out textual variants.

The five commentaries are by (1) Wei Jie 韋節, *zi* Chuxuan 處玄, who probably lived during the years 497–569 (cf. LZTT 29.4a–5b; read Tianhe 天和 for Taihe 太

和). (2) Xu Daomiao 徐道邈, who was, together with PAN SHIZHENG (585–682), a disciple of Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知 (LZTT 25.2b). (3) Chongxuan zi 沖玄子, whose identity remains a mystery. (4) Li Rong 李榮, known as a Taoist from Sichuan who in the years 658–663 took part in the Buddho-Taoist debates before the emperor (see *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 4.387b–394c). He also left a commentary to the *Laozi* (*722 Daode zhenjing zhu*). (5) Liu Renhui 劉仁會, who lived during the Wei dynasty (386–556) and is also known to have written a commentary on the *Daode jing* (see *725 Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi,* preface).

The explanations of the individual commentators, originally amounting to a total of thirteen or fourteen juan (cf. VDL 103–104), were used only selectively by Chen (see also *770 Hunyuan shengji* 3.8a for a citation from Chongxuan zi's commentary, which is not found in our text).

The present edition is faulty: for printing 維七, 7 (for 4.8b–9b), the block of 維四, 7 (*727 Wenshi zhenjing zhu* 1.7a–8a) was used.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kohn, *Taoist mystical philosophy*; Maeda Shigeki, "*Rōshi Seishō kyō* kō."

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Xisheng jing 西昇經

3 juan

Commentary by Song Huizong 宋徽宗; ca. 1117

666 (fasc. 346–347)

"Scripture of the Ascent to the West." Contrary to its title and its placement in the division entitled *benwen* 本文 (fundamental scriptures), this work is an edition with a commentary by Song Huizong. It is preceded by an imperial preface from the Zhenghe period (1111–1118) in which the *Xisheng jing* is said to be complementary to the *Daode jing*.

Compared to *726 Xisheng jing jizhu*, which is also divided into thirty-nine sections, our main text shows numerous textual differences, especially at the end of section 22.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Wenshi zhenjing zhu 文始眞經註

9 juan

By Niu Daochun 牛道淳, *hao* Xiaoyao zi 逍遙子 (fl. 1296)

727 (fasc. 450–452)

"Commentary on the True Scripture of Wenshi." The author of this commentary on the *Guanyin zi* 關尹子, a Quanzhen Taoist, is known to us through another work, *276 Zheyi zhimi lun* (preface dated 1296).

The brief biography of Yin Xi 尹喜 (cf. *667 Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing*) is followed by a preface (probably by the commentator himself) to the present "direct explanations" (*zhijie* 直解). A postface to the *Wenshi zhenjing,* dated 327 and attributed to GE HONG, praises this work, which Ge is said here to have received from his master Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., ZHENG YIN).

The nine *pian* 篇 of the main text are divided into 170 sections (*zhang* 章). The work is commentated sentence by sentence, and the contents are again summarized at the end of each section. Niu's explanations are indeed "direct" and occasionally have a colloquial tinge.

Niu repeatedly refers to two otherwise unknown editions of the *Guanyin zi*. The textual passages that he cites as coming from Guo Ziqian's edition 郭子謙本 (4.15b; 7.16b; 8.3a) are all found in *667 Wenshi zhenjing* but not in *728 Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi,* whereas the passage from the edition by Xixuan zi [surnamed] Jia 希玄子賈本 (4.6b) is found in the latter but not in the former text.

On the whole, the three *Guanyin zi* versions contained in the *Daozang* hardly differ in their main text. Most textual variants occur between the present text and *667 Wenshi zhenjing*.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi 文始眞經言外旨

9 juan

By CHEN XIANWEI 陳顯微, *hao* Baoyi zi 抱一子; 1254

728 (fasc. 453–454)

"Meaning of the *Guanyin zi* beyond Its Words." In the preface to this interpretative commentary (dated 1254), CHEN XIANWEI from Yangzhou 揚州 defends the text against the suspicion that it was forged by a scholar in Han times; he also gives a numerological explanation of the titles of its nine *pian* 篇. A note points out that Chen's original commentary in three juan was divided into nine juan for the present edition. Wang Yi 王夷, a disciple of Chen's, states in his preface that he received this work from Chen and had it printed. This preface is followed by a memorial (dated 15 B.C.) in which Liu Xiang 劉向 gives an account of his collation of the text and its previous transmission. This memorial is not mentioned elsewhere before the Song (960–1279); most likely it was forged together with, or slightly after, today's *Guanyin zi*.

An edition of Chen's commentary prior to that in the *Daozang* is described in *Bisong lou cangshu zhi* 66.5b–12a, where it is said that in 1293 Ji Zhirou 姬致柔 had a *Bichuan Guanyin zi yanwai jingzhi* 秘傳關尹子言外經旨 in three juan newly printed in Hangzhou.

A Chronicle of the Emergence of the *Guanyin zi*, written by Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 in 1281 as a preface to Baoyi zi's explanations was not included in the Hangzhou

edition, nor in the *Daozang* edition. It probably originally introduced yet another printed edition. Today, this preface is most accessible in the *Shoushan ge congshu* 守山閣叢書 edition, which, moreover, contains a strongly modified version of Wang Yi's preface.

A version of Chen's commentary in two juan that can be traced back at least to 1591, due to the *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集 edition, is found in the *Daozang jiyao*. There, each *pian* concludes with a summary from the brush of Zhu Xiangxian (and, without doubt, from his edition of 1281). Repeatedly, textual variants in the edition of Guo 郭 (that correspond with the text of *667 Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing;* see also *727 Wenshi zhenjing zhu*) are pointed out. Two other annotations (1.22b; 2.17b) cannot be identified. The preface by Wang Yi is missing completely, that of the commentator has been abridged by about 460 characters, as compared to both other editions. Zhu's chronicle is abridged in the final sentence, but it does not have the lacunae of the *Shoushan ge* edition.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Tongxuan zhenjing zuanyi 通玄眞經纘義

12 juan

By Du Daojian 杜道堅, *hao* Nangu zi 南谷子; ca. 1310

748 (fasc. 523–524)

"Received Meaning of the True Scripture of Communication with Mystery." This version of Du Daojian's commentary on the *Wenzi* 文子 includes a brief biography of Wenzi by Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322; cf. *163 Xuanyuan shizi tu*) and prefaces by Wu Quanjie (dated 1310), Huang Shiweng 黃石翁 (1310), and Du Daojian himself.

Du, who from 1303 on was Taoist registrar (*daolu* 道錄) of Hangzhou 杭州, revised an old, unspecified edition of the *Wenzi*. He arranged the contents into sections, at the end of which he added his own interpretations stressing the analogies between socio-political conditions and cosmic events. Compared to Xu Lingfu's 徐靈府 version (cf. the article on *746 Tongxuan zhenjing*), this text shows numerous corrections that are clearly by Du Daojian himself, as are the phonetic explanations that conclude the work.

As pointed out by Yu Jiaxi (*Siku tiyao bianzheng* 19.1196–99), the compilers of the *Siku quanshu* not only erroneously assumed that Du was active under the Song, but also failed to notice the *Daozang* version and relied on the fragmentary edition in the *Yongle dadian* (with juan 1, 3, 5, 10, and 12 missing completely, and juan 8 lacking Du's commentary). This edition contained, in addition to Du's interpretations, a so-called "old commentary" (in juan 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 11 identical with Xu Lingfu's commentary, while the annotations in juan 9 are by a different author). From this commentary, the compilers concluded that Du had originally formulated his "appended interpretations" as a subcommentary to a selection of annotations by Xu Lingfu and Zhu Bian 朱弁 (see the article on *749 Tongxuan zhenjing*). For the *Wuying dian* 武英殿 edition of 1780, this text was supplemented by a Ming printed edition without commentary and by Mou Yan's 牟巘 (1227–1311) preface to the original edition, taken from his collected literary works. The preface by Mou Yan is not found in the *Daozang* version.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiu suo Dingzhou Hanjian zhengli xiaozu, "Dingzhou Xi Han Zhongshan Huaiwang mu zhujian *Wenzi* shiwen / jiaokan ji / de zhengli he yiyi."

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Heguan zi 鶡冠子

3 juan

Commentary by Lu Dian 陸佃 (1042–1102)

1175 (fasc. 842)

"Master Pheasant Cap." This philosophical work in which Taoist, Confucian, Legalist, and military-philosophical ideas are interwoven is attributed to a hermit from Chu 楚 who wore a cap made of pheasant feathers (see *Han shu* 30.1730, containing the earliest bibliographic mention of a work with this title). In its present form, however, the work has existed only since the seventh century, after its oldest parts, dating from the fourth century B.C., had been supplemented, mainly in Han times but also in subsequent centuries (see Needham, "History of scientific thought," 547). The inconsistent information about the size and division of earlier, uncommentated versions of the text remains unexplained: between Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) times the number of *pian* 篇 is given as fifteen, sixteen, or nineteen (see the preface and VDL 167). Since the Ming (1368–1644) dynasty, however, there seem to have existed only editions in nineteen *pian*.

In this oldest preserved commentary, Lu, who in an eventful career rose to the position of executive assistant of the Left in the Department of State Affairs (Shangshu zuocheng 尚書左丞), mainly paraphrases the text and cites the Confucian classics as well as the Taoist philosophers. He regularly indicates variant readings but only in one instance specifies "the edition of Su" (*Suben* 蘇本; 2.14a). The present edition has numerous lacunae, mostly in the main text, but also in the commentary (1.2a). A Ming facsimile of a Song print (*Ming fu Song kanben* 明覆宋刊本) of Lu's explanations, reproduced in the *Sibu congkan*, has somewhat fewer lacunae than the *Daozang* edition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Defoort, *Pheasant Cap Master;* Graham, "A neglected pre-Han philosophical text"; Li Xueqin, "Heguan zi yu liangzhong boshu"; Peerenboom, "Heguanzi."

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangshi gong sushu 黃石公素書

23 fols.

Preface and commentary by Wei Lu 魏魯

1178 (fasc. 849)

"Book of Simplicity by the Duke of the Yellow Stone." This version of the *Sushu* is not listed in the Song bibliographies. About Wei Lu nothing is known apart from the position (prefect of Baoxin 褒信, in today's Henan) and title indicated here.

For the contents of the text, Wei sees a division into three parts: the practice of ruling the empire by *Dao* and *De* 德; techniques for maintaining physical existence and preserving one's life; principles for the undertakings of the sovereigns and for putting the country in order. Both Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 187 B.C.) and Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234) are said to have received the *Sushu* and to have practiced it with great success.

Between the present text (1,117 characters) and *1179 Huangshi gong sushu* there are, in addition to numerous minor variants, considerable textual differences: 11b10; 12a2–6; 16b5 of our version are missing there, and *1179 Sushu* 12a–14a is not found in the present text. Also *1179 Sushu* 18b ff. does not correspond at all with our text 19b ff.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Sunzi yishuo 孫子遺說

22 fols.

By Zheng Youxian 鄭友賢; late eleventh or early twelfth century

1181 (fasc. 854)

"Gleanings of Sunzi's [Art of War]." The first bibliographic mention of this work is found in *Tongzhi,* "Yiwen lüe," 68.7a. All that is known about Zheng Youxian is that he was a native of Yingyang 滎陽 (Henan).

In the present edition, Zheng's work is preceded by two older texts: Wei Wudi's preface to the separate *Sunzi* edition commentated by him (*Wei Wudi zhu Sunzi* 魏武帝註孫子) and Sun Wu's 孫武 biography (from *Shiji* 65). In a Song printed edition of the "Eleven Commentaries to the *Sunzi,*" dating from Ningzong's reign (1195–1224; cf. *1180 Sunzi zhujie*), the biography of Sun Wu and Zheng's work figure as an appendix, while Wei Wudi's preface has not been included.

In his preface, Zheng explains that in terms of philosophical depth the *Sunzi* has the same standing for those who are concerned with the art of warfare as the *Yijing* does for Confucian scholars. Since its meaning has not been treated exhaustively by the ten commentators, he now proposes to answer remaining questions in a fictitious dialogue under the title "Gleanings of the Ten Commentaries." Thus Zheng unfolds his explanations in thirty points, often supporting them with quotations from other military treatises and exemplifying them by historical events.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Zihua zi 子華子

10 juan

Attributed to Cheng Ben 程本, *zi* Zihua 子華, of the Spring and Autumn period (770–475 B.C.); late eleventh or early twelfth century

1174 (fasc. 841)

"Master Zihua." The earliest mention of this philosophical work, which is usually counted among the works of the school of Eclectics (*zajia* 雜家), is found in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* 12.51b. In Chao Gongwu's 晁公武 opinion it was written by an examination candidate (*juzi* 舉子) after the Yuanfeng period (1078–1086). The *Zhongxing guange shumu* (in *Yuhai* 53.10a–b), which ascribes the text to the Confucian school, confirms that the existence of a *Zihua zi* was attested under neither the Sui nor the Tang; nor was it listed in the Song bibliographies.

The work is made up of fictitious dialogues in which Master Zihua elucidates his ideas to "contemporaries" such as Yanzi and Confucius. The first six juan mainly present Confucian concepts in a Taoist guise, and juan 7–10 essentially deal with cosmology and metaphysics. The preceding report by Liu Xiang 劉向 on the collation of the *Zihua zi* was, like the work itself, probably forged.

By the late twelfth century, the book must have found a certain recognition, as Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) refers in his critique of the work to an "official edition from Guiji" (*Guiji guanshu banben* 會稽官書版本) that, in contrast to the present edition, had three prefaces or postfaces ("Oudu manji 偶讀漫記," *Zhuzi daquan* 71.8a–9a). Passages from all ten juan of the text in *Shuofu* 46.12b–14b correspond to our text. The text of the *Zihui* edition of 1576–1577 is identical but is arranged into two juan only.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

3.A.1.b Commentaries on the *Yinfu jing*

Huangdi yinfu jing shu 黃帝陰符經疏

3 juan

Attributed to Li Quan 李筌, *hao* Daguan zi 達觀子 (fl. 713–741); eleventh century?

110 (fasc. 55)

"Extended Commentary on the Yellow Emperor's Scripture of the Hidden Contracts." This commentary is based on oral instructions that Li Quan reportedly received from the Old Woman of Lishan 驪山 (see preface). Since the commentary mentions the rebellion by An Lushan 安祿山 and Shi Siming 史思明 (19b), this text was written after 750. Each commentary is headed by an unsigned introduction. This work combines the traditions concerning the *Yinfu jing* and the Old Woman of Lishan that became current under the Song dynasty.

This *Yinfu jing* commentary is wrongly attributed to Li Quan. In fact these are Yuan Shuzhen's 袁淑眞 (eleventh century?) explanations (see *127 Huangdi yinfu jing jijie*). The preface giving an account of Li Quan's meeting with the Old Woman of Lishan, from whom he is said to have received the *Yinfu jing,* is an embellished version of the narrative of the revelation in *592 Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 1.11a–13a (see Verellen, "Encounter," 377–79).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rand, "Li Ch'üan."

Florian C. Reiter, with an addendum by Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing jijie 黃帝陰符經集解

3 juan

By Yuan Shuzhen 袁淑眞 (eleventh century?)

127 (fasc. 58)

"Collected Explanations of the Yellow Emperor's *Yinfu jing.*" The title does not correspond to the contents of this work, since all explanations here are marked as being by Shuzhen. Yuan, who was a registrar of the Changsha district (Hunan), presumably lived in the eleventh century. In the Song catalogues he is not listed with reference to the present title but in connection with a commentary (*zhu* 注) in one juan and a subcommentary (*shu* 疏) in three or one juan to the *Yinfu jing* (cf. VDL 141).

The present work is—apart from differences listed below—identical with *110 Huangdi yinfu jingshu,* attributed to Li Quan 李筌. The *Zhongxing guange shumu* (in *Yuhai* 5.21a) notes that Yuan's subcommentary also contained a preface and hymns. Here in his preface, Yuan announces that he would point out the basic ideas of the text before giving a detailed subcommentary. Such a formal division has not been maintained in the present text but only in *110 Yinfu jingshu,* where each of the three juan is also concluded by a hymn. Moreover, in his preface Yuan criticizes Li Quan for having failed to divide the text into three sections as indicated by the explanations of the Mother from Mount Li. The above considerations clearly show that only *108 Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu,* and not *110 Yinfu jingshu,* can be ascribed to Li Quan.

Yuan keeps neither to the long nor to the short textual tradition; he includes the disputed last part, abridged and without commentary. Counting the characters for each of the three sections (bearing the headings given in the legend of the Mother from Mount Li), Yuan claims the numbers 105, 92, and 103 (adding up to the ideal number of 300); in fact, we find 121, 89, and 104 characters here.

Textual differences between the two versions of Yuan's commentary: The present work contains two citations (2.4a–b) from the *Laozi* that are missing in *110 Yinfu jingshu.* The passages 1.1a3–4; 1.8b9–9a,3; 1.10a; 2.7a6–8; 3.8a7; 3.10b10–11a3; and 3.11a9

in that version are not found in the present text. And in *110 Yinfu jingshu* the last part of the text is commentated (3.11a–b).

A summary of the present explanations to the *Yinfu jing* is given in Rand, "Li Ch'üan and Chinese military thought," 120–33.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing jijie 黃帝陰符經集解

3 juan

By Cao Xiyun 曹希蘊, *zi* Daochong 道沖 (eleventh century)

111 (fasc. 55)

"Collection of Explanations Concerning the *Huangdi yinfu jing.*" This collection contains commentaries by Chisong zi 赤松子, Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 187 B.C.), Ge Xuan, Xu Xun, Zhongli Quan, Lü Yan, Shi Jianwu, Cui Minggong 崔明公, Liu Xuanying 劉玄英 (i.e., Liu Cao 劉操), and Cao Daochong. The latter name stands for Cao Xiyun, the Taoist poetess who compiled this work (also *Quan Song ci* 2:700 and *Song shi* 208.5388, "Cao Xiyun geshi houji 曹希蘊歌詩后集," two juan).

The text of the short version, comprising some 300 words, is divided into three paragraphs (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*). The commentaries also deal with the title of the scripture itself and explain the three subtitles. The *Yinfu jing* has been understood as referring to questions of individual self-cultivation and the spheres of the family and the state. Several commentaries use lyrical forms.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing jie 黃帝陰符經解

21 fols.

By Jian Changchen 蹇昌辰, *hao* Baoning dashi 保寧大師 (eleventh century)

113 (fasc. 55)

"Explanations Concerning the *Huangdi yinfu jing.*" These explanations were written by the court Taoist Jian Changchen. His preface emphasizes their novelty. In the section following the preface, titled "The Traces of the *Yinfu jing,*" Jian explains the discrepancy between the approximately 300 words that the *Yinfu jing* is traditionally said to comprise and those versions that have about 400 words. The Queen Mother of the West, he says, revealed the text to Huangdi, and Huangdi in turn added his own commentary, accounting for the difference of about 100 words. Jian separates what is believed to be Huangdi's commentary and inserts the title "Expositions about the *Huangdi yinfu*" (15b–19a). This is the only version that divides the whole text into four paragraphs.

The commentary is based on the assumption that the effects of "hidden correspondences" can be detected in the heavenly forces that find their visible expression in signs

(*xiang* 象) and, especially, in the mirror of the heart or mind. In this sense, the interpretations focus on the heart or mind. A few quotations are taken from philosophical books, including the *Zhuangzi* and *Liezi*.

Florian C. Reiter

***Huangdi yinfu jing zhujie* 黃帝陰符經註解**

20 fols.

By Ren Zhaoyi 任照一; Northern Song (960–1127)

114 (fasc. 56)

"Commentaries and Explanations Concerning the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." This work deals mainly with the Tao of Heaven and humanity and with the principles of the moving forces that lead to their "hidden correspondence" (*yinfu* 陰符). The author is said to have written this work on the basis of instructions by unnamed zhenren (see the preface).

The scripture is given in its short version of about 300 words. The three subtitles (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*) are incorporated into the commentaries. The commentaries show a strong emphasis on the concepts and terminology of the *neidan* school of the Song period. They feature the cultivation of human nature and the microcosmic and macrocosmic processes that are produced by yin and yang and result in life and death.

Florian C. Reiter

***Huangdi yinfu jing zhu* 黃帝陰符經註**

12 fols.

By Huang Juzhen 黃居眞, *hao* Xujing dashi 虛靖大師; Northern Song (960–1127)

115 (fasc. 56)

"Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." The author of this commentary was a court Taoist. The Queen Mother of the West (Xi wang mu), wishing to help humanity, revealed these instructions to the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), who shaped them in this book. *Yinfu*, meaning "hidden correspondences or contracts," designate the consensus that characterized the meeting of Xi wang mu and Huangdi (see the preface).

The text of the scripture in its short version, in some 300 words, is not subdivided, and the three subtitles (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*) appear as integral parts of the commentary. The commentary provides brief definitions of the terminology.

Florian C. Reiter

***Huangdi yinfu jing zhu* 黃帝陰符經註**

8 fols.

By Shen Yafu 沈亞夫 (eleventh or early twelfth century?)

116 (fasc. 56)

"Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." Nothing is known about the author of this commentary, except his title of supervising secretary (*jishi zhong* 給事中; 1a). Since bibliographic mention of the work is found in *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.4b, it may be assumed that Shen lived in the eleventh or early twelfth century. The preface bears no attribution but is most likely by Shen himself. It relates the *Yinfu jing* to *neidan* 內丹 theories, which Shen also uses later in his explanations.

The text on which Shen commentates is the short version of the *Yinfu jing* (316 characters) with the well-known threefold division.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Huangdi yinfu jing zhu* 黃帝陰符經註**

9 fols.

By Cai shi 蔡氏 (twelfth century)

117 (fasc. 56)

"Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." This text contains Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) commentary on the *Yinfu jing*, which has also been attributed to his student Cai Yuanding 蔡元定. This text is the same as *124 Huangdi yinfu jing zhujie* 1a–8a (q.v.).

Florian C. Reiter

***Huangdi yinfu jing jieyi* 黃帝陰符經解義**

23 fols.

By Xiao Zhenzai 蕭眞宰 (twelfth century)

118 (fasc. 56)

"Explanations of the Meaning of the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." The author of this text was an official in Sichuan. According to *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.4b, this work originally comprised three juan (VDL 140).

The short version of the scripture, in approximately 300 words, is divided into three paragraphs (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*). The commentary for the first paragraph is no longer extant, as remarked by the unknown editor (1b). The commentaries for the second and third paragraphs are quite extensive. They mainly quote philosophical and classic books, including the *Zhuangzi*, *Liezi*, *Lunyu*, and *Mengzi*.

Xiao Zhenzai criticizes the long version of the *Yinfu jing*, comprising about 400 words (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*), which he believes to be incorrect (23b).

Florian C. Reiter

Yinfu jing sanhuang yujue 陰符經三皇玉訣
3 juan
Eleventh or twelfth century (?)
119 (fasc. 57)

"Jade Instructions on the *Yinfu jing* by the Three August Ones." This commentary is mentioned neither in the Song catalogues, nor on the list of *Yinfu jing* versions given by Gao Sisun (*jinshi* 進士 1181) in his *Zilüe* (1.1b–2a); it is, however, cited with some textual variants in the late twelfth century by Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵 (*1061 Shangqing Taixuan ji* 4.11a).

In his preface, the Yellow Emperor gives an account of his discovery of the text and of his search for a capable exegete, which led him to Guangcheng Zi 廣成子 on Mount Kongtong 崆峒 and to Tianzhen huangren 天眞皇人 on Mount Emei 峨嵋 (cf. *388 Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.17a–18a). The work now contains the explanations that Huangdi received from these two figures. The *Yinfu jing*, in its short version of 324 characters, is expounded sentence by sentence, and also the question of its practical applicability is discussed. The interpretations depict the human body as a reflection of the macrocosm (e.g., 1.5b) and point to the relation of the *Yinfu jing* with the physiological alchemy that aims at regaining the pure yang (*chunyang* 純陽 1.1b–2b). The Three August Ones signify the three cinnabar fields within the human body.

A much abridged version of our present text is found with some textual variants in *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 3.4b–10a under the title "Essentials of the *Yinfu jing*."

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經註
18 fols.
By Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄, *hao* Changsheng zi 長生子; preface dated 1191
122 (fasc.57)

"Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." This commentary was written by the Quanzhen patriarch Liu Chuxuan. There is a preface (dated 1191) by Fan Yi 范懌, written at the request of Bi Shouzhen 畢守眞. The preface sketches the history of the transmission of the scripture, beginning with Huangdi. It does not mention the traditions concerning the Mother from Mount Li (see *110 Huangdi yinfu jing shu*).

The short version of the text, in approximately 300 words, is divided into three paragraphs (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*). The commentary is based on concepts typical of the Quanzhen 全眞 school. The composition of the *Yinfu jing* is said to be the result of Huangdi's efforts to comprehend the Tao. Liu Chuxuan compares Huangdi's success with Śākyamuni's enlightenment and existence as Buddha. Therefore, the revelation of the *Huangdi yinfu jing* could be compared with the composition of the Diamond Sūtra (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛經).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Reiter, "The blending of religious convictions," 425–55.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi 黃帝陰符經講義
4 juan
By Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎, *zi* Zongyu 宗禹, *hao* Yunfeng sanren 雲峰散人; 1227
109 (fasc. 54)

"Discussions about the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." These discussions have a preface by Lou Fang 樓昉, dated 1226. Lou Fang at one time held a position in the military administration of Xinghua 興化 (Fujian). Xia Yuanding of Zhejiang went to see him. He brought along his explanations concerning the *Yinfu jing*. These explanations, however, had been based on the instructions of an (unnamed) adept, whom he had met on Mount Heng.

The long version (approximately 400 words; see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*) of the text is not divided into three paragraphs (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*). The commentary represents *neidan* 內丹 traditions of the Song period (960–1279), as demonstrated by its quotations. The author cites the present work in *146 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi* 5.9b, using the *Yinfu jing* to comment upon the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇. Juan 4 of the present text is entitled "Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi tu shuo 圖說." It contains twelve texts, some of which are illustrated with charts. These texts deal with *neidan* theory, but they do not seem to be connected with the *Yinfu jing* in a direct way. This juan 4 also contains three prefaces or postfaces that partly refer to a commentary by Xia Yuanding concerning the text *Cui gong ruyao jing* 崔公入藥鏡. This text is no longer extant (see 4.10–12a, "Yunfeng ruyao jing jian xu 雲逢入藥鏡箋序," by Liu Yuanliang 留元兩, dated 1226). There is a postface by Wang Jiuwan 王九萬 (4.14b–16b), dated 1227. Most texts in juan 4 either were written by Xia Yuanding or refer to him and his Three Books on the Gold-Elixir (*Yunfeng jindan sanshu* 雲峰金丹三書). There is no obvious connection between that title and *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經註
2 juan
By Tang Chun 唐淳, *hao* Jinling daoren 金陵道人; preface dated 1229
121 (fasc. 57)

"Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." This text has a preface by Meng Chuoran 孟綽然 (dated 1229). The preface says that Zhou Zhiming 周至明 organized the printing of this work.

Several commentators, including HESHANG GONG and Lü Zhenren 呂眞人, make their statements on the scripture in its short version of some 300 words and also on the three subtitles (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*). The selected quotations deal with aspects of meditative self-cultivation. The second chapter introduces the commentaries of the Old Mother (Laomu 老母). However, there is no evidence identifying the latter with the well-known Old Woman of Lishan 驪山 (see *110 Huangdi yinfu jing shu*). The *Yinfu jing* is said to deal exclusively with individual self-cultivation, despite its analogies taken from military philosophy (2.6a–6b).

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing xinfa 黃帝陰符經心法
3 juan
By Xu Yuanyi 胥元一, *hao* Liuxu sanren 六虛散人 (fl. 1291)
120 (fasc. 57)

"*Yinfu jing* by the Yellow Emperor as a Method of Spiritual Cultivation." About its author, a native of Tongchuan 潼川 (Sichuan), nothing is known except that in 1291 he wrote a commentary to the *Laozi* (cf. *723 Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi* 1.11a) that was included in the collection *724 Daode zhenjing jiyi*.

In the present work, Xu interprets the *Yinfu jing* as a method for the cultivation of the mind (*xinfa* 心法). The main text comprises 441 characters, divided into three parts, each with a separate heading. As stated by Xu, cultivating the Tao is the same as cultivating one's mind (*xiudao ji xiuxin* 修道即修心; 1.2b). His explanations are clearly Neo-Confucian in outlook.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經註
9 fols.
By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; Jurchen Jin (1115–1234)
123 (fasc. 58)

"Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." This work has a preface of unknown origin. It states that yin 陰 and fu 符 represent the internal and external phenomena of human nature. The moving forces of life and the ways and means to control or direct life are all human faculties. Hou Shanyuan lived on Mount Gushe 姑射 (Shanxi).

The long version (about 400 words; see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*) of the text has not been subdivided into paragraphs. The commentaries consist of short sentences that intend only to clarify the diction of the scripture.

Florian C. Reiter

Huangdi yinfu jing zhujie 黃帝陰符經註解
10 fols.
Attributed to Zou Xin 鄒訢 (Zhu Xi 朱熹 [1130–1200]); ca. 1305
124 (fasc. 58)

"Commentary on the *Yinfu jing*." The heading attributes this commentray to Zou Xin, a Taoist from Kongtong 崆峒. Kongtong was the mountain on which the Yellow Emperor discoursed with Guangcheng zi 廣成子 on the meaning of the *Yinfu jing* (cf. the preface to *119 Yinfu jing sanhuang yujue*). Zou Xin is a pseudonym for Zhu Xi: during the Warring States period, Zou was the name of a state that earlier had been called Zhu 邾; and *xin* 訢 is synonymous with *xi* 熹 (cf. *1001 Zhouyi cantong qi* 3.8a). The present work is identical with the commentary in Zhu Xi's *Yinfu jing kaoyi* 陰符經考異.

The real author of this commentary is named by Huang Ruijie 黃瑞節 in his compilation *Zhuzi chengshu* 朱子成書 (preface dated 1305). According to Huang, the explanations to the *Yinfu jing* are not by Zhu Xi himself (he only revised the text), but by his friend and collaborator Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1139–1198). This statement by Huang also answers the question about the identity of the Mr. Cai (Caishi 蔡氏), who is named as the author of an identical commentary that figures separately in the *Daozang* (*117 Huangdi yinfu jing zhu*).

Cai used the long version of the *Yinfu jing* (446 characters), which he divided into three *pian* 篇. The disputed last part of the text is left uncommentated by him. In supplementary notes, Huang Ruijie, whose name is not given in the present edition, quotes additional sources and points out textual variants in four different versions (8a) of the *Yinfu jing*.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Huangdi yinfu jing jiasong jiezhu 黃帝陰符經夾頌解註
3 juan
By WANG JIE 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子 (fl. 1331)
126 (fasc. 58)

"Commentary on the *Yinfu jing*, with Hymns Inserted." This commentary is by the prolific Quanzhen adept from Nanchang 南昌. In his undated preface, the author

gives his own interpretation of the term *quanzhen* 全眞 by stating that it means the completeness of essence (*jing* 精), breath (*qi* 氣), and spirit (*shen* 神). In keeping with this theory, the commentary is largely centered on cosmological and *neidan* 內丹 considerations. The authority for cosmological theory is SHAO YONG, for Inner Alchemy both ZHANG ZIYANG and the patriarchs of the Xishan tradition (e.g., SHI JIANWU; 3.5b). At the end of each paragraph of the commentary there is a hymn.

Kristofer Schipper

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經註

12 fols.

By YU YAN 俞琰, *hao* Linwu shanren 林屋山人, *hao* Yuwu sou 玉吾叟; preface dated 1348

125 (fasc. 58)

"Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*." The preface by Shi Yu 師餘 is dated 1348. It praises YU YAN (1258–1314), a specialist on the *Yijing* (see *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*). This work was published after the death of YU YAN (preface).

The text is presented in its short version of some 300 words (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*). In doing so, YU YAN explicitly (11a) follows Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), who thought that the additional sentences making up the long version (aproximately 400 words) were in fact commentaries. Concerning this notion, compare *113 Huangdi yinfu jing jie*. YU YAN gives philological and naturalistic explanations about the world of humanity.

Florian C. Reiter

Hunyuan yangfu jing 混元陽符經

1 fol.

32 (fasc. 27)

"Positive Covenant with Undifferentiated Beginning [i.e., Laozi]." This short text, 140 characters long, is a counterpart, and a possible appendix, to *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*. Its cryptic wording refers to the flow of energies in the body. It is intended as an aid for concentration during meditation.

Kristofer Schipper

3.A.1.c Commentaries on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* and Related Scriptures

Zhouyi cantong qi 周易參同契

3 juan

By Zhu Xi 朱熹, alias Kongtong daoshi Zou Xin 空同道士鄒訢 (1130–1200); edited by Huang Ruijie 黃瑞節

1001 (fasc. 623)

"Concordance of the Three According to the Book of Changes." This is a commentary on the *Cantong qi* by the great Confucian thinker of the Southern Song. The work is mentioned in the "Yiwen zhi" of the *Song shi*. The *Zhizhai shulu jieti* lists it under the title "Critical Edition" (*Cantong qi kaoyi* 考異; VDL 112). In the present edition, the title is followed by the words, "With Additional Remarks by the Disciple Huang Ruijie of Luling 盧陵 [near Nanchang, in modern Jiangxi]." Huang's remarks (*fulu* 附錄) are given in small print between paragraphs and at the end of the work.

The work is signed at the end by the author, who calls himself Kongtong daoshi Zou Xin (3.8a). Huang explains in his long commentary that follows that this pen name was chosen by Zhu Xi because the state of Zou in ancient China was the home of the sage Zhuzi 邾子. As to Xin 訢, this name was glossed by the commentators of the classics as a synonym of *xi* 喜 (熹; see 3.8a).

In his later years, Zhu Xi turned to the study of the *Yijing* and also became interested in the *Cantong qi*. At the time, Zhu Xi had retired to Kaoting 考亭 in Jianyang 建陽 county in northern Fujian. His former disciple, assistant, and intimate friend Cai Yuanding 蔡元定, *zi* Jitong 季通 (1135–1198), came to see him in 1197 when Cai was on his way to his place of exile in Henan (Cai had been condemned following accusations of heterodoxy by court officials against Zhu Xi and his students). According to the narrative, the two men remained together a whole night discussing the text of the *Cantong qi* and establishing correct readings, thus finalizing the work.

Zhu Xi compared several editions of the *Cantong qi,* though he mentions explicitly (and at times amends) only the edition of PENG XIAO (see *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*). For example, Peng's version (1.4b) has the sentence "The Five Agents obtain their principle 五行得其理," which Zhu changed into "The Five Agents obtain their sequence 五行得其序." The amendments are relatively minor. On the whole, Zhu Xi's glosses do not show great penetration of the text; YU YAN criticized them, saying that Zhu's commentary comprised many doubtful passages and was in some places obscure (see *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*, preface). The work remained influential, however, in that it established a dialogue between Taoists and Confucians. Thus Zhang Yucai 張與材, Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, in his preface

to the above-mentioned edition by YU YAN, says that Zhu Xi in his old age aspired to immortality and therefore took up the study of this text.

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi zhu 周易參同契註
3 juan
Twelfth century or later
1000 (fasc. 622)

"Commentary on the *Cantong qi*." This anonymous commentary on the *Cantong qi* follows the main text as edited by PENG XIAO (see *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*) in ninety chapters (*zhang* 章). It must therefore be later than PENG XIAO's edition (947). This later date is also suggested by other evidence: page 3.16b quotes a "Zihua zi" corresponding to *1174 Zihua zi* 1.2a–2b. The latter work is of the Southern Song period (1127–1279). In many places, the commentary seems to be missing (chapters 48 to 58).

The commentary stresses the correspondances between Outer and Inner Alchemy. Most glosses explain the contents of the work in terms of the human body and physiological, notably sexual, functions; see, for instance, the comments on chapter 60 where sexuality is metaphorically addressed. The Book of the Yellow Court (*Huangting jing* 黃庭經) is quoted in many places.

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi jie 周易參同契解
3 juan
By CHEN XIANWEI 陳顯微, *zi* Zongdao 宗道, *hao* Baoyi zi 抱一子; 1234
1007 (fasc. 628)

"Elucidation of the *Cantong qi*." The author was a daoshi from the Huai 淮 region who later in life moved to the Yousheng guan 佑聖觀 in Lin'an 臨安 (Hangzhou). There he instructed his students in practice of the *Cantong qi*. There are three prefaces and postfaces. The first (*xu* 敘), at the beginning of the text, is signed Zheng Boqian 鄭伯謙 and dates from the fifth moon of the year 1234. The second and third are printed at the end of the work: a *houxu* 後敘 (3.18a–19b) by an anonymous disciple, dated 1245, and a "*youxu* 又敘" (3.19b–21a) by Wang Yi 王夷, *hao* Xiwei zi 希微子, dated from the first month of 1234. In fact, the *youxu* terms itself a colophon (*ba* 跋). This sequence is problematic. Since it is uncertain how the original of the present *Daozang* version was organized, it will be useful to look more closely at the chronology.

The colophon by Wang Yi starts out by stating that he was the oldest disciple of CHEN XIANWEI. In Zhejiang, the *Cantong qi* was popular at that time, and PENG XIAO's edition was widely published, even by government authorities. Yet a number

of scholars had expressed their doubts as to the authenticity of the work. At first, Wang himself was uncertain, but when Chen arrived in Hangzhou, and all the scholars went to see him to discuss the authenticity of the *Cantong qi*, he explained to them that WEI BOYANG was in fact a reincarnation of Laozi and that, based on the text's archaic and pure classical style, it had to be the work of the sage himself. Chen did not, however, wish to write a commentary. Therefore, Wang assiduously asked for his elucidations, wrote them down, and composed them into the present work. Then he had it printed in early 1234.

The second preface, by Zheng Boqian, seems to contradict this account. It states that CHEN XIANWEI, in 1223, met with a "superior person" who taught him the true alchemical method. This method allowed him to gain a profound understanding of the *Cantong qi*, the very day this work came into his hands. Retiring from the world, Chen then practiced the *Cantong qi* diligently, wrote the present commentary, and gave it to his disciples.

The third preface, by the disciple who came from the Tiantai 天台 mountains, states that he met CHEN XIANWEI in 1244 in the Yousheng guan at Hangzhou. Master Chen said that he had made an edition of the *Cantong qi* at the request of a friend and suggested that the disciple have it printed as a meritorious deed, which he did the following year.

The commentary contains many references to the works of CHEN TUAN, LIU HAICHAN, and ZHANG BODUAN. It thus may be considered to follow the so-called Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) of Song Taoism.

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi 周易參同契釋疑
3 + 25 fols.
By YU YAN 俞琰; author's preface dated 15 September, 1281
1006 (fasc. 627)

"Resolving the Doubtful Passages of the *Cantong qi*." This is the earliest work on the *neidan* 內丹 scriptures by the great Yuan scholar. In his preface, he explains that he was appalled by the numerous errors he found in the current versions of the *Cantong qi*. He appreciates the work of PENG XIAO (see *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*) and considers the general division into ninety chapters by the latter useful, although he questions several specific chapter divisions. By his time, however, many errors had found their way into the text. Moreover, he queries PENG XIAO's wisdom in giving a place apart, in an appendix, to the Song of the Tripod (*Dingqi ge* 鼎器歌). He also criticizes Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and his commentary *1001 Zhouyi cantong qi* as superficial and obscure.

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi fahui 周易參同契發揮
9 juan
By Yu Yan 俞琰; author's preface dated 30 April 1284
1005 (fasc. 625–627)

"Explanations of the *Cantong qi*." This is one of many commentaries in the *Daozang* by the great Yuan scholar Yu Yan. The author's preface is preceded by three other prefaces: by Ruan Dengbing 阮登炳 (dated 1284), by the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (dated 1310), and by Du Daojian (1237–1318), respectively. According to *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 146, the book was printed by Zhang Yucai in the year (1310) of his preface. The present edition must therefore be based on that printed edition.

Yu's reasons for studying the *Cantong qi* are more amply explained in his earlier *1006 Zhouyu cantong qi shiyi* (q.v.). The present detailed commentary is a continuation of the work of Peng Xiao (see *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*) and relies on different printed editions from Fujian, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang.

Yu stresses repeatedly that the text of the *Cantong qi* was to be understood entirely in a metaphorical sense. He glosses *santong qi* as the "concordance of the three different kinds." These three different kinds (*lei* 類) are the three discourses: of the *Yijing*, of Huang-Lao Taoism, and of laboratory alchemy (literally, "fire-phasing [*huohou* 火侯])

Yuan Bingling

Zhouyi cantong qi zhu 周易參同契註
3 juan
By Chu Huagu 儲華谷; Southern Song (1127–1279)
1008 (fasc. 629)

"Commentary on the *Cantong qi*." The author is unknown elswhere. This text follows the Peng Xiao edition (see *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*). The short and laconic commentary often quotes Zhang Boduan, making it an exponent of the so-called Southern school (Nanzong 南宗). It can therefore be considered to date from the Southern Song period.

Yuan Bingling

Guwen longhu jing zhushu 古文龍虎經註疏
3 juan
By Wang Dao 王道; presented to the throne in 1185
996 (fasc. 620)

"A Commentary and a Subcommentary to the Dragon and Tiger Book in Ancient Characters." The author—according to the presentation memorial, a petty officer in

the guard of one of the princes of the imperial family—met a Taoist master in 1152, who instructed him about the true meaning of lead and mercury in the human body. He began his Inner Alchemy practice in the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 in Guiji 會稽. After many setbacks, he met another master in 1164, who gave him different instructions, but again he was not successful. Only in 1173 did he finally meet a genuine master who told him that true lead and all the other alchemical ingredients he needed were produced by his own body. The refining of the effulgences of the sun and the moon would suffice to make the elixir. Having completed his commentary, he was able, thanks to the services of a fellow Taoist named Zhou Zhenyi 周眞一, to present his work to Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1163–1189) of the Southern Song dynasty, who invited him for a audience at court. Afterward, he had the book printed.

The commentaries are simply phrased but detailed. Wang makes frequent use of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (in the *1002* edition by Peng Xiao) in order to make comparisons. Among other sources, the *Yinfu jing* is also often quoted. At the end, Wang gives two diagrams taken from the *Cantong qi*.

His undated colophon concerns the printed version of the book. He defends his system, especially against those who find his glosses too accessible for noninitiates.

Yuan Bingling

Guwen longhu shangjing zhu 古文龍虎上經註
16 fols.
Song?
997 (fasc. 620)

"Glosses on the Dragon and Tiger Book." The work is undated and does not mention its author. The *Cantong qi* is quoted almost exclusively as the source for the commentary. It is difficult to give any assessment as to the date and diffusion of this short work.

Yuan Bingling

Du longhu jing 讀龍虎經
2 fols.
Song (960–1279)?
998 (fasc. 620)

"How to Read the Dragon and Tiger Book." These two folios of instructions appear to be a sequel to *997 Guwen longhu shangjing zhu*. They contain a few glosses on the technical terms of Inner Alchemy.

Yuan Bingling

***Longhu shoujian tu* 龍虎手鑑圖**

5 fols.

153 (fasc. 68)

"Diagram of the Hand-Mirror of the Dragon and the Tiger." This is a brief *neidan* 內丹 text commenting on the diagram that opens the text. This diagram is a cosmic compass that relates the *Yijing* trigrams to the denary cycle of the calendar. In the center of the diagram and around its perimeter there are texts that use alchemical equivalences to refer to the fusion of mercury with iron through the agent of fire. There is no indication of authorship.

The first part of the text consists of brief commentaries taken from the opening of the *Zhouyi cantong qi,* mentioning WEI BOYANG, traditionally the author of that work, as well as Xu *congshi* 徐從事, who, it is said, was responsible for its transmission (cf. *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 9.15b–21a and Fukui Kōjun, "*Chou-i Ts'an-t'ung ch'i*," 23–24).

The last part of the present work consists of a short series of seven-character verses. Each verse is an explanation of the two-word alchemical term that forms its title. These verses recall others found in *1003 Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu* by PENG XIAO, but are much simpler in form.

Pauline Bentley Koffler

3.A.1.d Commentaries on Zhengyi, Shangqing, and Lingbao Scriptures

***Yuanshi shuo xiantian daode jing zhujie* 元始說先天道德經註解**

5 juan

Commentary by Li Jiamou 李嘉謀; *jinshi* 進士, 1166; edited by Zhang Shanyuan 張善淵, *hao* Guifu daoren 癸復道人 (fl. 1280–1294)

3 (fasc. 13–14)

"Explanations of the Scripture of the Way and Its Power of the Anterior Heaven, Revealed by the Primordial Beginning." Yuanshi 元始, the Primordial Beginning, speaks of himself as the undifferentiated being that existed before phenomena originated, a being that can be named by the terms *miao* 妙, *yuan* 元, *shen* 神, *zhen* 眞, and *dao* 道, but that cannot be grasped in its full reality. In the philosophical discussion of the present text, a separate section *(pian)* is dedicated to each of these five terms. Each *pian* comprises one juan of 1,000 characters and is divided into nine subsections (*zhang* 章).

The date and provenance of the text are uncertain. It is worth noting that a passage (4.12b) corresponds—with slight differences in text and number of characters—to a passage cited (ca. 1226) by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎 under the title *Yuanshi biyan* 元始秘言 (*109 Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi* 4.9a).

According to the preface by Zhang Shanyuan, a Taoist master of Suzhou, Li Jiamou wrote a commentary on the text and had it printed in Sichuan. By 1257, Xie Tu'nan 謝圖南 could obtain only a handwritten copy of that edition. This manuscript was passed from Xie, together with a preface of his own, to Li Zengbo 李曾伯 (b. 1198), who for his part wrote an introduction to the work before passing it on to Li Kejiu 李可久, a daoshi from Jiaxing (Zhejiang), for printing. Li Kejiu supplemented the version with another text, entitled *Bawei longwen* 八威龍文 and transmitted separately as *30 Yuanshi bawei longwen jing* (compare 2a there with 4.12b in the present text).

In his preface, Zhang Shanyuan, thus presenting a new edition of the text, severely criticizes the interpretation of Xie Tu'nan and Li Zengbo, who related the text with its five pivotal terms to the Red Writings and Jade Characters in five sections revealed by Yuanshi tianzun in order to fix the universe (see *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1.10b). According to Zhang, these five sections were identical with five talismans prominent in the Shenxiao and (Tiantai) Lingbao traditions of the Song dynasty (see, e.g., *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing miaojing futu* 3.12a–15b, and *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 69.15a–25a), whereas the origin and transmission of the present text could be seen solely in relation to the *Daode jing.*

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

***Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 玉清無極總眞文昌大洞仙經註**

10 juan

Commentary by Wei Qi 衛琪, *hao* Zhongyang zi 中陽子; 1309

103 (fasc. 51–53)

"Commentary on the Great Cavern Scripture according to Wenchang." This is a commentary to *5 Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing*. The author, Wei Qi, was a daoshi from Penglai shan 蓬萊山 in Sichuan. According to his preface, he received this book as a young boy and studied it for thirty years before making this new critical edition and commentary. He went to the capital to have it printed. The book was presented to the throne in 1310 and published with prefaces from the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材; the Hanlin scholar Zhang Zhongshou 張仲壽; and the academician Zhao Bian 趙汴.

In his long preface, Wei Qi gives a presentation of the *Dadong zhenjing* and its history. The version here is from Sichuan and was first revealed to the saint Wenchang, whose name in this world was Zhang Tongzhen 張通眞, at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1050–221 B.C.). Later, the book was revealed once more to WEI HUACUN as part of the Shangqing scriptures. The patriarch LU XIUJING is said to have edited the *Dadong zhenjing* in three parts and to have placed them under the aegis of Diyi 帝一 (Ancestral One), Ciyi 雌一 (Female One), and Xiongyi 雄一 (Male One),

respectively, recomposing the text in verses of three or four characters. Later, under the Tang, the patriarch Wang Baohe 王保和 made, on imperial order, a critical edition in thirty-nine sections. Wei also mentions the Song editions by ZHU ZIYING (see *6 Shangqing dadong zhenjing*) and ZHANG SHANGYING, which were presented to the throne in 1111. Wei states further that the original version of the text comprised no less that one hundred and twenty juan, but it had been reduced to three juan and subdivided into thirty-six sections by Yuchen daojun 玉宸道君, the deity who revealed it in the world. Later (3.4a) Wei explains that in addition to this version, there existed two other current versions of the scripture, one of Maoshan 茅山, one of Longhu shan 龍虎山 (see *7 Dadong yujing*), both in thirty-nine sections.

Wei Qi considers the *Dadong zhenjing* superior to the *Duren jing* 度人經, the *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 九天生神章經, and the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 because the present scripture reveals the esoteric names of the celestial beings and their correspondences with the spirits and energies of the human body. It teaches how to connect the superior and inferior spheres of the universe and to link the inner and the outer worlds.

The first two juan, and also part of the third, contain introductory material about the scripture and its divine author. In the first juan, Wei Qi exposes in a methodical way his cosmological system, which is very much influenced by Neo-Confucian thought and Inner Alchemy. (See fig. 2.)

The second juan gives a general presentation of the scripture. It explains the title as well as the symbolical numbers that are common to the *Yijing* and the *Dadong zhenjing*. It records (17a–21a) the "preface" by Wenchang, the divine revealer of the text (compare *5 Dadong xianjing*), and it gives a list of deities and legendary persons to be invoked. There is also a ritual for the recitation of the text, which is similar to that in *5 Dadong xianjing* 5b–9a.

The main text of the scripture starts at 3.13a and ends on 10.30b. It is essentially the same as *5 Dadong xianjing*. Wei Qi indicates (3.13b) the differences between this revealed version and the traditional *Dadong zhenjing* of the Shangqing school: they are mainly textual and concern the order of the sections. This judgment is borne out by the comparison of the present version with *6 Dadong zhenjing,* edited by Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛. The present version, writes Wei, was originally divided into three juan. It has thirty-four sections (and not thirty-eight, as does *5 Dadong xianjing,* or thirty-nine, as does *6 Dadong zhenjing*). The order in which sections 15 to 21 are placed here is different from all other editions.

In the beginning of each juan, there is a short preface (*xujing* 序經) beginning with the words: "The Tao speaks . . ." There is also a conclusion at the end of each juan.

Each of the thirty-four sections, moreover, begins with a text spoken by Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王, explaining the multiple correspondences between the given sec-

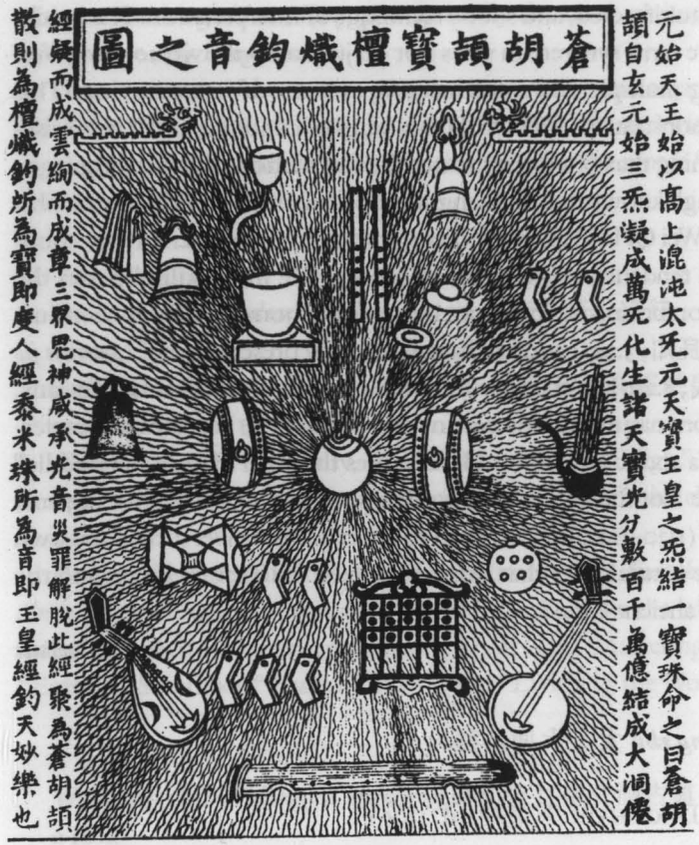


FIGURE 2. Instruments for Heavenly Music (*103* 1.22b)

tion and a number of cosmic correlates. Each section also ends with a kind of summary assessing the relationships between certain practices and their efficacy.

Wei Qi's commentary is based on the principle of multiple levels of interpretation. These levels are the world, the inner universe, and the heavenly spheres. The human microcosm is considered to be a metaphorical expression of realities in the heavens or in the universe at large.

Wei Qi, moreover, attempts a form of semantic analysis. In order to explain a given concept, he collects a number of occurrences of the same word or idea in the text and confronts their meanings and connotations (e.g., *jing* 景 on 5.7a–8a; *zhu* 珠 on 5.15b; *su* 素 on 6.21a–b). He also occasionally illustrates the polysemic nature of certain terms (for instance, *wuri* 五日 on 8.24a–b). Another aspect of his commentary concerns language equivalences; he translates one system into another by comparing Buddhist terms with Taoist terms of various schools (Shangqing, Lingbao, Inner Alchemy) and also with Neo-Confucian terms. At times, he proposes a number of different interpretations for the same passage (for instance, 9.7b).

This is a profound, multifaceted, and subtle technique of interpretation. The much-used but rather negative term syncretism does not do justice to the virtuosity of Wei Qi's technique of using multiple and interchanging systems of interpretation. This technique is able to demonstrate the manyfold meanings of concepts; and it is precisely this diversity of meaning that often constitutes the foundation of Taoist language.

Combining a thorough knowledge of Shangqing and Inner Alchemy Taoism with a solid classical training, Wei Qi brilliantly succeeds, through his commentary, to counter the Neo-Confucian tendency to marginalize Taoism. He most skillfully uses the terminology of Neo-Confucianism, in particular concepts borrowed from Mencius: "conscience" (*liangzhi* 良知; 3.25a) and "all beings are fully present in me" (*wanwu jie bei yu wo* 萬物皆備于我; 8.25b). Wei discusses, in the manner of the Neo-Confucians, the question of the inborn nature and the destiny (*xingming* 性命) of humanity, referring to the classics (7.11a and 12b; 5.4a–b). He also uses the term "Tao of the middle" (*zhongdao* 中道) in the Confucian and not in the Buddhist sense (7.27b). Against those like Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) who aimed to reject Taoism, Wei turns their own weapons and shows the natural links that existed between the Taoist religion and the cultural foundations of ancient China.

Isabelle Robinet

Taishang datong jing zhu 太上大通經註

4 fols.

Commentary by Li Daochun 李道純 (d. 1306)

105 (fasc. 54)

"Commentary on the Book of Great Communication of the Most High." This text is identical with *327 Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo datong jing,* the only difference being the character *song* 頌 (hymn) in the place of *ji* 偈 (*gāthā*).

After having explained the title of the work, Li Daochun glosses each sentence; he then addresses the general meaning of the three paragraphs and the final hymn. He draws on sources like the *Zhongyong* 中庸 and the *Mengzi* 孟子, as well as on *106 Taishang chiwen donggu jingzhu* (see page 4b of the latter), a short text also commentated by Li.

Catherine Despeux

Yuanshi tianzun shuo taigu jing zhu 元始天尊說太古經註

11 fols.

By Master Fish Trap, Changquan zi 長筌子; thirteenth century

102 (fasc. 50)

"Commentary on the Book of Highest Antiquity, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning." The present work, including the preface, is nearly identical with *106 Taishang chiwen donggu jingzhu* by the same author, who is otherwise unknown (see *1064 Dongyuan ji*).

The text exposes the way to obtain immortality and to accede to Great Mystery (*taixuan* 太玄) through cutting oneself off from (outer) vision and audition. It is divided into three parts, beginning each time with the words "The Tianzun says . . . " and ending with a poem.

Catherine Despeux

Taishang chiwen donggu jing zhu 太上赤文洞古經註

7 fols.

Commentary by Master Fish Trap, Changquan zi 長筌子; thirteenth century

106 (fasc. 54)

"Book of Arcane Antiquity, Red Writ of the Most High." This short text explains the way to immortality and supreme mystery through the abolition of hearing and vision.

Despite the different titles, this is a duplicate of *102 Yuanshi tianzun shuo taigu jing zhu* and *107 Wushang chiwen donggu zhenjing zhu*. Like the latter, the present version introduces each of three parts with a different title: "Mastering Truth" (*caozhen* 操眞), "Entering Sainthood" (*rusheng* 入聖), and "Living in the World" (*zhushi* 住世).

Catherine Despeux

Wushang chiwen donggu zhenjing zhu 無上赤文洞古眞經註

6 fols.

Commentary by Li Daochun 李道純 (d. 1306)

107 (fasc. 54)

"True Book of Arcane Antiquity, Ultimate Red Writ." This short text explains the way to obtain immortality. The main text is identical with *102 Yuanshi tianzun shuo taigu jing zhu* and *106 Taishang chiwen donggu jing zhu*, both signed Master Fish Trap, Changquan zi 長筌子.

Li Daochun's commentary draws on Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist sources. The term *chiwen* 赤文 (red writ) in the title refers to the revealed Lingbao texts, where it designates the luminous and spontaneous script that emerged from Chaos (see *87 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 2.6a) But here, Li Daochun uses the term with reference to Inner Alchemy and Tantric Buddhism, where red is the color of the qi of the Void (1b). Li specifies that in Buddhism red is the symbol of the "empty body."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balfour, "Three brief essays."

Catherine Despeux

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu
元始無量度人上品妙經四註
4 juan
Edited by CHEN JINGYUAN 陳景元; preface dated 1067
87 (fasc. 38–39)

"Four Commentaries on the Book of Salvation." These commentaries on the *Duren jing* 度人經 are preceded by three prefaces: the first by Emperor Zhenzong (see VDL 134); the second, dated 1067, by the compiler of the present text, CHEN JINGYUAN (1025–1094); and the third, dated to the year *jiawu* 甲午 (754), by Xue Youqi 薛幽棲 (fl. 754). The paragraph on the divisions of the *Duren jing* and the phonetic glosses at the end of the book are based on those in Zhang Wanfu's *95 Dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren jingjue yinyi* (7b–9b).

The oldest of the four commentaries used by CHEN JINGYUAN is that of Yan Dong 嚴東 (fl. 485; see LZTT 28.14b–15a). Although his commentary is not cited in juan 1, which contains the preface of the *Duren jing,* he refers to the events described in that preface elsewhere in his commentary (2.58a). Yan Dong does touch on cosmological matters, but the primary aim of his commentary would seem to be the definition of the words of the text.

The three remaining commentaries are those of Li Shaowei 李少微, CHENG XUANYING (fl. 640), and Xue Youqi (see LZTT 39.10b–11b). Li Shaowei appears to have written prior to CHENG XUANYING, as the latter seems to cite him (cf. the citations of a "commentary" at 3.9a, 9b, with Li's commentary at 3.11b).

Of the four commentaries, Li's is not only the most frequently used, but also the most interesting. He cites a great number of texts, from the Dongshen canon in particular, in order to provide a clear description of the Three Offices (2.32b–36b) and the Five Spirits of the body (3.20a–21b). He mentions a Contract for the Ascension to Heaven (2.59b), which a Taoist must have if the liquid part of his body is not to be retained by the Aquatic Officers, and the solid by the Terrestrial Officers; without this contract, the Celestial Officers will not open the Gate of Heaven. Li describes the Thirty-two Heavens both as a moral hierarchy and as a cycle whose components are linked to The Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions. Contrary to Yan Dong, who places the starting point of the cycle of heavens in the east (2.43a), Li places it in the northwest, at the Gate of Heaven.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhu 元始無量度人上品妙經註
3 juan
Commentary by Donghai Qingyuan zhenren 東海青元眞人; hymns by Qinghe laoren 清河老人; edited, with eulogies, by Jingming daozi Guo Wangfeng 淨明道子郭罔鳳
88 (fasc. 40–41)

"Commentary on the Book of Salvation." In his undated preface, Qinghe laoren states that he had decided to publish the commentary by Qingyuan zhenren because it represented a breakthrough in the understanding of the *Duren jing*. A short postface to the text, presumably added by Guo Wangfeng, contains five tales aimed at demonstrating the efficacy of the recitation of the *Duren jing*. These tales are dated between 1174 and 1204. Judith Boltz nonetheless suggests a late-thirteenth century date for this text because the district of Qinghe 清河 (Huaian prefecture, Jiangsu) was created around 1270 (*A survey of Taoist literature*, 328, n. 572). She also notes that Donghai 東海 was in the same prefecture.

Qingyuan includes in his version of the *Duren jing* not only the *Yuanshi lingshu shang / xiapian* 元始靈書上 / 下篇 and the hymn of Taiji zhenren (3.21b–22b, 45b–46b) found already in the Shenxiao edition (*1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1.15a–16a, 18a–20b), but also a "fourth" *Yuanshi lingshu*, called *Shangpian longzhang fengzhuan wen* 上篇龍章鳳篆文 (3.22b–23b). According to a note by Guo: "The Shu 蜀 edition places [this writ] after the *Lingshu xiapian*, but given the fact that it is entitled *Shangpian zhangzhuan*, it is more appropriate to put it with the *Shangpian*. Other editions have placed it after the *Shangpian*, and we have done likewise" (3.22b). The only other edition of the *Duren jing* in the *Daozang* to include this supplementary stanza is that of Chen Guanwu 陳觀吾 (*91 Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 3.22b–23a; dated 1336), and Chen, in his discussion of this addition (2.20a), refers to Qingyuan's arguments as presented by Guo.

Qingyuan simply comments on the original text, line by line and word by word. Although he never describes his system of interpretation as such, its key lies in the linking of each element of the text to an aspect of the Taoist body. The three categories of listeners in the Heavenly Court, for example, are identified with the essence, the qi, and the spirit in the body (1.5b). Since the chariots of the gods are "the product of the yang-essence" and the dragons and birds who pull these chariots are "born of the qi of the yin-essence," the saint creates them himself by breathing in and out (2.12b–13a). The fu and registers held by Taokang 桃康 represent (*yu* 喻) the qi and the blood (3.8a).

Qingyuan's text is also rich in allusions both to Taoist practice and to the Taoist world of the imagination. He mentions a form of "corpse liberation" by suicide (1.24b) and describes, in a most concrete manner, the redemptive mechanism of scripture recitation (1.27b–28a). He further compares celestial writs, composed of qi, with

"traces of ink," their poor terrestrial cousins (2.6a). He links the Yujing shan, celestial origin of the *Duren jing,* to Mount Kunlun here below (2.9a). Also worthy of note are his reference to "nature and destiny" (*xingming* 性命; 1.10b) and his use of the demonstrative *zhege* 這箇 (1.7b; Qinghe laoren also uses it: 1.16a, 2.17a, etc.).

Guo Wangfeng's commentary makes frequent use of the concept of *xingming* (1.3a, 16a, 3.44b, etc.) and refers often to both Confucian (1.3a, 16b, etc.) and, above all, Buddhist (especially juan 2) texts. Guo even states himself (2.35a) that whereas Qingyuan insists on inner work (*neigong* 內功) and outer practice (*waixing* 外行), he is primarily interested in comparing Taoist with Buddhist texts. Among the Taoist texts he uses are *318 Daoxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* (2.11a, 32b) and *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhusu* (3.9b). The fact that Guo belongs to the Jingming school is visible not only in his *hao,* Jingming daozi, and in the features just mentioned, but also in his direct use of *563 Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa* (1.28a ff. is the same as *563 Duren jingfa* 1.17b ff.). No doubt Guo inserted the stanza on 1.32b, for it is also found in the *563 Jingming jingfa* (1.24a–b), and Qingyuan does not comment on it.

John Lagerwey

Yungong fayu 雲宮法語
2 juan
Wang Kesun 汪可孫; 1298
1049 (fasc. 725)

"Dharma Words from the Cloudy Palace." This work is a compilation of quotations from the classics of the Three Teachings, with a few comments by the author. In his preface, he explains that *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 are the common focus of all three teachings. Although a Confucian himself, Wang was aware of the necessity of cooperation between Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism in order to return to the Tao (preface 1b). He compiled the present text to prove this point. Cloudy Palace (*yungong* 雲宮) is the name Taoists give to the sanctuary of the inner retreat (preface, 2a).

The text itself is divided into seven items (*pin* 品): Former Heaven (*xiantian* 先天), Later Heaven (*houtian* 後天), Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生), Explaining Virtue (*mingshan* 明善), Keeping the Methods (*chiyong* 持用), Creating the Subtle (*zaowei* 造微), and Divine Transformation (*shenhua* 神化). A large number of books are quoted, sometimes implicitly. For instance, the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 is extensively cited but not named (1.7a, 1.10a, 2.7b). The Lixue 理學 philosophers are prominent, including Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, Shao Yong, Zhang Zai 張載, Cheng Yi 程頤, and Zhu Xi 朱熹. A variety of pre-Han, Han, and early medieval works are also used. Buddhist scriptures (*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, Avataṁsaka-sūtra*) and the Chan Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能 are more marginally represented.

The text is loosely structured and down to earth. It reads like a point-for-point demonstration that Confucianism had developed its own practice of *xing* and *ming*, a practice wholly consistent with Taoist and Buddhist theory, but with more concrete objectives. There seems to be little influence of *neidan* 內丹. Little is known about Wang Kesun; *(Hongzhi) Huizhou fuzhi* 弘治徽州府志 9.50b indicates that he was a scholar from Jixi 績溪 (modern Anhui) who declined to hold office under the Yuan.

Vincent Goossaert

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing tongyi
元始無量度人上品妙經通義
4 juan
By Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410)
89 (fasc. 41–42)

"Comprehensive Interpretation of the Book of Salvation." This text by the Forty-third Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu, draws on virtually all earlier commentators, from Yan Dong 嚴東 to Xue Jizhao 薛季昭. As an interpretation it is derivative, relying heavily on Xiao Yingsou's 蕭應叟 *90 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* and on an otherwise lost commentary by Lei Moan 雷默庵 (see article on *92 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie*).

Although Zhang first mentions Xiao Yingsou by name only on page 1.15b, his interpretation of the first part of the text in terms of Inner Alchemy derives almost entirely from Xiao (cf. 1.5a–15b and *90 Miaojing neiyi* 1.10b–2.6a). In addition to Zhang's identified borrowings from Lei Moan, it seems likely that the prefatory diagrams not taken from Xiao's *Neiyi*, and that link the *Duren jing* to thunder, also derive from Lei. At one point, in excluding the *Yuanshi lingshu shang / xiapian* 元始靈書上 / 下篇 (4.2a), Zhang invokes the joint authority of Lei and Xiao. The direct citations from Lei's commentary are on the whole unremarkable.

Zhang concludes his text with a postface to Lei Moan's edition of the *Duren jing* originally revealed by the Celestial Lord Xin during a séance in a *gengyin* 庚寅 year (1290?). After recalling his revelation of the Hunyuan 混元 Thunder rites to Lei, Xin launches into an encomium on the *Duren jing.* It is the only text, says Xin, that survives all final cataclysms, safe in the Jade Capital. It contains within it the entire "mystery of Hunyuan": the precious pearl at the beginning of the text is the human heart, and the Yuanshi tianzun is the "primordial spirit." Therefore, "when one recites this text with appropriate concentration, it is the Primordial Beginning who recites." Those who do not understand the scripture's meaning can save neither themselves nor others. Most of these points are cited once again in Zhang's commentary (1.15a, 23a–24b).

The information furnished by this postface complements perfectly that given in Lei Moan's biography in *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5.11b–14a: It was while he

was reciting the *Duren jing* that the Hunyuan method was originally revealed to Lei. Seven days later, the Celestial Lord Xin appeared to Lei to tell him that "this teaching is based entirely on the *Duren jing* ." Finally, Lei's last request before writing his testamentary poem and expiring was that his disciples recite for him the *Duren jing* one last time.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi
元始無量度人上品妙經內義
5 juan
By Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟; 1226
90 (fasc. 43–44)

"Esoteric Interpretation of the Book of Salvation." This interpretation is preceded by four separate texts. The first text—a memorial for liturgical use by Xiao Yingsou, dated 1226—states that the *neiyi* was originally printed separately as a book in two juan, but that it had then been separated into an interlinear commentary for the present edition. Xiao signs the memorial with his ritual title, Shangqing dadong xuandu sanjing fashi 上清大洞玄都三景法師.

The second text, also dated 1226, is an essay by Xiao on the "meaning of the scripture." The creative forces captured in the names of the scripture, says Xiao, are in no way different from the "drop of essence of True Yang" at the origin of each person's life (2b). "The alchemical way and the meaning of the scripture are identical" (6a; cf. 1.5b, where it is the "numinous treasure" [*lingbao* 靈寶] and the elixir [*jindan* 金丹] that are equated; also 2.8a, where the "scripture method" [*jingfa* 經法] is equated with the alchemical way).

The third text is a description, built around cosmological diagrams, of how the universe is born from the "Red Writ of Chaos" (*hundong chiwen* 混洞赤文; 7a). The final text is entitled "Instructions for the Recitation of the Scripture." In this text, there is a most interesting illustration of the Inner Landscape, showing the circulation of yin and yang energies in the body (fig. 3).

Starting with the literal meaning of the text—for this meaning, Xiao relies on the four commentaries edited by Chen Jingyuan (*87 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*; cf. here, 6a)—Xiao then deepens this interpretation by means of a numerological and cosmogonic metaphorization of key elements. For the latter, Xiao relies principally on the *Yijing* and the tradition of Inner Alchemy as represented by *997 Guwen longhu shangjing zhu, 141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu,* and *999 Zhouyi cantong qi.* Zhongli Quan, Peng Xiao, Zhang Ziyang, Shao Yong, and Cheng Yi 程頤 are all mentioned more than once. The ultimate inspiration of Xiao's hermeneutical method may well be the "scripture method," whose name derives from



FIGURE 3. The circulation of yin and yang in the body: A metaphorical representation of the Inner Landscape (*90 "biao,"* 8a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/88)

the title of *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa,* cited several times in the present text: 1.1a corresponds to *219 Duren shangjing dafa,* 1.4b–5a; 1.12b to 8.2a; and 2.5b to 8.10a. The latter two passages are attributed in the *Neiyi* to the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師; two other passages attributed to him, at 3.15b and 4.5b, are to be found in *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 4.38b and 36a). These passages are of particular interest here because in the *Duren dafa* the first one is preceded by the phrase, "explained in terms of the interior," and the second by the phrase, "explained in terms of the marvelous way of the internal landscape." This "marvelous way" is then compared with the ways of the "grand method"—exorcism—and scripture recitation. The present text may be said to go beyond mere comparison to the synthesis of these ways.

The numerological metaphorization of the text is unevenly distributed, with heavy concentration on the first lines of the *Duren jing* and on its tenfold recitation (1.6b–8b, 1.14a–2.4a). But the keystone of this system of interpretation is the *Lingshu zhongpian* 靈書中篇, whose 256 characters (eight times thirty-two) are linked to the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing* (5.3a–27b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie
太上洞玄靈寶無量度人上品妙經註解
3 juan
By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; preface 1336
91 (fasc. 45–46)

"Commentary on the Book of Salvation." In a preface dated to midautumn of 1336, CHEN ZHIXU states that one must have both "inner practice and outer merit" in order to obtain immortality. He therefore interprets the *Duren jing* in terms of both the "worldly method" (*shifa* 世法) of recitation and prayer and the "Taoist usage" (*daoyong* 道用) of Inner Alchemy. Sexual desire, writes Chen, leads men to squander their "qi of true unity"; proper practice using the *Duren jing* leads to its recovery and sublimation.

Chen also suggests in his preface that his interpretation is primarily indebted to the commentaries compiled by CHEN JINGYUAN (*87 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*) and that of Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟 (*90 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi*), as well as to what he learned from his master, Zhao Youqin 趙友欽 (fl. 1329; cf. *1069 Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi* 8b–9a). An examination of the commentary itself reveals that Chen borrows heavily indeed—far more than would appear from explicit citation—from Xiao Yingsou (especially in 1.2b–2.18b), but likewise from Qingyuan zhenren 青元眞人 (*88 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhu;* especially 2.20b–30b, 38b–41b, 3.23b–36b). Chen also refers three times to his own master (1.42a, 2.42a–b, 3.2a–b) and frequently to earlier masters of his alchemical lineage such as ZHANG BODUAN. He would seem, finally, to have known Xue Jizhao's 薛季昭 commentary (cf. 2.35a and *92 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 2.23b).

Although Chen's implicit criticism of Xiao Yingsou for not paying equal attention to "nature and vitality" (*xingming* 性命) is unjust (cf. 1.2a, 7a, 8b with *90 Miaojing neiyi* 1.4a, 13a, 13b–14a), it does reveal one of his primary concerns. At 1.8b, for example, Chen insists on identifying the "primordial spirit" of the heart with the "true nature," and he says that "taming the heart is like taming a wild animal." Part of the difficulty of taming the heart is no doubt due to the fact that "the hearts of those who believe in the Way are rarely solid, while the unbelieving hearts of those who do not believe are solid as metal and rock" (1.10a; cf. 2.42b). But the real difficulty for Chen is clearly that "as soon as the root of desire stirs, hell emerges" (2.45b; Xiao Yingsou, in *90 Miaojing neiyi* 4.32a [borrowed by Chen, 3.18b], says that the most urgent of all interdictions is that against sexual desire, but he does not insist on the point as much as Chen).

For Chen, the solution is to "cut off all thought of desire" and to practice the Way of Inner Alchemy. To do this, one must first find a teacher (1.41a; cf. 2.51b, where even Huang-Lao is said to have needed a teacher). In Chen's own case, if his interpretation

of the *Duren jing* is indebted in the first place to that of Xiao Yingsou, it would appear that his teacher led him to translate that interpretation into personal alchemical experience: when Chen glosses the "Red Writs of Chaos" (*hundong chiwen* 混洞赤文) as the "true nature" and the "primordial spirit" (2.4b), he is paraphrasing Xiao's *Neiyi*, 3.3a, 4a; but when he responds to his teacher's inquiry (2.42a–b), he says of this term that it is "the cold sweat that covers the body." Apparently Chen understands the *hundong chiwen*, revealed at the beginning of time, to be comparable to the cold sweat that covers the microcosm of the adept's body when he or she is subliming the elixir. Chen goes on, then, to describe the parallels between physical and spiritual embryogenesis (2.43b).

Zhao Youqin's metaphoric comparison of the earth to a large plank afloat on the waters, themselves a portion of the "heavenly carpet" (3.2b), proves to be the occasion for one of the most remarkable developments in Chen's commentary. "This metaphor," says Chen, "comes very close to the matter"; he then launches into a long description of contemporary versions of the ancient *huntian* theory 渾天論 of the cosmic egg (3.2b–10a, 13b–18a). Although the relevance of this description to his alchemical interpretation of the *Duren jing* is not clear, it is significant that CHEN ZHIXU felt the need to relate his alchemical experiences to the most recent scientific discussions concerning the nature of the universe.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie
元始無量度人上品妙經註解
3 juan
By Xue Jizhao 薛季昭, *hao* Xianweng 顯翁; presented 1303 or 1304
92 (fasc. 46)

"Commentary on the Book of Salvation." This commentary by Xue Jizhao, a Taoist master from Lushan 廬山 in possession of the Shangqing dadong baolu 上清大洞寶籙 register (3.22b), is preceded by a liturgical memorial with the discrepant dates Dade 7 (1303) and *jiachen* 甲辰 (1304). Here the author humbly presents his work to the Jade Emperor: "Many people recite this book, but few understand it. It is not that earlier worthies have not written commentaries, but they tend to be obscure, and latter-day adepts have difficulty understanding them." Xue presents himself as one who, having received the "heart-seal transmission of the master," is in charge of the Altar for the Manifestation of Thunder (*xianlei tan* 顯雷壇). He hopes to earn merit and so to compensate for his own sins by writing as straightforward a commentary as possible. In point of fact, Xue's commentary is comparatively unencumbered by esoteric readings and descriptions of the spiritual bureaucracy.

A series of postfaces recount the circumstances surrounding the publication of

Xue's work. According to one Li Yueyang 李月陽, also of Lushan and writing in 1305, Xue's reticence to publish his commentary had been overcome: first by a local layman's decision to finance the carving of the blocks, and then by the words of encouragement uttered by the divine Marshal Wang on the Thunder Altar of Anterior Heaven in West Market five days after the completion of the carving had been liturgically announced (3.19a–20a). In 1308, according to a postface by Xue (3.20a–22a), he spent a night on this same altar. During the night, the "ancestral master" Lei Moan 雷默庵 (see article on *89 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing tongyi*) came to him in a dream with two announcements: first, that Xue's name had been registered in the Shenxiao celestial offices because his "merit in explaining [the *Duren jing*] is equal to mine"; second, that a text was about to be revealed to him (this is presumably the heart-seal transmission mentioned in the preface). Eight days later, as predicted, a text is revealed to Xue by none other than Xin Zhongyi 辛忠義, the divine Clerk of the Thunder Clap who had originally revealed to Lei Moan the Hunyuan 混元 Thunder rites (*297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5.12b; cf. Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature*, 47, 209–11). A final text, also by Xue, tells the history of the revelation and transmission of the "precious declaration of the Primordial Beginning," a declaration that Xue wrote out on the Scriptural Altar of the Sea of Snow Heart-Mirror in 1316.

The commentary produced in this context of dream revelation and automatic writing is anything but visionary. Indeed, Xue states explicitly that his commentary is intended for religious novices (*chuzhen dedao zhe* 初眞得道者, 2.24b; cf. 3.4b, 21b), whether or not they have received a ritual register (*falu* 法籙; 1.18a, based on *90 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi*, 2.31a). Xue simplifies the *Duren jing,* in part, as he explains in an undated postface (3.18a–19a), by going counter to contemporary practice and excluding the *Lingshu xiapian* 靈書下篇 and the *Taiji zhenren houxu* 太極眞人後序. More generally, he simply takes from his predecessors the bare minimum of what he deems necessary for an understanding of the text. To this end, he borrows regularly from the commentaries of Guo Wangfeng 郭罔鳳 and Li Shaowei 李少微. He borrows from the former especially in juan 2 (cf. 2.3a on Kunlun with *88 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhu* 2.9a), and from the latter primarily in juan 3 (from *87 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*). He shares with Xiao Yingsou's 蕭應叟 *Neiyi* both the mode of liturgical presentation and the *zhifu* 直符 (3.18a; *90 Miaojing neiyi* 5.36a), and he alludes once to Shenxiao literature (2.29b).

What is unique to Xue's commentary is not only its relative simplicity, but also his references to the ritual context of the recitation of the *Duren jing:* where, for example, Yan Dong 嚴東 interprets the phrase "today there is the joy of transmission" as a reference to the transmission of the *Duren jing* to the Lord of the Tao by means of Yuanshi tianzun's recitation as described in the text itself (*87 Miaojing sizhu* 2.58a), Xue interprets the phrase as a reference to a religious initiation: "today so-and-so is being initiated" (2.20b–21a). In similar fashion, astral bodies and other cosmic entities

mentioned in the text are divinized and placed in a ritual context: the Southern Dipper, for example, becomes "the lord who gives entry to life, and that is why one's name of life is written on the Register of Long Life" (2.21b; compare *87 Sizhu* 2.36b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin jingfa
太上洞玄靈寶無量度人上品經法
5 juan
Compiled and annotated by Chen Chunrong 陳春榮; Southern Song (1127–1279)?
93 (fasc. 47–48)

"Scriptural Method of Book of Salvation." By its very title this commentary on the *Duren jing* links itself to the Lingbao dafa movement: *jingfa* (scriptural method) is an alternative name for this form of the "great method" (compare *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa,* title and 71.23b). The text is preceded, in rather unusual fashion, by a brief introduction to the rules of recitation, the cosmic origins of the text, and the salutary effect of its recitation. Nothing is known of the commentary's author, Chen Chunrong, except that he was a Zhengyi priest, to judge by his title, given here as *taishang sanwu dugong zhilu dizi* 太上三五都功職籙弟子.



FIGURE 4. The correspondence between respiration and the circulation of qi, as measured through the pulse, and the movement of the "heavenly clockwork" of the Big Dipper stars (*93* 1.6a)

Chen refers frequently to the "great method," both to indicate the source (*an* 按) of his viewpoint (3.16b, 19a) and to tell the reader where to find further details (1.24a, 3.4a, 4.3b). Most, though not all, of the citations attributed to the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師) are to be found either in *219 Shangjing dafa* or in *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* (especially juan 4, 10, and 26), or in both. Chen's division of the *Duren jing* in forty-seven paragraphs is, with two exceptions, identical to the division in juan 26 of *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa*, but it differs from that of JIN YUNZHONG in juan 2 and 3 of *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa*. The similarity of the drawings on 1.5b, 6a (fig. 4); 2.10b; 3.8b, 13a with those in juan 4 of *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* confirms the links of Chen's commentary to the version of the *Lingbao dafa* that JIN YUNZHONG associates with Tiantai.

In addition to the Lingbao dafa texts and to the traditional commentaries compiled by CHEN JINGYUAN (*87 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*)—whom he cites frequently, though sometimes implicitly—Chen Chunrong also uses an imperial commentary (probably that of Huizong; see VDL 134) and the Shenxiao writings (compare 2.47a–50b and 3.2b–3b with *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangbin miaojing futu* 3.1a–10a and 12a–15b). For the *Lingshu zhongpian* 靈書中篇 (4.4b–29b), he uses the correspondences with the hexagrams found for the first time in Xiao Yingsou's 蕭應叟 *90 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi*. It may be, however, that Chen took this part of his commentary not from Xiao but from Xiao's source, for in the rest of his commentary, whenever Chen cites a passage that may be found in Xiao's work, he almost invariably attributes it to a *(Lingbao) neixiang danzhi* 內象丹旨 (compare 1.6a, 2.40b, 41b, and 44a with *90 Miaojing neiyi* 1.12b, 3.39b, 40a, and 40b).

John Lagerwey

Dongxuan lingbao duren jing dafan yinyu shuyi
洞玄靈寶度人經大梵隱語疏義
22 fols.
94 (fasc. 48)

"Explanation Concerning the Esoteric Speech of Great Brahma [*Dafan yinyu*]." The title refers to the paragraph at the end of the *Duren jing,* which also constitutes the primary subject of *97 Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*. This paragraph consists of 256 characters, a number corresponding to that of the Thirty-two Heavens multiplied by eight. The paragraph was singled out for special attention in the Shenxiao and Lingbao dafa traditions of the Southern Song. It is likely that the present text was transmitted separately for that reason (cf. the warning against "divulging [the esoteric sounds] to lay people" in *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 26.26b).

In addition to separate paragraphs of explanation for each of the Thirty-two Heavens, all of which essentially reproduce Li Shaowei's 李少微 commentary, this text contains three introductory and two concluding paragraphs: the former explain the terms *zhutian dafan* 諸天大梵, *yinyu* 隱語, and *wuliang* 無量; the latter explain the final paragraph of the *Duren jing* as a postface to the "esoteric sounds." It is noteworthy that this text devoted to the Sanskrit-like quality of the sounds nonetheless insists that they were Chinese (1b, 20b).

John Lagerwey

***Wuliang duren shangpin miaojing pangtong tu* 無量度人上品妙經旁通圖**
2 juan
Compiled by Liu Yuandao 劉元道, *hao* Shouyi dashi 守一大師
148 (fasc. 67)

"Chart for Analyzing the Wonderful and Superior Book of Salvation." The term *pangtong* in the title—meaning "penetrating to the very limit" and, hence, "thorough analysis"—is borrowed from *Yijing* studies, where it refers to the analysis of a hexagram as a whole. The present text was originally in three juan, but the first juan is lost.

According to the biography of Liu Yuandao in LZTT 51.4b–5a, he was associated from the beginning with Emperor Huizong's project for the compilation of a *Daozang*. His vast book learning earned him a series of promotions, and finally he was appointed head of the Taoists in the capital. It is undoubtedly at this time that he lived at the Taiqing chuqing gong 太清儲慶宮 (see 1.1a) and compiled the present text.

Relying heavily on the commentaries compiled by CHEN JINGYUAN (*87 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*), Liu Yuandao attempts, in juan 2, primarily to link the Thirty-two Heavens of the *Duren jing* to the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions. In juan 3, he describes the ritual for the recitation of the *Duren jing* and the *Dafan yinyu* 大梵隱語, a text found both in the *Duren jing* and in *97 Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*. Liu also describes the celestial origins of these two texts.

Liu not only notes the source of his comments in virtually every paragraph, but also provides a list of his sources at the end of his work. The authors of *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* and *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* make considerable use of Liu's work, but they eliminate all source references (compare the present work 2.1a–8a and *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.11b–13a, 15b–25b; also 3.1a–7b and *219 Duren dafa* 3.13b–17a, 22a–23b, 2.8a–9b). JIN YUNZHONG was no doubt thinking of these imitators when he wrote that "irresponsible people have recently borrowed from such books as the *Pangtong tu* 旁通圖, the *Wuwei jing* 武威經, and the *Beidou lu* 北斗籙 and, after completely changing the names, have fabricated the Xuanji method 璇璣法" (*1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 27.10b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shengxuan shuo xiaozai huming miaojing zhu
太上昇玄說消災護命妙經註
12 fols.
By WANG JIE 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子; Yuan (1279–1368)
100 (fasc. 50)

"Commentary on the Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery Protecting Life and Averting Disaster." In the main part of his commentary, WANG

JIE explains the words and the reasoning of the text without pursuing a systematic exegesis. His definition of key terms to some extent alters the fundamental message of the scripture, replacing an epistemological sequence—the experience of reality, the unreal nature of this reality, the identity of both perceptions and the ultimate reality of the "marvelous sounds"—with ontological dialectics. This shift appears to be due to the influence of the Neo-Confucian dialectics of "substance" as opposed to "function" (see page 6a). Another influence may be attributable to the author's alchemical preoccupations. Apparently taking as a point of departure the suggestion of an esoteric meaning of the text made by LI DAOCHUN in *101 Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing zhu* 2a (compare our text 1b), Wang contrasts this interpretation, to which he gives the name of "the use of the Tao" (*daoyong* 道用), with a religious and literal interpretation that he terms the "method of the age" (*shifa* 世法; see pages 2a, 3a, and 10b; cf. the article on *91 Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie*). The alchemical terminology used by Wang is that of the Quanzhen school 全眞 (compare 10a6 in the present text to *25 Yuanshi tianzun shuo dedao liaoshen jing* 3a10).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing zhu
太上昇玄消災護命妙經註
5 fols.
By LI DAOCHUN 李道純 (d. 1306)
101 (fasc. 50)

"Commentary on the Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery Protecting Life and Averting Disaster." In comparison with the standard versions of the scripture, as given in *19 Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing* and in the Dunhuang manuscripts, we find here, on page 4a, an additional phrase of four characters: *suishen gongyang* 隨身供養, that is, "worship wherever you are."

LI DAOCHUN's commentary is divided into three parts. It proposes an alchemical interpretation of the text. The Yuanshi tianzun symbolizes the ancestral qi, and the Palace of Five Colors where he preaches is equated with the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭), whereas the Forest of the Seven Jewels is said to refer to the Three Origins (*sanyuan* 三元) and the Four Emblems (*sixiang* 四象). In the second part of his commentary, LI DAOCHUN quotes the *Hṛdāya-sūtra* (*Xinjing* 心經).

Catherine Despeux

Shengtian jing songjie 生天經頌解
6 fols.
By Wang Jichang 王吉昌, *hao* Chaoran zi 超然子; early thirteenth century
313 (fasc. 162)

"Hymns in Exegesis of the Book of Birth in Heaven." This work comprises thirty-seven poems explaining and expanding upon the meaning of the short Tang scripture *24 Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing*. The general tenor of the commentary is that of spiritual alchemy, in keeping with the teachings of Wang, the author of *247 Huizhen ji*.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing jieyi
洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經解義
4 juan
By Dong Sijing 董思靖, *hao* Guishan 圭山; 1252
396 (fasc. 186)

"Commentary on the Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens." In the preface, Dong, a Taoist from the Tianqing monastery 天慶觀 at Qingyuan 清源 (Shanxi), divides the text according to its contents and gives explanations regarding the five kalpas and the Nine Heavens on the basis of numerical correspondences.

In his postface, dated 1252, Dong Sijing presents a discourse in which he convinces a skeptic of the contents of this scripture and the Taoist teaching. In his explanations, Dong refers to a great number of Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures and cites a total of seven different editions of the *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 九天生神章經 (3.1a–29a), of which only the commentary from Sichuan (*Shuzhu* 蜀註; i.e., *397 Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie*) can be identified.

Zhang Yuchu's 張宇初 (1361–1410) preface to Dong's commentary can be found in *1311 Xianquan ji* 2.17a–19a.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie
洞玄靈寶自然九天生神玉章經解
3 juan
By Wang Xichao 王希巢, *zi* Yinxian 隱賢; 1205
397 (fasc. 187)

"Explanations of the Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens." As Wang Xichao—a Taoist from the Chongxu monastery 沖虛觀 in Mianzhou 緜州 (Sichuan)—states in his preface (dated 1205), he wrote this commentary at the suggestion of a

certain Ren Xianliang 任賢良, who deemed the previous explanations by Yuchan zi 玉蟾子 (surnamed Zhao 趙) to be incomplete.

Wang's commentary is unusually detailed and precise in its textual criticism (e.g., 1.5b–6b). The two hymns by Taiji zhenren 太極眞人 at the end of this text are left uncommentated.

In his supplement to the *Junzhai dushu zhi*, Zhao Xibian lists a *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* in three juan, with explanations by Wang Xichao, a preface by Cheng Gongxu 程公許 (fl. 1211), and a colophon by Zhao Rixiu 趙日休. Neither that preface nor the colophon are reproduced in the present edition.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing zhu
洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經註

3 juan

By Hua Yangfu 華陽復; preface by ZHANG SHOUQING 張守清, dated 1332

398 (fasc. 188)

"Commentary on the Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens." Nothing is known about Hua Yangfu except that it can be concluded from his work (1.4b5) that he lived under the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). The preface to this commetary was written by ZHANG SHOUQING, a Taoist residing on Wudang shan 武當山 (Hubei). Zhang had been active establishing temples there as early as 1284. His title, Tixuan miaoying taihe zhenren 體玄妙應太和眞人, which he uses in the preface, had been bestowed on him by the emperor in 1314 (*962 Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 2.1b; *961 Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 6a). Zhang regrets that he knew the old Tang commentaries by Xue Youqi 薛幽棲, Li Shaowei 李少微, and CHENG XUANYING only by hearsay and states that he was shown Hua's commentary by a visitor from Wu 吳.

Hua's commentary is by no means original; it draws heavily on the explanations by Wang Xichao 王希巢 (compare, e.g., 1.12b–14b with *397 Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie* 1.22b–26a) and frequently cites commentaries by Xiao Zhenyou 蕭眞祐 and Zhen Shuai 眞率 that otherwise have not been preserved. Appended to the text we find a folio of phonetic explanations.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo jiuku miaojing zhujie
太上洞玄靈寶天尊說救苦妙經註解

27 fols.

By [Lü 呂] Dongyang zi 洞陽子 of Tongshen an 通神庵; preface by Zhou Zhun 周準, *hao* Baozhen zi 葆眞子

399 (fasc. 189)

"Annotations to the Scripture for the Salvation from Distress." This commentary on *374 Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing* is preceded by a preface by a certain Zhou Zhun of Jinjiang 錦江 (Shangrao 上饒 district, Jiangxi), in which we learn that Dongyang zi was the *hao* of a Mr. Lü 呂氏 of Siming 四明, a mountain range in Zhejiang. Lü announces to Zhou his intention to write a commentary on the *Jiuku jing* 救苦經 which, he says, contains "the secret meaning of the Great Cavern."

Lü, citing *529 Lingbao wujing tigang*, defines the *Jiuku jing* as an "esoteric exposé of sublimation [*liandu* 鍊度] rites" (17b). Salvation by sublimation is to be accomplished by "setting fire" (*xinghuo* 行火) to the *sanmei* 三昧, that is, by the "fires of the lord (the heart), the minister (the kidneys), and the people (the bladder)" (24a; cf. *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 15.1b, 3a). Lü identifies the Taoists' "primordial spirit" with the "true nature" of the Confucians and the "origin" (*benlai* 本來) of the Buddhists (2a). The *ling* 靈 of Lingbao is identical with the spirit (*shen* 神) and the nature (*xing* 性), and the *bao* 寶 with the breath (qi) and life (*ming* 命; 4b–5b). Adepts of Chan understand the heart and the nature but are too much "attached to their discourses on Emptiness" (10b). One must also create the Lords of the Three Treasures by transforming the qi, the spirit, and the essence (*jing* 精; 13a).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing song
太上昇玄消災護命妙經頌

7 fols.

By Zhang Bo 張白, *zi* Xubo 虛白, *hao* Boyun zi 白雲子 (fl. second half of tenth century)

312 (fasc. 161)

"Hymns on the Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery Protecting Life and Averting Disaster." This is a rhymed commentary to the Tang scripture *19 Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing*. The *Daozang* edition indicates Zhenyi xiansheng Sima Ziwei 貞一先生司馬子微 of the Tang as the author of this work, referring to SIMA CHENGZHEN (647–735). This attribution is an error. According to the biography of Zhang Bo in LZTT 47.15a, the latter wrote a rhymed commentary on the work in question. The biography quotes the first and last lines of this commentary, showing clearly that it corresponded to the present text. The confusion with SIMA

CHENGZHEN may have resulted from the fact that both he and Zhang Bo had the *hao* Boyun zi.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註
7 fols.
By LI DAOCHUN 李道純, *hao* Qing'an 清庵, Yingchan zi 瑩蟾子 (fl. 1290)
755 (fasc. 532)

"Commentary to the Scripture on Perpetual Purity and Tranquility." For biographical details about the Quanzhen 全眞 Taoist LI DAOCHUN, see *1060 Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu*. The main part of the present text is identical with *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*; the latter's epilogue, however, has not been included here. In his exegesis, Li mostly limits himself to strict textual interpretation, citing only occasionally the *Daode jing* and *Yijing* for explanation.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註
63 fols.
Yuan (1279–1368)?
756 (fasc. 532)

"Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility." This anonymous commentary probably dates from the Yuan dynasty (see 60a: "Earlier, in the year 1068 of the Song . . . "). Compared to *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, the main text of the present work has been abridged by more than one third: pages 1b10–2a8 of that text are missing here, as is the epilogue. After the individual sections of the text, the commentator first gives his own explanations and often cites commentaries on the *Qingjing jing* by Wenzhong zi 文中子 and Boyun weng 白雲翁 (not identified). Then—without indicating his sources—he narrates stories that illustrate the efficacy of the recitation of this scripture. He goes on to summarize in a final remark (*lun* 論) the relation between the individual episode and the preceding section of the text. As for the sources of the stories that can be traced, they are mostly Tang works like the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, the *Baoying ji* 報應記, and the *Guangyi ji* 廣異記 that attest to the efficacy of the Diamond Sūtra (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛 [般若] 經). Our commentator in some places remained faithful to the original story (compare, e.g., 5b with *Baoying ji* [in *Taiping guangji* 103.695], but sometimes he modified them heavily, to the point of changing the names of the protagonists (compare, e.g., 52b–58b with *Xu xuanguai lu* 續玄怪錄 [in *Taiping guangji* 16.109–12]. In all cases, the title *Jin'gang jing* has been replaced by *Qingjing jing* 清靜經.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註
24 fols.
Arranged and revised by BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾, *hao* Qiongguan zi 瓊琯子; commentary by Wang Yuanhui 王元暉, *hao* Yinwei zi 隱微子, dated 1312
757 (fasc. 532)

"Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility." In a brief postface, Wang Daxu 王大敘 (*hao* Gouqu shanren 句曲山人) writes that he came into possession of a *Qingjing jing*—commentated by SIMA CHENGZHEN and divided into sections and revised by BO YUCHAN—and that he was preparing to have the work printed. Jiang Huazi 蔣華子 (*hao* Siqing weng 四清翁) confirms in his preface (dated 1312) that the diagrams at the beginning of the text are by BO YUCHAN. Since no explicit information on the commentary nor on the identity of Wang Yuanhui (from Zhongnan 終南) is given, we can only assume that Yuanhui is the *zi* of Wang Daxu.

Our main text, divided into five sections, is the same as *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, the epilogue of which has been compiled here with an account of Laozi's incarnations and manifestations, the diagrams by BO YUCHAN, and various poems to form a separate prolegomenon. The commentary is mainly a conglomeration of citations from all kinds of sources. Variant readings are indicated.

Hans–Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu 太上老君說常清靜經註
24 fols.
By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子 (Jin dynasty, second half of twelfth century); preface by Mao Hui 毛麾 (fl. 1187)
758 (fasc. 533)

"Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility." From the preface by Mao Hui (cf. "Yizhen chongxu zhenren Mao zunshi tuihua ming," *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 7.6b), we can conclude that Mao and Hou were contemporaries. The text itself links the place name Gushe shan 姑射山 (Shanxi) to the commentator's name, whereas according to Mao Hui, Hou lived on Lishan 驪山 (Shaanxi).

In comparison to *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, the present main text shows only a few minor differences. Usually the commentary limits itself to a terse paraphrase of the individual paragraphs, followed by a hymn in eight five-character verses. The epilogue is not commentated.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing zuantu jiezhu 太上老君說常清靜妙經纂圖解註

23 fols.

By WANG JIE 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子 (first half of fourteenth century)

760 (fasc. 533)

"Explanations and Commentary with Illustrations to the Wonderful Scripture on Perpetual Purity and Tranquility." The present main text is the same as *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*. The Eulogies of the Zhenren ("Zhenren zan 眞人讚") form a separate epilogue here.

In his commentary, WANG JIE presents himself as an adherent of the Quanzhen 全眞 tradition by citing Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian works, by depicting the Three Teachings on a par with each other in a diagram (12b), and by postulating the cultivation of one's nature (*xing* 性) and physical existence (*ming* 命; 13b; 23a). Interspersed, we find references to Inner Alchemy. Each commentated section is supplemented by a diagram, illustrating the interrelations and interdependences of the definitions and terms employed.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu 太上老君說常清靜經頌註

8 fols.

By Liu Tongwei 劉通微, *hao* Moran zi 默然子 (1167–1196)

974 (fasc. 614)

"Psalmodic Commentary on the Scripture of Perpetual Purity and Tranquility." The author, who signed this commentary only with his byname, was a 全眞 Quanzhen Taoist. According to *955 Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 1.4a–5b, Liu was a native of Yecheng 掖城 in Shandong. In 1167 he met WANG ZHE there, from whom he also received his byname. After meetings with four of Wang's disciples, Liu was summoned, at the beginning of the Mingchang period (1190–1196), to the Jin court, where he conversed with the emperor Zhangzong on Taoist themes (among others, *qingjing* 清靜). He died in 1196, not long after leaving the court. The present work is not mentioned in his biography.

The main text has similar variant characters as *758 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu;* the epilogue, however, is missing in our work. Liu's hymns consist of eight five-character verses each, which are more in the nature of a poetic paraphrase of the main text than an explanatory commentary.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing zhu 太上太清天童護命妙經註

10 fols.

By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; Jurchen Jin (1115–1234)

762 (fasc. 533)

"Annotations to the Life-Protecting Book of the Heavenly Lords of Utmost Purity." This short commentary on *632 Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing* is similar in form to Hou's commentary *758 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu*.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang kaiming tiandi benzhen jing 太上開明天地本眞經

4 fols.

Transmitted by Renshou, Meishan Master Who Penetrates the Mystery of the Three Teachings 通玄三教眉山師仁壽

34 (fasc. 27)

"Explication of the Most High of the Original Truth of Heaven and Earth." After stating that humanity lost its "original truth" in the Tao by the development of knowledge, the author explains the birth of the Three Teachings (*sanjiao* 三教) as a response to this situation. Each has its special area of competence—morality, dialectics, alchemy (note the use of the term *gongfu* 功夫)—but each "embraces heaven and earth" in its teaching. Nowadays, regrettably, these Three Teachings have lost their original truth. It is therefore the task of those who would "penetrate the Mystery of the Three Teachings " to explain (*kaiming* 開明), out of compassion for the living and the dead, that there is no Heaven higher than human nature (*xing* 性), nor an Earth more stable than the human heart. All paths to salvation depend on the body, but in order to recover the "true origin," one must "recite the True Book that is hidden from human eyes." In other words, one must find a "superior man" who can teach one "the way of the scriptures," for "it is necessary to know that the True Book of the Great Way depends on oral transmission and the seal of the heart [*xinyin* 心印]."

John Lagerwey

Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu 太上玄靈北斗本命延生眞經註

5 juan

By Xu Daoling 徐道齡, *hao* Xuanyang zi 玄陽子; corrected by Xu Daoxuan 徐道玄, *hao* Qianyang zi 乾陽子; 1334

750 (fasc. 527–528)

"Commentary on the Dipper Scripture." According to his postface, written on the occasion of the printing of this work in 1334, Xu Daoling composed this text in divine

inspiration while occupying a sinecure post in Suzhou. Concerning Xu Daoxuan, the corrector, no information is provided.

Although Xu Daoling states that he relied on the "instructions of previous sages," he does not specify any particular text model. Numerous parallels, however, point to *752 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* (q.v.) as a possible source.

One of the characteristics of the present work is its obvious relation to the spirit-writing cult of Zitong dijun 梓童帝君: a prefatory note (*Beidou jing tici* 北斗經題辭) and a petition to the Jade Emperor (5.1a–2a) are attributed to this deity. Text and commentary are thus set in a ritual frame: the prefatory note gives instructions for the visualization of the deities of the Big Dipper to be practiced before the recitation of the scripture, and for the prayers to be pronounced at the beginning of the ritual. More formulas and a series of ten benedictions come after the text (4.13b–17b). Juan 5 includes, after Zitong dijun's petition and some technical instructions, a set of fu that stand for the individual deities of the constellation (cf. *752 Beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.9b–19a) and for certain parts of the scripture itself (4.11a–12b; 2.1a–9b).

Xu Daoling, who tries to give the *Beidou jing* a valid position within the Three Teachings, frequently refers in his commentary to Buddhist and Confucian sources (e.g., *Jin'gang jing* 金剛經, *Sishier zhang jing*, *Mengzi* 孟子, *Daxue*). As for Taoist sources, he clearly prefers *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*, but he also cites *623 Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing* (2.13a), *10 Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* (4b), and others.

Xu attempts to interpret from an exalted view of self-cultivation several passages of the main text that originally dealt only with conditions of everyday life in the home. The main text sometimes has variant readings (compare, e.g., 2.9b3, 2.9b8, and 4.10a1 with *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 3b5–6, 8a9).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhujie
太上玄靈北斗本命延生眞經註解
3 juan
By Xuanyuan zhenren 玄元眞人 from Kongtong shan 崆峒山
751 (fasc. 528)

"Commentary on the Dipper Scripture." This commentary on *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* is by an unknown author with the byname Xuanyuan from Kongtong; it is accompanied by a preface attributed to Li Bo 李白 (701–762) and a postface signed "Su Shi 蘇軾" (1036–1101). These attributes may indicate a connection with a spirit-writing cult.

In the work itself, we find a single instance (1.18b–19a) of a parallel to Xu Daoling's 徐道齡 (fl. 1334) commentary in *750 Tai shang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu* 1.23b–24a. This parallel could, however, derive from a common source.

In his commentary, Xuanyuan zhenren establishes a threefold division of the individual paragraphs: (1) a tersely phrased explanation that remains close to the main text, followed by (2) a comprehensive, easily understandable interpretation (*dazhong* 大衆), which is then completed by (3) a hymn comprising eight seven-character verses and resuming the theme metaphorically.

We also find fu in this text (2.11b–15b), corresponding to those in Xu Daoling's commentary (5.3b–6b) as well as to those in Fu Dongzhen's 傅洞眞 (*752 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.9b–19a), along with figurative depictions of the astral deities.

The commentator, who relies mainly on the authority of the *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing* and *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*, advocates the concept of the Three Teachings (*sanjiao* 三教; 1.10a–b) and the graded teaching in the Three Vehicles (*sancheng* 三乘; 2.23b). The action of the Beidou 北斗 as a universal regulator of cosmic events stands as a paradigm for the Tao or the Void "lying before one's eyes," as well as existing within humanity itself (2.1a–2a). Through continued meditation (2.29b), introspective contemplation of the mind (*xin* 心, i.e., Beidou), shutting oneself off from the illusory exterior world (1.17a), and restraining the Horse of the Will (*yima* 意馬) and the Monkey of the Mind (*xinyuan* 心猿; e.g., 3.2b), the practitioner finally achieves sudden enlightenment (*dunwu* 頓悟; e.g., 1.8a), realizing the true void of the great Tao (2.30a). The principle of true nature (*xing* 性) is rated higher than life, with its span limited by time (*ming* 命; 1.16b). Allusions to *neidan* 內丹 practices (e.g., 1.15a) are mostly metaphorical.

The style is rhetorical, reminiscent of the genre of recorded conversations (*yulu* 語錄), and the phrasing is poetic and metaphorical.

The prevalence of Chan ideas suggests that the commentary was produced among the later Quanzhen Taoists, who understood their tradition as a synthesis of the so-called Northern and Southern schools. The formal terminological and stylistic similarities with a text like *1065 Xuanjiao da gongan* should also be pointed out in this context.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu
太上玄靈北斗本命延生經註
3 juan
By Fu Dongzhen 傅洞眞
752 (fasc. 529)

Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang 北斗七元金玄羽章
Appendix to *752 Yansheng jing zhu*
9 fols.
753 (fasc. 529)

"Commentary on the Dipper Scripture." Fu Dongzhen, who is otherwise unknown, intended his commentary on *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* to serve as a vindication for that popular scripture. Because of its parallel style, the *Beidou jing* was often considered a forgery, by either DU GUANGTING or Zhang Daoling 張道陵, rather than a revelation. It was, moreover, decried as trivial. On the basis of the teachings of the scriptures and statements by earlier masters, Fu wanted to elucidate the *Beidou jing* and prove the deeper meaning of its simple words (see the preface).

Fu's commentary is probably later than the Song (960–1279; 2.25b). It is quoted in Chen Zhong's commentary in *754 Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benchuan shenzhou miaojing* 2.8a. Furthermore, both citations of a *Doujing shi* 斗經釋 in *1049 Yungong fayu* 2.1b (preface dated 1298) correspond, in slightly modified form, to 3.12a–b and 3.7b, respectively, of the present work, which was probably also one of the sources for Xu Daoling's 徐道齡 commentary in *750 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu*.

A general characteristic of Fu's commentary is the author's high degree of technical knowledge about liturgical practice and divinatory calculation. Although he also uses some Buddhist terms—the origin of which he traces back to the Huahu theory—on a philosophical level, he rarely refers to Buddhist or Confucian works (for an exception, see 2.1a). As basic Taoist writings, he names *641 Taishang laojun neiguan jing, 400 Dongxuan lingbao dingguan jing, 620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, and *1036 Zuowang lun*. Another important source was a *Pangtong tu* 旁通圖, i.e., probably the *Beidou* (or *-di*) *qiyuan shengwei pangtong tu* 北斗 (帝) 七元聖位旁通圖. This work may have been the focus for the so-called *xuanling* 玄靈 or *xuanji* 玄璣 methods, to which Fu alludes repeatedly (see also *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa*, preface 6b, 10.7b).

The numerous interspersed textual criticisms (e.g., 2.28a) show that Fu had compared different versions of the main text.

The appendix, *753 Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang* (Winged Stanzas on the Golden Mystery), contains seven stanzas addressed to the seven primary stars of the Beidou and the talismans pertaining to them (cf. *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 8.17b–21a). It also contains rules for sacrifices to the individual stars of fate, and further ritual recommendations and explanations related to the recitation of the *Beidou jing*. Incidentally, the instructions concerning the accompanying visualization are clearly similar to the method of meditation described in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 285.1a under the title *Xuanling mochao neisong* 玄靈默朝內誦.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang 北斗七元金玄羽章
3 fols.
975 (fasc. 614)

"Winged Stanzas on the Golden Mystery." Although not directly related in contents, the present text may have originally formed an appendix to the hymns to the *Qingjing jing* by Liu Tongwei 劉通微 *(974 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu)*. It contains the same hymns as those found in *753 Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang*.

The title is borrowed from Shangqing literature, where it signifies the songs or prayers to be intoned against the temptations of the demon rulers from the eight directions (see *1358 Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu jing* 9b–17b). In the present text, hymns of the same title describe the specific characteristics and functions of the individual stars of the Big Dipper. The prayers addressed to the seven primary stars are also found, mutatis mutandis, in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 8.17b–21a as citations from a *Beidou jinxuan yuzhang* 北斗金玄羽章. Our text, however, comprises nine stanzas, of which the last two, songs addressed to the accompanying stars Fu 輔 and Bi 弼, may be later additions. The fu provided by *1224 Daomen dingzhi* in this context are missing here.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

3.A.1.e Treatises and Essays

Taishang xiuzhen tiyuan miaodao jing 太上修眞體元妙道經
21 fols.
Revealed to Liu Yuanrui 劉元瑞; colophon by Dong Zhengguan 董正觀, dated 1261
41 (fasc. 29)

"Most High Scripture of the Marvelous Way of Incarnation of the Origin for the Cultivation of the True [Self]." In his colophon, Dong Zhengguan relates that a deity named Yuansu zhenjun 元素眞君—Lord of the Teaching of the Holy Thunder Mountain of the Ultimate North (Beiji leiyue jiaozu 北極雷嶽教主) and incarnation

of the [Lord of the] Gold Portal (Jinque huashen 金闕化身)—revealed the present scripture to an adept named Liu Yuanrui by means of "descending into the brush" (*jianghi* 降筆), that is, spirit-writing. Liu refused to divulge the text—in the last paragraph of the scripture, the deity enjoins Liu not to show it to unworthy people—and thus it was only after his death that Dong could obtain a copy and print it.

The scripture is divided into twenty-four sections, each of which ends with a short, rhymed abstract (*jue* 訣). The deity teaches those who "seek to perfect themselves" the "marvelous way of incarnation of the origin." In the beginning, the Tao was without words (page 1a) and the body of the universe was "pure yin" (*chunyin* 純陰; 3b). The image of this pristine perfection is the child who "in triple silence follows the body" of its mother and breathes in harmony with her respiration (8b–9a). This silence is triple because the qi of Heaven, Earth, and humanity intermingle in it (*hun zhi* 混之). One must therefore forget all distinctions and return to the Primordial Chaos (*hundun* 混沌; 13a). One should no longer be preoccupied with the dragon or the tiger, with lead or mercury, and even less with offerings (14a and 17b). One has only to "Hold the One" (13b and 15a), and thus, as said on 15b and 19b, "one can tally without fu" (*bu fu er ke fu* 不符而可符) and command [the spirits] without spells (*bu zhou er ke zhu* 不咒而可囑).

John Lagerwey

***Jindan fu* 金丹賦**

47 fols.

Commentary by Ma Lizhao 馬蒞昭; Yuan (1279–1368)

261 (fasc. 121)

"Ode on the Gold-Elixir." This work is a counterpart to the *Neidan fu* by Tao Zhi (cf. *259 Tao zhenren neidan fu*). The commentator, Ma Lizhao, who refers to himself as a disciple of the Great Tao 大道弟子, presumably lived during the Yuan period, as he writes: "Since Jin, Tang, and Song times 晉唐宋以來 . . . " (preface, 1a).

According to the preface (1b), Ma's copy of the *Jindan fu* lacked any indication as to the work's authorship, and since Ma does not mention any older commentaries, it is likely that he simply possessed the poem.

Ma's interpretation of the *Jindan fu* is philosophical in nature and greatly influenced by the works of the Tang Taoist Wu Yun. He discourses on the Tao, the interaction of yin and yang, and the universal order, with examples from the *Yijing*, and from the *Xuangang lun* 玄綱論 and other philosophical treatises by Wu Yun.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Qianyuan zi sanshi lun* 乾元子三始論**

3 fols.

268 (fasc. 132)

"Master Qianyuan's Discourse on the Three Beginnings." This is a short treatise of unknown date. The name "Qianyuan zi" is based on that of a celestial immortal (*tianxian* 天仙), master of one of Chisong zi's 赤松子 teachers (cf. *883 Taiqing jing tianshi koujue* 5b). The treatise comprises four short paragraphs: in this text, *taiyi* 太易 (Great Change) is considered the equivalent of *hundun* 混沌 (Chaos); Taichu 太初 (Great Beginning), Taishi 太始 (Great Commencement), and Taisu 太素 (Great Simplicity) are the beginning of qi, *xing* 形 (form), and *zhi* 質 (matter), respectively. The author was directly inspired by a Han apocryphal text (the *Qianzuo du* 乾鑿度) and the first chapter of the *Liezi* 列子.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing* 無上妙道文始眞經**

36 fols.

Twelfth century

667 (fasc. 347)

"True Scripture of Wenshi." The title is derived from the byname Wenshi xiansheng 文始先生, for the Guardian of the Pass, Yin Xi 尹喜, to whom this work is attributed. Although a *Guanyin zi* 關尹子 in nine *pian* 篇 is listed already in the bibliographic chapters of the *Han shu* 30.1730, the existence of the present text is not attested before the early Southern Song period (1127–1279). The first bibliographic mention of the text that has come down to us is found in *Suichu tang shumu* 23b. According to *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 9.288, Xu Zang 徐藏 (var. Chan 蕆, *zi* Zili 子禮; fl. 1167) received this text from Sun Ding 孫定 of Yongjia 永嘉 (Zhejiang). Thereafter the *Guanyin zi* seems to have circulated widely within a short time, as can be seen from citations in *90 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* 1.7a; 4.21a.



FIGURE 5. Portrait of Yin Xi (*667* 1a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/662)

In the Quanzhen tradition, the year 1233 is celebrated as the date when the text, lost for more than one thousand years, reappeared and came again into the hands of a descendant of the Yin clan. In that year, it was brought by a certain Zhang Zhongcai 張仲才, who had obtained it in Zhejiang, to the patriarch Yin Zhiping 尹志平 on Zhongnan shan 終南山, the ancient dwelling place of Yin Xi (see

"Da Yuan chongxiu gu Louguan zongsheng gongji," *957 Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 1.15a–b). In his chronicle about the appearance of the *Guanyin zi* (cf. *728 Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi*), Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 states in 1281 that on the occasion of the printing of the *Daozang*, Huizong had ordered a search for Taoist texts, which produced no copy of the *Guanyin zi*. Only when the Taoist canon was newly edited under SONG DEFANG was the work included in the library under the title *Wenshi zhenjing*.

The present work is preceded by a brief biography and a depiction of Yin Xi (fig. 5), both derived from *163 Xuanyuan shizi tu*. The same arrangement is also found with the texts of Zhuangzi and Liezi. Moreover, the first commentary in the *Daozang* to the work each of the three philosophers is preceded by the same biography, but without the illustration.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun yuandao zhenjing zhujie 太上老君元道眞經註解
16 fols.
By Yin Zhi 隱芝, *zi* Neixiu 內秀, *hao* Heming zi 合明子 (fl. thirteenth century)
761 (fasc. 533)

"Commentary on Taishang Laojun's Veritable Scripture of the Original Tao." For the scripture, see *1423 Taiqing yuandao zhenjing*. The commentator, Yin Zhi, was a contemporary of BO YUCHAN (see *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 84.17b–21a). The commentary mainly quotes the *Laozi,* the *Zhonghuang zhenjing,* and the *Huangting jing,* often giving a paraphrase in the place of the original text (see, e.g., the quotation of the *Zhonghuang zhenjing* on 14a). The entire passage of the commentary on 14b–15a forms part of the main text in *1423 Taiqing yuandao zhenjing*. The hymn (*zan* 贊) at the end of the text is missing in the other version.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Dadao lun 大道論
24 fols.
By Zhou Gupu 周固樸; Song (960–1279)
1037 (fasc. 704)

"Discourse on the Great Tao." This work is a short, well-written philosophical treatise of the Chongxuan 重玄 school, whose author is not known elsewhere. The work is, however, listed under his name in the *Suichu tang shumu* by You Mao (1124–1193; see VDL 78). The text quotes many different sources, one of which is *725 Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* by DU GUANGTING (see the present text 12a1, corresponding to *725 Guangsheng yi* 2.2b6). It also observes the Song taboo of the character *kuang* 匡 (see 20b8).

The treatise is divided into eighteen chapters (*zhang* 章) devoted to traditional subjects, such as obtaining or losing the Tao, the quality of the master, and so on. Some of the chapters are annotated. The tone is philosophical throughout, with an emphasis on the logical explanation of Laozi's and Zhuangzi's thought. One of the important distinctions the author makes is that between true learning (*zhenxue* 眞學) and vulgar learning (*suxue* 俗學).

The early Tang Taoist scholar YIN WENCAO (d. 688) is credited with writing a book with the same title (see *956 Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* 17a), but whether the two works are related is unclear.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sakauchi Shigeo, *"Taidō ron* kō."

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Hongdao lu 弘道錄
56 juan
By Shao Jingbang 邵經邦 (1491–1565)
1464 (fasc. 1067–1080)

"Record of the Boundless Way." This book, despite the word *dao* 道 in its title, has nothing to do with Taoism. It is concerned with the Great Way of Confucianism, in particular with Neo-Confucian ethics. As the author declares, "Since the school of Confucius, men of learning became acquainted with the ways of wisdom and have sought to abide by them" (56.5b). Shao is better known for his similarly titled *Hongjian lu* 弘簡錄 and *Hongyi lu* 弘藝錄. The Harvard Yanjing Library preserves a rare edition of the *Hongdao lu,* which otherwise seems to be extant only in the *Daozang*.

Inspired by the *Daxue yan yi* 大學衍義 (dated 1229) of Zhen Dexiu 眞德秀 (10.16b), the author composed his book in five principal parts corresponding to the Five Virtues of Confucianism. Each principal part is again subdivided into five parts corresponding to the five social relationships. The subdivisions provide examples of model behavior and speeches by individuals from antiquity up to the author's period. Shao's personal remarks follow. The book must have been compiled after 1522, during the reign of the Ming emperor Shizong, whom Shao refers to as the "present Emperor"—a model of filial piety for his conduct at the time of Wuzong's funeral in 1522 (6.21b).

The text's regular structure shows up numerous incoherences and lacunae. The work was revised and edited by Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, the compiler of the supplement to the *Daozang* at the imperial behest in 1607 (25.22b).

Kwong Hing Foon

Taixu xinyuan pian 太虛心淵篇

8 fols.

1047 (fasc. 725)

"Essay on the Depths of the Mind [in the State of the] Great Void." This is a short text with a section of interpretative lyrics attached to it. Most of the sentences of the actual essay are interpreted in poems of twenty words each.

The poems speak of the enlightenment that characterizes the original state of being (*zhenxing* 眞性). They also discuss the encroachments of the outside world that diminish the original potential. Finally, they deal with the possibility of returning to the original state of existence. This work aims to instruct those who would be willing to "cultivate their existence" (7b). The poems have neither titles nor attributions, making it difficult to identify the work precisely.

Florian C. Reiter

Taishang ganying pian 太上感應篇

30 juan

By Li Changling 李昌齡 (937–1008)

1167 (fasc. 834–839)

"Treatise on Retribution of the Most High." This most famous of the "morality books" (*shanshu* 善書) is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* (VDL 89), which implies that it existed already during the Northern Song (960–1127). The *Song shi,* "Yiwen zhi," gives Li Changling as the author. Zhao Xibian 趙希弁, in his appendix to the *Junzhai dushu zhi* (dated 1249), lists an edition in eight juan. He adds that Li, the author, was a hermit of the "Han and Jiaxia jiang 漢嘉夾江" region. This designation appears to be an error for "Han and Jialing jiang 漢, 嘉陵江," since the Jialing River is a tributary of the Han in Shaanxi and Sichuan. Zhao indicates, moreover, that his own father wrote a preface to the work, extolling its Confucian virtues. Since the book had eight juan and the text of the *Taishang ganying pian* itself is short, this edition must have also comprised a commentary by Li Changling.

The *Daozang* edition gives Li Changling as the author of the narrative commentary (*zhuan* 傳). This attribution must be an error, since the commentary contains numerous dates from the Southern Song period, the latest being 1172 (1.5b). The commentary is, moreover, distinctly Taoist, whereas the main text is fundamentally Confucian (see below). The narrative commentary is followed by eulogies written by the scholar-official Zheng Qingzhi 鄭清之, *zi* Anwan 安晚 (1176–1251).

The present version begins with a presentation memorial to the throne (dated 1233, i.e., addressed to Emperor Lizong 理宗). It is signed by Hu Yingwei 胡瑩微, whose title *youjie jianyi zhuguan jiaomen gongshi Taiyi gong fenxiu* 右街鑒義主管教門公事太一宮焚修 indicates that he was a Taoist official in the capital and the head of an imperial Taoist shrine, the Taiyi gong 太一宮. The edition to which Hu refers in his presentation comprised eight juan, like the edition seen by Zhao Xibian. Hu had found it in the Taoist canon.

It follows from the information in the abundant prefatory matter in the present edition (no less than ten prefaces and an undated Chronicle of Miracles [*Jishu lingyan* 紀述靈驗] that after the presentation of the book by Hu Yingwei, the Taiyi gong produced a printed edition that enjoyed a wide circulation. The edition was enhanced by the calligraphy of Emperor Lizong, who wrote the last two lines of the text: "Do not commit evil deeds, but devote yourself to doing good 諸惡莫作, 衆善奉行." It also included the eulogies by Zheng Qingzhi 鄭清之 preserved here and a colophon by the Confucian scholar Zhen Dexiu 眞德秀, *hao* Xishan xiansheng 西山先生 (1178–1235). The colophon has also been preserved here and is dated 1235.

Other local editions must have been made at the same time and during subsequent years. To print and distribute the *Taishang ganying pian* was a work of great religious merit. Many scholars followed suit and published editions with their own prefaces, some of which are assembled here: those are by Chen Huangzi 陳奐子 (dated 1233), Gong Youcai 龔幼采 (dated 1235), Zheng Dahui 鄭大惠, Xian Ting 先挺 (dated 1238), Ye Yingfu 葉應輔 (dated 1235), and Ying Chen 應辰 (dated 1238). Most of these prefaces mention that Li Changling wrote the text as well as a commentary, said by Gong Youcai to have amounted to 100,000 characters. Gong severely criticizes Li, saying that his long-winded glosses served only to complicate a perfectly straightforward text. This remark is important, as it shows that Li's commentary was of a philosophical nature, and not a narrative commentary as we have here.

Of far later date is the preface by Feng Mengzhou 馮夢周, here printed immediately after the presentation. Feng was a Yuan official in South China. He was asked to write this preface by a man from Jiangsu named Wen Huairen 溫懷仁, who undertook the reprinting of the Taiyi gong edition in 1347, completing it two years later. In Wen's own undated preface, which follows Feng's, he confirms that the version of the *Taishan ganying pian* in his possession originally derived from the *Daozang* and was printed at the Taiyi gong in Hangzhou; he identifies the priest responsible for the printing as Zongji 宗季. Neither Feng nor Wen specify the number of juan in their edition.

What remains, then, is the problem of the narrative commentary. The undated Chronicle of Miracles that follows the above-mentioned prefaces is very close in style and in intent to the *zhuan* that follows the main text. That this work cannot be the famous commentary by Li Cangling is certain, but there is no indication who wrote it, nor where it came from.

The main text of the *Taishang ganying pian* comprises only some 1,200 characters. It frequently refers to popular worship and repeatedly commends the cult of the Stove God (Siming Zaojun 司命灶君; e.g., 28.2b). In Song times the worship of the Stove

God does not seem to have been recognized as a Taoist practice. The text states that one should not kill animals for sacrifices unless prescribed by ritual (*feili xiangzai* 非禮享宰; 17.7a). Medieval Taoism strongly condemned animal sacrifice and sacrificial banquets. The narrative commentary changes the meaning of the text to "do not kill animals without reason" (*feili xiangzai* 非理享宰; 17.9b2) and thus avoids the issue of the ritual sacrifice of animals. This alteration and many others point toward discrepancies between the main text and the narrative commentary. Whereas the former is a mixture of Confucianism and Taoism, the latter is purely Taoist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bell, "Printing and religion"; Bell, "A precious raft"; Wang Liqi, "*Taishang ganying pian* jieti."

Kristofer Schipper

***Tianyuan fawei* 天原發微**

18 juan

By Bao Yunlong 鮑雲龍, *zi* Jingxiang 景翔 (1226–1296); edited by Fang Hui 方回, *zi* Wanli 萬里 (1227–1307)

1182 (fasc. 855–859)

"Uncovering the Finer Points of the Fundamentals of Nature." This work is a philosophical study in cosmology. The author, Bao Yunlong, became a presented scholar (*jinshi* 進士) in 1258 on the recommendation of the scholars in his region (*xianggong jinshi* 鄉貢進士). When the Mongols conquered the south, he retired from office. The present book is the only extant work attributed to him. It must, however, have been quite influential, as many scholars of later preriods reedited and republished it. The present edition has neither prefaces nor colophons, although Bao himself produced several of these (see *Tongjiang xuji,* by Fang Hui, 34.1a and 6a). Fang Hui was a contemporary of Bao who obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1262. He is identified here as the editor of Bao's work. According to the authors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 108.5a, all the prefaces and colophons were included in the Yuan edition of the Yuanzhen period (1295–1297), which must have served as the model for the *Daozang* version; they were also included in the early Ming edition by Bao Ning 鮑寧, a descendent of Bao Yunlong.

The work is of an encyclopedic nature. A number of key concepts—such as Taiji 太極, (the whole first juan), *dongjing* 動靜, *jingdong* 靜動, and *bianfang* 邊方—are elucidated by quotations from numerous authors, mostly Confucians and Neo-Confucians. The most frequently quoted authority is SHAO YONG. The fact that the latter's work is also transmitted by the *Daozang* may have prompted the inclusion of the present text.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Sanyao dadao pian* 三要達道篇**

2 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)?

1260 (fasc. 999)

"Tract on the Realization of Tao by Means of the Three Essentials." This work addresses practitioners of self-cultivation. The contents suggest that the work was inspired by the body of Quanzhen 全眞 literature that emerged during the Yuan period.

Whoever attempted to practice self-cultivation should renounce all profane ways. The practical points of reference are the Three Essentials (*sanyao* 三要). This term is quoted from the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經. The unknown author explicitly mentions this text. Compare *108 Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu* 4a, which identifies *sanyao* with "the ears, eyes, and mouth." This interpretation is also applied in the present work. Concerning self-cultivation, it was considered important to control these Three Essentials in order to seal the interior spheres of the body against influences of the profane world.

Florian C. Reiter

***Liugen guidao pian* 六根歸道論**

3 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)?

1261 (fasc. 999)

"Tract on the Return to the Tao by Means of the Six Causes." This text deals with the necessary conditions to effect the return mentioned in the title. The author is unknown. The Six Causes are, in Buddhist terminology, the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind. In this text, the term *liugen* 六根 is also used in this way. The present text recommends that first the mind should be firmly controlled, then the body. This recommendation reflects the realities of the two spheres: inside and outside. If the Six Causes are in the condition of tranquillity and purity, then the Great Tao is present.

Florian C. Reiter

***Tang taigu miaoying Sun zhenren fushou lun* 唐太古妙應孫眞人福壽論**

4 fols.

Attributed to SUN SIMO 孫思邈 (fl. 673)

1426 (fasc. 1055)

"Discourse on Felicity and Longevity, by the Tang Zhenren Sun, Marvelous Response of High Antiquity." This is a famous little treatise on morality and divine retribution, listed in Song catalogues under the title "Discourse on Felicity and Longevity of the Nine Realms of Darkness" (*Jiuyou fushou lun* 九幽福壽論; see VDL 121). The present title can be explained by the fact that in 1103 SUN SIMO was canonized by Song Huizong as Miaoying zhenren 妙應眞人.

This text was engraved on stone by a certain Yang Cong 楊聰 (cf. *Jinshi cuibian* 47.24a–27b).

Catherine Despeux

Daoshu yuanshen qi 道書援神契

7 fols.

Compiled 1305

1231 (fasc. 988)

"Key to the Sacred Foundation of Taoist Scriptures." This is a short treatise that attempts to prove the classical and orthodox background of Taoist ritual. The title may well be an adaption of that of the famous *weishu* 緯書 commentary, the *Xiaojing yuanshen qi* 孝經援神契. This adaption, in turn, might indicate that the author was a man of some learning.

In his dated but unsigned preface, the author stresses the common origin of Confucian and Taoist rites and notes that Confucious took Laozi as master in this respect. Later, the followers of Confucius adapted their clothing to the fashions of the age, whereas the Taoists did not change theirs, but continued to wear antique robes. Their present practice is the direct continuation of the rites of ancient China. The author gives thirty-four convincing examples, ranging from the form and setting of the altar to ritual instruments and rites such as praying for rain.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo datong jing 太上洞玄靈寶天尊說大通經

1 fol.

Song (960–1279)

327 (fasc. 167)

"Scripture of the Sermon of Lingbao Tianzun on the Great Communication." The three short paragraphs and the verse that compose this scripture describe the "great communication." "True emptiness" is "inconceivable and indescribable" because it has no form. Human beings are the locus of an alternation between rest (their nature) and activity (their heart), and they must learn to harmonize these two aspects of their existence. The Great Way has no image, nor is there any activity in one's true nature. Those who attain to that rest in which there is no activity will illumine the world with their wisdom. The vocabulary is cognate with Song philosophical concepts, especially those of the Confucian School of Principle (*lixue* 理學).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan baoyuan shangjing 太上洞玄寶元上經

21 fols.

368 (fasc. 180)

"Superior Scripture of Treasuring the Origin, of the Dongxuan Canon." A commentary on the title announces the variant titles *Yuanyi miaojue* 源一妙訣 and *Ziran ching* 自然經. This is a doctrinal treatise based on the *Daode jing* and unknown elsewhere. It deals with Heaven, Earth, and humanity, before giving an esoteric interpretation of the liturgical title of Taishang laojun: Wuji dadao zhizhen taishang laojun gaohuang tianzun yudi bixia 無極大道至眞太上老君高皇天尊玉帝陛下. The author divides this title into ten segments, as so many interior names (*neihao* 內號) of the god. The date of this work is uncertain.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang laojun shuo liaoxin jing 太上老君說了心經

1 fol.

642 (fasc. 342)

"Scripture on Total Comprehension of the Mind, Enunciated by Taishang Laojun." The scripture is quoted in a collection of commentaries to the *Laojun qingjing jing* 老君清靜經 published during the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty (*757 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu* 17a). It mainly emphasizes the importance of ataraxy in the practice of meditation, an idea commonly encountered in texts such as the "Guankong pian 觀空篇" or the "Taixi pian 胎息篇" (see *1017 Daoshu* 10.10a and 14.8b).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shuijing lu 水鏡錄

16 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

1479 (fasc. 1107)

"Water Mirror Record." This is a small collection of moral tracts of the morality book (*shanshu* 善書) genre. It is undated and unsigned and unknown outside of the canon. The work begins with the text of *1167 Taishang ganying pian*. Next follow two texts of the *Zitong dijun jie shizi wen* 梓橦帝君戒士子文. The *Yinde yanshou lun* 陰德延壽論 comes from *851 Sanyuan yanshu canzan shu* by Li Pengfei 李鵬飛, *hao* Jiuhua chengxin laoren 九華澄心老人, published in 1291. The final three short texts are for the preservation of animal lives: the *Fangsheng wen* 放生文 for the liberation of animals, the *Shasheng qijie* 殺生七戒 against the killing of animals, and finally the *Quan shaniu ge* 勸殺牛歌, which opposes the slaughter of oxen and eating of beef.

Kristofer Schipper

3.A.2 Divination and Numerology

Zhouyi tu 周易圖
3 juan
Southern Song (1127–1279)?
157 (fasc. 69)

"Diagrams of the Book of Changes." The author is unknown, but the present work was in any case written after 1180, the year the *Rongzhai suibi* by Hong Mai (1123–1203) was published. Our text explicitly cites the *Rongzhai suibi* (1.28b–30b) in a passage concerning the *Zhouyi juzheng* 周易舉正 (a book from the Tang dynasty). Hong Mai states in this passage that he presented the *Zhouyi juzheng* to the throne, after having discovered its existence in a copy of the Taoist canon preserved in Fuzhou (significantly, these details were deleted from the standard edition of the *Rongzhai suibi*, reproduced in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊, *xupian*). Concerning the dating *ante quem* of the present work, the fact that there are no references at all to persons living after the second half of the twelfth century suggests that the diagrams were compiled some time between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Liu Shipei brought forward the evidence on this question in *Du Daozang ji* 7b–9a. See also the colophon by Chen Hongxu 陳弘緒 (1597–1665) in *Jingyi kao* 41.11b–12b.



FIGURE 6. An integral representation of the Great Ultimate (*157* 1.1a)

The *Zhouyi tu* contains a total of 114 diagrams, beginning with those related to the Supreme Pole Taiji 太極, the Great Ultimate (fig. 6).

All the different aspects of the philosophical speculations of the Song period (960–1279) concerning the laws of numbers and the structure of hexagrams are discussed. Almost every diagram is explained. More than half of the text is in fact a long excerpt from the works of Zheng Shaomei 鄭少梅 (alias Zheng Dongqing 東卿; middle of the twelfth century; see *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 1.18–19). Zheng is, moreover, either the author or the commentator of a great number of the diagrams in juan 1. In *Du Daozang ji*, Liu Shipei published an annotated table of contents of the present work.

Marc Kalinowski

Dayi xiangshu goushen tu 大易象數鉤深圖
3 juan
158 (fasc. 70)

"Charts for Exploring the Deep Meaning of Symbols and Figures of the Book of Changes." This work is a compendium of figures and charts with comments pertaining to the symbolism of the hexagrams and arithmetical models of the Book of Changes (fig. 7). The present work contains 139 charts and is an expanded version of the section on the *Yijing* (featuring 70 charts) in the *Liujing tukao* 六經圖考. The latter was compiled by Yang Jia 楊甲 between 1131 and 1162 and revised by Mao Banghan 毛邦翰 between 1165 and 1173. The title is already present in the original: see the Ligeng tang 禮耕堂 reedition, based on a Southern Song edition.



FIGURE 7. A cosmological representation of the Hexagram *fu*, "Regeneration" (*158* 2.25a)

The *Liujing tu* went through a second redaction sometime between the end of the twelfth century, when the former versions were completed, and the middle of the thirteenth, when the catalogue that first recorded it was compiled (*Zhizhai shulu jieti* 3.82–83). Its author, Ye Zhongkan 葉仲堪, nearly doubled the number of charts concerning the *Yijing*. Thereafter the *Dayi xiangshu goushen tu* contained 130 charts altogether. It is therefore certain that Ye Zhongkan's version is the same as our present text, or at least its direct source.

Needless to say, the attributions to Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–1064; *Daozang mulu xiangzhu* 1.23a) or Zhang Li 張理 (fl. 1314–1364; *Shoujing tu* 授經圖 4.15b) are fictitious. For further details, see Liu Shipei, *Du Daozang ji* 9b–12a.

The 139 charts can be classified into three groups: the 70 original ones, in the same order as the Ligeng tang edition; 56 charts forming a homogenous set (2.12a–b), which we know were composed by Zheng Dongqing 鄭東卿 (*157 Zhouyi tu*); and thirteen charts of various origin, mostly inserted at the beginning of the first juan.

Marc Kalinowski

Yishu gouyin tu 易數鉤隱圖
3 juan
By Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–1064)
159 (fasc. 71)

"Charts for Probing the Hidden Meaning of the Figures of the Book of Changes." This work is an important source on the school of *Yijing* exegesis (the School of

Figures). This school flourished during the early Song, under the reign of Song Renzong (1023–1064).

Together with his contemporary SHAO YONG, Liu Mu is the only member of this school whose works have reached us in complete form. The text is mentioned by the *Junzhai dushu zhi* 1.33–34 and has an entry in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 2.1a–b. Our edition is also included in the *Tongzhi tang jingjie* 通志堂經解: its editor's preface describes the text's transmission under the Song. We also know that old editions had a preface by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) that was later deleted because it was considered likely to be spurious.

The present work contains fifty-five charts, which are numbered and usually accompanied by a comment. The last part (3.4a–9b) has no chart. The first two juan comprise the charts pertaining to the *Yijing* itself, while the third refers to the *Hetu* 河圖 and the *Luoshu* 洛書. A short preface by Liu Mu himself introduces the work as a whole.

Marc Kalinowski

Yishu gouyin tu yilun jiushi 易數鉤隱圖遺論九事

14 fols.

By Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–1064)

160 (fasc. 71)

"Nine Supplementary Items to the Charts to Probe the Hidden Meaning of the Figures of the Book of Changes." This text is a supplement to *159 Yishu gouyin tu*. It was published posthumously (*yi* 遺), after Liu Mu's death. It was already included as an appendix in Southern Song editions (*Junzhai dushu zhi* 1.134). The reason the "Nine Supplementary Items" were not included in the main text from the beginning are not clear. They date from the same period.

Marc Kalinowski

Yixiang tushuo neipian 易象圖說內篇

3 juan

By Zhang Li 張理 (fl. 1314–1364)

161 (fasc. 71–72)

"Inner Volume of the Discourse on Symbols and Charts of the Book of Changes." This text forms a set with the "outer volume," *162 Yixiang tushuo waipian*.

The first preface (1a–2b) was written by Huang Zhencheng 黃鎮成 in 1357. From its content and the way it quotes the title ("Discourse on Symbols and Charts of the Book of Changes in One Volume" [*Yixiang tushuo yipian* 易象圖說一篇]; prefaces, 1b), it seems that it refers solely to the *neipian*. It is therefore likely that this inner volume circulated independently already by that time.

The second preface (2b–5a), dated 1364 and signed by Zhang Li himself reinforces this hypothesis. It was clearly composed for the achievement of the second part of the *Yixiang tushuo*, namely, the outer volume. This preface was indeed written seven years after the first preface. Moreover, although it does not name the work thus prefaced, its contents essentially introduce the topics of the outer volume. The *Yixiang tushuo* has an entry in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 108.23a–24a.

In the present work, Zhang Li first exposes CHEN TUAN's theory on the *Hetu* 河圖 and comments on some passages of the Book of Changes (juan 1). He then proceeds to an explanation of the origins of the sixty-four hexagrams (2.1a, 3.7a) with ten charts. Last come divinatory calculations using milfoil.

Marc Kalinowski

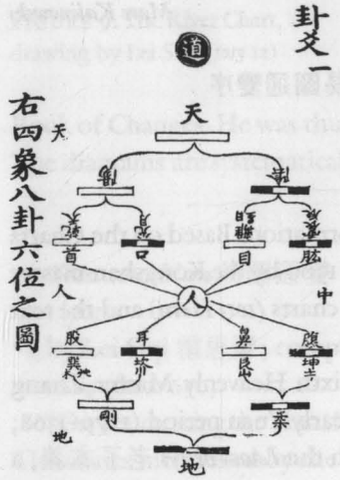


FIGURE 8. Man positioned between Heaven and Earth (*162* 2.1a)

Yixiang tushuo waipian 易象圖說外篇

3 juan

By Zhang Li 張理 (fl. 1314–1364)

162 (fasc. 72)

"Outer Volume of the Discourse on Symbols and Charts of the Book of Changes." This text is the second part of *161 Yixiang tushuo neipian*. The first juan contains six charts illustrating the numerical symbolism of the Book of Changes. The second juan is concerned with the internal structure of the hexagrams (eight charts; see fig. 8), and the third juan discusses their astrological and calendrical background as well as their geopolitical interpretation.

Marc Kalinowski

Yishi tongbian 易筮通變

3 juan

By Lei Siqi 雷思齊 (1223–1301)

1011 (fasc. 630)

"On Penetrating the Transformations Based on the Mantic Procedures of the Book of Changes." This is a treatise on milfoil divination (*shi* 筮), that is, the technique of drawing a hexagram from the Book of Changes through the manipulation of the milfoil. In the preface written in 1300 for the completion of *1014 Yitu tongbian*, Lei Siqi mentions a treatise on milfoil method (*shifa* 筮法) that he composed for inclusion as an appendix to the former work (*1012 Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu* 4a). It seems almost certain that he refers to the present work. Moreover, allusions to the

Yitu tongbian in prefaces written for the introduction of Lei's work to the court in 1331 combine both titles as *Yi tushi tongbian* (*1012 Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu* 1b, 2b). Of the several works by Lei Siqi that were presented on that occasion, only the *Yitu tongbian* and the *Yishi tongbian* are still extant. Their entries in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (3.56a–57a) are gathered under a single heading. The origin and dating of the present work are thus identical to those of the *Yitu tongbian*.

The present work's three juan are divided into five chapters. The first two chapters deal with archaic conceptions of milfoil divination, with examples drawn mostly from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. The last three chapters focus on the analysis of the hexagrams' inner structure, on transformations, and on numerical rules pertaining to the actual use of the milfoil.

Marc Kalinowski

Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu 空山先生易圖通變序

5 fols.

By Lei Siqi 雷思齊; 1300

1012 (fasc. 630)

"Prefaces [to the Treatise] on Penetrating the Transformations Based on the Charts of the Book of Changes." The treatise was completed in 1300 by the Kongshan master Lei Siqi (1223–1301). It forms a set with its introductory charts *(1013 Hetu)* and the text itself *(1014 Yitu tongbian)*.

The first preface (1a), dated 1286, is by the Thirty-sixth Heavenly Master Zhang Zongyan 張宗演, who promoted Lei Siqi during the early Yuan period (1279–1368; 2b). It is not concerned with the *Yitu tongbian* but with the *Laozi benyi* 老子本義, a work also mentioned by the other prefaces. The fact that it is not connected with the *Yitu tongbian* might explain why it is fourteen years earlier than Lei's own preface.

The second preface (1b–2a), dated the third month of 1332, was composed by the eminent Hanlin academician Jie Xisi 揭傒斯 (1274–1344) for the presentation of Lei's works (including the *Yitu tongbian*) to the court in 1331. The two disciples of Lei who came to the capital for presenting their master's works also obtained a preface from the Taoist patriarch Wu Quanjie (1269–1346). Wu's text, the third in the present work (2a–3b), dated the sixth month of 1332, is similar to Jie's preface, adding only some extra details on Lei's Taoist activities. Wu Quanjie thereby honored his former teacher.

Lei Siqi's own preface (3b–4a), fourth and last, deals mainly with the *Yitu tongbian* and his three-juan extension *(1011 Yishi tongbian)*. The date of Lei's preface, 1330, can be considered as the time when these two works were finally put together.

Marc Kalinowski

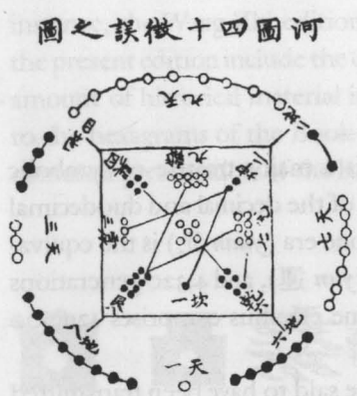


FIGURE 9. The River Chart, a drawing by Lei Siqi (*1013* 1a)

Hetu 河圖

2 fols.

1013 (fasc. 630)

"River Chart." This work should be understood in the sense that it definitively acquired under the Song, that is, as a graphical representation of the first nine numbers.

The present small work is actually an introduction to *1014 Yitu tongbian*; for its origin and dating, see *1012 Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu*.

The four diagrams in the present work were composed by Lei Siqi 雷思齊 (1223–1301; see fig. 9). His aim was to introduce in an abridged form his theory of the genesis of symbols and figures of the Book of Changes. He was thus conforming to the use current from the Song onward. The diagrams are systematically analyzed in the first two juan of the *Yitu tongbian*.

Marc Kalinowski

Yitu tongbian 易圖通變

5 juan

By Lei Siqi 雷思齊; completed in 1330

1014 (fasc. 630)

"On Penetrating the Transformations Based on the Charts of the Book of Changes." The charts mentioned by the title are actually gathered in the introductory matter to the present work, *1013 Hetu*.

Lei Siqi's preface (in *1012 Kongshan xiansheng Yitu tongbian xu*) shows that compilation of the *Yitu tongbian* was finally completed in 1300. It appears from the information provided by the other prefaces that an edition of this work was presented to the court in 1331. This edition was probably the basis for the present *Daozang* edition. Another independent edition circulated in the seventeenth or eighteenth century (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 3.56a–57a).

The first two juan provide a detailed analysis of the charts edited in *1013 Hetu*, as well as some explanations. Juan 3 discusses the cosmological conceptions and numerical rules of the Book of Changes. In the last juan, Lei Siqi traces the history of the charts provided at the beginning of his work. He focuses on the traditions that appeared under the Song and that distorted the form and original meaning of the *Hetu*. The theories of Chen Tuan, Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–1064), and Li Gou 李覯 (1009–1059) are discussed in detail.

Marc Kalinowski

Huangji jingshi 皇極經世
12 juan
By SHAO YONG 邵雍 (1011–1077)
1040 (fasc. 705–718)

"The August Ultimate through the Ages." This is a major treatise of symbolic chronology. It is based on the complex intermingling of the decimal and duodecimal indexes of the sexagesimal cycle. In its computation, one era (*yuan* 元) is the equivalent of twelve conjunctions (*hui* 會), 369 revolutions (*yun* 運), and 4,320 generations (*shi* 世). One generation corresponds to 30 years; one era thus comprises 129,600 years.

The computations discussed in the present work are said to have been transmitted from master to disciple, from their putative author, CHEN TUAN, down to SHAO YONG, who finally compiled them. It is generally considered that the last juan, which our edition attributes to SHAO YONG himself, was actually written by his son, Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057–1134), or one of his disciples.

Several editions have been preserved, among which those by Zhang Xingcheng 張行成 (twelfth century; *Yongle dadian* edition, reproduced in *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 1, entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu* 108.11b–12b) and Wang Zhi 王植 (seventeenth or eighteenth century; *Siku quanshu zhenben* 4, entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu* 108.16a–17b) are most representative. All of these editions were reorganized and supplemented by further writings and comments, making it difficult to identify SHAO YONG's original work. Our *Daozang* edition is no earlier than the Ming, since the last date mentioned in the chronologies is the founding of that dynasty in 1368 (4.38a). This edition comprises twelve juan, each divided into three parts for the first ten juan, and two parts for the last two juan. The text is, moreover, divided into numbered chapters (*pian* 篇, also called *guanwu* 觀物, "investigating phenomena"); their contents can be grouped into four parts: (1) the chronological tables themselves (juan 1–6, chapters 1–34); (2) tables on consonants (*sheng* 聲) and vowels (*yin* 音; chapters 38–40), as well as their equivalents in the previous tables (juan 7–10, chapters 35–50, see 11b.11a–12b); (3) general considerations and explanations on the overall system of the *Huangji jinshi* (juan 11, chapters 41–52, which must be a numbering mistake for 51–62); and (4) two unnumbered chapters titled "outer chapters on investigating phenomena" (*guanwu waipian* 觀物外篇). These chapters contrast with the first sixty-two chapters, which are usually called "inner chapters on investigating phenomena" (*guanwu neipian* 觀物內篇). The first of these two "outer chapters" (juan 12A) applies the chronological principles to the formal structure of the Book of Changes; the second (juan 12B) is a miscellany of philosophical and historical musings of Neo-Confucian inspiration.

Among the extant editions, the *Daozang* is the closest to the original disposition as described in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 1.16–17 and in more detail in later sources (see, for instance, the Wang Zhi edition, *liyan* 例言 1a). Other noteworthy characteristics of the present edition include the complete absence of any commentary, the considerable amount of historical material inserted in the chronologies, the lack of any reference to the hexagrams of the Book of Changes in the first ten juan, and the lacunal and confused presentation of the last juan (especially 12B).

Marc Kalinowski

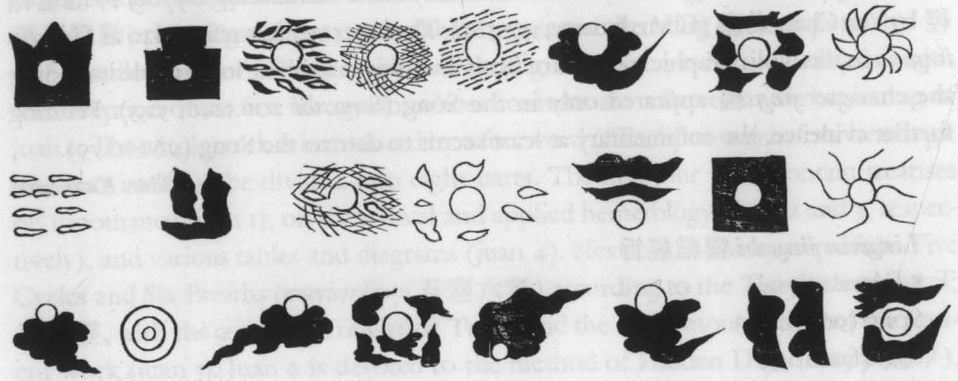


FIGURE 10. Cloud formations and haloes for meteorological forecasts (*1275* 3b–4a, 4b–5a, and 5b–6a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1257)

Yuyang qihou qinji 雨暘氣候親機
16 fols.
1275 (fasc. 1004)

"On Atmospheric Agents [Causing] Sunshine and Rain." This is a meteorological treatise dealing mainly with precipitations. Most of its previsions are based on empirical observations: celestial movements, form and color of the clouds, force and direction of the winds, among others. It also occasionally uses calendrical computation (8b–9a). Some religious elements are concentrated in a long poem in seven-character verse (11a–16a). There is no reference to the military and administrative domains.

The date of the present text is uncertain. It differs from *1276 Pantian jing* in its less scholarly style and its emphasis on prognostication as opposed to analysis. The presence of religious elements and concrete allusions to weather-inflicted calamities (destroyed temples, killed cattle, uprooted trees, human casualties) identify it as a specimen of the popular manuals used by specialists of meteorological prediction and of conjuration of evil influences caused by climatic changes.

Marc Kalinowski

Pantian jing 盤天經

15 fols.

1276 (fasc. 1004)

"Book of Celestial Movements." This is a short treatise of meteoromancy based mainly on the observations of clouds and winds. The analysis of these observations also includes calendrical speculations. The work is composed of rather obscure formulas followed by comments that take up the larger part of the text.

Among the works quoted by the commentary is the *Shenshu lingxia jing* 神樞靈轄經 by Yue Chan 樂產 (Chen dynasty, 557–587). The latter work is referred to as *Shenshu lingxia* in the bibliographic treatises of both Tang histories. The longer title including the character *jing* 經 appeared only in the Song (*Song shi* 206.5246, 5255). Pending further evidence, the commentary at least seems to date to the Song (960–1279).

Marc Kalinowski

Lingxin jingzhi 靈信經旨

8 fols.

Song (960–1279)

1425 (fasc.1055)

"Instructions from Canonical Books on Miraculous Signs." This is a short treatise on divination, especially on natural and physical responses to particular situations, allowing one to have a foreboding of future events. The book is listed in Song bibliographies (see VDL 169).

The unsigned and undated introduction proclaims that this text contains the gist of all important works on the subject. The treatise begins with a rhymed part that introduces the different kinds of signs. A text in prose follows, called the *Liu Gen zhenren lingxin jing* 劉根眞人靈信經. Liu Gen is an immortal whose biography was originally included in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, where he is described as a healer (see *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* 7.14a).

Kristofer Schipper

Rumen chongli zhezhong kanyu wanxiao lu 儒門崇理折衷堪輿完孝錄

8 juan

Between 1583 and 1607

1471 (fasc. 1089–1091)

"Annals of Perfect Filial Piety for Scholars, on the Critical Use of Topomancy." The author probably hailed from Fujian, since he alludes to the local traditions of this region (8.9b). He introduces himself as a mere compiler of topomantic classics ("Fanli," 1a–b), of which he gives an excellent abstract in the first juan, but above all of the related mantic theories, of which he provides an outline in the form of a commentary.

The work features numerous debates where the conceptions of contemporary physicians (*yijia* 醫家), calendarists (*lijia* 曆家), astronomers (*xingjia* 星家), hemerologists (*xuanze jia* 選擇家), and diviners (*mingjia* 命家) are juxtaposed. The author was also a reformer of the almanac (*tongshu* 通書) and attacked Lü Cai's 呂才 (d. 665, 2.1a, 11a) positions in this regard.

The present work must have been compiled between 1583 (the latest date mentioned, 3.4a–b) and 1607, when the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏 was published. The contents can be considered to spring from the official reform of the hemerological tables (*xuanze lishu* 選擇曆數) promulgated in 1376, in the early years of the Ming dynasty (2.11a–b).

A detailed table of contents with its own pagination comes before each juan, with the exception of the first three juan, whose contents are collected at the beginning of juan 1. The whole work is introduced by a foreword ("Fanli," 1a–2a) in four headings. The text itself can be divided into eight parts. The first four parts contain treatises on topomancy (juan 1), on theoretical and applied hemerology (juan 2 and 3, respectively), and various tables and diagrams (juan 4). Next comes the system of the Five Cycles and Six Breaths (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣) according to the *Tianfu zhengjing* 天符正經, with the comments of Chen Tuan and the anonymous author of the present work (juan 5). Juan 6 is devoted to the method of Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲), according to the theories of a Mr. Xu 許氏. Juan 7 discusses astrology on the basis of the computation introduced in juan 2 and 4. Last comes an essay on funerary practices (juan 8), embellished with many quotations from Neo-Confucian masters and ending with the funerary inscription composed by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) for the moving of his father's tomb (cf. *Zhuzi daquan* 94.22b–23b).

Marc Kalinowski

Yiyin shangxia jing 易因上下經

6 juan

By Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602)

1473 (fasc. 1097–1100)

"Guide to the Book of Changes." The expression *shangxia jing* 上下經 refers to the traditional division of the Book of Changes into two parts: the First Book (*shangjing* 上經), containing thirty hexagrams, and the Second Book (*xiajing* 下經), containing thirty-four hexagrams.

It is well known that Li Zhi is the author of this work. His preface, however, was not included in the *Daozang*, the only extant edition of the present text. This preface has been transmitted separately in *Jingyi kao* 55.4a. It explains how Li Zhi composed the "Guide" in his old age and that the title *Jiuzheng Yiyin* 九正易因 (Guide to the Book of Changes Corrected Nine Times), under which the work appears in bibliographical catalogues (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 7.33a–b), was suggested afterward by

his friend Ma Jinglun 馬經綸. The *Daozang* edition therefore presents the original title as conceived by the author. The text itself must have been composed in the last years of the sixteenth century.

The *Yiyin* is shaped as a commentated edition of the Book of Changes. Li Zhi uses this form to expound his vast knowledge in the study of this classic. He uses nearly eighty commentaries, some of them authored by contemporaries such as Fang Shihua 方時化 (late sixteenth century), which is the most often quoted one, and Wang Ji 王畿 (1497–1582), who was his master. Earlier authors, notably from the Song and Yuan, are also quoted extensively.

Marc Kalinowski

Guyi kaoyuan 古易考原

3 juan

Early sixteenth century

1474 (fasc. 1100)

"Research on the Origins of the Ancient Forms of the Book of Changes." This work was authored by Mei Zhuo 梅鷟 (see *Ming shi* 96.2346). Mei appeared on the public scene between 1506 and 1521. The present work must therefore date from the early sixteenth century. It has an entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 7.20a–b.

The *Guyi kaoyuan* is part of the school of exegesis of the Book of Changes that developed from the Song onward. Its author develops personal views on the structure and ordering of the sixty-four hexagrams (juan 1) and their origins in the Supreme Ultimate (juan 2). He finally raises the question of the primeval forms of the Book of Changes (juan 3).

Marc Kalinowski

Taichu yuanqi jieyao baosheng zhi lun 太初元氣接要保生之論

6 fols.

1477 (fasc. 1107)

"Treatise on the Simple [Reading 輯 for 接] Essentials of Protecting Life through the Original Energy of the Very First Beginning." This treatise presents a method of breathing exercises modeled on the annual cycle, with indications of the practice required at each season and each month. It uses the metaphors of Inner Alchemy, but sparingly. On page 1b, Wang Ding zhenren 王鼎眞人, a legendary immortal of the Song (960–1279) period (see LZTT 50.6a–b), is quoted. In the lineage of Taoist patriarchs established by Li Jianyi 李簡易 (*hao* Yuqi zi 玉谿子, fl. 1264) in his "Hunyuan xianpai zhi tu 混元仙派之圖" (see *245 Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao*), Wang Ding occupies the same rank as Lü Dongbin, as a direct disciple of Zhongli Quan.

Kristofer Schipper

Xu zhenjun yuxia ji 許眞君玉匣記

7, 2, 6 fols.

Preface dated 1433

1480 (fasc. 1108)

"Notes from the Jade Coffer of the True Lord Xu." This short liturgical calendar is ascribed to the third-century saint Xu Xun. It features a preface ("Xu"; 1a–2b) dated 1433 and signed by a Mr. Wu 吳 (surnamed Gengbi zhai 耕筆齋), and was probably compiled not long before this date.

The calendar gives the auspicious days for sacrifices according to the localization of the deities (*zhushen* 諸神). It is integrated within the framework of the revelations of the Jade Emperor (6a).

The table of contents ("Mulu," 1a–b) has seventeen entries, including treatises extant in the following work, *1481 Fashi xuanze ji*. The latter work and the present text form a single book (see *1481 Fashi xuanze ji* 44a), of which the *Yuxia ji* is the second entry. The first entry is actually merged with the table of contents ("Mulu," 1b–7a) and lists the anniversaries of a number of deities belonging to the Taoist, Buddhist, and popular pantheons. The Buddhist deities play the major role, as can be seen from their number and from the many allusions to the recitation of sūtras.

The author seems to have been inspired by an earlier work, the *Xitian yujing* 西天玉經 ("Mulu," 4a). The mention of the anniversaries of the Ten Kings of Hell is completed by the story of their transmission. This story details how the dates were revealed in 1455 by the King of Hell himself to Li Qing 李清, a Shandong scholar.

Marc Kalinowski

Fashi xuanze ji 法師選擇記

44 fols.

Postface dated 1488

1481 (fasc. 1108)

"Hemerological Notes of the Ritual Master." This is a short liturgical calendar concerning various deities, most of them Buddhist. Its transmission can supposedly be traced back to Xuanzang 玄奘 (Sanzang heshang 三藏和尙), who composed it in 627 at the behest of the Tang emperor Xuanzong (1a). The Ritual Master of the title probably refers to Xuanzang. The author claims to have used a work from the Buddhist canon, the *Rulai xuanze ji* 如來選擇記 (1a).

The present work is comparable to *1480 Xu zhenjun yuxia ji*. It can be considered a Buddhist equivalent of the Taoist liturgical doctrine found in *1480 Yuxia ji*. This is the opinion of the postface's author (4b–5a). This postface was dated 1488 and attributed to a Yanling 延陵, Xuanxuan daoren 玄玄道人. Both works were then edited in a single volume (see *1480 Xu zhenjun yuxia ji*).

The *Xuanze ji,* properly speaking, is the third of the seventeen entries forming the table of contents of *1480 Xu zhenjun yuxia ji* ("Mulu," 1a–b). The remaining fourteen entries are a description of hemerological and astrocalendrical procedures transcribed from various sources. Entries 8 to 10 form a comprehensive set reproduced from *1267 Jiutian shangsheng bichuan jinfu jing* 1b–11b. Entry 13 (29a) is indicated as copied from a *Biyu jing* 碧玉經.

Marc Kalinowski

Ziwei doushu 紫微斗數

3 juan

1485 (fasc. 1114)

"[Treatise] on the Calculus of the Bushel in Purple Sublimity." The realm of Purple Sublimity (Ziwei yuan 紫微垣) is a common name for the central part of the Sphere of the Fixed (see *Jin shi* 20.433), on the border of which lies the Northern Bushel constellation. The present text is a divination treatise based on the layout of eighteen partly imaginary stars on a mantic matrix comprising twelve divisions. These twelve divisions fit the twelve branches of the sexagesimal cycle. The layout of the stars on the matrix depends mainly on the inner symmetries within the cycle and on symbolic connotations of its elements (the ten stems and the twelve branches). This procedure is used for the interpretation of individual horoscopes (*bazi* 八字; 1.1a) also computed by means of the sexagesimal calendar.

The present work was never listed in bibliographical catalogues. The Purple Sublimity method has nonetheless been known for a long time and still plays a large part among contemporary calendrical systems. All the modern texts can be traced back to the *Ziwei doushu quanshu* published under the Ming by Luo Hongxian (1504–1564). Although both texts share the same computation and overall structure, the present work represents a distinct tradition. Its names for the eighteen stars (excluding Ziwei 紫微, which gives its name to the work, and Wenchang 文昌) and the ordering of the mantic values conferred upon the twelve divisions of the sky (the twelve palaces [*gong* 宮]; 1.20b–33a) are altogether different from those in modern use.

The present text exhibits, under various angles, an archaic stage of the method. The description of the stars and palaces (2.14a–3.26a) is suffused with elements borrowed from Greek astrology, a dimension absent from Luo Hongxian's book. Meanwhile, there is no reference to the Northern Bushel, despite the allusion to it in the title. A more fitting title would therefore be "[Treatise] on the Eighteen Stars of the Purple Sublimity (or Cavern)." The text also includes noteworthy archaisms, such as Cavern Sublimity (*dongwei* 洞微) instead of Ziwei (2.14a.9), and the Four Masters [of Fate] (*sizhu* 四主) instead of the Four Pillars (*sizhu* 四柱; 2.11a.6).

On the other hand, Luo Hongxian's work shows many characteristics of a later edition. The number of stars has increased dramatically and includes the mantic appellations of the stars of the Northern Bushel and other imaginary stars also present on a geomancer's compass; their total number exceeds 30. Today it has reached 115, covering several categories (*ji* 級). It may be noted that astronomers had previously identified fifteen stars within the realm of the Purple Sublimity (*Jin shi* 290). The method itself also produced new computations that are absent from the present work.

The antiquity of the present work probably made it difficult for practicians to use. From the Ming onward, they therefore chose to work with the revised edition by Luo Hongxian. Internal criticism thus tends to suggest an early date for the present work: Yuan (1279–1368) or, more likely, Song (960–1279). As there are no external criteria for dating the work, however, there can be no definitive conclusion on this point. Luo Hongxian's edition, besides frequently citing CHEN TUAN, the putative author of the Purple Sublimity method, also quotes comments by BO YUCHAN.

Marc Kalinowski

Lingbao liuding bifa 靈寶六丁祕法

16 fols.

581 (fasc. 322)

"Secret Lingbao Method Concerning the Spirits of the Six *Ding* Days." The ritual devoted to the spirits mentioned in the title is practiced individually. In general, it serves a propitiatory function (see, e.g., 8a–b) but may also be performed as a spiritual exercise (e.g., 10a–b).

The present method bases itself on a certain *Liuding jue* 六丁訣, which also underlies the ritual described in juan 2 of *586 Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue* (q.v.). The latter text appears to be regarded as authoritative. It is mentioned twice, each time with both a succinct but accurate description of its table of contents in three juan and an account of the transmission of the method. In the first account, the transmission takes place from the Dark Maiden (Xuannü 玄女) to the Yellow Emperor (4a); in the second account, it is passed to a certain Zhang Qun 張群, through the intermediary of the goddess of the *dingchou* day (*dingchou shennü* 丁丑神女; 10a). The second account is reproduced in a more detailed but less careful version in *588 Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue* (q.v.). The reference to the *Liuding jue* there is replaced by one to a *Taiyin xuannü jing* 太陰玄女經.

The two citations of a *Xianjing* 仙經 in *586 Rushi jue* are also found in the present text. The first citation (2.7b) occurs, on the one hand, in abridged form with a reference to the *Xianjing* (7b); on the other hand, it appears in extenso but is ascribed to

the Yellow Emperor (15b). The second citation is embedded in a larger citation of the Yellow Emperor (1b–2a).

The end of this brief work records a method of corpse liberation (*shijie* 尸解) by means of embryonic breathing (14a–15a).

Although the present work is close to the two above-mentioned treatises in the *Daozang*, it differs from them in the following respects: its style is more refined; the ritual is essentially devoted to goddesses of the six *ding* days; whereas in *586 Rushi jue* several other deities are involved in the transmission and instruction of the text by the Jade Maiden (Yunnü 玉女) or the Dark Maiden, in the present text only the Yellow Emperor figures in that role; finally, while the mantic system of the Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲) here underlies parts of the ritual sequence, its role in the two related works is more explicit.

Marc Kalinowski

Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue 黃帝太乙八門入式訣

3 juan

586 (fasc. 323)

"Instructions Transmitted by the Yellow Emperor for Penetrating the Order of the Eight Gates of the Great One." This work is a collection of ritual instructions centered on the cult of the spirits of the six *ding* days (*liuding* 六丁) in the sexagesimal cycle (juan 2). The ritual itself is based on the authority of a *Liuding shenjue* 六丁神訣 (2.2a), which is also mentioned and described in *581 Lingbao liuding bifa* (q.v.). The ritual is preceded (juan 1) by a fragmentary discussion of mantic methods involving Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲). These methods are characterized by the order of the Eight Gates and Nine Palaces, to which the title refers. The beginning of this introductory part is in seven-character verse (1.1a–3a). The work ends with a series of closing rites: the surveying of constellations and propitiatory invocations of the five sectors and six directions (juan 3).

Apart from the Jade Maiden (Yunü 玉女), who is served by the spirits of the *ding* days as acolytes (2.3b), the instructing deities are the Most High Lord Lao and Sanhuang da tiandi 三皇大天帝. The divinatory ritual described in 1.4a–6b shows traces of Buddhist terminology. A *Damo taixi jing* 達磨胎息經 is cited in the short passage devoted to embryonic respiration (1.3a–4b).

The present text is one of three related liturgical texts; the other two texts are *587 Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue* and *588 Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue,* which follow immediately after the present text in the *Daozang*. Besides the similarity of their titles, these three texts share a number of passages in common, including two citations of a *Xianjing* 仙經 that can also be found in *581 Lingbao liuding bifa*.

Marc Kalinowski

Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue 黃帝太一八門入式秘訣

18 fols.

587 (fasc. 324)

"Secret Instructions Transmitted by the Yellow Emperor for Penetrating the Order of the Eight Gates of the Great One." As in *586 Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue*, the title here refers to the spatial order of the Eight Gates and Nine Palaces of the mantic method of the Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲). The spirits of the six *ding* days (*liuding* 六丁) in the sexagesimal cycle, however, play a less important role in the present text than in *586 Rushi jue*. Here they are replaced by the six *wu* 戊 days, for which the text provided talismans, seals, and instructions regarding their use (5b–9a). The ritual is constructed around a procedure titled Concealed Return of the Jade Maiden (12a), which is also described in *588 Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue* under the slightly different title Hidden Form of the Jade Maiden (2b). The version found in the present text seems to have been current at least under the Song. See the *Dunjia fuying jing* (written at the imperial behest between 1034–1038).

The *Dunjia fuying jing* (3.14b) contains a passage that is identical to 14b.1–5 in the present work and to *586 Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue* 3.2b; it also continues most of the ritual described in the present text (see *Dunjia fuying jing* 3.9b ff. for the Concealed Return of the Jade Maiden, and 3.15b ff. for the spirits of the six *ding* days). Indeed, the *Dunjia fuying jing*, primarily a deductive divination treatise for the Hidden Days method, provides the theoretical model for the structure of the ritual. The imperial officers responsible for the composition of the *Dunjia fuying jing* devoted fully one third of the text to the method of the Hidden Days. The transmission of that method, which first appeared in *1185 Baopu zi neipian* 17.5b, seems closely tied to that of the kind of rites found in the present work. It may be noted that Emperor Renzong's (r. 1023–1064) preface to the *Dunjia fuying jing* states that the undertaking was the result of a discovery of "Secret books on the [method of the] dragon days" (*Longjia bijing* 龍甲秘經) in a secluded dwelling on Mount Peng 蓬山 (preface, 1a).

Marc Kalinowski

Huangdi taiyi bamen nishun shengsi jue 黃帝太一八門逆順生死訣

27 fols.

588 (fasc. 324)

"Instructions Transmitted by the Yellow Emperor Concerning Progression and Regression of Birth and Death through the Eight Gates of the Great One." This text constitutes the last of the series of three consecutive works in the *Daozang* (see also *586 Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue* and *587 Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue*). The titles, form, and content of these works suggest that they belong to the same liturgical

context. Unlike the other two, however, the present text is not structured around a principal rite.

The work's constituent elements can be distinguished as follows. Page 1a: a table of the six decades of the sexagesimal cycle and their correspondences with the Eight Gates and the method of divination by Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲; *586 Rushi jue* opens with a similar mantic table). Page 2b–4a: method of the hidden form of the Jade Maiden (described in identical terms in *587 Rushi bijue* [q.v.]). Page 6b–11a: method of the Orphan and the Void (*gu xu* 孤虛), including an account of its transmission by the Dark Maiden (Xuannü 玄女) to Li Jing 李靖 in 628 (also found, with significant variants, in *586 Rushi jue* 1.7a–11b). Page 14b–22a: Book of the Dark Maiden of Great Yin (*Taiyin xuannü jing* 太陰玄女經), a ritual centered on the cult of the spirits of the six *ding* days of the sexagesimal cycle. Titled "unique method among ten thousand" (*wanyi fa* 萬一法; the complete title is given in *581 Lingbao liuding bifa* 9b), its transmission to a certain Zhang Qun 張群 is due to the goddess of the *dingchou* day (*dingchou shennü* 丁丑神女; 15a). The whole of this ritual is reproduced almost identically in *581 Lingbao liuding bifa* 9b–14a, with the exception of the final section in the present work (20a–22a), for which *581 Lingbai liuding bifa* substitutes the description of a method of embryonic respiration. Page 22a–25a: a complement to the preceding part, providing instructions for the fabrication and use of the six talismans of the Yin spirits (the six *ding* days) of the six decades of the sexagesimal cycle (*liujia yinfu* 六甲陰符). These instructions are also partially included in *581 Lingbao liuding bifa* 12b–14a and, in a more detailed version, in *Dunjia fuying jing* 3.18a–19b.

Finally, we may point out a series of recipes for diverse potions (1a–b and 11a–14b). The series on 11a–b is also found in YJQQ 77.13a, with the same transmission account.

Marc Kalinowski

Bizang tongxuan bianhua liuyin dongwei dunjia zhenjing
祕藏通玄變化六陰洞微遁甲眞經

3 juan
Song (960–1279)
857 (fasc. 576)

"Book of the Six Yin of the Sublime Grotto *[Liuyin dongwei jing],* Veritable Scripture of the Hidden Days *[Dunjia zhenjing]*." This title corresponds to two treatises combined. The Six Yin are the spirits of the *ding* 丁 days of the six decades in the sexagesimal cycle, while its *jia* 甲 days are Yang spirits (2.2a). The mantic method of the Hidden Days constitutes the formal framework of the cult of the Six Yin (1.11a). This method does not feature directly in the present work, however, except in the introduction (see below).

Two documents are inserted at the end of the first juan. The first document (8a–10a) is in the form of a deed written in 971 by the Song official Zhao Pu 趙普 (921–991), on the occasion of the registration of a writ in the Department of Forbidden Books of the Imperial Library (*bishu ge* 秘書閣). The expression *bizang* 祕藏 (kept in the imperial library) in the title of the present work suggests that it was the object of the deed. The work may thus date to the second half of the tenth century. The author indicates having obtained it from a recluse named Liu Han 劉罕 on Luofu shan 羅浮山.

The second document (10b–12a) is the preface to a *Dunjia shenjing* 遁甲神經 (or *fujing* 符經) in three juan. The account of its transmission is assimilated with that of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (1.11a).

The contents of the present work are related to the tradition of the secret method of the six *ding* (*liuding bifa* 六丁秘法; 2.3a). Like the other texts produced by that tradition, it bases itself on the first chapter of a *Liuding jue* 六丁訣 in three juan (cf. *581 Lingbao liuding bifa* 4b, 10a) and is essentially devoted to ritual.

The first two juan describe the central ritual of the cult of the six *ding* spirits. The second juan repeats in greater detail what is said in the first. The main ritual, or Sacrifice of the Great Assembly (*dahui ji* 大會祭), was held six times per year, on the *jiazi* 甲子 days; the secondary ritual, or Sacrifice of the Small Assembly (*xiaohui ji* 小會祭), was held thirty-six times per year, on the *ding* days. Noteworthy is the importance assigned to the northern warrior Zhenwu zhenjun 眞武眞君, Lord of the North (2.2a) or of the Center (3.7a). The third juan is, apart from a brief résumé (1a–2a) of 2.6a–8a, entirely devoted to talismans used in the ritual.

Marc Kalinowski

Xuanjing bixia lingbao juxuan jing **玄精碧匣靈寶聚玄經**

3 juan
Song (960–1279)
984 (fasc. 618)

"Book of the Mysterious Aggregates of the Marvelous Jewel, from the Jade Casket of Mysterious Essence." This is a manual of divination according to the ancient system of Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲). The idea of "aggregates" here refers probably to the fact that the present work endeavors to combine different forms of computation and time calculation, notably those of *dunjia* and *liuren* 六壬, as in the twenty-second chapter (3.12b). The style of the work is abstruse in the extreme, and there are many missing parts on each page.

The contents can be compared with those of the most ancient manual of this mantic art, the *Dunjia fuying jing,* which was composed on imperial order in the years 1034–1038. The present treatise could represent a sibylline version of the latter. In this respect we do have here an important document for the study of the social

currents that contributed, during the Song dynasty, to the continuation of the mantic techniques related to the Hidden Days method.

Each juan is subdivided into twenty-four rubrics (*bu* 部). The first two juan are mostly dedicated to *dunjia*, while the third makes extensive use of the *liuren* and *fengjiao* 風角 techniques.

Marc Kalinowski

***Yiwai biezhuan* 易外別傳**

25 fols.

By Yu Yan 俞琰; ca. 1284

1009 (fasc. 629)

"Extraneous Commentary to the *Yijing*." The title of the present work can be explained by the wish of the author to make this text into an appendix of his *Zhouyi jishuo* 周易集說 (Collection of Interpretations of the *Zhouyi;* see *1010 Xuanpin zhi men fu*). He also considers that the present work contains marginal developments with respect to the theoretical foundations of the Book of Changes. The expression *yiwai biezhuan* appears to have been introduced by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; see *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 4.15b). The present work is reviewed in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 146.54b–56a.

The preface of Yu Yan (fl. 1253–1296) contains little concrete information except the date of 1284, by which the work was presumably completed. More information about the scope and the form of the present work can be found in the two colophons appended to *1010 Xuanpin zhi men fu*. The work presents itself as a commenatry on certain tenets of metaphysical and alchemical thought as expressed in works like the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, on both of which Yu Yan himself wrote glosses (*1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* and *125 Huangdi yinfu jing zhu*).

The present commentary is certainly tainted with Taoism, but its overall orientation is Confucian, as can be seen from the numerous references to the theories of Shao Yong, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), and others.

Marc Kalinowski

***Xuanpin zhi men fu* 玄牝之門賦**

4 fols.

By Yu Yan 俞琰; between 1284 and 1296

1010 (fasc. 629)

"Rhapsody of the Gate of the Dark Female." The title corresponds to that of the prose poem (fu) at the beginning of this short text. The allusion to the famous passage of the sixth chapter of the *Daode jing* is understood here as a reference to the alchemical process. Moreover, the present opuscule contains a short poem dedicated to Lü Dongbin.

The colophon by Yu Yan (fl.1253–1296) does not refer to the poems presented here, but concerns mostly the preceding *1009 Yiwai biezhuan*. The author explains the general organization of the work and the sources he used. It appears that Yu intended to append the *Yiwai biezhuan* to his collected interpretations of the *Zhouyi* (*Zhouyi jishuo* 周易集說; compiled between 1284–1296; see the preface by Yu Yan to this work in the *Tongzhi tang jingjie* 通志堂經解). As the preface of the *Yiwai biezhuan* is dated 1284, it is reasonable to suppose that the pieces contained in the present small collection were also written between that date and 1296.

A second colophon is by Yu Yan's son and was written on the occasion of his printing of the *Xuanxue zhengzong* 玄學正宗 in 1356. Yu Zhongwen 俞仲溫 states that his father integrated the *Yiwai biezhuan* into the *Zhouyi jishuo* (this is no longer the case in the *Tongzhi tang jingjie* edition) and that the *Xuanxue zhengzong* originally contained three works by Yu Yan: the *Yiwai biezhuan;* a commentary on the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (probably *125 Huangdi yingfu jing*); and his commentary to the *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 by Lü Dongbin (*136 Lu Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*).

The authors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (147.30a–30b) considered that the placement of the colophons to the *Yiwai biezhuan* at the end of the present collection indicated that these two texts were edited as one work in the now lost *Xuanxue zhengzong*.

Marc Kalinowski

3.A.3 Medicine and Pharmacology

***Tujing yanyi bencao* 圖經衍義本草**

5 + 42 juan

Compiled by Kou Zongshi 寇宗奭; 1116; revised by Xu Hong 許洪 (fl. 1208)

768–769 (fasc. 535–550)

"Enlarged and Illustrated *Materia Medica*." This work is edited in two parts, beginning with a head-scroll (*shangjuan* 上卷) divided into five juan and containing prefatory texts, followed by the *Materia Medica* (*bencao* 本草) itself, in forty-two juan.

The first part (*shangjuan*) contains a great number of prefaces to various previous *bencao* that were incorporated into the present handbook: the preface to the *Jiayou bencao* 嘉佑本草 of 1061 by Zhang Yuxi 掌禹錫 (1.1a–5b); the preface to the *Tujing* 圖經 [*bencao* 本草] of 1062 by Su Song 蘇頌 (1.5b–9a); the preface to the *Kaibao chongding bencao* 開寶重定本草 of 973 (1.9a–11a); the preface to the so-called *Tang*

ben [bencao] 唐本本草 of 659 by Kong Zhiyue 孔志約 (1.10b–12b); and the preface of Tao Hongjing to his *Materia Medica*, commentated by Zhang Yuxi (1.13a–26a).

The second juan of the *shangjuan* opens with an introduction (*xuli* 序例) on the art of picking and preparing medicinal herbs (2.1a–10b). Zhang Yuxi then turns to the history of Chinese *bencao* and presents prefaces of ancient works that he and others collected: the *Yaodui* 藥對 of Xu Zhicai 徐之才; the *Qianjin fang* 千金方 by Sun Simo; the *Bencao shiyi* 本草拾義 by Chen Zangqi 陳藏器; the *Chongguang buzhu shennong bencao bing tujing* 重廣補註神農本草并圖經 of 1092 by Lin Xi 林希; and the *Leigong paozhi lun* 雷公炮炙論 (*shangjuan* 2.10b–20b). Juan 3 of the *shangjuan* opens with the preface to the *Bencao yanyi* 本草衍義 by Kou Zongshi himself (dated 1116). This preface is followed by the continuation of the introduction (*xuli*) that began in the previous juan. The last two juan of the *shangjuan* still continue the introduction and deal with the classification of medicinal herbs and animal and mineral substances.

The above summary illustrates the confused arrangement of the present edition, in which some parts—for example, the table of contents—are missing. It is nevertheless possible to reconstitute the successive strata of which the present handbook is composed.

The most fundamental *Materia Medica* is the *Shennong bencao* 神農本草 of the late Han period. Its title appears for the first time in the *Qilu* 七錄 of the Liang dynasty (see *Ruan shi Qilu*). This work listed the symbolic number of 365 medicinal ingredients (there are in fact more in the extant editions). It was enlarged and annotated by Tao Hongjing, and edited as the *Shennong bencao jing jizhu*, listing 720 ingredients. Of this work only fragments survive (see the edition by Mori Rishii listed in the general bibliography). In the present text, quotations of the work of Tao Hongjing are introduced with the words: "Tao the Hermit says (*Tao yinju yue* 陶隱居曰)."

In 657, an imperial edict ordered a group of twenty-two scholars under the direction of Su Jing 蘇敬 (fl. 656–660)—or, according to other sources, under Kong Zhiyue—and Li Ji 李勣 (594–669) to compile a new *Materia Medica* (cf. *Jiu Tang shu* 79.2726–27). The work was completed in 659, and its study became mandatory for physicians under the Tang. The new *bencao* was based on the book of Tao Hongjing, enlarged by 114 new descriptions of remedies. Called *Xinxiu bencao* 新修本草 or *Tangben [bencao]*, the handbook had fifty-three or fifty-four juan (see *shangjuan* 1.12b), of which twenty-five were devoted to pictures and seven to text with illustrations. Because of an imperial taboo of the Daguan era (1107–1110), Su Jing's name was written Su Gong 蘇恭, as is the case here. The Tang official *bencao* is quoted in our handbook under the heading "*Tang ben zhu* 唐本註."

Somewhat later appeared the *Shu bencao* 蜀本草 in twenty juan, a revised edition of the official handbook of 659, by Han Baosheng 韓保昇 of Sichuan. This book is quoted here under the heading "*Shu ben yun* 蜀本云." There are also quotations here

of a *Shu ben tujing* 蜀本圖經, but there is no conclusive evidence that this is the same work.

A slightly later *Materia Medica* was the *Rihua zi zhujia bencao* 日華子諸家本草 which reportedly had twenty juan and was compiled by a certain Rihua zi, reputed to have lived during the Kaibao era (968–976). Nothing else is known of him. This work is often quoted here.

In 973, a new imperial edict ordered the medical doctors to revise the extant *Materia Medica*, to incorporate the important elements of the *Bencao shiyi* 本草拾義 (completed in 739) of Chen Zangqi 陳藏器 and the *Bencao yinyi* 本草音義 of Li Hanguang, and to add new findings. This work was completed by Liu Han 劉翰, the Taoist Ma Zhi 馬志, and Wang Guangyou 王廣祐. It is known under the title of *Kaibao bencao* 開寶本草. Again under imperial supervision, this work was revised by Li Fang and reedited under the title *Kaibao chongding bencao* 開寶重定本草. This collection contained descriptions of 983 ingredients. The material from the *Tangben* of 659 was marked "Tang fu 唐附," and the new additions "jin fu 今附."

Later, under the Song, a new *Materia Medica* was compiled at imperial behest and under the direction of Zhang Yuxi 掌禹錫, Lin Yi 林億, Zhang Dong 張洞, and Su Song 蘇頌. This work was presented to the throne in 1061 under the title *Jiayou buzhu Shennong bencao* 嘉祐補註神農本草. Its main sources were the above-mentioned *Kaibao chongding bencao* and the *Shu bencao*. The new additions were marked "*xin bu* 新補." The quotations of the *Tang ben* were introduced as "*Tang ben zhu* 唐本註" and those of the *Kaibao bencao* as "*jin zhu* 今註." Entirely new materials added in this handbook were marked "*xinding* 新定." There are only seventeen such items. This *Jiayou bencao* listed no less that 1,082 ingredients.

A year later, illustrations were added to the *Jiayou buzhu Shennong bencao*. Henceforth it was thus entitled *Bencao tujing* 本草圖經. Another ninety-eight descriptions were added on that occasion; these were marked "*benjing wailei* 本經外類." As told in our present work (*shangjuan* 1.6a), under the Tang there had been two illustrated *bencao:* that of Su Jing (see above) and the *Danfang yaotu* 單方藥圖 of the Tianbao era (742–756). Both works were lost by the time of Su Song, who could procure only the last juan of the *Danfang yaotu*.

In 1092, Chen Cheng of Sichuan arranged the *Jiayou bencao* of 1061 and the *Tujing* of 1062 into one single book. He added a few new elements, marked "*bie shuo* 別說." This work is the *Chongguang buzhu Shennong bencao bing tujing* 重廣補註神農本草并圖經. The title is mentioned in the Ke edition of the *Jingshi zhenglei daguan bencao,* which also includes all the material from the *Jiayou bencao* and the *Tujing*. Perhaps this is the same work under a different title.

Finally, in 1116, Kou Zongshi compiled a *Bencao yanyi* with the aim of correcting the errors of the *Jiayou bencao* and the *Tujing*. His work was published three years later.

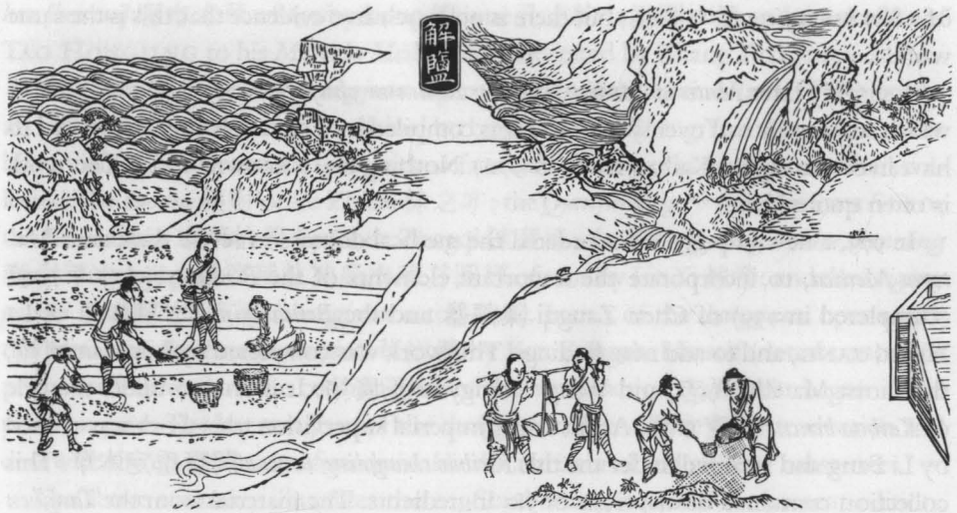


FIGURE 11. (*above and opposite*) Two techniques for winning salt from seawater: Salt-making by evaporation in a cauldron and in a salt marsh (*769* 3.7b–9a and 9a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/761)

Until 1195, the title of this new handbook was *Bencao guangyi* 本草廣義; it was then changed into *yanyi* 衍義 in avoidance of the personal name of Emperor Ningzong (r. 1195–1224). In 1249, the book was edited as a supplement to a new edition of the *Daguan bencao,* called the *Chongxiu Zhenghe bencao* 重修政和本草. The arrangement of the prefaces and their texts is identical with that of the present work.

It appears, therefore, that the present *Tujing yanyi bencao* corresponds to the *Chongguang buzhu shennong bencao bing tujing,* to which was added the text of the *Bencao yanyi* of Kou Zongshi at the end of each rubric. The contents of the present text are identical with the *Chongxiu Zhenghe bencao*, but the quotations are given here in a different order.

The present work is in many respects similar to the *Leibian tujing jizhu yanyi bencao*. This work appears to be based on a *Xinbian leiyao tuzhu bencao* 新編類要圖註本草, of which there were several printings during the Song and the Yuan. Some of these editions name a certain Liu Xinfu 劉信甫 (early thirteenth century) as having carried out the revisions (see *Yiji kao* 醫籍考 of *bencao* 3, p. 146).

In a colophon to the *Bencao yanyi*, of which he had obtained the Yuan printing blocks, Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 says that this work was included in the Taoist canon by a certain Boyun zi 白雲子 (see *Pushu tingji* 曝書亭集, 55). Boyun zi is most likely Qi Zhiyuan 綦志遠, a Quanzhen 全眞 Taoist and a close friend of SONG DEFANG, who directed the edition of the Taoist canon of 1246. The title *Bencao yanyi* may designate





FIGURE 12. A furnace for making mercury (*769* 3.22b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/761)

the original twenty-juan work by Kou Zongzhi or the present handbook, which is sometimes quoted under this abbreviated title.

The present *Materia Medica* gives more than 1,000 descriptions classified in eight categories: minerals (juan 1–6), herbs (7–20), shrubs (21–25), ingredients of human origin (26), quadrupeds (27–29), birds (30), fish and insects (37–39), vegetables and spices (40–42). Each medicinal ingredient is minutely described: its taste, toxicity, place of origin, the best time for its harvest, its therapeutic uses, its combination with other remedies, and sometimes the mode of preparation.

More than 120 different works are quoted. The *Shennong bencao jing,* however, remains the fundamental text. For the mineral ingredients, some alchemical works are cited, such as *925 Danfang jianyuan* and *930 Sanshiliu shuifa*. In general, the name of the ingredient is given in white in a black frame. For each item there are one or more illustrations with indication of the place of origin of the variant. There is also an illustration of salt fabrication (3.7b–9a; see fig. 11) and of a furnace for making mercury (3.22b; see fig. 12).

Catherine Despeux



FIGURE 13. Fabulous mushrooms of immortality: Red Jade, China Root, Zuo Spirit with female guardian, Metal Essence (*1406* 2a, 21b, 30a, 62a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1387)

Taishang lingbao zhicao pin 太上靈寶芝草品

64 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

1406 (fasc. 1051)

"Catalog of Mushrooms of Immortality." This work contains illustrations, with short descriptive texts, of 127 mushrooms or herbs of Long Life. Neither the anonymous preface nor the text give any indication of the provenance or date of the work.

The *zhi* 芝 fungus plays an important role in the Shangqing tradition (five kinds of *zhi*-mushrooms were said to grow on the Maoshan 茅山) as well as in the Lingbao corpus. A text with the title *Dongxuan lingbao zhi pin* 洞玄靈寶芝品 is listed in the catalog of the Lingbao canon in *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 1.6b. Well before that, the importance of the *zhi*-plant had been stressed in *388 Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 15b and passim, and a large part of chapter 11 of the BPZ is also dedicated to this plant. Numerous texts concerning *zhi* are listed in Song bibliographies, and many of these were illustrated (see fig. 13). A *Taishang lingbao zhi pin* 太上靈寶芝品 is listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* (VDL 89).

With respect to the description of individual *zhi*, the present work has no direct relationship with chapter 11 of the BPZ, nor with *933 Zhong zhicao fa* (compare also *1206 Shangqing mingjian yaojing* 8b–13a, which refers to "illustrations"). Texts containing descriptions that can be related to those in the present work are found in *Yiwen leiju* 98 (a description of nineteen *zhi,* giving *Baopu zi* as source), in *Taiping yulan* 986 (a description of thirty-two *zhi,* quoting a *Xianren caizhi tu* 仙人採芝圖 as source; compare the quotation of a *Caizhi tu* 採芝圖 in *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 28), again in *Taiping yulan* 345 (quoting a *Dunjia kaishan tu* 遁甲開山圖), and so on. A detailed list of this kind of *zhi* is given in *855 Taiqing jinque yuhua xianshu baji shenzhang sanhuang neibi wen* 太清金闕玉華仙書八極神章三皇內祕文 2.7a ff. These sources, all but the last of an early date, may have provided the models on which the descriptions in our present text are based.

Alfredo Cadonna

Huangdi neijing lingshu lüe 黃帝內經靈樞略

9 fols.

1019 (fasc. 661)

"Abbreviated Divine Pivot of the Internal Canon of the Yellow Emperor." This text is composed entirely of quotations from chapters 24, 8, 47, 30, 18, 17, 71, 9, 75, 81, 80, and 69 of the *Lingshu* 靈樞. These quotations are arranged into four groups, concerning the general structure of the body; the Six Qi (essence, breath, the yang humors [*jin* 津], the yin humors [*yi* 液], the blood, and the blood vessels); dementia; and aphonia.

Before 1093, the year when Korea presented an edition of the *Lingshu* to China, this book was rare in its country of origin. The present abridged edition, by an unknown author, must be posterior to that date. The present book is mentioned in Song catalogues (see VDL 146).

Catherine Despeux

Suwen rushi yunqi lun'ao 素問入式運氣論奧

3 juan

By Liu Wenshu 劉溫舒; 1099

1022 (fasc. 664)

"Discussion on the Arcana of the Circulation of Qi in the *Suwen*." This book is composed of thirty-one essays (only thirty are numbered), accompanied by twenty-seven drawings. There are also two "formulas" (*jue* 訣), which are in fact drawings of a hand with the emplacements of the cyclical signs of the Ten Trunks and Twelve Stems (fig. 14).

The work studies the correspondences between the five cycles of the Five Agents (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water) and the Six Qi (heat, humidity, drought, coldness, wind, and warmth) during the sexagesimal cycle, on the one hand, and the circulation of qi in the energy tracts of the human body, on the other. The author considers the circulation of qi to be the very principle to be mastered for the application of the techniques of tonification and dispersion (preface, 1a). The present treatise examines in a more detailed way the subjects of chapters 66 to 74 of the *Suwen,* which are attributed to WANG BING by Lin Yi 林億 (1058–1064). The work was presented to the emperor (see *Junzhai dushu zhi*).

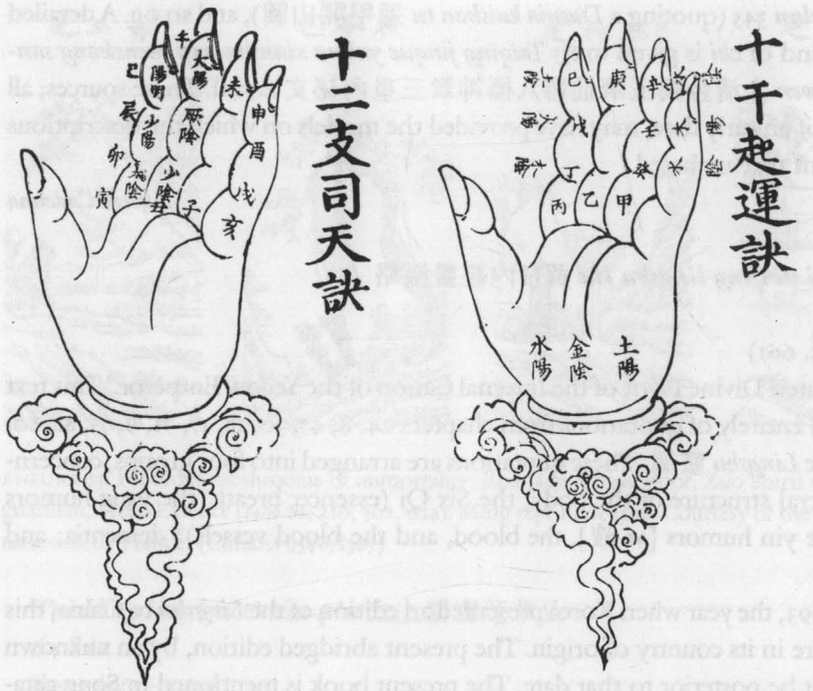


FIGURE 14. Arrangement of the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches on the hand: A mnemonic aid for counting in the sexagesimal cycle (*1022* 1.2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1010)

The text itself is preceded by a preface of the author (dated 1099) and a table of contents. Of Liu Wenshu, we know only that he was a physician at court (preface, 1a).

The title of this work is listed in the bibliographical chapter of the *Song shi* (207.5319) as having four juan. In other catalogues that describe Song editions, the present book is listed as comprising three juan, followed by *1021 Huangdi neijing suwen yipian* (in one juan), also attributed to Liu Wenshu (see Okanishi Tameto, *Song yiqian yiji kao,* 60–61).

Catherine Despeux

Huangdi bashiyi nan jing zuantu jujie 黃帝八十一難經纂圖句解

7 juan

By Li Jiong 李駉, *zi* Ziye 子埜, *hao* Xifan zi 唏范子; preface dated 1269

1024 (fasc. 668–670)

"Phrase-by-Phrase Glosses of the Eighty-one Difficulties of the Yellow Emperor's Canon." The author, a native of Linchuan in Jiangxi, also wrote a *Wang Shuhe maijue jijie* 王叔和脈訣集解 and a *Youyou ge jujie* 幼幼歌句解 (see preface, 1a).

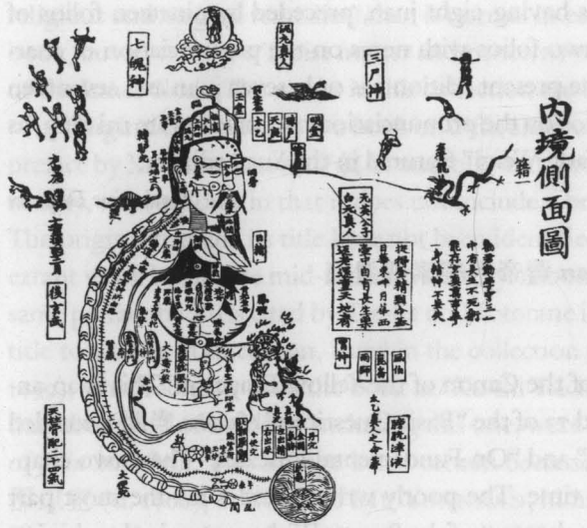


FIGURE 15. The Inner Landscape (*1024* "Xulun," 4a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1012)

In spite of the great number of commentaries written on the *Nanjing* prior to his own, Li Jiong quotes only two: those of Lü Guang 呂廣 and Yang Xuancao 楊玄操 (see preface, *Huangdi bashiyi nan jing zhuyi tu xulun* 黃帝八十一難經註義圖序論, 1a–b). The commentary by Lü Guang is quoted in *Sui shu* 34.1040, which reports that the Liang catalogue listed a *Huangdi zhongnan jing* 黃帝衆難經 (lost in the interim), annotated by Lü Bowang 呂博望. This was probably a byname of Lü Guang. Yang Xuancao lived at the beginning of the Tang (618–907). The *Nanjing benyi* 難經本義 states that he was commander of the garrison of She county 歙縣尉.

The preface is dated 1269 and is followed by an illustrated introduction to the text, entitled "Introductory Illustrated Treatise on the Meaning and Commentary of the Eighty-one Difficulties." Before Li Jiong, Ding Deyong 丁德用 wrote an illustrated commentary called the *Buzhu nanjing* 補注難經 in five juan, dated 1062 (see *Junzhai dushu zhi*). The illustrations concern the first, second, third, eighth, and sixty-seventh difficulties, associated with the pulse and the ancient points of the energy tracts. They apply the theory of the Five Cycles and Six Qi (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣) and establish a relationship between the twenty-four qi of the annual cycle and the twenty-four qi that are positioned on the body, from the head to the feet, or again on the radial artery on the wrist. Mention should be made of the representation (side view) of the Inner Landscape of the human body, (page 4a–b) with captions on the alchemical concepts and the topology of the body as found in the Shangqing scriptures (fig. 15).

This introduction is followed by the main text, with glosses for each sentence. The *Nanjing* selects difficult passages in the *Suwen* for explication. Using the form of a dialogue, it discusses the pulse, energy tracts, organs, certain diseases, the points used by the ancients, and the methods for puncturing. The simple commentary is mainly of philological interest. Once or twice Li Jiong notes his emendations of erroneous characters.

A Yuan edition is described as having eight juan, preceded by nineteen folios of illustrations and an appendix in two folios with notes on the pronunciation of characters (see *Yigu tang ji* 17.12a). The present edition has only seven juan and seventeen folios of illustrations; the two folios on the pronunciation of characters are missing, as is the indication "corrected by Wang Weiyi" featured in the Yuan edition.

Catherine Despeux

Huangdi neijing suwen yipian 黃帝內經素問遺篇

5 juan

1021 (fasc. 663–664)

"Lost Chapters of the *Suwen* of the Canon of the Yellow Emperor." This is an annotated edition of chapters 72 and 73 of the "Basic Questions" (*Suwen* 素問), entitled "On the Techniques of Puncture," and "On Fundamental Diseases." These two chapters were lost in WANG BING's time. The poorly written text is for the most part composed of passages from other chapters of the *Suwen*. Without any doubt, this is a forgery (see Yu Jiaxi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng*, 667)

Under the Song, this work was edited as a supplement to *1022 Suwen rushi yunqi lun'ao,* by Liu Wenshu, and many catalogues attribute it to Liu.

Catherine Despeux

Jijiu xianfang 急救仙方

11 juan

Compiled 1444–1445

1164 (fasc. 821–822)

"Formulas of the Immortals for Relief of Emergencies." The eleven juan so titled are actually parts of four or five unrelated books of different periods, conflated by the *Daozang* editors and given the title of a work to which they are unrelated. This confusion was probably wrought by the Ming editors. The title is not mentioned in Song catalogues (see VDL). The massive and oft-reprinted Korean *Uibang yuchwi* 醫方類聚 contains a number of quotations from the original *Jijiu xianfang*. The quotations on obstetrics and gynecology are found in *Yifang leiju* 209.87, 212.46, 219.354, and 229.591 and 602. Not only do these quotations differ from the *Daozang* text, but formulas with the same title in the two books contain different ingredients (e.g., compare *Ji yin dan* 濟陰丹 4.11a with *Yifang leiju* 146).

The preface describes *Jijiu xianfang* as a book on childbirth, a description that fits only the first five juan. It is clear, however, that these five juan are not one book but two, or more probably three. The fourth book included under this title is an important work that circulated widely among physicians. These four writings are not related to immortality practices or Taoism. They include no more symbolic therapy (that is, religious and magical remedies) than is normal in early medical formularies. The fifth book, however, is by a Taoist master and concerns what might be called dysfunctions of the Inner Gods. The works in this collection are best analyzed separately:

1. Original title unknown: a book on difficulties of pregnancy and childbirth with a preface by Xu Shouzhen 徐守眞 in one folio and three juan. This is a conventional formulary, unusual only in that it does not include a broad range of women's problems. The original text and its title have not been identified, nor is the preface found in any extant work before the mid-fifteenth century. A book entitled *Taichan* 胎產 with the same preface by Xu is cited by Tamba no Mototane in *Iseki kō* 51.1247. Tamba gave this title to a book in three juan, listed in the collection *Qingnang zazuan* 青囊雜纂 (ca. 1459), which actually cited the book as "Xu shi Taichan fang 徐氏胎產方." It is likely that about half of the titles, including this one, were copied from the *Daozang* version of *Jijiu xianfang*. This lineage is not certain because the compiler was Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (d. 1462), a disciple of LIU YUANRAN, himself a disciple of ZHAO YIZHEN. Zhao was the author of *1165 Xianchuan waike bifang* and a number of Taoist liturgical works.

Hu Yujin 胡玉縉, in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao buzheng*, 816, attempts to identify the *Jijiu xianfang* with Liu's lost *Jiuji xianfang* 救急仙方, which is not recorded in the standard histories. Zhao's collection includes both *Jijiu xianfang,* under separate titles assigned to its parts, and *Jiji xianfang* 濟急仙方, proving that the two books are distinct.

The prescriptions in this formulary, like those in most similar books from the Song on, are, broadly speaking, developed and elaborated from those associated with the Han classic *Jingui yaolüe* 金匱要略 (196/220 A.D.). Because the prescriptions were copied from one book to another with minor variations, they do not provide a simple basis for dating. For instance, the first prescription in juan 1 is found, with minor variations of wording, in the *Xuanming lunfang* 宣明論方 (1172), attributed to Liu Wansu 劉完素, in *Yitong zhengmai quanshu* 11.8a–8b. It is less likely that the one work copies from the other than that they are derived from a common source.

2. *Bianzheng shikuo* 辯證詩括 (3.146a–17b). a small work on diagnosis and treatment of certain pediatric disorders. This mnemonic is not otherwise known, and may be a fragment of some more general book, or even of the preceding title, although the latter's preface does not refer to disorders of infants.

3. Original title unknown: cited as "Jiyin pin 濟陰品," a formulary for difficulties of pregnancy and childbirth, in juan 4–5. In the anonymous preface the contents are said to be based on nutgrass rhizome (*xiangfuzi* 香附子 [*Cyperus rotundus*]), but some of the prescriptions do not use this ingredient.

4. *Xianshou lishang xuduan fang* 仙授理傷續斷方 (juan 6–9): "Formulas for the Healing of Injuries and Broken Bones, Revealed by an Immortal." This work is

liberally cited in the Ming encyclopedia *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, from which it was reconstituted in four juan for inclusion in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 collection. Modern reprints are descended from the latter, and like it incorporate material from other books. The relevant portions of *Yongle dadian* are apparently lost, but *Xianshou lishang xuduan fang* is quoted with equal liberality in medical compilations such as *Uibang yuchwi*. The anonymous author of the preface (reproduced here) attributes the book to a Lin daoren 蘭道人, whom he places in 841/846. There is no evidence to connect this book with any Taoist movement.

This work is considered by medical historians the oldest more or less intact monograph on external disorders. It includes descriptions of lesions and internal disorders of all sorts, not only traumas, and most of its drug formulas are for ingestion (this is the norm in classical writings on the topic). Three juan are quoted here under the original title (juan 6–8), the first on bonesetting, the second primarily on treatment for debilitation due to traumas and lesions, and the third on *ding chuang* 疔瘡, or boils. Juan 9 is given under a separate title, *Bichuan wuzhi pin* 秘傳五痔品 (Secretly Transmitted Formulas for All Types of Hemorrhoids), but it is taken verbatim from the same source. None of the four juan is quoted in *Uibang yuchwi*. The latter source gives quotations from the original *Jijiu xianfang* on knife wounds (185.619) and boils (179.408), but neither quotation corresponds to the *Daozang* text (cite both from volume 8 of the typeset Peking 1982 reprint). The contents are on the whole conventional drug formulas.

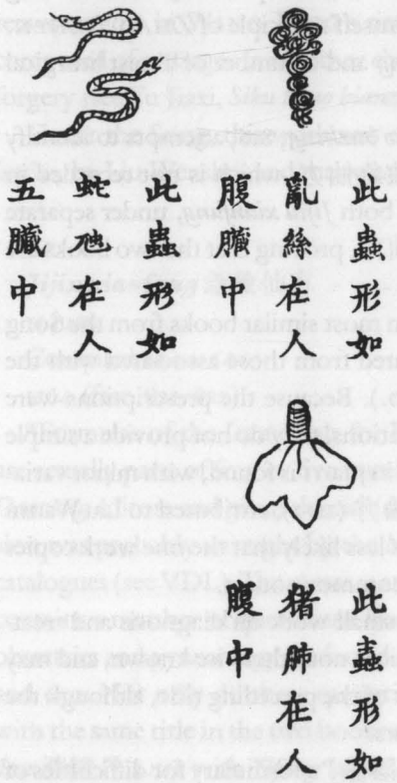


FIGURE 16. Insects and worms in the human body (*1164* 10.6b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1150)

5. *Shangqing ziting zhuilao xianfang* 上清紫庭追癆仙方 (juan 10–11): preface by an "old gentleman" (*lao sou* 老叟); a treatise on cadaver vector disorders (*chuanshi* 傳尸) and debility disorders (*laozhai* 癆瘵), closely related groups of infectious maladies. Here these disorders are portrayed as "all due to the Three Corpse Worms and to possessing ghosts" (see Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*, s.v. and 297–99). The *Qingnang zazuan* attributes this tractate to Zhao Yixin 趙宜信, who is not



FIGURE 17. Loci for moxibustion (*1164* 11.20a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1150)

otherwise known. The present text discusses and illustrates various insects and worms, but it is not concerned with modern helminthology (see fig. 16). The first three of these "worms" are in the form of a three-inch human, a ghost, and a frog. This text is an important source for its discussion of the six stages of these diseases, for its materials on *gengshen* 庚申 observances, and for its use of materials from popular healing, drawing on drugs, moxa, and ritual. The only idea not found elsewhere makes the Corpse Worms' well-known periodic tour of the body into a circuit of certain moxibustion loci (fig. 17).

The text ends with two "Illustrations of Huangdi's method for treating the twenty-one types of debility disorders with moxibustion" (twenty-two loci are shown) and with apotropaic rites used against these maladies by Master Yuzhen 玉眞先生 of the Jingming 靜明 order. A testimonial by the King of Yue 越王 is said to have been transmitted three times between 937 and 1014, but the second of the three dates is clearly specious. It is given as the ninth year of the Chunhua 淳化 era, which lasted only five years (990–994; see 10.14b).

An anecdote mentions a Master Li Tong 李同 of Maoshan (10.15a), a liturgy entitled *Dadi xuanke* 大帝玄科 (10.13b), a *Laojun sanshi jing zuan* 老君三屍經纂 (10.13a), and a *Qihuang guangji* 歧黃廣記. None of these are otherwise known.

Nathan Sivin

Xianchuan waike bifang 仙傳外科秘方

12 juan

Compiled by ZHAO YIZHEN 趙宜眞; d. 1382; edited by LIU YUANRAN 劉淵然 (1351–1431)

1165 (fasc. 823–824)

"Secret Formulas for External Medicine, Transmitted by the Immortals." This work is a somewhat revised conflation of three collections:

1. *Xian chuan waike ji yan fang* 集驗方: the title is given in running heads. The preface of the Qingwei patriarch ZHAO YIZHEN attributes the work to Yang Qingsou 楊清叟, who transmitted it to Wu Ningji 吳寧極, whose son passed it to a Master Li 李先生, from whom Zhao received it. It was printed once before 1378, and again along with item 2 below after being edited by Zhao's disciple LIU YUANRAN in 1395.

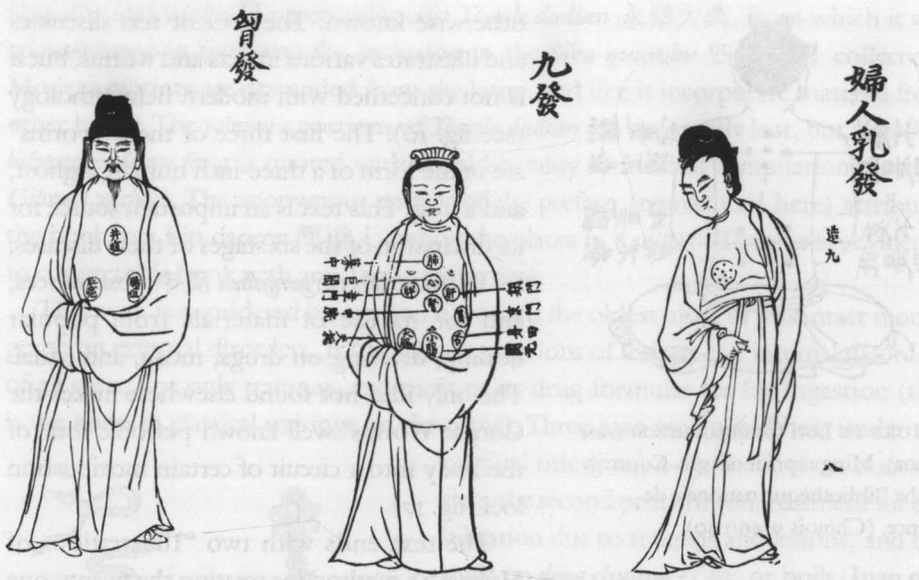


FIGURE 18. Sores and rashes on the chest, abdomen, and breasts (*1165* 9.9b and 10a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1151)

The latter version and the *Daozang* edition differ in minor respects. The work is mainly on abscesses, rashes, boils, and other external ailments (fig. 18), but it includes a short mnemonic on variant drug names and a paragraph on the preparation of plant drugs (4.14b).

2. *Bichuan waike fang* 秘傳外科方: anonymous; a colophon by Liu, written for the 1395 printing, states that Zhao received it from Rong Kexiao 榮可蕭, but Liu does not suggest Rong authored it. The *Daozang* version occupies juan 8–9. It omits two sections at the end and the colophon. Juan 8 is a "general discussion" that may correspond to the *Waike xu lun* 外科序論 of Zhao mentioned in the bibliographical treatise of the *Ming shi*. Juan 9 is a collection of remedies for external disorders, including the effects of judicial beating and hemorrhoids. Its large illustrations of sores, rashes, and similar lesions are of special value.

3. An unnamed and unidentified work labeled "Zhi zhuza cheng pin 治諸雜證品": treatments for miscellaneous syndromes, occupying juan 10–11 in the *Daozang* version. This is a comprehensive formulary in which external disorders play a large but not predominant part. A discourse on leprosy is attributed to Shuran zi 翛然子 (11.8a), and a discussion on prevention of complications during recovery from Cold Damage Disorders (*shanghan rebing* 傷寒熱病) is attributed to Chunyang daoren of Ningchuan 寧川純陽道人 (11.1b).

The 1395 editions of the first two constituent treatises are extant. The editors of the reprint (Peking 1957) claim they also consulted the *Daozang*. There is no reason to doubt that the texts in the latter were produced from the 1395 edition, possibly by Liu's disciple Shao Yizheng 邵以正, editor of the *Zhengtong Daozang*.

Nathan Sivin

Xiuzhen bilu 修眞祕籙

11 fols.

By Fu Duren 符度仁; after 1061

850 (fasc. 573)

"Arcane Notes on the Cultivation of the True [Nature]." This is a short work on dietary rules by Fu Duren, a registrar of Fengyang county in Shaanxi. The book is mentioned in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* 2.29b, but there the name of the author is erroneously written Fu Churen 符處仁.

The text comprises essentially a long list of victuals of plant and animal origin, destined to reinforce the body or specific organs and to cure various ailments. The description of each of the various foodstuffs includes a main text extracted from a *Materia Medica* (*bencao* 本草) followed by a sentence from an ancient commentary. With reference to the mule, the hedgehog (3b), and the chestnut (1b), the text quotes Meng Shen 孟詵 (ca. 621–ca. 713) of the Tang dynasty, but the description of persimmon (5a) is followed by a quotation of Zhang Yuxi 掌禹錫 of the Song (cf. *769 Tujing yanyi bencao* 29.17b, 32.2b, 35.18a, and 35.38a, respectively). Since Zhang's writings transmitted in *769 Tujing yanyi bencao* derive from his *Jiayou bencao* 嘉佑本草, compiled around 1061, our text must be posterior to that date.

At the end of the text (10b–11a), there is a passage quoted from an unidentified *Yangsheng lun* 養生論 recommending the absorption of worms in order to sustain the adept during the seventh and eighth months of each year. This kind of recommendation is quite out of tune with the general style of the work.

Part of the present text (1a–3a) is included by mistake in *837 Zhenzhong ji* 11a–13a.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.4 *Neidan* and *Yangsheng*

During the Tang period (618–907), the practice of Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) acquired a definite status among the important forms of Taoist practice. This status was due to a number of circumstances, which translated themselves on the scriptural level by the (re)appearance of works such as the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (see

part 2.A.1.d). However, Inner Alchemical discourse and Outer (laboratory) Alchemical practice remained closely related, and in some instances it is difficult to say whether a given text concerns the one or the other form.

This close relationship changes with the new era beginning in the Song (960–1297). The practice of Inner Alchemy is linked strongly to a number of saintly and divine patriarchs such as LÜ DONGBIN, whose hagiography strongly rejects laboratory alchemy and who becomes a patron of Inner Alchemy (see, for instance, *263.14 Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*). Here Inner Alchemy establishes itself as the major and orthodox practice for Tending Life and for the realization of the Tao within one's own body. The other currents in Song *neidan,* such as the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 by ZHANG BODUAN, had the same influence. In consequence, virtually all Song and later texts on the subject of Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) encompass *neidan*. For this reason, a different categorization applies in this period, since texts pertaining to Inner Alchemy were more closely associated with works on Tending Life techniques than with those concerning operative or laboratory alchemy.

The present section first discusses general works, among which ZENG ZAO's *1017 Daoshu* stands out as the most important collection of texts. We then present the two main currents, the Zhong-Lü 鐘呂 and the *Wuzhen pian* traditions. The former was to become very influential in the *neidan* practice of the (northern) Quanzhen 全眞 order, whereas the latter would be the leading influence for the so-called Southern school (Nanzong 南宗). The lineage of the Nanzong appears to have been constructed a posteriori by BO YUCHAN. The same patriarch also elaborated the tradition of the Shenxiao school of ritual. The connection between the Nanzong and the Shenxiao schools deserves further research.

3.A.4.a General Works and Manuals

Daoshu 道樞

42 juan

Compiled by ZENG ZAO 曾慥, *zi* Duanbo 端伯, *hao* Zhiyou zi 至游子; ca. 1151

1017 (fasc. 641–648)

"Pivot of the Tao." This is a collection of texts dealing with the art of longevity, excerpted from Five Dynasties (907–960) and Song (960–1279) sources. The compiler, ZENG ZAO (1091–1155), was an official during the reign of Emperor Gaozong (1127–1162; see *Jinjiang xian zhi* 晉江縣志 12). The work is mentioned in the *Suichu tang shumu* 24a, without further details (VDL 154). Although the *Daozang* edition comprises forty-two juan divided into 118 *pian* 篇 (sections), the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.349 notes twenty juan in 122 *pian*. Thus it is possible that four *pian* are missing from the present edition. However, the arrangement of Zeng's compilation seems fairly complete: he begins with philosophical discussions on the Tao and ends with the most important *neidan* texts of the Zhong-Lü group (cf. *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*). ZENG ZAO's collection was completed by 1151, since he mentions the last text of the *Daoshu* in a note of that date (cf. *263.17 Zazhu jiejing* 22 and 23). Zeng's biographies of the immortals were also completed around this date (see preface, *Jixian zhuan* 43.24a).

The *Daoshu* includes many interesting Northern Song (960–1127) treatises on Inner Alchemy and related subjects; these books, now lost as separate entities, are listed in many bibliographies of the Song and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. The main drawback of this compilation is the inaccuracy with which the texts were copied. Many passages were arbitrarily abridged, poems paraphrased, and often only parts of the original quotations are correctly reproduced. In view of these shortcomings, the *Daoshu* texts should be used with caution and the original should always be consulted if still extant. But despite these limitations, the *Daoshu* still remains an important tool as a source on lost Northern Song alchemical texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Miyazawa Masayori, "*Dōsū* no kōsei ni tsuite"; "Dōsū Goshinhen"; and "Sō Ichigyō."

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan zhouhou jue 還丹肘後訣

3 juan

Tenth or eleventh century

915 (fasc. 592)

"Manual for the Cyclically Transformed Elixir." This treatise is an undated compilation of alchemical theory. The introduction (1a) states that the treatise corresponded to juan 10 of GE HONG's *Zhouhou jue* 肘後訣 (cf. *1306 Ge xianweng zhouhou beiji fang*), a chapter dealing with alchemy. The present work, however, derives its material from various sources.

The text quotes TAO ZHI (d. 825; see *922 Huanjin shu*) and a postscript dated 875 (see 2.2a and 3.10a). Therefore the late ninth century is the earliest date for this compilation. On the other hand, the text mentions LÜ DONGBIN, a semilegendary figure popular during the early Song (960–1297).

For the first section of juan 1 (1a–25a), compare *913 Tongyou jue* 1a–20b; for the rest (1.21a–24a), see *947 Yuqing neishu* 17b–21a.

For the *Longhu jinyi huandan xinjian* 龍虎金液還丹心鑑 (2.1a–7b), see *1017 Daoshu* 14.1a–6a which attributes the text to Xuanhe zi 玄和子 (cf. *1274 Xuanhe zi shier yue gua jin jue*). The *Longhu jinyi huandan xinjian* is quoted in *233 Huandan zhongxian lun* 3b (preface dated 1052) as *Huandan xinjing* 還丹心鏡. This section of the present text

comprises passages similar to *935 Danlun jue zhi xinjian* and *936 Dahuan xinjian*. The poem that follows (2.7b–9b) is paraphrased in *233 Huandan zhongxian lun* 20a.

Apart from some short alchemical essays, the rest of the work comprises alchemical poems and one "autobiographical" note by Wu Daling 仵達靈 (dated 875; 3.10a–11b). The *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* (twelfth century) indicates a *Chaohua si biji* 超化寺壁記 as the source of this note.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Ma Ziran jindan koujue* 馬自然金丹口訣**

3 fols.

By MA ZIRAN 馬自然; Northern Song (960–1127)?

1157 (fasc. 796)

"Explication of the Elixir, by Ma Ziran." Ma was a disciple of LIU HAICHAN (1a; see also his biography in the LZTT 49.11a). He is often confounded with Ma Xiang 馬湘, *zi* Ziran 自然 (d. 856), but the LZTT makes a clear distinction between the two. He is said to have been a contemporary of ZHANG BODUAN (984–1082), who also dedicated a poem to him (cf. the latter's preface to *1081 Jindan sibai zi*).

MA ZIRAN's *koujue* 口訣, a poem in seven-word verse, is partially paraphrased in *1017 Daoshu* 7.15b–16a (ca. 1150). There seems to have been a different version in circulation during the Yuan (1279–1368; cf. the long quotation in *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 5.11a).

The poem begins with a criticism of other, "inferior" techniques. The author then describes his meeting with LIU HAICHAN and his subsequent enlightenment (*bodhi* 菩提). The Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir (*jiuzhuan huandan* 九轉還丹) corresponds to *bodhi*; it is defined as a state of enlightenment within the reach of anyone who practices introspection, and not as the exclusive domain of ordained Taoists or Buddhists (2a). The poem shows a strong influence of Chan Buddhism.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Zhenren Gao Xiangxian jindan ge* 眞人高象先金丹歌**

7 fols.

By Gao Xian 高先, *zi* Xiangxian 象先; 1014

1079 (fasc. 740)

"Song of the Elixir by the Zhenren Gao Xiangxian." The popularity of this poem in early Song times is illustrated by ZHANG BODUAN's (984–1082) allusion to it in his *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 (see *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 6.13a). It was also known under other titles, such as *Gao Xiangxian ge* 高象先歌 and *Dadao jindan ge* 大道金丹歌 (see VDL 79).

In a short preface, an anonymous author relates his meeting with Gao Xiangxian of Quyang 朐陽 (Jiangsu) in the capital in 1013. A year later, he received this poem, to which he appended a commentary (*zhujie* 注解). Neither the present version nor the Yulong wanshou guan 玉隆萬壽觀 edition seen by Lu You in 1166 (see *Lu Fangweng ji* 26.47) include a commentary to the poem, indicating that the present text was known in this form already during the Song dynasty (960–1279). Lu You also suggests that Gao Xiangxian was a famous scholar-official and calligrapher of the Shunhua era (990–994) who disappeared, leaving the mundane world behind him. In the poem itself (5b), Gao claims to be the descendant of Gao Jichong 高繼沖 (943–973), ruler of the kingdom of Nanping, who surrendered to the Song in 963 (see *Song shi* 483.13953–55).

The poem describes a vision in which Gao Xian ascends to the Xihua 西華 palace. In this celestial abode, he receives *neidan* 內丹 instructions, based on the *Cantong qi* 參同契, from the goddess Xihua furen 西華夫人. The description is followed by criticism of other, "inferior" techniques (5a) and by the transmission of a text entitled *Chilong tian shang jue* 赤龍天上訣. Part of the poem is quoted in *1017 Daoshu* 35.9a–9b.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Xuanhe zi shier yue gua jin jue* 玄和子十二月卦金訣**

3 juan

Before 1155

1274 (fasc. 1003)

"Master Xuanhe's Golden Explanations on the Hexagrams of the Twelve Months." This short text is included in *1017 Daoshu* 14.6a–8b by ZENG ZAO, where it is followed by an alchemical treatise of the Five Dynasties or the early Song (see *936 Dahuan xinjian* and *915 Huandan zhouhou jue* 2.1a–7b).

The text comprises twelve poems with commentaries, each of which corresponds to a hexagram. The text is concerned mainly with the process of purification of the two ingredients of the elixir (i.e., "true" lead and mercury). The purification takes place through the practice of fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候). The twelve hexagrams represent the increase and decrease of yin and yang during the months of the year or the double hours of the day.

The *Daoshu* version is abridged, but it adds five sentences at the end that are missing in the present text. The commentary in the *Daoshu* version is also more or less complete, but occasionally it is conflated with the poems.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taixi baoyi ge 胎息抱一歌

4 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)?

827 (fasc. 570)

"Song on Embryonic Breathing and [the Method of] Holding the One." This short, anonymous work comprises an undated preface and twenty poems on the methods known as Holding the One. In the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* catalogue 2.28a, the title is indicated as *Baoyi taixi gejue* 抱一胎息歌訣, with YANG XI as the author. But, since the preface (1a) quotes YANLUO ZI, this text must date to the Five Dynasties (907–960) or later. Moreover, the preface lays emphasis on the circulation of qi instead of breath retention, the former being a widely practiced method during the Northern Song Dynasty.

The poems show a clear Chan influence, evident also in many other Northern Song poems, such as the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 (see, e.g., the last poem on page 3a of the present text).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan zhiyao pian 還丹至藥篇

5 fols.

Wang Xianzhi 王賢芝, *zi* Yingtu 膺圖, *hao* Wuxuan zi 悟玄子; Song (960–1279)?

1092 (fasc. 742)

"Essays on the Circulating Elixir and Perfect Medicine." This text consists of ten odes serving didactic purposes; it most likely corresponds to the similar title listed in *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.29a. Thus the work can be assumed to date to the eleventh century at the latest (see VDL 108).

Wang Xianzhi had spent many years trying in vain to master operative alchemy. Some oral and secret instructions received from a zhenren, whose name remains undisclosed, helped him to achieve "sudden enlightenment." He also managed to realize the cultivation of "true essences," in the sense of the *neidan* 內丹 tradition. Circulating Elixir and Perfect Medicine designate the highest degree of cultivation.

Florian C. Reiter

Longhu jingwei lun 龍虎精微論

8 fols.

1259 (fasc. 999)

"Discourse on the Subtleties of the Dragon and the Tiger." This short, undated, and anonymous treatise comprises a preface, ten poems on *neidan* 內丹, and some respiration and gymnastics (*daoyin* 導引) techniques. The author criticizes laboratory alchemy (*waidan* 外丹); for him the only valid means of obtaining the elixir of immortality is to follow the universal rhythm and to employ the *jing* 精 (essence) and the qi of Heaven and Earth as ingredients.

The alchemical oeuvre should begin with *daoyin* (6a), and two methods are given in the text. These techniques are followed by the visualization of the four emblematic animals, which the adept should place according to their spatial orientation in the form of a mandala. The author concludes with fire-phasing, in which the adept regulates his or her breathing according to the hexagrams *qian* 乾 (Heaven) and *kun* 坤 (Earth). *Qian* designates the yang hours between midnight and noon; *kun*, the yin hours between noon and midnight.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taixuan baodian 太玄寶典

3 juan

Song (960–1279)?

1034 (fasc. 703)

"Precious Canon of the Greatest Mystery." This is a handbook for Tending Life and Inner Alchemy. It is undated and unsigned but is mentioned in the *Suichu tang shumu* (VDL 90). It does not quote any outside sources.

The many methods, recipes, and recommendations here assembled are mostly of a practical nature. The author draws on a great variety of traditions. The proposed methods are mainly of a physical nature: refining breath energies, practicing Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息;1.3b, 1.7a), keeping and refining the semen for men and the menstrual blood for women. From 1.7a on, the metaphorical language of *neidan* 內丹 is used. This use continues in 2.2b–4b.

The methods range from simple recipes to more complicated ones. At the end of juan 1, the mastication of pine needles is advanced as a sure means to attain immortality. In 2.5b, we find that meditation and concentrating to the point of sweating profusely is the way to become a True Person. A method for concentrating on the body in order to make it transparent so that one can see inside one's organs and viscera is described in 2.5a. Aura development is taught in 2.4b. Also ritual methods are recommended, such as the sending of petitions to Heaven (2.9b). The third juan is entirely devoted to medicinal herbs and concoctions, and to methods for making an immortal's staff, a "wooden horse" (*muma* 木馬) drug that, when taken, allows one to walk fast. The final method permits adepts, by using a herbal concoction, to control their vitality and to know the time of their death in advance.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Jinjing lun* 金晶論**

6 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)?

236 (fasc. 113)

"Discussions Concerning Gold and Crystal." This is a short anonymous treatise on Inner Alchemy. By "crystal" the author means the radiance of the sun, while "gold" is the glow of the moon (preface, 1a). The text is divided into three paragraphs (*pian* 篇); at the end, there is a poem in eleven couplets, entitled "Song on the True and False [Methods] of the Great Alchemical Elixir of Gold and Crystal, Lead and Mercury, Dragon and Tiger." This poem appears to have been copied from another alchemical song by Qianzhen zi 潛眞子, which figures in *237 Huandan xuanmiao tongyou ji* under the title "Verses Revealing the Marvelous and Penetrating the Arcane" (*Xuanmiao tongyou shi* 玄妙通幽詩; compare the present text 5a–b with *237 Tongyou ji* 2b–3b).

Gold and crystal here are symbolic homologues of other alchemical ingredients such as lead (*qian* 鉛) and quicksilver (*gong* 汞). The true ingredients do not exist outside the human body. The practice, explained in allegorical terms, has distinct sexual overtones, its aim being to "return the crystal [i.e., the energy of the kidneys] in order to repair the brain" (*huanjing bunao* 還晶補腦; 4b), a transparent disguise of the "return of the sperm" (*huanjing* 還精) in the sexual arts of Taoism.

Kristofer Schipper

***Huandan xianmiao tongyou ji* 還丹顯妙通幽集**

11 fols.

By Qianzhen zi 潛眞子; Northern Song (960–1127)?

237 (fasc. 113)

"Collection Revealing the Marvels and Penetrating the Arcana of the Alchemical Process." The author, who signs Shaoshi shan Qianzhen zi 少室山潛眞子 (Master of the Hidden Truth from Mount Shaoshi; the mountain of the Songshan 嵩山 range in Henan and the location of the famous Shaolin si 少林寺), is otherwise unknown. In his undated preface, he states that he was inspired to write a "Poem Revealing the Marvels and Penetrating the Arcana of the Alchemical Process" (same title as the present work) in thirty couplets after reading *238 Yuanyang zi jinyi ji*. The poem, part of which has been incorporated in *236 Jinjing lun*, describes the Inner Alchemical process of meditation on the union of the antithetical energies in the body. Coming after Yuanyang zi 元陽子, but before *236 Jinjing lun*, the present work should date from the Northern Song period.

The collection comprises also an "Exegetical Hymn of the Great Alchemical Enterprises by the Zhenren of Purple Smoke" (Ziyan zhenren jie dadan song 紫煙眞人解大丹頌), as well the famous poem Spring in the Garden by the Qin River (Qinyuan chun 沁園春), attributed to Lü Dongbin (see Baldrian-Hussein, "Yüeh-yang"). The latter poem is given twice here, each time with a different commentary. The first commentary, entitled simply "Qinyuan chun," is anonymous. The second one, titled "Versified [Commentary] by He Xiangu on Lu Zhenren's Qinyuan Chun [Ballad]" (He Xiangu song Lü zhenren Qinyuan chun 何仙姑頌呂眞人沁園春) seems to be incomplete, as the commentary on the last lines is missing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldrian-Hussein, "Yüeh-yang and Lü Tung-pin's Ch'in-yüan ch'un."

Kristofer Schipper

***Taishang riyue hunyuan jing* 太上日月混元經**

2 fols.

656 (fasc. 343)

"Book of the Sun and Moon and Their Origin in Chaos." This is a short theoretical *neidan* 內丹 treatise based on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契. It is listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* (dated 1042) 9.18b as well as in later Song bibliographies (VDL 94).

Ma Lizhao's commentary in *261 Jindan fu* 18a, which dates to the Yuan (1279–1368), names the present work, together with the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 and the *Zhouyi cantong qi*. The quotations Ma gives of it on 19a and 27a can no longer be found in the present text, which must be a fragment of the original.

Kristofer Schipper

***Taishang haoyuan jing* 太上浩元經**

2 fols.

659 (fasc. 344)

"Scripture of the Vast Origin by the Most High Lord Lao." This scripture is a rhymed, rhythmic text consisting of ten lines of four characters, with the remainder in seven-character verses that describe poetically the Inner Alchemical process. Respiratory control, visualization of the Three Palaces within the human body and the deities residing therein—Shangyuan tongzi 上元童子 or Nanji laoren 南極老人 (upper palace), Guxuan 谷玄 or Beiji zhenren 北極眞人 (lower palace), and Linggui yunü 靈龜玉女 (middle palace)—and the elimination of external desires set the inner circulation in motion and lead to the completion of the Divine Elixir (*taizhen shendan* 太眞神丹) and to longevity.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

***Lingjian zi* 靈劍子**

22 fols.

Attributed to Xu Xun 許遜, *zi* Jingyang 旌陽; probably Northern Song (960–1127)

570 (fasc. 320)

"Master of the Magical Sword." The title is an epithet for the third-century saint Xu Xun, as the latter, according to his legend, received from five young ladies a sword with which to fight demons (see *448 Xishan Xu zhenren bashiwu hua lu* 1.7a–b).

The *Lingjian zi* is mentioned in a Song catalogue of 1145 (see VDL 169), but as having two juan. It is possible that the next text in the *Daozang*, *571 Lingjian zi yindao ziwu ji,* which is not listed in the above-mentioned catalogue, originally occupied the second juan. The text of *571 Ziwu ji* is a logical sequel to the present *Lingjian zi*.

Given that the date *ante quem* of the present work is 1145, and that the popularity of Xu Xun greatly increased after his canonization in 1112 by Emperor Huizong, it seems likely that the present text dates form the eleventh or twelfth century.

The present work gives the methods for abstaining from ordinary food and sustaining oneself with breath (qi) in order to obtain immortality. This method is here considered to be a form of alchemy. The object is the creation of an immortal embryo. At the end of the work there is a description of sixteen gymnastic exercises, linked to the four seasons, to be performed as a preliminary stage to respiration exercises and Embryonic Breathing.

Catherine Despeux

***Lingjian zi yindao ziwu ji* 靈劍子引導子午記**

14 fols.

Attributed to Xu Xun 許遜, *zi* Jinyang 旌陽; Northern Song (960–1127)?

571 (fasc. 320)

"Notes on the Induction of Qi from *Zi* to *Wu,* by the Master of the Magic Sword." The text is composed of straightforward instructions, accompanied by a commentary that quotes many different sources. First (1a–5b), the instructions deal with gymnastics exercises and massage. Among the sources quoted, there are many Shangqing scriptures, such as *1016 Zhen'gao* (juan 9) and *331 Taishang huangting neijing yujing*. Next (6a–12b), the text explains a number of concepts of Inner Alchemy, whereas the commentary quotes the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 (the poems quoted do not exist any longer in the present version of that work, but are often quoted, for instance in *142 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* and the *Cantong qi*. The subtitle on 13a announces "Formulas for the Induction of Qi" (Yindao jue 引導訣). This part appears to be truncated. See also *570 Lingjian zi*.

Catherine Despeux

***Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue* 諸眞聖胎神用訣**

16 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

826 (fasc. 570)

"Divinely Efficacious Holy Womb Methods of the Host of Zhenren." This is a small, anonymous, and undated manual for Embryonic Breathing techniques (*taixi* 胎息), composed of some thirty different methods. These methods are attributed to a great variety of saints of ancient and more recent times, including Yanluo zi, Bodhidharma (Damo chanshi 達磨禪師), and Liu Haichan. This undated booklet should not, therefore, be earlier than the Song. However, it quotes much earlier material and does not include any texts related to the *neidan* 內丹 schools of the late Tang (618–907) and Song periods. A method attributed to an otherwise unknown zhenren of the Mysterious Gourd (Xuanhu zhenren 玄葫眞人; 3a–4a) belongs to the school of internal refining (*neilian* 內鍊), which links the spirits of the body with the hypostases of the Tao of liturgical Taoism (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊, Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊, etc.). This method is characteristic of the meditation methods of the Lingbao dafa 靈寶大法.

Kristofer Schipper

***Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經註**

46 fols.

By Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄, *hao* Changsheng zi 長生子 (1147–1203)

401 (fasc. 189)

"Commentary on the Precious Book of the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court." This is a commentary on *331 Taishang huangting neijing yujing* by the Quanzhen 全眞 patriarch Liu Chuxuan. In the title, the author's place of origin, which was Donglai 東萊 near Ninghai in Shandong, is given as Shenshan 神山 (compare *1141 Xianle ji* 1.a). Liu's authorship of this commentary is mentioned by his biographers (see *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 2.7a and *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 2.4b).

The commentary is in short four-word poems (*siyan song* 四言頌) of a simple didactic nature.

Kristofer Schipper

***Yangming jiguan jindan zhenjue* 養命機關金丹眞訣**

12 fols.

572 (fasc. 320)

"True Instructions Concerning the Gold-Elixir and the Knack of Tending Life." This text contains thirty-six tracts by an unknown author and features *neidan* 內丹 practices. It gives a description of the basic, harmonizing elements or energies of

human nature. An equilibrium of the life forces can be achieved by means of breath control. The author recommends the meditative guidance of the vital energy on its way through the human body. The text describes the vision of the energetic circuits, the "palaces," within the body that are reached in meditation. It also mentions the deities that reside in such palaces. The text appears to belong to the tradition of the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經. The reader also finds instructions for the proper transmission of the practices it describes.

Florian C. Reiter

Jindan zhenyi lun 金丹眞一論

23 fols.

By Boxuan zi 百玄子; late Northern Song (960–1127)?

1080 (fasc. 741)

"Discourses on the Gold-Elixir and the True One." These discourses consist of explanations and quotations concerning theorems of operative and physiological alchemy. This work has not been documented in bibliographies but may have been written during the Song dynasty (960–1279). It certainly does not predate the quotations of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (11b, identical with Li Quan's commentary in *108 Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu* 2b). See also see the quotations of the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 by Ziyang 紫陽 (i.e., most likely, Zhang Boduan).

The "magic elixir" originates in the qi (breath) of the True One. The relationship between these two elements can be compared with the relationship between child (elixir) and mother (breath). However, the focus is on operative alchemy, with its technical apparatus (such as the "elixir well"; 5b–6a) and its results (immortality). The text quotes and comments on many songs, odes, and alchemical books that the author of this work does not identify. The commentaries are clearly separated by the typography. Especially noticeable are the many quotations of the title *Cantong qi* 參同契.

Florian C. Reiter

Sanyuan yanshou canzan shu 三元延壽參贊書

5 juan

By Li Pengfei 李鵬飛, *hao* Jiuhua chengxin laoren 九華澄心老人; first published in 1291

851 (fasc. 574)

"Book of the Three Principles for Longevity Equal to Heaven and Earth." The expression *canzan* 參贊 in the title comes from the Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong* 中庸), chapter 22: "Whoever can assist in maintaining and promoting Heaven and Earth, he can be their equal" (cf. preface, 4a).

The present work is the sole surviving work of the author, who also wrote a *Jiuji fang yiji* 救急方一集 (see preface, 1b). Li Pengfei (b. 1222) was a physician from Anhui. He was noted for his filial piety (see *Yuan shi* 197.4449).

The text of the present book was reputedly transmitted to Li Pengfei by a sage near the Huai river. It was published in 1291 and in 1294, according to the prefaces, and again about 1338 by a governor of the province of Zhejiang (see the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition), with a colophon by He Yuanbao 何元保, an agricultural official of the same province.

The general introduction of the work describes the development of the embryo in terms that are similar to those found in the chapter "Entrance into the Matrix" of the *Ratnakūta-sūtra* (*Da baoji jing* 56.326b–336c), but for a few discrepancies concerning the first three weeks. Longevity of heavenly, earthly, and human origin is obtained, respectively, through nondispersion of seminal essence, regularity and measure in lifestyle, and alimentary hygiene.

The final two juan of the work are devoted to Inner Alchemy. The author refers to Ma Ziran, Liu Haichan and Zhang Boduan. He quotes the texts of the Xishan 西山 school of Inner Alchemy (see 5.4b). The diagrams concerning fire-phasing (4.5a–b) are similar to the one in *243 Chen Xubo guizhong zhinan* 1.4b; the diagram on the Unity of the Three (5.5a–b) resembles the one found in *576 Baoyi hansan bijue* 2.13a.

Catherine Despeux

Jichuan zhenren jiaozheng shu 稚川眞人校證術

9 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

902 (fasc. 588)

"Methods Guaranteed by Jichuan [Ge Hong]." This is a small collection of *neidan* 內丹 formulas in the *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* traditon. The work bears no relationship to *1185 Baopu zi neipian*. The first page features a table of transmission, tracing the present methods from an anonymous master to Kou Shuyuan 寇叔原, Zhou Huaxie 周化寫, Cui Huangguan 崔黃冠 (alias Cui Jingong 崔金汞), and then to Xifang Zhongcheng 西方仲成 and a number of others. The text itself is presented as the teachings transmitted by Cui to Xifang and by the latter to Dai Daoheng 戴道亨. All of these persons are otherwise unknown. A poem attributed to Zhenyi zi 眞一子 (Peng Xiao) is found on 9a–b.

Kristofer Schipper

Yuanshi bawei longwen jing 元始八威龍文經

3 fols.

30 (fasc. 27)

"Eight Powers Dragon-Writ Scripture of the Primordial Beginning." This book is composed of eight paragraphs of irregular, rhyming verses. It borrows from a Six Dynasties title (*361 Taishang dongxuan lingbao bawei zhaolong miaojing*) but deals with modern practices. Using cosmological allusions, it summarizes the dialectic and the union of fire and water and of movement and rest that underlie the creation of the Superior Man (*zhiren* 至人).

John Lagerwey

Lingbao guikong jue 靈寶歸空訣

8 fols.

By Zhao Yizhen 趙宜眞, *hao* Yuanyang zi 原陽子 (d. 1382)

568 (fasc. 319)

"Lingbao Instructions for Returning to the Void." The author was also known for his medical expertise (see *1165 Xianchuan waike bifang* and *1311 Xianquan ji* 4.11a). The present work contains fourteen songs with commentaries. The songs comprise twenty-eight words each.

The author explains that the life of humans is dominated by many uncertainties, not least by birth and death. Zhao Yizhen claimed to be editing and emending a text that had been erroneously attributed to Bodhidharma. He also rearranged the material in the form of songs, which he felt were more suitable for memorization (postface, 7a–8a). The texts deal with meditative experiences like the premonitions of approaching death, coupled with moral instructions. If a "return to the Pure Land" and the liberation from profane affairs could be accomplished, the "dharma body" (*fashen* 法身) would manifest itself.

Florian C. Reiter

Yushi jing 玉室經

5 fols.

By Li Chengzhi 李成之; Yuan (1279–1368)

1078 (fasc. 740)

"Scripture of the Jade Room." This scripture by Li Chengzhi of Caotan 草潭 in Dezhou 德州 (Shandong) contains thirteen paragraphs, all of which feature aspects of *neidan* 內丹 theory and practice.

The work starts with a description of ways of behavior that endanger the vital energies in the human body. The utensils processing yin and yang within the human body itself are called "incense burner" and "tripod." They are surrounded by spiritual forces

(1a–2a). No explanation is provided for the name "Jade Room." The paragraphs deal with cosmic elements (the sun and the moon, 2a–2b, 3b), with *Yijing* 易經 symbols, and also with general phenomena such as good and bad fortune in life (4a–b). The explanations culminate in expositions concerning *xingming* 性命, referring to the "nature" and "existence" of man. The basis for a realization of *xingming* is seen in individual integrity and also in the fulfillment of social obligations (5a). This didactic work may have formed part of Quanzhen 全眞 literature of the Yuan period.

Florian C. Reiter

Neidan huanyuan jue 內丹還元訣

4 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)?

1098 (fasc. 743)

"Instructions for the Return to the Original [State of Existence by Means of] Inner Alchemy." This text contains expositions of the basic concepts of *neidan* or Inner Alchemy. The work is not documented in bibliographies and does not provide any indications for a more precise date. However, the "instructions" appear to have been compiled at a rather late period (Yuan?) to serve as a summary of *neidan* teaching.

The introductory passages explain that anyone interested in the cultivation of the Tao must be informed about the Five Elements, the Four Signs, the "reversal of the mutations due to the workings of yin and yang," and so on. In fact, the text deals with only two of these subjects, namely, the Five Elements and Four Signs. First, the text sketches the development and the circulation of the energies that control the five intestines of the human body. In a similarly summary way it features the Four Signs (or Symbols): *jinweng* 金翁, the "gilded old man"; *chanü* 妊女, the "young girl"; *yinger* 嬰儿, the "small child"; and *huangpo* 黃婆, the "yellow old woman." The text attempts to define the meaning of these signs or symbols. The concluding passages of the text contain a short description of the *bagua* 八卦 and also refer to natural phenomena (lightning, wind, etc.) and bodily correspondences (physical organs).

Florian C. Reiter

Danjia ji 亶甲集

7 fols.

Zhao Min 趙民, *hao* Jiangzhen zi 降眞子; Song (960–1279)?

1093 (fasc. 742)

"Collection of True and Superior Principles." This work was compiled by Zhao Min, a native of Xi Qin in Gansu. It contains thirty poems about the achievement of Long Life. Each poem has fifty-six words. Zhao Min commends the methods of

Chen Tuan (Master Xiyi 希夷). This reference could point to the Song as the period of compilation (1a).

The poems present descriptions of the practices that lead to the achievement of immortality, and in this they follow the diction of *neidan* 內丹. On the other hand, they appear to discuss the production of an elixir as well as its application and effects, such as arresting the process of aging (3b, 6a). The author claims to have experienced the effectiveness of the elixir (6a). His poems, he says, contain a true and complete account. However, oral instructions would still be indispensable, and all efforts would remain in vain as long as these instructions had not been obtained.

Florian C. Reiter

Jinyi dadan shi 金液大丹詩
14 fols.
Song (960–1279)?
1094 (fasc. 742)

"Poems on Liquefied Gold and the Great Elixir." This work comprises twenty-nine short poems, comprising forty words each. All of them convey *neidan* 內丹 metaphors. They appear to have been written during the Song period, although they do not provide any concrete indications as to their precise date.

The poems describe creation with its essential elements and their symbols, which also govern the existence of human beings and their efforts to reach the Tao of Long Life (10a). The terms *jinyi* 金液 and *dadan* 大丹 in the title of this work are not explained but appear to refer to such efforts of self-cultivation.

Florian C. Reiter

Taishang xiuzhen xuanzhang 太上修眞玄章
7 fols.
Yuan (1279–1368)
1043 (fasc. 724)

"Arcane Essays on the Supreme Cultivation of True [Nature]." This text contains ten tracts dealing with physiological self-cultivation. The author is unknown.

The basis for the expositions in this work is the understanding that *xing* 性 ranks above *ming* 命 (3a). Both concepts are central. They refer to "the being of humans" and to their "worldly existence." These concepts are explained by means of the terms *shen* 神 (spiritual force) and *qi* 氣 (vital energy). The ten essays feature conception, birth, and life, all of which depend on the above elements. These elements in turn have their basis in the cosmic energies of the Anterior Heaven (2a–3a). The essential precondition for any self-cultivation is said to be moderation in eating, drinking, and speaking, and also the avoidance of sleep (4b–5a). The mind has to be freed of any considerations and become void (5b). Many efforts have to be exerted to diminish yin and strengthen yang (7a).

Florian C. Reiter

Wuxuan pian 悟玄篇
12 fols.
By Yu Dongzhen 余洞眞; preface dated 1229
1046 (fasc. 725)

"Essay on the Realization of the Mysteries." This work presents didactic texts on how to become an immortal. It is essential for that purpose to eliminate yin and to strengthen yang. The means required to achieve this goal can be found within humanity itself. Yu Dongzhen (1166–1250) was initiated into these secrets in Hangzhou. His preface is dated *jichou* 己丑, referring to 1229. References are made to Shi Tai and Bo Yuchan (6b, 9b), pointing to the *neidan* 內丹 tradition of the Southern Song (1127–1279) period.

The "mysteries" mentioned in the title are the energetic and physical components of the human genesis, comprising the development and circulation of the vital energies, and of spiritual forces and essences. Self-cultivation effects the reversal of the usual processes of physical developments, that is, the gradual deterioration of physical potentials. The most important and guiding element is *xin* 心 (the mind). This text points to many practical and meditative methods, such as Holding the One, meditation, and medicine. The diction is esoteric. Details were to be left to oral instruction.

Florian C. Reiter

Tuoyue zi 橐籥子
8 fols.
By Zhu Dongtian 祝洞天, *hao* Tuoyue zi 橐籥子 (fl. 1350)
1188 (fasc. 874)

Yindan neipian 陰丹內篇
3 fols.
Appendix to *1188 Tuoyue zi*
1189 (fasc. 874)

"Master Tuoyue" is a miscellanea by Zhu Dongtian, a Taoist of Longhu shan 龍虎山 in Jiangxi (cf. *Sian ji* 21.6a). In the *Daozang*, the book is divided into two separate parts with different titles. However, the second title, *1189 Yindan neipian,* should be considered an appendix to the main text.

Part of the *1188 Tuoyue zi* appears in the form of a dialogue between Tuoyue zi and a disciple; the matters discussed include correspondences between the macrocosm and

the microcosm; the vital forces in human beings that follow the universal rhythm of Heaven and Earth; the Eight Trigrams (complete with six diagrams; those depicting Heaven and Earth are not divulged); and the final transformation and union with the Tao.

The *1189 Yindan neipian* comprises one short paragraph on sexual practice, followed by a commentary. Both text and commentary employ esoteric alchemical language.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taibo jing 太白經

11 fols.

934 (fasc. 598)

"Scripture on the Planet Venus." It is possible that the title uses the name Taibo 太白 (Venus) to allude to the elements Metal/Gold and White Tiger. These two names belong to *neidan* 內丹 terminology. The introductory passages are the same as *950 Shangdong xindan jingjue* 3.1a–1b. The present work deals with the proper transmission of instructions concerning the Gold-Elixir.

The text speaks of ten types of people who were either able or unable to receive such instructions. It also refers to ten factors considered important for the production of the elixir, such as the circumstances and means of production. Although the concluding remarks do not exclude explicitly operative alchemy (e.g., 7b, no. 4, concerning the "furnace"), many statements do refer to *Yijing* 易經 correspondences and *neidan* concepts (see, e.g., 10b, *da dantian* 大丹田 for "lead"). The core process is seen in the reaction or compounding of "dragon" and "tiger," the symbolic "true essences" of the elixir (11a). An ode by Shi Jianwu resumes this theme. A quotation taken from the commentary on the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 by Li Quan 李筌 (9b) appears to be an extension of *110 Huangdi yinfu jing shu* 2.6b, suggesting that the present work was written, at the earliest, in the latter half of the Tang period (618–907) and probably much later.

Florian C. Reiter

Taishang yuanbao jinting wuwei miaojing 太上元寶金庭無爲妙經

18 fols.

1399 (fasc. 1049)

"Scripture on Ataraxy from the Golden Court of the Primal Treasure." The terms *yuanbao* 元寶 and *jinting* 金庭 do not appear in the text. The first term probably refers to the Primordial Qi (breath), and the second to the alchemical tripod (*ding* 鼎). The respiration that is the subject of this text is described as "work on emptiness," on that which has no fixed form, hence "ataraxy." The text as a whole is a treatise on Inner Alchemy. The aim is the creation of the elixir (*jindan* 金丹) by the marriage of the

Five Elements. The text uses such terms as White Tiger, Green Dragon, True Water, and True Fire. All operations must be synchronized with the time of year.

The text is divided into twenty-seven paragraphs, each of which contains "a word of the Tao," followed in all but paragraph 20 by a commentary of the Queen Mother of the West. While there is progression from paragraph to paragraph, they hardly amount to a systematic exposé. A certain number of original features may be pointed out: the heart is called the Hall of the Seal (*yintang* 印堂), and mention is made of both a "light of the vermilion seal" and a "vermilion palace seal." The heart is called "the office of the spirit" and "the office of the emperor," whose name is Lord of the Jade Flower. The coccyx is identified with the Door of Earth, the *niwan* 泥丸 with the Gate of Heaven: the saint causes the water of his kidneys—called "divine water" or "energy-water"—to ascend and irrigate the *niwan* and then to fall, first into the Flower Pool and then into the Scarlet Palace. The heart's fire must not be set burning fiercely by things outside the self: it must be kept for heating the alchemical tripod. The adept must "sublimate his qi" and "calm his spirit." To calm his spirit he must put an end to all discursive thought and to desire. The term *quanzhen* 全眞 (Complete Truth) appears twice in the text.

John Lagerwey

Jiuhuan qifan longhu jindan xili zhenjue 九還七返龍虎金丹析理眞訣

9 fols.

By Cheng Zhao 程昭, *zi* Shiming 士明; Northern Song (960–1127)?

229 (fasc. 112)

"True Method Explaining the Theory of the Nine-Times-Transformed and Seven-Times-Transmuted Dragon-and-Tiger Elixir." This is a small treatise on Inner Alchemy; the author is otherwise unknown. According to our text, in the *renshen* 壬申 year of the Great Song the author met a Taoist recluse by the name of Siming yeke 四明野客 who taught Cheng, at his request, the principles of the art of Inner Alchemy. The present book contains their dialogue.

The explanations quote the well-known *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 as well as the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經. The text mentions famous masters of the past such as Yanluo zi, Qingxia zi 青霞子, and Cui Xuanzhen 崔玄眞 (fl. 741–756), the author of *135 Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie* and is mentioned here in relation to an unknown *Longtai jing* 龍胎經. The text also mentions the Five Dynasties (907–960) or early Song alchemist Yuanyang zi 元陽子 (see *238 Yuanyang zi jinyi ji*). All these elements refer to the early stage of Inner Alchemy, and the work therefore may date to the Northern Song period, the year *renshen* standing for either 1032 or 1092.

Kristofer Schipper

Xiudan miaoyong zhili lun 修丹妙用至理論

10 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)?

234 (fasc. 113)

"Treatise on the Supreme Reasons and Marvelous Results of the Practice of Alchemy." This short theoretical work has an unsigned preface and nine chapters (*pian* 篇) corresponding to the nine stages of the alchemical process. The preface mentions an alternative, possibly the original, title: "Short Instructions for Fire-Phasing" (*Huohou juelue* 火候訣略). Phase 8 comprises the construction of an altar on which the alchemical tripod is placed. The master and his disciple ascend the altar in order to supervise the fire-phasing. Although the description is realistic, this phase appears to be part of a meditative process, since in the preface the author rejects all forms of operative alchemy.

Most of the sources quoted, such as the *Yuhu song* 玉壺頌 (4b), are either Tang (618–907) or Five Dynasties (907–960). Some sources date to the early Song, for instance, a work by LIU HAICHAN (4b). The text should therefore belong to the Northern Song period.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhizhen zi longhu dadan shi 至眞子龍虎大丹詩

8 fols.

Zhou Fang 周方, *zi* Guiyi 歸一, *hao* Zhizhen zi 至眞子; preface 1026

269 (fasc. 132)

"Poems on the Great Elixir of the Dragon and the Tiger, by Master Zhizhen." An anonymous preface dated 1026 says that the author of the poems was a certain Zhou Fang, a Taoist of Shaoshi shan 少室山 (Henan).

The present text, however, was presented to the emperor by the official Lu Tian 盧天. The latter's official title corresponds exactly to that of Lu Tianji 盧天驥, an official who is known to have presented another alchemical text to the throne between 1111 and 1117 (see *905 Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 1a). It seems that the character *ji* 驥 was omitted here inadvertently.

The work comprises thirty-two poems on the elixir. According to the preface, this elixir is not based on plants or minerals. The text of the poems in general could apply to Inner or Outer Alchemy alike.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xu zhenjun shihan ji 許眞君石函記

2 juan

Attributed to XU XUN 許遜, *zi* Jingyang 旌陽; Southern Song (1127–1279)?

951 (fasc. 601)

"Notes from the Stone Box of Zhenren Xu." This is an alchemical handbook that, according to the undated preface, corresponds to the nine chapters of esoteric instructions left behind in a stone box by the famous immortal XU XUN when he rose up to heaven in broad daylight with his house and family. The box was found by an official named Zhang 張. Later the Taoist master Xie Guanfu 謝觀復 transmitted it to his disciples Zhu Mingshu 朱明叔 and Zheng Daoquan 鄭道全 from Dongjia 東嘉 (Sichuan). Xie Guanfu is XIE SHOUHAO, *hao* Guanfu 觀復 (1134–1212). He is the author of *770 Hunyuan shengji* and who lived at the Yulong gong 玉隆宮 on Xishan 西山, the center of XU JINGYANG's worship. Zhu Mingshu and Zheng Daoquan are otherwise unknown.

The work is not mentioned in Song catalogues. The story of the stone box left behind by XU XUN is well known from his hagiography at least since Southern Song times (see *440 Xu taishi zhenjun tuzhuan* 2.18b). The *Daozang* typography observes the Song taboo for the character *kuang* 匡.

The work quotes many operative alchemical terms but does not contain any recipe or instructions for laboratory alchemy. It is closer to Inner Alchemy, as it uses many concepts and theories related to the *Cantong qi* 參同契 and similar texts. Here also, the discourse remains theoretical and, above all, literary; nothing of practical use is revealed.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Zazhu jiejing 雜著捷徑

9 juan

Yuan (1279–1368)?

263.17 *Xiuzhen shishu* 17–25 (fasc. 125)

"Shortcut to the Tao: A Miscellany." *Siku quanshu zongmu* 147.3078 lists a *Xiuzhen jiejing* in nine juan compiled by Yu Juehua 余覺華, *zi* Rongfu 榮甫, from Jian'an 建安 (Fujian) during the reign period *Zhiyuan* (1335–1340). Both the description of the work and the number of juan correspond exactly to our text. This work is a typical collection of On the Cultivation of Perfection (*xiuzhen* 修眞) texts: it includes breathing exercises, physiological treatises on the Five Viscera, descriptions of the body, *daoyin* 導引 (gymnastics) techniques, and poems on these subjects.

Some of the texts are unique; for instance, juan 18 contains illustrations and explanations of various centers in the head and body by YANLUO ZI; juan 19, "Baduan



FIGURE 19. The *baduan jin* or Eight Lengths of Brocade method (*263* 19.4a–5b)

jin fa 八段錦法," has illustrations of *daoyin* techniques (fig. 19), with text ascribed to ZHONGLI QUAN (see the translation in Maspero, "Methods," 547–48).

For the "Cuixu pian 翠虛篇" in juan 17 and the "Tianyuan ruyao jing 天元入藥鏡" in juan 21.6b ff., see also the articles on *1096 Chen xiansheng neidan jue* and *135 Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie.*

Juan 22–23 comprise poems and *ci*-lyrics by ZENG ZAO (d. 1155) and his friends.

Juan 21 contains eighty-one anonymous verses on Tending Life techniques (*yangsheng* 養生); juan 24 and 25 are on the same subject. The *Tiandi jiaoshen lun* 天地交神論 (25.1a–2b) is an excerpt from *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa.*

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.4.b The Zhong-Lü Tradition

***Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集**

3 juan

Attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN 鍾離權; compilation attributed to LÜ YAN 呂嵓; transmitted by SHI JIANWU 施肩吾; Northern Song (960–1127)?

263.14 *Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16 (fasc. 124)

"Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Art [of Immortality] to Lü Dongbin: A Collection." This work belongs to a group of texts ascribed to the legendary ZHONGLI QUAN and his disciple LÜ DONGBIN. These texts are generally referred to in other *Daozang* works as the Zhong-Lü 鍾呂 texts (on these, see *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* and *246 Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*).

Although the present title is first mentioned in *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.348, there is a complete, if slightly abridged, version in *1017 Daoshu* (ca. 1150), entitled *Chuandao pian* 篇. The *Song shi*, "Yiwen zhi," 4.5190 writes *Zhenxian* 眞仙 *chuandao ji,* and the Ming work *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu* (*Zangwai daoshu* 6:61–101) indicates yet another title: *Zhong-Lü erxian* 二仙 *chuandao ji* (this edition has an additional paragraph at the end).

In the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), the authorship of this work was ascribed to SHI JIANWU; YU YAN, for instance, refers to it as Shi Qizhen's 施栖眞 (i.e., SHI JIANWU's) *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (see *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 8.3a; see also the discussion in *305 Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 5.14b).

The *Chuandao ji* is presented as a dialogue between ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN. It is divided into eighteen topics of discussion dealing with different aspects of Inner Alchemy, beginning with the different degrees of immortality and ending with transfiguration. The content is mainly theoretical, with occasional allusions to practice. The work defines itself (16.13a–b) as a theoretical background to *1191 Lingbao bifa,* which explains the practical exercises in detail.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* 祕傳正陽眞人靈寶畢法**

3 juan

Attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN 鍾離權, *zi* Yunfang 雲房, *hao* Zhengyang zhenren 正陽眞人; transmitted by LÜ YAN 呂嵓, *zi* Dongbin 洞賓, *hao* Chunyang zhenren 純陽眞人; Northern Song (960–1279)

1191 (fasc. 874)

"Secret Transmission of Master Zhengyang's Complete Methods of the Sacred Jewel." This work is ascribed to the legendary Han Taoist, ZHONGLI QUAN; it is said to have been transmitted by his disciple LÜ DONGBIN, a semilegendary figure

of the Tang (618–907) dynasty (preface). The book, however, is first mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.31a as *Zhongli shou Lü gong lingbao bifa* 鐘離授呂公靈寶畢法 in ten juan (*juan* must be an error for the sections into which the book is divided).

Lü Dongbin and Zhongli Quan are considered the authors of a series of *neidan* 內丹 texts, known as the Zhong-Lü group (cf. the preface to *246 Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* and Baldrian-Hussein, *Procédés secrets*, 41 ff.). The present book is a continuation of another Zhong-Lü work (cf. *263.14 Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 16.13a–13b]). A Yuan source attributes the authorship of the texts to Shi Jianwu (cf. *305 Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 2.9a and 5.14b), putative author of *246 Xishan qunxian huizhen ji,* another important Zhong-Lü text. Both Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin were acknowledged as patriarchs of Taoist schools that emphasized Inner Alchemy, such as the Quanzhen jiao 全眞教 in the north, and later the Nanzong 南宗 in the south.

The methods described in the text were excerpted from a *Lingbao jing* 靈寶經 in thirty juan, which Zhongli Quan discovered in a cave in the Zhongnan 終南 Mountains in Shaanxi (preface, 1a). Zhongli classified three juan into three sections, representing the Three Vehicles (*sancheng* 三乘), or the "three stages of accomplishment" (*sancheng* 三成). The three stages are further subdivided into ten sections (preface; see also *263.14 Zhong-Lü chuan dao ji* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 16.13b]).

The first stage comprises four sections describing methods of breath control and gymnastics. The next stage, in three sections, deals with methods of circulating the qi and inner fluids of the body. The final stage, in three sections, concerns methods of meditation and transfiguration.

A slightly abridged version of the present text is included in *1017 Daoshu* (early twelfth century).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldrian-Hussein, *Procédés secrets*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 修眞太極混元圖**

18 fols.

Xiao Daocun 蕭道存, *hao* Hunyi zi 混一子; Northern Song (960–1127)

149 (fasc. 68)

"Diagrams on the Mystery of Ultimate and Primordial Chaos for the Cultivation of True Nature" (fig. 20). This is an illustrated treatise of the so-called Zhong-Lü tradition (see *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*). According to the preface, the author of the treatise based himself on a work by Shi Jianwu known as the *Xiulian* 修鍊 *taiji hunyuan tu,* but this title is otherwise unknown.



FIGURE 20. The Ten Islands of the Blessed, for visualization in meditation. In the foreground, the Purple Residence of the Taiwei zhenjun; above it, the remaining nine islands in clusters of three (*149* 8a)

The diagrams and quotations contained in this work illustrate the methods of the system followed by the Zhong-Lü school as it is expounded, for instance, in the "Xiuzhen zhixuan pian 修眞指玄篇" in *1017 Daoshu* 19.9a–22a.

The short preface attributed to Jin Quanzi 金全子 and describing the transmission of the *Xiuzhen zhixuan tu* 修眞指玄圖 is clearly out of place here, as it actually deals with the next text in the canon: *150 Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu*.

The present treatise is concerned mainly with the theoretical order of the microcosm, the circulation and union of the internal fluids (*qi* 氣 and *yi* 液), and, finally, the transfiguration of the adept.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu* 修眞太極混元指玄圖**

9 fols.

Song (before 1154)

150 (fasc. 68)

"Diagram [Illustrating] the Mystery of the Cultivation of Truth, of the Supreme Pole, and the Primordial Chaos." This is a text that belongs to the Zhong-Lü group (cf. *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*). Its preface by Jin Quanzi 金全子, *zi*

Zhupo 竹坡 of Hangzhou, was erroneously placed at the beginning of the preceding work, *149 Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu,* perhaps by the editors of the *Daozang*. One Jin Zhupo 金竹坡 of the Tang dynasty (618–907) is indicated as the author of *923 Dadan qiangong lun,* but this work has been shown to be a forgery of the Southern Song (1127–1279).

The authorship of the preface poses another problem, since the same preface with minor variations is ascribed to Li Song 李竦 (a disciple of SHI JIANWU and compiler of *246 Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*) in *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* 14.22a, a work dated 1154. Whereas Jin Quanzi describes his encounter with SHI JIANWU as having occurred in Nanking, Li's preface has Nanjing Yingtian fu 南京應天府, the name used during the Dazhong xiangfu period (1008–1016). The present text can therefore be placed between this period and 1154.

The text comprises nine diagrams and a collection of short formulas (*jue* 訣) illustrating the practical methods explained in the *Xiuzhen zhixuan pian* 修眞指玄篇 (*1017 Daoshu* 19.9a–22a); however, it includes only a list of the names of the techniques employed, without any practical instructions.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xishan qunxian huizhen ji 西山群仙會眞記

5 juan

Attributed to SHI JIANWU 施肩吾, *zi* Xisheng 希聖, *hao* Qingxu dongtian Huayang zhenren 清虛洞天華陽眞人 (fl. 820); compiled by Li Song 李竦, *zi* Quanmei 全美, *hao* Sanxian men dizi tianxia du xianke 三仙門弟子天下都閑客; Northern Song (960–1127)

246 (fasc. 116)

"Record of the Immortals of the Huizhen [Hall] on Xishan." This work belongs to a group of *neidan* texts inspired by the patriarchs ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ YAN (cf. *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*). It is attributed to the well-known poet SHI JIANWU, a recluse of Xishan in Jiangxi. The compiler, Li Song, was a disciple of SHI JIANWU (cf. *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* 14.22a).

Already during the Song dynasty (960–1279), the attribution of its authorship to SHI JIANWU was contested: the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.348 considers the Tang (618–907) poet and the author of our text as two different persons of the same name. Moreover, internal evidence from the text itself proves that this work was compiled, at the earliest, toward the end of the tenth century: 1.6a mentions Zhang Mengqian 張夢乾, who appears to have died in 998 (see *Shanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, quoted in *Gujin tushu jicheng*, "Shenyi dian," juan 252).

The present title first occurs in the *Suichu tang shumu* (VDL 108). The *Junzhai dushu zhi* lists a *Qunxian huizhen ji* in five juan subdivided into twenty-five *pian* 篇, corresponding to the present version. The *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* 16.3a quotes a biography of SHI JIANWU from the *Xishan huizhen ji,* which, however, does not figure in the present work. A slightly abridged version of the present text is found in *1017 Daoshu* 38.

The preface, ascribed to SHI JIANWU, is linked to two traditions: it mentions the twelve saints of Xishan as well as ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN. It explains that each of the five juan corresponds to one qi of the Five Elements. Each of the twenty-five sections of this work quotes a Taoist text, in most cases the *Xishan ji* 西山記, referring apparently to an antecedent of the present work. The themes discussed are: recognition (of masters, methods, the Way, etc.); nourishment (of the vital principle, qi, etc.); reparation of damage (due to diminished qi, vitality, etc.); true alchemical ingredients (yin and yang, lead, mercury, etc.); transmutation (and perfection of the body, spirit, etc.). The theory and the practical procedures described are less detailed than those of *1191 Lingbao bifa*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi 金碧五相類參同契

3 juan

Preface and commentary ascribed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生; after 947

904 (fasc. 588–589)

"Book of Azure Gold and the Theory of Categories of the Kinship of the Five." This is an Inner Alchemical treatise attributed to Yin Changsheng of the Han dynasty. It is mentioned for the first time, however, in the *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.6b, which notes only one juan. The work comprises a preface and poems with commentaries. The first sentence of the preface is a definition of the *Cantong qi* 參同契 by PENG XIAO, from his postface of 947 (cf. *1003 Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu* 11a). This quotation, which is also repeated in the commentary, does not preclude the possibility that the poems are of a much older date.

Another version in *1017 Daoshu* 34 consists of a dialogue between two legendary Taoists, Yunya zi 雲牙子 and Yuanyang zi 元陽子. The poems, paraphrased, are attributed to the former, and the commentary to the latter. The first two poems and their commentaries, as well as some other passages in the middle of the text, are missing from the *Daoshu* version, which, moreover, follows a slightly different sequence in the presentation of the poems. The commentary, too, is often abridged.

The technical terms employed are, with a few exceptions, similar to those of the Zhong-Lü group of texts, such as *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*. Since these texts are of the Northern Song date, the present work must belong to the same period. Moreover, famous Taoist books are often referred to as scriptures (*jing* 經), a usage current during the Northern Song.

The text is divided into eighteen sections, of which number 6 is missing. These sections trace the development of Inner Alchemical practice, from the technique known as "collecting the medicine" to the formation of the immortal embryo and transfiguration.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Liaoming pian 了明篇

14 fols.

By Master Song xiansheng 宋先生; compiled by Mao Rixin 毛日新; preface 1168

272 (fasc. 133)

"Book of Comprehension." This is a collection of poems ascribed to a Master Song, who is said to have received instruction directly from the legendary ZHONGLI QUAN 鍾離權 in 1165 (preface, 1a). Shortly afterward, Mao Rixin met Song in Jiangsu, where he obtained this work (preface, 1b).

The collection comprises a preface by Mao Rixin followed by poems written in various styles by Song. The longest section consists of a series of thirty poems entitled "He Langran zi Jindao shi 和朗然子進道詩" (2a–9b), written to match the style of the thirty poems by Liu Xiyue 劉希岳 (see *271 Taixuan langran zi Jindao shi*).

The rest of the work (9b–14b) comprises *ci*-lyric poems on Inner Alchemical themes. These poems are inspired by the *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 attributed to LÜ DONGBIN (*136 Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zhuzhen lun huandan jue 諸眞論還丹訣

5 fols.

Northern Song (960–1127)

230 (fasc. 112)

"Formulas of the Perfected on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir." This is a short collection of alchemical poems ascribed to a number of Taoist worthies. Although the compilation is not listed in any of the catalogues, most of the material is quoted in Song texts.

The first poem, "Yuhu song 玉壺頌," is incomplete; see *1017 Daoshu* 12.5b, which describes the transmission of the poems by Taiyi zhenren 太一 (乙) 眞人 to Zhongtiao zi 中條子. The poem is also quoted in a Tang or Five Dynasties work as "Taiyi zhenren yuhu song 太一眞人玉壺頌" (cf. *1080 Jindan zhenyi lun* 10b).

Chen Guofu has traced the Qingxia zi 青霞子 poems on the basis of rhyme analysis (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 236) to the southern dynasties of Qi, Chen, and Liang (479–589). Although this provenance may be doubtful, at least one of the poems is quoted in a Five Dynasties text (*266 Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 18b).

For the "Rongcheng gong neidan gejue 容成公內丹歌訣," see BPZ 16.28. Our text reproduces only half of the BPZ poem and has changed the last line. A slightly different version of the poem is quoted in *234 Xiudan miaoyong zhili lun* 6a as "Yuanhuang shangjing 元皇上經."

The last poem by Cao Shengtu 曹聖圖 (*hao* Tanxuan zi 探玄子) is a short extract from the *Qiangong wuxing tu* 鉛汞五行圖 mentioned in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.23b (read 鉛汞 for 訟求) and other Song catalogues (VDL 154). A slightly different version figures in *1017 Daoshu* 30.1a.

All the poems are on alchemical themes; Cao Shengtu's poem, however, is clearly on *neidan* 內丹.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao,* 317.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zhenyi jindan jue 眞一金丹訣

9 fols.

Wang Chang 王常; Song (960–1279)

231 (fasc. 112)

"Explication Concerning the Elixir of the True One." This is a spurious work attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN, LÜ DONGBIN, and SHI JIANWU. The author, Wang Chang, traces the transmission of the text and states that it was hidden in a cave by SHI JIANWU.

The text itself is divided into two sections. The first section comprises poems on the three methods of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, followed by a short essay on the circulation of qi through various points of the body. The nomenclature and the theory are similar to the Zhong-Lü texts of the Northern Song (see, for example, *1017 Daoshu* 19.9a ff.).

The second section, entitled "Taixi jieyao 胎息節要," (Essentials of Embryonic Respiration) is devoted to this subject. A passage (7a) figures in *826 Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue* 2b, where it is entitled "Yuqi fa 御氣法." Another paragraph (7b) is a quotation from YJQQ 59.10b.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Zhenxian bichuan huohou fa 眞仙祕傳火候法

9 fols.

Late Song (960–1279)?

274 (fasc. 133)

"The True Immortal's Secret Transmission of Fire-Phasing Techniques." This undated work is divided into two sections. The first section (1a–4a) is based partly on lost texts such as the "Xiuzhen zhixuan pian 修眞指玄篇" (*1017 Daoshu* 19; cf., for example,

12b and 1a–1b of our text), the "Jindan nijin pian 金丹泥金篇" (*1017 Daoshu* 23), and on texts preserved in the *Daozang*, such as *246 Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* (*1017 Daoshu* 38) and *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* (*1017 Daoshu* 42). This last work seems to have inspired the author of our text in his choice of the title. Since many of the books mentioned above are of the twelfth century, the present work is later than that period. The second section (4a–9a) comprises affirmations of a certain Fangbian zhenren 方便眞人.

The fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候) methods are based on Zhong-Lü techniques, with a few variations (see, e.g., 7b). The main methods described are those of the celestial revolution type (*zhoutian huohou* 周天火候). Other techniques include the art of conducting the seminal essence to repair the brain (*huanjing bunao* 還精補腦) and of circulating qi. The description and the macrocosmic and microcosmic correspondences, accompanied by symbols from the *Yijing* 易經, are similar to those of the Zhong-Lü texts.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taishang jiuyao xinyin miaojing 太上九要心印妙經

9 fols.

Attributed to Zhang Guolao 張果老; Song (960–1279)?

225 (fasc. 112)

"Marvelous Book of the Nine Essentials Heart Seal of the Most High." This is a short treatise on *neidan* 內丹 attributed to Zhang Guolao (eighth century) but containing numerous technical terms current in the texts of the Zhong-Lü school from the Northern Song (960–1127) period (e.g. *sanhuo* 三火, *sanyang* 三陽, or *lianshen hedao* 鍊神合道; compare, for instance, *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* 4.2b, 9b; 5.8b). The author seems to have been inspired by *660 Hunyuan bajing zhenjing* (compare 3.4b–5b of that text with the first pages of the work under discussion). The present text also uses expressions from the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 such as *fuguo anmin* 富國安民, *qiangbing zhansheng* 強兵戰胜, and *shenxian baoyi* 神仙抱一 (3b).

The text is composed of nine sections. These, according to the preface, correspond to the phases of the Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir (*jiuzhuan* 九轉). The term *xinyin* 心印 refers to the spiritual transmission that brings the disciple to a sudden understanding of the workings of the universe.

The nine sections comprise discussions on topics concerning the Real One and the Three Ones, as well as respiration, fire-phasing, and, finally, embryonic respiration and meditation.

The use of the term *xinyin* as well as the mention, in the last section of the work (7b), of Bodhidharma show an influence from Chan Buddhism, of the kind perceptible in treatises on embryonic respiration since Tang times. The *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.20b (VDL 93) mentions a now lost *Xinyin taixi tuike miaodao jue* 心印胎息蛻殼妙道訣 in one juan.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Cunshen guqi lun 存神固氣論

7 fols.

577 (fasc. 321)

"Discourse on Holding the Spirit and Strenghtening the Qi." This is a short compilation without any indication of date or authorship. It contains two kinds of texts: thirteen short explanations (1a–5b) concerning fundamental physiological procedures and two short essays: the "Xingshen jumiao fa 形神俱妙法" (Method for the Transcendance of Both Body and Spirit; 6a–b) and the "Zhongyuan pian 中源篇" (Essay on the Middle Origin; 7a–b). The short explanations constitute the outline of a *neidan* 內丹 program. The two essays are markedly different in style: they are less didactic and contain quotations. They may date from an earlier period.

Vincent Goossaert

Taishang changwen dadong lingbao youxuan shangpin miaojing 太上長文大洞靈寶幽玄上品妙經

12 fols.

991 (fasc. 619)

"Essay of the Most High, a Scripture of the Upper Section of the Dark Mystery of the Numinous Treasure of the Great Cavern." This is a work on the subject of Inner Alchemy. The nineteen paragraphs of the text are all "words of the Tao"; the first ten paragraphs describe the structure of the universe and the body; the last nine provide the responses of a master to a disciple concerning various forms of practice.

According to the first part of the book, Great Extremity (Taiji 太極) and Great Simplicity (Taisu 太素), which existed before the separation of Heaven and Earth, are both "in the image of the Great One," but Great Simplicity is identified with the west and the production of metal (*jin* 金), and Great Extremity with the south and the production of cinnabar (*dan* 丹). According to the practical half of the book, it takes 1,000 days for the *jindan* 金丹 to "knot," 2,000 days for the "embryo of the saint" to form in the Central Palace, and 3,000 days for the accomplishment of the "great undertaking."

In language and system, this text is close to *263.14 Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16). On two occasions, however, it refers to the qi of the heart as the "breath of the True Origin" (*zhenyuan zhi qi* 眞元之氣; 6b, 11a), which suggests a possible link to the True Origin school of Inner Alchemy (cf. *57 Shangfang tianzun shuo Zhenyuan tongxian daojing*).

John Lagerwey

Taishang changwen dadong lingbao youxuan shangpin miaojing fahui 太上長文大洞靈寶幽玄上品妙經發揮

19 fols.

992 (fasc. 619)

"Elaboration on the Essay of the Most High." This text presents itself as an elaboration (*fahui* 發揮) of *991 Taishang changwen dadong lingbao youxuan shangpin miaojing*. A note at the beginning states: "The meaning of the *Changwen dadong jing* and of the five paragraphs of methods (?) is obscure. I fear that latter-day adepts will have difficulty following it. That is why I have devised a thirty-day system. Do not transmit it to the unworthy! Conceal it!"

The present text is indeed divided into thirty parts, one for each day of the sixth month (the reason for this choice is not made clear; the paragraphs for the fifth and sixth days are missing). The author does comment on some phrases from the preceding text, but he also introduces a number of new concepts: the True Yin and the True Yang, the seventy-two periods (*hou* 候), the River Chariot (*heju* 河車), the Yellow Lady (*huangpo* 黃婆), and others. He also insists repeatedly on the moral aspects of the Way of the immortals, which he assimilates to the Way of the gods (*shendao* 神道) and the Way of the buddhas (*fodao* 佛道). There are references to a *Gujing* 古經 and to the *Longhu shangjing* 龍虎上經.

John Lagerwey

Taishang huadao dushi xianjing 太上化道度世仙經

14 fols.

648 (fasc. 342)

"Scripture of the Immortals of the Most High for Transformation into the Tao and Salvation from the World." This is a summary of Inner Alchemy composed of three sections of verse and a commentary. The titles of the three sections are "Transformation into the Tao," "The Five Phases," and "The Principle of the Mystery." The commentary uses terminology from the *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (*263.14 Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16]). The whole text is preceded by an introduction in the manner of a Lingbao scripture, presenting the text as a sermon of the Most High. This work concludes with some practical ritual instructions.

John Lagerwey

Neidan bijue 內丹祕訣

11 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

1085 (fasc. 741)

"Secret Instructions Concerning the Gold-Elixir." This work is a compilation of unknown origin. It contains prose, poems, and songs about the Gold-Elixir, which represents the elements and results of meditative self-cultivation. This text is not documented in bibliographies, but it is most likely a product of the Song period.

The text mentions Taoists of the Tang (618–907) and Wudai (907–960) periods including Zhang Guo (9a) and Ma Ziran (6a). Zhongli Quan, Lü Yan and Liu Haichan (2b, 7a). The text was shaped by the southern traditions associated with Liu Haichan and Ma Ziran (cf. *1157 Ma Ziran jindan koujue*).

The text deals with the gradual apprehension of *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 (being and existence), and it stresses the importance of the "true nature" (*zhenxing* 眞性).

Florian C. Reiter

Jindan zhengzong 金丹正宗

11 fols.

Hu Huncheng 胡混成, *hao* Xuanxue jinshi 玄學進士; Song (960–1279)?

1087 (fasc. 742)

"Correct Line of Transmission of the Gold-Elixir." The author was a native of Wuling 五陵 (Henan). This text focuses on the *neidan* 內丹 tradition, which is understood to be analogous to operative alchemy (3b). This text, which was written during the Song period at the earliest, is not documented in bibliographies.

The work sets out presenting some cosmogonic descriptions. The Original Breath of the Anterior Heaven (2a), which governs the life of humanity, appears to be the most vital element. It is the object of the corresponding concept of self-cultivation. The Posterior Heaven, or postnatal existence, is the reality that has to be seen in opposition to the faculties of the Anterior Heaven. Self-cultivation, which is based on a revelation made by Laozi, has to be performed according to three stages: first comes the (interior) establishment of the "furnaces," then the "concentration of the medical essences," and finally the (proper) "fire-phasing." The author of this work gained these insights when he mysteriously met with an unknown immortal, who "may have been a person like Lü Yan or Zhongli Quan" (9a). Hu Huncheng concludes his work with a series of twelve short poems (*duanju* 短句) that contain the teachings of his anonymous master. The poems use an indirect, veiled diction.

Florian C. Reiter

Zhengdao ge 證道歌

5 fols.

By Zuozhang zi 左掌子; Northern Song (960–1127)

1095 (fasc. 743)

"Songs Bearing Witness to the Tao." The text is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* (VDL 165). The identity of the author is unknown. The preface indicates that the fifteen *neidan* 內丹 songs are inspired by the tradition of the Xiaodao school 孝道 of the Xishan 西山 near Nanchang.

The title *Zhengdao ge* has been given to a variety of texts. A poem by this name attributed to He Xiangu 何仙姑 can be found in *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 22.1b.

Kristofer Schipper

***Yangsheng yongxuan ji* 養生詠玄集**

27 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

843 (fasc. 573)

"Collection [of Poems] on the Cultivation of Life and in Praise of the Mysteries." This collection consists of thirty anonymous verses. Each verse consists of twenty-eight words. Commentaries on each sentence are provided. The poems summarize essential points in the scriptures concerning the achievement of Long Life and the liberation from the entanglements of the profane world.

The poems focus on key terms of the *neidan* 內丹 tradition, such as the Cinnabar Fields and Embryonic Breathing. They also deal with specific procedures like the "cultivation of the yang [forces] and the diminution of yin ." The explanations of these terms include quotations, for example, of the *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (2a, 2b; see *641 Taishang laojun neiguan jing* 4a, 3b), or of a statement by Qizhen zi that can be found in *1017 Daoshu* 30.11a. The quotation of the *Neiguan jing* suggests that this work was written in the period of the Five Dynasties (907–960) or the Song (960–1279).

Florian C. Reiter

3.A.4.c The *Wuzhen pian* and the Southern School (Nanzong)

The *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 (Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth) is an important alchemical work by ZHANG BODUAN (984–1082) of Tiantai 天台 (Zhejiang). Zhang's original name was Boduan 伯端, which he later changed to Yongcheng 用成 (var. 誠). The earliest information about ZHANG BODUAN is supplied by the author himself in a preface and a postface to this work. In the preface, dated 1075, he mentions having served Lu Shen 陸詵 (i.e., Lu Longtu 陸龍圖, 1022–1070) in Chengdu; he notes that during this period he received instructions from a Taoist immortal on ingredients and fire phasing for the alchemical elixir (*141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu,* preface 16a). Later, he wrote the *Wuzhen pian,* a work that encompasses both the techniques of prolonging life (corresponding to *ming* 命, destiny) and of reverting to one's original nature (i.e., *xing* 性). In the postface, dated 1078, he describes himself as a follower of the sixth Chan patriarch, Huineng 慧能 (*141 Wuzhen pian zhushu,* postface 3b). He also claims to have divulged alchemical secrets three times, but each time he suffered misfortune. He therefore wrote the *Wuzhen pian* in order to instruct later adepts indirectly.

Further biographical details can be found in the *Wuzhen pian ji* 悟眞篇記 (before 1173) by Lu Shen's grandson, Lu Sicheng 陸思誠, and in the *Zhang zhenren benmo* 張眞人本末 (early thirteenth century? See *142 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* and *143 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao*). Both these sources were used for ZHANG BODUAN's biography in LZTT 49.

According to the *Wuzhen pian ji,* ZHANG BODUAN was demoted and banished to Guangnan xi 廣南西 (Guangxi), where he was employed by Lu Shen. Lu was later transferred to Chengdu and died there. After the death of Lu Shen, Zhang served a certain Ma Mo 馬默, to whom he later offered his book. The *Wuzhen pian ji* also identifies ZHANG BODUAN's mysterious teacher as LIU HAICHAN.

The *Zhang zhenren benmo* repeats the same information in part but adds the story of ZHANG BODUAN's visit to the official Huang Shang 黃裳 during the Zhenghe period (1111–1118).

It is known that during Huizong's reign (1100–1125), there was a great interest in Taoist books. Since Huang Shang was the official responsible for having woodblocks cut for the printing of the *Daozang*, it is possible that he received the *Wuzhen pian* from someone using ZHANG BODUAN's name. But apart from an undated preface by SHI TAI (d. 1158) to *1091 Huanyuan pian,* and another doubtful one attributed to SHI TAI's disciple XUE DAOGUANG and dated 1115 (see below; also cf. the *Xue Zixian shiji* 薛紫賢事蹟 in *143 Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo*), there are hardly any traces of the book before the mid-twelfth century.

The *Wuzhen pian* is first listed in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* (VDL 118) as *Tongxuan biyao wuzhen pian* 通玄祕要悟眞篇 in one juan. But we find it quoted frequently in earlier works. It is included in *1017 Daoshu* 18.9b by ZENG ZAO (d. 1155) and in *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* 2.9b (preface 1154) and *688 Daode zhenjing zhijie* 2.12a (preface 1159). In 1161 a first commentary was written (cf. *263.26 Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30]). A second commentary, dated 1169 or 1173, followed (see *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*). From this time on, ZHANG BODUAN's fame (and that of his book) was greatly enhanced.

During the Shunxi era (1174–1189), a Taoist claiming to be ZHANG BODUAN himself visited the latter's grandson (cf. Zhang's biography in the *Jiading Chicheng zhi* 35.12b). In 1196, a bridge in Tiantai 天台 was officially named Wuzhen qiao 悟眞橋. In the following year, the name of the place where Zhang is said to have written the *Wuzhen pian* was changed to Wuzhen fang 悟眞坊, and later a temple was built there in his honor (*Jiading Chicheng zhi* 31.7b and 2.14a).

In 1202, the first commentary was reedited (see *263.26 Wuzhen pian*). Another commentary, by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎, was completed about 1226 (*146 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi*).

Around 1330 CHEN ZHIXU compiled a work that included three commentaries (*142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu*). Another compilation of approximately the same date is *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* (preface 1335).

Several lines of transmission of ZHANG BODUAN's teachings, both direct and indirect, were known during the thirteenth century. The direct lineage that follows is given by BO YUCHAN in "Xie Zhang Ziyang shu 謝張紫陽書" (*263 Xiuzhen shishu* 6.4a): ZHANG BODUAN (d. 1082); SHI TAI (d. 1158); Xue Shi 薛式 (i.e., XUE DAOGUANG, d. 1191); CHEN NAN (d. 1213); BO YUCHAN (fl. early thirteenth century). By the mid-thirteenth century, this group was extended to PENG SI and his disciple Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (see the latter's introduction, dated 1260, in *687 Daode zhenjing san jie*, preface, 7a–b).

The main characteristic of this group is that it did not produce a single commentary to the *Wuzhen pian* but expressed itself in verse, the collections being entitled *pian* 篇. Hence we have the *Huanyuan pian* 還元篇 (by SHI TAI), the *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇 (by XUE DAOGUANG), and the *Cuixu pian* 翠虛篇 (by CHEN NAN), all three preserved in the *Daozang*.

The second line of transmission is more difficult to trace, owing to the insistence on anonymity that prevailed within it. The first source for this group is a preface by Chen Daling 陳達靈 dated 1174 (*141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 5a), which gives the following lineage: Wuzhen xianweng 悟眞仙翁 (i.e., ZHANG BODUAN); Guangyi zi 廣益子 (fl. 1138–1168); Wuming zi 無名子 (fl. 1173). In the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), the list was extended by Lin Jing, *hao* Yuanyang zi, in a postface (cf. *151 Jinyi huandan yinzheng tu* 17b): from Wuming zi to Ruoyi zi 若一子 and Longmei zi 龍眉子 (fl. 1218).

The first group of the second line of transmission was identified by Dai Qizong as Liu Yongnian 劉永年, *hao* Guangyi shunli zi 廣益順理子, and WENG BAOGUANG, *zi* Yuanming 淵明, *hao* Wuming zi (cf. *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu,* preface 5a and 12b). The characters Wuming zi 無名子, meaning "anonymous," gave rise to a bitter quarrel about the true identity of the author of the commentary. For some commentators, including Dai Qizong, the author was clearly WENG BAOGUANG, but for others, such as the editor of *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, the commentary was the work of XUE DAOGUANG (see *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*).

The dispute over the authorship of the Wuming zi commentary was provoked by the question of the authenticity of a particular version of the *Wuzhen pian*. This problem led each owner of the text to declare his own version to be the only genuine one and to elaborate a complete line of transmission of the text.

There were already many editions of the *Wuzhen pian* available during the Southern Song when Lu Sicheng wrote the *Wuzhen pian ji*. Lu had inherited the book from his father. It was an edition that went back to the official Ma Mo, under whom ZHANG BODUAN had served. Lu Sicheng reiterates the authenticity of his edition, at the same time giving us some examples of the variants in other editions (see below, "Wuzhen pian ji," in *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu*). This "true edition" (*zhenben* 眞本) was later obtained by Weng Baoguang (preface 1173) in the region of Lake Dongting. On the transmission and editions of the *Wuzhen pian,* see also the article on *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* below.

The title *Wuzhen pian* was originally, at least during the early years of the Southern Song, applied to a set of eighty-one poems (cf. *1017 Daoshu* 18.9b and *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* 2.9b). ZHANG BODUAN himself states in his preface that the *Wuzhen pian* comprised eighty-one verses (*141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 16b). Of these verses, the number of the first sixteen, two times eight (*erba zhi shu* 二八之術), stood for the balance of Yin and Yang. The following sixty-four verses were intended as an explanation of the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing* 易經. The last verse expressed the magnificence of Great Unity (Taiyi 太一). Zhang later added twelve alchemical *ci*-lyrics (to the tune of *Xijiang yue* 西江月) and, finally, thirty-two poems on various Buddhist subjects.

Despite this clear description of the contents, the order of the poems in the extant editions is often in disarray. This work *145 Wuzhen pian zhushi* contains only fifteen instead of the sixteen introductory poems; *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* includes only two of the thirty-two Buddhist poems, whereas *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu* omits them completely. Some of the *Xijiang yue ci*-lyrics are missing from *146 Wuzhen pian jiangyi*. Only *263.26 Wuzhen pian* follows ZHANG BODUAN's outline, but even here several more poems have been added.

Additions and omissions are not the only problem. Three of the five *Wuzhen pian* texts in the *Daozang* present the poems in practically the same numerical order. The *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition of *Wuzhen pian zhushu* does likewise, but the *Daozang* edition of the latter and *145 Wuzhen pian zhushi* change the order completely. The variants in the different editions raise further questions.

The key to these problems lies in the nature of the work itself. Written in the same obscure fashion as the famous *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, the book is open to manifold interpretations: is its subject *neidan* 內丹 (theoretical alchemy), or is it a manual of sexual techniques? As a *neidan* book, moreover, it could be used by each master to express his own ideas. The poems were used separately as individual *koujue* 口訣 (oral instructions), which explains why some versions present them in a different numerical order.

The *Wuzhen pian* was widely accepted as a commentary on the *Cantong qi* (cf. Fang Hui's 方回 remarks in *Tongjiang xuji* 31.17a). The interpretation by the commentators, however, differed widely. The earliest commentary by Ye Wenshu 葉文叔 explained the work in terms of the *dayan* 大衍 system of the *Xici* 繫辭 appendix to the *Yijing* (see *263.26 Wuzhen pian*). WENG BAOGUANG employed *Yinfu jing* terminology to

explain the alchemical process, culminating in the "great cyclically transformed elixir of liquefied gold nine-times transmuted" (*jiuzhuan jinyi da huandan* 九轉金液大還丹; *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 10b). Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎, according to Fang Hui, interpreted the book as a manual on gymnastics and breathing techniques (*Tongjiang xuji* 31.17a).

That the *Wuzhen pian* was linked to sexual techniques is evident since all the commentators lament its misinterpretation. They also refute energetically the idea that its contents resemble the methods of Zhang Sanfeng 張三峰, a reputed master of sexual techniques. ZHANG BODUAN's biography in the *Zhang zhenren benmo* was clearly invented to aid in this refutation (cf. *143 Sancheng biyao* 15b; see also Boyun zi's preface of 1204, 14b, and Dai Qizong's comments on 22b). This misinterpretation persisted nevertheless, judging from the quotations in *878 Zituan danjing,* a book on dual cultivation.

***Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇**

5 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端 (984–1082); commentaries by Ye Shibiao 葉士表, *zi* Wenshu 文叔 (dated 1161), and Yuan Gongfu 遠公輔 (dated 1202)

263.26 *Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30 (fasc. 126–127)

"Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth." This work is a collection of the oldest commentaries on the *Wuzhen pian;* it was compiled by Yuan Gongfu in 1202 (cf. *143 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 19b). The text in five juan is mentioned in *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.349 with its complete title: *Wuzhen pian jizhu* 悟眞篇集注. The present version has no prefaces, but the Yuan author Dai Qizong 戴起宗 possessed an edition that included prefaces by Ye Wenshu and Yuan Gongfu, dated 1161 and 1202, respectively (see *143 Sancheng biyao* 19b, 20a). Ye Wenshu's commentary is, moreover, criticized in a preface dated 1173 (*141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 8b). Apart from Ye Wenshu's commentary, the collection includes commentaries by WENG BAOGUANG or by XUE DAOGUANG (see *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* and *143 Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao*). These commentaries were excerpted from different editions and versions and are therefore introduced by two different names, Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 and Wuming zi 無名子 (see, e.g., 26.18a–18b).

The original Ye Wenshu commentary ended with a series of diagrams by the author, entitled "Wuzhen pian waizhuan 悟眞篇外傳" (see *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 8b). The present version includes some diagrams and five poems but does not indicate the name of the author. The diagrams, entitled "Danfang baojian tu 丹房寶鑑圖," are reproduced in *1068 Shangyang zi jindan dayao tu* 8a–10b (ca. 1331) under the title "Ziyang danfang baojian zhi tu 紫陽丹房寶鑑之圖."

The commentaries quote many important alchemical works such as the *Cantong qi* and related texts; the latest datable work is a commentary by Wang Dao 王道 (cf. *996 Guwen longhu jing zhushu*, preface dated 1185). According to WENG BAOGUANG, Ye Wenshu's commentary was based on the numerical system known as *dayan* 大衍, explained in the *Xici* 繫辭 appendix of the *Yijing* 易經 (see *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 8b), which was the subject of many exegeses during the Tang and Song dynasties.

The *263 Xiuzhen shishu* edition of the *Wuzhen pian* is the most complete, since it includes ZHANG BODUAN's Buddhist poems (cf. *144 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian shiyi*). Although there are a few changes in the order of some of the *jueju* 絕句 and *Xijiang yue* 西江月 poems, our text follows mostly the same numerical order as *142 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* and the *Wuzhen pian zhushu* (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Azuma Jūji, "Chō Hakutan *Goshinhen*"; Imai Usaburo, "*Goshinen*"; Liu Ts'un-yan, "Zhang Boduan yu *Wuzhen pian*"; Miyazawa Masayori, "*Dōsū* Goshinhen to Chō Heishuku no Goshinhen ni tsuite"; Robinet, *Introduction à l'alchimie intérieure taoïste;* Yan Zhenfei, "*Wuzhen pian* chengshu didian."

***Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 紫陽眞人悟眞篇註疏**

8 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端 (984–1028); commentary by WENG BAOGUANG 翁葆光, *zi* Yuanming 淵明, *hao* Wuming zi 無名子, Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 (1173); transmitted by Chen Daling 陳達靈, *hao* Ziyang weng 紫陽翁 (1174); edited and commented by Dai Qizong 戴起宗, *zi* Tongfu 同甫, *hao* Kongxuan zi 空玄子 (ca. 1337)

141 (fasc. 61–62)

"Commentary on Ziyang Zhenren's Awakening to Truth." This edition of the *Wuzhen pian* with Weng's commentary passed into the possession of Chen Daling, Weng's contemporary, who transmitted it to his disciple Boyun zi 白雲子 (cf. Chen Daling's preface in *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* and Boyun zi's introduction in *143 Sancheng biyao* 14b).

WENG BAOGUANG does not say how or from whom he obtained his edition. His contemporary Chen, on the other hand, states in his preface that the book had been transmitted to Weng by Liu Yongnian 劉永年. This statement is in direct contradiction to what we know from elsewhere and refers to a line of transmission that had nothing to do with the Lu family, for whom Zhang had worked, but was attached to

the Zhang, Liu, Weng, Chen tradition of transmission. There were many versions of the *Wuzhen pian* during the Southern Song, and several Weng commentaries were also in circulation. The *263.26 Wuzhen pian,* for instance, gives the author of the commentary sometimes as Wuming zi 無名子 and sometimes as Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 (Weng Baoguang was a native of Xiangchuan in Sichuan). Chen Zhixu, who was familiar with the *Xiuzhen shishu* version, also gives both names in *1067 Shangyang zi jindan dayao*. Dai Qizong possessed two different versions as well (cf. *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* and *145 Wuzhen pian zhushi*).

Dai Qizong also claims that the Weng commentary incorporated in *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* is the original *Wuzhen pian* edition of the Lu family, later obtained by Weng Baoguang. The *Wuzhen pian ji* 2b–3a (preface to *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu*) mentions several examples of variants in other editions, for instance, the poem "Raojun liaowu zhenru xing 饒君了悟眞如性" in *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* 8.17b and *145 Wuzhen pian zhushi* 2.40a. This poem was not included in the edition belonging to the Lu family but in a "separate edition" (*bieben* 別本; cf. *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 3a). Since the poem can be found in all the versions of the *Wuzhen pian* in the *Daozang* except *146 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi*, it is possible that the original edition belonging to the Lu family was already lost or incomplete during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). See see also the introduction to 3.A.4.c above.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian shiyi* 紫陽眞人悟眞篇拾遺**

11 fols.

By Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (984–1082)

144 (fasc. 64)

"Supplement to the Essay on Ziyang Zhenren's [Immediate] Awakening to Truth." This text is mentioned in Zhang Boduan's preface as comprising thirty-two poems in praise of Buddhism (see *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 16b). The present text, with the subtitle *Chanzong gesong shiqu zayan* 禪宗歌頌詩曲雜言, is a collection of thirty-two poems with a short introduction at the beginning; it is included in *263.26 Wuzhen pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 30.1a–12a) under the title *Chanzong gesong* 禪宗歌頌 (Odes in Praise of Chan).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Wuzhen pian zhushi* 悟眞篇註釋**

3 juan

By Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (984–1082); commentary by Weng Baoguang 翁葆光, *zi* Yuanming 淵明, *hao* Wuming zi 無明子 (fl. 1173)

145 (fasc. 65)

"Explication of the Essay on [Immediate] Awakening to Truth." This work is a variant version of the Weng Baoguang commentary given in *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*; it was compiled by Dai Qizong 戴起宗 and is described by the latter in a postface dated 1336 (see *143 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 22b).

The text was preceded by a short preface by Zixu zi 子虛子. The latter, according to Dai, deleted a whole section of Weng Baoguang's preface (see *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 10b). This section in our text (preface 4a) is shorter and quite different from the other version. The preface in the present text is also undated, whereas the other version is dated 1173.

Dai Qizong also describes the work as being divided into three juan, with an introduction at the beginning of each chapter, which is the case in the present text. These prefaces actually constitute three essays, entitled "Sancheng biyao lun 三乘秘要論," added to the text by Zixu zi (see *143 Sancheng biyao* 7b–12b and 22b).

Our text is referred to once as a "separate edition" (*bieben* 別本) in *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* 7.7b (compare with 2.48a). The *bieben* quoted in our text (2.35a), however, is the same as the Xue Daoguang commentary in *142 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 4.11a.

The numerical order of the *Wuzhen pian* poems in the present work differs from that in all the other commentaries. The third chapter is devoted to a long alchemical poem by Zhang Boduan, entitled "Du *Zhouyi cantong qi*." The poems on Buddhist themes, however, are not included.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 紫陽眞人悟眞直指詳說三乘祕要**

33 fols., appendix

143 (fasc. 64)

"Explanations on Ziyang Zhenren's Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth." This text and its appendix, "Detailed Explanation of the Directives of the *Wuzhen pian* and Esoteric [Transmission of the] Essential [Methods of the] Three Vehicles," are presented as two separate texts in the *Daozang*. The appendix, erroneously numbered 144 instead of 143 in the *Yiwen yinshu guan* 藝文印書館 index of

the *Daozang*, should have been placed directly after the main text, as it is in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition of the *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* and also in the edition in the Ming collection, *Jindan zhengli daquan* 金丹正理大全 (in *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集). These two editions are virtually identical.

A comparison of the present text with the *Siku quanshu* edition brings other anomalies to light. The presentation of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 poems in the latter matches that in *142 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, except in the case of the twelve *Xijiang yue* 西江月 poems, where the numbers are slightly different. The present text, however, changes the order completely. Moreover, the *Siku quanshu* edition, entitled *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, is in three juan with a one-juan appendix: *Wuzhen pian zhushu zhixiangshuo*. Our text, however, is divided into eight juan. Moreover, the present work should include the *Wuzhen pian ji* 悟眞篇記 (see preface 5a, 8a), which the editors of the *Daozang* wrongly placed at the beginning of *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu*. The present text has also been considerably reworked, and we find whole passages of *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu* interpolated into the commentaries (see, e.g., 1.10b); quotations from a "separate edition" (*bieben* 別本) generally refer to the latter text. These interpolations and most of the allusions to the separate edition are lacking in the *Siku quanshu* edition, which on the whole is more complete and reliable. Since most of the interpolations consist of commentaries by CHEN ZHIXU and Lu Shu 陸墅, it is possible that the additions were made by a member of CHEN ZHIXU's school. Our text also includes one poem (7.21a) that is missing in all the other *Daozang* editions.

The appendix is a collection of essays, prefaces, biographies and explanations by WENG BAOGUANG, Dai Qizong 戴起宗, and other authors. The *Daozang* edition is clearly inferior to that in *Siku quanshu* and contains many omissions. Some of the materials, especially the biographies, are abridged.

Half of the appendix (1a–13a) comprises essays by WENG BAOGUANG. Of these, the three entitled "Sancheng biyao 三乘秘要" were added as introductions to each of the three juan of *145 Wuzhen pian zhushi*.

A short preface by Boyun zi 白雲子, dated 1204, relates the history of the transmission of the WENG BAOGUANG commentary.

The *Zhang zhenren benmo* 張眞人本末 is a short biography based on *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, "Wuzhen pian ji 悟眞篇記," written shortly before 1173. The biography further relates a story to the effect that ZHANG BODUAN and two other officials were three stars of the Ziwei 紫微 constellation. This story was told to the author of the *Benmo* by the grandson of Huang Shang 黃裳 (1044–1130), one of the officials, and was clearly meant to denigrate the latter. Since the tradition that ZHANG BODUAN was a banished star is mentioned by BO YUCHAN in his collected works (early thirteenth century; see *Bo Yuchan quanji* 白玉蟾全集 7.20a in *Daozang jinghua*), the

biography must have been written toward the end of the twelfth century or at the beginning of the thirteenth.

The *Xue Zixian shiji* 薛紫賢事蹟 (16b–19a) is an account of the Buddhist XUE DAOGUANG's meeting with his master Shi Xingling 石杏林 and of his subsequent conversion to Taoism. This account, which contains biographical material on both XUE DAOGUANG and Shi Xingling, is reproduced in LZTT 49. The *Xue Zixian shiji* was intended as an introduction to a commentary on the *Wuzhen pian* attributed to XUE DAOGUANG (18b), and as such it plays a decisive role in the dispute over the authorship of the WENG BAOGUANG commentary.

Both the *Daozang* and the *Siku quanshu* editions of the *Xue Zixian shiji* are incomplete, but again the latter is clearly better. According to another version of the *Xue Zixian shiji*, XUE DAOGUANG wrote his commentary in order to correct Ye Wenshu's mistaken interpretation (cf. *Sizhu Wuzhen pian,* preface 3b). According to Dai Qizong (20a), since the *Shiji* and the commentary had been transcribed by Shangqiu laopu Jinshi Weng Yuanwang Zhenyi 商邱老圃今是翁元王眞一 (?) in 1115, XUE DAOGUANG could not have criticized Ye Wenshu, whose commentary had been written in 1161. The end of the *Shiji*, however, is wrongly appended to *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 6a, where it is dated 1169 (read *jichou* 己丑 for *yichou* 乙丑). Thus the possibility that XUE DAOGUANG (d. 1191) wrote a commentary cannot be excluded. The *Shiji* in the *Wuzhen pian sizhu* also gives the date 1169 and states that the text was transcribed by Shangqiu laopu twenty-eight years later (i.e., ca. 1197).

Nonetheless, there are several points in favor of Dai Qizong's hypothesis that the commentary was written by WENG BAOGUANG:

1. The commentary by XUE DAOGUANG is not quoted in the thirteenth century, either by BO YUCHAN or by other followers of his school. The *1088 Huandan fuming pian,* on the other hand is mentioned often.

2. The *Wuzhen pian* in *263.26 Wuzhen pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30) comprises commentaries by Xiangchuan Weng 象川翁 and by Wuming zi 無名子. These commentaries are also quoted by CHEN ZHIXU in *1067 Shangyang zi jindan dayao* (see *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu*). Since Xiangchuan Weng was the *hao* of WENG BAOGUANG, and since the *Xiuzhen shishu* was compiled by disciples of the *Wuzhen pian* school, the error would surely have been corrected if the commentary had actually been written by XUE DAOGUANG.

3. YU YAN, who was a great admirer of ZHANG BODUAN and XUE DAOGUANG, quotes both the *Wuzhen pian* and the *Huandan fuming pian* but criticizes the commentary by WENG BAOGUANG (see *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 1.3b; 4.3a; 9.2a; and *145 Wuzhen pian zhushi* 2.22b, 32a, 35a).

4. XUE DAOGUANG met his teacher in 1120, according to his preface (see *1088 Huandan fuming pian*), but the *Xue Zixian shiji* gives a date of 1106. The *Shiji* was

then transcribed in 1115 (19a), further proof of a reworking of the text at a later date. The *Shiji* is quoted in Lu Shu's preface (cf. *142 Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, preface 2b).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 紫陽眞人悟眞篇三註**

5 juan

Commentaries by CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子 (fl. 1331); Lu Shu 陸墅, *zi* Ziye 子野 (fl. thirteenth century?); and Xue Shi 薛氏 (i.e., XUE DAOGUANG 薛道光, *zi* Daoyuan 道源, *hao* Zixian 紫賢 (dated 1169); appendix: "Wuzhen pian ji 悟眞篇記" by Lu Sicheng 陸思誠, *zi* Yanfo 彥孚 (before 1173); edited and printed by Zhang Shihong 張士弘 (fl. fourteenth century)

142 (fasc. 63–64)

"Three Commentaries on Ziyang Zhenren's Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth." The editor, Zhang Shihong, was an official during the reign of Wenzong (1328–1329) of the Yuan dynasty (see *Yuan shi* 32.719). He was therefore a contemporary of CHEN ZHIXU. The commentary attributed to XUE DAOGUANG in our text, however, is quoted by Chen as being by Wuming zi 無名子 or Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 in *1067 Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 5.10a. Chen's quotations were excerpted from the collection included in *263.26 Wuzhen pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 26–30). In his preface (4b) to the present text, however, Chen not only criticizes the collection but also mentions the commentaries by XUE DAOGUANG and Lu Shu, to which he later added his own comments (preface 5a).

Zhang Shihong was responsible for some changes in the *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* compiled by CHEN ZHIXU. He deleted all the poems that figure in *144 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian shiyi* and also a few others that he claimed were forgeries (preface 6b).

There were many editions of the *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* available at the time the *Daozang* was compiled. Later additions to *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* were excerpted from a different version; the commentary by Lu Shu in 7.21a, for example, is missing in the present text.

Four of the five quotations from "a separate edition" (*bieben* 別本) in *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu* (1.1b, 5b, 2.17a, and 6.3b) can be found in our text (1.1b, 3a, 17a, and 4.1a).

The *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* presents the poems in the order described in ZHANG BODUAN's preface, with one additional *Xijiang yue* 西江月 and five *jueju* 絕句 poems at the end.

The "Wuzhen pian ji 悟眞篇記" or "Notes on the *Wuzhen pian*" by Lu Sicheng, which was added to the present critical and annotated edition of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 as prefatory matter, comprises a biography of ZHANG BODUAN and an account

of the events surrounding the transmission of the *Wuzhen pian*. It is mentioned by WENG BAOGUANG in his preface dated 1173 and should have been placed originally at the end of the latter's commentary (cf. *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 5a and 8a). The version of the "Wuzhen pian ji" we have here is incomplete. It ends abruptly on page 3a, followed (3b–5b) by a passage from CHEN ZHIXU's commentary (2.4a–6b). It ends (6a) with the last paragraph of the *Xue Zixian shiji,* which is dated 1169 (cf. *143 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 19a). A comparison with another version shows that only the last line—bearing Lu Sicheng's name, and his official title, Zhaofeng lang 朝奉郎—is missing (cf. *Wuzhen pian jizhu* 悟眞篇集注 7, *Daozang jinghua* edition). Zhaofeng lang, a prestigious title, occurs only after the Shaoxing era, that is, after 1161 (*Song shi* 168.4012); hence the "Wuzhen pian ji" must have been written after this date, along with WENG BAOGUANG's preface. The work was known to BO YUCHAN (early thirteenth century), according to Dai Qizong 戴起宗 (*141 Wuzhen pian zhushu*, preface 5a). In the early Yuan, the "Wuzhen pian ji" was often quoted (cf. *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 6.25a and 9.5b), and the LZTT 49 refers to it as "another source" (*yiyun* 一云) for ZHANG BODUAN's biography.

Although the "Wuzhen pian ji" is one of the main sources for the history of the work's textual transmission, it contains a number of errors with respect to the native places of some of the persons mentioned in the work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Robinet, *Introduction à l'alchimie intérieure*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi* 紫陽眞人悟眞篇講義**

7 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端, *zi* Pingshu 平叔, *hao* Ziyang 紫陽 (984–1082); commentary by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎, *zi* Zongyu 宗禹, *hao* Yunfeng sanren 雲峰散人 (ca. 1226)

146 (fasc. 66)

"Ziyang Zhenren's Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth Explained." Three prefaces by Xia Yuanding's friends, all scholar-officials, precede the text. The earliest of these, by Zhen Dexiu 眞德秀 (1178–1235), is dated 1227. The commentary was, however, written earlier, since it is mentioned in a postface dated 1226 (see *109 Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi,* 4.11b, "Jindan sanshu 金丹三書," referring to the present work and two other commentaries by the same author). According to his own account, written in 1224, Xia Yuanding was initiated on Longhu shan 龍虎山 (Jiangxi) in 1220 (*Nanyue yushi benmo* 16a). The commentary was therefore written between this date and 1226.

Xia Yuanding's interpretation of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 is based principally on the Zhong-Lü texts (see especially 2.9b). Among these, *246 Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* and *263.14 Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16) are frequently quoted. The author also quotes (1.5b) a verse from *1088 Huandan fuming pian* (1a) by XUE DAOGUANG, but unfortunately none of the extant *Wuzhen pian* commentaries are mentioned. Most of the quotations are from poems attributed to ZHONGLI QUAN or to LÜ DONGBIN; Xia Yuanding is known to have compiled a collection of the latter's verse entitled *Jindan shijue* 金丹詩訣 in two juan (q.v.).

The Xia commentary comprises only sixteen poems in regulated verse (*lüshi* 律詩), the sixty-four *jueju* 絕句, one *lüshi* in five-character lines, and twelve *Xijiang yue* 西江月 lyric poems. All the poems on Buddhist themes are missing. A comparison with the *Xiuzhen shishu* version also shows that the order of the sixteen *lüshi* is totally different; however, except for a few *jueju* there are no other changes in presentation. According to the Yuan author Fang Hui 方回 (1227–1306), Xia Yuanding not only practiced heterodox methods but also fabricated the twelve *Xijiang yue,* wrongly attributed to ZHANG BODUAN (see *Tongjiang xuji* 31.17a). The latter accusation, however, does not hold up, since the twelve poems in question are mentioned in ZHANG BODUAN's preface and figure in all editions of the *Wuzhen pian.*

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Hunyuan bajing zhenjing 混元八景眞經

5 juan

First half of the twelfth century?

660 (fasc. 344)

"Book of the Eight Effulgences of the Origin of Chaos." This is an undated treatise on Inner Alchemy. ZENG ZAO gives an abstract of the present book in *1017 Daoshu* 17, "Hunyuan pian 混元篇," which covers the complete text as it appears here. A commentary on 3.1a confirms its present division into five juan, but the original version must have had three. On 2.5b there is a reference to a middle juan, while on 1.10b there is a mention of a third and final juan. As these references are to passages on 3.2a and 5.11b–12a, respectively, we may suppose that the first three juan of the present verion, written as a dialogue, correspond to the original first two juan, while the present juan 4 and 5, which contain more practical instructions, are the original final juan. However, the text seems to have been divided from the beginning into five chapters (*pian* 篇), as we find on 4.1a a reference to a fifth *pian* that discusses the establishment of an altar (*litan* 立壇); this reference corresponds, indeed, to a section beginning on 5.8b in the present edition.

The main characteristic of the contents of the present book is its relationship to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇, in vocabulary as well as in argument. For instance, the discussion on 3.5b–7b on the Three and the Five (*sanwu* 三五) and the conception of the Infant is cognate to poem 14 of the sixteen seven-word poems in the *Wuzhen pian* (see *263.26 Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 26.29a–30a]), while the passage on the White Tiger's First Menses on 4.14b is related to number 3 of the *Xijiang yue* 西江月 irregular poems (*263.26 Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 29.4b–5a]). The book contains also numerous references to the ritual framework of the *neidan* practices it describes (see 1.3b; 5.2b; 5.13b–14a). These descriptions do not allow us, however, to establish a relationship between the present book and the liturgical practices of the so-called Hunyuan 混元 ritual that existed in Song (960–1279) times (see *1220 Daofa huiyuan*).

The entire book is written in a vernacular style with many colloquialisms (e.g., 5.4b: 三年變盡凡體立出一箇神仙的不謬矣).

The available evidence therefore points to the first half of the twelfth century as the period in which the present book must have been written.

Kristofer Schipper

Huanyuan pian 還源篇

10 fols.

By SHI TAI 石泰, *zi* Dezhi 得之, *hao* Xinglin 杏林, Cuixuan zi 翠玄子 (d. 1158)

1091 (fasc. 742)

"Book on Returning to the Origin." This book is a collection of eighty-one alchemical poems in seven-word verse. The poems were written a year after SHI TAI's encounter with ZHANG BODUAN (see the preface). This meeting is described in detail in the "Xue Zixian shiji 薛紫賢事蹟," a biography relating SHI TAI's transmission of his teaching to his disciple XUE DAOGUANG (*143 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 6b; cf. also SHI TAI's and XUE DAOGUANG's biographies in LZTT 49).

SHI TAI's poems and preface are included in *263.1 Zazhu zhixuan pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 2). The latter work, moreover, contains a postface (7.9b–10b) by SHI TAI that is missing in the text under discussion. This postface, however, is appended to XUE DAOGUANG's "Dansui ge 丹髓歌" and discusses the essential ideas of the poem. It is therefore possible that it was not originally a postface to the *Huanyuan pian.*

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan fuming pian 還丹復命篇

13 fols.

By XUE DAOGUANG 薛道光, alias Shi 式, *zi* Daoyuan 道源, *hao* Zixian 紫賢, Biling chanshi 毗陵禪師; preface dated 1126

1088 (fasc. 742)

"Book of the Return to Life and the Cyclically Transformed Elixir." This is a collection of alchemical poems by XUE DAOGUANG, the third patriarch in the *Wuzhen pian* lineage. According to the preface, XUE DAOGUANG received an oral instruction (*koujue* 口訣) from a master in 1120 (?), but his biography in the LZTT 49 and the "Xue Zixian shiji 薛紫賢事蹟" (*143 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 17a) states that he met SHI TAI, author of *1091 Huanyuan pian* and direct disciple of ZHANG BODUAN, in 1106.

The present title is listed in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.349, which also mentions the preface (dated 1126). This title actually refers to the poems in the first half of the text (1a–8a), according to the description of the work in the preface. The "Dansui ge 丹髓歌" (8b–11b) was appended by a compiler at a later date. The latter also figures in *263.1 Zazhu zhixuan pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 4b–9b).

The present text included a commentary in Yuan (1279–1368) times (see *Xishang futan* 2.6b); this commentary is no longer extant.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Cuixu pian 翠虛篇

28 fols.

By CHEN NAN 陳楠, *zi* Nanmu 南木, *hao* Cuixu weng 翠虛翁, Niwan xiansheng 泥丸先生 (d. 1213); compiled by Wang Sicheng 王思誠, *zi* Zhenxi zi 眞息子 (fl. 1217)

1090 (fasc. 742)

"Book of Azure-Emptiness." This collection is attributed to CHEN NAN, one of the patriarchs in the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 lineage and a disciple of XUE DAOGUANG (see his biography in LZTT 49 and *1088 Huandan fuming pian*). For a printing of this work before 1250, see the article on *1072 Jindan zhizhi*. Chen also obtained a book on Thunder magic, the *Jingxiao dalei lang shu* 景霄大雷琅書, at Limu shan 黎姥山 (see LZTT 49.15a and the biographical note in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 108.15b–16b). Both CHEN NAN and his disciple BO YUCHAN were linked to Thunder rites (see van der Loon, "A Taoist collection," 402). According to YU YAN (fl. 1284), the entire *Cuixu pian* had been fabricated by the prolific Bo (*Xishang futan* 2.2b). The LZTT 49, however, mentions a collection entitled *Cuixu miaowu quanji* 翠虛妙悟全集 by CHEN NAN.

The *Daozang* edition of the *Cuixu pian* comprises a preface by Wang Sicheng, seven poems, and a short alchemical treatise. The *Daozang jiyao* ("Kui 奎" 4.127) has a better edition, since it omits the second poem, entitled "Dadao ge 大道歌," which is an interpolation (see *238 Yuanyang zi jinyi ji* 1a ff.). The *Daozang jiyao* also includes a colophon by Chen Yuxing 陳與行, dated 1217 (cf. *Bo Haiqiong quanji* 白海瓊全集 6.34a, 133). The colophon, entitled *Ba Chen Niwan zhenren cuixu pian* 跋陳泥丸眞人翠虛篇, states that the first poem in our text, the "Ziting jing 紫庭經" (1a), had been noted down by Pan Jingliang 潘景良 and that Wang Sicheng not only compiled the *Cuixu pian* but also supplemented it.

The *263 Xiuzhen shishu* includes some poems from the present text but wrongly attributes a *Cuixu pian* to Niwan xiansheng Chen Pu 泥丸先生陳朴 (cf. *263.12 Zazhu jiejing* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 1a], *1096 Chen xiansheng neidan jue,* and *1072 Jindan zhizhi,* preface).

The "Luofou cuixu yin" (7b), a poem dedicated to BO YUCHAN in 1212, is included in *1307 Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 4.1a ff. (ca. 1221). The collection also includes three *ci*-lyrics (15b–16a) in honor of Chen's three main disciples: Sha Daozhao 沙道昭, Ju Jiusi 鞠九思, and BO YUCHAN. Finally, the "Jindan shijue 金丹詩訣" is a set of eighty-one alchemical poems in seven-word verses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

van der Loon, "A Taoist collection," 401–5.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jindan zhizhi 金丹直指

13 fols.

By Zhou Wusuozhu 周無所住; preface dated 1250

1072 (fasc. 739)

"Straightforward Instructions for [Inner] Alchemy." The author, a native of Yongjia 永嘉 (modern Wenzhou) who uses the surname Wusuozhu 無所住 (Homeless), states in his preface that in the course of his search for the Tao since an early age, he met a certain Lin Ziran 林自然 of Mount Chicheng 赤城 in the year 1242. Lin instructed him in alchemy and introduced him to his master Li zhenren 李眞人. Thereupon, the author visited many Taoist training centers (*conglin* 叢林), until in 1249 he met a certain Fang Bixu 方碧虛 of the Zongyang 宗陽 [temple], who was known as an authentic transmitter of the tradition of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇. Having shown Fang the text of the present work, Zhou obtained his friendship. Later he discussed his ideas with the Buddhist monk Yuancan 圓燦 from Putian 莆田 and others, who assured him that his ideas were in agreement with Chan teachings and with the works of the Nanzong patriarchs ZHANG BODUAN and CHEN NAN. The author, together with a fellow Taoist named Wu 吳 from the Boyun an 白雲菴 in Zhupu 竹浦, printed the

Jindan xu 金丹序 of Zhang zhenren 張眞人 and the *1090 Cuixu pian* of Niwan Chen zhenren 泥丸陳眞人 (q.v.).

The work consists of sixteen poems on Inner Alchemy and a treatise on the same subject, which also discusses the unity of the Three Teachings.

Kristofer Schipper

Jindan sibai zi 金丹四百字

12 fols.

Attributed to ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端 (984–1082); commentary by Huang Ziru 黃自如, dated 1241

1081 (fasc. 741)

"The Elixir Explained in Four Hundred Words." This text comprises twenty poems (in five-word verses) and a long preface (1a–5a), both ascribed to ZHANG BODUAN, *zi* Pingshu. According to the preface, this poem was transmitted to MA ZIRAN. BO YUCHAN, in a letter addressed to ZHANG BODUAN, alludes to this work but does not mention the present title (see *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 6.4b, "Xie Zhang Ziyang shu").

Bo claims to have come across the text in the Wuyi 武夷 Mountains. In his colophon dated 1241, Huang Ziru from Xujiang 盱江 (Jiangxi) seems convinced that the work was written by Zhang, but the Yuan (1279–1368) author YU YAN claims that the entire text had been fabricated by the prolific BO YUCHAN, because the earliest edition of this work had appeared in a collection entitled *Qunxian zhuyu ji* 群仙珠玉集 (listed in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 12.353), a compendium of Taoist works collected or written by BO YUCHAN himself (*Xishang futan* 2.8a). A later tradition claims that the work was revealed to Bo by ZHANG BODUAN (cf. *1067 Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 7.6b). The Huang Ziru version, which is also the earliest edition of this work, is reproduced in *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 5, but without Huang's colophon and with the addition of five poems by Huang. There are many editions of this popular work extant; the most important of these can be found in the *Daoyan neiwai quanshu* collected by Peng Haogu (1597), in the *Fanghu waishi* by Lu Xixing (1520–1606), and in Li Wenshu's *Jindan sibai zi jie* (1061).

The text describes the Inner Alchemical process based on the theory discussed in *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wang Mu, *Wuzhen pian jianjie*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Yuqing jinsi qinghua biwen jinbao neilian danjue
玉清金笥青華祕文金寶內鍊丹訣

3 juan

By ZHANG BODUAN 張伯端, *zi* Pingshu 平叔, *hao* Ziyang 紫陽 (984?–1082)

240 (fasc. 114)

"Alchemical Formula for the Inner Purification of the Gold Treasure; Secret Writings from the Golden Box of the Jade Purity [Heaven], Transmitted by the Immortal Qinghua." Although this *neidan* 內丹 treatise is ascribed to ZHANG BODUAN, it was collected and recorded by a disciple (2.5a).

The disciple is identified as Wang Bangshu 王邦叔 in an introduction to the text in the *Daoyan neiwai quanshu* (collected by Peng Haogu; preface 1597). This introduction, which is missing in the *Daozang* edition, states (a) that the text was revealed to ZHANG BODUAN by Qinghua zhenren 青華眞人, and (b) that it was transmitted to Wang Bangshu by ZHANG BODUAN on Luofu shan 羅浮山.

The treatise is not listed in any of the bibliographies. BO YUCHAN mentions a *Yuqing lingpian* 玉清靈篇, but it is evident from the context that he is referring to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 (cf. *263.1 Zazhu zhixuan pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 4.8b]). The divinity Qinghua dijun 青華帝君 played an important role in the Shenxiao order during Song Huizong's reign (1100–1125), but the text (1.8b) quotes the *Ruyao jing* 入樂鏡, a poem popular during the Southern Song (1127–1279; cf. *135 Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie*). Moreover, ZHANG BODUAN is referred to as Zhang zi 張子, an appellation used for the philosopher Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1076) during the Song (cf. *Zhang Zai ji* 張載集 307, 373). The use of Zhang Zai's philosophical terms, such as *qizhi zhi xing* 氣質之性, is further evidence of the author's intention of linking this spurious work with the name of a leading Song philosopher.



FIGURE 21. Allegory of the sublimation of yin energy in Inner Alchemy (*240* 2.13a)

The text explains inner alchemical theory using pseudo-philosophical terminology (fig. 21.) Part of the work is presented as a dialogue between ZHANG BODUAN and a disciple, the rest as discourses on various *neidan* 內丹 topics. The main emphasis is on "circulation of the inner light."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wang Mu, *Wuzhen pian jianjie*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

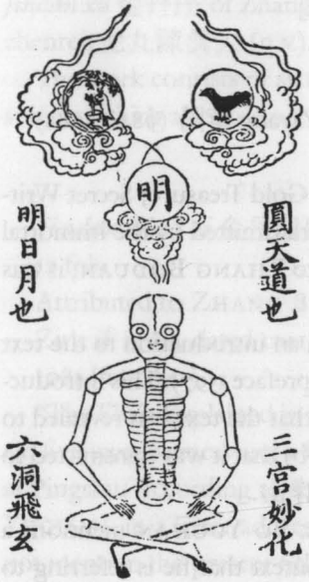


FIGURE 22. The being of light rising from its mortal body (*154* 10a)

Shangqing Taixuan jiuyang tu 上清太玄九陽圖
12 fols.
By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; end of the twelfth century
154 (fasc. 68)

"Shangqing Illustrations of Yang-Nine by [Master] Taixuan." Hou Shanyuan was a Taoist from the Shenju dong 神居洞 on Mount Guye 姑射山 in Shanxi. His *hao* was Taixuan zi, hence the title. Hou was a contemporary of Mao Hui 毛麾 who was received at the imperial court in 1190 (see *758 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu* and *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 7.6b)

This book contains diagrams accompanied by (mostly versified) commentaries on the *xiuzhen* 修眞. The illustrations of the nine fundamental phases of alchemical transmutation are followed by drawings with commentary concerning fire-phasing and, finally, by twelve songs on the twelve alchemical periods (see fig. 22).

The present work shows a strong influence of Chan Buddhism and situates itself in the tradition of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇, which is quoted on page 2a. It also quotes the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 (page 6b).

Catherine Despeux

Yuanqing zi zhiming pian 爰清子至命篇
2 juan
By Wang Qingsheng 王慶升, *hao* Yuanqing zi 爰清子; 1249
1089 (fasc. 742)

"Master Yuanqing's Book of the Supreme Life Force." In his preface, dated 1249, Wang Qingsheng defines this life force as the culmination of *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 resulting from the true realization of one's innate nature. The author's teacher was a disciple of Bo Yuchan (cf. *275 Sanji zhiming quanti* 11a), whence his use of diagrams and poems to elucidate his system, a method current during the thirteenth century in the so-called Southern school of Taoism.

The first juan comprises poems and five diagrams describing the Inner Alchemical process. Wang Qingsheng's explanations are mostly based on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇, which is quoted frequently.

The second juan includes a series of *jueju* 絕句 poems in seven-character verse, entitled "Rudao shi 入道詩" (Upon Entering the Tao), as well as a commentary on a famous *ci*-lyric attributed to Lü Dongbin: the "Qinyuan chun 沁園春" (cf. *136 Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Sanji zhiming quanti 三極至命筌蹄
By Wang Qingsheng 王慶升, *zi* Guozhai 果齋, *hao* Yuanqing zi 爰清子; after 1244
275 (fasc. 133)

"The Three Ultimates and the Supreme Destiny Ensnared." The author wrote this work after 1244, the last date mentioned in the text. He was the disciple of Master Yao 姚, whose *hao* was Taoyuan zi 桃源子, himself a follower of Bo Yuchan. A certain Yang Caiyin 楊菜隱 instructed Wang in the principles of alchemy in 1243 and of fire-phasing in 1244 (11b). Wang thus belonged to the Southern school of alchemy. He gives a list of the works written by the patriarchs of this lineage and transmitted to their successors (10a–12a).

Following a number of diagrams, with commentary, on Inner Alchemy—including those of the Three Ultimates: Wuji 無極, Taiji 太極, and Huangji 皇極—the author discusses the meaning of the Five Chariots (*wuju* 五車) of, successively, the sheep, the deer, the buffalo, the great buffalo, and the great white buffalo. Wang also discusses the Three Vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘), and there is a commentary on a poem of Outer Alchemy (*waidan* 外丹) by Bo Yuchan ("Ziqing Bo zhenren jinyi dahuan waidan jue 紫清白眞人金液大還外丹訣"; 12a–23b), as well as a versified explanation on a song by Lü Dongbin ("Chunyang zhenren shuangtian xiaojiao 純陽眞人霜天曉角"; 21b–23a). These two texts cannot be found in the works of their respective authors in the *Daozang*. The final part of the present work contains short prose and poetic texts by the author.

Catherine Despeux

Pomi zhengdao ge 破迷正道歌
6 fols.
Attributed to Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, *hao* Zhengyang zhenren 正陽眞人; mid-eleventh century
270 (fasc. 133)

"Song for Dispelling Doubts Concerning the Correct Path." This short Inner Alchemical poem is attributed to Zhongli Quan. The date of the poem is difficult to ascertain, since it is nowhere quoted in its present form. One of the earliest works to mention a *Pomi gelun* 破迷歌論 by Zhongli Quan is *275 Sanji zhiming quanti* 15b (ca. 1250). But in the absence of a quotation, it is impossible to know whether the title refers to our poem. Later, during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), a different

poem is quoted under the same title (*Zhengyang weng Zhimi ge* 正陽翁指迷歌; cf. *1067 Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 9.6a), suggesting that there were several poems with the same title in circulation. There existed, nevertheless, several versions of the poem during the Yuan (cf. 1b of the present text and *281 Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue* 11b). For example, *139 Taishang dongzhen ningshen xiuxing jingjue* not only is a reduced version but comprises variants that clearly point to another edition.

The poem, in seven-character verses, seems to have been modeled on another poem attributed to Zhongli Quan that was very much in vogue during the twelfth century. Nonetheless, the present poem does not accept many of the ideas presented in the latter (cf. 1a and *263.26 Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 28.5b]).

The vocabulary and terms employed are based on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇, in a style resembling that of Chen Niwan (cf. *1090 Cuixu pian*). Moreover, the basic ideas show a marked influence of Chan Buddhism. On the other hand, the poem criticizes popular *neidan* 內丹 techniques described in other texts attributed to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, suggesting that the author of the poem was affiliated with the *Wuzhen pian* group. The alchemical process described in the text is accomplished spontaneously upon the discovery and circulation of the qi of Former Heaven (*xiantian zhi qi* 先天之氣).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Taishang dongzhen ningshen xiuxing jingjue 太上洞眞凝神修行經訣

4 fols.

Late Song (960–1279) or early Yuan (1279–1368)

139 (fasc. 60)

"Instructions from the Book of Practicing Concentration of the Spirit in the Canon of the Cavern of [Penetrating] Truth of the Most High." This poem in seven-word verses is an abridged version of *270 Pomi zhengdao ge,* attributed to Zhongli Quan.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jinyi huandan yinzheng tu 金液還丹印證圖

23 fols.

By Longmei zi 龍眉子; ca. 1222

151 (fasc. 68)

"Illustrations of the Return of the Liquified Gold to the Cinnabar Field." This work is a collection of drawings with accompanying poems by Longmei zi, whose real name, like those of many other authors of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 tradition (e.g., Wuming zi 無名子, mentioned on 19b), is unknown.

There is a preface by Longmei zi dated 1218, but the colophon at the end (17b–18b) was written later, in approximately 1222 (*gengzi* 庚子 is an error for *gengchen* 庚辰).

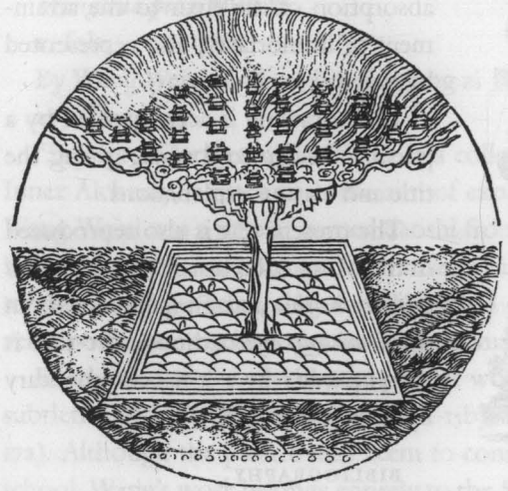


FIGURE 23. Heaven and Earth, to be visualized in the first stage of the inner recreation of the universe (*151* 2b)



FIGURE 24. Yin and yang, with the vessels of reproduction (*151* 3a–b)

Another colophon by Wang Jingxuan 王景玄, a Taoist belonging to the lineage of Bo Yuchan, maintains that Bo drew the pictures, but that the poems are by Longmei zi. Since Wang refers to Longmei zi as patriarch (*zushi* 祖師), it is possible that he was the latter's disciple.

The question of the transmission of the present text is linked to the problems surrounding the commentary on the *Wuzhen pian* (on this question, see *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*), which is sometimes attributed to Wuming zi (Weng Baoguang) and sometimes to Xue Daoguang. According to the colophon, Longmei zi belonged to Wuming zi's tradition (see also *141 Wuzhen pian zhushu, 142 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu, 143 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao, 144 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen bian shiyi, 145 Wuzhen pian zhushi, 146 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi,* and the introduction to part 3.A.4.c).

During the Yuan period (1279–1368), the work already had its present form (see colophon by Ling Jing 林靜; 18b–20a).

Longmei zi uses the same terminology as Wuming zi in the latter's *Wuzhen pian* commentary. He divides the illustrations into two groups of nine drawings (cf. the preface). The first group represents the beginning of the alchemical experiment as a circle corresponding to Taiji 太極, the One Qi (*yiqi* 一氣) that underlies all change of the expanding universe and that after numerous transformations ends in the formation of the elixir. The second group shows the stages that lead from the



FIGURE 25. Maintaining the immortal principle (*1st* 13b–14a)

absorption of the elixir to the attainment of immortality, also represented by a circle (see figs. 23–25).

Each drawing is accompanied by a poem in seven-word verse, giving the title and various explanations.

The present text is also reproduced in the Ming collections *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu* and *Fanghu waishi*. In the *Daozang jiyao* edition, the text is accompanied by a long commentary by Hanchan zi 函蟾子.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Little, *Taoism and the arts of China*, 344–47.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Danjing jilun 丹經極論

11 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

235 (fasc. 113)

"Ultimate Treatise on Alchemical Scriptures." This is an anonymous work written after the twelfth century, as the quotation of the patriarch (*zushi* 祖師) on page 2b is in fact extracted from the commentary on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 by WENG BAOGUANG (see *263.26 Wuzhen pian* [*Xiuzhen shishu* 29.2b]). In the latter work, this passage is attributed to PENG XIAO; in fact, only the first sentence is by this master (see *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 2.30a).

The present treatise reiterates WENG BAOGUANG's discussions on Internal and External Medicine (*neiyao* 內藥 and *waiyao* 外藥) and on fire-phasing. The system of fire-phasing is here applied to the respiration techniques of holding one's breath (*biqi* 閉氣) and Embryonic Breathing (*taixi* 胎息). The most original section of the work is that on the method for externalizing the spirits of the body through visualization (*chushen fa* 出神法; 9a–10a).

The poems at the end of the work are said to be lost parts of the *Wuzhen pian* and the *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇. The last poem, "Wuyan 五言," on page 11b, does figure in *1088 Huandan fuming pian* 1b.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Mingdao pian 明道篇

17 fols.

By Wang Weiyi 王惟一, *hao* Jingyang zi 景陽子; 1304

273 (fasc. 133)

"Pages to Clarify the Tao." This is a collection of eighty-one didactic poems on Inner Alchemy, written with the aim of explaining the arcana of the art to literati. Wang Weiyi was a scholar turned daoshi from Songjiang 松江 (Jiangsu); he died in 1326. The number of poems is, of course, symbolic, and so are the numbers of sixteen seven-word full poems, sixty-four five-word cut-verse poems, one five-word regular verse poem, and twelve irregular verse poems to the tune of *Xijiang yue* 西江月.

In addition to these lyrics, the present work includes a discussion on the artificial subtleties of Inner Alchemy texts (12b–15b) and a Song on Obtaining the Tao (15b–17a). Although the preface may seem to contain an allusion to the Quanzhen 全眞 school, Wang's work belongs entirely to the Southern tradition of ZHANG ZIYANG and BO YUCHAN.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinyi dadan koujue 金液大丹口訣

11 fols.

By Zheng Dean 鄭德安, *hao* Chongxu miaojing Ningzhen zi 沖虛妙靜寧眞子

280 (fasc. 134)

"Oral Formula on the Great Elixir of Liquified Gold." According to a note after the title, this text was transmitted (or revealed) by a "Taoist clad in white." The preface is said to be by Zheng Dean, who is also the editor (2a).

The text itself could be of the thirteenth century or somewhat later, since it quotes ZHANG BODUAN (here called *zushi* 祖師, "patriarch"), and also half of a verse from *1088 Huandan fuming pian* by XUE DAOGUANG.

In the same vein as ZHANG BODUAN, Zheng Dean deals in his preface with the differences and similarities between Buddhists and Taoists and with the problems and dangers of transmission to an unsuitable person (cf. Zhang's preface to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇). The *jue* 訣 that follows (3a–3b) describes the entire Inner Alchemical process. The rest of the text comprises alchemical poems (of which six are in *ci* 詞 style), a short treatise on the mind (*xin* 心) and the Tao, and a further alchemical poem.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Bixu zi qinchuan zhizhi 碧虛子親傳直指

11 fols.

Attributed to Yang Mingzhen 楊明眞, *hao* Bixu zi 碧虛子 (1150–1228)

241 (fasc. 114)

"Instructions Personally Transmitted by Master Bixu." This is a short treatise on Inner Alchemy, presumably by the Quanzhen 全眞 patriarch Yang Mingzhen, whose *hao* was Bixu zi and who was an expert in *neidan* 內丹 (see *955 Zhongnan shan zhuting xianzhen neizhuan* 2.2b–3b). The introduction states that late in life the writer met Master Haiqiong 海瓊先生—that is, BO YUCHAN—and also a hermit called Anran jushi 安然居士 at the Zhuling cavern-heaven 朱陵洞天, that is, Mount Heng 衡山. Although Yang's biography does not mention that he traveled to southern China, the meetings are chronologically not impossible. In any case, the present work cannot be by CHEN JINGYUAN, who also used the *hao* Bixu zi (as affirmed by Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature*, 327 n. 569). The *neidan* methods described here are generally those of the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗), with special reference to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇.

Kristofer Schipper

Chen Xubo guizhong zhinan 陳虛白規中指南

2 juan

By Chen Chongsu 陳沖素, *hao* Xubo zi 虛白子; Yuan (1279–1368)

243 (fasc. 114)

"True Central Directions by Master Chen Xubo." This is a treatise on Inner Alchemy characteristically blending elements from the Nanzong 南宗 tradition with that of the Quanzhen 全眞 school. The author, in his undated postface (*houxu* 後序), identifies himself as Chen Chongsu, Zhenfang daoren 眞放道人 of the Shengzhen xuanhua dongtian 昇眞玄化洞天 of the Wuyi 武夷山 Mountains. He must have been a contemporary of the Yuan scholar WU CHENG (1249–1333), as the latter wrote three poems in dedication of another work by Chen, the *Neidan xianmi* 內丹顯秘 (see *Wu Wenzheng ji* 92.29b–30a). In the preface to these poems, Wu states that Chen, a daoshi of the Wuyi Mountains, bestowed his instructions to Yang Qingyuan 楊清遠, his disciple and "student of the *Can*[*tong qi*]."

The expression *guizhong* in the title is borrowed from the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, and means "correctly focused center" (see 2.3a).

Among the authorities quoted, we find predominantly writings from the Nanzong tradition, but Quanzhen masters such as Dan Chuduan 譚處端 and Li Jianyi 李簡易 (*hao* Yuqi zi 玉溪子) are also mentioned.

Kristofer Schipper

Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao 玉谿子丹經指要

3 juan

By Li Jianyi 李簡易, *hao* Yuqi zi 玉谿子 (fl. 1264)

245 (fasc. 115)

"Alchemical Texts: Basic Directions." This is a collection of writings on Inner Alchemy by a Quanzhen 全眞 Taoist. Li Jianyi, a native of Yichun 宜春, was the grandson of Li Guan 李觀 (*hao* Yuqi sou 玉谿叟), an official with a penchant for Taoism (preface 1a–1b). The collection comprises Li Jianyi's works, all written during different periods: the preface dated 1264, for example, refers only to the first five of the titles in this collection (preface 2b). There are two other prefaces in the collection, one undated (3.7a–8a), the other dated 1266 (3.11b–16b).

According to YU YAN (1258–1314), a collection of Li Jianyi's writings was published in Changsha (Hunan) at about the same time as Emperor Kublai ordered the burning of Taoist books (1281). YU YAN also mentions a "recent" reedition of the collection printed in Jiangxi. The latter, published together by Peng Shi 彭石 and Po Jianming 頗簡明, comprised four texts by Li Jianyi and several others by Peng Shi himself. Of the four—entitled "Wuzhen zhiyao 悟眞指要," "Xihuang zuoyong 羲皇作用," "Guishi tu 規十圖," and "Xinyin jing jie 心印經解"—only the first three texts are included in the present work (cf. *Xishang futan* 2. 11a).

The present collection was printed by Wang Gui 王桂 in 1354. It was entitled "The Ten Books" (*shishu* 十書) because it included nine works by Li Jianyi and one by his contemporary Peng Chongyang 彭重陽 (see Wang's note, 3.18a–19a). The collection includes a preface by Li Jianyi (dated 1264) and a supplement on the main lines of transmission from Taoist masters of the Song Dynasty and their disciples. The texts areas follows:

Juan 1. (1) "Wuzhen pian zhiyao 悟眞篇指要," an explanation of the system of the famous Inner Alchemical work, the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇, with Li's own interpretation.

Juan 2. (2) "Changsheng jiushi zhi shu 長生久視之書" (1a–8a), a commentary on an alchemical interpretation of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 by Yang gu 揚谷. (3) "Bianhuo lu 辯惑論" (8a–12b), a short treatise demonstrating that the methods employed in Inner Alchemy are not inferior to those of Chan Buddhism. (4–5) "Danfang fayu 丹房法語" and "Xihuang zuoyong 羲皇作用" (12b–16b), two essays on the methods and aims of *neidan*: the basis of all practice lies, according to Li Jianyi, in mental concentration. A part of the "Danfang fayu" is included in *579 Yangsheng bilu* under the heading "Danfang yulu 丹房語錄," which comprises an additional oral instruction (*koujue* 口訣) missing in our text.

Juan 3. (6) "Zhang Ziyang zeng Bolong dong daoren ge 張紫陽贈白龍洞道人歌"

(1a–6b), a commentary to a poem by ZHANG BODUAN. (7) "Guichong tu 規中圖" (7a–11a); the text is preceded by an undated preface, but a summary included in *579 Yangsheng bilu* 2a, with the title "Yuqi zi Yichun xinjue 玉谿子宜春心訣," bears the date 1269 (the name of the author is mistakenly written Li Gongming 李公明). The text, which begins with a diagram, deals with methods of meditation and circulation of qi. (8) "Jie Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun 解純陽眞人沁園春" (11b–16b), a commentary on a famous *ci*-lyric attributed to LÜ DONGBIN (cf. *136 Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*). The preface is dated 1266 (11b). (9) "Miyu shi 密語時" (16b–17a), comprises five poems, probably by Peng Shi 彭石 (cf. *Xishang futan* 2.11a). (10) "Zan Chunyang xiang 讚春陽像" (17b–19a), a short text commemorating a statue of LÜ DONGBIN by Peng Chongyang 彭重陽, followed by a note by Wang Gui, dated 1352 and written on the occasion of the printing of the present collection.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Changsheng zhiyao pian* 長生指要篇**

19 fols.

By Lin Ziran 林自然, *hao* Huiyang zi 回陽子; 1250

1099 (fasc. 743)

"Essays on the Essentials [of the Search for] Long Life." These essays were composed by Lin Ziran, who for a long time had tried in vain to obtain the Gold-Elixir, that is, the success of the meditative and respiratory means of self-cultivation. In Fujian, Lin Ziran had met with an otherwise unknown zhenren, Mr. Lu 陸公眞人, who hailed from Sichuan. Mr. Lu instructed Lin Ziran in the art of fire-phasing, and as a result Lin Ziran was successful. He wrote the seven tracts of this work in order to provide others with helpful didactic texts (see the preface, dated 1250).

The seven texts begin with the words "Huiyang zi says." They contain *neidan* 內丹 theories about the conditions of human existence. The author speaks about WEI BOYANG as "ancestor" (15a) and quotes, among others, [ZHANG] ZIYANG (6b, 7b), placing himself clearly within the tradition of the alchemy of the Song period. At the end of the text, Lin Ziran gives a chart presenting time phases and their emblematic correspondences.

Florian C. Reiter

***Zazhu zhixuan pian* 雜著指玄篇**

8 juan

By BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾, *zi* Ziqing 紫清, et al.; ca. 1225

263.1 *Xiuzhen shishu* 1–8 (fasc. 122)

"Directions to Mystery: A Miscellany." This text comprises treatises and poems by BO YUCHAN, his teachers, and his disciples on the subject of Inner Alchemy. It

is listed in the *Qianqing tang shumu* 16.25a as *Bo Yuchan zhixuan pian* 白玉蟾指玄篇 eight juan. One of the texts in the present work is dated 1244 (1.10a). It is, however, not included in YU YAN's (fl. 1284) list of BO YUCHAN's works (cf. *Xishang futan* 2.7b). The *Daoyan neiwai bijue* 道言內外秘訣 is nevertheless by BO YUCHAN and another miscellany entitled *Ziqing* [that is, *Bo Yuchan*] *zhixuan ji* 紫清指玄集 figures in the *Daozang jinghua lu* (*Shumu leibian* 53.24074).

Most of the pieces included in this collection can be found elsewhere, as indicated below:

Juan 1. "Bo Xiansheng jindan huohou tu 白先生金丹火候圖," an introduction to the *Jindan huohou tu* with explanations by Bo's disciples; see *1309 Haiqiong chuandao ji*.

Juan 2. "Huanyuan pian 還源篇"; see *1091 Huanyuan pian*.

Juan 3. "Ziting jing 紫庭經"; see *1090 Cuixu pian*, "Yinfu sui 陰符髓," a condensed version of *119 Yinfu jing sanhuang yujue*.

Juan 4. "Xiuxian bianhuo lun 修仙辯惑論"; see "Gushen busi lun 谷神不死論," Yinyang shengjiang lun 陰陽升降論," and "Danfang fayu 丹房法語."

The four titles listed above are also ascribed to BO YUCHAN in the *Daozang jinghua lu*. The "Xiuxian bianhuo lun" is one of the treatises included in the *Zhixuan pian* in the *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu*.

Juan 5. "Jindan sibai zi 金丹四百字"; see *1081 Jindan sibai zi*.

Juan 6. "Xie Zhang Ziyang shu 謝張紫陽書" (see *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu, Daozang jinghua lu* and *Xie xianshi jishu ci* 謝仙師寄書詞. Both of these works by BO YUCHAN are mentioned in *Xishang futan*.

Juan 7. Poems ascribed to XU JINGYANG and ZHONGLI QUAN; "Dansui ge 丹髓歌" (by XUE DAOGUANG); see *1088 Huandan fuming pian*.

Juan 8. "Weisheng ge 衛生歌," by Xishan xiansheng 西山先生.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集**

5 juan

By Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷 [var. 挺] 芝, *zi* Yuanrui 元瑞, *hao* Liaozhen zi 了眞子 (fl. 1260)

263.9 *Xiuzhen shishu* 9–13 (fasc. 123)

"Collected Works on the Great Accomplishment of the Elixir." The author was a disciple of PENG SI, one of BO YUCHAN's most famous followers (cf. Xiao Tingzhi's preface, dated 1260, in *687 Daode zhenjing san jie*, preface, 8a). According to another source, Xiao Tingzhi, a native of Fuzhou 福州 (Fujian), possessed two style-names (*zi* 字): Yuanrui and Tianlai 天來 (cf. *Quan Song ci* 4.2777).

The present work is quoted frequently in *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* (e.g., 3.3b;

5.18b; 6.2b). Since the latter has a preface dated 1284, the second half of the thirteenth century would seem the latest date for the collection.

The work begins with diagrams illustrating the interaction of qi and *jing* 精 in the *neidan* 內丹 process, their circulation, and the rules of fire-phasing (9.1a–7b). These diagrams are followed by three poems and a treatise on the cyclically transformed elixir. The entire juan 10 comprises definitions of *neidan* nomenclature, in recorded conversations (*yulu* 語錄) form. This part is entitled "Jindan wenda 金丹問答" (Questions and Answers on the Elixir). It is also included in *579 Yangsheng bilu* 19a–32b and is reproduced in the collection *Jindan jiwen* 金丹集問 (juan 1) compiled by Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 (fl. 1596), in *Gezhi congshu* 格致叢書.

Juan 11 and 12 comprise poems in different styles; two of these are addressed to friends (12.5b–6a), the remainder are on *neidan* themes. The *ci*-lyrics in 12.7a–12b are reproduced in juan 7 and 8 of *1100 Minghe yuyin* (edited in 1347), without attribution. In juan 13 we have a commentary on the *Cui gong ruyao jing* 崔公入藥鏡 (on this work, cf. *135 Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie,* where Xiao's gloss is quoted extensively) and one on Lü Dongbin's *ci*-lyric, the *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 (cf. *136 Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*).

The *Daozang jiyao* edition, titled *Jindan dacheng*, is incomplete.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.4.d Other *Neidan* Traditions

Qinxuan fu 禽玄賦

10 fols.

260 (fasc. 121)

"Rhapsody of Grasping Mystery." A short and elegantly written treatise on Inner Alchemy in nine parts, of unknown authorship and date. Although no sources are quoted, the work makes extensive use of the metaphorical language of the Zhong-Lü school as exemplified in the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集 (*263 Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16). It should therefore date from the Northern Song period (960–1127).

Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing yuanji zhimiao shenzhu yuke jing 太清元極至妙神珠玉顆經

37 fols.

865 (fasc. 578)

"Most Pure Book of the Divine Pearl and the Jade Bead and Supreme Wonder of the Original Principle." As explained in the beginning of the text, "divine pearl" here refers to the essence of the sun, and "jade bead" to that of the moon. The anonymous author quotes a *Kaitian ji* 開天記 that remains to be identified.

This is a guide to the Inner Alchemy practice modeled on the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing* 易經. The system of this kind of practice corresponds to that of *999 Zhouyi cantong qi*, but this work is only indirectly quoted here on page 36a, under the name of its reputed author, Wei Boyang. The hexagram cycle can be performed on a monthly or daily basis. The latter variant, with two *gua* 卦 on which to model the practice, is in fact that which is also most widely used by the adepts of the above-mentioned work. The present text also proposes an hourly practice, and finally a combination of the three.

Among the practical instructions, the text (page 35b) explains that for the realization of a yang "stroke" (*yao* 爻) in a given hexagram, the adept should hold his or her breath during a period of time corresponding to thirty-six ordinary respirations and then swallow three times, whereas for a yin stroke the time should be that of twenty-four respirations, also followed by swallowing three times. Each time the energy should be forcefully guided downward to the Cinnabar Field (*dantian* 丹田).

This practical and simple guide of uncertain date is useful for the understanding of modern *neidan* 內丹 practice.

Kristofer Schipper

Zituan danjing 紫團丹經

19 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)

878 (fasc. 581)

"Alchemy of the [Master of the] Purple Coil." This is a short treatise on sexual alchemy. The presence of an incomplete rendering of the character *kuang* 匡 (a Song taboo), together with a number of citations from authors of the Northern Song dynasty such as Zhang Boduan (984–1082), allow us to date the present text to the Southern Song period. A remark at the end of the book states: "This book is not about the great alchemical way. It has never been known that one can obtain immortality by mounting women. The reason why [the book] is preserved here is in order to warn off those who might be deluded. This is not something to practice in order to become an immortal."

If there is a sexual innuendo in the author's *hao*, it is difficult to identify. The text itself is rather explicit, as it states that the prescribed methods are useful for preserving one's sexual energy in order to be able to accomplish his duties to his parents, that is, to beget children (3b). The author explains that the male orgasm is *taiyang liuzhu* 太陽流珠 and the female orgasm *taiyin xuanzhu* 太陰玄珠. Each female menstrual period corresponds to six moon phases of five days. One of these is the menstrual period of Vermilion Liquid (*chishui* 赤水), whereas during each of the remaining five periods women produce mercury (*gong* 汞) that can be turned into gold. The red liquid of

the menses is "kidney water" and corresponds to lead (*qian* 鉛). The clear red liquid produced toward the end of the menstruation is a drug that should be culled (*cai* 採) at midnight. The calendar calculations for choosing the most appropriate moment are highly complex. The technique calls for *coitus reservatus* (18b).

Many poetic terms are listed for the female sexual organs, most commonly "furnace of the reclining moon" (*yanyue lu* 偃月爐; 17a–19a).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Yangsheng bilu* 養生秘錄**

32 fols.

Early Yuan (1279–1368)

579 (fasc. 321)

"Secret Records on Tending Life." This work is a good example of eclectic compilations popular during the Mongol period. The present anthology draws mainly upon Nanzong 南宗 sources of the southern (alchemical) tradition but also refers to other traditions. It includes seven texts. The first is "Recorded Sayings from the Cinnabar Room of Master Yuqi" (*Yuqi zi danfang yulu* 玉溪子丹房語錄, 1a–b), an abridged version of *245 Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao* 2.13. The following oral instructions (*koujue* 口訣, 1b) must be the continuation of the preceding text, but they do not figure in *245 Danjing zhiyao*. The "Rote Instructions of Master Yuxu from Yichun" (*Yuxu zi Yichun xinjue* 玉虛子宜春心訣, 2a–5a), with the chart of the focused center (*Guizhong tu* 規中圖), derive from the same source (*245 Danjing zhiyao* 3.7a–10b). The fourth text, "Internal Meaning of the Yellow Center" (*Zhonghuang neizhi* 中黃內旨, 5a–8b), consists of three quotations: one by Yuzhen xiansheng 玉眞先生 (Liu Yu, patriarch of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school; this text does not figure in *1110 Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* but is close in content to the second juan of this work); one by the Three True Lords Mao 三茅眞君, and the last by Yuqi zhenren 玉谿眞人 (this text does not figure in *245 Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao*).

The fifth text, "Straightforward Instructions on Alchemical Classics by the Old Man Green Mist" (*Qingxia weng danjing zhizhi* 青霞翁丹經直指, 8b–18a, a subtitle; the title *Siduan jin* 四段錦 does not seem to fit the text) is a work by an anonymous disciple of Bo Yuchan, dated 1244. The next item, "Song of the Great Tao" (*Dadao ge* 大道歌, 18a–19a) is without indication of authorship but is actually a work by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126; see *1249 Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 3.1a, also included in *1257 Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 2.2b). It is followed by two glosses. The last and longest text, "Questions and Answers Concerning Alchemy" (*Jindan wenda* 金丹問答, 19a–32b, without indication of authorship), is the same text as *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 10, where it is attributed to Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260), a second generation disciple of Bo Yuchan.

Vincent Goossaert

***Yin zhenjun huandan ge zhu* 陰眞君還丹歌註**

9 fols.

Commentary by Chen Tuan 陳摶, *hao* Xiyi 希夷 (d. 989); poem: Five Dynasties (907–960) or earlier; commentary: early Song (960–1279)

134 (fasc. 59)

"Commentary on Yin Zhenjun's Song of the Cyclically Transformed Elixir." This text comprises a short alchemical poem ascribed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (Yin zhenjun 陰眞君), a legendary Han Taoist, and a commentary by Chen Tuan (d. 989). The poem is first listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* as *Yin zhenjun da huandan ge* 陰眞君大還丹歌 in one juan, but the *Song shi* gives the present title, omitting the character *da* 大 (VDL 139). It must antedate the Song dynasty, however, since Peng Xiao (fl. 974) quotes it during the Five Dynasties (cf. *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 2.22a, 3.11b).

The poem describes the Inner Alchemical process, beginning with the union of two inner ingredients and their purification (3b–8b), a process that finally culminates in the completion of a cyclically transformed elixir of immortality (9b).

The commentary, attributed to the famous Taoist master Chen Tuan, uses the nomenclature of the sexual arts (*fangzhong* 房中) and interprets the poem as a technique of augmenting and refining the seminal essence (*xiayuan jing* 下元精). This particular commentary is not mentioned in any of Chen Tuan's biographies, but he is known to have written a book on a similar subject. This book, the *Zhixuan pian* 指玄篇, is described in Chen's biography in *Song shi* 457.13421 as a work dealing with "gymnastics, the art of nourishing [the vital principle], and the cyclically transformed elixir" (*Yan dao yang ji huandan zhi shi* 言導養及還丹之事). Since many books were forged in Chen Tuan's name during the Northern Song (960–1127), the authorship of the commentary remains uncertain.

The poem is reproduced with minor variations in *927 Taiqing yubei zi* 11a.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie* 崔公入藥鏡註解**

16 fols.

By Wang Jie 王玠, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子; ca. 1331

135 (fasc. 60)

"Commentary on Master Cui's Mirror on the Admixture of Ingredients." The title refers to a short poem in three-character lines by a certain Mr. Cui. The origin of this poem is unclear. There are many works of the Song period (960–1279) with the title *Ruyao jing* 入藥鏡 (VDL 134), in either one or three juan. Zeng Zao (ca. 1151) possessed two completely different works with the same title (see *1017 Daoshu* 37.12b). More than a century later, Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎 had seven (see *109 Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi* 4.14a). The *Ruyao jing* quoted by Xia Yuanding is a poem in five-character lines (cf. *146 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian jiangyi* 1.3b).

The earliest version of the *Ruyao jing* is a Tang (618–907) alchemical poem in five-character lines. This poem may well have been provided with explanations in prose by the alchemist Cui Xuanzhen 崔玄眞 of Minshan 岷山 (Sichuan). Although the full title of this work was *Jinbi qiantong ruyao huojing ji* 金碧潛通入藥火鏡記, in one juan (*Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe"; see VDL 119), we find this work also referred to as *Jinbi qiantong huo ji* 火記 (*901 Shiyao erya* 2.3b; preface dated 806); *Jinbi ruyao huojing* 金碧入藥火鏡 (*233 Huandan zhongxian lun* 10b; preface dated 1052); *Cui gong ruyao jing* 崔公入藥鏡 (*900 Danfang xuzhi* 12a; preface dated 1163); or simply as *Yaojing* 藥鏡 (*1086 Yuzhuang xiehou lu* 7a). According to a note in the *Xin Tang shu*, "Yiwen zhi," Cui Xuanzhen lived during the Tianbao era (742–756).

A second version of the *Ruyao jing* is linked to the name of Lü Dongbin; it is called the *Tianyuan ruyao jing* 天元入藥鏡. A fragment of this text is quoted in *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 21.6b–9b, as an introduction to a diagram and a poem about the Yin-Tiger and the Yang-Dragon and their relation to the Trigrams *kan* 坎 and *li* 離. The fragment is signed Cui Xifan 崔希範, *hao* Zhiyi zhenren 至一眞人, and dated 940.

As to the latter poem, we find it referred to in a text attributed to Lü Dongbin: *1055 Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 2.4b, where it is linked explicitly to the *Ruyao jing*. The same poem is quoted extensively during Song and Yuan (1279–1368) times in relation to the transmission of the *Ruyao jing* to Lü Dongbin (*1017 Daoshu* 37.4b; *246 Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* 2.4a–b; *1067 Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 6.4a). According to Zeng Zao, the *Tianyuan ruyao jing* was originally a manual for sexual practices that later was given a correct interpretation by Lü Dongbin (*1017 Daoshu* 3.4a, 6b), which may be the reason that Zeng gives only the section headings and not the actual text (37.12b–16a). These headings appear to be the final section of the *Tianyuan ruyao jing* but should actually follow the introduction given in the *263 Xiuzhen shishu*. Lü Dongbin's biography in the LZTT 45.2b claims that Lü received the *Ruyao jing* from Cui gong himself in 881. However, the citation that follows this indication refers to the present poem in three-character lines.

A third version of the *Ruyao jing* is the *Ruyao jing shangpian* 上篇 (*1017 Daoshu* 37.1a–12b), a text that employs Buddhist terminology (*jingang* 金剛, *wulun* 五輪, *xinyin* 心印, etc.). A long passage of this same text quoted in *263.17 Zazhu jiejing* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 21.4b) uses the same vocabulary but seems to come from a slightly different version.

Finally, there is our present version in three-character lines. It is also attributed to Cui Xifan. We find it for the first time in a complete form in the *Jindan dacheng ji* (*263 Xiuzhen shishu* 13.1a–9b) by Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260). From that time (late Song [960–1279] and early Yuan [1279–1368]), this version became the standard, and all quotations of Cui gong and *Ruyao jing* refer to it (see *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 3.13b and 5.21b; *142 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 3.6a, 4.21a and 26a; *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 5.22a and 6.29b; etc.).

Yu Yan, in *Xishang futan* (2.5b), claims that the author of the *Ruyao jing* lived on Bohe shan 白鶴山 in Hunan, and he mentions the commentaries by Xia Yuanding, Chu Yong 儲泳, and Xiao Tingzhi. The *Zhizhai shulu jieti* (VDL 134) gives Yuanshan 遠山 (for 遠 read 袁), in Jiangxi, as the residence of the author.

Wang Jie, the commentator of our present text, was a contemporary of Chen Zhixu (before 1331). He interprets the poem as a guide to the Inner Alchemical process, to be performed every night from 7 P.M. to 5 A.M. Wang first describes breath control, then the interaction of yin and yang, and finally fire-phasing and the formation of the elixir.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie
呂純陽眞人沁園春丹詞註解

11 fols.

Attributed to Lü Yan 呂嵓, *hao* Chunyang zhenren; commentary by Yu Yan 俞琰, *hao* Quanyang zi, Linwu shanren 林屋山人全陽子 (1258–1314)

136 (fasc. 60)

"Explication of the Alchemical Lyric 'Spring in the Garden by the Qin' by the Zhenren Lü Dongbin." The *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 is an alchemical *ci* 詞-lyric ascribed to Lü Yan, better known as Lü Dongbin, who composed the tune of the same name. Although it is not mentioned in any bibliography, it can be traced back to the eleventh century since the story of its transmission is recounted by Liu Fu 劉斧 (1040–after 1113) in *Qingsuo gaoyi* 8.82. The poem was revealed to a *jinshi* 進士, Cui Zhong 崔中, in the city of Yueyang 岳陽 in Hunan (see Baldrian-Hussein, "Yüeh-yang").

The poem describes the *neidan* 內丹 process, here called *Qifan huandan* 七返還丹 (seven-times cyclically transformed elixir): the collection of the True Yang at the hour of *zi* 子, its union with True Yin to obtain the Seed, the purification by fire-phasing, and finally the accumulation of merit and transfiguration. The Yuan commentator Yu Yan (cf. *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*) interprets the poem according to the practices of his school. The main interest of this commentary lies in the wealth of books and authors quoted by the commentator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldrian-Hussein, "Yüeh-yang and Lü Tung-pin's Ch'in-yüan ch'un."

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Longhu zhongdan jue 龍虎中丹訣

7 fols.

228 (fasc. 112)

"Instructions for [the Acquisition of] the Central Elixir from [the Union of] the Dragon and the Tiger." This is a short treatise on Inner Alchemy. This undated text is stylistically modern (e.g., the seven-word poems at the end) and concerns a variety of practices. In addition to the meditative and respiratory exercises for the conception of the immortal embryo (*tai* 胎), illustrated through the hexagrams of the *Yijing* 易經 (e.g., *fu* 復 for introduction and *gou* 姤 for conception), the methodology calls for the recitation of spells in order to activate the energies of essence (*jing* 精), qi, and spirit (*shen* 神) for the transformation of the body. A series of nine poems decribes the entire cycle, ending in delivery (*tuo* 脫), in terms of nine phases (*hou* 候) taking nine years.

Kristofer Schipper

Huandan bijue yang chizi shenfang 還丹祕訣養赤子神方

6 fols.

By Xu Ziwei 許子微, *zi* Mingdao 明道; end of the twelfth century

232 (fasc. 112)

"Divine Recipes for Nourishing the Infant according to the Secret Process of Returned Cinnabar." The work explains in ten points the alchemical principles that lead to the production of the spiritual Infant. When the latter is able to leave the body through the fontanel, it should be nourished during three years, and then during nine symbolical years.

During the years 1174–1189, Xu Ziwei began to search for a master. He met Peng Mengqu 彭夢瞿 on Mount Tongbo 桐柏 (in southwestern Henan, on the border with Hubei). Orally and with the help of diagrams, Peng transmitted the Way of Returned Cinnabar to Xu in the temple of Huaidu 淮瀆廟.

At the end of the text, Xu gives the lineage of the transmission of the *xiuzhen* 修眞 from Zhang Tiangang 張天罡 to Peng Mengqu, Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟, Xu Ziwei, and Lin Yuanding 林元鼎. In this lineage, Xu is presented as a native of Shanxi province, whereas here, in the indications given with his name on the first page, he hails from Xishan 西山.

Catherine Despeux

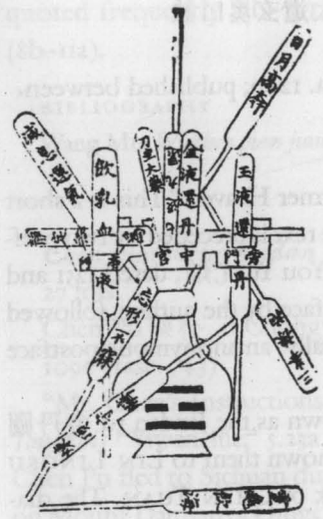


FIGURE 26. Representation of the crucible with the different stages of the alchemical process (*252* 2.2a)

Gushen pian 谷神篇

2 juan

By Lin Yuan 林轅, *zi* Shenfeng 神鳳, *hao* Xuanchao zi 玄巢子; preface dated 1304

252 (fasc. 119)

"Dissertation on the Spirit of the Valley" (figs. 26–27). This is a popular treatise on Inner Alchemy. The author, from Fujian (Minxiang 閩鄉, preface, 4b), gives Wufu 五福 (unidentified) as his place of origin. He defines the tradition to which he belongs as coming from Han Xiaoyao 韓逍遙, whereas his own teacher was a certain Yu 郁, *zi* Lüan 蘆菴 (preface, 6a). Han Xiaoyao is known through a quotation from his work, the *Neizhi tongxuan bijue* 內指通玄秘訣 in *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 1.11b.

There is another preface (dated 1315) by Zhao Congshan 趙從善, *zi* Sixuan 思玄, who had the work printed.

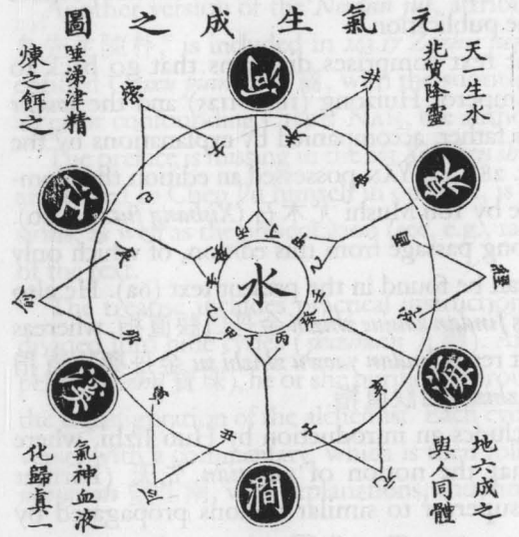


FIGURE 27. Water as the primordial element and its devolution (*252* 2.9a)

The work is composed mostly of poems and short dissertations. The main topic is Inner Alchemy, but other, more general topics are addressed. The virtue of the *Beidou jing* 北斗經 (the Dipper scripture) is sung (1.12a), as is the efficacy of the charm water of the Hunyuan rites (*Hunyuan fushui* 混元符水; 1.9b and 1.14b). There are also other references to liturgical Taoism, as well as to sexual practice (2.16b). There is no mention of Quanzhen 全眞 Taoism.

Kristofer Schipper

Xiantian jindan dadao xuanao koujue 先天金丹大道玄奧口訣
11 fols.
By Huo Jizhi 霍濟之, *zi* Juchuan 巨川; completed ca. 1249; published between 1254 and 1257
279 (fasc. 134)

"Arcane Formula of the Great Alchemical Way of Former Heaven." This is a short Inner Alchemical work that includes some diagrams. The text is preceded by two prefaces by friends of the author, Liu Zicheng 劉子澄 and You Yu 尤焴, dated 1251 and 1249, respectively. The work ends with an undated postface by the author, followed by a preface by Guo Sanyi 郭三益 (dated 1119) and, finally, an anonymous postface dated 1257.

The author, Huo Jizhi, claims that the diagrams known as the Jindan tu 金丹圖 originally belonged to his great-grandfather, who had shown them to LIN LINGSU who, in turn, immediately recognized them as the work of CHEN TUAN. The diagrams came into the possession of Guo Sanyi, who returned them to the Huo family, with which he had close ties. Later, Huo Jizhi's father, a Taoist, realized the meaning of these diagrams and subsequently wrote a *koujue* 口訣 (oral instruction) on them. He had not yet published this work as intended when he died in 1254. It was printed by his son shortly afterward. Although no precise date is indicated, the printing must have taken place between 1254 and 1257, the date of the last postface mentioning the publication.

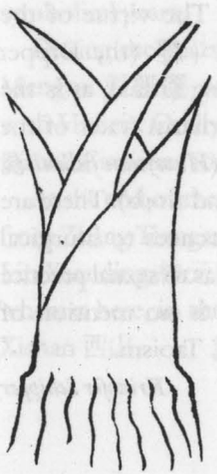


FIGURE 28. Illustration of Returning to the Root (*279* 3b)

The present text comprises diagrams that go back to the reign of Emperor Huizong (1100–1125) and the *koujue* by Huo Jizhi's father, accompanied by explanations by the author (see fig. 28). YU YAN possessed an edition that comprised a preface by You Mushi 尤木石 (*Xishang futan* 2.8b). He quotes a long passage from this edition, of which only one sentence can be found in the present text (6a). He also gives the title as *Jindan koujue zhizhi* 金丹口訣直指, whereas the present text reads *Jindan yaowu zhizhi tu* 金丹藥物直指圖 and *Koujue zhizhi* 口訣直指.

The text includes an introduction by Huo Jizhi, where he explains that the notion of *xiantian* 先天 (Former Heaven) was superior to similar notions propagated by Chan practitioners (zuo Chan 坐禪), that is, adepts of Xingzong 性宗. Following this introduction are diagrams and explanations based on the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇, which is quoted frequently (3b–7a); alchemical poems (7a–8a); and finally the postfaces (8b–11a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wang Mu, *Wuzhen pian jianjie*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Chen xiansheng neidan jue 陳先生內丹訣
27 fols.
Chen Pu 陳朴, *zi* Chongyong 沖用; after 1078
1096 (fasc. 743)

"Mr. Chen's Instructions on the Inner Elixir." This text is first mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.23a. According to the short anonymous preface, however, Chen Pu fled to Sichuan during the turmoil of the Five Dynasties (907–960). It was on Mount Damian of Qingcheng 青城大面山 of this province that he met ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN and was initiated into the Tao. In 1078, he encountered the statesman Zhang Fangping 張方平 in Nandu 南都 (present Nanyang 南陽 in Henan). Zhang's presence in Nanking during this period is attested in the *Song shi* 318.10353 ff. The book, however, became popular only in the twelfth century. It was transmitted to Huainan yesou 淮南野叟 by Chen (preface). This transmission is also mentioned in a preface dated 1264 (cf. *245 Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao* 1.1a–1b).

Another version of the *Neidan jue,* attributed to "Niwan xiansheng Chen Pu 泥丸先生陳朴," is included in *263.17 Zazhu jiejing* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 17). This version is entitled *Cuixu pian* 翠虛篇, with the subtitle *Jiuzhuan jindan bijue* 九轉金丹秘訣, an error confounding CHEN NAN, the author of *1090 Cuixu pian,* with Chen Pu.

The preface is missing in the *263 Xiuzhen shishu* version, and there the commentary, attributed to Chen Pu himself in our text, is titled *jie* 解. Many additions and omissions, as well as the presentation (see, e.g., 1a–1b, 6b–7a), point to a different edition of the text.

The treatise includes practical instructions on *neidan* 內丹, the methods being divided into nine cycles (*jiuzhuan* 九轉). After the adept has acquired the precious pearl (*baozhu* 寶珠), he or she purifies it through fire-phasing. The last cycle ends with the transfiguration of the alchemist. Each cycle is described by a poem in seven-word verse, with a commentary, which is then followed by a *ci*-lyric to the tune of *Wang jiangnan* 望江南, with explanations, and, finally, by instructions in prose.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Dongyuan zi neidan jue 洞元子內丹訣
2 juan
Northern Song (960–1127)?
1097 (fasc. 743)

"Inner Elixir Explained by Master Dongyuan." The work is listed in the *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.23a, as comprising one juan. The author, Dongyuan zi 洞元子, was well-versed in both Taoist and Confucian literature. The Taoist Feng Dongyuan 馮洞元 (fl. 936–968) was just such a scholar (cf. *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan* 2.1a). The title Dongyuan 洞元, however, was bestowed upon several adepts during the reigns of Zhenzong (997–1022) and Huizong (1100–1125). Shen Ruoji 沈若濟 (d. 1131), who was one of these adepts, practiced both *neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹 (cf. *304 Maoshan zhi* 16.5a–5b).

In the preface, the author declares his intention of giving a clearer account of the alchemical process than the *Cantong qi taiyi zhi tu* 參同契太一至圖, a work no longer extant, yet his own text is certainly abstruse. It is divided into twenty-one sections (*pian* 篇) and makes use of *Yijing* 易經 terminology to explain the purification of the Three Cinnabar Fields (*dantian* 丹田) through the preservation of the seminal essence, meditation, the practice of moral virtues, and the art of conducting the qi to the brain (preface and 1.1a–1b).

Juan 1 explains the origin of "true ingredients" and the process of transformation using eight hexagrams. Each discussion of the hexagram is followed by a quotation from the *Yijing* (*zhuan* 篆) and a poem (*jue*).

Juan 2 comprises several discussions on meditation (2.5b ff.) and the circulation of the inner light (*shenguang* 神光). The last *pian* uses hexagrams to explain the process of birth and death and its reversal to obtain immortality.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.5 Alchemy

In the course of the Tang dynasty (618–907), alchemical theory and practice were greatly transformed under the influence of works such as the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and the *Guwen longhu jing* 古文龍虎經. These and other related texts were instrumental in the development of Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) as opposed to laboratory or elixir alchemy (*waidan* 外丹). As is evident from the previous section, *neidan* gradually became an almost entirely distinct form of practice. The present section contains all the texts of the Song (960–1279) and later periods that explicitly concern *waidan*.

The evolution of alchemy has often been explained as the result of a reaction against laboratory alchemy, which was held responsible for many cases of elixir poisoning, especially during the late Tang. However, as the present section bears out, laboratory alchemy by no means became defunct, even if the relatively small number of major texts and manuals clearly indicates a decline when compared with the number of texts from the medieval period. It is also remarkable in this respect that the works that can be dated to the Northern Song period (960–1127) are still relatively numerous. The last major manuals on laboratory alchemy, such as the *Gengdao ji* 康道集, date from the Southern Song (1127–1279) period. *Waidan* texts become scarce in the Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) periods.

Xuexian bianzhen jue 學仙辨眞訣
6 fols.
Northern Song (960–1127)?
138 (fasc. 60)

"Instructions for Discerning Truth in the Study of Immortality." This small treatise on theoretical alchemy is mentioned for the first time in the *Song shi*, "Yiwen zhi," 4.5198 (see VDL 159). It consists mainly of an explication of *922 Huanjin shu* by Tao Zhi (d. 825).

The text is composed of five paragraphs discussing the true alchemical ingredients, and, finally, of a poem called "Zimu ge 子母歌" (Song of the Mother and Child). This poem was well known by the end of the twelfth century (see the commentary of Weng Baoguang in *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu* 4.15a and *145 Wuzhen pian zhushi* 2.20b). The present work may therefore be of the same period. In the preface, however, the author mentions only the five paragraphs and does not speak of the poem and its commentary. These works could have been added to the work at a later stage.

The poem has been attributed elsewhere to Zhongli Quan (see *1258 Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 1.1b; this is a later text, where the poem is called "Huandan ge 還丹歌" [Song of the Cyclical Elixir]). Another work quotes the poem as an "ancient song" (*guge* 古歌; see *261 Jindan fu* 26b).

The five paragraphs are titled "Discerning the Truth," "The Jewel," "Liquid Silver," "Mercury," and "Understanding the Alchemical Process." According to the author, this treatise gives the essential features of the art of the Liquified Gold (*jinyi zhi shu* 金液之術).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jinhua yuyi dadan 金華玉液大丹
19 fols.
Song (960–1279)?
910 (fasc. 590)

"Great Elixirs of the Golden Flower and the Jade Liquor." The title of this collection of alchemical recipes is taken from the text of the first recipe (1a–2b), where *jinhua* 金華 (golden flower) and *yuyi* 玉液 (jade liquor) are the names of two intermediate stages in the preparation of the *zixia dan* 紫霞丹 (Elixir of the Purple Mist). The use of *qian* 錢 as the unit of weight below the *liang* 兩 shows that the compilation dates from after 992.

About a dozen recipes are given altogether. Several methods include regimes of fire-phasing control (*huohou* 火候); the method described in 12a–b has the name "method for Embryonic Breathing" (*taixi fa* 胎息法).

Fabrizio Pregadio

Dadan qiangong lun 大丹鉛汞論
9 fols.
Attributed to Jin Zhupo 金竹坡; eleventh century or later
923 (fasc. 596)

"Discourse on Lead and Mercury of the Great Elixir." The author of this short alchemical treatise is indicated in the heading as Jin Zhupo of the Tang dynasty (618–907). However, since the text quotes a poem by ZHANG BODUAN (cf. *142 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 2.19a), the eleventh century is the earliest possible date.

A Jin Quanzi 金全子, *hao* Zhupo 竹坡, appears in another text of uncertain date, as the disciple of SHI JIANWU (fl. 806–820; see *149 Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 1a).

The treatise is both theoretical and practical. It discusses correspondences between lead, gold, mercury, cinnabar, the elements, trigrams, directions and the origin of lead, quicksilver, calomel, and other substances. There are also practical recipes on the extraction of true lead and mercury from common lead, cinnabar, and silver (2a), another on extracting *boxue* 白雪 (arsenious oxide?) and *huangya* 黃芽 (litharge, lead monoxide) from minium and mercury (2a–3a). There are some instructions on powders based on calomel (3b, 6b) and for making a great elixir (*dadan* 大丹) with lead, mercury, and silver as the main ingredients. The recipes do not give detailed instructions for luting, fire-phasing, or casing, as is common in older *waidan* 外丹 texts.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Huandan gejue 還丹歌訣
2 juan
Compiled by Yuanyang zi 元陽子; Song (960–1279) or later
265 (fasc. 132)

"Oral Formulas and Songs on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir." This is a collection of alchemical poems attributed to Yuanyang zi (cf. *239 Huandan jinyi ge zhu*). Since the first poem, however, mentions LÜ DONGBIN (1.2a), Northern Song (960–1127) would be the earliest date for this collection.

Many of the poems can be found in earlier works of the Five Dynasties or the early Song. For the poems in 1.12b–17b, for example, see *926 Da huandan zhaojian* 10a, 16b, 17a, and 22b. Part of the second poem, by Dou zhenren 竇眞人 (1.9b), is quoted in *266 Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 10b.

For the poem in juan 2, see also *238 Yuanyang zi jinyi ji* 1a–15b, where it is found with a different commentary.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan 九轉靈砂大丹
12 fols.
Song (960–1279)?
893 (fasc. 587)

"Nine-Times-Transmitted Elixir." This text describes a method based on mercury and sulfur. The use of the *qian* 錢 weight measure as the unit immediately inferior to the *liang* 兩 shows that the work dates from after 992. A post-Tang (618–907) dating is also suggested by several linguistic features.

The first five sections (1a–3a) are concerned with the construction of the apparatus and the preparation and sublimation of *qingjin tou* 青金頭 (head [i.e., matrix] of cerulean gold), a mercury-sulphur compound. These sections correspond to the opening portions of *894 Jiuzhuan qingjin lingsha dan* 1a–2a, where they appear in a slightly different order. Other passages shared with the latter work are found in the following sections, which describe a complex method of treating *qingjing tou* in nine cycles.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Jiuzhuan qingjin lingsha dan 九轉青金靈砂丹
5 fols.
Song (960–1279)?
894 (fasc. 587)

"Nine-Times-Transmitted Elixir [Obtained] from Cerulean Gold." This work describes an alchemical method similar to that outlined in *893 Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan*.

The same evidence cited for the latter shows that the present text dates from after 992.

The expression *qingjin* 青金 (cerulean gold) in the title refers to a compound of mercury and sulfur that is prepared in the first stage and is further refined in nine cycles. The process described here is more straightforward than that of *893 Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan;* it consists simply in the addition of sulfur to the product of the preceding stage.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Yinyang jiuzhuan cheng zijin dianhua huandan jue
陰陽九轉成紫金點化還丹訣

5 fols.

Tenth century?

895 (fasc. 587)

"Instructions on the Preparation of the Purple Gold, a Cyclically Transformed Elixir That Transmutes by Projection, [Obtained] in Nine Cycles [through the Action] of Yin and Yang." This text includes a different version of the method described in *892 Taishang weiling shenhua jiuzhuan dansha jue*, a Tang work dating possibly from the seventh or the eighth century. The references to the *fen* 分 as the weight unit below the *liang* 兩 (2b and 3a) suggest that the present version dates from before the end of the tenth century.

The descriptions given here are more concise and generally more reliable than those of the other version. The first four stages of treatment consist of two cycles of recompounding cinnabar after the extraction of mercury. The product is treated in the next three stages to prepare a *huandan* 還丹 (cyclically transformed elixir) and in the final two stages to prepare a purple gold (*zijin* 紫金) and a "projection powder" able to transmute mercury and lead into gold. The quotations from the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, found at the end of each of the nine sections, correspond to passages appearing in 2.25a, 2.27b, 2.21a, 1.26a, 2.25a, 1.30b, 1.31b, 1.25a, and 1.30b, respectively, in the edition of *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*.

Fabrizio Pregadio

Taiqing yubei zi **太清玉碑子**

12 fols.

927 (fasc. 597)

"Jade Stele of the Taiqing [Heaven]." This is a short work comprising prose and poetry. It is mentioned in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* 2.38a as *Yubei zi* in one juan (VDL 99). The present title figures in the *Song shi*, "Yiwen zhi," 4.5189, which

states that the text is a dialogue between Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., Zheng Yin) and Ge Hong. The latter is also indicated as the author. The dialogue, however, occupies only the first three pages of the text, the remainder being a collection of prose and poems excerpted from various sources.

Much of the material can be found elsewhere: For the dialogue (1a–3b), compare *939 Dadan wenda* 1a–3b. The "Yaoping ge 瑤瓶歌" (3b–4b) is the same as *888 Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue,* with some variants. For the "Wujin ge 五金歌" and the "Longhu jue 龍虎訣" (5b–6b), compare *1083 Longhu yuanzhi* (attributed to Qingxia zi 青霞子), which includes a better text but presents the material in a different order. Compare also *935 Danlun juezhi xinjian* (3a–4b), which seems to reproduce a different version. The latter text (9a) quotes the first line of the *Da huandan ge* 大還丹歌 (9b), but it indicates a *Cantong qi* 參同契 as its source. For the *Jinyi da huandan ge* 金液大還丹歌 (11a–12a), compare *134 Yin zhenjun huandan ge zhu,* which has some textual variants. Our text includes three additional lines at the end of the poem.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shangdong xindan jingjue **上洞心丹經訣**

3 juan

Northern Song (960–1127)?

950 (fasc. 600)

"*Shangdong* Instructions and Scriptures on the [Cultivation of the] Mind and [the Preparation of] Elixirs." This text contains complementary information about Inner Alchemy and operative alchemy (2.1a–1b). It was compiled by the later followers of Taiji zhenren 太極眞人 (Xu Laile 徐來勒; see YJQQ 6.4b). The most frequently quoted spokesman of these followers is Xianweng 仙翁 (i.e., Ge Xuan). *Sui shu* 3.1049 already lists a *Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing* 太極眞人九轉還丹經.

The text presents, in three paragraphs, alchemical prescriptions, techniques, and rules, for which parallels can be found in *Baopu zi neipian*, "Jindan" (3.3b ff.). The instructions (*jue* 訣) and commentaries on the statements by Ge Hong do not give any indications as to their sources. The same is true for the many methods (*fa* 法) that the text introduces. There is an exposition by Taiji zhenren on 1.13b, and an instruction by the same author on 2.7b. However, it is not possible to claim that the other commentaries, which are all clearly separated by the typography, can be attributed to Xu Laile or any other specific name. Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., Zheng Yin) and Ge Hong are introduced as members of the line of transmission, which originated with Xu Laile. The sentences on 3.1a–1b constitute the introductory passage in *934 Taibo jing* 1a–1b.

Florian C. Reiter

***Huandan zhongxian lun* 還丹衆仙論**

25 fols.

Yang Zai 楊在, *hao* Baofu shanren 抱腹山人; 1052

233 (fasc. 113)

"Discourse of the Immortals on the Transmutation of the Elixir." The date is provided in the preface by the author, a native of Xihe 西河 (Shanxi). The text contains a collections of sayings by different gods and immortals, starting with the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, Lord Tao, Lord Lao, the Yellow Emperor, and others, and ending with more recent alchemists like Lü Dongbin and Liu Haichan. A second part contains instructions, apparently by Yang Zai himself, on alchemy (*waidan* 外丹): on how to choose the place for the experiments and how to build the furnace. Yang describes the phasing of the fire (*huohou* 火候) according to the helical phasing method (i.e., the increase and decrease of fuel in conformity with the basic cycle of thirty days, divided into six phases [*liuhou* 六侯], each subdivided into two parts; for details, see Sivin, "The theoretical background of elixir alchemy," 274). Also discussed are the ways to obtain and use the "real" ingredients of alchemical lead and mercury, the elimination of toxic principles in the elixir, and the effects of its ingestion.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Dadan ji* 大丹記**

7 fols.

Attributed to Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, *hao* Taisu zhenren 太素眞人

899 (fasc. 588)

"Record of the Great Elixir." This short alchemical work is first listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.19b. The use of the weight measure *dafen* 大分 suggests a date after 922.

The work is a piecemeal composition, as are many of the late Tang (618–907) and Five Dynasties (907–960) alchemical texts. The series of quotations and theoretical (1a–2b) explanations were excerpted from the same source as *935 Danlun juezhi xinjian* 3a–4a and *927 Taiqing yubei zi* 5a ff. The present text, however, is abridged. The *1083 Longhu yuanzhi* gives a clearer account but in a different order.

The remainder of the text deals with: the doses of the ingredients to be used for the elixir (2b–3b); fire-phasing (3b–4a; cf. *1083 Longhu yuanzhi* 6b–7b); and a poem and explanations on the use of ingredients and alchemical utensils (4b–7a). This last section is the only one not included in the alchemical texts mentioned above.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Danfang aolun* 丹房奧論**

17 fols.

By Cheng Liaoyi 程了一, *hao* Xuexian zi 學仙子; 1020

920 (fasc. 596)

"Recondite Discourses on the Elixir Laboratory." These discourses are presented in sixteen tracts dealing with the essences and products of operative alchemy (*waidan* 外丹). In 1018, Cheng Liaoyi had met his teacher Wei Junyan 魏君顏 in Nanking. Wei transmitted to him "secrets of the elixirs" and gave him oral instructions for their production. Cheng Liaoyi returned to Hunan (Mount Heng 衡山), where he successfully practiced these instructions. This text describes the results of his efforts (preface, dated 1020).

The sixteen paragraphs define essences such as true lead and true cinnabar. They also describe their effects when ingested and the methods of their production. The text mentions cases of misunderstanding or mishandling of alchemical processes, for which certain contemporaries are blamed. The subsequent losses and mistakes are to be blamed exclusively on such errors.

Florian C. Reiter

***Ganqi shiliu zhuan jindan* 感氣十六轉金丹**

10 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

911 (fasc. 591)

"Golden Elixir from Sixteen Cycles of Qi-Reaction." This is a short, incomplete treatise on the sixteen-stage technique of preparation of an alchemical compound. Five kinds of ingredients are heated in a crucible, to be later mixed with mercury. The ingredients will interact with the mercury, hence the term *ganqi* 感氣 (reaction of qi) in the title.

Of the sixteen stages, only those corresponding to stages 8 (in part?) to 16 are preserved. The remainder of the text has a clear description of the alchemical furnace (with illustration) and of the elixir preparation. The text is at times close to *900 Danfang xuzhi*, but could be earlier, and less influenced by *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 theory. The *yanghuo lu* 養火爐 calls for the ashes of sacrificial paper money (*zhiqian hui* 紙錢灰), which indicates a Song or later date.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 參同契五相類祕要**

6 fols.

Attributed to WEI BOYANG 魏伯陽; submitted to the court by Lu Tianji 盧天驥 (fl. 1111–1117)

905 (fasc. 589)

"Arcane Essentials of the Similarities and Categories of the Five [Substances] from the *Cantong qi*." This is a short theoretical treatise on alchemy attributed to WEI BOYANG. The text, it seems, was submitted to court by Lu Tianji 盧天驥 during the Zhenghe period (1111–1117; see Ho and Needham, "Theories of categories," 21). A *Wu xianglei* 五相類 in one juan is listed in various Song catalogues (see VDL 81). The present title, without the last two characters (*biyao* 祕要), is mentioned in the *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.6b.

As the title indicates, this text is derived from a *Cantong qi wu xianglei* and was considered by some to be the second chapter of the *Cantong qi*. This view is, however, refuted in the introduction.

The tradition that WEI BOYANG wrote a *Cantong qi wuxing xianglei* 五行相類 goes back to his biography in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳; but the *Cantong qi wu xianglei* in two *pian* 篇 described by Liu Zhigu 劉知古 (eighth century) explains the alchemical process using *Yijing* 易經 terminology (cf. *1017 Daoshu* 26.1a), which is not the case in our text. A similar description of the *Cantong qi wu xianglei* is also found in other *Cantong qi* commentaries (see, e.g., *999 Zhouyi can tong qi* 3.7b and *1002 Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi* 3.7b). Nevertheless, part of the main text (1b–2a) figures in versified form in *888 Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue* 1a–3a (Tang, 618–907). In addition, the text uses a number of esoteric names for substances, most of which can be found in *901 Shiyao erya* (preface dated 806). According to the introduction, the *Wu xianglei* deals with the control of the three yellow substances (sulfur, realgar, and orpiment) and the two precious things (lead and mercury). The text elucidates the theory that only substances of the same category (*tonglei* 同類) can react to each other. It classifies the substances as yin or yang and applies the theory of the Five Elements (*wuxing* 五行) and the six acoustic pitches (*lülü* 呂律) to all forms of chemical change and reaction. Lead, mercury, sulfur, realgar, orpiment, and copper carbonate are the ingredients used for the great cyclically transformed elixir (*da huandan* 大還丹; 6b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ho and Needham, "Theories of categories."

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Longhu huandan jue song* 龍虎還丹訣頌**

20 fols.

By Lin Taigu 林太古; commentary by Gushen zi 谷神子; Northern Song (960–1127)?

1082 (fasc. 741)

"Ode on the Formula of the Dragon-and-Tiger Cyclically Transformed Elixir." This is an alchemical poem in seven-word verse by Lin Taigu, with a commentary by Gushen zi. According to a biographical note of the commentator, Lin Taigu was a native of Bingzhou Taiyuan 并州太原 (in Shanxi). Lin was summoned to court by the [Northern Song] emperor Taizong (r. 976–997) and later retired to Huayang 華陽 in Yizhou 益州 (Chengdu, Sichuan). The commentator's *hao,* Gushen zi, is common to many Taoists between the Five Dynasties (907–960) and the Yuan period (1279–1368). The poem mentions LÜ DONGBIN, who, according to the commentary, had "recently attained the Tao "近代得道也" (9a).

The poem and the commentary are in the *Cantong qi* 參同契 and the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 tradition and may be interpreted in both *neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹 terms. The commentary quotes several well-known alchemical works, such as TAO ZHI's *Huanjin shu* 還金述, as well as a number of lost works, including the *Shenshui huachi lun* 神水華池論, the *Zhongyuan lun* 中元論 (VDL 79), and the *Wuming daozhe ge* 無名道者歌 (VDL 143). The *Yunang song* 玉囊頌 quoted here (8a) is referred to Southern Song (1127–1279) texts as *Yuhu song* 玉壺頌 (cf. *230 Zhuzhen lun huandan jue*).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Longhu huandan jue* 龍虎還丹訣**

16 fols.

Commentary by Li zhenren 李眞人; Northern Song (960–1127)

1084 (fasc. 741)

"Formula of the Dragon-and-Tiger Cyclically Transformed Elixir." This work comprises three alchemical *ci*-lyrics. The title is a combination of the headings of the first two poems: "Longhu jue 龍虎訣" and "Huandan jue 還丹訣."

Since the third poem, the "Qinyuan chun 沁園春," can be traced to the end of the eleventh century (cf. *136 Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*), the present text must have been compiled after that date. A *Li zhenren huandan ge* 李眞人還丹歌 in one juan is mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.22b, possibly referring to this work.

Two of the poems include a commentary by Li zhenren. It is uncertain whether he is the author of the poem "Huandan jue," which has no commentary. Li zhenren's commentary to the "Longhu jue" is alchemical, but whether *neidan* 內丹 or *waidan*

外丹 is unclear. His quotations are taken mainly from standard alchemical texts such as *922 Huanjin shu* by Tao Zhi (d. 825), *906 Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei,* and the lost work *Taiyi zhi tu*. The "Qinyuan chun" commentary is, however, a clear *neidan* interpretation. This text is an important source for Lü Dongbin's early poetry since almost all the quotations can be found in two collections of his poems (see, e.g., *1055 Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 2.5a, 16a, and the *Jindan shijue* compiled by Xia Yuanding).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Shenxian yangshen bishu* 神仙養生祕術**

18 fols.

Edited by Chen Xianwei, *hao* Baoyi zi 抱一子 (fl. 1234); also attributed to Liu Jingxian 劉景先 (fl. 351)

948 (fasc. 599)

"Secret Arts of the Divine Immortals for Tending Life." This is a small collection of excerpts, taken from other sources. The editor, here indicated only by his *hao*, also wrote *1007 Zhouyi cantong qi jie* (preface 1234).

A first group of recipes concerns nine alchemical compounds (1a–5a). A second group (5a–10a) is called "Baxian diane fa 八仙點阿法" (Trifles of the Eight Immortals). These recipes are herbal preparations for various purposes. A third set has different auxiliary recipes for surviving in times of dearth and famine, such as economizing on oil (12a) or making especially long-burning candles (*sheng lazhu fa* 聖蠟燭法; 11b) that last for one or two months. These practical methods are followed by a long prescription for food abstention in times of famine (*pigu fang* 辟穀方 17a–18a). This prescription is a text thought to have been presented by Liu Jingxian 劉景先 to the ruler of the Later Zhao dynasty in 351. The prescription calls for the use of beans and cereals (glutinous rice) as well as sesame. These ingredients were made into balls the size of a fist and then are steamed. After eating three balls, hunger was stilled for seven days. No other food was to be taken. A second intake, also of three balls, sufficed for forty-nine days. A third, identical meal would last for three hundred days. When thirsty, the adept was to drink ground sesame with water. To revert to a normal diet, the adept had to eat three boxes of sunflower seeds made into a soup. This prescription was engraved in a rock near the Taiping xingguo si 太平興國寺 in the Hanyang military district 漢陽軍. These names belong to the Song period (960–1279).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Lingsha dadan bijue* 靈砂大丹祕訣**

23 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

897 (fasc. 587)

"Secret Instructions on the Great Elixir of the Wondrous Mineral." *Lingsha* 靈沙 can be a name for black sulfide of mercury or a synonym of *dansha* 丹砂, the unrefined form of cinnabar. In this particular text, however, *lingsha* stands for *Baoyi lingsha* 抱一靈砂, the wondrous mineral drug that bridges Inner and Outer Alchemy. The first kind of practice is assumed to be known. As for the second, the text prescribes a drug made of "sixteen ounces of sulfurized mercury (*liugong* 硫汞)," from which ten ounces of white lead are obtained. This drug is made into black grains and mixed with bilious alunite and black plums and then placed into an earthen vessel to cook with rice vinegar. The "black metal" is heated until the substance is "subdued" and decomposed. It is then left to rest and eventually opened. The contents are put into a sulfur casing, obtained by heaping a first layer of the residue of the lead substance on the bottom of a reaction vessel, then a layer of sulfur, and then again a layer of lead. This casing is heated, according to a detailed table of fire-phasing. The resulting first phase is called *Tuoyang boti lingsha* 脫養白體靈砂 (wondrous white-bodied mineral released after incubation; 3a–b). Eight other phases follow, to make a complete operation of Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir alchemy.

This particular method was transmitted by Ge Xuan to Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., Zheng Yin) and Ge Hong. The latter related it to the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126), who, in 1101, taught it to Zhang Shizhong 張侍中, a Taoist at the court of Song Huizong (1101–1125), in order to help the sovereign beget children. When Wang later left the court, he transmitted to method to a Buddhist monk called Guiyan chanshi 鬼眼禪師. This disregard for historical chronology suggests a late date for the compilation of this work.

Following the first part of the text, there are a number of miscellaneous instructions and recipes centered on the theme of *lingsha*, including a nine-phased process of refining sulfur called *Jiuzhuan jindan jue* 九轉金丹訣 (Nine-Times-Transmuted Alchemy; 15a–17b).

The following "Chisong zi sizhuan jue 赤松子四轉訣" lists four different recipes for making *lingsha*, the first being related to a method for making gold. Then follows a "Taiji lingsha fu 太極靈砂賦," a poetic description of the alchemical process using sexual analogies. At the end there is a "Laojun lingsha jue 老君靈砂訣," a short poem on the major tenets of alchemical theory.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Biyu zhusha hanlin yushu gui* 碧玉朱砂寒林玉樹匱**

8 fols.

By Chen Dashi of Western Shu 西蜀陳大師; Southern Song (1127–1279)

898 (fasc. 587)

"Formula of Blue Jade and Red Cinnabar from the Jade Tree in the Cold Forest." This is a short alchemical treatise based on poems with a commentary. The term *hanlin* (cold forest) denotes the realm of death, as explained on 4a. The jade tree is the tree of life in this world where all is impermanent. The first part is rather esoteric, but pages 6a–8a contain precise instructions concerning a process involving *yinqian* 銀鉛, that is, silver-bearing lead.

There are several indications concerning the transmission of the recipes. A prescription for *Zuijin chi* 醉金池 on 5b is said to have been transmitted to Fan Dongsou 范東叟 (*jinshi* 進士, 1235). After 1265, Fan obtained the post of imperial diarist *qiju sheren* 起居舍人. On page 6a he is said to have lived at a Taoist academy (*daoyuan* 道院) in Hangzhou. This may have been at the end of his life. The *yinqian* recipe is said (8a–b) to have been in the possession of the family of a certain Wang Yuanzhong 王元中 (*hao* Boyun weng 白雲翁) of Taiyuan for a long time. Later the high official Lü (Lü *xiangfu* 呂相府) in Bianliang 汴梁 (Kaifeng) obtained the recipe and gave it to a member of the Qian family (Qianfu 錢府), who then gave it to the Jing family 京府. The author obtained it from them. So the recipes in this book, all duly tested and found efficient, came from great dignitaries of the old and new Song capitals such as the Jings and the Gentleman in Attendance Fan Dongsou (here Fan 范 is erroneously written Wei 危). The author then brought them to Sichuan.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Xiulian dadan yaozhi* 修鍊大丹要旨**

2 juan

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

912 (fasc. 591)

"Important Indications for the Refining of the Great Elixir." This is a fairly detailed handbook for laboratory alchemy. The date and the author are unknown. The author says of himself that for some twenty years he went from place to place searching for books and the right instructions for the practice of alchemy (1.9b); finally an extraordinary person revealed them to him. What the author received was an esoteric cosmological theory (9b), but he offers no details as to texts or teachers. The present handbook uses references and source indications sparingly. Yin Changsheng 陰長生 is quoted on page 2.6b (together with Laozi giving alchemical instructions). On 1.23b–24a, a recipe is given that "Lü, the Patriarch of Pure Yang" Chunyang Lü zushi 純陽呂祖師 is supposed to have written on the walls of his cave, which suggests that the present work dates to the Southern Song. A certain resemblance in subject matter and treatment is apparent between this text and *900 Danfang xuzhi* as well as *911 Ganqi shiliu zhuang jindan*. For instance, all three works have the formula for *Boxue shenfu* 白雪神符 (compare our text 1.12a–b with *900 Danfang xuzhi* 14a and *911 Zhuang jindan* 8b). Also the technical indications regarding stills, phasing, and so on are similar from one text to the other. If the present text dates, like the preceding ones, to the Southern Song, then the cyclical year indication *dinghai* 丁亥 on 1.12b could correspond to 1167.

The text sets out to give the principles of laboratory alchemy, followed by a number of recipes. The second juan describes the use of a fireproof asbestos bag (*huanhuo juan* 浣火絹). Plants are used in the process of casting a reaction vessel with the lost-wax technique (2.1b–3a). In certain instances, a preparation has to be kept warm on the naked belly of the practitioner for a period of forty-nine days (2.5a). Some of the procedures are illustrated.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Zhujia shenpin danfa* 諸家神品丹法**

6 juan

Compiled and edited by Meng Yaofu 孟要甫, *hao* Xuanzhen zi 玄眞子; Song, before 1163

918 (fasc. 594)

"Alchemical Prescriptions of Divine Quality from all Specialists." This is a kind of scrapbook on laboratory alchemy, composed of texts of different periods. The first juan is devoted to generally identifiable excerpts from BPZ, especially from the chapter on alchemy, "Huangbo pian 黃白篇." From page 8b onward, the quotations derive from other sources. On 1.12a, there is a method authored by Xuanzhen zi, the editor and compiler of the present collection. This person, called Meng Yaofu, is not known elsewhere. From juan 2 on, the work carries his signature under the chapter titles. The entire juan 2 is his work. It is devoted to ritual prescriptions for choosing an appropriate place for refining cinnabar (*xiudan zedi yishi* 修丹擇地儀式). In a preface (2.2a ff.), beginning with the words *hundun wei fen* 混沌未分 (before Chaos was divided), the author explains that his work should be titled *Jindan biyao cantong lu* 金丹秘要參同錄. This title is quoted repeatedly in *900 Danfang xuzhi* 丹房須知 by Wu Wu 吳悞 (*hao* Ziran zi 自然子), which has a preface dated 1163. The present work therefore must be earlier than that date.

The philosophy behind this compilation was to include all texts deemed useful and explicit, regardless of style or redundancies. In many instances, the author indicates

that he had tried the recipes and found them useful (e.g., 3.8a). Some entries are redundant, such as the "Hua Gengfen fa 化庚分法" on 3.11b and 6.7a. The numerous quotations from various sources are assembled without apparent system.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Zhigui ji* 指歸集**

9 fols.

By Wu Wu 吳悟, *hao* Ziran zi 自然子; ca. 1163

921 (fasc. 596)

"Collection of Basic Explanations." This work is a collection of quotations from important alchemical texts. These quotations demonstrate, according to the author, the fundamental principles of the alchemical process. The work was compiled before 1163 as it is mentioned in the same author's preface to *900 Danfang xuzhi*.

Wu Wu, who also styled himself Gaogai shanren 高蓋山人, after the sacred mountain in Fujian, possessed a good knowledge of alchemy, both ***neidan*** 內丹 and ***waidan*** 外丹, and his preface advocates the practice of both these systems in the quest for immortality. Among the techniques used in ***neidan***, Wu Wu's preference lay in concentration and breath retention (***cunshen biqi*** 存神閉氣), a technique resembling Chan meditation (***Chanding*** 禪定). As for ***waidan,*** the author says that only one ingredient should be used, namely, cinnabar (***dansha*** 丹砂), since it had the magic property of preserving both body and spirit. All other substances, says the author, are toxic.

The work comprises a preface and five sections dealing with the cyclically transformed elixir (***huandan*** 還丹), the ingredients of which are described as true lead and true mercury and fire-phasing (***huohou*** 火候). Wu Wu's quotations are borrowed mainly from *926 Da huandan zhaojian*. Sections 4 and 5, on the mutual production and destruction of the Five Elements and fire-phasing, are in part based on *1083 Longhu yuanzhi*. The principal alchemical work, according to Wu Wu, is the *Jinbi longhu jing* 金碧龍虎經, which he considered to be wrongly attributed to Huangdi and actually transmitted by Shennong 神農.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Yuzhuang xiehou lu* 漁莊邂逅錄**

11 fols.

By Wu Wu 吳悟, *hao* Ziran zi 自然子; ca. 1187

1086 (fasc. 741)

"Record of a Chance Encounter in a Fishing Village." This is a short alchemical treatise by Wu Wu of Mount Gaogai 高蓋 (Fujian). The author was well versed in both laboratory alchemy and Inner Alchemy, as is evident from his other works in the *Daozang: 900 Danfang xuzhi* and *921 Zhigui ji*.

In the short preface to the present text, Wu emphasizes the old Taoist idea that the alchemical oeuvre can be achieved only through the combined efforts of three persons. He recounts his meeting with two other friends who shared a similar desire to achieve the elixir. Wu Wu indicates that their experiment began in 1187.

The account begins with the different names of the elixir *jinyi dahuan dan* 金液大還丹 and its ingredients. These names are followed by a description of five cycles corresponding to the Great Beginning (Taichu 太初), the Great Ultimate (Taiji 太極), the division into yin and yang, the four directions with their symbols (*sixiang* 四象), and the center corresponding to Earth. This description is followed by a short extract on fire-phasing by Caoyi zi 草衣子 (cf. *152 Xiuzhen liyan chaotu* and *1017 Daoshu* 33.11b).

The work ends with two poems, the first in praise of the friends' meeting, the second on the discovery of the Lead of Former Heaven (*xiantian qian* 先天鉛) in the furnace on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month. The present text is especially noteworthy for its numerous quotations from Tang alchemical texts that are no longer extant in the *Daozang*.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Danfang xuzhi* 丹房須知**

14 fols.

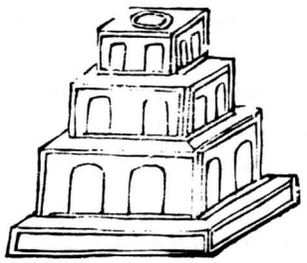
By Wu Wu 吳悟, *hao* Ziran zi 自然子; preface dated 1163

900 (fasc. 588)

"Requisite Knowledge for the Alchemical Laboratory." The author has two other works on alchemy in the *Daozang: 921 Zhigui ji* 指歸集 (here mentioned in the preface) and *1086 Yuzhuang xiehou lu* 漁莊邂逅錄. The latter text is dated 1187. Wu calls himself Gaogai shanren 高蓋山人, after the mountain of that name in western Fujian (present Yongtai 永泰).

The text is marked (14b) as incomplete. The author's purpose is to provide detailed instructions for those who set out to pratice laboratory alchemy, so that they will not have to deal with all the difficulties he himself encountered in his quest for reliable information. The work quotes a number of sources, most of which are unknown elswhere. The author shows close familairity with the theoretical framework of the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 and *Cantong qi* 參同契.

He begins with the all-important choice of two experienced companions for the enterprise. Here, and in many other places, Wu quotes the *Cantong lu* 參同錄, that is, the *Jindan biyao cantong lu* 金丹秘要參同錄 by Meng Yaofu (see *918 Zhujia shenpin danfa*). For examples of passages transcribed verbatim by Wu Wu from this source,



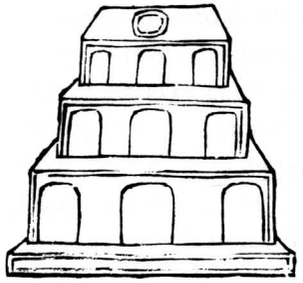


FIGURE 29. The alchemical altar (*900* 5b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/893)



FIGURE 30. A furnace for the extraction of mercury (*900* 7a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/893)

compare 2b1, 2b10, and 3b4 in the present text with *918 Shenpin danfa* 2.11a6, 2.6b3, and 2.11b.4, respectively.

As to the choice of a suitable place for the laboratory, Wu proposes a blessed site (*fudi* 福地) such as the Gaogai shan where he lived. The laboratory had to be oriented in a particular way. Here Wu quotes a work that serves as his guide throughout, the *Huolong jing* 火龍經, ascribed to SIMA ZIWEI (3a). There should be no women present, nor Buddhist monks and nuns, chickens or dogs. Incense should be kept burning constantly. Whenever entering the labaratory, one should don clean clothes. No pungent vegetables should be eaten. The water, earth, charcoal, and such used in the process should be especially pure.

An altar should be erected according to a number of specifications. The description is illustrated (5b; fig. 29). Several kinds of precious metals and minerals should be buried at its base. This altar was in fact the alchemical furnace (*lu* 爐), also called the Platform of the Elixir (*dantai* 丹臺). A number of openings on all sides facilitated the firing. The crucible (*ding* 鼎) was placed on top. An ancient mirror was also placed there, as well as a number of votive lamps.

Measures should be taken to protect the elixir from demons. The rites to be performed for this protection are also given (6a). The different alchemical vessels, their shape and use, are decribed and illustrated, as are the rites to be performed in conjunction with their use. Next the method for refining lead (*qian* 鉛) to obtain mercury and other derivatives is discussed, up to the completion of the elixir (see fig. 30). The last, incomplete, paragraph concerns the ingestion of the alchemical substance.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Gengdao ji* 庚道集**

9 juan

Southern Song to Yuan (1127–1368), with possible Ming (1368–1644) additions

953 (fasc. 602–603)

"Collected [Texts] on the Way of [Refining] Gold." *Geng* 庚, the seventh of the Heavenly Stems, stands here for the West, and hence for the element metal, especially gold. This work is a collection of some twenty texts on laboratory alchemy, most of which feature the names of their authors or transmitters in the title. There is no preface or indication of a compiler. In juan 1, there is a "Wenzhen zi jindan dayao baojue 文眞子金丹大藥寶訣," the work of one Mengxuan jushi 蒙軒居士, dated 1144. There are also other names, such as Pu zhenren 蒲眞人 (2.12b), whose arts were transmitted to a certain Ge Kejiu 葛可久, who in turn passed them on to Chen Shuzi 陳庶子. Further on in the same juan (15a) is a recipe signed by the same Chen Shuzi. The final recipe is for curing leprosy (*dama laifeng yao* 大麻癩鳳藥). It is mostly composed of highly toxic ingredients.

In 3.2a–b, the undated preface by Yang Qin 楊勤 to the *Taishang lingsha dadan* 太上靈砂大丹 refers to the transmission of the text to a certain Zhang Shizhong 張侍中. This passage is identical to *897 Lingsha dadan bijue* 2a.

On the whole, this collection, which is well edited and contains precise recipes, seems to date from the Southern Song. Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 345), however, remarks that the place name Jiangxi 江西 on 2.5b did not exist before Ming times. On the next page (2.6a) there is a mention of calamine or zinc bloom (*ganshi* 甘石), and the Arab word for this substance is also given: "The Huihui 回回 call this *tuotiya* 脫梯牙." This reference points to the Yuan dynasty.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Jinhua chongbi danjing bizhi* 金華沖碧丹經祕旨**

2 juan

Transmitted by BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾, PENG SI 彭耜, and Lan Yuanbo 蘭元白; preface by Meng Xu 孟煦 (dated 1225)

914 (fasc. 592)

"Arcane Directions [from the Book of the] Golden Flower for Ascent into the Biluo 碧落 Heaven." This is an alchemical work of rather obscure origins. In his preface on the transmission of the text, Meng Xu, a native of Sichuan and descendant of Meng Chang 孟昶 (934–965) of the Later Shu dynasty, attributes the first juan to BO YUCHAN. Meng claims to have obtained the text from the latter's disciple PENG SI during a voyage in Fujian, but he did not put the instructions to use. In 1220, he received another text from Lan Yuanbo (juan 2 of the present compilation), which brought additional clarification to PENG SI's work. Meng combined the two texts in



FIGURE 31. Instructions for making and loading alchemical vessels (*914* 3b–4a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/907)

one book and gave it the present title. Jinhua chongbi danshi 金華沖碧丹室 was the name of PENG SI's hermitage (preface, 4b).

Meng Xu's story is suspect, both with regard to the transmission and to the date of he text. He claims, for instance, that he was unable to put the alchemical instructions into practice because of the Wu Xi 吳晞 (read 曦 for 晞) rebellion. Wu Xi was beheaded in 1214, whereas Meng met Lan Yuanbo, an avatar of BO YUCHAN (preface), in 1220. Moreover, the latter's *hao* is given as Yangsu zhenren 養素眞人, which was the *hao* of a famous Taoist who lived during the reign of Emperor Renzong (1022–1063): Lan 藍 (var. 蘭) Yuandao 元道 or Lan Fang 藍方 (cf. LZTT 48.18b). Lan Yuandao is often mentioned in alchemical books of the thirteenth century or later (cf. *953 Gengdao ji* 1.9a–9b and *245 Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao*, preface 1a–1b).

The first juan, ascribed to BO YUCHAN, is short (four folios). It comprises mainly poems and a few alchemical prescriptions. The second juan, attributed to Lan Yuanbo, consists of detailed instructions for the fabrication of various alchemical elixirs, one of these being the Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir (*jiuzhuan huandan* 九轉還丹). The importance of the work lies in its descriptions and manifold diagrams of alchemical utensils (fig. 31; cf. Ho and Needham, "Theories of categories," 57).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Chunyang Lü zhenren yaoshi zhi 純陽呂眞人藥石製

11 fols.

Attributed to LÜ DONGBIN 呂洞賓, *hao* Chunyang zhenren 純陽眞人; fourteenth or fifteenth century

903 (fasc. 588)

"Zhenren Lü Chunyang's [Poems] on the Preparation of Mineral and Plant Drugs." According to a study based on an analysis of the rhymes and a comparison of plant names with those of the *Bencao* 本草, these poems can be dated between 1324 and the beginning of the fifteenth century (see Ho Peng Yoke et al., "Elixir plants").

The work comprises a series of poems about plants used by alchemists for elixirs or aurifaction, and about their action on minerals. The title of each poem is the esoteric name of a plant, to which the suffix *longya* 龍芽 (dragon shoot) is appended. The common name of the plant is added in a note after the title. The exact date of the poems is uncertain, but the text employs a number of plant names unusual in Song pharmacopoeia. Another work on *longya* preserved in the *Daozang* is unfortunately also undated (see *929 Xuanyuan huangdi shuijing yaofa* 10a–12b).

The text, in its present form, comprises sixty-eight poems on sixty-six plants. Since the last poem mentions seventy-two *longya cao* 龍芽草 (11a), it is possible that some poems have been lost. One poem is incomplete and another is missing on page 7b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ho Peng Yoke et al., "Elixir plants."

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shangqing jing zhendan bijue 上清經眞丹祕訣

6 fols.

845 (fasc. 573)

"Secret Instructions for the True Elixir according to the Shangqing Scriptures." This work transmits the alchemical skills of the Earth Immortals for saving people from poverty and distress, achieving immortality, and obtaining relief from illness (1a–1b).

First the text lists ten names of pills and describes their application together with the maladies they were intended to cure. The text then explains the technical procedures for concocting the medicines. The basic essences have to be heated and boiled for different periods of time and also with varying degrees of intensity. The essences are to be enclosed in a vessel called *Hunan hezi* 湖南合子. The use of a water-fire stove (*shuihuo lu* 水火爐) is prescribed. It has to be fired with specified amounts of fuel. The production of the different medicines took three to nine years.

Florian C. Reiter

3.A.6 Sacred History and Geography

3.A.6.a Sacred Histories and Records

The works presented below are grouped into four subcategories: Laozi annals, the pantheon, imperial patronage, and sacred geography.

The long-standing tradition of Laozi annals (see part 1.A.6.a and part 2.A.6.a) is represented here by two compilations, *774 Youlong zhuan* and *770 Hunyuan shengji*, of the Northern (960–1127) and Southern Song (1127–1279) periods, respectively. The detailed narrative iconography of the Laozi visions already found in *593 Lidai chongdao ji* and further developed in these two works gave rise to illustrated chronicles under the Song and Yuan (1279–1368), for example, the controversial *Laozi bashiyi hua tu* 老子八十一化圖 (thirteenth century; see Kenneth Ch'en, "Buddhist-Taoist mixtures"; Kubo Noritada, "*Rōshi hachijuichi ka zusetsu*"). While many of these chronicles genuinely reflect the imperial patronage of Taoism in various ages, their partisan agenda is undeniable: they give prominence to the Taoist creation myth and dwell on the claim that from the Three Sovereigns to the "uncrowned king" Confucius, every sage of Chinese antiquity enjoyed the benefit of Laozi's instruction. Even the Buddha Śākyamuni owed his enlightenment to Laozi, whose conversion of the barbarians accounted for the spread of Buddhism in foreign lands and its ill-advised importation to China. The political implications of Laozi's guidance of emperors from the Han Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) to the Song were no less contentious. The very titles of works such as "Annals of the Sage" (*shengji* 聖紀) or "Veritable Records" (*shilu* 實錄), with their echoes of dynastic historiography, gave offense in non-Taoist quarters. Xie Shouhao's claim in the preface to his "Annals of the Sage" (*770 Hunyuan shengji*) to have based himself on extensive consultation of the records of the Three Teachings (*sanjiao* 三教) no doubt has to be read in this light.

The comprehensive "Illustrated Pantheon of the Three Spheres" (*155 Sancai dingwei tu*) is followed by three works devoted to the gods of important mountain cults: the Envoy of Lushan (*1286 Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi*), the Three Brothers of Maoshan (*172 San Mao zhenjun jiafeng shidian*), and the Three True Lords of Mount Huagai (*778 Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi*). Various aspects of imperial patronage of Taoism under the Song and Ming (1368–1644) are illustrated by the next three texts: In *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan*, the statesman Wang Qinruo reveals how the Northern Song had placed itself under the protection of a Taoist saint whose intervention in the imperial succession engendered the "announcement from Heaven" incident; *777 Zhangxian mingsu huanghou shou shangqing bifa lu ji* documents the ceremonies for the Taoist ordination of the dowager of Emperor Zhenzong in 1024; and *1462 Huang Ming enming shilu* is a chronologically arranged dossier of official documents pertaining to imperial patronage of Taoism under the Ming. The section closes with the *1063 Dongyuan ji*, the comprehensive sacred geography of modern Taoism.

***Youlong zhuan* 猶龍傳**
6 juan
By Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔, *zi* Hongju 鴻舉, *hao* Chongde wuzhen dashi 崇德悟眞大師; compiled between 1086–1100
774 (fasc. 555)

"Biography of [Unfathomable] Like a Dragon." The title refers to Laozi, alluding to Confucius's characterization of the Old Master after the legendary meeting between the two sages (see *Shiji* 63.2140 and the preface to the present work, 6b–7a). A Ming (1368–1644) manuscript version of this work preserved in the Library of Congress bears the title *Taishang hunyuan shangde huangdi youlong zhuan* 太上混元上德皇帝猶龍傳, in two juan (see Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanben shu tiyao*, 411). The text's original arrangement seems to have been in three juan (see the entries in Song bibliographies listed in VDL 143).

Jia Shanxiang, according to his biography in LZTT 51.15b–16a, compiled the *Youlong zhuan* under the Northern Song reign of Zhezong (1086–1100). His official titles under the chapter headings indicate that the author was a prelate (*jiaomen gongshi* 教門公事), with supervisory authority over one half of the capital's Taoist clergy. Jia is also the author of a phonetic gloss on the *Zhuangzi* (*739 Nanhua zhenjing zhiyin*), an ordination ritual for monks (*1236 Taishang chujia chuandu yi*), and the hagiographic compilation Lives of Eminent Taoists (*Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳), which survives only in citations (see Yan Yiping, *Daojiao yanjiu ziliao* 1.4:1–120).

The long preface to the present work (7 fols.) resumes the main themes of the Laozi legend, from several distinct perspectives: (1) Laozi's sacred appellations and the main phases of the "historical" sage's career (miraculous birth, office of archivist, departure to the west, discipleship of Yin Xi 尹喜, return to Qingyang si 青羊肆, ascension on a white deer); (2) his revelations operated through Yin Xi, Heshang Gong, Gan Ji 干吉 (or Yu Ji 于吉), Zhang Daoling 張道陵, and Kou Qianzhi; (3) cosmogony and scriptural revelation; (4) Laozi's role as instructor of the mythical rulers (*dishi* 帝師) from Fu Xi 伏羲 to the Shang period (ca. 1500–1050 B.C.); and (5) imperial patronage of the Laozi cult under the Tang (618–907) and early Song (960–1279) dynasties.

The *Youlong zhuan* is the principal Northern Song specimen of a long tradition of Laozi hagiography that had received a fresh impetus from the imperial cult of Laozi under the Tang. Since Yin Wencao's now lost *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji* [*jing*]

玄元皇帝聖紀 [經] in ten juan (see VDL 97 and the surviving fragment in YJQQ 102.1a–6a; cf. also the article on *954 Taishang hunyuan zhenlu*), the story of Lord Lao as cosmic deity and savior at critical junctures of human history was typically narrated in chronicle form, resembling the annals of imperial reigns. The extensive compilations of DU GUANGTING at the end of the Tang (especially *593 Lidai chongdao ji*, *725 Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 2, and presumably the now lost *Hunyuan tu* 混元圖 in ten juan) provided much of JIA SHANXIANG's material concerning the Tang period. For Southern Song (1127–1279) continuations of this tradition, see the work of XIE SHOUHAO, especially *770 Hunyuan shengji*.

The main body of the present work develops and expands the themes introduced in the preface: cosmogony (Laozi, coeternal with the Tao, as originator of both creation and revelation); Laozi as teacher of mythical rulers; the birth of Laozi (with distinct echoes of the birth legend of Buddha Śākyamuni); the sage's journey to the west, the discipleship of Yin Xi, scriptural revelations; the new dispensation entrusted to Laozi's second disciple and vicar, Zhang Daoling; and Laozi's numerous interventions on behalf of the Tang ruling house. The last entry concerns Laozi's renewed canonization by the Northern Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022).

Franciscus Verellen

***Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀**

9 juan

By XIE SHOUHAO 謝守灝, *zi* Huaiying 懷英, *hao* Guanfu dashi 觀復大師; preface by Chen Fuliang 陳傅良 (dated 1193); author's presentation memorial (dated 1191).

770 (fasc. 551–53)

"Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning [i.e., Laozi]." According to Xie's presentation memorial (*jinbiao* 進表) as reproduced here, the original work comprised eleven juan and was submitted to the emperor (Guangzong, r. 1189–1194) under the title *Taishang laojun hunyuan shengji* 太上老君混元聖紀 (prefaces, 3a–b). In fact, however, the original title was *Taishang laojun hunyuan* [*shangde*] *huangdi shilu* 太上老君混元 [上德] 皇帝實錄 (see *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5.7b).

Two Ming (1368–1644) manuscripts bearing that title are preserved in the Peking Library and the Library of Congress: the *Taishang laojun hunyuan shangde huangdi shilu* in seven juan (see Beijing tushu guan shanben bu ed., *Beijing tushu guan shanben shumu* 5.31a; *297 Tongjian xubian* also indicates a work in seven juan) and in six juan (see Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanben shu tiyao*, 411). The Peking manuscript is reproduced in *Zangwai daoshu* 18:1–208, where the title is abridged as *Taishang laojun shilu* 太上老君實錄, or "Veritable Record of the Most High Lord Lao." This text represents a separate line of transmission of the present work. In the Peking manuscript, the preface by Chen Fuliang (1137–1203) and Xie's presentation memorial both read *shilu* 實錄 in the place of *shengji* 聖紀, and the memorial reads "a certain number of juan" instead of "eleven juan." The contents of the present work and the Peking manuscript are essentially the same but show traces of revision, as does the chapter arrangement: *Shengji* juan 3–4 correspond to *Shilu* 3, *Shengji* 5–6 to *Shilu* 4, and *Shengji* 7–9 to *Shilu* 5–7. The Peking manuscript edition features four additional prefaces and a colophon, including prefaces by Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) disciple Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1135–1198) and by Xie E 謝諤 (1121–1194), a *jinshi* 進士 of the Shaoxing period (1131–1162) and a high-ranking Southern Song (1127–1279) official. The latter's preface is dated 1190 (*Shilu*, prefaces 10b; *Zangwai daoshu* 18:5), that is, the year before the work's official presentation.

The *Taishang shilu* 太上實錄 by XIE SHOUHAO is mentioned among new works included in the edition of the *Daozang* completed in 1244 (VDL 56). Xiang Mai's 祥邁 (fl. 1281–1291) *Bianwei lu* 2.764b lists the title *Hunyuan huangdi shilu* 混元皇帝實錄 (as well as a *Taishang shilu* by XIE SHOUHAO) among the Taoist books proscribed by Kublai Khan in 1281. The colophon by Ke Zhengmeng 柯正蒙 to the Peking manuscript, meanwhile, dates to the Zhizheng (1341–1368) period at the end of the Yuan (*Zangwai daoshu* 18:208).

A textual comparison of the two versions and an examination of the prefaces and colophon suggest that the *Hunyuan shengji* text constitutes a post-Song revision of XIE SHOUHAO's work. The *Taishang laojun shilu* version, on the other hand, not only preserves the original title but also represents the earlier phase in the text's elaboration and transmission. References in the *Shilu* version to "the present dynasty," for example, have been changed in the present text to "the Song dynasty." Also some of the anti-Buddhist material in the *Shilu* version that was connected with the *Huahu* 化胡 legend—Xie cites the statesman WANG QINRUO's (962–1125) defense of his inclusion of the *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經 in the Northern Song (960–1127) canon (*Shilu* 7.47b; *Shengji* 9.33b)—has been purged from the present text, perhaps with a view to the work's reintegration into the canon following the Yuan (1279–1368) proscription. The *shilu* titles listed by Xiang Mai suggest that the book had indeed been banned in that form. After fortuitously surviving the book burnings of 1281, the *Shilu* presumably served as the basis for the Peking manuscript copy made under the Ming (cf. Shi Yanfeng, "*Hunyuan shengji*").

For separate, partial versions of the present work transmitted within the *Daozang*, see *771 Taishang laojun nianpu yaolue* and *773 Taishang hunyuan laozi shilüe*.

A brief introduction at the head of juan 1 lists the classical authors of the Laozi legend, beginning with Sima Qian (referring to Laozi's biography in *Shiji* 63), and points to the present work's immediate predecessors, the first of which was YIN WENCAO's *Shengji* 聖紀, that is, the now lost early Tang (618–907) *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji*

[*jing*] 玄元皇帝聖紀 [經] in ten juan (see VDL 97). Of this only a fragment survives in YJQQ 102.1a–6a, titled *Hunyuan huangdi shengji;* Xie's subsequent citations of the "Tang Annals" (*Tangji* 唐紀) refer to this work (on *954 Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* as a source for the present compilation, see Kusuyama, "*Taishō kongen shinroku kō*," 459–60). The second predecessor to the present work was JIA SHANXIANG's Northern Song *774 Youlong zhuan*, a compilation that XIE SHOUHAO denigrates as abundant but confused (1.1b). In the remainder of juan 1, Xie presents a summary of his own wide-ranging research in the form of a chronicle (*nianpu* 年譜) of Laozi's manifestations from the mythical era of the Three Sovereigns down to his apparition in 1112 under the Northern Song emperor Huizong (1.2a–41a).

XIE SHOUHAO's annals cite a broad range of sources, including scripture, hagiography, standard historiography, inscriptions, and Buddhist and Confucian writings, as well as such recent compilations as the anthology *Taiping guangji* and, in connection with repeated references to Laozi's return and ascension at Black Sheep Market, Yue Penggui's 樂朋龜 *964 Xichuan Qingyang gong beiming*. Not mentioned are the works of DU GUANGTING, although the latter's *593 Lidai chongdao ji* and *590 Daojiao lingyan ji*, for example, furnished virtually all of Xie's material relating to the period from the mid-ninth to the early tenth century (*Hunyuan shengji* 9.15b–24a; see Verellen, "A forgotten T'ang restoration," 114–15), in addition to numerous earlier passages. The extent to which the present work might incorporate Du's now lost *Hunyuan tu* 混元圖 in ten juan is impossible to determine.

The development of the work's main contents follows approximately the scheme laid out in the *nianpu* chronology in juan 1. Juan 2 describes Laozi's creation of the universe and his revelations addressed to Fu Xi 伏羲 and subsequent culture heroes and mythical rulers; juan 3–4 cover Laozi's manifestations under the Shang (ca. 1500–1050 B.C.) and Zhou (ca. 1050–221 B.C.), and his revelations to Yin Xi 尹喜; juan 5, continues with Yin Xi's discipleship and covers the conversion of the Western Barbarians (*Huahu*); juan 6 tells of other disciples, including Wenzi 文子 and Gengsang chu 庚桑楚, of instructions imparted to Confucius, and covers the Qin dynasty; juan 7 contains advice to Han emperors, further revelations through the intermediaries of HESHANG GONG and Zhang Daoling 張道陵, and information on the Wei, Northern Wei, and KOU QIANZHI; juan 8 covers the Northern Zhou, Sui, and early Tang (emperors Gaozu to Xuanzong); juan 9 continues to discuss the Tang (Xuanzong through Xizong to the final years of the dynasty), as well as the Five Dynasties and Northern Song emperors down to Huizong. The final entries concern Huizong's Xuanhe reign period (1119–1125).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shi Yanfeng, "*Hunyuan shengji* yu *Taishang laojun shilu*."

Franciscus Verellen

Taishang laojun nianpu yaolüe 太上老君年譜要略

13 fols.

Compiled by XIE SHOUHAO 謝守灝 (1134–1212); revised by Li Zhidao 李致道 of Yinshan 隱山

771 (fasc. 554)

"Summary Chronicle of Most High Lord Lao." This work is a separate edition of the concise Laozi chronicle (*nianpu* 年譜) included in juan 1 of XIE SHOUHAO's extensive "Annals of the Sage" (*770 Hunyuan shengji* 1.1b ff.). The present, revised edition is clearly and conveniently set out under the reigns of the mythical and historical rulers who were instructed by Laozi or favored by manifestations of the sage. A similar arrangement of the same material appears in the first chapter of *773 Taishang hunyuan laozi shilüe*.

Franciscus Verellen

Taishang hunyuan Laozi shilüe 太上混元老子史略

3 juan

By XIE SHOUHAO 謝守灝 (1134–1212)

773 (fasc. 554)

"Short History of Laozi, Most High of Undifferentiated Beginning." This is a truncated version of XIE SHOUHAO's "Annals of the Sage" *(770 Hunyuan shengji)*. The author is here identified as XIE SHOUHAO of the Qingxu an 清虛菴 sanctuary on Lushan 廬山. Juan 1 of the present work is another version of the Laozi chronicle (*nianpu* 年譜) in *770 Hunyuan shengji* 1; the arrangement here resembles that found in *771 Taishang laojun nianpu yaolüe*. The remaining chapters cover approximately the portion of the narrative contained in *770 Hunyuan shengji* 2–4, ending with an account of the discipleship of Yin Xi 尹喜.

Franciscus Verellen

Sancai dingwei tu 三才定位圖

8 + 11 fols.

By ZHANG SHANGYING 張商英, *zi* Tianjue 天覺, *hao* Wujin jushi 無盡居士 (1043–1121)

155 (fasc. 68)

"Illustrated Pantheon of the Three Spheres." This text was composed by the statesman and liturgist ZHANG SHANGYING, probably on imperial order. According to the annotated table of contents (*pianmu* 篇目; 1a–8b), the original text served as a guide to the entire scope of the universe, from the highest sphere of the primordial Void Sovereigns (*xuhuang* 虛皇), to the Heavens of the Three Pures Ones (*sanqing tian* 三清天), to the deities of the cosmic energies of the Eight Trigrams (*bagua* 八卦)

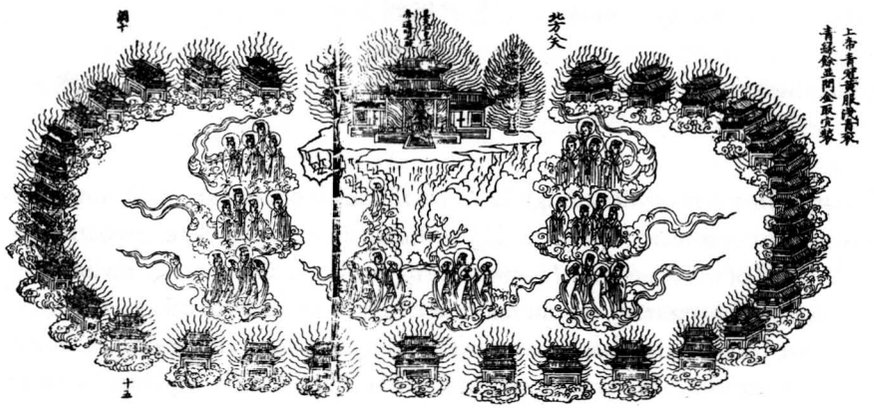


FIGURE 32. Yuhuang and the Thirty-two Heavens (*155* 10b–11b)

and all their derivatives, to the Heaven of Yuhuang 玉皇, the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官), the stars of the Dipper, the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions, and the Six Palaces of Hell (Fengdu liugong 酆都六宮).

Only part of the illustrations that correspond to this great pantheon have survived: those of the Void Sovereigns, the Three Pure Ones, and the Heaven of Yuhuang (fig. 32). An obviously misplaced and incomplete picture of the Controller of Fate (Jiutian siming 九天司命), Heavenly Worthy of the Protection of Life (Baosheng tianzun 保生天尊), has been inserted between the second and the third of the Three Pure Ones (see fig. 33).

It is highly probable that the illustrations at the beginning of *156 Shangqing dongzhen jiugong zifang tu* (1a–4a) also belonged originally to our text. They represent



FIGURE 33. The Controller of Fate, Jiutian siming (*155* 6b–7a)

two of the Three Officials, the Gates of Heaven (*erge* 二閣), the stars of the Dipper and of the Twenty-eight Mansions, and other stellar deities. The legends show many similarities with those of the present work.

In spite of its lacunal state, this remains a precious document on early Song (960–1279) theology.

Kristofer Schipper

Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi
廬山太平興國宮採訪眞君事實
7 juan
First compiled by Ye Yiwen 葉義問 (preface 1154), with many later additions 1286 (fasc. 1006–1007)

"Veritable Facts Concerning the True Lord Investigator of the Taiping Xingguo Temple on Mount Lu." This is a collection of texts and documents concerning the tutelary deity of Lushan, the holy mountain (near Jiujiang 九江, Jiangxi). Since ancient times, the worship of the Envoy of Lushan (Lushan shizhe 廬山使者) has been recognized as part of the worship of the Five Sacred Peaks and other major holy mountains, the latter having the function of assisting the gods of the former (see *1281 Wuyue zhenxing xulun* 24b). In 731, on the order of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), these holy mountains were endowed with temples dedicated to their respective tutelary deities (see *Zizhi tongjian* 213.6796). The inscription "Jiutian shizhe miaobei 九天使者廟碑" by Li Pin 李玭 commemorates this fact and is preserved in the present work on 6.1a–5b; it is dated 732 and appears to be genuine (see the authentification dated 1241 in the colophon by Cheng Gongxu 程公許, 6.5b–8a).

This imperial patronage continued under the Song, when, especially under Taizong (r. 976–997) and Zhenzong (r. 997–1023), the Five Sacred Peaks and connected sites played again an important role in the dynastic legitimation process. In 977 the temple on Lushan received the official name of Taiping xingguo gong, in keeping with the reign title of that period.

The present work was compiled much later, it seems from the preface, by a local offical named Ye Yiwen 葉義問 (1098–1170). Ye relates that when he went to the temple in 1154, together with the prefect of Jiujiang, to perform the official sacrifices, he was appaoched by a local daoshi who asked him to compile a record on the tutelary deity from the temple records.

It is uncertain, however, to what extent the present work reflects Ye's original text. Indeed, in the above-mentioned colophon by Cheng Gongxu, it says that the Tang inscription was originally included in the work compiled by Ye Yiwen, but that its title was *Ganying ji* 感應記. On the other hand, in a memorial dated 1238 and addressed to the throne, the temple's abbot, Xiong Shouzhong 熊守中, requests an upgrading

of the canonical title of the deity (2.12b–14a). As part of his request, Xiong mentioned the legend that at the time the Tang temple was built the divine Envoy appeared to Emperor Xuanzong in a dream and prophesied that after 500 years he would greatly help the empire. That time had now arrived. Xiong also added a book he had compiled of the miracles performed by the Envoy during the Song dynasty. He states that his book was in six chapters, and he gives their titles. Several of these titles correspond to those of the chapters included in the present text, and there is every reason to suppose that these are indeed Xiong's work.

As a result of Xiong Shouzhong's efforts, the status of the deity was raised in 1240, and the official documents issued on that occasion are also included here (3.1a–3b). Other documents concerning the deity and its worship are dated even later, the last one being from the year 1318. The title of chapter 4, "Yuanchao chongfeng lei 元朝崇奉類," refers to the Yuan dynasty, suggesting that the present work was completed only under the Ming dynasty.

The work is rich in materials unknown elsewhere. There is a poem by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) on 5.10a, commemorating his discussions on Inner Alchemy with a daoshi of the temple (compare *1001 Zhouyi cantong qi*). Bo Yuchan (fl. 1218) is featured with a commemoration of his stay at the temple (6.19b–25a; cf. *1309 Haiqiong chuandao ji*) and with a long poem (6.25b–26b). The work also documents the visit by the court Taoist Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (see *304 Maoshan zhi*) as a special envoy of the empress and the heir apparent to present an Offering (*jiao* 醮) for the health of the emperor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reiter, "The 'Investigation Commissioner of the Nine Heavens.'"

Yuan Bingling

San Mao zhenjun jiafeng shidian 三茅眞君加封事典

2 juan

Compiled and edited by Zhang Dachun 張大淳, *hao* Chongjing mingzhen weimiao dashi 冲靖明眞微妙大師; 1267

172 (fasc. 75)

"Protocol of the Additional Canonization of the Mao Brothers." The official granting of the additional titles *shengyou* 聖祐 (for Mao Ying 茅盈), *deyou* 德祐 (for Mao Gu 茅固), and *renyou* 仁祐 (for Mao Zhong 茅衷) in 1249 was inspired by Shi Tan 師坦, *hao* Dongwei xiansheng 洞微先生, who made his own promotion to Taoist registrar in the capital (*zuojie daolu* 左街道錄) contingent upon that of the deities.

Zhang Dachun supervised the affairs of all monasteries on Maoshan 茅山 and was the head of Shi Tan's home monastery, Chongxi guan 崇禧觀, which was to receive a generous donation on the occasion of the ceremony. Zhang recorded the complete procedural details of the official act. The printing of this documentation at Shi Tan's request took place only in 1267, after his death (preface).

Juan 1 of our text contains the document of Shi's appointment as *zuojie daolu* and and a record of the ensuing negotiations between the master and the authorities. The final imperial edict for the canonization of the deities is found on 1.14b–17b (see also *304 Maoshan zhi* 4.13b–15a). Messages of salutation to the saints conclude juan 1.

Juan 2 comprises two rituals in honor of the ancestors of Maoshan, the first being a later addition, since it speaks of the additional titles *zhenying* 眞應, *miaoying* 妙應, and *shenying* 神應, which were bestowed on the Mao brothers only in 1316 (cf. *304 Maoshan zhi* 4.19a–21a). This ritual is followed by the official ritual for the present canonization and, among others, an address (*qingci* 青詞) by the emperor himself. The work ends with Shi Tan's letter of thanks to the court and his request to have the imperial edict carved on a stele.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi
華蓋山浮丘王郭三眞君事實

6 juan

Compiled in 1261 by Liu Xiang 劉祥 and Wang Keming 王克明, from writings by Zhang Yuanshu 章元樞 (fl. 1180), Huang Mijian 黃彌堅, and others (twelfth through fourteenth centuries); revised edition of 1407

778 (fasc. 556–557)

"Factual Account of the Three True Lords of Mount Huagai: Fuqiu, Wang, and Guo." This work contains the remnants of documents concerning the cult of the lords of the mountain situated south of Nanchang in Jiangxi province. The original work comprised fourteen juan. It had been compiled in 1261 by Liu Xiang and Wang Keming, who based their work on records written by Huang Mijian, as well as on their own efforts. They explicitly did not attempt to eliminate contradictory evidence. In 1352, the printing blocks of their edition were destroyed by war. Around 1391, Jiang Bicheng 江碧澄 made great efforts to revive the cult of the Three Lords. He succeeded in collecting materials for a new hagiography. In 1407 Zhang Yuchu revised these new documents and incorporated them into the collection of Taoist texts that he was preparing by imperial order. The above information is provided by the three prefaces.

Fuqiu 浮丘 is a legendary figure. He was the teacher of Wang 王 and Guo 郭, who hailed from Kaifeng fu (Henan). A text of unknown origin within the commentary (2.1b) states that the two disciples, here named Daoxiang 道想 and Daoyi 道意, were in fact legendary figures like their teacher. They are said to have set out in search of a particular mountain in Jiangnan, where they hoped to find their teacher once again. They finally

reached Mount Huagai 華蓋, where they performed many miraculous deeds, healed the sick, and provided assistance to the needy. In 293 they ascended to Heaven.

The first chapter contains historic miscellanea, for example, an inscription (1.5a–7a) by Yan Zhenqing 顏眞卿 (709–785) and the text *Sanzhen ji* 三眞記 by Li Chongyuan 李沖元, dated 1099 (1.7a–9b). The indication of the name Shen Tingrui 沈庭瑞 (d. 985) as author of this first chapter is surely erroneous. Shen Tingrui is the author of the *Er zhenjun shilu* 二眞君實錄 (2.1a–11a).

The text itself, like the commentaries by the two compilers of the Song period (Liu and Wang), describes the journey of Wang and Guo to Mount Huagai, referring to the many places in central Jiangxi where they had become objects of local veneration. Liu Xiang and Wang Keming are responsible for the listing of the honorary titles, which were bestowed on the Three Lords by imperial decrees dated 1075, 1099, 1117, and 1237. Zhang Yuanshu 章元樞 (fl. 1180) was the author of a mountain gazetteer (see 3.1a ff.), for which he used older sources (Yan Zhenqing, Shen Tingrui). The indication of the year 1265 (3.7b) has been added by the two compilers of the Song period (the same applies to 6.14a). They are also responsible for the compilation of juan 4, containing a description of temples of the cult, and for juan 5 and 6. These two chapters contain biographies and tales about miraculous events that are due to the beneficial influences of Wang and Guo. Among the biographies, two texts should be especially mentioned: Shen Tingrui's biography (he was a substantial contributor to this work) and Rao Dongtian's biography (he was the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 on Mount Huagai). The foundation of the Tianxin zhengfa is said to have been due to the inspiration of the Three Lords of Mount Huagai.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hymes, *Way and byway*, 277–80; Reiter, *Grundelemente*, 108–11.

Florian C. Reiter

Yisheng baode zhuan 翊聖保德傳

3 juan

By Wang Qinruo 王欽若; 1016

1285 (fasc. 1006)

"Biography of [the True Lord] Assisting the Sage and Protecting Virtue." This is a comprehensive account of the revelations made in the period 960–994 by the divine protector of the Song dynasty, the True Lord Yisheng baode 翊聖寶德.

The book was compiled by the commissioner for the Palace Secretariat (*shumi shi* 樞密使) Wang Qinruo (962–1125) on the basis of earlier records. It was presented at court in 1016 (the presentation memorial and endorsement are appended) and furnished with a preface by Emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). The earliest edition of the work is found in YJQQ 103. The present edition differs by attributing Zhenzong's

preface to Renzong (r. 1022–1063), and by including at the end the enfeoffment of Yisheng by Huizong (r. 1100–1125) in 1104. The book is described in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 147.3074–75, which criticizes the Taoist policies of Wang Qinruo and confuses the subject of the book with the deity Xuanwu.

The revelations took place at Zhongnan shan, where the god had spoken through Zhang Shouzhen 張守眞, a man from Zhouzhi 盩厔 county (north of the mountain and bordering on the prefecture of Chang'an). It appears from some early accounts (*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 17.14b and *Shiwu jiyuan* 2.22a–b) that the god had originally presented himself as the Black Killer General (Heisha jiangjun 黑煞將軍), a name that is absent from the present book. The *Shiwu jiyuan* quotes from the *Yang Yi tanyuan* 楊億談苑, on which the account in the *Changbian* is also partly based. Prior to the revelations, the Black Killer had been worshiped in the 930s by Tan Zixiao, the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (cf. Ma Ling's *Nan Tang shu* 24.162). The Black Killer talisman ("Heisha fu 黑煞符") is one of the three fundamental fu of the Tianxin zhengfa and was probably already known to Tan Zixiao (see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*).

The importance attached to these revelations under the Northern Song is due to the fact that they included an announcement from Heaven (*fuming* 符命) that the mandate was to be transferred to Taizong (r. 976–997), the younger brother of the first emperor, Taizu (r. 960–976). The key sentence is, "The prince of Jin [i.e., Taizong] has a virtuous heart 晉王有仁心" (1.5b). This revelation is said to have taken place on the night before the death of Taizu in 976 (*Changbian* 17.14b). It is, however, also said that Taizong took an interest in the cult already in the years 963–967 (1.4a), and it seems likely that the announcement played a role in securing his position as the heir apparent. After the accession of Taizong, the god was rewarded by the construction of the Shangqing taiping gong 上清太平宮 temple, which was completed in 980 at the place where Zhang Shouzhen received his revelations (1.6b–7b; see also *Changbian* 18.12b–13a and the inscription by Xu Xuan 徐鉉 in *Xugong wenji* 25.4b–8a). The god was canonized as General Yisheng in 981 (1.8b) and as True Lord Yisheng baode in 1014 (1.10b).

The main elements of the initial revelation were the methods of the sword, (*jianfa* 劍法; 1.2b–3a) and a system of *jiao* 醮 services comprising a new nomenclature for the various kinds of *jiao* and regulations for the numbers of places for deities (*shenwei* 神位) on the altar (1.3a–4a). This system was later adopted as the imperial standard (see *477 Luotian dajiao zaochao ke, 478 Luotian dajiao wuchao ke,* and *479 Luotian dajiao wanchao ke*). A résumé of the book (based also on additional sources) is included in *Songchao shishi* 7.12a–21b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Soymié, "Etude du *Yisheng baode zhuan*"; Yang Huarong, "*Yisheng baode zhuan* jieshao."

Poul Andersen

Zhangxian mingsu huanghou shou shangqing bifa lu ji 章獻明肅皇后受上清畢法籙記

5 fols.

By ZHU ZIYING 朱自英, *hao* Guanmiao xiansheng 觀妙先生; 1024

777 (fasc. 556)

"Records of Empress Zhangxian Mingsu's Initiation into the Highest Registers of the Shangqing Tradition." These records were compiled by ZHU ZIYING in 1024, that is, shortly after the mourning period for the Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) had ended, on the occasion of the official Taoist ordination of the empress dowager. The ceremonies, prepared at the Yuqing zhaoying gong 玉清昭應宮 temple in the capital, took place at the Chongxi guan 崇禧觀 on Maoshan 茅山 and comprised a seven-day ordination ritual (*yulu daochang* 玉籙道場), a three-day thanksgiving ritual (*xieen daochang* 謝恩道場) that included a Retreat banquet (*zhai* 齋) for the entire clergy of Maoshan, and a ritual of casting dragon tablets (*tousong jinlong yujian* 投送金龍玉簡). ZHU ZIYING (976–1029), the twenty-third Maoshan patriarch and, simultaneously, the head of the Yuqing zhaoying gong in the capital (see *304 Maoshan zhi* 11.10b–11b) officiated as master of ordination (*dushi* 度師), while Zhang Shaoying 張紹英 (see *304 Maoshan zhi* 16.1b–2a) acted as a guarantor (*baoju* 保舉). In acknowledgment of their services, the two masters received the honorary names Guanmiao xiansheng 觀妙先生 and Mingzhen xiansheng 明眞先生, respectively (see "Maoshan di ershisan dai shangqing dadong guoshi Qianyuan Guanmiao xiansheng youguang xianyang zhi bei 茅山第二十三代上清大洞國師乾元觀妙先生幽光顯揚之碑," *304 Maoshan zhi* 25.13a).

A slightly modified version of Zhu's report was carved in stone by Meng Yingzhi 孟應之 (*304 Maoshan zhi* 25.2a–5a).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Huang Ming enming shilu 皇明恩命世錄

9 juan

Between 1567 and 1607

1462 (fasc. 1065)

"Chronological Register of the Gracious Ordinances of the Illustrious Ming." This work is a compilation of official documents concerning acts of imperial patronage on behalf of the Heavenly Masters of the forty-second through the forty-ninth generations. Several documents concerning the Fiftieth Heavenly Master have been added—their titles do not appear in the table of contents—at the end of juan 9. The year 1567 is the latest date for a document in the original compilation, 1605 for the additions. The same documents serve as the basis of the history of these Heavenly Masters in *1463 Han tianshi shijia* 3.24a–4.17b (cf. 3.25a, where the author of the *Shijia* refers to the present text).

After the first juan, which contains the eulogies of the first twenty generations of Heavenly Masters written by the emperor Taizu, each master is accorded a separate juan (juan 4 and 5 are partially lost).

John Lagerwey

Jin dongtian haiyue biao 進洞天海嶽表

5 fols.

Presented in 1050

1062 (fasc. 732)

Dongyuan ji 洞淵集

9 juan

By Li Sicong 李思聰; ca. 1050

1063 (fasc. 732)

The *1063 Dongyuan ji* (Anthology of the Abyssal Cavern) is preceded by the *1062 Jin dongtian haiyue biao* (Memorials for the Presentation of "Cavern-Heavens, Seas, and Peaks"), which is a compilation of three official texts: a memorial (*biao* 表), a report (*zhuang* 狀), and a letter (*zhafu* 劄付). All of them concern the presentation of an anthology of religious topography to the Emperor Song Renzong in 1050. The anthology was authored by the daoshi Li Sicong from the Dazhong xiangfu gong 大中祥符宮 of Qianzhou 虔州 (modern Ganxian 贛縣, southern Jiangxi). The author relates that he had been compiling Taoist classics since 1032 and eventually produced a set of six charts, with introductions and poems, describing (1) the Celestial Abodes (*Yuqing xuanji tu* 玉清璇極圖, quoted as *Yuxu* 虛 *xuanji tu* on 2b); (2) the Cavern-Heavens and the Five Peaks (*Dongtian wuyue tu* 洞天五嶽圖); (3) the Islands of Immortals (*Penghu langyuan tu* 蓬壺閬苑圖); (4) the Sacred Water Courses (*Daming lingdu tu* 大溟靈瀆圖); (5) Famous Mountains and Blessed Lands (*Mingshan fudi tu* 名山福地圖); (6) the Liquified Gold and cyclically transformed elixir (*Jinyi huandan tu* 金液還丹圖). This author also produced "Ten Charts for Perusal while Reclining" (*Wopi tu* 臥披圖). The purpose of the two works—the anthology of the six charts presented in 1050 and the extant *1063 Dongyuan ji*—was identical, but the details are different. *1063 Dongyuan ji* does not include the alchemical part but adds the Twenty-four Dioceses (*zhi* 治) and the stars and heavens (juan 6 to 9). Also, the charts and poems have disappeared, and some parts lack a title; therefore it is possible that the extant *1063 Dongyuan ji* was collected later, with the remnants of the anthology of religious topography that was presented to Emperor Song Renzong in 1050. It is also worth noting that the title *Dongyuan ji* does not figure in the three official documents collected in *1062 Haiyue*

biao. The present text should not be confused with the unrelated *1064 Dongyuan ji* of the same name. The compilation of the *1063 Dongyuan ji* in its present state must have taken place sometime after 1050; it is quoted less than a century later among the sources of *148 Duren shangpin miaojing pangtong tu* 3.8.

In the preface of *1063 Dongyuan ji* ("Sanjie yong xu 三界詠序," 1.1a–b, dated 1050), Li Sicong gives yet another list of contents: (1) the abodes of the highest gods, (2) the Cavern-Heavens and Five Peaks, and (3) the Islands of Immortals.

The contents of the "Anthology of the Abyssal Cavern" are arranged topically among its nine juan. The first juan contains the preface and the "Sanqing yong xu 三清詠序" (Introduction to Chanting the Three Pure Ones; 1b–8a), which describes the highest gods and the books and heavens associated with them. Next come the Ten Great and Thirty-six Lesser Cavern-Heavens (juan 2), the Five Celestial Peaks (3.1a–2b), the Three Islands (3.3a–3b), and the Ten Continents (3b–6a). Juan 4 introduces the seventy-two Blessed Places (*fudi* 福地; including the Five Peaks, number 2 to 6), and juan 5 names the seas, rivers, lakes, and other water courses (thirty-nine in all). The terrestrial geography closes with the Twenty-four Dioceses (*zhi* 治) of the Tianshi dao (juan 6). The next two juan deal with astronomy: the eleven bright stars (7.1a–4a), the seven gods of the Dipper (7.4b–6b), and the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions (juan 8). Juan 9 introduces the thirty-two gods of the celestial palaces of Shangqing (*Shangqing sanshier tian digong shen* 上清三十二天帝宮神; 1a–5b) and ends with a presentation of all heavens ("Juguan sanjie shiji 具官三界事跡"; 6a–b).

The present work is highly systematic. Although its lists conform with traditional sacred geography, it differs in many regards from the corresponding chapters in the YJQQ (see especially juan 26–28), compiled slightly earlier, and from *599 Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji*. It is generally more detailed than either of these texts, including descriptions of the gods themselves (especially in juan 1 and 7 to 9), but does not mention its sources.

Vincent Goossaert

3.A.6.b Hagiographies

This section discusses, first, comprehensive hagiographic collections; second, collections section figures according to specific schools or lineages; and finally, lives of individual immortals or patron saints of particular cults. The texts *596 Xianyuan bianzhu* and *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* are essentially reference works grouping extracts from earlier anthologies in paired entries according to antithetical or matching themes. LZTT *(296 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian)* and its two supplements (*297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* and *298 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji*) represent the most ambitious Taoist hagiographic project since Du Guangting's now lost *Xianzhuan*

shiyi in forty juan (see the general Bibliography for a reconstruction). These texts not only are exhaustive in scope, but in effect constitute a history of Taoism, itself seen as a succession of schools, cults, and individuals having "embodied the Tao" in different ages. While LZTT combines several different classificatory objectives, historical chronology is the guiding principle in the organization of the *781 Xuanpin lu*. Zhao Mengfu's "Portraits of Ten Masters" *(163 Xuanyuan shizi tu)* is a fine example of the genre of illustrated hagiography. Two compilations from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *1465 Xiaoyao xu jing* and *1476 Soushen ji*, finally, stand as selective hagiographic histories spanning the period from antiquity to the Ming.

The next set of works is organized around lineages or movements: *1463 Han tianshi shijia* concerns the "hereditary house" of the Heavenly Masters; *440 Xu taishi zhenjun tuzhuan, 447 Xu zhenjun xianzhuan,* and *448 Xishan Xu zhenren bashiwu hua lu* are all based on Bo Yuchan's hagiography of Xu Xun (the *Yulong ji* 玉隆集) and on other saints and patriarchs of the Way of Filial Piety of Xishan 西山. *452 Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* groups together nine immortals of Hengshan 衡山, and *956 Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* gathers eminent Taoists of the Louguan 樓觀 temple lineage.

The final group is devoted to individual saints: *301 Huan zhenren shengxian ji* to Tao Hongjing's servant Huan zhenren 桓眞人; *306 Taihua Xiyi zhi* to Chen Tuan; *450 Taiji Ge xiangong zhuan* to Ge Xuan; *451 Yunfu shan Shen xianweng zhuan* to Shen Taizhi 申泰芝; *779 Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* to Ye Fashan; *780 Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* to Wen Qiong 溫瓊; and *308 Ningyang Dong zhenren yuxian ji* to Dong zhenren 董眞人.

***Xianyuan bianzhu* 仙苑編珠**

3 juan

Compiled by Wang Songnian 王松年; tenth century, after 960

596 (fasc. 329–330)

"Garden of Immortals: A Pearl Treasury." The text bears no exact date but refers to the year 960 (3.24b). The term *bianzhu* 篇珠 in the title of the text (literally, "a tress of pearls") indicates the precious nature of the narrative and places the work in a specific literary form. The *bianzhu* belongs to the anthology (*leishu* 類書) class of literature but is itself an expanded form of an older literary genre, the *lianzhu* 連珠, consisting of very short verses, each word of which encapsulates a historical event or legend. The *lianzhu* were mnemonics learned by rote at school and later paraded in literary works. In the course of time, they developed into the *bianzhu* form, which is characterized by short verses followed by a text in prose that elucidates the narrative hidden in the verse. In his preface, Wang Songnian explains that "in writing the 'Garden of Immortals' in the *bianzhu* form, I have taken as a basis the *Meng Qiu* 蒙

求, which uses four-character verses to highlight the essentials [of the story] and then adds an explanation in the form of a commentary" (preface, 1b). The *Meng Qiu* is a Tang (618–907) work by Li Han 李瀚. Another example of this literary form is the *Bian Zhu* 編珠 by Du Gongzhan 杜公贍 of the Sui (581–618).

Our text groups more than 300 *lianzhu* in pairs, that is, in eight-word couplets that introduce over 600 immortals. Wang Songnian tells us in his preface that for the greater number of these figures he has used well-known sources, like the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳. In addition to these immortals he has included 132 persons who attained immortality "since Tang and Liang times" (preface, 1b). Each *lianzhu* is accompanied by extensive commentaries, written by Wang himself, in which he offers information on each immortal. Wang gleaned this information from diverse hagiographies and other sources, many of which are now lost: for instance, the *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳 (1.2b) and the *Louguan zhuan* 樓觀傳 (1.7a).

The importance of this text lies in the fact that because of these references to works now lost, it can be used to reconstruct important ancient hagiographies and perhaps provide added information regarding familiar texts such as the *1016 Zhen'gao* and the *294 Liexian zhuan*.

Mention is made of this text in the *Song shi*, "Yiwen zhi" (VDL 95).

Pauline Bentley Koffler

***Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄**

20 juan

Compiled by Chen Baoguang 陳葆光; preface (dated 1154) by Lin Jizhong 林季仲, *zi* Zhuxuan 竹軒

1248 (fasc. 992–995)

"Records of the Multitude of Immortals of the Three Caverns." Zhuxuan (preface, 4a) refers to the author as Taoist master of the Jingying an 靜應菴 sanctuary in Jiangyin 江陰 (Jiangsu).

The records form an anthology of paired episodes taken from various biographies of the immortals. The topic for each pair is set out in a heading consisting of a couplet of two four-character titles. The titles introduce antithetical or matching couples of a wide variety of entities: plants, animals, places, objects, numerical categories, types of religious practice, natural phenomena, and so on. Chen Baoguang's method follows Wang Songnian's 王松年 tenth-century adaptation of the *bianzhu* 編珠 tradition of literary *leishu* 類書 anthologies (see the article on *596 Xianyuan bianzhu*). In effect, the topical arrangement of the material and systematic identification of the sources suggest that this work could also be used, like the classic *Chuxue ji*, as a dictionary of quotations and for facilitating the memorization of sources for reference.

The author quotes an eclectic range of Taoist works dating from the Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) to the early Song (960–1279). The sources cited are said to number more than 200 (CGF 241–42); they actually involve an even larger number of titles than meets the eye, because two early Song anthologies, *Taiping guangji* and YJQQ, are cited globally. The chief documentary value of the present text lies in its preservation of passages from earlier works, many of which are no longer independently extant.

As the preface makes clear, however, the didactic intention of the book was primarily of a religious nature. Zhuxuan first points to the apologetic purpose of hagiography: immortals left "traces" in order to convince unbelievers of the possibility of transcendence. He then evokes the long-standing philosophical debate about human nature and innate endowment as opposed to moral cultivation and spiritual attainment through learning; he includes an allusion to the famous Chan 禪 contribution to the debate, opposing "sudden" and "gradual" enlightenment. The preface writer, and by implication the author, adopt Wu Yun's (d. 778) argument that immortality could indeed be attained through study (see Wu's "Shenxian ke xue lun 神仙可學論" in *1051 Zongxuan xiansheng wenji* 2.9b–16a)—hence the usefulness of transmitting such materials as furnished by the "traces of immortals" and collected in this book.

Franciscus Verellen

***Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世眞仙體道通鑑**

53 juan

By Zhao Daoyi 趙道一; colophon by Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁 (dated *jiawu* 甲午 [1294]); preface by Deng Guangjian 鄧光薦 (dated *jiawu* [1294])

296 (fasc. 139–48)

"Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals Who Embodied the Tao through the Ages." The author, who is referred to as Zhao Quanyang 趙全陽 in one of the prefaces, is virtually unknown outside the context of this work. Nor can the date of the book be determined with certainty. However, thanks to the several prefaces and presentation memorials, a number of hypotheses may be advanced.

The authors of the colophon, Liu Chenweng (1232–1297), and the author of one of the prefaces, Deng Guangjian (1232–1303), are both well-known figures of the late Song period: Deng rose to a relatively high rank in the administration. A patriot and Song loyalist, he attempted twice unsuccessfully to commit suicide after the fall of the dynasty. Having refused to respond to the overtures of the Yuan (1279–1368) general Zhang Hongfan 張弘範, Deng died in 1297 in retirement from public life. Liu Chenweng, like Deng Guangjian a native of Luling 廬陵, was active in late Song (960–1279) Neo-Confucian circles and closely associated with the prominent

scholar Zhou Lianxi 周濂溪. Liu also withdrew from official life after the Mongol victory.

It is likely that Zhao Daoyi compiled his work during the two decades after the fall of the Song dynasty. The prefaces—by literati living in retirement and, like many former officials during that period, drawn to Taoism—suggest as much. Moreover, Zhao Daoyi states in his own foreword that his history covers the period from antiquity to the end of the Song. In his preface, dated *jiawu* 甲午, Liu Chenweng says that the book's contents reached up to "contemporary" times, which should refer to the year 1294. Finally, the section devoted to the Heavenly Master movement includes a biography of the thirty-fifth patriarch; it was presumably written during the lifetime of the Thirty-sixth Heavenly Master. The latter lived around the end of the Song and the beginning of the Yuan: we know that he was a young man in the Xianheng reign period (1266–1274) and in full activity under Kublai Khan, who conferred a title on him in 1291.

An indication of Zhao Daoyi's place of origin can be gleaned from his title: Fuyun shan Shengshou wannian gong daoshi 浮雲山聖壽萬年宮道士. According to the biography of Li Babai 李八百 in juan 10, this was the Fuyun guan 浮雲觀, renamed Fuyun shan under the Song, situated in Fengxin county 封新縣 in the superior prefecture of Longxing 隆興府 (in modern Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi). Luling, the place of origin of the two preface writers Deng and Liu, is very close to Nanchang.

Our text (the LZTT) presents itself as a history of Taoism narrated through the lives of individuals who had obtained the Tao; it is supplemented by *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* and *298 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji*. The former continues the section that is devoted to immortals under the Song; the latter is a compilation of lives of female immortals.

This vast undertaking aimed at nothing less than providing Taoism with its own "Comprehensive Mirror" (*tongjian* 通鑑), a counterpart to Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* and the Buddhist chronicle *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑. However, the resulting history is not an annalistic chronicle in the style of *770 Hunyuan shengji* (1191), which was also known, in the historiographical tradition, as the "Veritable Record of Lord Lao" (*Hunyuan shilu* 混元實錄). Besides chronicles of this kind, Taoism also possessed a hagiographical literature consisting of the lives of saints in the tradition of *294 Liexian zhuan*, the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, and *295 Xu xian zhuan*, comprising in all 1,600 biographies, as affirmed in the prefaces to the present work.

The aim of Zhao Daoyi's work, then, was to place this biographical material into the chronological framework provided by official historiography and the histories of Taoism. In general, his editorial procedure consisted in transcribing the biographies word for word—sometimes adding a brief conclusion as to the manner in which a saint's life reflected the teaching of the *Daode jing* 道德經—and in arranging them according to his own groupings. The chronological succession of the lives is complicated by two sets of factors: first, by the semilegendary nature of much of the material, that is, by the saints' extraordinary longevity and by their propensity to return in various reincarnations; and, second, the need to account for the immortals' filiation in terms of the various movements or schools. As a result, the organization of the work is subject to three main principles: (1) the order preestablished by earlier collections on which the present work draws; (2) the subjects' filiation according to schools; and (3) historical chronology. In the following, the LZTT will be discussed under the headings of these three sometimes irreconcilable criteria.

1. The sources: Two main types of sources can be distinguished: those on which the author drew directly for his biographical material and those that indirectly guided the organization and composition of the work. Some of the earlier collections appear to have been used in both ways at once. Direct sources include *294 Liexian zhuan*, which occupies the entire juan 3. All of its biographies are incorporated here, with the exception of the lives of Anqi 安期 and of the female immortals who are included in the *298 Houji*. The biographies are, however, arranged in a different order, reflecting, perhaps, the author's views regarding their chronological succession. Material from the *Shenxian zhuan*, attributed to GE HONG, occupies a large part of juan 5 and is strongly represented in juan 11, 12, 13, and 34. In addition, biographies drawn from that work are found scattered throughout the first two thirds of the present text. Juan 17 consists entirely of biographies taken from *1016 Zhen'gao* 12, 13, and 14. Juan 12–16 likewise include material from that work.

The *Dongxian zhuan* 洞仙傳, a lost collection of the late Six Dynasties period (220–589), is known today mainly from citations in YJQQ 109 and other Song anthologies (see Yan Yiping, *Daojiao yanjiu ziliao*, vol. 1). It is the source of most of the biographies in juan 6 and of others found throughout the remainder of the present collection. The work *295 Xu xian zhuan*, by Shen Fen 沈汾 of the Southern Tang (937–975) dynasty, is completely reproduced in juan 36 (where only the biographies of Song Yu 宋愚, Wei Shanjun 韋善竣, and Zhang Huigan 張惠感 derive from different sources), juan 37 (except Xue Chang 薛昌, WU YUN, Li Bo 李白), juan 38 (except Liu Xuanhe 劉玄和, Yang Taiming 楊泰明, Li He 李賀, Xuanyuan Miming 軒轅彌明), and juan 39 (only Du Sheng 杜昇, Yang Xi 羊惜, and TAN QIAO); isolated biographies from this work are found scattered throughout the present text: those of LÜQIU FANGYUAN (juan 40); Nie Shidao 聶師道 (juan 41); Xu Jun 徐鈞 and Qian Lang 錢朗 (juan 45); and others.

The *Zhenxi* 眞系 (dated 805), by Li Bo 李渤, preserved in the form of citations in YJQQ 5, provided the material for juan 24–25, devoted to Maoshan. The YJQQ itself, especially the section entitled "Biographies" (*zhuan* 傳), appears to have been used directly in the elaboration of the "Comprehensive Mirror," without mention of the

sources on which its material was based in turn. See the following chapters: YJQQ 104, biographies of Mao Ying 茅盈, incorporated in abridged form in LZTT 16, and of the saints of the Louguan 樓觀, Yin Gui 尹軌, Song Lun 宋倫, Feng Chang 馮長, Yao Dan 姚坦, Zhou Liang 周亮, and others, reproduced in LZTT 8 and 9; YJQQ 105, the biography of Pei Jun 裴君, included in abridged form in LZTT 15; YJQQ 106, the biographies of Wang Bao 王褒, Zhou Yishan 周義山, Ma Mingsheng 馬明生, and Yin Changsheng 陰長生, reproduced in LZTT 13 and 14. Although it is possible that Zhao Daoyi used the same ulterior sources as the YJQQ independently, his adoption of the same groupings as found in the YJQQ suggests that the latter provided his material for juan 8, 9, 13, 14, and 16.

The *Xuanyuan benji* 軒轅本紀, a chronicle of Huangdi 黃帝 composed under the Song that survives only in its version in YJQQ 100, is fully incorporated in LZTT 1. The *770 Hunyuan shengji* (dated 1191), an annalistic account of Taoism organized around the manifestations of Laozi in history, served as the basis for the composition of LZTT 2. Such mysterious figures from high antiquity as Yougu da xiansheng 有古大先生, Yu Huazi 郁華子, and others are taken from that work; an exception is Guangcheng zi 廣成子, whose biography is based on the *Shenxian zhuan*.

The *Gaodao zhuan* (between 1068 and 1101), which survives only in fragmentary form, appears to have been a major source for the "Comprehensive Mirror"—and Zhao Daoyi's preferred choice when he had to select among several earlier biographies of the same saint. This work is massively represented from LZTT 39 onward. It would seem, for example, that the lives of personalities associated with the Louguan temple in juan 39–40 were transcribed via the *Gaodao zhuan*, rather than the *Louguan zhuan* 樓觀傳, the main earlier source for this material. Whenever it is possible to compare one of these biographies in the LZTT with fragments from the *Gaodao zhuan* and the *Louguan zhuan*, thanks to their citations in the *1248 Sandong qunxian lu*, Zhao Daoyi's text appears to be closer to the former than to the latter.

The *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (dated 1224) of Bo Yuchan, reproduced in *263.31 Xiuzhen shishu*, constituted the basis for the two chapters devoted to Xu Xun and his disciples, LZTT 26–27. As for the *Jixian zhuan* 集仙傳 (twelfth century) of Zeng Zao, no more than an outline remains of this possible source that included biographies of most of the Five Dynasties (907–960) and Song immortals in the LZTT. Among other likely sources, *592 Shenxian ganyu zhuan* by Du Guangting seems to have provided, directly or indirectly, the material for many biographies in juan 22.

Without necessarily serving as direct sources, certain collections had an influence on the composition and arrangement of the LZTT's contents: The organization of the *Louguan zhuan*, though the work itself is no longer extant, can be reconstructed in outline from the preface of the *Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* 終南山說經台歷代眞仙碑記 (see CGF 265). The list of names indicated there corresponds

to the organization of two sections in the present work, LZTT 8–9 and 39–40. The Nine Immortals of the Southern Peak of the Six Dynasties (see *453 Nanyue xiaolu*) are grouped together in LZTT 33; those of the Tang, who claimed spiritual descent from Sima Chengzhen, are included in juan 40. Their biographies, however, do not derive from this source. The *444 Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji* may have provided the spiritual lineage of three Nanyue masters under the Tang.

2. Lineages and schools: The arrangement of the main body of the LZTT can be explained neither by chronology alone, nor by the organization of earlier collections; instead, Zhao Daoyi arranged his material according to spiritual lineages or schools as perceived by a Taoist at the end of the Song. In the following we shall retrace the main lineages that emerge from the LZTT.

The avatars of Laozi: all of juan 2 is devoted to these figures, including a series of figures from high antiquity perceived as being early manifestations of Laozi (see the biography of Yin Xi 尹喜; 8.1a–3b).

The immortals of antiquity: the subjects of the *Liexian zhuan*, grouped together in chapter 3. They presumably represented for the author a coherent set of Taoists or *fangshi* 方士.

Yin Xi and the early Louguan: the section LZTT 8–9 concerns the transmission of the doctrine from Yin Xi to Yin Gui and the Nine Saints of Louguan.

The Maoshan movement: the author distinguishes a pre-Maoshan phase—consisting of the lineage from An Qisheng 安期生 to Yin Changsheng (juan 13), of the first instructors and deities of Maoshan (juan 14–16), and of various sages connected with Maoshan (throughout juan 17–23)—and the lineage of the Maoshan patriarchs themselves (juan 24–25). Possibly, the biographies in juan 11–12 should be added to this group: though mostly taken from the *Shenxian zhuan*, they also feature in *1016 Zhen'gao* and represent the southern tradition of Taoism described by Ge Hong, which underlay the Maoshan movement.

Zhang Daoling 張道陵 and the Heavenly Master movement: the biography of Zhang Daoling occupies all of juan 18 and is followed by the remainder of the movement's lineage in juan 19. It is not clear why this well-defined group is found embedded in the Maoshan material.

The Way of Filial Piety (Xiaodao 孝道) of Xishan 西山: following an arrangement similar to juan 18 and 19, a first chapter (juan 26) is devoted to the founder of this movement, Xu Xun, and his eleven disciples are grouped together in the next (juan 27). The period covered extends from the Jin to the Tang. It appears that this movement is placed immediately after the Maoshan movement because the Xiaodao claimed that Xu Xun belonged to the same Xu family that had been responsible for transmitting the Maoshan revelations.

The second Louguan: Juan 29–30 contain the lives of the immortals of the

Louguan, many of whom participated in the controversy with the Buddhists under the Northern Wei (386–534). The majority of these figures lived in the period between the Northern Wei and the Sui (581–618).

The immortals of the Southern Peak (Nanyue 南嶽): the lives of the Nine Immortals of Nanyue, as well as a certain number of other immortals associated with that mountain but not included in *453 Nanyue xiaolu*, are found in juan 33. Juan 39–40 groups together immortals of the Second Nanyue, according to master-disciple relationships. These immortals claimed descent from the Maoshan patriarch SIMA CHENGZHEN and included the Tiantai master DU GUANGTING (see also *444 Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji*). The immortals in juan 41–42 are thematically related to this group: Nie Shidao 聶師道 is connected to LÜQIU FANGYUAN (the last biography in juan 40); Zhang Yun 張氳 (the second biography in juan 41) is connected to both YE FASHAN (juan 39) and Luo Gongyuan (juan 40); the last figure in juan 41, Zhai Fayan 翟法言, was the master of Shu Xuji 舒虛寂, who opens juan 42.

The lineage of LÜ DONGBIN: Quanzhen 全眞 saints claiming descent from LÜ DONGBIN are loosely grouped in juan 45–49, while the masters of the related Jinlian 金蓮 movement, tracing their origin to ZHONGLI QUAN, are found dispersed throughout the work. It may be noted that many of the Taoists in juan 45–47 were connected to the court and to Neo-Confucian circles.

3. The chronological framework: Given the emphasis in this work on tracing lineages and lines of transmission, overall chronology suffered inevitable distortions. The first biography, that of the Yellow Emperor as patron of the immortals and founder of Chinese civilization, is followed by lesser figures of preceding ages. Nevertheless, Zhao Daoyi's history of Taoism from antiquity to the Yuan is roughly continuous, at least in terms of his sequential treatment of the founders of major movements (a major exception to this rule, however, is the emergence of the Heavenly Masters in juan 18). Despite internal inconsistencies within individual sections, the following phases may be distinguished: from the beginnings to the Later Han (juan 1–14); Six Dynasties to Sui (juan 15–30); Sui to Five Dynasties (juan 31–45); and Five Dynasties to the end of the Song (juan 45–53).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ozaki Masaharu, "*Rekishi shinsen taidō tsukan*."

Jean Lévi, revised by Franciscus Verellen

***Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 歷世眞仙體道通鑑續編**

5 juan

Attributed to Zhao Daoyi 趙道一; fourteenth or fifteenth century?

297 (fasc. 149)

"Supplement to the Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals Who Embodied the Tao through the Ages." This work supplements *296 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*. It provides additional biographies to the latter, extending its chronological span to the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan (1279–1368) periods. The emphasis is on Quanzhen 全眞 masters.

Jean Lévi

***Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji* 歷世眞仙體道通鑑後集**

6 juan

By Zhao Daoyi 趙道一; fl. 1294

298 (fasc. 150)

"Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals Who Embodied the Tao through the Ages." This work supplements *296 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*. It is devoted to female immortals from antiquity to the end of the Song. Most of the material is taken from *783 Yongcheng jixian lu*.

Jean Lévi

***Xuanpin lu* 玄品錄**

5 juan

By Zhang Tianyu 張天雨, *hao* Gouqu waishi 句曲外史; 1335

781 (fasc. 558–559)

"Records of the Categories of the Mysterious." The preface by the author (var. Zhang Yu 張雨 [1276–1342]; see Sun Kekuan, *Hanyuan daolun*, 292–94) is dated with the cyclical characters *yihai* 乙亥, that is, the year 1335. Here, Zhang calls his work a "History of the Mysterious" (*Xuanshi* 玄史), saying that he searched for persons to whom Sima Tan's 司馬談 definition of the Taoist school (from *Shiji* 130.3292) would apply. As a result, Zhang collected 144 biographies and arranged them according to dynasties—starting with Yin Xi 尹喜 from Zhou (ca. 1050–221 B.C.) times up to LIU YONGGUANG (1134–1206). Within the dynasties, the biographies are again grouped in various categories (e.g. "Daode pin 道德品," categories of Tao and De; "Daoyin 道隱," Taoist hermits; "Daoru 道儒," Taoist scholars).

With few exceptions, Zhang does not give the sources for his compilation, but it is evident that apart from the *Zhuangzi* (e.g., 1.3b–6a) and *1016 Zhen'gao* (e.g., 1.15a–b), he did not use any specifically Taoist material. Instead, he attempted an objective, official presentation of Taoist personalities by taking biographies, mostly verbatim or slightly

abridged, from the following official histories: *Shiji, Han shu, Hou Han shu, Wei shu, Jin shu, Nan shi, Sui shu, Jiu Tang shu, Xin Tang shu*, and *Xin Wudai shi*. It is not clear what his sources were for the biographies from the Song dynasty (960–1279).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

庚桑子



FIGURE 34. Gengsang zi (*163* 2b)

莊子



FIGURE 35. Zhuangzi (*163* 8a)

Xuanyuan shizi tu 玄元十子圖
13 fols.
By ZHAO MENGFU 趙孟頫 (1254–1322); colophon dated 1286
163 (fasc. 72)

"Portraits of Ten Masters of the Mysterious Origin." According to his colophon, Zhao made this small album at the request of his master, DU DAOJIAN, *hao* Nangu zi (1237–1318; see second colophon, dated 1306). The present version is based on a printed edition by a certain Lu Daotong 路道通 (alias Lu Mingzhen 路明眞) of Changchun 長春 (Jiangsu). Lu launched a subscription for the financing of his initiative and requested prefaces from a number of famous contemporaries: Zhang Yucai 張輿材, the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master (d. 1316; Zhang originally also wrote a colophon to Zhao's work); Yao Yun 姚雲 (*jinshi* 進士 1268); and the daoshi Huang Zhonggui 黃仲圭 and Huang Shiweng 黃石翁. According to this last preface, the blocks of this printing were kept at the Taiqing gong 太清宮 at Bozhou 亳州 (Laozi's birthplace, in Henan), whereas DU DAOJIAN had the portraits copied onto murals for his temple, the Zongyang guan 宗陽觀.

The ten portraits are those of Guanyin zi 關尹子, Wenzi 文子, Gengsang zi 庚桑子 (fig. 34), Nanrong zi 南榮子, Yinwen zi 尹文子, Shicheng zi 士成子, Cuiqu zi 崔瞿子, Boju zi 柏矩子, Liezi 列子, and Zhuangzi 莊子 (fig. 35). The album originally appears to have included a picture of Laozi as well. The work was copied by the Yuan artist Hua Tangqing 華唐卿 (see *Guoyun lou shuhua ji,* "Hualei," 2.11b). The daoshi Sun Dafang 孫大方 obtained this copy and undertook to have it printed (see Huang Shiweng's preface).

Caroline Gyss-Vermande

Xiaoyao xu jing 消搖墟經
2 juan
By Hong Yingming 洪應明, *zi* Zicheng 自誠; ca. 1600
1465 (fasc. 1081)

Changsheng quanjing 長生詮經
23 fols.
Supplement to *1465 Xiaoyao xu jing*
1466 (fasc. 1082)

Wusheng juejing 無生訣經
36 fols.
Supplement to *1465 Xiaoyao xu jing*
1467 (fasc. 1082)

"Book of the Land of Ecstatic Wanderings." This work has a preface by Yuan Huang 袁黃 (1533–1606), in which he states that he had received a "chronicle of immortals" (*xianji* 仙紀) entitled *Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊 from Hong Zicheng (i.e., Hong Yingming). The title is an allusion to the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

Hong Yingming, who was equally interested in Taoism and in Buddhism, is mainly known for his Chan work *Cai gen tan* 菜根譚. His background and dates remain uncertain, but he probably lived in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The textual history of the present work is problematic. The same text is found in a collection of writings by Hong Yingming titled *Xian fo qizong* 仙佛奇蹤, which has come down in two main editions: a palace edition in four juan published in 1602 and discussed in the *Siku quanshu zongmu* under the heading of "fiction" (*xiaoshuo* 小說), and the edition titled *Yuedan tang xian fo qizong hekan*. We have been able to consult only the latter.

The *Xian fo qizong* comprises four parts, arranged in a two-tiered compilation. Its first section is devoted to Taoists, with illustrated hagiographies of immortals and an appendix entitled "Changsheng quan 長生詮." A Buddhist counterpart to this section is organized in the same way: biographies of bodhisattvas and eminent Chan masters, entitled "Ji guang jing 寂光境," followed by an appendix containing selected quotations, titled "Wusheng jue 無生訣." The work as a whole is preceded by two prefaces. The first of these, referring to Taoism, corresponds to the preface of the work in the *Daozang* under discussion, but, unlike the latter, it is signed; the second preface concerns the Buddhist dimension of the work and bears the signature of Feng Mengzhen 馮夢禎 (1546–1605).

In the palace edition, the biographies of the immortals form the first juan, the Taoist anthology the second, the Buddhist hagiographies the third, and the Buddhist quotations the fourth. By contrast, in the *Xian fo qizong*, the biographies of immortals

occupy the first three juan and the "Changsheng quan" forms the fourth. The remaining four juan contain the Buddhist counterpart. Also only juan 5 and 8 have titles, while the illustrated parts bear the general designations "Liexian 列仙" and "Fozu 佛祖." Moreover, the biographies in the *Xian fo qizong* are arranged in a different order from that in the *Daozang* and palace editions, which are identical in this respect, and a certain number of biographies are missing altogether (in particular that of the last Taoist immortal under the Ming).

In the *Daozang*, two of the parts constituting the *Xian fo qizong* follow immediately after *1465 Xiaoyao xu jing*, as *1466 Changsheng quanjing* and *1467 Wusheng juejing*. The latter work features a colophon dated 1607 by the Fiftieth Heavenly Master, who was also responsible for an edition of the work; this colophon likely applies to all three parts. The Heavenly Master's edition was probably made on the basis of the palace edition by removing the Buddhist biographies and dividing *1465 Xiaoyao xu jing* into two juan in order to preserve an identical number of chapters. The supplement to the *Daozang, Xu Daozang* 續道藏, in turn based itself on this edition, grouping the three works into four chapters, for after the first two juan of *1465 Xiaoyao xu jing*, the same numbering continues through the following two works: *1466 Changsheng quanjing* and *1467 Wusheng juejing* bear the designations "juan 3" and "juan 4," respectively, under their titles.

However, prior to their incorporation into illustrated editions placing the two religions side by side, in accordance with the syncretic tastes of the time, the three works that make up the *Xian fo qizong* appear to have circulated in separate editions or manuscript versions, as is suggested by Yuan Huang's preface and by the title of the edition in eight juan, the *Xian fo qizong heke* 仙佛奇蹤合刻, or "combined edition." Moreover, each of the two appendixes bear their author's name in this edition, and in the 1602 edition each section occupies a separate chapter.

The confused numbering of the parts of the three texts in the *Daozang* no doubt reflects the editors' uncertainty as to whether they should be treated as a single work, following the example of the Heavenly Master, or whether they constituted three separate entities. In fact, the three texts in the *Daozang* are quite unrelated and should be treated separately.

The *1465 Xiaoyao xu jing* is a collection of sixty-three biographies of Taoist immortals, beginning with a life of Laozi and concluding with the hagiography of Zhang Sanfeng 張三峰, the famous Taoist of the late Yuan (1279–1368) and early Ming (1368–1644) periods who became a popular saint from the seventeenth century onward.

The work can thus be considered a history of Taoism from its beginnings to the Ming, viewed through the lives of the immortals. Although the author drew his material from traditional hagiographies by transcribing or condensing them, *1465 Xiaoyao xu jing* is more than a simple synopsis of the great collections such as LZTT. The

originality of the work lies in its selection. This work is, for example, the only compendium of immortals' lives featuring the complete set of the Eight Immortals (*baxian* 八仙). By omitting all details concerning textual filiations, imperial canonizations, and cults devoted to the immortals, the author emphasizes the anecdotal aspect of his subject while minimizing its religious content. The work can thus be said to represent the popular Taoist pantheon of the Ming from a—albeit sympathetic—literati perspective.

It is difficult to identify Hong Yingming's sources with confidence because the traditional material had already been extensively shared by earlier collections. The following sources, however, can be singled out: LZTT, the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳, and *781 Xuanpin lu*. For certain immortals, including Cao Guojiu 曹國舅, Li Tieguai 李鐵拐, Mayi zi 麻衣子, and Zhang Sanfeng, whose lives figure in none of the great pre-Ming collections, the author's sources remain unknown.

Jean Lévi

***Soushen ji* 搜神記**

6 juan

Reprinted in 1607

1476 (fasc. 1105–1106)

"In Search of the Gods." This is a collection of lives of saints and legendary figures canonized from antiquity up to the Ming (1368–1644); it assumes the title of the well-known work by Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 317–322). The author of the preface explains that he had read a *Soushen ji* at the Fuchun tang of Sanshan 三山富春堂 in Nanking; although the text had little in common with the reconstructions of the *Soushen ji*, it nevertheless preserved its spirit. A note dated 1607 by Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, the editor of the supplement to the *Daozang, Xu Daozang* 續道藏, indicating that the present version had undergone editorial changes, closes the work.

The *Xu Daozang* edition is in fact a reprint, without the illustrations, of the work published by the Fuchun tang; the latter work included a preface dated 1593 by Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 (see Naikaku bunko, *Naikaku bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku*, 285b). The present text is related to but distinct from the late-Ming work *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan,* reprinted by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 in 1909 (see Li Xianzhang, "*Sankyō sōjin daizen*," 79–83; Dudbridge, *The legend of Miao-shan*, 58–59).

The collection opens with biographies of the founders of the Three Teachings: Confucius, the Buddha, and Laozi. In addition to deified virtuous officials and a few representatives of the Buddhist pantheon and of Taoist immortals, a large number of figures from classical mythology are included: the Master of Rain, the God of Wind, the Master of Lightning, Panhu, and others. A wide range of sources is cited. Each

entry is provided with indications of the dates on which its subject was venerated, the temples dedicated to him, as well as lists of titles and canonizations.

Jean Lévi, revised by Franciscus Verellen

Han tianshi shijia 漢天師世家

4 juan

Edited by Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, the Fiftieth Heavenly Master; published in 1607

1463 (fasc. 1066)

"Hereditary House of the Heavenly Master of the Han Dynasty." This text contains the biographies of the Tianshi of the Longhu shan 龍虎山 (Jiangxi) lineage. The present enlarged version includes as its last entry the life of the Forty-ninth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yongxu 張永緒 (d. 1565). The work contains, however, many traces of earlier editions.

According to the preface by Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), placed as a colophon in the present work (see also his *1311 Xianquan ji* 2.6a–8a), the compilation of the *Han tianshi shijia* was first undertaken by his father, the Forty-second Heavenly Master, Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (d. 1377). It was he who then invited the famous scholar Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381) to write the preface (dated 1376) that still figures in the present edition. The compilation apparently left something to be desired, and Zhang Yuchu revised it completely before he had it printed. He requested a preface from Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (dated 1390).

The present edition was brought up to date by Zhang Guoxiang, the editor of the 1607 supplement to the Taoist canon. Several authors contributed prefaces: Zhou Tianqiu 周天球 (dated 1593), Wang Dexin 王德新 (*jinshi* 進士, 1573), and Yu Wenwei 喻文偉 (dated 1597). Yu, a native of Yunnan, submitted his preface on his own initiative. The five prefaces together constitute the first juan of the work.

The second juan contains the biography of the First Heavenly Master, preceded by an introduction (*yin* 引) by Zhang Yue 張鉞 (*jinshi,* 1508), who apparently had also revised the work. Zhang Yue, himself a native from Jiangxi, was a personal friend of the Forty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yanpian 張諺翩 (d. 1537).

The history of the Longhu shan Heavenly Masters is beset by contradictions, at least early on. As has been pointed out by several historians (see Schipper, *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, Ve Section—Sciences Religieuses 91 [1982–1983]: 133–36), the institution of the Tianshi dao 天師道 of the Six Dynasties and early Tang periods was different from the Longhu shan establishment. In the former, not one but all direct descendants of the First Heavenly Master had the right to the hereditary title and to the office of Inspector of Merit (*dugong* 都功) of the Yangping zhi 陽平治, the first of the dioceses. It was not until the mid-Tang period that the Tianshi temple

on Longhu shan in Jiangxi became an important pilgrimage center and that its claim to be the original cradle of the Tianshi lineage emerged. The history of the lineage was then reinvented. The present work bears witness to this fact, for instance, by attributing exceptional longevity to earlier generations: from the death of Zhang Heng 張衡 in 179 to the death of the fifteenth Heavenly Master, Zhang Shilong 張士龍, during the Zhenyuan era (785–804) more than 600 years elapsed, during which there were thirteen Heavenly Masters, whereas during the following 600 years there were twenty-nine successors. The discrepancies in the making of the tradition can also be seen through a comparison with earlier biographies as recorded, for instance, in LZTT 19. There the lineage extends up to the thirty-fifth generation under the Southern Song period. These biographies may therefore have been compiled by the Thirty-sixth Heavenly Master, Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (d. 1291).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Xu taishi zhenjun tuzhuan 許太史眞君圖傳

2 juan

440 (fasc. 197)

"Life of the Grand Astrologer Xu." This is a richly illustrated hagiography of the great saint Xu Xun, who is said to have risen up to Heaven in 291 A.D. (figs. 36–38). Stories about Xu and his companion Wu Meng 吳猛 became current during the early medieval period. They greatly amplified during the Tang (618–907), giving rise to the Way of Filial Piety (Xiaodao 孝道) movement that was based on their lore (see *449 Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan*). Toward the end of the Tang, the holy places related to the worship of the immortal official, notably the temples on Xishan 西山 near Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi), became major pilgrimage centers.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Bo Yuchan wrote an extensive hagiography of Xu Xun and the lesser saints of his school under the title *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 *(263.31 Xiuzhen shishu)*. That work provided, with some variants, the basis for the present illustrated hagiography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Schipper, "Taoist ritual and local cults."

Kristofer Schipper

Xu zhenjun xianzhuan 許眞君仙傳

17 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)

447 (fasc. 200)

"Hagiography of Zhenren Xu." This is a Yuan version of the biography of Xu Xun in Bo Yuchan's *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (dated 1224), reproduced in *263.31 Xiuzhen shishu*.



FIGURE 36. Xu Xun fighting mountain spirits (*440* 1.19b–20a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/437)



FIGURE 37. Xu Xun smelting the iron pillar (*440* 2.7b–8b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/437)



FIGURE 38. Xu Xun rising up to Heaven (*440* 2.17b–18a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/437)

The present version cannot be earlier than 1295, since the qualifier *Zhidao xuanying* 至道玄應 in its title (1a) was conferred under the reign of the Yuan emperor Chengzong (1295–1307; see *1110 Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 1.12b).

The text differs from that of Bo Yuchan in the following respects: the actual deeds of the saint (*263 Xiuzhen shishu* 33) are slightly abridged, and the notes are incorporated into the text; the chapter concerning his posthumous career in *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 34 is lacking here; the biographies of his eleven disciples are considerably shortened (*263 Xiuzhen shishu* 35 in *263* corresponds to 14b–16b in the present version); and among the various saints of the movement that form the subject of (*263 Xiuzhen shishu* 36), only a succint account of Hu tianshi 胡天師 is included here.

Jean Lévi

Xishan Xu zhenren bashiwu hua lu 西山許眞君八十五化錄

3 fols. + 3 juan

Foreword and preface dated 1246; postface dated 1250, signed Yongwu zhenren Shi Cen 勇悟眞人施岑; second postface, by Sun Yuanming 孫元明, dated *dingwei* 丁未 (1247)

448 (fasc. 200)

"Record of the Eighty-five Manifestations of Zhenren Xu of Xishan." This is a reedition of the legend of Xu Xun compiled by Bo Yuchan in his *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (dated 1224), reproduced in *263.31 Xiuzhen shishu* (q.v.)

The author—whose identity is concealed behind the name of one of the disciples of the patriarch of the Loyalty and Filiality (Zhongxiao 忠孝) movement, Shi Cen—states in his presentation note that Xu Xun's teaching had enjoyed great popularity after the saint's "descent" at Jinling in 1224, when he announced his doctrine. At that time, several sanctuaries were dedicated to him and a Yongwu monastery became the seat of a fervent group of followers of the Way of Filial Piety. This is how the movement began. Later, a certain Song Daosheng 宋道昇 presented Shi Cen with a hagiography of the twelve saints of Xishan. To enliven the composition, Shi divided it into eighty-five scenes, each accompanied by a poem from his own brush. One of the members of the group undertook to collect funds to assure the work's diffusion.

In his postface, Sun Yuanming declares having received the visit of one of the members of the original circle, Jia Shoucheng 賈守澄, after a premonitory dream. Jia then passed the edition of Shi Cen on to him.

The date of Xu Xun's apparition in 1224 corresponds to that in Bo Yuchan's biography of the saint. In a note on the Pavilion for Assembling Immortals of the Yulong monastery, the name of the hermitage of Xu Xun, Bo Yuchan marvels at the enthusiasm the sanctuary enjoyed at that time (written on the occasion of his third

visit to Xishan since 1218; see *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 31.2b). The reedition of Bo Yuchan's text thus fell in a period when the movement was thriving.

Jean Lévi

***Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* 南嶽九眞人傳**

7 fols.

Edited by Liao Shen 廖侁; Northern Song (960–1127)?

452 (fasc. 201)

"Short Biographies of the Nine Zhenren of the Southern Peak." This work gives an account of the lives of nine persons who obtained the Tao on Hengshan 衡山 between 265 and 513 A.D. About Liao Shen no details are known apart from his official titles, but since in his introductory note he mentions the "commissioner of military affairs, Sun Mian 孫沔 [997–1067], of the present dynasty," and since the work is listed as anonymous in the *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe," 5.9a, we can conclude that Liao Shen probably lived in the late Northern Song period.

The introductory note makes it clear that Liao was not the actual author. He was asked by the Taoist master Ouyang Daolong 歐陽道隆, in whose family the biographies had been preserved, to write a preface to the text, since Ouyang wished to have it printed (he had already printed the *Duren jing* 度人經, *Daode jing* 道德經, and the *Jiuyou jing* 九幽經). Liao states that he corrected and edited the text.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji
終南山說經臺歷代眞仙碑記

19 fols.

Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先, *zi* Yixu sou 一虛叟; end of thirteenth century

956 (fasc. 605)

"Stele and Inscription on the Platform of the Discourse on the Scriptures and Its Immortals through the Ages." The Platform of the Discourse on the Scriptures (*shuojing tai* 說經臺) is traditionally the place where the Guardian of the Pass, Yin Xi 尹喜, received instruction, the *Daode jing* 道德經, and other scriptures from Laozi.

The work comprises thirty-five biographies of Taoists linked to the Louguan tradition. It was presented to two high-ranking Quanzhen 全眞 Taoists, the patriarch Nie Zhizhen 聶志眞 and the temple superintendent (*tidian* 提點), Zhao Zhixuan 趙志玄, by the author. The latter, a Maoshan Taoist and native of Gouqu 句曲, is also the author of another work on the Louguan tradition: *957 Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji*.

Zhu Xiangxian states in his postface that he visited the Louguan in 1279 and found there a work in three juan: the *Louguan xianshi zhuan* 樓觀先師傳. Additions to this work, originally revealed by Yin Gui 尹軌 to Liang Chen 梁諶 in 305 (8b), were made during the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581) by Wei Jie 韋節 (13a). It was later completed by Yin Wencao (d. 688). The *Louguan xianshi zhuan,* which was also known as *Louguan nei zhuan* 樓觀內傳 (VDL 87), comprised thirty biographies of immortals. Zhu Xiangxian seems to have drawn upon these works for most of the biographies in our text. He is himself, nevertheless, the author of a few biographies and of the eulogies in verse at the end of each biography. The biographies from Zhu's brush are those of Yin Xi, Yin Wencao, and three Taoists who lived during the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) periods: Liang Quan 梁筌, Yin Renping 尹忍平, and Li Zhirou 李志柔. Yin Xi's biography excepted, all the others are of the same, short length, which shows that the present work drastically abbreviated the original versions. The *Louguan zhuan,* quoted in *596 Xianyuan bianzhu*, is not the same as the *Louguan nei zhuan,* since the quotations do not correspond to our text.

Denis Allistone

***Huan zhenren shengxian ji* 桓眞人升仙記**

14 fols.

301 (fasc. 151)

"Record of Zhenren Huan's Ascent to Immortality." This work relates the legend of Tao Hongjing's disciple Huan [Fa]kai 桓法闓 (see, e.g., SDZN 1.17a), who in this version—unlike the historical tradition—travels from Sichuan to Maoshan to become Tao Hongqing's lowliest servant. Secretly he strives for perfection and is finally, to everybody's amazement, preferred to his ambitious master and summoned to Heaven before him.

In the tale, *neidan* practices—and especially a method of meditation called "silent audience with the emperor on high" (*mochao shangdi* 默朝上帝; cf. *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 6.5a–b)—are proposed as Huan's recipe of success. The text can scarcely date from a period earlier than the tenth century, since it refers to the cult of the Three Offices of the Water-Palace (*shuifu san guan* 水府三官; 9b). This cult was canonized for the first time in 928 by Yang Pu 楊溥, ruler of the Wu and, later, Nan Tang 南唐 empires (*Xin Wudai shi* 61.758; see also *Song huiyao jigao* 1:882).

While a roughly similar, though much shorter, hagiography of Huan (Fa)kai exists already in the *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 神仙感遇傳 by Du Guangting (in *Taiping guangji* 15.106; see Verellen, "Encounter as revelation," 380), only Zeng Zao (d. 1155) refers to details in the present text (compare *1017 Daoshu* 8.1a–2b with 1a–b, 3a–b, 5b, 6a–b, and 7a–b in the present text).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Strickmann, "Saintly fools and Chinese masters."

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taihua Xiyi zhi 太華希夷志

2 juan

By Zhang Lu 張輅; preface 1314

306 (fasc. 160)

"Records on [the Life of Chen] Xiyi of Huashan." This is a biography of CHEN TUAN, *hao* Xiyi 希夷 (d. 989). According to the author's preface, Zhang Lu was an administrative clerk (*zhishi* 知事) in Jinning 晉寧 in the Hezhong 河中 prefecture, not far from Huashan. It is there that he compiled this biography, based on material from diverse sources. Although the account is partly fact and mainly fiction, the author's wish was to give Chen's life a historical background.

The first chapter is devoted to CHEN TUAN's fame at the court of Taizong (r. 976–997) of the Song dynasty. The second chapter, which is a collection of anecdotes on the Taoist and his contemporaries, also includes a bibliographical list of Chen's works (7b). Zhu Xi's (1130–1200) *Wuchao mingchen yanxing lu* 10.1 seems to have been the main source of a number of passages (1.1a–b, 8b–10a, 13a–b; 2.2a–b, 3b–5a, 9a–13b), but these passages have not been excerpted directly from his works. Some passages (2.2b–3b) are extracts from Zhang Fangping's (1007–1091) account in *Lequan ji* 33.

Most of the material has been excerpted from *xiaoshuo* 小說 literature of the Song period (960–1279). One passage (2.1a–2b) is taken from the *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 by the Buddhist Wenying 釋文瑩, as quoted in the encyclopedia *Huang Song shishi leiyuan* by Jiang Shaoyu (twelfth century). A poem dedicated to Zhang Yong 張詠 (2.1b) is also from the same source. Another passage (2.1a) can be found in the *Qingxiang zaji* by Wu Chuhou (eleventh century).

Certain parts of our text (5a–b, 6a–b) have much in common with CHEN TUAN's biography in the LZTT 47. It is possible that both versions are based on the biography in the lost *Gaodao zhuan*. A short passage of our text (1.15a) is identical with the quotation in *1248 Sandong qunxian lu* 13.10b, which gives the *Gaodao zhuan* as its source. This quotation also figures in the LZTT biography. CHEN TUAN's poems were famous during the Song, and our text includes some of them, the most important being an exchange of poems with Song Taizong in juan 1. The date indicated, Zhidao 1 (995), seems to be erroneous, since CHEN TUAN died in 989. The *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* states that the poems were written in Yongxi 1 (984). The source of the poems is lost, but some of them can also be found in other works. The first and the last of the poems in juan 1 (13b) figure in a biography of CHEN TUAN attributed to Pang Jue 龐覺, included in the *Qingsuo gaoyi*. A monograph on Huashan, the *Huayue zhi*, reproduces some passages (1.3a–3b, 6b), three poems (1.7a), and also a poem by Song Taizong's third messenger, Ge Shouzhong 葛守中 (var. 忠).

Denis Allistone

Taiji Ge xiangong zhuan 太極葛仙公傳

29 fols.

By Tan Sixian 譚嗣先, *zi* Daolin 道林; preface by Zhu Chuo 朱綽 (dated 1377)

450 (fasc. 201)

"Biography of Ge [Xuan 玄], Duke-Immortal of the Taiji [Palace]." The preface by Zhu Chuo is dated by the cyclical characters *dingsi* 丁巳. Since Zhu Chuo is listed as registrar (*zhubu* 主簿) of Pingyin 平陰 district (Shandong) during the early Ming (*Jurong xian zhi* 8.22b), *dingsi* stands for the year 1377.

Zhu not only wrote the preface but also revised the text and rearranged its order. Tan Sixian, the compiler of this hagiography, was a Taoist in the Qingyuan monastery 青元觀 constructed in 508 A.D. on the site of GE XUAN's dwelling. As a basis for his work he used a "Biography of the Duke-Immortal" that had been recorded on the Gezao 閣皁山 mountain (preface) where Ge is said to have obtained immortality. That biography, probably a Southern Song (1127–1279) work, apparently served also as the basis for GE XUAN's biography in LZTT 23. In addition, Tan draws on other sources, such as *1016 Zhen'gao* and *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳.

In the present text, we find appended to Ge's hagiography (1a–22b) inscriptions by Fang Jun 方峻 (*jinshi* 進士 1030) and TAO HONGJING (23a–26b; it corresponds to *1050 Huayang Tao yinju ji* 2.5a–8b), as well as two Song edicts (dating from 1104 and 1246, respectively) bestowing the titles Chongying zhenren 沖應眞人 and Chongying fuyou zhenjun 沖應孚佑眞君 on GE XUAN.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yunfu shan Shen xianweng zhuan 雲阜山申仙翁傳

13 fols.

First half of the fourteenth century

451 (fasc. 201)

"Biography of Shen, the Immortal Old Man from Mount Yunfu." This hagiography, obviously written in the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty (12b speaks of the "previous Song" and the "great Yuan"), gives an account of the career of Shen Taizhi 申泰芝 (687–755; 1b, 7b–8a) and the cult devoted to him that was initiated on imperial order immediately after his death on Yunshan 雲山 in Hunan and that was still continuing when this text was written. The hagiography concludes with an episode set in the ninth century attesting to the truth of this account, and with the imperial decree of 1157 canonizing Shen as Miaoji zhenren 妙寂眞人.

Various stories of Shen's life that have been worked—in considerably modified and embellished form—into the present hagiography are found in the following earlier works: 1a–3b, cf. *Nanyue zongsheng ji* 3.8a–b; 4a–b, cf. *Longcheng lu* 1.7a–8a (where our protagonist is called Shen *tianshi* 申天師); 5b–6a, cf. *Xianzhuan shiyi* (in *Taiping guangji*

33.210; the protagonist is named Shen Yuanzhi 申元之); 10a–11b, cf. *Chuanji* 傳記 (in *Taiping guangji* 69.428–31; the protagonist is Shen *tianshi* or Shen Yuan 申元). Zhao Daoyi took these different names to stand for two different persons, cf. LZTT 33.13b–14a (identical with *Nanyue zongsheng ji* 3.8a–b) and 39.6b–7b (same as *Xianzhuan shiyi*).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 唐葉眞人傳**

35 fols.

Ca. 1250

779 (fasc. 557)

"Biography of the Zhenren Ye [Fashan 法善] of the Tang Dynasty." The biography is preceded by a preface and a genealogical table of the Ye family. The preface by Ma Guangzu 馬光祖 (*hao* Yuzhai 裕齋) is dated Chunyou (1241–1253), *gengzi* 庚子. But as the *gengzi* 庚子 year (1240) falls outside this period, the cyclical date is probably an error for *gengxu* 庚戌 (1250) or *renzi* 壬子 (1252).

In his preface (1a), which also mentions a cult of Ye Fashan, Ma writes that Zhang Daotong 張道統, a Taoist from the Chongzhen 沖眞 monastery (in Lishui 麗水 county, Zhejiang), showed him a "Biography of the Heavenly Master Ye," probably referring to the present work. The Chongzhen monastery, originally named Xuanyang guan 宣陽觀, had once been established at Ye's request; later on Ye was buried there (14a; 16b–17b).

According to the biography—which by means of numerous episodes illustrates Ye's role as a Taoist at the court, but also as a helper of the people—Ye lived from 614 to 720 (15a; cf. his biography in *Jiu Tang shu* 191). Appended, we find Ye's petitions to Xuanzong together with the imperial replies (17b–21b), inscriptions for Ye and his ancestors, as well as edicts for the bestowal of honorary titles upon them (up to the year 1120). A fragment (29b–31a) of the inscription by Xuanzong has been preserved in the Dunhuang manuscript Stein 4281.

The present text is probably extensively based on older works. The Song bibliographies list a biography of Ye, written by Liu Gushen 劉谷神 (see VDL 150). His biography in *Taiping guangji* 26.170–74 was assembled from episodes in *Jiyi ji* and *Xianzhuan shiyi* (ninth and tenth centuries) and, moreover, refers to his "proper biography" (*benzhuan* 本傳).

For the confusion of Ye Fashan with Ye Jingneng 葉淨能, to whom sometimes the same episodes are ascribed, see Yusa Noboru, "Yō Hōzen."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cadonna, *Il taoista di Sua Maestà;* Ding Huang, "Ye Fashan"; Yusa Noboru, "Yō Hōzen to Yō Jōnō."

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* 地祇上將溫太保傳**

15 fols., with a supplement (*buyi* 補遺) of 5 fols.

Edited by Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾; 1274

780 (fasc. 557)

"Life of Guardian Wen, Chief General of the Earth Spirits." This hagiography of one of modern China's great gods was originally written in 1258 by Liu Yu 劉玉, *hao* Qingqing 清卿, a daoshi from Sichuan. Liu's preface has been preserved in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 253.1a–3b. The postface by Huang Gongjin, dated 1274 and preserved in the same collection (253.9a–10a), explains how Huang incorporated Liu's work in a treatise on Guardian Wen and the earth spirits, which he had printed.

The present hagiography's format and style in fact transform it into a short story, an early example of the genre that was to become so popular in Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) times. It gives a vivid and entertaining account of the god's early years during the Tang dynasty (618–907), when he, a divine incarnation born in Pingyang 平陽 (Wenzhou 溫州), served as a petty officer in the army of Guo Ziyi 郭子儀. Thereafter he became a butcher of buffalo, a most sacrilegious trade. After being converted by a celestial envoy, he prepared himself for divine office by worshiping the statue of an assistant of the god of Taishan 泰山 in the latter's temple, having made the vow to become himself such an assistant after his death. The time for this transformation would come, he was told, when the statue had changed. When, thereupon, two boys tried to play a trick on him by painting the statue green and red and by sticking two boar's tusks into its mouth, Wen died on the spot and transformed himself into a fierce guardian spririt in the image of the statue. Refusing the canonization by the state (*guofeng* 國封) and bloody sacrifices (*xueshi* 血食), he entered into the service of the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (Xujing zhenren 續靜眞人, 1092–1126), as a commander of the latter's spirit army. In this capacity, Wen performed many great feats, and thus was canonized liturgically (*daofeng* 道封) as Zhufa yiling zhaowu dashi taibao 助法翊靈昭武大使太保, which is the title he has in most rituals. While respecting Buddhism as one of the great ways of salvation, Wen was especially active against Buddhist heresies of the popular Santan 三壇 sect. The supplement contains further adventures and, presumably, brings the story up to the times of Liu Yu and Huang Gongjin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Katz, "Wen Ch'iung."

Kristofer Schipper

Ningyang Dong zhenren yuxian ji 凝陽董眞人遇仙記
16 fols.
By Lu Zhaowen 祿昭聞; ca. 1238
308 (fasc. 160)

"Encounters with Immortals of the Congealed Yang Zhenren Dong." This is a chronicle of the career of the otherwise unknown Dong Shouzhi 董守志 (1160–1227). Dong was a Jurchen who adopted a Chinese name and became a military man. He was chronically ill until he was converted and became cured at the age of thirty-five. From then on, he led an eventful life as a Taoist monk in the western Shaanxi and eastern Gansu areas. After a short summary (1a–2a) of the whole story, Lu Zhaowen, otherwise unknown, narrates chronologically the most significant events of Dong's life. Most of these events are encounters with the three immortals ZHONGLI QUAN, LÜ DONGBIN, and LIU HAICHAN, who appear either alone or in pairs, imparting medicine or talismans, instruction and poems, sometimes speaking from the void and sometimes appearing in person to perform miracles.

It is noteworthy that LÜ DONGBIN is the least prominent of the three. On the other hand, the hagiographic data on LIU HAICHAN are especially interesting; they form the first substantial account of him before the official Quanzhen 全眞 biography, *173 Jinlian zhenzong ji*, a few years later. Although famous since the eleventh century as a disciple of CHEN TUAN and a ***neidan*** 內丹 master (see *Dongxuan bilu* 8.90), LIU HAICHAN's legend appears in developed form only by the late Jurchen Jin period (1115–1234). Some of the information also differs from both the Quanzhen texts and early sources such as, notably, the two inscriptions *Liu Haichan xianji* 劉海蟾仙蹟 (1116; cf. Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 328–30) and *Chuang Haichan tang yishi keji* 創海蟾堂移石刻記 (1148; *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 1010). According to WANG CHONGYANG's poems, Liu hailed from Yan 燕 (also the place named in the later standard version of his life), while the inscriptions place his origins in Qin. In the present text, he says himself that he came from Ruicheng 芮城 (southern Shanxi, very near LÜ DONGBIN's birthplace); he also has a "yellow face," a trait unique to this account.

The narrative is in a matter-of-fact style; it evokes a popular following that probably mingled with the more articulate Quanzhen movement after Dong's death. The transmission of the Tao from LIU HAICHAN to Dong is mentionned in *174 Jinlian zhenzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* 17b, and a Ningyang wanshou gong 凝陽萬壽宮, originally founded by Dong, was active in Longzhou 隴州 (western Shaanxi) until the late Ming.

Vincent Goossaert

3.A.6.c Mountain and Temple Monographs

Maoshan zhi 茅山志
33 juan
Compiled ca. 1330 by Liu Dabin 劉大彬, *hao* Yuxu zi 玉虛子; prefaces by Zhao Shiyan 趙世延 (1324), WU QUANJIE 吳全節 (1327), and the compiler (1328)
304 (fasc. 153–158)

"Chronicle of Maoshan." This work was compiled on the initiative of WU QUANJIE—who had first approached Wang Daomeng 王道孟, the forty-forth Maoshan patriarch—and, finally, his successor, Liu Dabin. Wu, as the archpatriarch (*xuanjiao da zongshi* 玄教大宗師), presided over Taoism in the South China region, and saw in this work the reward for his own efforts and those of his predecessor, Zhang Liusun 張留孫, to obtain imperial support and special favors for the Taoist community on Maoshan. It took thirteen years to complete the chronicle. Liu Dabin, who meanwhile had fallen ill, had charged his disciples with collecting material, but completion of the work was delayed as supplement after supplement was included. Thus we even find a memorandum by Liu Dabin on a *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 held in 1330 on behalf of the empire (4.18b–19a).

The chronicle includes official historical documents, a section on the legend of the Mao brothers, a description of the mountain's topography with its natural sites, a section on bibliography, another on the lineage of Maoshan patriarchs in the form of biographies, the lives of those immortals and famous Taoists who in the course of history had lived on Maoshan, a description of the local flora, reproductions of numerous inscriptions on steles at monasteries and other sanctuaries, and finally a section containing poetry and miscellanea.

Apart from the rich documentary material from a wide range of historical sources used in the chronicle, Liu drew on *1016 Zhen'gao* and on a *Maoshan ji* 茅山記 in four juan by Fu Xiao 傅霄 and Zeng Xun 曾恂, dated 1150 (now lost), which treated mainly the topography and the buildings of Maoshan. The twelve sections constituting the work were originally divided into fifteen juan.

Liu Dabin was not the only one who contributed to the first version of this chronicle: at the end of the text we find a postface written in 1320 by ZHAO MENGFU (1254–1322) for an illustrated work ordered by Liu Dabin on the Shangqing tradition (*Shangqing chuanzhen tu* 上清傳眞圖). There Zhao presents himself as the author of the biographies that accompanied the portraits of the forty-five patriarchs of Maoshan. Presumably Liu included these biographies, if not the portraits, in his *Maoshan zhi*. The eulogies (*zan* 贊) appended in the chronicle to all these biographies (juan 10–12) are by Yu Ji 虞集 (1271–1348) and are also found in his *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 45. The cal-

ligraphic rendering of the whole text was finally the responsibility of Zhang Yu 張雨 (1277–1348; see *Pingjin guan jianzang ji shuji* 1.11a–b; CGF 247–50). In this form the work was printed twice: for the first time during the Yuan (1279–1368), and the second time, with an additional preface by Hu Yan 胡儼, in 1423. No later edition reproduced Zhang Yu's calligraphy and the original illustrations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lu Renlong, "*Daozang* ben *Maoshan zhi*"; Xu Jianxun, "*Maoshan zhi* ji qi banben chutan."

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

***Xiyue Huashan zhi* 西嶽華山誌**

23 fols.

By Wang Chuyi 王處一, *zi* Ziyuan 子淵, *hao* Lianfeng yishi 蓮峰逸士; preface by Liu Dayong 劉大用, *zi* Qizhi 器之 (1183)

307 (fasc. 160)

"Monograph on the Western Peak." Huashan, the mountain of the title, is one of the five sacred mountains. The author sojourned on the Lotus Peak, one of the central summits of Huashan, whence his *hao,* "Recluse of the Lotus Peak." The Taoist of the Quanzhen 全眞 school and author of *1152 Yungang ji,* Wang Chuyi (1142–1217), lived during the same period under the Jin dynasty, but his well-documented biography shows that he had no connection with the Lotus Peak.

Liu Dayong states in his preface that the author based his work on older monographs such as the *Huashan ji* 華山記 and the "Tujing 圖經" (a lost *Huazhou tujing* 華州圖經 is quoted in the text) and that he collected anecdotes on the mountain from such ancient works as the *294 Liexian zhuan* attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向. Moreover, the text comprised "over seventy *pian* 篇 concerning the peaks, caverns, monasteries, natural products, relics, immortals, and so on, of the Huashan" (preface). This description does not accord with the present version; it is probable, therefore, that our text is incomplete. This impression is reinforced by the fact that a later monograph, the *Huayue zhi* 華嶽志, quotes (cf. 1.23a, 45b; 3.3b) a *Xiyue Huanshan zhi,* but the quotations in question are missing in the present version.

The text includes two prefaces by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty (r. 712–756), the second of which is only the first section of a stele (for the complete text, see "Xiyue Taihua shan beixu," in *Quan Tang wen* 41). The *421 Dengzhen yinjue* quotation (6b) cannot be found in the extant version of this work in the *Daozang*. Similarly, the source of one story is wrongly given as the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (5b–6a); it was in fact excerpted from the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳. The latter is also the origin of a passage further on in the text (8b–9a). The "old poem" (2a) is by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824; cf. *Quan Tang shi* 3789). Two short passages (21.b–2a) reassemble *599 Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 3b and 6b. The couplet attributed to Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) on 21b is unidentified.

Denis Allistone

***Meixian guan ji* 梅仙觀記**

26 fols.

Ca. 1296

600 (fasc. 331)

"Records of the Monastery of the Immortal Mei [Fu 福]." The present compilation should be dated 1296, since the date given in the text—"second year of Zhenyuan 貞元" (9b)—must be an error for "Yuanzhen 元貞."

The work has been compiled from constituent parts. Its first part, the "Meixian shishi 梅仙事實" (True History of the Immortal Mei; 1a–9b) by Yang Zhiyuan 楊智遠 (fl. 1082) from the Meixian guan in Fengcheng 豐城 district (Jiangxi), gives an account of the life of Mei Fu, who lived under Wang Mang (r. A.D. 9–25; 1a–6b has been adopted almost verbatim from *Han shu* 67.2917 ff.). Mei finally obtained immortality and ascended into Heaven from Mount Feihong 飛鴻山, which was afterward renamed Meixian shan 梅仙山 (6a–9a; strongly abridged citation in LZTT 14.14b–15a). The last paragraph (9a–b) of this first part (in which the above-mentioned date appears) is—although not marked as such—a later addition that also describes the condition of the monastery (occupied by Buddhists) in the late thirteenth century.

The second part (9b–11b) consists of various inscriptions on steles, one of which is dated 1270. Pages 11b–15b contain the application for canonization, in which Yang Zhiyuan played an active part, and the bestowal of the titles Shouchun zhenren 壽春眞人 (in 1082; cf. *Songchao da zhaoling ji* 宋朝大詔令集 136.6b) and Shouchun liyin 吏隱 zhenren (in 1132) for Mei Fu.

The final part consists of a hymn in praise of Mei, as well as numerous poems about the mountain named after him and the monastery there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Li Junqing, "*Meixian guan ji* kaobian."

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Jinhua Chisong shan zhi* 金華赤松山志**

2 juan

By Ni Shouyue 倪守約, *zi* Zhuquan 竹泉; second half of the thirteenth century

601 (fasc. 331)

"Monograph on Mount Jinhua." This mountain is linked to the legend of Chisong zi 赤松子 and to that of Huang Chuping 皇初平 (whose *zi* was also Chisong zi) and

his brother Huang Chuqi 皇初起. According to the text (5b), Chisong shan 赤松山 is another name for Jinhua. The work itself can be dated to the end of the Southern Song (1127–1279); the author (about whom we have little information), a Taoist of Mount Jinhua 金華山, lived at the beginning of the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty (see *Jinhua youlu* 2b).

The monograph seems to have been reconstructed from local sources, parts of which had already been lost at the time the work was undertaken (see preface, 1a). It includes a biography of the brothers Huang that tries to give a historical background to their legend by mentioning honorific titles they received during the Southern Song. This biography is followed by a description of the mountain that starts with an account of the alchemical tradition and of deposits of cinnabar, then offers a physical description of the mountain (caverns, peaks, rivers, and streams), and ends with an account of the monasteries. Among the latter, special attention is paid to the Baoji guan 寶積觀 or Chisong gong 赤松宮 (3a–12b). Seven biographies of Taoists of the area, chronologically arranged, figure in the text (12b–16b). The majority of these figures are famous for having been received at court during the Southern Song or for having played an important role in the Taoist history of the region. The work contains some anomalies: according to the text (16a), Zhu Zhichang 朱知常 was the forty-first patriarch of Maoshan; *304 Maoshan zhi* 12.11a speaks of the irregularity of the secession of Maoshan patriarchs and gives the name of Wang Zhixin 王志心.

Three imperial edicts are included in the monograph (16b–18a): the first, dated 1099, confers the title of Chisong zi lingxu zhenjun 赤松子凌虛眞君 on Chisong zi, the immortal of antiquity. The second and third edicts, dated 1189 and 1262, both concern honorific titles conferred upon the Huang brothers. A list of steles of Mount Jinhua is included (18a–19b) but without the text. Four titles of Taoist texts preserved in various temples are found at the end. Two of these works are still extant (*185 Chisong zi zhongjie jing* and *1167 Taishang ganying pian*). The *Zhifu zhai congshu* 知服齋叢書 edition and the present text are identical.

Denis Allistone

Xiandu zhi 仙都志

2 juan

By Chen Xingding 陳性定, *zi* Ciyi 此一; edited by Wu Mingyi 吳明義, *zi* Zhongyi 中誼; preface dated 1348

602 (fasc. 331)

"Topography of [Mount] Xiandu." The preface was probably written by Wu Mingyi, who like Chen was a Taoist residing on Mount Xiandu (Jinyun 縉雲 county, Zhejiang). It mentions Zhao Siqi 趙嗣祺 (*zi* Xuyi 虛一) because in 1320 he was the first to receive an imperial decree (signifying official recognition) from the Yuan (1279–1368) court to administer the Yuxu gong 玉虛宮 temple on this mountain (1.9a–b).

The text deals with the topography, religious buildings, and flora of the mountain, as well as with persons who obtained immortality and other outstanding people associated with the mountain. In addition there is a list of inscriptions and the text of poems and inscriptions by a large number of scholars.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Tiantai shan zhi 天台山志

21 fols.

Compiled in 1368

603 (fasc. 332)

"Monograph on Mount Tiantai." This work is a compilation of the early Ming (1368–1644) dynasty (for the date, see 10a). It includes an introduction, where the author links the Tiantai traditions to those of the Shangqing. This is followed by four sections on peaks, caverns, rivers, streams, and, finally, ending with famous monasteries. The most important of these was the Tongbo guan 桐柏觀, founded in 711 in honor of SIMA CHENGZHEN on Mount Tongbo 桐柏山, under which was situated the Cavern-Heaven (*dongtian* 洞天) of the Golden Court, over which reigned the immortal Wangzi Qiao 王子喬.

The "Stele on Tongbo guan" (10b–13b) is dated 748. The author, Cui Shang 崔尙, was an official in the Department of Sacrifice (cf. *Xin Tang shu* 72B.2736). The *Jinxie linlang* 金薤琳琅 includes a truncated copy of the inscription, based on a rubbing of the original.

The "Record on the Reconstitution of the Taoist Library" (13b–15a), dated 1010 and written by the scholar Xia Shu 夏疏 (984–1050), recounts how the collection of Taoist books was transported to Hangzhou in 985, where they were copied. They were later returned to Tiantai for preservation.

The "Record on the Restoration of the Tongbo guan" (15a–18b), by Cao Xun 曹勛 (d. 1174), is dated 1168. It describes the huge construction work under the direction of Shi Baozhang 石葆璋 that was finally completed in 1167.

The last pages of the monograph comprise poems by famous poets—including Li Bo 李白 (701–762) and Luo Yin 羅隱 (833–909)—inspired by Mount Tiantai, as well as some short notes on the secularization of certain monasteries or on their links to the Tongbo guan during the early Ming.

Denis Allistone

Longrui guan Yuxue Yangming dongtian tujing 龍瑞觀禹穴陽明洞天圖經
4 fols.
By Ye Shu 葉樞; 1114
604 (fasc. 332)

"Monograph on the Cavern-Heaven Yangming, the Cavern of Yu the Great, and on the Longrui Guan." This is a text composed of quotations concerning the legend of Yu the Great, in the kingdom of Yue, excerpted from diverse books. The monograph also deals with the history of the monastery Longrui guan 龍瑞觀 in Guiji 會稽. The *599 Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* by DU GUANGTING affirms that Guiji is the Cavern-Heaven Yangming of Supreme Mystery 極玄陽明洞天. This designation accords with our text, which quotes as its source the *Guishan boyu [shan] jing* 龜山白玉經 (1b). According to *969 Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji* (preface), the latter work (now lost) once formed part of the Taoist canon.

The text has been attributed to Li Zonge 李宗諤 (964–1012), probably the reason the bibliographical chapters of the *Song shi* (204B.5156) list a *Yangming dongtian tujing* 陽明洞天圖經 in fifteen juan under his name. The same work also considers Li as the author of the *Yuezhou tujing* 越州圖經 in nine juan, a book that is also mentioned in our text (3b). The date of the work and the name of the author, however, are clearly indicated at the end of our text. The author, Ye Shu, a native of Yuezhou and a *jinshi* 進士, later served as assistant lecturer in the Wei prefecture in Shandong.

The Longrui guan was built on the site of the ancient temple Houshen guan 郤神觀, according to the "Tang Longrui guan ji 唐龍瑞觀記" stele (see *Liang Zhe jinshi zhi* 2.13b). The name Houshen guan was changed to Huaixian guan 懷仙館 under the Liu Song (420–479), at the request of the Taoist Kong Lingchan 孔靈產. The *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳, quoted in SDZN 2.7b, states that the monastery was constructed under the emperor Mingdi (465–471), next to the cavern of Yu the Great. Our text indicates the date of its founding as 705, but according to the stele, its second reconstruction took place that year. It is only since 714, however, after the observance of a *jiao* 醮 celebrated by YE FASHAN, that the monastery was known as Longrui guan. The Cavern-Heaven Yangming is the cave where the books used by Yu the Great for controlling the floods were hidden (3b).

There is an identical edition of the text in Luo Zhenyu's *Yujian zhai congshu* 玉簡齋叢書. According to the author, the text formed part of the Song canon.

Denis Allistone

Siming dongtian danshan tu yong ji 四明洞天丹山圖詠集
36 fols.
By Zeng Jian 曾堅, *zi* Zibo 子白; ca. 1362
605 (fasc. 332)

The "Collection of Poems on and Descriptions of the Cavern-Heaven Siming and the Cinnabar Mountain." This work comprises texts from different periods on Mount Siming 四明山 in Zhejiang. The collection, compiled toward the end of the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty, can be dated approximately on the basis of two internal dates: 1362 (11a) and 1361 (13a).

The author, Zeng Jian of Linchuan, was a contemporary of Wei Su 危素 (*zi* Taipu 太僕, 1303–1372), author of two important texts in the collection. Both Zeng and Wei were disciples of WU CHENG (1249–1333).

The preface by Zeng Jian, like DU GUANGTING's *599 Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji,* identifies Mount Siming as the Ninth Cavern-Heaven. It also mentions two illustrations (*tu* 圖) of the mountain by Xue Yifu 薛毅夫 which are, however, missing from the present version.

The first section of the collection is an ancient description of the mountain ascribed to Mu Hua 木華 (*zi* Xuanxu 玄虛), with a commentary by He Zhizhang 賀知章 (659–744). Our text places Mu Xuanxu in the Tang (618–907) dynasty (1a), although he was a well-known scholar of the Jin period (265–420). In fact, the main text cannot be of the Jin dynasty, since it mentions the names of Taoists posterior to this period (such as Fan Yan 范顏 and Ying Ze 應則; 4a–b). Although Mu's authorship of this part can be contested, it is nevertheless possible that he was the author of a monograph on the mountain, since the Buddhist monk Zanning 釋贊寧 (919–1000) quotes a *Siming shan ji* 四明山記 by Mu Xuanxu in his *Sunpu* 筍譜. The authenticity of He Zhizhang's commentary, however, is almost beyond doubt, since during the Northern Song (960–1127) he was known to have written a preface to a *Xuanxu zhi* 玄虛志 (see *779 Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 16b). He also called himself Siming kuangren 四明狂人.

The description of the mountain is followed by two short biographies (6b–7a) of the immortals Liu Wang 劉網 (Han) and Kong You 孔祐 (Southern Qi). The "Inscription on Siming shan 四明山" and the "Record of the Boshui guan 白水觀" (9a–11a) are by Wei Su and were written at the request of Wu Guogong 吳國珙, disciple of Mao Yongzhen 毛永貞. The latter, a Taoist of the Sanhua yuan 三華院 on Mount Longhu 龍虎山, had sojourned in the Boshui guan for a long period of time (11b). In this context, the text draws an analogy to Wu Zhenyang 吳眞陽 (*hao* Hunpu zi 混樸子) of the Southern Song (1127–1279) dynasty: he was a disciple of the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126), and also a Taoist of the Sanhua yuan who was linked to the Boshui guan (10a). The Longhu shan is mentioned often in our text, which suggests that the Taoism of Mount Siming followed the Heavenly

Master tradition. Mao Yongzhen was also responsible for the construction of a dwelling, the Shitian shanfang 石田山房, which was situated next to the Siyu guan 祠宇觀 on Mount Siming (cf. the preface by Zeng Jian, 11a–13a). The text ends with poems (13a–36a) on the mountain by authors of different periods, ranging from the Tang to end of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368).

A commentary on the text ascribed to Mu Xuanxu was written by the Ming Scholar Huang Zongxi (1610–1695) in his *Siming shan zhi*. The commentary points out numerous errors in the Mu Xuanxu description of the mountain.

Denis Allistone

***Nanyue zongsheng ji* 南嶽總勝集**

27 fols.

606 (fasc. 332)

"General Account of the Scenery of the Southern Peak." This title is misleading, since the present text gives only the twenty-eight entries on Taoist establishments in the second juan of the *Nanyue zongsheng ji* by Chen Tianfu 陳田夫. The original work consists of three juan (as reprinted in the *Lilou congshu* 麗廔叢書, which is based on a Song (960–1279) edition and preserves its format of twenty lines with twenty characters each; see also the Buddhist canon edition listed in the general bibliography in volume 3): juan 1 deals with topography, local cults, and so on; juan 2 is about Buddhist and Taoist religious buildings and the flora and fauna of the mountain; and juan 3 has biographies of hermits and eminent Buddhists and Taoists from the Tang (618–907) to the Song period.

In the preface (dated 1163) to his work, Chen, himself a resident of the Southern Peak, says that he mainly combined four existing records of the Hengshan 衡山 for his compilation: a Buddhist and a Taoist record, and two recent texts, *Shenggai ji* 勝槩集 and *Hengshan ji* 衡山記.

The history of the *Lilou congshu* edition of the text is described in the preface by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (dated 1907). Different editions of Chen's work are discussed by Mo Boji in *Wushiwan juan lou qunshu bawen* 3.182a–184b.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Wudang jisheng ji* 武當紀勝集**

32 fols.

By Luo Tingzhen 羅霆震; *hao* Yunlu qiaoweng 雲麓樵翁; Yuan (1279–1368)

963 (fasc. 609)

"Record of the Scenery of Wudang" This title comprises a collection of descriptive poems by a single author. Nothing is known about Luo Tingzhen. The name given for his place of origin, Longxing lu 龍興路, corresponds to the appellation used for the region of Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi) in Yuan times. The poems describe in simple diction the scenery, monuments, and remarkable sites on Wudang shan 武當山.

Kristofer Schipper

***Dadi dongtian ji* 大滌洞天記**

3 juan

By Deng Mu 鄧牧, *zi* Muxin 牧心 (1247–1306)

782 (fasc. 559)

"Records of the Cavern-Heavens of Great Purity." This text describes in detail Mount Dadi, thirty-fourth of the thirty-six *dongtian* 洞天, which lies to the southwest of Hangzhou in Zhejiang; it also includes fifty biographies of mountain dwellers. The author was a recluse who retired after the fall of the Song to the famous Taoist establishment, the Dongxiao gong 洞霄宮, on the mountainside.

The text is preceded by three prefaces. The third is dated 1305 and signed Shen Duofu 沈多福, *zi* Jieshi, abbot of the Dongxiao gong. In this preface, Shen says that asked his disciple Meng Jixu 孟集虛 to collaborate on the compilation of this text, which he entitled *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志. Shen also draws attention to the fact that a former work devoted to Mount Dadi—the *[Dadi] Zhenjing lu* (大滌) 眞境錄, written in 1118 by the daoshi Tang Zixia 唐子霞—was already a lost book, and that an expanded edition published between 1234 and 1236 was also lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dongxiao tuzhi; Fu Lo-shu, "A forgotten Chinese philosopher."

Pauline Bentley Koffler

***Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集**

3 juan

By Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先, *zi* Yixu sou 一虛叟; soon after 1308

957 (fasc. 605)

"Collection from the Hall of Purple Clouds and Abundant Blessing of the Ancient Louguan." This work is a compilation comprising stele and other inscriptions concerning the Louguan 樓觀, for the period ranging from the Tang (618–907) to the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties, with, at the end, poems by authors of the Tang, Song, and the Yuan. The name of the hall constructed in 1242 (1.16b) was inspired by a phenomenon that took place in 741, when purple clouds appeared indicating the location of sacred texts (cf. *770 Hunyuan shengji* 8.32b). The collection is posterior to 1308, the last date it mentions (2.23a).

There are some important documents concerning the Louguan of the Tang period: the "Record of the Zongsheng guan 宗聖觀" (1.1a–4b; the name Louguan was changed to Zongsheng guan in 625); a biography of YIN WENCAO by Yuan Banqian 員半千 (621–714), engraved upon a stele in 717 (1.4b–9b; the text is reproduced in the *Jinshi cuibian* 71.18b–22b); a stele by Dai Xuan 戴璇 in honor of Laozi and the Louguan (1.9b–13a).

The Yuan documents deal mainly with the Quanzhen 全眞 school of Taoism. The "Record on the Reconstruction of the Louguan" (1. 13a–18b), by Li Ding 李鼎 and dated 1263, was engraved upon a stele in 1296. It recounts work undertaken for the reconstruction of the Louguan, which had been completely destroyed during the war that took place between 1232 and 1233, toward the end of the Jin dynasty. The reconstruction, which began in 1236 under the direction of Li Zhirou 李志柔 (*zi* Qianshu 謙叔, 1188–1266) and at the behest of the sixth patriarch Yin Zhiping 尹志平, was finished in 1242. This text also extols the reappearance of the *Guanyin zi* 關尹子, an apocryphal work ascribed to Yin Xi 尹喜 and "rediscovered" by Sun Ding 孫定 in Zhejiang. It is there that a certain Zhang Zhongcai 張仲才 obtained the text and presented it to Yin Zhiping in 1233. In 1282, Zhu Xiangxian also wrote about the reappearance of the *Guanyin zi* in his *Wenshi zhenjing chushi ji* 文史眞經初世紀 (Shoushan ge 守山閣 edition, *zi bu* 子部, "yuanben" 原本). The "Record" also indicates that the honorific title of Shuntian xingguo 順天興國 was given to the Zongsheng guan in 988 (1.14a). This was the name of the highest altar (*tan* 壇) in the ritual revealed to Zhang Shouzhen 張守眞 by the divinity Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖寶德眞君 during the early Song (cf. *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan* 1.3a and *956 Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* 17a).

The reconstruction of the Louguan and the *Guanyin zi* form the main topic in most of the texts preserved in the present collection. The biography of Li Zhirou (2.8b–12a) by Li Daoqian 李道謙 differs considerably from the one in *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* (7.16b–20b). Four texts of the collection, of which one is a preface to a Louguan edition of the *Guanyin zi* (2.1a–1b), are by Zhu Xiangxian. The collection also includes a biography of Yin Zhiping by Jia Yu 賈毓 (2.3a–7b) and texts by DU DAOJIAN (3.1a–5a), Shi Tingyu 石廷玉 (2.2a–3a), Zhao Fu 趙復 (*zi* Renfu 仁甫; 2.7b–8b), and Wang Shoudao 王守道 (2.21a–23a).

Denis Allistone

Song dong Taiyi gong beiming 宋東太乙宮碑銘
5 fols.
By Hu Meng 扈蒙, *zi* Riyong 日用; 984
965 (fasc. 610)

Song xi Taiyi gong beiming 宋西太乙宮碑銘
5 fols.
By Song Shou 宋綬, *zi* Gongchui 公垂; 1029
966 (fasc. 610)

Song zhong Taiyi gong beiming 宋中太乙宮碑銘
5 fols.
By LÜ HUIQING 呂惠卿, *zi* Jifu 吉甫; 1074
967 (fasc. 610)

These three steles commemorate three palaces constructed during the Northern Song (960–1127) dynasty as cult centers to receive the stellar divinity Taiyi 太乙 (Great One). The cult to Taiyi was instituted in the reign of Wudi (140–87 B.C.) of the Han dynasty (see *Shiji* 12.456).

In 981, the Taoist astrologer Chu Zhilan 楚芝蘭 taught divinatory techniques (*Song shi* 461.13500) based on the authority of a work entitled *Wufu taiyi* 五福太一 (see *Yuhai* 100.6b). This work mentions ten Taiyi divinities and explains that when one of these traverses the five palaces, peace and security are obtained in the corresponding geographical fields (*fenye* 分野). In this work, both the order in which the divinity traverses the five palaces and the corresponding *fenye* are identical with the account in another work, partially apocryphal, ascribed to Wang Ximing 王希明, the *Taiyi jinjing shijing* 太一金鏡式經 5.3a.

The five palaces are represented by four trigrams placed around the center, which is one of the palaces. The divinity travels through these palaces, changing one of them every forty-five years and accomplishing a complete voyage through all five in two hundred and twenty-six years. This voyage is undertaken in five directions, in the following order: *qian* 乾 (northwest), *gen* 艮 (northeast), *xun* 巽 (southeast), *kun* 坤 (southwest), and the center.

The *Yuhai* indicates that according to Chu Zhilan, the divinity would pass through the southeast palace (*xun*), which corresponds to the field Suzhou 蘇州 in 984. Chu therefore suggested that a palace be built in the southeast of Kaifeng, at Sucun 蘇村, the name resembling that of the *fenye*. This first stele, by the Hanlin scholar Hu Meng (915–986), was erected to celebrate the building of the eastern Taiyi gong.

Forty-five years later, a western palace was built in the southwest of the capital. The scholar Song Shou (991–1040) was charged, by Zhang Shixun 張士遜 (964–1094), to write the text for a second stele (*966 Song xi Taiyi gong beiming*; cf. *Yuhai* 100.23b).

As early as 1071, we find the proposal of the astrologer Zhou Cong 周琮 to construct a Taiyi gong in the center of Kaifeng, not far from the monastery Jixi guan 集禧觀, in order to honor the divinity, whose arrival was expected in 1074. Emperor Shenzong acceded to this request and ordered Lü Huiqing (1032–1111), author of *686 Daode zhenjing zhuan,* to write the text of a third stele to commemorate the event *(967 Song zhong Taiyi gong beiming)*. Shenzong then entrusted Chen Jingyuan with the administration of the central palace (cf. *715 Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei kaiti kewen shu* 1.5a). About twenty Taoists were selected to live there, and once a year a novice was ordained. Taoists who had the honor of being invited also sojourned in the other two palaces and celebrated rituals periodically.

The cult of the ten divinities of Taiyi was different from that of the divinities of the Nine Palaces (the *jiugong guishen* 九宮貴神). The latter cult was first instituted, at the suggestion of Su Jiaqing 蘇嘉慶, during the Tang dynasty in 744. It is linked to the ancient speculations on the magic square: the "marvelous tortoise" formed by the numbers one to nine placed in a square around the center, the number five, in such a way that the sum of each horizontal or diagonal row totaled fifteen. Both the names of the divinities and their passage through the palaces differ in the two systems. Moreover, the two cults were separate during the Song dynasty (960–1279): the divinities of the Nine Palaces received offerings of animal origin (meat, poultry, etc.), whereas such offerings were strictly forbidden for the ten divinities. An initiative by the inspector of sacrifices, An Ding 安鼎, in 1092, to unify the two cults was rejected by the minister of rites (cf. *Song shi* 103.2508 and *Song huiyao jigao* 1:756).

In 1118, forty-five years after the construction of the central Taiyi gong, the name of the monastery Longde gong 龍德宮 was changed to Bei Taiyi gong 北太一宮. A specialist of the Taiyi techniques, the Taoist Zhang Xubo 張虛白, was appointed administrator of this northern palace (cf. LZTT 51.1b and *Wenxian tongkao* 80.743).

The custom of building palaces to welcome the Taiyi divinities came to an end during the Southern Song dynasty when, in 1208, Emperor Ningzong rejected a proposal to construct a Taiyi gong in Hangzhou (cf. *Yuhai* 100.29b).

Denis Allistone

***Longjiao shan ji* 龍角山記**

25 fols.

Later part of the twelfth century

968 (fasc. 610)

"Records of Mount Dragon Horn." This work consists of a collection of stele inscriptions, most of which relate to this mountain in Shanxi, which originally was called Yangjiao shan 羊角山 (Mount Goat Horn). It was at the foot of this mountain that, in 620 A.D., Laozi appeared to a villager named Ji Shanxing 吉善行 and told him that he, Laozi, was in fact the ancestor of Emperor Tang Gaozu (r. 618–626) and the divine protector of the newly founded dynasty (compare *774 Yulong zhuan* 5.11a–14b and *770 Hunyuan shengji* 8.4a–6b).

The latest date in the present collection is 1171. The *Fushan xianzhi* 浮山縣志 of 1935 (40.26a) contains the text of an inscription by the Quanzhen 全眞 master Mao Hui 毛麾 for the renovation of the Tiansheng gong 天聖宮 (see below), dated 1192. If the present work were later than this date, it is probable that this document would have been included.

The first inscription (1a–4b) in the present collection is by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–756). Dated 729, it recalls the appearance of Laozi in 620 and announces the change of name for the mountain. The next text (4b–5a) commemorates a great *jiao* 醮-offering, with a final rite of Casting Dragons (*tou longjian* 投龍簡), that took place in 713 at the Longjiao shan 龍角山 (see page 9b).

The two following epigraphical texts (5a–7b; 7b–9a) are also by Tang Xuanzong and are dated 733 and 739, respectively. These inscriptions do not concern the Longjiao shan or the Qingtang guan 慶唐觀 directly (the latter was the temple that Xuanzong had built in 728 on the very spot where Gaozong originally had placed a temple for Laozi). Instead, the texts concern different measures taken by the emperor in favor of Taoism. The second of these texts, which orders that statues of the dynastic ancestor Laozi are placed in all temples of the empire, is also found in the *Quan Tang wen* 31.9a–10b, albeit with a different title.

Next, the present work has the text of an inscription (dated 743) commemorating the celebration of a Golden Register Retreat (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋) in the Qingtang guan by Cui Mingyun 崔明允. The same text has been reproduced in the *Jinshi cuibian* 86.6b.

The "Note on Auspicious Omens" (13a–14a) by Li Huan 李寰 recalls the periodical resurrection—following the rise and decline of Taoism—of the cypress that grew on the spot where Laozi appeared. This note was probably written at the time that such a miracle happened in the year 881 (see *593 Lidai chongdao ji* 15a; Verellen, "A forgotten T'ang restoration").

The "Stele of the Qingtang guan" (14a–18b) by Han Wang 翰望 is dated 1008. It commemorates the restoration of the temple undertaken by the daoshi Liang Zhizhen 梁志眞 in 1005. In harmony with this pious undertaking, miraculous rains fell and the old cypress revived. Next (18b) there is an inscription for the restoration of the Sanqing dian 三清殿, the Three Pure Ones Hall of the Tiansheng guan 天聖觀. This text is from 1111.

The "Chongxiu Jia Jun hou dian ji 重修嘉潤侯殿記" (19b–20b) dates from 1133 and was written by Wang Jianzhong 王建中, a *jinshi* 進士 of the Northern Song (960–1127) who lived in retirement under the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234; see *Song Yuan*

xuean buyi 宋元學案補遺 6.93). This Jia Jun hou 嘉潤侯 was a local deity to whom memorials could be addressed for obtaining rain. The canonization title is of the Song period. Having been destroyed by lightning in 1148, the Qingtang temple was reconstructed once more. A second inscription ("Chongxiu Huachi Jia Jun hou dian ji 重修華池嘉潤侯殿記)" is signed by Tian Wei 田蔚 and dated 1157. This text is followed by six memorials that were presented to the deity, petitions and prayers of thanks for rain and snow. One of these memorials contains the date of 1172. The above-mentioned *Fushan xianzhi* indicates (40.26a) that this temple and its worship still existed in modern times.

Denis Allistone

Gongguan beiji 宮觀碑記

34 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

972 (fasc. 610)

"Stele Inscriptions of Temples and Monasteries." All texts except one in this collection date from the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. The name of the compiler is unknown. The majority of inscriptions concern the Quanzhen 全眞 order. The last date mentioned is 1256, but the explicit mention of the Yuan dynasty as such (page 13a) shows that this compilation dates from after the end of that period.

The first inscription is by Tao Gu 陶穀 (903–970). It was written in commemoration of the restoration of a sanctuary for Xi wang mu 西王母 at Huishan 回山, also called Huizhong shan 回中山 or Gongshan 宮山, in Gansu. According to the legend preserved in *291 Mu tianzi zhuan*, King Mu of the Zhou gave a banquet in honor of the goddess on the banks of Yao 瑤 Lake; tradition has it that this lake was on Huishan (see *Jingzhou zhi* 9b). The inscription is dated 968 and has also been recorded in the *Jinshi cun* 5.11a.

The next inscription is the *Chongyang Chengdao gong beiji* 重陽成道宮碑記. The temple in question was built on the very spot where the founder of the Quanzhen order, WANG CHONGYANG, had his "tomb of the living dead" (*Huosi ren mu* 活死人墓). The temple was built on the initiative of Zhou Quanyang 周全陽 (1145–1288), and its name was changed to the present one in 1252. It is likely that the inscription dates to that period.

On page 8a begins the text of the *Chijian Putian Huanglu dajiao bei* 敕建普天黃籙大醮碑, in commemoration of the Great Offering service of the Yellow Register that was celebrated by the Quanzhen patriarch LI ZHICHANG (1193–1256) on the occasion of the death of the Mongol Khan Möngke in 1254.

The *Yuan chongxiu Bozhou Taiqing gong Taiji dian bei* 元重修亳州太清宮太極殿碑, an inscription on the restoration of the Taiqing gong 太清宮 in Bozhou, Laozi's

birthplace, is by Wang E 王鶚 (1190–1273) and must have been written around 1256. The temple was originally built in 586 and later rebuilt by the Quanzhen patriarch Zhang Zhijing 張志敬, who served in this office from 1256 to 1270.

The inscription for the restoration of the Great Universal Tianqing guan at Zhongdu (*Zhongdu shifang Da Tianchang guan chongxiu beiji* 中都十方大天長觀重修碑記; 18a–21b) gives a description of this prestigious Taoist center, which was founded in the Kaiyuan era (713–741). Zhongdu was the capital of the Jin, on the site of today's Peking. The restoration took place from 1167 to 1174. The author, Zheng Zidan 鄭子聃 (1126–1180), was a scholar of the Hanlin Academy.

Next (26a–28b) there is the important inscription commemorating the completion and printing of the Taoist canon of the Jin dynasty, the *Da Jin Xuandu baozang* 大金玄都寶藏. The inscription, by Wei Boxiao 魏搏霄, a Hanlin academician (see *Zhongzhou ji* 4.15b), must have been written around 1193. The work of compilation and engraving, done on the basis of the printing blocks of the *Zhenghe Wanshou daozang* 政和萬壽道藏 that the Jin had brought to their capital from Kaifeng, was undertaken around 1190 by the abbot Sun Mingdao 孫明道 (see VDL 45–46), who also celebrated two Great Offering (*jiao* 醮) services in 1190 and obtained the recovery of the mother of the emperor. Two inscriptions, one by Zhu Lan 朱瀾 (*jinshi* 進士 in 1187; see *Zhongzhou ji* 7.4b) and one by Dang Huaiying 党懷英 (1134–1211), commemorate these events. A last document, the *Zhongjing chongxiu shifang Shangqing gong ji* 中京重修十方上清宮記, is an undated inscription by Yunsun Chunfu 雲孫純甫 (i.e., Yu Jiabin 余嘉賓) for the restoration of the Shangqing temple in Luoyang.

Denis Allistone

Daishi 岱史

18 juan

By Zha Zhilong 查志隆, *zi* Mingzhi 鳴治, *hao* Shaoting 紹庭 or 亭 (*jinshi* 進士 1558); 1586

1472 (fasc. 1092–1096)

"History of Dai." This is a book devoted to Taishan 泰山, the mountain where the Feng 封 and Shan 禪 sacrifices had been celebrated by Chinese sovereigns since high antiquity. Zha Zhilong (see *Zhejiang tongzhi* 167.8b) compiled this monograph at the behest of his superior Tan Yao 譚耀 when Zha was an official in Shandong in 1586.

The work had been completed during several months between the summer and winter of that year (see the "Gongyi 公移," the compiler's official statement; 1a, 3b). In fact, Zha Zhilong had merely supplemented an earlier *Taishan zhi* 泰山誌 (Description of Taishan), whose author is not indicated. It was probably a work of Wang Ziqing 汪子卿 from the Jiajing era (1522–1566) before 1554 (see "Gongyi," 1a), to which

had been added new items, such as the *Xiangshui zhi* 香稅志 (Incense Tax Register) and some literary works written after 1554 (see the "Gongyi," 1a, 17.1a).

Zha explains that he adopted the appellation Daizong 岱宗 for the sacred mountain because of the antiquity of its traditions going back to the Yellow Emperor. The meaning of the character Dai 岱 has given rise to various speculations, discussed in Kroll, "Verses from on high," 229–30. The substitution of *shi* 史 for *zhi* 志 may be explained by an intended analogy with dynastic histories (see the "Fanli," or compilation rules, 1a).

The book's contents are divided into fourteen subjects: maps (the sidereal sectors, *xingye* 星野); topography; the mountain's rivers; its administrative circumscription; the ritual hunting sacrifices; the Feng and Shan ceremonies; nature sacrifices; historical sites and monuments; religious or commemorative constructions; edifices; natural ressources; the incense tax; good and bad omens; and, finally, literary works relating to ascensions. Altogether the book covers more than 600 items.

In his *Gongyi,* as well as at the end of the general table of contents, Zha Zhilong states that the book was composed of eighteen chapters in seven volumes, and that each volume bore one of the seven characters edited, respectively, by a phrase of *Zhongyong* 中庸 to mark their sequence.

The book's edition in the *Daozang* corresponds roughly to this description, but certain texts mentioned are dated later than the *Gongyi* (11.10b, 17.58a; 18.78b). This *Daozang* edition, the only one available to us, does not seem to be the original edition of Zha Zhilong.

Kwong Hing Foon

3.A.7 Collectanea

3.A.7.a Logia (*Yulu*)

The Taoists and Confucians, from the Song (960–1279) period on, adopted the Buddhist *Yulu* 語錄 form to transmit teachings of great patriarchs and sages and adapted it to their own needs. Indeed, until the advent of the monastic organization of the Quanzhen 全眞 order, there seems to have been no counterpart to the collective teaching sessions that took place in the Chan monasteries and from which most of the famous Chan logia derived their materials.

The subject matter of the logia included in this section varies greatly. Most collections contain not only spoken words of the patriarchs, but also poetry and written prose. These works are thus in fact rather similar to the collected works that are presented below in part 3.A.7.b. Much of Taoist teaching concerned the performance of ritual, and this topic takes up an important part of almost all Taoist *yulu* brought together here.

The Quanzhen *yulu*, which are closer to the Buddhist model, have not been included here, but are presented in the relevant section within the context of the Quanzhen school.

Chongxu tongmiao sichen Wang xiansheng jiahua 沖虛通妙侍宸王先生家話
16 fols.
By Yuan Tingzhi 袁庭植 (fl. 1153) et al.
1250 (fasc. 996)

"School Conversations of Palace Attendant Wang, Master of Mystery Penetration Vacuity." Master Wang is Wang Jun 王俊, alias Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153), the founder of the the Five Thunder rites (*wuleifa* 五雷法) of the Shenxiao 神霄 school (see part 3.B.6). Wang obtained his arts from the fire master (*huoshi* 火師) Wang Zihua 汪子華 (who supposedly lived in the Tang dynasty). Master Wang's biography is recorded in LZTT 53.16a–21a and in a long inscription by Yu Ji 虞集 (1271–1348), preserved in his *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 25.10a–13b. Master Wang's title of Chongxu tongmiao xiansheng 沖虛通妙先生 was conferred by Song Huizhong in 1125. The present logia were noted down by his disciples, notably by Yuan Tingzhi (see page 1b). The conversations concern the rituals of calling up rain and exorcising demon possession (*sui* 祟) by the practice of "sublimating generals" (divine helpers) out of the life energies of the adept's own body (*lianjiang* 鍊將). Wang recalls his own initiation. Later he tells how he was once called upon to produce rain by the emperor but warned by his divine master, Wang Zihua, that his task would be difficult, since the drought that year had been ordered by Heaven itself. Only the Yellow River would retain plentiful water, and only the dragon-king of that river would be able to produce rain. Wang therefore ordered his generals to summon rain from the Yellow River, and indeed the rain that fell was full of yellow mud (10b–11a). The *jiahua* 家話 were intended for transmission to his own disciples and descendants.

The present work is comparable to Wang's "Qidao baduan jin 祈禱八段錦" in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 69 and constitutes a record of the practice and thought of a great exorcist.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Xujing chonghe xiansheng Xu shenweng yulu 虛靜沖和先生徐神翁語錄
2 juan
Compiled by Miao Xiyi 苗希頤 in 1131; edited by Zhu Yi 朱翌 in 1158; revised by Zhu Songqing 朱宋卿 in 1187
1251 (fasc. 997)

"Recorded Sayings of Xu Shouxin." Xu Shouxin 徐守信, alias Xu ***shenweng*** 徐神翁 (1033–1108), was a daoshi of the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 temple in Hailing 海陵, Taizhou 泰州 (Yangzhou, Jiangsu). Having entered the monastery as a servant for sweeping the grounds, he memorized *1 **Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing,*** and told people's fortune by quoting one or several words from this scripture; he gave people the quotation written on a slip of paper. Those who turned to him to "ask for characters" (***qiuzi*** 求字) included Emperor Zhizong, who in 1099 questioned Xu about his succession (2.12b), and Lin Ling'e 林靈噩 (LIN LINGSU), who asked about his career, prior to his appointment at court (2.5a). Even LÜ DONGBIN is said to have visited Xu (*305 **Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji*** 4.4a–b). So great was Xu's fame that shrines were erected in his lifetime to worship him (1.8b; 1.17a). In 1103, Huizong conferred on him the honorific title of Xujing chonghe xiansheng 虛靜沖和先生, mentioned in the title of the present work. Invited to court in 1107, together with the Maoshan patriarch LIU HUNKANG and Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126), Xu died the following year at the capital's Shangqing zhuxiang gong 上清儲祥宮 temple and received a state funeral.

After his death, his disciple Miao Xiyi compiled a record of Xu's remarkable deeds. The manuscript was edited and printed by Zhu Yi (preface dated 1158). Later, Zhu Songqing, a kinsman of Zhu Yi, revised and reprinted the book while serving at the Taizhou prefecture administration (second preface, dated 1187). The work seems to have been widely read in Southern Song times; it is recorded as having entered the library of You Mao 尤袤 (1124–1193), the Suichu tang 遂初堂 (VDL 127).

The book starts with a short biographical sketch (1.1a–b). The remainder of the two juan is taken up entirely by short anecdotes, arranged in a roughly chronological order, about Xu's prophecies by means of quotations from the *Duren jing*. Many times the characters he wrote had to be analyzed in a rebus-like way before yielding their message. Sometimes Xu altered the quotations slightly in order to convey added meanings. Xu's behavior is depicted as thoroughly eccentric, but the donations by his visitors were used to rebuild the entire monastery and temple complex. The anecdotes often contain interesting insights in the Taoist establishment of the times.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing Taixuan jianjie lun 上清太玄鑑誡論
11 fols.
By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, ***hao*** Taixuan zi 太玄子; Jurchen Jin (1115–1234)
1137 (fasc. 767)

"Discourse Criticizing Past Errors, by the Shangqing [Master] Taixuan." This work contains a series of seven speeches to an assembly of monks on the fundamentals of religious practice, with accompanying hymns (***song*** 頌). The text is in pure vernacular and in style as well as vocabulary is close to Chan ***yulu*** 語錄. A quotation from ZHANG ZIYANG (Pingshu 平叔) on 2a confirms the fact that Hou belonged to the Southern school, although he lived in Shanxi.

Kristofer Schipper

Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu 海瓊白眞人語錄
4 juan
By BO YUCHAN 白玉蟾 (fl. 1194–1229); edited by PENG SI 彭耜 in 1251; printed by Fang Congyi 方從義 in 1302
1307 (fasc. 1016)

"Sayings of Bo, the Zhenren from Qiongzhou [on Hainan]." In spite of the title, the work contains not only the logia of the famous Taoist patriarch of the Southern school, but also all kinds of writings and poems by him and others. This medley collection has, moreover, a number of different compilers. At the end of the book (4.21b) there is a colophon by PENG SI, dated 1251, in which he states that he took notes assiduously whenever he met the patriarch and also collected his poems. Peng edited all his materials into a collection in four juan and had it printed as a supplement to the ***Haiqiong ji*** 海瓊集, BO YUCHAN's collected works. Peng's indications are at variance with the work as we have it, as most of its contents were apparently not collected by him, but by other disciples. However, his reference to the meditation hall sessions, the poems of the patriarch ("***shengtang***, ***xiaocan*** 升堂小參"), and the number of juan all tally with the present work's contents, and the presence of a number of personal letters from Bo to Peng reinforce the case that PENG SI edited the collection.

Juan 1 carries the signature of one of Bo's other disciples, Xie Xiandao 謝顯道. It starts out with the sayings of the patriarch, in discussion with his foremost disciples, PENG SI and Liu Yuanchang 留元長 (1a–16a). These sayings are followed by the text of the memorial written and presented on the occasion of the transmission and ordination BO YUCHAN conferred to seven of his disciples in 1218; these disciples include Peng, Liu, and Xie, the editor of this chapter. The remainder of the juan contains poems.

Juan 2 was compiled by another disciple, Lin Boqian 林伯謙, who signs as head of the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 temple. The entire chapter deals with questions and

answers on the subject of liturgy. Lin refers to Bo Yuchan as the patriach (*zushi* 祖師) and to Peng Si as his initiator (*dushi* 度師). The discussions he noted down took place in 1222.

Juan 3 carries different signatures. It contains the transcripts of a number of sessions in the meditation halls of temples at Wuyi shan 武夷山 and other places, noted down by Ye Guxi 葉古熙 as well as by Zhao Shoufu 趙收夫 and others (3.1a). One of the sessions is dated 1221 (13b).

Juan 4 is unsigned. It begins with a poem by Bo's master, the Nanzong patriarch Chen Nan, *hao* Niwan zi 泥丸子. It ends with a number of letters written by Bo to Peng Si, two of them dated 1217 and 1218, respectively.

The colophon by Fang Congyi (4.12a) raises several questions. He tells us that he obtained a copy of the work from the Tianqing guan, where it was in the possession of a daoshi named Jiang 蔣 (?), and had it printed in 1302. With it came the above-mentioned colophon by Peng, which Fang Congyi copied and appended. He refers to the work as containing the "Jingxiao dafa 景霄大法," a highly secret text. Although this ritual is more than once discussed in the present *yulu* 語錄, Fang's exact reference cannot be found.

The life and works of Bo are not well known. It is generally said that his original name was Ge Changgeng 葛長庚 and that he was born in 1194 and died in 1229. There are no reliable corroborations, however, of these indications. It is true that no texts written by Bo bear dates later than 1229. The birth date, however, is certainly mistaken. A letter to Peng Si dated 1218 (4.16b) is signed by Bo with the appellation Qiongshan laoren 瓊山老人 (the old man of Qiongshan [Hainan]), not a suitable name for a young man of twenty-four. Elsewhere, in a poem, Bo Yuchan declares that he had reached the age of nine times ten (*263.37 Shangqing ji* 上清集 [*Xiuzhen shishu* 41.3a]). Other instances show beyond doubt that Bo Yuchan lived to a ripe old age before he died around 1230.

The contents of the *yulu,* especially in these parts in which his spoken words are reproduced, show a lively, at times humorous and caustic, spirit. Many of his remarks and criticisms are useful for understanding Taoism in his time. Bo Yuchan had far-reaching interests, and his logia cover a wide number of topics. He castigates the ever popular *622–623 Beidou jing* as a forgery (1.2a–3b). There is a long passage about the Manichaeans of Fujian (1.11b–12a). In another passage, dealing with the shamanic cults of Fujian, he affirms that these cults originated with Suotan wang 娑坦王 (King Satan?). He also mentions the Lüshan 閭山 school of Fujian in this respect (1.8b–9a).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Jingyu xuanwen* 靜餘玄問**

5 fols.

1252 (fasc. 997)

"Questions of Mystery at Times of Serenity." This is a short collection of logia by the patriarch Bo Yuchan in answer to questions by his foremost disciple, Peng Si. The style and subject matter are similar to the first chapter of *1307 Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu;* indeed some passages of the present work can also be found there (5a.7 to 5b.8 correspond to *1307 Bo zhenren yulu* 1.13b.5 to 1.14a.4). This overlap is all the more remarkable because the *Bo zhenren yulu* was published by Peng in 1251. It is not clear why all the logia of the present volume were not included in that text.

Kristofer Schipper

***Haiqiong wendao ji* 海瓊問道集**

23 fols.

Attributed to Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾 (fl. 1194–1229); preface by Liu Yuanchang 留元長 (fl. 1192–1217)

1308 (fasc. 1016)

"Enquiring of the Tao to the [the Patriarch] from Qiongzhou on Hainan." According to the undated preface by Bo Yuchan's disciple Liu Yuanchang, the contents of this small collection of eight doctrinal texts (including one rhapsody and one didactic poem) reflect the instructions he received from the master and later had printed. Among these pieces, six concern Inner Alchemy and two—titled, respectively, "Haiqiong jun yinshan wen 海瓊君隱山文" and "Changqi guangguo ji 常寂光國記"—are written in imitation of the *Zhuangzi* but with a distinct Buddhist Chan slant.

The most remarkable text in this work is the preface. Here Liu gives a highly unconventional portrait of Bo. Although he knows that the patriarch was generally thought to hail from Hainan, Liu suspects that Bo came from Hubei (Xiangmian 襄沔). When Liu first met Bo in 1217, the latter claimed to be only twenty-one years old. In spite of this young age, Bo had a vast command of the literature of the Three Teachings and could quote and use it profusively in literary allusions. He also was an renowned master of calligraphy, in the cursive, seal, and offical *lishu* 隸書 styles. His accomplishments in checkers, the lute, and in painting were also remarkable, and he was much admired for them. His writings were eagerly collected, and famous scholars vied with each other to befriend him. He never carried any money on him. When he was drunk, he would call on the thunder, and even in his sleep he dispatched petitions to Heaven. Unwashed and dressed in rags, he was truly eccentric. He was also able to foretell the future accurately.

Liu says that aside from Bo's alchemical secrets, he also obtained instructions con-

cerning the marshaling of thunder. These instructions are not found, however, in the present work.

Yuan Bingling

***Haiqiong chuandao ji* 海瓊傳道集**

18 fols.

Ascribed to Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾, *hao* Haiqiong zi 海瓊子; after 1218

1309 (fasc. 1017)

"Collected Works on the Transmission of the Tao." The texts in this work were collected and printed by two Taoists of Lushan 廬山 (Jiangxi): Chen Shoumo 陳守默 and Zhan Jirui 詹繼瑞. Chen and Zhan, who are also coauthors of the preface, write that Bo Yuchan had transmitted the texts to a Taoist of the Taiping xingguo gong temple, Hong Zhichang 洪知常, during a visit to Lushan in 1218. Hong Zhichang thereupon retired to practice the Tao, but Chen and Yan, fearing that Bo Yuchan's teaching would be lost, collected the texts and published the work under the title of *Chuandao ji* 傳道集. Bo Yuchan's stay in the Taiping xingguo gong in 1218 is attested in *1286 Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi* 6.19b. According to the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 28.3077, however, Hong Zhichang was himself the compiler.

The collection consists of three different works (preface, 2b), the first of which is the "Jindan jiejing 金丹捷徑" (Shortcut to the Elixir), which comprises esoteric diagrams explaining the *neidan* 內丹 alchemical process. These diagrams are the same as those of *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 1.2a–5b, but the order is different, and three diagrams are missing in our text. On the other hand, some pages of the present text are absent in the *Xiuzhen shishu* version. The latter version divides the diagrams into two categories under the headings *Bo xiansheng jindan huohou tu* 白先生金丹火候圖 and *Jindan juejing zhixuan tu* 金丹捷徑指玄圖; a discussion on these diagrams in the same work (dated 1244), however, gives yet another title: *Hainan Bo xiansheng Xiuzhen yangming zhi tu* 修眞養命之圖 (1.10a). The first work ends with a list of the patriarchs of the school, beginning with Zhongli Quan.

The second work comprises the paragraph titled "Gousou lianhuan jing 鉤鎖連環經" (Scripture of the [Unending] Circle of the Hook and the Lock) and some poems. The hook and lock form part of a Buddhist expression that alludes to the all-pervading compassion of the Buddha. The title "Gousuo lianhuan" seems to allude to a poem by Zhang Boduan quoted on 11b. The text describes the underlying unity of all substances, using the Elixir as an example of a catalyst for a process that begins and ends in an unending cycle. Finally, the "Kuaihuo ge 快活歌" (Song of Joy) is a poem dedicated to Chen Zhibo 陳知白, a daoshi of the Taiping xingguo gong. This poem also figures in Bo Yuchan's *Shangqing ji* (*263 Xiuzhen shishu* 39.7b).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

3.A.7.b Collected Works

***Taixuan langran zi jindao shi* 太玄朗然子進道詩**

7 fols.

By Liu Xiyue 劉希岳, *zi* Xiufeng 秀峰, *hao* Taixuan langran zi 太玄朗然子; 988

271 (fasc. 133)

"Advancing in the Tao: Poems by Master Taixuan Langran." According to the preface, Liu Xiyue wrote these thirty poems in the Tongxuan guan 通玄觀 temple in Luoyang. A colophon (7a) adds that Liu was in charge of the temple, and that, in 988, the name of the latter was changed in his honor to Jizhen guan 集眞觀 by Emperor Zhenzong, following Liu Xiyue's transfiguration (see also *1100 Minghe yuyin* 8.20a). This information, however, does not correspond to that found in Liu's biographies in the *Jixian zhuan* by Zeng Zao (43.25b) and in LZTT 50.1b, according to which Liu became a Taoist in 988–989, at the age of sixty-four.

The work was famous in the twelfth century. It was inscribed on stone during the Song in 1111 and again in 1150, under the Jin dynasty, when it was also printed (see *Baqiong shi jinshi buzheng* 八瓊室金石補正 123.18a–24a). The text in the *Daozang* and the Jin inscription show few differences, but the colophon by Wang Can 王燦 is missing in the *Daozang* edition, which does not mention Wang.

The *Jindao shi* was also known under different titles, such as *Shenxian wudao shi* 神仙悟道詩 (according to the colophon) and *Langran zi shi* 朗然子詩 (according to the *Song shi*, "Yiwen zhi," 4.5196).

The preface and the thirty poems that comprise the work contain many allusions to qi techniques practiced in Inner Alchemy, as well as autobiographical information.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Yichuan jirang ji* 伊川擊壤集**

20 juan

By Shao Yong 邵雍, *zi* Yaofu 堯夫, *hao* Kangjie 康節 (1012–1077)

1042 (fasc. 720–723)

"Collection of [Poems Made While] Beating the Ground, by [a Man from] Yichuan." Yichuan (present Yiyang 伊陽) is the name of Shao Yong's native place in Henan. Beating the ground was the way in which, according to tradition, the subjects of the great sage King Yao gave expression to their contentment. Shao Yong styled himself as "subject of Yao" (Yaofu 堯夫), and the reference in the title of his collection points to the fundamental optimism that pervades all his work.

The collection comprises some 1,500 poems, which are, with the exception of those placed at the beginning, classified in a roughly chronological order. The author's preface suggests that the compilation of this work had already begun in 1066. Nevertheless,

the present book must have been completed and published by his son, Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057–1134), because certains poems appearing in this collection are later than 1066, some as late as the year of the author's death (see 19.1b and also the funeral inscription written by Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085); cf. the postface of Xing Shu 邢恕, dated 1091, in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition).

The two other main editions of this work, in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (1475) and *Siku quanshu,* contain elements that cannot be found in the *Daozang* edition: the postface by Xing Shu mentioned above (the complement to the present collection of thirteen additional poems titled *Shiwai ji* 詩外集); and several tens of poems addressed to SHAO YONG by his friends, including Cheng Hao, Fu Bi 富弼 (1004–1083), and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086).

A large number of poems written by the author in response to poems offered by his friends reveal the close relations between Shao and prominent figures of his period.

The last juan is taken up entirely by a series of 135 poems titled *Shouwei yin* 首尾吟 (Chants of Head and Tail). These poems all begin and end with the same phrase: *Yaofu feishi ai yinshi* 堯夫非是愛吟詩, which can be translated roughly as "Yaofu does not make poems merely for fun." Indeed, in this long series the author addresses many serious subjects with deep insight and feeling, but without abandoning his optimism and sense of humor.

The simplicity of style and colloquial expressions contribute to the charm of this collection. According to his preface, the author intended to make his poems exemplars of the classical lyric traditions of antiquity. His poetry praises the happiness of the simple and free life of a recluse, combining the moral virtues of Confucianism with Taoist aspirations of union with Nature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arrault, "Shao Yong"; Wyatt, *The recluse of Loyang*.

Kwong Hing Foon

Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu 三十代天師虛靖眞君語錄

7 juan

By Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126); compiled by ZHANG YUCHU 張宇初 (1361–1410); preface dated 1395

1249 (fasc. 996)

"Recorded Sayings of the True Lord Empty Peace, the Thirtieth Heavenly Master." This is a late compilation of the famous Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian, who lived under the reign of Song Huizong. Zhang Yuchu states in his preface that he collected all of Jixian's works that he could find in the various monasteries he visited. However, some of these works might well be later fabrications. A few pieces are reliable and known elsewhere, such as the "Xinshuo 心說" (Discourse on the Mind; 1.1a–2b) and the "Dadao ge 大道歌" (Song of the Great Tao; 3.1a–b) mentioned in his biographies (see LZTT 19.12). Both works are extant in the Yuan anthology *1257 Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 2, and "Dadao ge" is also included in *579 Yangsheng bilu* 18a. On the other hand, the poem given posthumously to the immortal Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (6.13b; his encounter with Zhang Jixian is often included in later hagiography) and other pieces related to the Qingcheng shan 青城山 seem apocryphal. A large number of poems are linked to a certain Shi Yuangui 石元規 (or Zifang 自方; see *1463 Han Tianshi shijia* 3.4b). Archives connected to this unknown Mr. Shi might be one of the sources of Zhang Yuchu's work.

Although termed *Yulu* 語錄 (recorded sayings), the compilation includes only letters and short prose essays (juan 1) and poetry in various meters (juan 2 to 7). The poetry includes occasional verses, allusions to Zhengyi ritual, *daoqing* 道情 poetry, mystical songs of a distinctive style (3.1a–3a), and more elaborate compositions on alchemy (see "Forty-eight *Jindan* Poems"; 5.8b–18b).

Vincent Goossaert

Shangqing Taixuan ji 上清太玄集

10 juan

By Hou Shanyuan 侯善淵, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子; Jurchen Jin (1115–1234)

1061 (fasc. 730–731)

"Collected Works of the Shangqing (Master) Taixuan." The author was from Gushe shan 姑射山 in Shanxi. Although a contemporary of the early Quanzhen 全眞 masters, with whom he was acquainted (see *758 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu*), Hou defines his doctrine as the Way of Shangqing (*Shangqing zhi dao* 上清之道; 1.6a) or the Great School of Shangqing (*Shangqing dajiao* 上清大教; 1.17a). YANG XI is alluded to on 6.4b, and the work does not contain a single reference to the Quanzhen school. Hou's work, whether in prose or poetry, is distinctly didactic in nature. References to persons, places, or books are few and far between. From a poem (8.10b), we may guess that he visited the Jiangsheng guan 降聖觀 on Hengshan 衡山 (cf. *606 Nanyue zhongsheng ji* 20a). In a sermon, he quotes a now lost commentary by Xu Shouxin 徐守信 alias Xu *shenweng* 徐神翁 (1033–1108) on a text by LÜ DONGBIN (4.12a).

The first four juan are devoted to prose works, mostly sermons (*lun* 論). The fifth chapter contains classical poems, a great number of which are written by disciples in reply to doctrinal questions. Usually only the surname of these disciples is given. One poem mentions the joint celebration by Buddhists and Taoists of a Retreat (*zhai* 齋) service (5.25b). Later chapters contain *ci*-lyrics, sometimes using the vernacular.

Kristofer Schipper

***Yulong ji* 玉隆集**

6 juan

By Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾; after 1225

263.31 *Xiuzhen shishu* 31–36 (fasc. 127–128)

"Collected Works Written in the Yulong Temple." The Yulong gong 玉隆宮 on the Xishan 西山 in Jiangxi, a temple dedicated to Xu Xun, received the title of Yulong guan during the period 1008–1060; in 1116, it was promoted to *gong* 宮 (34.1b, 3a). This collection concerns events on the Xishan and its environment, mainly the Gezao shan 閣皁山.

According to an inscription (31.2b), Bo Yuchan had visited the Xishan three times since 1218. The latest date in the collection is 1220 (31.3b). In a note on 33.3a, however, Yunzhou 筠州 is rendered Ruizhou 瑞州. The change was made officially in 1225 to avoid Lizong's 理宗 personal name. The date of the present collection is therefore later than 1225.

The collection begins with inscriptions on various halls and temples. Only the first inscription was written in the Yulong gong; the remaining inscriptions concern mainly the Gezao shan. The next chapter comprises four poems, of which three are addressed to friends. The rest of the work consists of biographies of the Xishan saints. These are the earliest extant biographies of Xu Xun, his eleven disciples, and the teachers of the Xiaodao 孝道 school.

All of Xu Xun's subsequent biographies are based on the biography in the present text. Bo Yuchan provides these biographies with a wealth of critical notes.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Shangqing ji* 上清集**

8 juan

By Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾; ca. 1218

263.13 *Xiuzhen shishu* 37–44 (fasc. 128–129)

"Collected Works Written at the Shangqing Temple." Although this collection of Bo Yuchan's writings is named for the Shangqing gong 上清宮 temple on Longhu shan 龍虎山, it is only in the first text, "Youxian yan ji 遊仙巖記" (37.1a–2a), that we find the Shangqing gong mentioned specifically. The texts of this collection were either written or addressed to friends on Wuyi shan 武夷山 (Fujian), with two exceptions: the third text, "Zhuyun tang ji 駐雲堂記" (37.4a–7b), written on the occasion of Bo's visit to the Zhuyun 駐雲 hall on Qianshan 鉛山, and the poem written on Lushan 廬山 (39.7b); both mountains are in Jiangxi.

Only four of the texts give any indication as to their dates (37.4a, 7a; 39.3a, 10b), the latest of which is 1216. The collection must therefore have been complied after that

date. There is, moreover, evidence that the "Kuaihuo ge 快活歌" (39.4b) was written for the Taoist Chen Zhibo 陳知白 on Lushan in 1218 (see *1309 Haiqiong chuandao ji* 12b and preface, 1a). The *Shangqing ji* as a collection was well known in early Yuan times, as can be seen from the numerous quotations in *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 5.5a and elsewhere.

The collection includes notes or inscriptions (*ji* 記) recording Bo's visits to the retreats of friends in various temples (juan 37), and poems dedicated to friends and artists or to specific places—mountain peaks or halls and pavilions (juan 38). Juan 39 comprises seven songs (*ge* 歌), some of which are rich in biographical details of Bo's life (see especially "Yunyou ge 雲遊歌" and "Kuaihuo ge 快活歌"; for the latter, see also *1309 Chuandao ji* 12b–16a). In "Bijing rendi ge 必竟恁地歌," Bo claims to have received instruction from Chen Niwan in 1205. Juan 40 is mostly composed of *jueju* 絕句 verse in seven-character lines on the scenic beauty and the temples and retreats of the Wuyi shan; the rest of the chapter comprises poems dedicated to friends. Juan 41 contains *ci*-lyrics.

Juan 42 contains a *fu*-rhapsody on the name of a friend's hermitage, a preface to a medical book, and three essays dealing mainly with the problems of sleep and the difficulties involved in the practice of the Tao. Juan 43 contains inscriptions and eulogies, and juan 44 comprises several short memorials (*ci* 詞, *shuyu* 疏語).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Wuyi ji* 武夷集**

8 juan

By Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾; ca. 1216

263.45 *Xiuzhen shishu* 45–52 (fasc. 129)

"Collected Works Written on the Wuyi Shan." Of the three collections of Bo's works in *263 Xiuzhen shishu*, the *Wuyi ji* contains the earliest material: none of the internal dates are later than 1216. The collection is also different from the other two in that it contains ritual material such as requests and memorials written by the author at the Chongyou guan 沖祐觀 (juan 47). The titles used by Bo in referring to himself are the same as those in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 76.3a.

The collection also contains allusions to other religious activities, such as praying for rain (46.6b–12a, text with commentary). Three quarters of the collection, however, is composed of poems in various styles, dedicated to friends or to temples. Juan 46 includes eulogies on thirty-two Heavenly Masters, from Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (second century A.D.) to Zhang Shouzhen 張守眞 (1136–1176). Autobiographical details are found in the inscription describing the rebuilding of the Zhizhi an 止止庵 (45.1a–5a).

The importance of this collection lies in the wealth of its information on temples, monasteries, and persons.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji 純陽眞人渾成集
2 juan
Compiled by He Zhiyuan 何志淵, *hao* Qingzhen daoren 清眞道人; 1251
1055 (fasc. 727)

"Collected Poems of Lü Dongbin." The term *huncheng* 渾成 in the title alludes to an expression by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), *hunran tian cheng* 渾然天成 (in entire accord with heaven). This phrase was chosen to exemplify the qualities of the immortal Chunyang 純陽, that is, Lü Dongbin, whose poems constitute the present work. The compiler, He Zhiyuan, resided in a temple dedicated to Lü Dongbin, the Chunyang gong 純陽宮 (preface, 2a). He was one of the Taoists in charge of editing the Yuan *Daozang* (see VDL 52).

There were several collections of Lü Dongbin's poetry toward the end of the Song dynasty and the beginning of the Yuan. The *Song shi*, "Yiwen zhi," 4.5197 mentions a *Chunyang ji* 純陽集 in one juan. Another collection, the *Jindan shijue* 金丹詩訣 in two juan (q.v.), was compiled by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎 around 1220. The latter includes not only Lü Dongbin's poems but also his *ci* 詞-lyrics, whereas our text is solely a collection of *jueju* 絕句 and *lüshi* 律詩 poems in five- and seven-word verses. Most of the poems in juan 2 of the present work figure also in the *Jindan shijue*, and the last two poems in juan 1 are clearly compositions of Quanzhen 全眞 origin (see 1.1a). This is to be expected since the Chunyang gong was a Quanzhen temple and He Zhiyuan a daoshi of the Quanzhen school. Moreover, one of the poems in juan 2 (number 41, missing in the *Jindan shijue*) even criticizes the methods described in *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa*—one of the most important texts attributed to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin during the Song—as inferior (*xiao xianfeng* 小仙方). Criticism of Northern Song Zhong-Lü 鐘呂 texts was common among the Quanzhen adepts of the Yuan dynasty (see, e.g., *305 Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 2.9a).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Lüzu zhi 呂祖志
6 juan
1484 (fasc. 1112–1113)

"Monograph of the Patriarch Lü." This book is a collection of hagiographical materials on Lü Dongbin. Certain miracles worked by the saint occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century (2.21b and 2.15a). This present monograph was



FIGURE 39. Lü Dongbin with his birth and ascension dates (*1484* 1.1b)

compiled shortly before the publication of the supplement to the canon, *Xu Daozang* 續道藏. The first three chapters are devoted to historical accounts ("Shiji zhi 事蹟志"); the remaining three contain literary works attributed to the saint ("Yiwen zhi 藝文志"). At the beginning of the book is a set of illustrations ("Tuxiang 圖像"). (See fig. 39.)

The historcal part is composed of a summary biography ("Zhenren benzhuan 眞人本傳"; 1.2b–11a) and also an "autobiography" of the saint ("Zhenren ziji 眞人自記"; 1.17b–18a). The latter was originally engraved on the stele in Jiangzhou. From the second chapter on, short miracle tales and anecdotes (*hua* 化) are grouped by themes. They comprise eighty-six episodes, of which fifty-five are already found in *305 Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji*.

The "Yiwen zhi" contains 249 poems, all of them apocryphal, in various styles and prosodies. Some of these poems are known from other sources: most of the regular poems are found in *1055 Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji;* one of the verses of *Qinyuan chun* 沁園春 (6.21a–b) is edited and provided with a commentary in *136 Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*. More complete and edited better than the late collections *Lüdi shengji jiyao* 呂帝聖蹟紀要 (in *Daozang jiyao*) and *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 (editions in sixty-four juan of 1775 and in thirty-three juan of 1868), the present book nevertheless has the characteristics of a popular compilation, especially compared with *305 Miaotong ji*.

Kwong Hing Foon

Wuzhai xiansheng wenji 勿齋先生文集
2 juan
Yang Zhizhi 楊至質, *zi* Xiuwen 休文, *hao* Wuzhai 勿齋 (fl. 1228–1252)
1148 (fasc. 788)

"Literary Collection of Master Wuzhai." Yang Zhizhi, a native of Fengcheng 豐城 (Jiangxi), was first a Confucian and later became a daoshi. He retired on the mountain Gezao 閣皁山 and there built the Monastery of Clouds and Springs (see the *Yunquan jingshe ji* 雲泉精舍記 of Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊, in *Houcun xiansheng daquan ji*

88.1a–2a). *Wuzhai* was both Yang's *hao* and the name of his library. The word *wu* 勿 comes from the *Lunyu* 論語 12, where Confucius teaches Yan Yuan 顏淵 a method to attain supreme virtue: "See nothing contrary to the rites, hear nothing contrary to the rites" (*fei li wu shi, fei li wu ting* 非禮勿視, 非禮勿聽). Around the year 1228, Yang was a lecturer (*jiangshi* 講師) in the Gezao shan, but his *hao* suggests that he had not completely abandoned his earlier education (cf. the "Wuzhai ji 勿齋集" of Zhen Dexiu 眞德秀, 1178–1235). In the years Zhunyou (1241–1252), he was honored, by imperial decree, with the title of *gaoshi* 高士 (eminent master) and appointed a Taoist official in the capital and superintendent of religious affairs (*youjie jianyi zhuguan jiaomen gongshi* 右街鑒義主管教門公事; 1.1a; 1.18b–19b; see also *Songshi jishi* 90.2149).

Yang was responsible for the affairs of the Taiyi Palace 太乙宮 (1.1a–2a; 1.19b–20b; cf. the remarks of Zhao Xibian 趙希弁 on the Zhugong biaozhi 竹宮表制) and of the Jingde guan 旌德觀 temple of the capital (1.4a–5a).

The present book also appears in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 ("Bieji lei 別集類"), and its author is considered a stylist worthy to succeed the famous Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813–858). In fact, the whole book, composed of sixty-eight articles with two identical entries (the last of each chapter), is written in a style of parallel prose (*pianwen* 駢文), using phrases of four or six characters. The collection consists mostly of occasional writings thanking officials for their kindness (1.7b–9b), for an appointment (2.8b–9b), congratulating them on a promotion (1.3a–4a), wishing them many happy returns (2.6b–8b), making apologies (1.2a–3b), and so on.

Kwong Hing Foon

***Xuanzong zhizhi wanfa tonggui* 玄宗直指萬法同歸**

7 juan

By Mu Changzhao 牧常晁; compiled by Huang Benren 黃本仁 after 1294

1066 (fasc. 734–735)

"Reintegration of the Thousand Dharma, Being a Straightforward Explanation of the Taoist Tradition." This text contains the collected works of Mu Changzhao, a Taoist of the Southern (Nanzong 南宗) tradition. Little is known about Mu: he says himself that he entered Buddhism and studied Chan as a youth and that later he turned to Inner Alchemy, when he encountered an otherworldly man who instructed him (3.7a). He refers to war (6.17a–b) and foreign monks (3.26b), seemingly alluding to the painful experience of the Mongol conquest of southern China. The only date mentioned is 1294 (6.20a). The author must therefore have lived under the Southern Song and the Yuan. Nothing is known about his disciple Huang Benren. According to the subtitles, Mu hailed from the Yangshan daoyuan 仰山道院 in Jian'an [xian] 建安縣 (northern Fujian), which is not documented either in gazetteers or other sources.



FIGURE 40. Diagram illustrating the fundamental unity of the Three Teachings (*1066* 1.7a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1052)



FIGURE 41. The buffalo and its Precious Chariot: An allegorical representation of the relationship between body and soul (*1066* 1.10a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1052)

Mu does not quote many authors but refers repeatedly to the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇; he also mentions Bo Yuchan and several major works of the Nanzong (3.1b, 21b). It can therefore be assumed that he belonged to that tradition, yet he discusses favorably the Quanzhen 全眞 school (3.7b) and the Way of Loyalty and Filial Piety (*zhongxiao dao* 忠孝道) of Xishan (3.16a–b, 20b). His own approach is to equate the Three Teachings (and especially Buddhism and Taoism) in the cultivation of *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 and in their union with the Great Ultimate 太極. His main endeavor is to systematically compare the concepts of Buddhist and Taoist theology and cosmology.

Although containing little historical information, this work is a rare and valuable example of a complete corpus of writings by a single *neidan* 內丹 master. It includes theoretical essays (1.1a–2.18b), dialogues (2.18b–4.16b), and poems (4.16b–7.11a) that vary greatly with respect to their tone and vocabulary. The thirty-four essays, some of them accompanied by charts, are mostly about cosmology and do not dwell on alchemical processes (figs. 40–41). The dialogues are divided between alchemical questions ("Huowen jindan xingming lei 或問金丹性命類," in all 109 exchanges,

2.18b–3.28b) and those of a more cosmological and philosophical order ("Huowen taiji lei 或問太極類," fifty-three exchanges, 4.1a–16b). The dialogues do not exhibit the extemporaneous creativity of the livelier Recorded Sayings (*yulu* 語錄) of that period, but they, too, focus on practical questions and demonstrate the master's pedagogy. The poems are mostly in regulated verse (*shi* 詩) with a few lyrics (*ci* 詞); they include both sets of systematic *neidan* dialectics and occasional pieces dedicated to friends or commemorating an event. Together, these pieces document the wide array of styles and media available to a *neidan* teacher of that time.

The work closes with two ethical poems (7.7a–11a), commentated by a certain Lin Daozhao 林道晁, possibly a fellow disciple of Mu. These poems refer explicitly to the Zhongxiao school.

Vincent Goossaert

***Daofa xinchuan* 道法心傳**

33 fols.

By Wang Weiyi 王惟一, *hao* Jingyang zi 景陽子 (d. 1326)

1253 (fasc. 997)

"Spiritual Tradition of Taoist Rites." This is a collection of didactic poetry and discourses explaining cosmology in terms of mental representations. The title of the present book does not correspond to that of any work known to have been written by Wang, as listed in his biography in the *Wuzhong renwu zhi* 11.12a. Indeed, the the work appears to be a *refacimento* composed of fragments of two different books, the *Xinglei xinchuan* 行雷心傳 and the *Daofa jingwei* 道法精微.

The first part (1a–16b), devoted to poetry, has a preface dated 1294 and signed "the disciple from Songjiang 松江 [Jiangsu], petty officer of the Thunder [Board] [*Leiting sanli* 雷霆散吏], Jingyang [zi], Wang Weiyi," in which the book is named *xinchuan* 心傳 (preface 2b).

The second part (17a–33a) is identified on 20b as the *Daofa jingwei*. It has a separate preface (19a–19a), also dated 1294, that must be spurious. Indeed, this second part quotes (22b) another work by Wang, namely, *273 Mingdao pian* 9a (dated 1304). The *Daofa jingwei* must, therefore, be later than this work, a fact that can also be deduced from a remark by the author on 20b, stating that he is "already advanced in age" (余今老矣). This second part must also be later than the first part, since on 30b the text quotes "my *Xinchuan lu* 余心傳錄," and this quote corresponds to a poem in the first part of the present work (10b). Other similar quotations on 26b and 29b can no longer be found in the first part, which therefore must be incomplete.

The *Daofa jingwei* is entirely devoted to spiritual glosses of the Thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法) in the tradition of Bo Yuchan and Mo Yueding 莫月鼎 (1226–1294). A quotation of a text by the latter on 19b–20a can be traced to Mo's "Tuoyue shuji

shuo 橐籥樞機說," in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 77.8a–9b. Among the many other masters quoted, we may note the presence of the Qingwei patriarch Huang Leiyuan 黃雷淵 (fl. 1253–1287).

Kristofer Schipper

***Yuanyang zi fayu* 原陽子法語**

2 juan

By Zhao Yizhen 趙宜眞 (d. 1382); edited by Liu Yuanran 劉淵然 (1351–1432)

1071 (fasc. 738)

"Religious Discourses by Master Original Yang." These are the collected works of Zhao Yizhen, who was active in the beginning of the Ming dynasty and one of the patriarchs of the Qingwei school. He is also known as the teacher of the prominent court Taoist Liu Yuanran, who edited the present work. Zhao's main biography is by Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), the Forty-third Heavenly Master, and can be found in the latter's *1311 Xianquan ji* 4.11a–12b (a more complete version is in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition, 3.38a–40b). Zhao was canonized as Chongwen guangdao chunde yuanyang zhenren 崇文廣道純德原陽眞人 in 1455.

The collection contains mostly literary works, some of which are of an autobiographical nature, such as the poem "Jixue 紀學" (1.11a), in which Zhao recalls his own apprenticeship under Master Jin Pengtou 金蓬頭 (1276–1336).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen."

Kristofer Schipper

***Xianquan ji* 峴泉集**

12 juan

By Zhang Yuchu 張宇初, *hao* Qishan wuwei tianshi 耆山無爲天師; 1407

1311 (fasc. 1018–1021)

"Collected Works from Xianquan." This literary collection is named after the Xianquan retreat of the Forty-third Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), which was established on Mount Longhu in 1391. The collection bears witness to the remarkable scope of the Heavenly Master's literary activities. There are three prefaces, one of which is by Zhang Yuchu himself. The third preface, by Cheng Tong 程通, is dated 1407. The *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 contains an edition of this work in four juan. Both this edition and the present one derive from earlier versions that are no longer extant. However, these lost versions were most likely already incomplete. The editors of the text in the *Siku quanshu* apparently did not make use of the version in the

Daozang, which contains, among other things, poems not found in the *Siku quanshu* edition. On the other hand, the *Daozang* edition does not contain the tomb epitaphs included in the *Siku quanshu* edition. The arrangement of the material in twelve juan is probably due to the editors of the Ming *Daozang*, whereas the *Siku quanshu* edition still preserves the original arrangement in four juan.

This collection contains essays about philosophical and historical themes. There are many poems and dedications that show that ZHANG YUCHU was rightly admired for his literary erudition. His preface on the lineage of the Heavenly Masters (2.6a–8a) served as a postface for *1463 Han tianshi shijia* 4.17b–19b. His "postface" for the discourses of the thirtieth Zhengyi patriarch (2.11a–12b) is a preface in *1249 Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu*. The texts compiled in this collection were written before the revision of the Taoist canon started in 1406 (cf. *1232 Daomen shigui*). Sun Kekuan compares the contents of the two extant editions in "Mingchu tianshi," 315–20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sun Kekuan, "Mingchu tianshi Zhang Yuchu ji qi *Xianquan ji*."

Florian C. Reiter

3.A.8 Handbooks and Anthologies

Most of the texts included in this section are well known outside the *Daozang*. The great imperial encyclopedia, the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, is present here in an abstracted form, listing only the entries related to Taoism. The famous *1032 Yunji qiqian*, although a private compilation, has been widely read in all literary circles. The collection of texts *263 Xiuzhen shishu* reflects the great popularity and influence of the so-called Southern school of Inner Alchemy Taoism, as represented by BO YUCHAN and his disciples.

Remarkably, none of these anthologies, with the notable exception of *1483 Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*, deal with liturgical practice, which is all the more significant since in the first great Taoist encyclopedia, *1138 Wushang biyao*, and even more so in the Tang collectanea, liturgy occupied a central place. Song and later works, except *1483 Taiqing yuce,* deal almost exclusively with Tending Life techniques, which does not mean, as part 3.B shows, that liturgical Taoism suffered a decline. A shift in emphasis is, however, undeniable and announces the advent of new forms of Taoist practice, such as those propagated by the Quanzhen 全眞 school, where self-cultivation becomes the central issue, and liturgy, although not absent, plays a lesser role in the life of the daoshi.

***Taiping yulan* 太平御覽**

3 juan

Compiled by Li Fang 李昉 et al.; 983

1230 (fasc. 988)

This text corresponds to juan 674–676 of the imperial encyclopedia TPYL, comprising the section on holy sites (*lisuo* 理所), vestments (*guan* 冠, etc.), and insignia (*jianzhang* 簡章).

Kristofer Schipper

***Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤**

122 juan

Compiled by ZHANG JUNFANG 張君房 (fl. 1008–1025)

1032 (fasc. 677–702)

"Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels." This work is one of the major Taoist anthologies, and also a major source for otherwise lost works, especially from the Tang dynasty (618–907). This vast compilation was praised by the authors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (146.12a) as "an anthology of the [*Daozang*] that, with its clear classification, its concise yet complete examples, its rational organization in which nothing is omitted, remains valid until the present day." The intention of the author, as expressed in the undated preface to the anthology, seems indeed to have been to compile a compendium from the Taoist canon that he himself had, or claimed to have, edited. ZHANG JUNFANG became a *jinshi* 進士 during the period 1004–1008 and served as an official in different capacities in the capital, his hometown. Author of a few collections of "remarkable stories," one of which survives in its original form, he became editor of the *Daozang* in 1013, thanks to the patronage of WANG QINRUO. This edition of the *Daozang* was the *Da Song tiangong baozang* 大宋天宮寶藏, compiled under imperial auspices during the reigns of emperors Taizong (976–997) and Zhenzong (997–1022). It comprised 4,565 juan and was presented to the throne in 1019. Zhang correctly stresses the fact that the system of classification adopted for this edition of the *Daozang* followed the Tang usage of grouping the texts into seven categories (*qibu* 七部): the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) and the Four Auxiliaries (*sifu* 四輔). The expression *qiqian* 七籤 (seven [book] labels) in the title refers to this division into seven parts.

The anthology in its present form, however, does not show such an arrangement. It is not divided into seven parts and the organization of the subject matter is, despite the praise of the authors of the *Siku tiyao*, rather confused. There appears to be a division into sections (*bu*), but these are not always clearly indicated. John Lagerwey, in his study of the sources of the *Yunji qiqian* (in Schipper, *Index du Yunji qiqian,* xix–lxxi) has identified thirty-seven sections. The first section is devoted to the philosophical

definitions of Tao and *de*. Then follow a number of sections on cosmology and the revelation of sacred scriptures. Sections 7 to 11 deal with Heaven and Earth, the stars, and holy places. Sections 12 to 26, covering juan 29 to 86 (that is, almost half of the entire anthology), deal with Tending Life (*yangsheng* 養生) techniques, including alchemy. Sections 27 to 32 contain doctrinal and philosophical treatises; sections 33 to 35 contains poetry. The last two sections concern hagiography.

These topics do not, however, exhaust all the aspects of Taoism represented in the canon. Most remarkable is the total absence of liturgy. The *Yunji qiqian* does not contain any ritual for Retreats (*zhai* 齋) or Offerings (*jiao* 醮). It has no petitions (*zhang* 章) or memorials (*shu* 疏), nor any other kind of ritual documents. It contains only a handful of talismans, charts, and diagrams. We can be certain, however, that works concerning ritual occupied a large place in the canon that ZHANG JUNFANG edited. The inevitable conclusion must, therefore, be that the *Yunji qiqian* as we have it cannot be considered a representative anthology of the Song canon.

It seems likely that the present version of the *Yunji qiqian* has not descended from the original work, but that the text has undergone changes. The original *Yunji qiqian* had 120 juan, whereas the present version has 122. Moreover, several juan are divided into two parts—A (*shang* 上) and B (*xia* 下)—for no apparent reason, which further increases the total count of juan. Apart from the present version in the Ming Canon, there is a later Ming edition by Zhang Xuan 張萱 (1558–1641), reprinted in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. Despite a number of textual variants and some differences in the arrangement into juan, this edition is on the whole identical to the present text. The *Yunji qiqian* was already included in the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 compiled by the Quanzhen masters in 1244. A single fascicle of this edition survives in the Palace Museum in Taipei. Here also, the text contained in this fascicle is the same as the corresponding part of the version in the Ming canon.

At present, it is impossible to explain the considerable discrepancies between ZHANG JUNFANG's preface to the *Yunji qiqian* and the actual anthology. In addition to the above-mentioned structural inconsistencies, there are other problems, such as the fact that Zhang states that Manichaean texts were included in the compilation of the Song canon. This reference has attracted the interest of historians of Manichaeism, but the *Yunji qiqian* does not contain any identifiable Manichaean material. Then there is the overall account Zhang gives regarding his involvement with the compilation of the *Da Song tiangong baozang*. Van der Loon has concluded that this account is untrustworthy (VDL 31–34). Zhang had nothing to do with the arrangement of the canon, which was strictly supervised by the government. It may well be, then, that the ordering of materials which Zhang adopted for his anthology, while not corresponding to that in the actual canon, translated his own views about how the work should have been organized.

The *Dongxiao tuzhi*, a monograph of the Taoist temples on Dadi shan 大滌山 (Jiangsu, near Hangzhou), reports that one of the copies of the new *Daozang* made under the auspices of Emperor Zhenzong (the *Tiangong baozang*) was bestowed on this center. From that copy, after revision by an eminent Taoist scholar named Feng Dezhi 馮德之, new copies were made under the title of *Yunji qiqian*. Significantly, the title "Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels," here referring explicitly to the sevenfold division of the canon, was a fitting name for a *Daozang*, whereas Zhang's handbook did not follow that arrangement. If the *Dongxiao tuzhi* account is accurate, and there are no reasons to suppose it is not, then, after the copies of the imperial *Daozang* became available in Hangzhou and were distributed under the title *Yunji qiqian*, ZHANG JUNFANG, or possibly someone else borrowing his name, may have compiled the present anthology using the same title.

Whatever the case, there is no reason to suppose that the actual *Yunji qiqian* is not a work of the beginning of the Song period. The encyclopedia does not contain texts later than Zhenzong's reign. The source material comes almost exclusively from Six Dynasties (220–589) and Tang works. Many texts are quoted in extenso, whereas others are abridged or, in some cases, reworked into new compositions. A few Five Dynasties (907–960) texts are included. From the Song, we find a few prefaces by the emperor Zhenzong. There is also a complete account of the manifestations of the divine protector of the Song dynasty, Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖寶德眞君, by WANG QINRUO. ZHANG JUNFANG evokes Wang's memory in the preface, saying: "The late . . . WANG QINRUO considered that your servant was capable of accomplishing this task." The *Yunji qiqian* must, therefore, have been presented to the throne after Wang's death in 1025. The emperor to whom the work was presented was therefore Renzong (r. 1023–1064). Renzong was a lesser patron of Taoism than Zhenzong had been, and it may be that Zhang took this fact into account. While presenting his work as the emperor's "bedside companion," he presumably left out all that was neither timely nor of interest to the ruler, which may explain why the *Yunji qiqian* has the specific character of a handbook on mystical and Tending Life Techniques, and not that of a Taoist encyclopedia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jiang Lisheng, *Yunji qiqian;* Schipper, *Index du Yunji Qiqian;* Yang Fucheng, "*Yunji qiqian* de juanshu bianxi."

Kristofer Schipper

Xiuzhen shishu 修眞十書
60 juan
Compiled ca. 1340
263 (fasc. 122–131)

"Ten Books on the Cultivation of the True Nature." This is a collection of texts compiled by adherents of the BO YUCHAN school. Although the latest date in the work is 1244 (1.10a), the collection itself was completed only during the Yuan (1279–1368): the *Zazhu jiejing* (juan 17–25; see below) was probably compiled by the Yuan author Yu Juehua 余覺華 during the Zhiyuan period (1335–1340).

Collections with the term *xiuzhen* 修眞 in their titles were common during the Yuan dynasty: YU YAN, for instance, mentions a *Xiuzhen sishu* 修眞四書 of 1270 (cf. *Xishang futan* 2.12a).

The *Xiuzhen shishu* contains excellent editions of Taoist texts and, in some cases, of works that are not available as separate entities in the *Daozang*. In view of this fact, its contents, listed below, are discussed individually in the relevant sections:

1. *Zazhu zhixuan pian* 雜著指玄篇 (treatises of BO YUCHAN et al.)
2. *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (collected works of Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝, fl. 1260)
3. *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集 (unique edition in *Daozang*)
4. *Zazhu jiejing* 雜著捷徑 (Yuan, unique edition)
5. *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 (oldest edition of this text; unique in the *Daozang*)
6. *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (collected works of BO YUCHAN unique edition)
7. *Shangqing ji* 上清集
8. *Wuyi ji* 武夷集
9. *Panshan yulu* 盤山語錄 (cf. *1059 Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu*)
10. *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu tu* 黃庭內景五臟六腑圖 (cf. *432 Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu*)
11. *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經注 (commentary by Liangqiu zi 梁丘子; cf. *402 Huangting neijing yujing zhu*)
12. *Huangting waijing yujing zhu* 黃庭外景玉經注 (commentary by Liangqiu zi; unique edition)

Texts 10–12, all of which deal with the *Huangting jing*, together form the last of the ten books. Possibly, texts 11–12 constitute later additions.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Qunxian yaoyu zuanji 群仙要語纂集
2 juan
Compiled by Dong Jinchun 董湻醇, *hao* Huanchu daoren 還初道人; late Yuan (1279–1368) or early Ming (1368–1644)
1257 (fasc. 998–999)

"Fundamental Sayings by the Host of Immortals." This is a collection of texts from different times and schools on the practice of the Tao and spiritual attainment, by an otherwise unknown author. There are passages (1.1b–11b) taken from the *Guanyin zi* 關尹子 (*667 Wushang miaodao wenshi zhenjing*), a work that regains importance under the Yuan, as well as texts by WANG ZHE, MA DANYANG (1123–1183), and BO YUCHAN. The author quotes (2.7a–8a) WANG JIE'S *1074 Huanzhen ji*. The present work should therefore be of the late Yuan or early Ming period.

One of the interesting texts preserved in this collection is the Song of the Great Way ("Dadao ge 大道歌") by Cao Wenyi 曹文逸. According to a *Luofu shan zhi* 羅浮山志, quoted in *Gujin tushu jicheng*, "Shenyi dian 神異典," Cao wrote this song during the Xuanhe era (1119–1125). Cao Wenyi, alias Cao Daochong 曹道沖, was canonized by Emperor Huizong as Wenyi zhenren 文逸眞人. She also wrote a commentary to the *Daode jing* (see *707 Daode zhenjing jizhu*, preface). The "Dadao ge" is quoted in an abridged form in *1017 Daoshu* 16.1a–3a. There it is attributed to the female immortal He Xiangu 何仙姑. It is reproduced in the *Daozang jiyao*, "Kui 奎," under the title Song of the Supreme Truth ("Zhizhen ge 至眞歌"), in this case it is attributed to LIU HAICHAN.

Other works cited are *1044 Huashu* (1.11–16a), *1052 Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun* (1.16a–24), *1249 Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 1.1a–2 (2.1a–2b), *1233 Chunyang lijiao shiwu lun* 3b–4a and 5a (2.3a–3b), and *1308 Haiqiong wendao ji* 4b–10a (2.9b–15a). In 2.15a–16a, the present collection quotes the sayings of MA DANYANG, but these cannot be found in *1234 Danyang zhenren zhiyan*.

Catherine Despeux

Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce 天皇至道太清玉冊
8 juan
By Zhu Quan 朱權, *hao* Quxian 臞仙, Xialing laoren 遐齡老人, alias Nanji chongxu miaodao zhenjun 南極沖虛妙道眞君 (1378–1448); preface dated 1444
1483 (fasc. 1109–1111)

"Most Pure and Precious Books on the Supreme Tao of August Heaven." This is an encyclopedic work on the Taoist faith and liturgy, written by Prince Zhu Quan, the seventeenth son of Ming Taizu (r. 1368–1398). In this work the author identifies himself only by his pseudonymn, Quxian (Lean Immortal). After his brother Zhu Di 朱棣 had won the throne and established his capital at Peking under the reign name of

Yongle (r. 1403–1424), Zhu Quan moved to the south of China, at Nanchang (Jiangxi). Although Zhu Quan is known for his work as a dramaturge, his literary oeuvre bears constant testimony to his Taoist convictions, which are fully expressed in the present work.

In his preface and introductory essay ("Yuandao 原道"), the author explains his own destiny as a divine being, which was revealed to him at an early age by an old woman, who told him never to forget his previous lives. After having been a minister of Shaohao, and again under Wuding of the Shang, he rose up to Heaven to be appointed as Nanji chongxu miaodao zhenjun 南極沖虛妙道眞君. After 2,699 years he again reincarnated on Earth. The old lady recommended that he not reveal his true identity before the age of sixty. Thus the present work dates to the year he was sixty-four.

The work deals in an encyclopedic way with Taoist cosmology and revelation. It presents the Taoist canon in all its aspects, as well as the main outlines of the initiatory rules and institutions linked to it. The Zhengyi 正一 as well as the Quanzhen 全眞 institutions are fully documented, as are the main aspects of the liturgy. Topics such as Taoist music, ritual vestments, and religious regulations are all duly recorded.

Remarkable for its absence is any in-depth discussion or documentation of Tending Life techniques, including Inner Alchemy and laboratory alchemy. Immortality practices are introduced only briefly in 6.13a–18a. This fact contradicts the tradition that the Lean Immortal was above all interested in longevity practices.

Among the many ideas, personal and general, expressed in the work, the claim that Taoism is the true faith of China and that the Chinese should all practice it figures prominently. The anti-Taoist measures by the Mongols, especially the burning of the *Daozang* by Kublai, are vehemently denounced as assaults on Chinese culture (2.3a and 5b–6b). A list of pernicious (Buddhist) works slandering Taoism is given. On the whole, China and its culture are glorified, and foreigners criticized. Among the latter, only the Koreans have the honor to possess the Taoist tradition, which they obtained from several great Chinese emperors (6.25a–27a). The *Daozang* edition contains a misprint between 6.13b2 and 14b6, where a discussion of the Way of the immortals is interrupted by a fragment of encyclopedic entries.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B Texts in Internal Circulation

See the general introduction to part 3 for an overview of the development of liturgical Taoism in the early modern era.

3.B.1 Zhengyi

As shown in the introduction to part 3 above, the medieval ecclesia of the Heavenly Master was greatly transformed during the late Tang (618–907) and the following centuries. Perhaps the most visible and immediate sign of this transformation is the way the First Heavenly Master, Zhang Daoling 張道陵, came to be considered during this period. In the middle ages, Zhang Daoling was seen as a recluse, as an alchemist, and as the founder of the Heavenly Master ecclesia. Now he came to be represented as a powerful exorcist, as a popular saint commanding the powers of the thunder, and as the patriarch of exorcists, to whom he revealed secrets of Thunder magic that had never been disclosed before. As the following articles will show, the founders of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 in the Five Dynasties period (907–960) were said to have received such revelations, and the same claim was made by the Yutang fa 玉堂法 in the early Southern Song (1127–1279) period.

During the Song dynasty, the Heavenly Masters of the Longhu shan 龍虎山 became one of the great and officially recognized religious institutions of modern China (see the general introduction and the introduction to part 3 above). The exorcist lineages of Tan Zixiao (Tianxin zhengfa) and Lu Shizhong (Yutang fa) emerged without any direct relationship to the Longhu shan establishment. Toward the end of the Northern Song (960–1127), the link between the Heavenly Masters and the Tianxin zhengfa was established, according to legendary accounts, through the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126; see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法).

Despite this assimilation, it should be remembered that the Zhengyi tradition, even in its new form as institutionalized in the Longhu shan patriarchy, was heir to the ancient liturgical organization of the Tang and therefore dispensed the official ordination grades that empowered officiants to perform the classical rites of the Heavenly

Master and Lingbao canons. These ties to tradition did not hold for the new exorcist lineages. The latter developed their own initiation grades and titles, as in the case of the Tianxin zhengfa and Shenxiao fa 神霄法. However, instead of replacing the classical system, these grades and titles were simply added to it, with the result that officiants could now hold qualifications from both lineages. In fact, the specialists of the new exorcistic rites, called *fashi* 法師 or *faguan* 法官, always remained at a lower religious and social level than the daoshi who had received the traditional ordination. It is therefore inappropriate, in spite of the manifold interactions between the regular liturgy (*ke* 科) and the rites (*fa* 法), to discuss them together. Thus we will first present the materials related to the traditional Zhengyi, Sanhuang, Lingbao, and Shangqing scriptures, and then discuss the new exorcistic lineages and their texts separately.

The Zhengyi order itself created classical liturgical texts in the form of rituals and scriptures that were to be performed to avert disasters such as epidemics, fires, drought, and so on. These rituals took the form of Offerings (*jiao* 醮). Earlier, *jiao* were mostly performed at the conclusion of a long Retreat (*zhai* 齋) service for the benefit of the deceased, whereas now they became the main element of the ritual. It is this evolution that, in time, would bring about the separation between a liturgy for the benefit of the living, dominated by the Offering and called *jiao*, and one for the dead, in which the merit (*gongde* 功德) of the Retreat would be the most important element, and which, accordingly, was commonly referred to as *zhai*. Also contributing to this evolution was the appearance of the Great Offering to the Entire Firmament (*luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮). This service, although preceded by the classical *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋, was essentially a large-scale offering to all the stars and constellations in the Chinese heavens (see the complete list of the stellar deities and the offerings presented to them in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 3).

The worship of stars, and especially of the stars of Fate in Ursa Major (Beidou 北斗), became a specialty of the new Zhengyi school, and scriptures as well as rituals related to the practice of venerating the Dipper (*baidou* 拜斗) are numerous in this section. Among these scriptures, the *Taishang xuanling beidou yansheng zhenjing* is the most famous; revealed by the Most High Lord Lao to Zhang Daoling, it became one of the most popular religious scriptures of China during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) periods.

3.B.1.a Scriptures

Shangqing zhenyuan rongling jing 上清鎮元榮靈經
17 fols.
Northern Song (960–1127)?
860 (fasc. 577)

"Scripture of Stabilizing the Creative Forces and Making the Numinous Powers Shine Brightly, of the Shangqing Tradition." The book is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* (VDL 76) and seems most likely to be of a Northern Song date. The method of the book is said to have been revealed to a duke of immortals (*xiangong* 仙公) and practiced by him at Tianmu shan 天目山, reputed to be the birthplace of Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (1a). The affiliation of the text with the Zhengyi order is further indicated by the title of the practitioner, Da xuandu zhengyi dizi 大玄都正一弟子 (7a).

The LZTT 41.17a to 42.4a gives the biographies of four daoshi of the Tang dynasty (618–907), beginning with Zhai Fayan 翟法言, *zi* Qianyou 乾祐, who in 755 received, by supernatural means, the transmission of a *Taishang zhengyi mengwei bifa* 太上正一盟威秘法. He also transmitted to his disciples a *Zhenyuan celing shu* 鎮元策靈書, which, according to the description given on 42.3a–b, accords with the present work. The last disciple to receive the text was Ren Keju 任可居 (fl. 890–892), and after him, the biography says, the transmission was interrupted. Although the present version has *rong* 榮 instead of *ce* 策 in the title, and although here the details of the account of the revelation (1a) are different, the similarities are too close to be ignored. Zhai was also the recipient of *389 Taishang dongxuan lingbao suling zhenfu* (q.v.).

The book describes a method of summoning the spirits of the stars of the Dipper by means of fu and offerings. The method is presented as serving primarily the purpose of divinatory questioning, and secondarily that of obtaining various kinds of blessings through the help of the spirits. It includes the construction of an altar on which the fu of the seven stars are placed in the form of the constellation and in accordance with its immediate position in the sky, with the fu of Ziwei dijun 紫微帝君 in the center (6b–7a). Similar methods are found in the texts of the Dongshen tradition, in which, however, the spirits summoned are those of the Eight Trigrams (compare *589 Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu* and *1202 Dongshen badi yuanbian jing*). Indeed, the groups of fu concluding the present book, and subsumed as "Taishang sanjia yuce 太上三甲玉策" (9a–17b), are closely related to those that are central to the method described in the third part of *589 Dongshen sanlu*. Note, for instance, the correspondence between the appearance and text of the "Tiance fu 天策符" of the present book (10a–b) and the "Dice fu 地策符" in *589 Dongshen sanlu* 23a–b.

Poul Andersen

Taishang qixing shenzhou jing 太上七星神咒經
2 fols.
383 (fasc. 182)

"Scripture of the Divine Formula of the Seven Stars of the Most High." What is the origin of misfortune? Huang-Lao yuandi 黃老元帝 asks Tianlao 天老. It comes from the stars, replies the latter. But a Taoist knows how to expel baleful qi and lengthen his years. The best way to accomplish this task is to perform the Paces of Yu while pronouncing the "divine formula of the seven stars" of the Northern Dipper. This formula is given at the end of the present text, but it does not mention the stars of the Dipper.

John Lagerwey

Taishang xuanling doumu dasheng yuanjun benming yansheng xinjing
太上玄靈斗姆大聖元君本命延生心經
3 fols.
Southern Song (1127–1279)?
621 (fasc. 341)

"Book of the Heart for Prolonging Life of the Most Sacred Goddess Mother of the Dipper of Mysterious Power." This short scripture, listed second in the category of fundamental scriptures (*benwen* 本文) of the Dongshen division, is related to the group of liturgical scriptures for the cult of the Dipper stars *622–629*. It is more particularly cognate to *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* and *623 Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing,* with which it shares the epithet of *xuanling*. The Mother of the Dipper is the Taoist adaptation of Marīci, the personification of light whose cult, introduced through Tantric Buddhism, became popular in Taoism from Southern Song times on. She is depicted here as the mother of the gods of the stars of the Beidou 北斗, which are represented as emanations from her body. The text describes her icon and provides the formulas for invoking her presence.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing
太上玄靈北斗本命延生眞經
9 fols.
622 (fasc. 341)

Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing
太上玄靈北斗本命長生妙經
3 fols.
623 (fasc. 341)

"Book of the Northern Dipper of Mysterious Power Prolonging the Original Life Span." This most revered of all modern Taoist scriptures is mentioned in passing in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* 16.765–66: "Books like the *Beidou jing*, which pretends to have been revealed by Laozi in the year 155 (Yongshou 1), and moreover is vile and ridiculous, even if it is much in circulation nowadays, must nevertheless be omitted." Bo Yuchan (*1307 Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 1.2b, 3a) praises the book, and *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 5.19a prescribes its recitation in a liturgical service. It probably appeared in Song times. However, many elements of this scripture date from earlier periods. Compare, for example, *1265 Beidi qiyuan ziting yansheng bijue*.

The setting of the revelation, as related by the scripture itself, is Chengdu in 155 A.D., where Laojun appears to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 on a jade throne (*yuju* 玉局, since then the name of the Chengdu diocese). A similar setting is found in the cognate scriptures *624–627*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Xiao Dengfu, "*Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*" (1–2).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing
太上說南斗六司延壽度人妙經
6 fols.
624 (fasc. 341)

Taishang shuo dongdou zhusuan huming miaojing
太上說東斗主筭護命妙經
3 fols.
625 (fasc. 341)

Taishang shuo xidou jiming hushen miaojing 太上說西斗記名護身妙經
4 fols.
626 (fasc. 341)

Taishang shuo zhongdou dakui baoming miaojing 太上說中斗大魁保命妙經
4 fols.
627 (fasc. 341)

"Books of the Southern, the Eastern, the Western, and the Center Dippers." These four books concerning the imaginary Dipper Constellations complementing the Northern Dipper belong to the same group as *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*, of which they are directional sequels. This relationship is explained in a preface to *624 Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing;* this preface is attributed to Zhang Daoling's 張道陵 disciple Zhao Sheng 趙昇. The emphasis on the legendary and historical elements in the cult of the First Heavenly Master suggests

that these scriptures of the Five Bushels were produced by the Zhengyi school of the Southern Song period (1127–1279).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Little, *Taoism and the arts of China*, 246–47; Xiao Dengfu, "*Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing*."

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang shuo zhongdou dakui zhangsuan fumo shenzhou jing 太上說中斗大魁掌算伏魔神咒經

2 fols.

628 (fasc. 628)

"Divine Spell Scripture of the Central Dipper, the Great Chief Supervising Fate and Subduing Demons." This is a short apotropaic text to be recited by individuals, and that has the function of a spell. A kind of exorcistic imitation of *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, the present text never mentions the Central Dipper and appears to have no link with the Dipper cult, in spite of the title.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang beidou ershiba zhang jing 太上北斗二十八章經

28 fols.

629 (fasc.341)

"Northern Dipper Scripture in Twenty-eight Chapters." This is a long scripture in twenty-eight sections (*zhang* 章) of uneven length concerning the cult of the Dipper. The introduction (1a–b) relates that Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty, when taking a walk in the Zhongshan Mountains, met a young girl who refused to salute him, saying: "I am the star that governs the constellation of the Dipper. Who are you (compared to me)?" She then explains that she is in fact seven persons at the same time and proceeds to reveal all there is to know about the Dipper and the stars of Fate.

This rambling text borrows from *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* (27a–b). In the first chapters, the goddess, Doumu 斗姆 (Marīci), who is never named, addresses herself to a certain Shengming 聖明, while later (5a ff.) she engages in a dialogue with the emperor. There are no precise indications as to the date of this comparatively late and popular text.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang jinhua tianzun jiujie huming miaojing 太上金華天尊救劫護命妙經

3 fols.

1196 (fasc. 875)

"Scripture by the Most High Heavenly Worthy Jinhua That Saves from the Apocalypse and Protects Life." This is a popular text of uncertain date, written mostly in five-syllable verse, for the invocation of the stars of the Dipper and other cosmic deities, to obtain redemption from the kalpa (*jie* 劫).

Kristofer Schipper

Zhongtian ziwei xingzhen baochan 中天紫微星眞寶懺

7 fols.

1450 (fasc. 1063)

"Precious Litany of the Stellar Gods of Ziwei." This litany of repentance and salutation centers on Ziwei dadi 紫微大帝 and the astral deities governed by him. We also find here the parents of the Northern Dippper (Doufu 斗父 and Doumu 斗母; cf. *45 Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhenjing*), the imperial couple of sun and moon (Rigong yanguang taiyang dijun 日宮炎光太陽帝君 and Yuefu suyao taiyin huangjun 月府素曜太陰皇君), the traditional divinities of the stellar constellations, and the popular Three Stars of Good Luck (Shangqing fu lu shou sanlao xingjun上清福祿壽三老星君), who became prominent in Taoist liturgy only during Ming (1368–1644) times (cf., e.g., *492 Jinlu qishou zao, wu, wanchao yi* 1.2b). The litany is still in use today in Taiwan (see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei,* 698–701).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo xiaotian chonghuang jing 太上元始天尊說消殄蟲蝗經

2 fols.

67 (fasc. 32)

"Scripture for Dispelling Plagues of Insects and Locusts, Pronounced by the Most High Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning." In response to a question by Taiji zhenren 太極眞人 as to why there had recently been crop failures due to untimely weather and plagues of locusts, the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning explains that this was the punishment for a farming population that wasted their crops and was ungrateful for their plentiful harvests. The Heavenly Worthy was now about to dispatch various divinities to extinguish the afflictions. In return, the people should improve their conduct, establish a sacred area, offer sacrifices, and invoke the divinities.

The recitation of this scripture was probably part of a minor *jiao* 醮-Offering, held when a rural community was threatened by locusts. Various rituals for the same purpose are found, for example, in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 259 or *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 7.28a–30a.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang anzhen jiulei longshen miaojing 太上安鎮九壘龍神妙經

2 fols.

68 (fasc. 32)

"Marvelous Scripture of the Most High for the Settling in Place of the Dragon-Spirits of the Nine Layers of the Earth." Taishang yuanshi tianzun 太上元始天尊 is holding court in the Dongyang heaven when a zhenren, "holding upright his court tablet," asks the Tianzun for an expedient method (*fangbian* 方便) that will help inhabitants of the Yanfu 閻浮 world overcome the ill fortune caused by their building projects. The Tianzun responds with a text describing the origin in Chaos (*hundong* 混洞) of the thirty-six sovereigns of the Earth. Although the present text does not say so, these are the same sovereigns who, according to *1373 Shangqing waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen,* rule over the Nine Layers (*jiulei* 九壘) of the Earth (there are four sovereigns per layer, one for each direction). These sovereigns alone have "received their position from the emperor," and all other spirits (listed by the Tianzun at the end of his hymn) who might take offense at the various types of construction must, upon recitation of this text, "hide themselves, return whence they came, secure [*zhen* 鎮] their corner or their direction, and cause no ill." The function of the text is thus to "settle in place the dragon-spirits of the Nine Layers" and to "thank and dismiss" (*rangxie* 禳謝) all other Earth spirits.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai shenzhou jing 元始天尊說十一曜大消災神咒經

6 fols.

43 (fasc. 29)

"The Yuanshi Tianzun Proffers the Scripture of the Divine Incantations of the Eleven Great Luminaries for the Elimination of Calamities." As the translation of the title suggests, *yao* 曜 and *da* 大 in the title should be inverted, as in *198 Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi*. This lamp ritual contains the same formulas as the latter text for the Eleven Luminaries—the sun, the moon, the five planets, and four stars—that provoke disasters. The same list is found in a Buddhist sūtra that Hou Ching-lang dates to the fourteenth century (*Monnaies d'offrandes*, 87, and "The Chinese belief in baleful stars,"

206). The recitation of the present text is already mentioned at the end of the twelfth century in *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 33.5b and *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 5.5b. The latter also mentions a form of Hetu Offering 河圖醮 that is presided over by the same eleven heavenly bodies (6.2b; cf. also 3.11a and 8.10b–14b). The attribution of this text to Taishang (*sic*) is criticized by Bo Yuchan (*1307 Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 1.13b).

In addition to the incantations addressed to the eleven luminaries, this text contains two more general formulas, one for the nine stars of the Big Dipper, the other for the five planets (the latter formula is used as a *weiling zhou* 衛靈咒 in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 11.5b). All of the incantations are revealed by Yuanshi tianzun in response to a question of Qingluo zhenren 青羅眞人 on the cause of and appropriate response to calamities, especially natural catastrophes. The Tianzun's explanation is essentially mechanistic. The calamities consequently strike good and evil, rich and poor alike. The victims should fabricate earthen images of the eleven divinities and recite the incantations in the present text, or have them recited by a Taoist for a period of seven to twenty-one days.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongzhen anzao jing 太上洞眞安竈經

2 fols.

69 (fasc. 32)

"Scripture of the Most High for the Placation of the Stove God, from the Dongzhen Canon." Robert Chard ("Master of the family," 217–23) gives a complete résumé of this text and considers it to be the oldest—possibly of Song date (960–1279)—of the three works in the *Daozang* concerning the Stove God cult.

During an "audience before the Origin" (*chaoyuan* 朝元) of all the gods of the Three Worlds, the Mother of the Flames (Chuimu 炊母) presents herself before the cinnabar throne; in her quality as petty officer of the Emperor of the North (Beidi 北帝) she is a Director of Destiny (Siming 司命) and Commissioned Officer of the Heavenly Offices (*zhifu* 直符), whose duty it is to supervise all the transformations between the raw and the cooked and to note down all infractions of the taboos. Each day of the new moon, she ascends to Heaven to make a report and to "wait for the saintly instructions."

These instructions are given here, in *gāthā* form, at the end of the scripture: to love oneself means to love the Tao, because the Tao loves life; to worship the Director of Destiny assures peace in the home, because thus "the thousand evil forces have no means of returning."

Before this *gāthā,* the Most High describes briefly the taboos to be observed in

front of the hearth and the monthly offerings that should be made to the goddess and to the divine maidens of the Six Gui 六癸 periods. After the *gāthā,* all those present promise "to follow forever the instructions of the Saint."

The term *dongzhen* 洞眞 in the title of this scripture is no doubt a result of its inclusion in that section of the Ming *Daozang*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chard, "Master of the family."

John Lagerwey

Taishang lingbao buxie zaowang jing 太上靈寶補謝竈王經

3 fols.

364 (fasc. 180)

"Scripture for Asking Pardon of the Stove Queen." Robert Chard considers this text later than *69 Taishang dongxuan anzao jing* (see his translation and comments in "Master of the family," 223–32). In particular, the myth of the cosmic deity the Old Mother is here far more developed than in the *Anzao jing*. The scripture opens with a zhenren asking the Tianzun who the Old Mother living alone on Kunlun was. The Tianzun replies that it was the Mother of the Flames (Chuimu 炊母). In Heaven she was called Celestial Empress (Tianhou 天后) and on Earth Director of Destiny (Siming 司命). She is the emissary of the Seven Principles of the Northern Dipper and also plays the roles of the five directional lords of the stove. She controls a family's destiny by reporting to Heaven on its members' behavior on the day of the new moon at midnight. People should, therefore, most scrupulously respect the taboos associated with the stove, and whenever they break them, they should "make amends and excuse themselves" (*buxie* 補謝) to the goddess of the stove and all her family. "I myself will ask the Old Mother to forgive them," concludes the Tianzun.

The zhenren then composes a short summary of the text in the form of a hymn, and the Tianzun finishes by recommending that the faithful invite a Taoist to make an offering to the goddess of the stove whenever they encounter difficulties.

John Lagerwey

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo jin guangming jing
太上元始天尊說金光明經

2 fols.

70 (fasc. 32)

"Scripture of the Golden Light, Pronounced by the Most High Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning." In this short text, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning promises to cure to all those who have lost their eyesight as a result of epidemic diseases, or whose eyes have been damaged by other unlucky circumstances. If

the devotee establishes a sacred area (*daochang* 道場) and recites this scripture, twelve Divine Lads named Goldlight, Moonlight, Sunlight, and so on, will appear and put an end to all calamities and restore the eyesight of the believer.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Yuanshi tianzun shuo sanguan baohao jing 元始天尊說三官寶號經

2 fols.

71 (fasc. 32)

"The Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning Utters the Precious Titles of the Three Officials." While the Heavenly Worthy is preaching in Daluo Heaven 大羅天, the Barefoot Immortal (Chijiao daxian 赤腳大仙) asks him how to dispell the misfortunes that plague human beings. Let them recite "the precious titles of the Three Officers," responds the Heavenly Worthy, and proceeds to utter them himself.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo yangcan yingzhong jing
太上洞玄靈寶天尊說養蠶營種經

9 fols.

360 (fasc. 179)

"Lingbao Tianzun Preaches the Scripture on Silkworm Cultivation." Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 begins by explaining to Taishang laojun 太上老君 the importance in the lives of the people of silkworm cultivation and the care of silkworm eggs. Laojun confirms that silkworm cultivation goes back to the saints of antiquity and that people need only to worship in front of the statues of the Tianzun in order to ensure a good harvest (of worms). Because the people are sinful, however, punishment is inevitable. Every year in spring they should burn incense and set out silkworm eggs in the four directions and in the middle of the fields and then invoke the gods who protect silkworms. They should also burn incense, prepare an offering to the gods in a Taoist sacred area (*daochang* 道場), and invite a Taoist priest to recite the present text.

Lingbao tianzun then utters a "formula for commanding demons" and tells the faithful to show the silkworms they have placed in the fields to the priest. The priest is to pronounce the demon-quelling formula over the silkworms, and then another formula for the multiplication of the worms. No sooner has the priest entered the house, adds the Tianzun, than the demons will flee.

In the rest of the text, the Tianzun further explains to the faithful the nature of ritual efficacity and of the system of retribution, and he menaces the demons with death if they do not leave a house where such rituals are performed. Exorcism of this sort, concludes the text, had been entrusted to priests of the Heavenly Master order.

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo liyi canwang miaojing 太上說利益蠶王妙經

2 fols.

365 (fasc. 180)

"Scripture for the Multiplication of the Silkworm King." In the Land of Pure Luminosity, in the Palace of Red Luminosity, the zhenren of Lunar Purity describes for Lingbao tianzun the sufferings of the people on Earth due to their want of clothing. The Tianzun then sends the zhenren of the Mysterious Name to Earth to turn himself into a silkworm and teach people how to make fabrics from the silken threads spun by the worms. The zhenren explains that one must take good care of the silkworms, for they are his body. In order to help "the king of the silkworms to multiply," the text supplies a "divine fu" that will keep all demons away from the king.

John Lagerwey

Taishang zhao zhu shenlong anzhen fenmu jing 太上召諸神龍安鎮墳墓經

3 fols.

363 (fasc. 180)

"Scripture of the Most High Summoning the Various Divine Dragons to Guard Tombs." This text is an elaboration of *335 Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 17 (see Mollier, *Une apocalypse taoïste*, 64). The Most High Lord of the Way goes "before dawn" (*kaiguang* 開光) to find Yuanshi tianzun in the Yanggu wilds 暘谷墟 and to tell him that people bury their dead in the hopes of having a multitude of wealthy descendants. If poverty is the rule nowadays, responds the Tianzun, it is because "the generations of the past did not believe in the methods of the Tao and did not plant good karma." People should find a Superior Taoist (*gaoshang daoshi* 高上道士) to perform a ritual in which they confess their sins and invite the dragon-kings to guard their tombs.

The Tianzun himself then summons the divine dragon-kings and tells them to do what is asked of them in the future. The scripture ends with a "word of the Tao" that enjoins the people to invite a Zhengyi Taoist to perform the ritual.

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo niuhuang miaojing 太上說牛癀妙經

2 fols.

366 (fasc. 180)

"Scripture for Healing Cattle Plague." This scripture was for use in a ritual of exorcism of the said cattle disease. The date is uncertain.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuhuang baosheng shenzhou jing 太上虛皇保生神咒經

1 fol.

384 (fasc. 182)

"Scripture of the Divine Formula for Protecting Life, [Taught] by the Most High Sovereign of the Void." The formula is in rhymed verse of four characters per line; it ends with an invocation of the spirits of the Five Directions. The text refers to the Zhengyi order of Taoism.

John Lagerwey

Taishang sansheng jieyuan miaojing 太上三生解冤妙經

6 fols.

387 (fasc. 182)

"Marvelous Book for Dispelling Hereditary Enmity through Three Generations." This modern popular scripture tells the story of Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊, who comes from the east to preach the Law in a small kingdom of the west. The queen is barren, and the Tianzun explains that this is because in her former life, when she lived in China, she had lost an unborn child. The latter, reborn as a *yakṣa*, is called up and appears to his former mother. Then the god gives to the queen the present book, which he himself has formerly obtained from the Zhengyi tianzun 正一天尊. The god instructs her to recite the book and to invite Zhengyi masters to perform a service at the moment of childbirth. Three talismans for the protection of the mother and the speeding of delivery are added.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhengyi chaotian sanba xiezui fachan 太上正一朝天三八謝罪法懺

11 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368) or early Ming (1368–1644)

813 (fasc. 567)

"Litany of Twenty-four Supplications for Forgiveness in the Zhengyi Audience to Heaven." Instead of twenty-four, the formulas for repentance in this ritual number only eleven. Each time, the Jade Proclamation (*yugao* 玉誥)—that is, the solemn title of Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 in sixty-two characters (4a)—is recited ten times.

The canonization title of the First Heavenly Master as given on 1a corresponds to that conferred in the year 1295 (see *1463 Han tianshi shijia* 1.8a). This ritual is therefore a litany for the pure liturgy by the Longhu shan 龍虎山 Heavenly Master order.

Kristofer Schipper

Zhushi shengdan chongju zhuoxian yi 諸師聖誕沖舉酌獻儀
13 fols.
482 (fasc. 265)
"Ritual for the Presentation of Offerings on the Anniversaries of the Birthdays and the Ascensions of the Various Masters." The anniversaries thus celebrated are those of Yuhuang 玉皇 (1/9), Laojun (2/15), and Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 (3/3 and 9/9). Zhang Daoling 張道陵 shares in the offering performed on 9/9. The titles of the various gods are of Ming date.

John Lagerwey

3.B.1.b Lamp Rituals

Lamp rituals (*dengyi* 燈儀) were known already in the fifth century. The *1411 Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* gives details for two types: one designed to save the souls of the dead from the "darkness of the Long Night," the other to prevent natural disasters, epidemics, and any unlucky event. These early rituals, which consist in the successive lighting of a symbolic number of lamps, already include a confession of sins and expression of wishes.

In *507 Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 56, Du Guangting gives the classical form to and definition of this method for worshiping with lamps (*lideng zhi fa* 禮燈之法). He attributes the method to the *Jinlu jianwen* 金籙簡文, a text of the fifth century that is no longer extant. According to Du, "the most important matters in a *zhai*-ritual are the burning of incense and the lighting of lamps" (56.1a). The incense is the means for communicating with Heaven; the lamps dissipate the obscurity of the hells. Du indicates various times for "praying over the lamps" (*zhoudeng* 咒燈), but the most important time is at the end of the day, after the evening Audience ritual. The rite begins at the Gate of Earth and ends in front of the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師). The adept is then to leave the lamps burning until dawn. Du still follows the order given in the above-mentioned *1411 Mingzhen ke* (E, S, W, N; NE, SE, SW, NW); the final prayer, for the lamp of the underworld, is missing in Du's text.

The various liturgical manuals of the Southern Song (1127–1279) and the Yuan (1279–1368) make clear that there was a proliferation of lamp rituals. The *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 34 gives diagrams for nine, and *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* gives texts for ten such rituals (juan 15, 25, 34, 35, 127, 174, 199, 200, 236). The lighting of lamps at the end of the day continues to be recommended (*466 Jidu jinshu* 2.6a), but it is also to be done at the start of a full-scale Retreat (*zhengzhai* 正齋), so as to light the path to the sacred area and thereby enable the souls of the deceased to be present during the Retreat (*1221 Lingbao dafa* 34.14b). In general, the function of the lamps is to "dispel the obscurity" (*poan* 破暗) of the hells.

With one exception—*475 Hongen lingji zhenjun qizheng xing dengyi*—all lamp rituals that do not form part of, or are not closely related to, the large liturgical manuals are placed together in the *Daozang*. Although the present group of rituals hardly constitutes a coherent ensemble, the rituals do seem to have been reworked by a single editor: with two exceptions (*199 Nandou yanshou dengyi,* and *200 Beidou qiyuan xing dengyi*), the recitation of a sacred text is required at the end of the ritual (cf. *466 Jidu jinshu* 35.8b); the reading of a memorial (*shu* 疏) is also required in nine of the nineteen rituals. The same formula of homage (*zhixin guiming* 志心歸命) is used in thirteen texts (cf. *466 Jidu jinshu* 199), and the same manner of expressing wishes in front of the lamps (*fuyuan* 伏願) in fourteen texts (cf. *466 Jidu jinshu* 25).

The fact that these lamp rituals almost always precede the recitation of a sacred text is a fairly good indication that each of the nineteen liturgies originally constituted the core of a full, albeit short, ritual. The larger ritual context is that of an Offering (*jiao* 醮 or *gong* 供) in twelve cases (texts *198–203*, *205–210*) and of a Retreat (*zhai* 齋) in four *(211–214)*. Most of these rituals were performed for individuals (called "disciples" [*dizi* 弟子] in texts *199*, *201*, *204*, *207*; "believers" [*xinshi* 信士] in *209–210;* "so-and-so" [*mou* 某] in *200, 202, 203, 205–207*) or for heads of families or neighborhoods (*jiaozhai guanshi* 醮齋官士; *198*, *208*, *211–214*). In some cases, the priest's invitation from the faithful is described: "having chosen a member of the One and Orthodox sect" *(198);* "having invited a True Friend" *(200);* "with the help of a feathered gentleman" *(204, 210)*.

Yuhuang shiqi ciguang dengyi 玉皇十七慈光燈儀
20 fols.
197 (fasc. 83)
"Seventeen Lights of the Compassion of the Jade Emperor." The title refers to the seventeen aspects of the Jade Emperor's salvific light, enumerated in *10 Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 1.9b–10a. He who "meditates on these aspects of the Worthy One and praises his names will be enabled to see the face of the Compassionate One [*ciyan* 慈顏] and will be saved" (1.11a). The present text, which begins with a hymn taken from the *Yuhuang jing* (1.8b–9a) and ends with the recitation of *13 Gaoshang yuhuang xinyin jing,* uses the same term for "to praise" (*chengyang* 稱揚) as does the *yuhuang jing* before each of its seventeen hymns to the Jade Emperor.

John Lagerwey

Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi 上清十一大曜燈儀
8 fols.
198 (fasc. 83)
"Lamp Ritual of the Eleven Great Luminaries." The main body of this text is composed of the same eleven hymns found in *43 Yuanshi tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai*

shenzhou jing. The rite is part of a Pure Offering (*qingqong* 淨供) performed by a Zhengyi 正一 priest in order to avert catastrophes linked to the "eleven greater heavenly bodies." A *jiao* 醮 dedicated to these eleven bodies is mentioned in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 8.10a.

John Lagerwey

Nandou yanshou dengyi 南斗延壽燈儀

6 fols.

199 (fasc. 183)

"Southern Dipper Lamp Ritual for Prolonging Life." The Southern Dipper of the title of this text is the Heavenly seat of longevity, object of the Offering (*jiaoli* 醮禮) of which the present rite forms a part. In order to perform this Offering, which identifies itself as belonging to both the Lingbao tradition and the *Hetu jiao* 河圖醮, one must first establish an astral sacred area (*xingtan* 星壇) and invite all the divinities whose names are given at the beginning of the text. The list of divinities is the same as for *198 Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi*.

The work *1224 Daomen dingzhi* mentions (6.3a) an Offering made simultaneously to the divinities of the Northern and Southern Dippers in order to obtain longevity; this work treats the Offering as a kind of *Hetu jiao*. The prayers given in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* (8.14b–17b), however, correspond not to those given here but to those in *624 Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing*.

John Lagerwey

Beidou qiyuan xing dengyi 北斗七元星燈儀

7 fols.

200 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual for the Seven Principles of the Northern Dipper." The wishes expressed in this ritual addressed to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper ask for the forgiveness of sins, success for mandarins and merchants, conjugal harmony, and happy descendants.

The work *1224 Daomen dingzhi* mentions (6.3a) an Offering addressed "exclusively to the Seven Principles" of the Northern Dipper. The name of this ritual recalls the title of *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*, but the prayers given in the *Daomen dingzhi* (8.17b–21a) are those of *753 Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang*, not those of the present text.

John Lagerwey

Beidou benming yanshou dengyi 北斗本命延壽燈儀

4 fols.

201 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual of Northern Dipper Individual Destiny for Extending Longevity." The destiny of every human being is determined by the lord of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper associated with his or her birth date. People should "invite a True Friend" to celebrate the present ritual of confession and wishes on their birthday.

Contrary to *199 Nandou yanshou dengyi* and *200 Beidou qiyuan xing dengyi,* each of which is composed of a number of prose and verse sections equal to the number of stars in the Southern or Northern Dippers, this text contains only five such sections—one for each of the five directions, no doubt—each of which is addressed to an astral lord of Fundamental Destiny (*benming* 本命).

John Lagerwey

Sanguan dengyi 三官燈儀

4 fols.

202 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual of the Three Officials." This lamp ritual belongs to a Pure Offering performed for an individual on the days of the Three Principles, on which days "the Three Officials correct the accounts and the Nine Heavens grant happiness."

John Lagerwey

Xuandi dengyi 玄帝燈儀

5 fols.

203 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual for the Emperor of the North." The Pure Offering into which this lamp ritual is to be inserted is in honor of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝. The title given to him in the text, *Lingying yousheng zhenjun* 靈應佑聖眞君, was first accorded this god in 1108.

The first of the wishes expressed in the present ritual asks for the forgiveness of the sins of "so-and-so" and for eternal life; the second wish asks the same thing for all the deceased of the family; and the third wish requests happiness for all members, living and dead, of the family.

1224 *Daomen dingzhi* mentions (6.4b) a *Beiji zhenwu jiao* 北極眞武醮.

John Lagerwey

Jiutian San Mao siming xian dengyi 九天三茅司命仙燈儀

5 fols.

204 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual in Honor of the Director of Destiny of the Nine Heavens and His Brothers." This ritual was to be held on the festival days of the immortalized Mao brothers: in the third month and on the second day of the twelfth month. The deities, whose presence is symbolically indicated by the unrolling of their images, are invoked one after another, offered incense and flowers, and praised in hymns. The text of these hymns comes, with slight modifications, from a famous inscription in honor of the brothers that was engraved on a stele on Maoshan 茅山 in 522 (see "Tianhuang taidi shou Maojun jiuxi yuce wen 天皇太帝授茅君九錫玉冊文," *304 Maoshan zhi* 1.1a–2b).

Since the honorary titles of the patron saints contain the expansions *zhenying* 眞應, *miaoying* 妙應, and *shenying* 神應, bestowed upon them in 1316 (see "Yanyou jiahao sanjun liguan sanfeng gao 延祐加號三君立觀三峰誥," *304 Maoshan zhi* 4.19a–21a), the date "forty-second year of the holy government" (2a9) could refer to the year 1321. However, if we take into account the other texts of this group *(197–203)* some of which seem to date to the Ming, the reference could also be to the year 1409.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Wanling dengyi 萬靈燈儀

4 fols.

205 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual for the Myriad Spirits." This text forms part of a Pure Offering addressed to the divinity of one's choice, rather than to all divinities, as the title would seem to suggest. The intentions are general in character: for the prosperity of the country, the family, and all beings.

John Lagerwey

Wuxian lingguan dadi dengyi 五顯靈觀大帝燈儀

5 fols.

206 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual in Honor of the Great Emperors Five Manifestations of Divine Contemplation." The five deities invoked in this brief ritual have their origin in the widespread southern Chinese cult of the Five Supernatural Powers (Wutong 五通), a class of ancient, one-legged nature demons. In 1109 a Wutong sanctuary in Wuyuan (Jiangxi), which—obviously under Buddhist influence—had successfully cleaned up the images of its gods, was officially recognized, while in 1111 the Wutong spirits in general were declared objects of an illicit cult (*Song huiyao jigao* 1:771–72 and 843).

Over the following centuries, the cult of the five deities of Wuyuan—who, after an official change of their names in 1174, came to be called Wuxian 五顯 (Five Manifestations)—established numerous branch temples and became enormously popular throughout southern China. In the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the Wuxian were elevated to national rank. Ming Taizu ordered state offerings to be performed for the gods at an official temple (completed in 1389) near his capital (see *Xiyin ji* 5.30a–32a).

Taoists categorically opposed both the illicit worship of the Wutong spirits and the officially sanctioned cult of the Wuxian until well into the thirteenth century (cf. *780 Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* 1b–2b). During the same period, however, Marshal Ma 馬元帥, a Taoist deity developed to fight especially the Wutong, began to take on the features and qualities of his victims. This process eventually resulted in a complete fusion of Marshal Ma with the Wutong/Wuxian and in the integration of the latter into the Taoist pantheon (cf. also *1192 Dahui jingci miaole tianzun shuo fude wusheng jing*).

The lantern ritual presents the five gods as five heavenly marshals with new Taoist names in addition to the titles officially granted to them in 1213. Although there is evidence that, in the thirteenth century, local Taoists, despite the objection of higher Taoist authorities, participated in the worship of the Wuxian, it is unlikely that the present text was adopted into this standardized collection of lantern rituals before the high imperial honors bestowed on the cult during the early Ming.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cedzich, "Wu-t'ung."

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Tusi dengyi 土司燈儀

8 fols.

207 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual for the Soil God." The Pure Offering of which this rite forms a part is performed in order to expiate the faults committed against the god of the soil in the course of a recent building or moving project. The text is divided into nine parts, addressed to the stellar divinities in charge of the Eight Trigrams and the center. The titles given these divinities are close to those used in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 199.

John Lagerwey

Dongchu siming dengyi 東厨司命燈儀

5 fols.

208 (fasc. 83)

"Lamp Ritual for the Director of Destiny of the Eastern Kitchen." After the invocation, addressed to the divine lords of a new and an old stove, a prose introduction explains that "the Stove [God] is the head of the household: he inquires into errors and judges sin. Given the importance of his position, one does well to show him the greatest respect." This display of respect is what the "officer of the *jiao* 醮" accomplishes by lighting five lamps, each of which is linked to the invocation both of the Director of Destiny of the Eastern Kitchen (cf. the title) and of the Stove God of one of the Five Directions. The Eastern Kitchen is probably related to the Eastern Peak. Robert Chard ("Master of the family," 232–43) gives a nearly complete translation of this text, which he considers to be later than *69 Taishang dongzhen anzao jing*.

John Lagerwey

Zhengyi wensi bidu shendeng yi 正一瘟司辟毒神燈儀

5 fols.

209 (fasc. 84)

"Ritual of the Divine Lamps for Averting Disease, from the Zhengyi Offices of Epidemics." This ritual belongs to a Pure Offering performed for the faithful in order to expel the emissaries who spread epidemics in each of the Five Directions. "The Great Way produces epidemics," we read, "but people bring them upon themselves. When the gods look into wrongdoing, one has only one's virtue to rely on."

Fortunately, the "path of prayer" is wide, and all gods—whether Taoist or Buddhist, great warriors or sages of antiquity, painted or sculpted—give their protection to any region that presents them with an offering.

John Lagerwey

Liming ruixiang dengyi 離明瑞象燈儀

7 fols.

210 (fasc. 84)

"Lamp Ritual for Auspicious Signs from the South." This ritual of "auspicious fu" belongs to an "Offering to pray for peace." The latter serves especially to protect the region whose faithful have it performed from the fires sent by the gods of the Palace of Southern Clarity to punish sin (*li* 離 refers to the trigram of that name, a trigram that occupies the south and corresponds to fire). Six groups of gods, all associated with the south, are asked to forgive the sins of the faithful and grant them their favors.

The work *1224 Daomen dingzhi* (6.5a) mentions an Offering to Conjure the Flames and Drive off Catastrophe (*Shihuo rangzai jiao* 誓火禳災醮).

John Lagerwey

Huanglu jiuyang fanqi dengyi 黃籙九陽梵炁燈儀

11 fols.

211 (fasc. 84)

"Yellow Register Lamp Ritual for the Brahman Energies of the Nine Yang." The "Brahman Energies of the Nine Yang" are the qi of the Nine Heavens; they illumine the underworld and enable the souls of the deceased to ascend to Heaven. The ritual consists in invoking the Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 of each direction in turn and then, having lit a lamp, of singing the appropriate hymn from *318 Daoxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing*.

In this version, the ritual begins in the east; the version in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 25 begins in the northeast.

John Lagerwey

Huanglu jiuzhi dengyi 黃籙九巵燈儀

4 fols.

212 (fasc. 84)

"Yellow Register Lamp Ritual of Nine Goblets." This is an abbreviated version of the traditional Jiuyou 九幽 Retreat described in *1411 Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke*. There are also a number of terminological borrowings from *507 Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 56.10a–13a and *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 24.1a ff.

John Lagerwey

Huanglu poyu dengyi 黃籙破獄燈儀

8 fols.

213 (fasc. 84)

"Yellow Register Lamp Ritual for Destroying Hell." As in the traditional Jiuyou 九幽 Retreat, each section of this ritual is addressed to one of the ten Lingbao, as opposed to the Jiuku tianzun. At the end of each prose paragraph, the celebrant is to make an act of contrition so that the soul of the deceased may escape from the difficulties associated with the hell of the respective direction (*channan* 懺難; cf. *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 35.2b, *chan shendeng* 懺神燈; and 174.3a, *chan moufang diyou* 懺某方地獄). As in *466 Jidu jinshu* 35, the celebrant then burns a "fu order" and, finally, recites a verse.

The three rituals in *211 Huanglu jiuyang fanqi dengyi, 212 Huanglu jiuzhi dengyi,* and the present text all follow the same order, starting in the east, continuing clockwise around to the northeast, and finishing in the center. In this ritual alone, the center is associated with the "lower direction," thus accentuating the dramatic character of this ritual for the "destruction of hells."

John Lagerwey

Huanglu wuku lundeng yi 黃籙五苦輪燈儀
5 fols.
214 (fasc. 84)

"Yellow Register Revolving Lamp Ritual for [Release from] The Five Sufferings." This ritual of "wheel-lamps" designed to "turn the light around" (and cause it to shine in the underworld) associates all souls in distress with the soul of a recently deceased person and aims to save them from the Five Sufferings and the three forms of filth. It may be an abbreviated version of *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 24.19a–24a.

John Lagerwey

Taiqing daode xianhua yi 太清道德顯化儀
20 fols.
Ming (1318–1644)
793 (fasc. 564)

"Ritual for the Epiphany of [the Heavenly Worthy] of the Way and Its Power of the Taiqing [Heaven]." This is a service to be celebrated on the occasion of Laozi's birthday, on the fifteenth day of the second moon (1b). Laozi's canonical title here is Taiqing xuanyuan wushang santian wuji dadao taishang laojun daode tianzun 太清玄元無上三天無極大道太上老君道德天尊: the third of the Sanqing triad and thus, according to modern cosmology, the ruler of the Taiqing Heaven.

The latest manifestation (*xianhua* 顯化) to be mentioned (2a) is Laozi's appearance on Maoshan (in 1109, to Liang Wuzhen 梁悟眞, revealing to the latter the *Jiaqu Tiantong huming miaojing* 加句天童護命妙經; see *632 Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing* 5a).

The service is composed of three parts. The first ritual is an offering for the birthday (*shangshou gongxian* 上壽供獻; 1a–7b). Incense, flowers, candles, tea, wine, and fruits are offered in succession. The second ritual is an homage to the epiphany (*xianhua liwen* 顯化禮文; 7b–15a), which celebrates with hymns and recitations nine stages in the manifestations of Laozi in this world, the fourth one corresponding to the revelation of the doctrine of the Zhengyi order (*zhengyi zhi zongjiao* 正一之宗教; 10b).

The final ritual is the *jiao* 醮 (*xianhua shejiao yi* 顯化設醮儀; 15a–20a). It is of a simple *daochang* 道場 type and is structured around three libations of wine.

The hymns throughout are in seven-character lines and distinctly vernacular in character.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing dongxuan mingdeng shangjing 上清洞玄明燈上經
7 fols.
367 (fasc. 180)

"Scripture of Lighting Lamps, of the Shangqing Dongxuan Canon." The classificatory title *Shangqing dongxuan* indicates that this text is cognate with the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* liturgy. The text does not follow the usual scriptural model and provides no clues for dating. It expounds in highly ornate classical language the importance of the ritual of lighting lamps and singing hymns while they burn, and of the celebration of Retreats for the atonement of sins (1b). The more lamps are lit the better, and those who practice this ritual during three years will rise up to Heaven in broad daylight. One of the lights is the Prince of Lamps (*dengwang* 燈王), and in his honor four stanzas of a classical hymn are chanted. Then follow nineteen other stanzas. The work closes with a formula for the Feeding of the Hungry Ghosts (*shishi zhongsheng chou* 施食衆生咒).

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.1.c Registers and Talismans

Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu 太上三五正一盟威籙
6 juan
1208 (fasc. 877)

"Register of the Sworn Alliance with the Powers of the Orthodox One." According to many early sources, such as *1205 Santian neijie jing* 1.6a, the registers of the Sworn Alliance were originally bestowed on Zhang Daoling 張道陵 by Laozi in 142. It is, however, doubtful that the present version of twenty-four apotropaic talismans represents the original revelation.

The same series is quoted in *615 Chisong zi zhangli* 4.22a–b under the general title "Ritual Registers in Twenty-four Degrees." It can again be found in *1212 Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* by ZHANG WANFU, and in *796 Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei yuelu jiaoyi* by DU GUANGTING.

In the present version, the twenty-four talismans are connected to the Twenty-four Dioceses (*zhi* 治) and to the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions (*xiu* 宿). Among the locations given for the different *zhi,* we find the name of Huai'an jun 淮安軍 for the

Changli zhi 昌利治. Huai'an jun is a military district created in 997. The present version of this register must, therefore, date from the Song period (960–1279).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhengyi yansheng baoming lu 太上正一延生保命籙

10 fols.

1216 (fasc. 880)

"Life-Prolonging and Destiny-Protecting Register, of the Zhengyi School." This is a protective talismanic register for lay people, issued in print by the Longhu shan 龍虎山, and signed by Zhang Yuqing 張宇清, the Forty-fourth Heavenly Master (d. 1427). The attestation of transmission and the introduction to the register, in the form of a short scripture, give the impression that this register belongs to an earlier stratum and can be compared to similar documents from the Tang and early Song dynasties (compare *1209 Taishan zhengyi mengwei falu yibu*).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhengyi jie wuyin zhouzu bilu 太上正一解五音咒詛祕籙

8 fols.

1217 (fasc. 880)

"Secret Register of the Most High for Obtaining Release from Incantations and Spells from All Quarters." Like the *1216 Yansheng baoming lu,* this register was issued, originally in printed form, by the Heavenly Masters of the Longhu shan 龍虎山 and signed by the master of the forty-fourth generation, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427). The register is accompanied by the image of an exorcist with a sword and a bowl of charm water (fig. 42). The divine agents of the register are the lords of the five kinds of barbarians (Yi 夷, Man 蠻, Rong 戎, Di 狄, and Qin 秦), widely invoked in Zhengyi rites since the early middle ages.

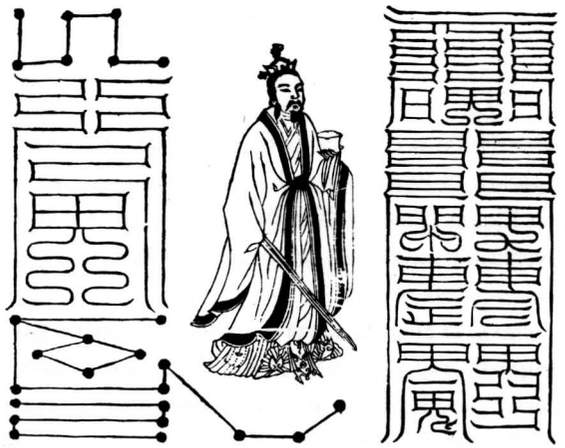


FIGURE 42. Exorcist with a sword and a bowl of charm water (*1217* 2a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1200)

As examples of black magic, the text offers: "having one's portrait drawn by an evil person who then pierces the heart with a knife"; "having been possessed by the spirits of earth altars, sacred areas, forests, brooks, wells, and stoves"; "having been the victim of incantations and spells by the devious masters of the vulgar cults of the River God [Hebo 河伯]."

Kristofer Schipper

Sidou ershiba xiu tiandi dalu 四斗二十八宿天帝大籙

21 fols.

1397 (fasc. 1048)

"Register of the Heavenly Sovereigns of the Four Dippers and the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions." This work is in fact a collection of registers, presumably for lay people, as there is no clearly correlated initiation or ordination ritual. Following the Register of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions mentioned in the title, we find the Register of the Divine Immortals of the Five Sovereigns, Planets, and Peaks (*Wudi wuxing wuyue shenxian luwen* 五帝五星五嶽神仙籙文; 16b–17a), the Register of the Seal of Yue of the Most High Three-and-Five Yellow Deity (*Taishang sanwu huangshen yuezhang lu* 太上三五黃神越章籙), and the Register of the Most High Three-and-Five Dance of Pacing the Mainstay in Exchange with Heaven (*Taishan sanwu jiaoqian bugang lu* 太上三五交乾步綱籙). The latter register consists of an outline of a choreography, unlike the others, which contain talismans and a list of deities. According to the formulary for the document of transmission, the recipient was ill as a result of demon possession.

The Register of the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions is, as usual, divided into four parts, one part for the constellations of each of the four directions. The Register of the Seal of Yue is placed under the command of the generals of the Three Officials, and is also largely exorcistic in nature.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.1.d Miscellanea

Sandong xiudao yi 三洞修道儀

11 fols.

By Sun Yizhong 孫夷中, *hao* Baoguang zi 葆光子; 1003

1237 (fasc. 989)

"Protocol for the Practice of the Tao of the Three Caverns." This is a remarkable little handbook on the liturgical organization of Taoism after the troubled period of the Five Dynasties (907–960). The author writes in his preface that he obtained the information contained in this handbook from Liu Ruozhuo 劉若拙, *hao* Huagai xiansheng 華蓋先生, a daoshi from the Beimang 北邙 diocese in Sichuan. Liu has a biography in the LZTT 47.12a; it states that Liu served as Taoist registrar (*zuojie daolu*

左街道錄) in the capital during the Kaibao era (968–975) and that he collaborated in the reestablishement of the Taoist examination system.

Sun worked as an official in Jingzhou 荊州 (Hunan). He met Liu Ruozhuo and received his teachings when the latter traveled through the region in 1003 (year *guimao* 癸卯). Sun wrote this work the same year.

The introduction gives a summary of the development of liturgical Taoism until Sun's times. The description he gives of the liturgical organization is much the same as that of the Tang (618–907) period (see the introduction to part 2.B.1). In addition to the traditional ordination grid, we find a superior group of hermits (*shanju daoshi* 山居道士) as well as the first mention of an exorcistic order that practiced the Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法) of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi leigong fa* 北帝雷公法; 9a). Also remarkable are the separate ordination grades for women, at all levels, except for the Beidi 北帝 exorcistic order.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

***Cuishan lu* 萃善錄**
2 juan
Ming (1368–1644)
983 (fasc. 617)

"Anthology of Good [Deeds]." This is a collection of written memorials for Retreats and Offerings. The texts here are the Intentions (*yi* 意) specially written by prominent persons for inclusion into the written prayers presented in such rituals. Among the rituals we find those that celebrate the emperor's birthday, that give thanks for rain (1.1a) and for the integrity of the territory of the Song empire (1.6b), and many others. Many Intentions come from Hangzhou in the Southern Song period (1127–1279) and refer to Taoist sanctuaries there. A series of memorials (2.2b–4b) presented at the death of the Thirty-seventh Heavenly Master, Zhang Yudi 張與棣, *hao* Xiwei zi 希微子, should date from 1294 (see *1463 Han Tianshi shijia* 3.12b). The patriarch was called to the capital in that year and died there suddenly. The memorials were presented (and perhaps written) by his mother, who recalls the conditions of his travels to the capital and laments that they would never meet again. Many other Heavenly Masters are mentioned, as well as various dignitaries of the Song. This collection must have been compiled at the Longhu shan 龍虎山 headquarters of the Zhengyi 正一 Heavenly Master order on the basis of documents preserved there. It is therefore an important source for the history of the Heavenly Masters. None of the documents seem to date from the Ming, but the nature of some of the texts that date from the Song period and are highly nationalistic in tone or that date to the Yuan (1279–1368) and contain, like those mentioned above, barely hidden criticisms of the Mongol government make it unlikely that it was compiled under the Yuan.

Yuan Bingling

***Daomen shigui* 道門十規**
20 fols.
By Zhang Yuchu 張宇初; 1406
1232 (fasc. 988)

"Ten Rules for the Taoist." This work was compiled by the forty-third Zhengyi patriarch. Zhang Yuchu had received the imperial order to revise the books of Taoism and responded by writing a dedication to the emperor that set out the foundations of Taoism, as well as its subsequent development, successive schools, and filiations. The author combines these presentations with his rules of demeanor for professional practice, which the Taoist priest (daoshi) should observe. This work signals the beginning of the editorial efforts that culminated in the production of the *Da Ming Daozang jing* 大明道藏經, decades after the death of Zhang Yuchu in 1410.

Zhang Yuchu reveals his perception of the history of Taoism, dividing the historic schools and filiations into two groups: the "teachings" of Quanzhen 全眞 and Zhengyi 正一 are contrasted with the "methods" of, for example, the Qingwei 清微 Taoists. Zhang Yuchu explains the "interior" and "exterior" aspects of Taoism—that is, self-cultivation and liturgy, which serve the individual practitioner and the community, respectively. Self-cultivation and liturgy complement each other. The rules also deal with the proper operation of cloisters: with the administration of their staff and economic facilities. Zhang Yuchu emphasizes that the teachings of Laozi and his inauguration of Taoism were the basis for the above teachings and methods.

Florian C. Reiter

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reiter, *Grundelemente*, 22–35.

3.B.2 Sanhuang

Sanhuang (Dongshen 洞神) texts were already predominantly concerned with divination and prophylactic rites in medieval times; the few markedly Sanhuang texts of this later period continue this tradition. The *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽眞形圖 is, together with the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文, the fundamental document of the Dongshen division. It is found here in *856 Sanhuang neiwen yibi* in a late rendition that became popular in modern China and that was frequently reproduced on exorcistic objects such as door screens, entrance stones, talismans, and so on. The two texts related to the white monkey (*boyuan* 白猿) concern popular magic and divination.

Taishang dongshen sanyuan miaoben fushou zhenjing
太上洞神三元妙本福壽眞經
9 fols.
Edited by Miao Shanshi 苗善時, *zi* Taisu 太素, *hao* Shian 實庵; 1324
651 (fasc. 343)

"Real Scripture of Blessings and Longevity, Revealing the Marvelous Root of the Three Principles, from the Dongshen Canon." In his colophon (dated 1324), the editor of the present version, the famous Taoist scholar and Quanzhen 全眞 master Miao Shanshi, relates that he obtained this ancient scripture, corrected it, and divided it in (six) paragraphs (*zhang* 章), whereupon a laymen by the name of Wang (Wang jushi 王居士, *hao* Zhongan 仲庵) had it printed and distributed.

The claim that this was an "old scripture" carries some weight because the text shows clearly that before its division into paragraphs, this was a liturgical scripture in the classical form. Spoken by the Dasheng zu xuanyuan daode tianzun 大聖祖玄元道德天尊, a title that makes us think of the Tang canonization of Laozi, this scripture was placed in the Dongshen section of the canon, probably by the Ming editors.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing jinque yuhua xianshu baji shenzhang sanhuang neibi wen
太清金闕玉華仙書八極神章三皇內祕文
3 juan
855 (fasc. 575)

"Inner Secret Writs of the Three Sovereigns, [Constituting] the Divine Chapters of the Eight Poles of the Lustrous Writings of Immortality of the Gold Portal of Taiqing." The book is a compilation of the methods of the Sanhuang tradition. It is not likely to be earlier than the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279); note, for instance, the legend of Zhenwu 眞武 (1.7a), the reference to the Four Saints (*sisheng* 四聖; 1.5b), and the designation of the altar as *Zhengyi tianhuang tan* 正一天皇壇 (1.26b), reflecting the supremacy of the Zhengyi organization.

Each juan of the book pertains to one of the Three Sovereigns, referring each sovereign to one of the three cosmic levels of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Juan 1 describes the different sections of the Taoist pantheon, as well as some methods of summoning the celestial spirits for exorcistic purposes. The fourth paragraph (1.11a–25b) constitutes a complete demonology, comprising seventy-two categories of "selfish spirits" or "spiritual outlaws" (*sishen* 私神) that may nevertheless be made subservient. Juan 2 deals with methods of living in the mountains (*jushan zhi fa* 居山之法). It describes, for instance, the method of "inviting [the support of] the god of the mountain by means of offerings" (*jiaoqing shanzhu* 醮請山主; 2.4a–b), and it contains comprehensive lists to be used for the identification of herbs and minerals

(2.7a–10b). Juan 3 deals with methods of avoiding danger and cultivating immortality, such as the method of the five simulations (*wujia fa* 五假法; 3.7b–8a, 11b–13a), by means of which one may obtain invisibility to evil influences (see *864 Yuanyang zi wujia lun*).

Poul Andersen

Sanhuang neiwen yibi 三皇內文遺祕
14 fols.
856 (fasc. 575)

"Transmitted Secrets of the Inner Writs of the Three Sovereigns." The book is not earlier than the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), since the *Zhengyi yuantan* 正一元壇 of Longhu shan 龍虎山 is mentioned (9b). There is a postface 后序 to the book (though it precedes the text) signed by a Ziwei daoren 紫微道人 and dated to a *bingwu* 丙午 year. Fukui Kōjun suggests that the year in question may be 1306 (*Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū*, 190).

The book contains incantations—referred to as inner writs (*neiwen* 內文)—of each of the Three Sovereigns, comprising 315, 264, and 216 characters, respectively. Those who study this Way (and who are initiated) should wear these *neiwen* on their body (5b). The book also contains three seals, mainly for protection when entering mountains (5b–7a). The work *1185 Baopu zi neipian* 17.19b–20b is quoted for the stories related to the first two of these seals: *Huangshen* 黃神 and *Yuezhang* 越章 (9b–10a). The book concludes with a version of the fu representing the true forms of the Five Peaks (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽眞形圖; 11a–13b).

Poul Andersen

Taishang tongxuan lingyin jing 太上通玄靈印經
11 fols.
859 (fasc. 576)

"Book of Efficacious Seals for Penetrating Mystery." This text deals with several seals, of which the most important—that for "communicating with the powers" (*tongling* 通靈)—probably constitutes the basis of the book's title. Without this seal, says Laozi, "no technique of the Tao can succeed." The present text, therefore, describes how to make, transmit, and use this seal, to which it also gives the names "Lingbao seal" and "fu-seal of the Eight Archivists (*bashi* 八史) for communicating with the spirits." These Eight Archivists are genies in the service of the owner of the seal.

The text says that an Offering to these Eight Archivists was composed at their behest in 155 by the Master of the Spirits (*shenshi* 神師; i.e., Zhang Daoling 張道陵?). The method was later transmitted to Master Zhuge 諸葛 [Liang?] in 347, but "since then very few people have received it" (6b–7a).

The same Master Zhuge explains how to "communicate with the powers and put demons to work." If one wishes, for example, to order the demons to rob a person, one must "first sacrifice to them." Using the "fu for summoning demons," an adept could oblige the "demon soldiers" to go forth and take revenge on an enemy. Or an adept could change red beans into soldiers by pronouncing a formula over them after first wiping them with a mixture of sheep's blood, cow's bile, and mud.

Texts such as this clearly derive from an archaic stratum of Taoism. The *Xuandong tongling fu* 玄洞通靈符, for example, are mentioned together with the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 in *671 Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shang jing* 2.11b, an early Lingbao scripture of about 400 A.D. It may also be noted that here (3a), as in *767 Taishang tongling bashi shengwen zhenxing tu* 13a, Laozi is called the Master of Old (*xianshi* 先師).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongshen xuanmiao boyuan zhenjing 太上洞神玄妙白猿眞經

19 fols.

858 (fasc. 576)

"Veritable Scripture of the White Monkey." This scripture is said to have been revealed by a white monkey. An account of its transmission is found in *861 Taishang liuren mingjian fuyin jing* 1.1a–b. The latter text and the present one derive from the same source, which itself underwent major modifications (see 13b in the present work and the article on *861 Fuyin jing*).

This text comprises in all five diagrams (*shi* 式), which differ from those found in *861 Fuyin jing*. The performance of the rituals attached to each diagram is regulated by instructions concerning the diagram of Primordial Chaos. The most important place is assigned to a ritual accompanying the concoction and absorption of alchemical substances (second diagram, 3b–10b).

The problem of dating this work is analogous to that concerning *861 Fuyin jing*. The latter's tentative Northern Song (960–1127) date is based on indications in its juan 4, which does not derive from the revelation of the white monkey (see the article on *861 Fuyin jing*). With respect to the present work, such a date can be regarded only as a *terminus post quem*.

Marc Kalinowski

Taishang liuren mingjian fuyin jing 太上六壬明鑑符陰經

4 juan

861 (fasc. 577)

"Book of the Most High Luminous Mirror of the Six Ren Tallying with Yin." The title of this work bears little relation to its contents. The reference to the mantic

method of the six *ren* 六壬 is out of place here, even though instances of this method are described in 3.9b–15b. The title "Writ of the Monkey" (*Yuanshu* 猿書) is more apt (see 3.28a, indicating a work in four juan, and 1.1b, three juan).

The latter appellation confirms the account of the book's transmission at the head of the first juan. The author affirms that the work was transmitted, without title and in fragmentary form, by a white monkey to the preimperial strategist Sun Bin 孫臏. The present edition was copied from an earlier version (3.25b, 4.16b). Another fragment of the original is represented by *858 Taishang dongshen xuanmiao boyuan zhenjing*.

Of uncertain date, this work may have been composed under the Northern Song (960–1127). Most of the methods described in juan 4, especially the "concealed return of the Jade Maiden" (4.2a), correspond to the versions given in *Dunjia fuying jing*, compiled between 1034–1038 (cf. the article on *587 Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue*).

The first three juan form a coherent set of small nocturnal rites constructed around a series of symbolic diagrams in increasing order of complexity. The instructions given for the first one, the Diagram of Primordial Chaos (*hunyuan shi* 混元式; 1.1b), apply to the others as well. A sketch of the altar area is included in 3.29a–b.

Marc Kalinowski

Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu 太上赤文洞神三籙

24 fols.

Attributed to Tao Hongjing (456–536); Song (960–1279)?

589 (fasc. 324)

"Three Dongshen Registers of Red Writs of the Most High." The term *chiwen* 赤文 is explained in the preface, on the basis of a quotation from Tao Hongjing, as the original term for "register" (*lu* 籙; 1a).

The compilation of the book is attributed to Tao Hongjing and the preface (1a–b) to Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670). The preface describes the content of the book as "formulas [for the registers] of the Dongshen canon [dongshen shi 洞神式]" and states that these formulas were transmitted in three volumes, separate from the main corpus of Dongshen texts, and included in the section of untitled works in the version transmitted by Ge Hong and Bao Jing (see *640 Dongshen badi miaojing jing*). The undated manuscript from which the present book was copied is said by the preface writer to have been executed in the calligraphy of the Qi and Liang dynasties (fifth and sixth centuries). It is claimed to have been transmitted to a daoshi of old, Zhang Qiao 張喬, who used it to great effect. The date of the preface itself is Zhenguan 貞觀 6 (632), but the added cyclical characters *renzi* 壬子 do not correspond to this year.

To all appearances the preface is a forgery. The assertion of an early transmission of the book during the Six Dynasties (220–589) clearly is unfounded. The contents

suggest, rather, that it belongs to the Song dynasty. More specifically, the mention of the Black Killer (Heisha 黑殺; 13a) suggests a date later than the 930s, when this deity came to the fore with the foundation of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (see *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan*). The use of hand mudras (*qiayin* 掐印) and of pseudo-Sanskrit words (14b–15a) point in the same direction.

The preface is followed by an introduction to the book (1b–2b). It places the totality of the work in the context of systems of divination based on direct communication with the spirits, referring to the "inner writ of the Book of Changes" (*Zhouyi neiwen* 周易內文) and to the "decisive speech of the Three Jia spirits" (*sanjia chutan* 三甲處談), while stating that these systems represent the most exalted part of the Book of Three Registers (*Sanlu pian* 三籙篇; 1b). The *Zhouyi neiwen* corresponds to the method described in the first of the registers contained in the book "Bagua nei jixiong yinglu 八卦內吉凶應籙" (3a–8a), which relies on fu representing the spirits of the Eight Trigrams. The expression *sanjia chutan* apparently refers to the method of the third register ("Taishang xuanmiao qianjin lu 太上玄妙千金籙"; 16b–24b), in which the fu of the Three Jia spirits play a prominent part. Both methods center on the summoning of spirits by means of fu and serve mainly for predicting the future. Both methods also include offerings (*ji* 祭; 3b) to the spirits. These methods may be compared to the similar but more complex method described in an earlier text of the Dongshen tradition, *1202 Dongshen badi yuanbian jing*.

The second register, "Taishang xuanmiao tongshen lu 太上玄妙通神籙" (8b–16b), describes a number of minor methods for protection, such as the method of five simulations (*wujia fa* 五假法; 10a–11a), by which the adept may identify his body with one of the Five Elements in order to obtain invisibility or protection from the dangers associated with the element in question. This register also contains a series of methods connected with agricultural work for sowing crops, praying for rain, etc. (11b–12b).

Poul Andersen

Taishang dongshen wuxing zhusu riyue hunchang jing
太上洞神五星諸宿日月混常經
7 fols.
657 (fasc. 343)

"Book of the Five Stars, Sundry Mansions, and the Sun and the Moon." Incorporated in the Dongshen canon, this small popular book on the planets, the mansions, and the sun and the moon that mix with the everyday world (*hunchang* 混常) tells us about the moments and the ways of incarnation of these stellar powers on Earth. Those who are able, thanks to this book, to recognize these powers and meet them will greatly benefit. Many great men of the past, the latest mentioned being Li Chunfeng

李淳風 (602–670), owed their power to their knowledge of the whereabouts of the stars.

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.3 Lingbao

In the period of transition during the Five Dynasties (907–960), many new forms of ritual were created. Next to the Lingbao 靈寶 services for the salvation of the deceased, we see the appearance of solemn Offering (*jiao* 醮) rituals for the benefit of the living. These Offerings centered on the worship of star deities. They were called Great Offerings to the Entire Firmament (*luotian da jiao* 羅天大醮) and were performed within the context of state ritual (see also part 3.B.1). Already present in the kingdom of Shu, where DU GUANGTING performed them for the rulers of the Former Shu (907–925) kingdom (see Verellen, "Liturgy and sovereignty," 70), these rituals were also adopted by the Song (960–1279) emperors. The eminent statesman WANG QINRUO was commissioned to present an official version of the *Luotian jian* (see 1224 *Daomen dingzhi* 3, by Lü Yuansu 呂元素). Over time, smaller *jiao* rituals of a more specialized nature, presented to the stars and cosmic forces responsible for phenomena such as fires or epidemics, also appeared.

The most important form of liturgy, however, remained that for the salvation of the dead. The already quite extensive rituals were now enlarged with meditation practices and rites for the "salvation through sublimation" (*liandu* 鍊度) of the souls of the deceased. *Liandu* rites were adaptations from a great number of different sources, such as Shangqing meditation techniques, Inner Alchemy, Tantric Buddhist methods, and shamanistic practices. These new rites blended into the ancient Lingbao liturgy to form the "Great Shangqing Lingbao Rites" (*Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法) of the Southern Song (1127–1279).

For the study of this eclectic form of Taoist ritual, the great manuals are the most complete and informative material we have, whereas the individual scriptures and litanies do not yield much new material. The hymnbooks that appear here, some of which were authored by emperors of the Song and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties, form a special group of texts.

In keeping with the arrangement of corresponding parts in this work, we first list the scriptures, then the litanies, and finally the liturgical manuals and hymns. The reader is, however, advised to first consult the great manuals for a general overview of what had become a complex and highly elaborate form of solemn ritual.

At the same time, this section features a large number of rites that were meant to be performed on a more modest scale, and even as an individual practice. For instance, the *liandu* rites presented, explained, and commentated by Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 in *548 Taiji jilian neifa* could be performed by a single adept, as well as in the framework of a large service. Other rites, for which we have scriptures as well as rituals, concern personal or family welfare and are linked to anniversaries and funerals.

The *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 (*484–494*, *495–497*) and *yulu zhai* 玉籙齋 (*499–504*) appear to have been performed at the Ming court.

3.B.3.a Scriptures

Taishang xuhuang tianzun sishijiu zhang jing 太上虛皇天尊四十九章經
14 fols.
18 (fasc. 25)

"Scripture of the Most High Heavenly Worthy of Vacuity in Forty-nine Sections." This text should be seen, according to its title, in the context of the rites for the salvation of the soul. The forty-nine paragraphs of the text evoke the forty-nine days of mourning, as well as the forty-nine letters of jade (*yuzha* 玉札) used in the *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法 to release the deceased's soul from the hells (see, for example, *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 6.1a). If Xuhuang tianzun 虛皇天尊 seems identical, in our text, to Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, the revealer of the *Duren jing* (cf. Cheng Xuanying's commentary, *87 Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 1.2b), he is also, during the Song period, a divinity who received the *Lingbao dafa* from the Tianzhen huangren 天眞皇人 (see *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.3a). The ritual tradition to which Jin Yunzhong claims to belong is called "Xuhuang's teaching" (*1223 Lingbao dafa* 16.1a). We also find Song (960–1279) references to "Xuhuang's marvelous way" (*1219 Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 12.1b) and to "Xuhuang's spirit altar" (*566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, preface, 2a). Xu Xuan already mentions a "Xuhuang's terrace," which seems to be a permanent altar relating to the Sanqing guan 三清觀 in the district of Qingjiang 清江 in Jiangxi province (*Xugong wenji* 20).

The text consists essentially in moral maxims pronounced by the Tianzun. These maxims are sometimes given in response to the questions of a certain Miaoxing zhenren 妙行眞人. Human beings must turn away from all that embroils them in this world—money, prestige, pleasure—before it is too late.

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianzun jidu xuehu zhenjing 元始天尊濟度血湖眞經
3 juan
72 (fasc. 32)

"True Scripture for Salvation from the Lake of Blood, [Revealed] by Yuanshi Tianzun." This text describes the creation and the unfolding of a ritual in Heaven for the salvation of the souls of women who have died in childbirth. The ritual includes the singing of the name of Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 (who made the vow to save all souls from the hell named Lake of Blood), the promulgation of a writ of pardon, the destruction of the hell, an ablution, a sermon, and the *pudu* 普度 (Universal Salvation ritual). At the end of the book, Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 states that the ritual is to be revealed on Earth.

Several elements make it possible to situate this text in the school of the Great Lingbao Method (*Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法): references to that method (1.2b, 3.2a); reference to the "grand circulation of Brahman energies" (*daxing fanqi* 大行梵炁, 1.3a; cf. *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 116.2b); mention of Yuanhuang 元皇 (2.3a; cf. *466 Jidu jinshu* 115.7a); and so on. The "secret language of Brahman qi" (*fanqi yinyu* 梵炁隱語, 1.5i–b) first appears in the *Duren jing* 度人經 in the latter half of the thirteenth century (e.g., *91 Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 3.22b–23a).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo jiuyou bazui xinyin miaojing 太上說九幽拔罪心印妙經
2 fols.
74 (fasc. 32)

"Marvelous Heart-Seal Scripture in which Taishang Explains the Nine Hells and Release from Sin." Taishang is here identified with Yuanshi tianzun; he explains to the Jiuku zhenren that people "drown in the Sea of Suffering" because of their evil thoughts, for "all comes from the heart." In order "not to give rise to the 'heart of this world,'" one need only recite the present text and thereby save one's ancestors from hell.

The recitation of this text is required in the context of a *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 Retreat, according to *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 5.8a: it is the recitation to be used at the "sixth hour," the hour of the hungry souls (cf. *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 308.20a and *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 71.8b, both of which mention the recitation of a *Jiuyou bazui miaojing* 九幽拔罪妙經).

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi tianzun shuo ganlu shengtian shenzhou miaojing
元始天尊說甘露昇天神咒妙經
3 fols.
75 (fasc. 32)

"Marvelous Scripture of the Divine Formulas for Sweet Dew and Ascension to Heaven, Preached by Yuanshi Tianzun." At the request of Prince Moonlight (Yueguang tongzi 月光童子), the Tianzun reveals how to save the unfortunate dead: one must first take a handful of dirt from the place where the person died and place it in a clean container. One then spreads a feast-offering for the soul of the dead person and pronounces two formulas, one to give the soul sweet dew and the other to enable it to ascend to heaven. These two formulas may be found in the text of the Universal Salvation ritual (*pudu* 普度) given by JIANG SHUYU (*508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 30.8b–9b), and JIN YUNZHONG (*1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 38.28b–29a).

The recitation of this text, mentioned in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* catalogue (VDL 14), is required in *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 71.8b. The question of a possible relationship to the Buddhist apocrypha regarding Prince Moonlight remains to be studied.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Zürcher, "Eschatology and messianism"; Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight.'"

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi shuo gongde fashi wangsheng jing 元始說功德法食往生經
3 fols.
76 (fasc. 32)

"Scripture on the Merit of Effecting Rebirth by Ritual Distribution of Food, Spoken by [the Heavenly Worthy of] Primordial Beginning." This text propagates the importance of donating food for the souls of the deceased, enabling them to leave hell.

The Zhenren of Great Compassion and Great Wisdom (Daci dahui zhenren 大慈大慧眞人) asks by what means the souls suffering in hell can be saved. The Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning replies in form of *gāthās,* saying that the dead who are ritually nourished will be reborn in Heaven, and emphasizing the merits of such a distribution of food.

The gāthās of our text are found in *547 Lingbao yujian,* both as invocations with associated magic characters and secret formulas in pseudo-Sanskrit (36.8a, 36.10a–b [modified]), and in the context of the rite for the transformation of ritual food (*bianhua fashi* 變化法食; 17a).

The present scripture is also part of today's Universal Salvation ritual (*pudu* 普度) in Taiwan (cf. Schipper, "Taiwan zhi daojiao wenxian," 178).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang yuhua dongzhang bawang dushi shengxian miaojing
太上玉華洞章拔亡度世昇仙妙經
12 fols.
Postface dated 1143
77 (fasc. 32)

"Marvelous Scripture of the Cavern-Stanzas of the Jade Flower of the Most High for Saving Souls from Hell, Saving the World, and Ascension to Heaven." The text is composed of nine stanzas. The term *Yuhua* 玉華 (Jade Flower) appears in the text (10b), but its meaning is not explicit. The text contains many allusions to alchemical practice, and this term is probably also to be understood in that context.

A postface to the book recounts its origin in the following manner: a herdsboy from Xiaoyi 孝義 (Fenyang, Shanxi) by the name of Du Changchun 杜長春 encounters an immortal and is "suddenly enlightened" (*dunwu* 頓悟). He begins to talk of abstruse matters, to produce inspired poetry, and to heal people with fu writings and charm-water. As his renown spreads, the monks of Wanshou gong 萬壽宮 in Tianning 天寧 (Fenzhou) decide to invite him to "carry out transformations" (*xinghua* 行化) in a sanctuary (*an* 庵) built especially for him behind their monastery. Their aim is to earn enough money to be able to repair the monastery, severely damaged by the wars at the end of the Northern Song. The monks invite him to a first *jiao* 醮-Offering (in which more than a thousand persons participate) on the day of the Superior Principle in 1143. It is at this time that Du proposes to transmit to them "a perfect text of the Most High, in one juan, that does not yet circulate in the world." It requires two further *jiao*, in the second and third months, to complete the transmission of the present text.

The scripture begins in the Heaven of Jade Purity on the Xuandu Mountain, where Yuanshi tianzun, having ascended his throne, "causes the gongs to resound" in order to summon all the spirits of the universe to an "assembly of the Law." The zhenren Tongxuan takes advantage of the occasion to ask what to do so that the people "in the inferior world" stop sinning and return to the Orthodox Way: "It is difficult to follow the [way of] human heaven, easy to go down the path of demons. Not seeing the light, men fall into the yin fortress [hell]." Even those who, in fear of death, practice the techniques of longevity end nonetheless in the Bureau of Earth. What should be done?

Yuanshi tianzun explains to Tongxuan that all the problems occur because people do not obey the Ten Commandments. "It is not the hells that [visit punishment]

on people; people bring punishment on themselves." The Tianzun then describes a "golden book of the Jade Gate, hidden in the upper library of Xuandu," whose recitation will save people from all the ills of the three spheres of the universe.

John Lagerwey

Lingbao tianzun shuo luku shousheng jing 靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經

5 fols.

Twelfth or thirteenth century

333 (fasc. 167)

"Scripture of the Treasury of Reimbursements for the Gift of Life." This scripture has been translated and studied by Hou Ching-lang, who dates it to the twelfth or thirteenth century (*Monnaies d'offrandes*, 35–36). It begins with an assembly in the Land of Clarity (Jingming 淨明), at which the zhenren Guangmiaoyin 光妙音 asks the Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 why people's fortunes differ. The Tianzun responds that everyone depends for his or her life on a celestial bureau, and on a terrestrial court for his or her body. The debts thus contracted with respect to Heaven and Earth can be calculated precisely in accordance with the year of one's birth—a table is provided—and these sums must be reimbursed. Failure to do so, or failure to recite the present text while reimbursing the treasury, means the deceased must pay their debts by suffering first in hell and then in the next life. The Tianzun also provides a list of the names of the officers to whom the money should be sent during rituals addressed to the Three Treasures.

In conclusion, the zhenren takes it upon himself to "spread this teaching in order to save the living and the dead."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hou Ching-lang, *Monnaies d'offrandes*.

John Lagerwey

Taishang laojun shuo wudou jinzhang shousheng jing
太上老君說五斗金章受生經

8 fols.

653 (fasc. 343)

"Book of the Golden Emblems of the Five Bushels Conferring Life, Spoken by the Most High Laojun." This small liturgical scripture is still recited today for the rites of replenishing the Heavenly Treasury (*tianku* 填庫) for the living. It probably dates from the Song dynasty (see Hou Ching-lang, *Monnaies d'offrandes*, 41).

The first part of the text explains the relationship between the date of birth and one of the Five Bushel constellations. Five talismans, here called *zhang* 章 (emblems), are revealed to heal diseases related to the Five Viscera and, hence, the Five Bushels.

The second part of the text introduces the relationship between a person's Fundamental Destiny and the sum of money (*benming yinqian* 本命銀錢 or *kucai* 庫財) to be refunded to the Heavenly Treasury. The rate of reimbursement for each Destiny is indicated (6b–7a). Hou Ching-lang has translated and studied the present text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hou Ching-lang, *Monnaies d'offrandes*, 40–49.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhuanshen duming jing
太上洞玄靈寶轉神度命經

10 fols.

340 (fasc. 176)

"Scripture of Salvation and Translation of the Soul." In this text, the Most High Lord of the Way explains to the True Person of the South Pole Who Saves Lives (Nanji duming zhenren 南極度命眞人) how to save a dying person: one must invite a Taoist to recite a confession for the person and transmit to him or her the commandments. Money must also be given for the production of religious images and the copying of sacred books. When the dying person shall have received the commandments, "his spirit will be translated into the Mystery" (*zhuanshen rumiao* 轉神入妙) and he or she will be reborn in the Land of Purity and Peace.

This introduction is followed by a confession addressed to each of the ten directional Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 in turn. Following this confession, the Most High completes his explanations concerning the function of the ritual: the Taoist should continue recitations for 100 days after the person's death. A Taoist should also stand and burn incense to the left of the path along which the coffin is carried for burial. Then the Taoist should do the same beside the tomb so that the god of the soil may welcome kindly the soul of the deceased person.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao shishi duren miaojing
太上洞玄靈寶十師度人妙經

11 fols.

341 (fasc. 176)

"Ten Masters who Save the People." The title refers to ten rules of behavior laid down by Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 after he had witnessed the tragic results of human sin. The story that precedes the promulgation of these rules is complicated: in a land some 600,000 *li* 里 to the west of Kunlun there reigns a king who, having been converted to the Great Way by his wife, gives to a zhenren by the name of Gaishi 蓋世 the title Master of the Land (*guoshi* 國師). Gaishi explains the nature of good

government to the vassals of the king (he recommends a mixture of Confucian ethics and Legalist administrative principles). Once they have returned to their respective lands, these vassals dispatch tribute to the king in sufficient quantity to enable him to celebrate a seven-day Retreat, during which the scriptures of the Greater Vehicle are to be explained.

At this juncture the Tianzun himself appears: having taken on the form of the Master of the Land, he descends into the sanctuary. The king, the queen, and the vassals are greatly confused, but Lingbao tianzun soon establishes his identity by performing a series of miracles inspired by the opening text of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing*. Once he has, in this manner, gathered around him all the spirits of Heaven and hell, he recites the scriptures of the Greater Vehicle and then creates a "pure pool" in which his audience bathes. After having then defined the Great Way for these purified beings—it is neither life nor death, neither empty nor full—he surfeits them with seven days of explanation of "the essence of the Law" (*fayao* 法要): this is "the first ritual of the Grand Distribution" (*diyi dashi fashi* 第一大施法事), another name for the *pudu* 普度.

This text, in other words, is designed both to serve as an ideological guide to church-state relations, and to identify a specific form of the *pudu* ritual as the ultimate expression of the worship of the Great Way.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao taixuan puci quanshi jing
太上洞玄靈寶太玄普慈勸世經

11 fols.

342 (fasc. 176)

"Scripture of the Exhortations of Puci." Puci 普慈, or Universal Compassion, is the name of a zhenren who, while in "the world of the various recompenses," asks Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 about the origin of human suffering and how to avoid it. The Tianzun responds point by point and each time enjoins Puci to transmit the answer to Earth in the form of an "exhortation." Each exhortation is linked to the description of an associated failing that leads to one of eighteen hells.

The best way to escape these hells is the practice of deep meditation (*ruding* 入定). Lay people who haven't the time for such meditation should "listen to the Greater Vehicle, be initiated in its commandments, and confess their faults." To give money for preaching, for copying the scriptures, and for making religious images is also a source of great merit. One can also "pay" for the sins of the dead by having monks (*fazhong* 法衆) recite confessions for them. Whatever contributes to the propagation and the exegesis of the Law is meritorious.

The text contains (8b) a reference to *9 Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing* 1.6a ff.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing 太上洞玄靈寶救苦妙經

4 fols.

374 (fasc. 181)

"Scripture for Salvation from Distress." This scripture was among those printed at imperial behest in 1017 (VDL 47). Its title refers to the Heavenly Worthy Who Saves All Souls in Hell from Distress. The scripture, composed for the most part in five-character rhymed verse, was—and still is—recited during rituals for the salvation of the souls of the deceased (see *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 207.1a and *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 55.28a). The work *399 Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo jiuku miaojing zhujie* is a commentated edition of this text.

The present edition contains a postface by Zhao Ziqiu 趙子俅, dated 1124. Zhao recounts the transmission of the text from Officer Tian 田功曹, a master of the Celestial Pivot Rites (*Tianshu fa* 天樞法), to a Buddhist monk. The recitation of the text having been urged on the monk by his deceased mother during a mediumistic seance conducted by Tian, Tian transmitted the book to the monk and thus enabled him to save his mother from hell.

John Lagerwey

Taishang jiuku tianzun shuo xiaoqian miezui jing
太上救苦天尊說消愆滅罪經

3 fols.

378 (fasc. 182)

"The Tianzun Who Saves from Distress Explains how to Extirpate Guilt." The Tianzun offers this explanation to an assembly of celestial dragons, Kings of Hells, and Directors of Destiny summoned to hear his sermon. The sequence of rituals he recommends and the names given the kings of the ten hells are essentially the same as those in *215 Difu shiwang badu yi*. Once these rituals have been completed, the Tianzun orders that the merit obtained be assessed and that all "solitary souls" be released from hell. The scribes of the twenty-four hells of Fengdu direct these souls to the Smelting Pool, which they enter carrying "a powerful fu of the cinnabar world for transforming the body." The passage through the pool enables them "to return to the banks of the Tao."

The fu is probably related to the *Danyang fu* 丹陽符, which first appears in the Southern Song (1127–1279; cf. *548 Taiji jilian neifa*).

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo Fengdu baku yule miaojing 太上說酆都拔苦愈樂妙經

1 fol.

379 (fasc. 182)

"Scripture of the [Tianzun of the] Joy That Saves from the Distress of Fengdu, Preached by the Most High." Dwelling in the Palace of the Far East—normally associated with Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊, in the upper regions of Fengdu—the Tianzun of the Joy That Saves from Distress radiates a light of five colors that reveals the innumerable sufferings of the souls in hell. Moved by what he sees, the Tianzun preaches this "marvelous scripture that saves all the denizens of Fengdu" in order to "save all those poor souls who are guilty of sins."

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo shilian shengshen jiuhu jing 太上說十鍊生神救護經

2 fols.

636 (fasc. 341)

"The Most High Proffers the Scripture of Salvation and of the Birth of the Spirits by the Ten Sublimations." The use of the term *lian* 鍊 (sublimation) in the title and the reference to *318 Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing*, one of the basic texts of sublimation rites from the Southern Song (1127–1279) on, suggest that this brief scripture is an adaptation of these rites meant for popular use. In the scripture, the Most High Lord Lao assumes all forms and roams the universe in order to "promote the religion and save the living and the dead." To that end he urges the "concentrated and sustained recitation" of the names of the Tianzun Who Save from Distress in the Ten Directions. Mention of this practice of reciting the name(s) of Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 may be found in the postface (dated 1124) of *374 Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing*.

John Lagerwey

Taishang lingbao tianzun shuo yanshou miaojing 太上靈寶天尊說延壽妙經

2 fols.

382 (fasc. 182)

"Marvelous Scripture on Longevity, Preached by the Most High Lingbao Tianzun." The light that radiates from the body of Lingbao yanshou tianzun 靈寶延壽天尊 as he preaches the present text on the Mountain of Golden Light in the far south attracts all the celestial dragons and demon kings of the universe. They implore the Tianzun to put an end to the cycle of rebirth. When the dragons and demons have returned to their places, five zhenren and four young lads—representing, perhaps, the Five Peaks and the Four Seas—begin to perform a ritual that ends with hymns to the name of the Tianzun. In response to this ritual, the Tianzun emits a light from the crown of his head. This light penetrates the hearts of this audience, but it does not bring spiritual awakening.

A fifth lad asks the reason for this lack of enlightenment. They do not understand the True Tao, replies the Tianzun. To know the True Tao is to know that "all appearances [*faxiang* 法相] are empty and vain." If the people of the world wish to prolong their lives, they should, therefore, invite a Taoist to celebrate an "Offering and Retreat of Destiny" (*Benming zhaijiao* 本命齋醮; cf. the *Baoming zhai* 保命齋, a ritual also composed of a retreat and an offering, in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 201–3).

It may be noted further that the terms *shenguang* 神光 and *jinguang* 金光 are characteristic of the Lingbao dafa school (e.g., *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 8.1a, 41.7b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao xiaorang huozai jing 太上洞玄靈寶消禳火災經

3 fols.

Song (960–1279) or later

359 (fasc. 179)

"Lingbao Scripture for Warding off Fires." Judging from the celestial administration that figures in this short scripture, it probably dates from the Song or later (cf. *Song shi* 103.2513–15 on cults devoted to fire divinities from the eleventh century on).

During a visit of inspection in the Ministry of Fire (*huobu* 火部), Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 bestows Chiling shenjun 赤靈神君, the highest divinity there, with a formula of invocation (*zhou* 咒) and exhorts him to promulgate it in the world (2a, 5; read *shi* 世 for *shi* 是). Through this invocation, repentant sinners may obtain remission from their offenses and are spared the fires that are normally sent as a punishment by the celestial ministry. Moreover, the deities offer their protection should nonauthorized fire demons (*huojing* 火精, *huoguai* 火怪) attempt to harm the house of these sinners.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo luotian dajiao shangpin miaojing 太上洞玄靈寶天尊說羅天大醮上品妙經

3 fols.

1194 (fasc. 875)

"Wondrous Superior Scripture of the Great Offering to the Entire Firmament, Set Forth by Lingbao Tianzun." This short scripture to be recited for general protection is not likely to be earlier than the Southern Song. The text begins with the expression *ershi* 爾時 (at that time) and continues with a list of deities similar to those used in

the invitation of standard rituals. This list does not correspond to the list of deities in any of the preserved rituals of the *luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮 (cf. texts *477–479*).

Poul Andersen

Taishang lingbao tianzun shuo rangzai due jing
太上靈寶天尊說禳災度厄經
2 fols.
357 (fasc. 179)

"Scripture for Averting Disaster and Escaping from Difficulty, Preached by Lingbao Tianzun." The Tianzun preaches this text to an assembly of the gods gathered in the Land of Chanli 禪黎國土. In it he explains how lay people can avert any pending disaster by making confession before [a statue of] the Jade Emperor and reciting the present text.

John Lagerwey

3.B.3.b Litanies

Taishang lingbao shangyuan tianguan xiaoqian miezui chan
太上靈寶上元天官消愆滅罪懺
11 fols.
533 (fasc. 295)

Taishang lingbao zhongyuan diguan xiaoqian miezui chan
太上靈寶中元地官消愆滅罪懺
9 fols.
534 (fasc. 295)

Taishang lingbao xiayuan shuiguan xiaoqian miezui chan
太上靈寶下元水官消愆滅罪懺
9 fols.
535 (fasc. 295)

"Litany of the Three Officials of the Three Principles for the Abolition of Faults and Remission of Sins, a Lingbao Scripture." This modern liturgical canon, invoking 120 Heavenly Worthies for each of the Three Principles, is currently recited on the occasion of *jiao* 醮 services.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiyi jiuku tianzun shuo badu xuehu baochan
太一救苦天尊說拔度血湖寶懺
15 fols.
538 (fasc. 296)

"Litany for Deliverance from the Lake of Blood, Preached by Taiyi Jiuku Tianzun." After having listened to the True Person of Marvelous Transport (Miaoxing zhenren 妙行眞人) describe the horrors of the Lake of Blood hell and of the kinds of sins and deaths that lead to it, the Heavenly Worthy Who Saves from Distress (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊), promulgates several fu that illumine the hell in question and dry it up. The Tianzun then utters a number of wishes for the souls in the Lake of Blood: women who have died in childbirth, soldiers who have died in battle, people who have died of illnesses that disfigured them or caused them to give off a stench, and criminals. At last the Tianzun floods the lake with his own light, and all the souls thus liberated burn incense and recite the present litany "of homage to the Three Pure Ones and all the saints." The litany that follows is indeed addressed first to the Three Pure Ones and then to the entire spiritual hierarchy. The latter's middle ranks are occupied by a number of zhenren and Heavenly Masters, and its lower ranks by the officers in charge of the underworld.

John Lagerwey

***Qingxuan jiuku baochan* 青玄救苦寶懺**
11 fols.
539 (fasc. 296)

"Litany of the Savior from Distress." This litany is addressed to the Father of Great Mercy (*daci dabei zhi fu* 大慈大悲之父), the Great Monad who dwells in the blue heaven (*qingxuan* 青玄) in the east. The litany is divided into nine sections, each of which supplicates the Great Monad to pardon the sins of "so-and-so, who has died," and to "issue the fu orders that will save the soul of the deceased person" from the Nine Realms of Darkness. This prayer for pardon and salvation is followed by the expression of homage to the nine aspects of the Great Monad (cf. the "nine times nine" bowings [*bai* 拜] mentioned on page 1b).

The mention of a "master of the Great Way of the Yellow Register" and of "writs of pardon" suggests a modern date for this text.

John Lagerwey

***Cizun shengdu baochan* 慈尊昇度寶懺**
9 fols.
540 (fasc. 296)

"Litany of the Merciful Worthy for Ascension to Heaven." This litany is to be recited in the context of a Yellow Register Retreat performed by "companions of the

Tao" on behalf of a deceased person. It is divided into three sections, each of which is composed of bows, confessions, and a Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛). The bows are associated with expressions of homage to the Three Pure Ones, the Great Monad (the Merciful Worthy of the title), the Tianzun Who Saves from the Nine Realms of Darkness, and the Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 of the Ten Directions. The three confessions are for the sins of the body, the heart, and the mouth (*sanye* 三業). The end of the text states that the priest should go on to chant the Precious Titles" (*baohao* 寶號) of Jiuku tianzun and to recite his scripture. As in *539 Qingxuan jiuku baochan,* mention is made here of the issuance of indulgences called "golden writs" (*jinshu* 金書).

John Lagerwey

***Dongyue dasheng baochan* 東嶽大生寶懺**

20 fols.

541 (fasc. 296)

"Litany of Abundant Life of the Eastern Peak." This litany is addressed in the first place to the emperor of Abundant Life (*dasheng* 大生), who reigns over the Eastern Peak, and secondarily to the many subordinate divinities in his infernal administration. That this is a Ming (1368–1644) text may be inferred from references to the "present dynasty" (4a) and to the guilt incurred by those who criticize Confucians or Buddhists (13a). The text contains three sequences of confessions: for the sins of the body, the heart, and the mouth. Each sequence is preceded by nine expressions of homage to the emperor of the Eastern Peak. The priests who recite this book for the faithful are called *fazhong* 法衆 (8a).

John Lagerwey

***Taishang yaotai yisuan baoji yannian chan* 太上瑤臺益算寶籍延年懺**

10 fols.

812 (fasc. 566)

"Litany for Prolonging Life by Increasing the Years in the Precious Books of the Most High Jade Terrace." The invocation of the names of 150 Tianzun creates the possibility of finding a receptive ear in the numberless palaces of the Milky Way. Prominence is given to the deities in that realm who have ultimate responsibility for requests for longevity: the High August of the Purple Department (Zifu gaohuang 紫府高皇) and the Most Holy of the Pure Metropolis (Qingdu zhisheng 清都至聖; cf. *536 Taishang xuansi miezui zifu xiaozai fachan* 1b).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

3.B.3.c Rituals

***Taishang chujia chuandu yi* 太上出家傳度儀**

14 fols.

By JIA SHANXIANG 賈善翔 (fl. 1061)

1236 (fasc. 989)

"Ordination Ceremony for Those Who Leave the Family." This ceremony for disciples entering monastic life is by the author of *774 Youlong zhuan.* The present work is listed in the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* (VDL 85).

After having invoked the pantheon of patriarchs, the ordination ceremony starts (with a reading from the *Benji jing* 本際經). Then follow the rites of clothing and capping. The final act is the fixing of the crown with the pin (*zanguan* 簪冠), which is done by the ordinand's master (*dushi* 度師). The order in which the different vestments are presented and the hymns (*zan* 贊) that accompany them correspond to today's practice. The *dushi* then expounds the Ten Precepts (*shijie* 十戒). These commandments correspond to the set of such interdictions in *177 Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie* 1b–2b, an ancient Lingbao scripture.

Kristofer Schipper

***Jinlu zhai toujian yi* 金籙齋投簡儀**

11 fols.

Edited by ZHANG SHANGYING 張商英 (1043–1121)

498 (fasc. 267)

"Ritual of Casting Tablets, of the Golden Register Retreat." The casting of tablets containing messages, together with images of dragons, into ravines and mountain crevasses was a usual practice performed at the conclusion of a solemn service comprising a Golden Register Retreat and a Great Universal Heavenly Offering (*putian dajiao* 普天大醮) presented to 3,600 deities, defined here in terms of "share positions" (*fenwei* 分位). The purpose of the ritual is to announce the merits obtained by the foregoing service to Heaven and Earth.

The author was a high court official who received the order from Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1101–1125) to revise the liturgy of the Golden Register Retreat. According to the colophon (*houxu* 後序; 9a–11a), which appears to be the presentation of the entire revision of the *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 of which the present text must have been the last chapter, Zhang recalls that the emperor had expressed his dissatisfaction with a new liturgy that had been recently elaborated by "some daoshi" at court. ZHANG SHANGYING studied the earlier liturgies by LU XIUJING, DU GUANGTING, and Yang Jie 楊傑 (fl. 1080) and revised the liturgy of the Retreat according to nine principles aimed

at weeding out inconsistencies and conforming to ancient usage. Zhang also found that the liturgy should have fewer names for the deities of the Tao and should be, in a general way, less adorned.

The present ritual was performed on the sacred area of the Golden Register Retreat and Universal Offering service. The tablets were subsequently dispatched to their final destination. In spring and summer, this destination was the holy Mount Wangwu 王屋山 for the mountain tablets (*shanjian* 山簡) and the Jishui 濟水 River, which has its source at the foot of Mount Wangwu, for the water tablets (*shuijian* 水簡). In autumn and winter, the tablets were addressed, respectively, to Mount Qian 潛山 and the Yangzi River at Caishi 采石, both in Anhwei province. This ritual amounted to a considerable simplification with respect to the ceremonial for the *toujian* 投簡 rites under earlier Song (960–1279) emperors (see *Dongzhai jishi* 1.4–5, and Chavannes, "Le jet des dragons"). The text edited by Zhang here is also much shorter than that of the same ritual by Du Guangting (see *507 Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 55). The present version, moreover, presents some particulars: for instance, the Opening of the Incense Burner (*falu* 發爐; 3a–b) is archaic and appears to be based on the early Tianshi dao 天師道 tradition.

Kristofer Schipper

Luotian dajiao zaochao ke 羅天大醮早朝科
7 fols.
477 (fasc. 265)

Luotian dajiao wuchao ke 羅天大醮午朝科
7 fols.
478 (fasc. 265)

Luotian dajiao wanchao ke 羅天大醮晚朝科
8 fols.
479 (fasc. 265)

"Morning, Noon, and Evening Audiences of the Great Offering to the Entire Firmament." Wang Qinruo mentions the name *luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮 in *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan* (dated 1016), where it forms part of the ritual code—that is, the nomenclature and regulations for the different kinds of *jiao* 醮-services—revealed by the divine protector of the dynasty in 960. The highest level of the ritual is said to include three types of services, all of which were performed for the benefit of the country: the *putian dajiao* 普天大醮, the *zhoutian dajiao* 周天大醮, and the *luotian dajiao*. It is said that the *luotian jiao* may also be sponsored by commoners on behalf of the ruler (*1285 Yisheng baode zhuan* 1.3a–4a). The *zhoutian* and *luotian jiao* Offerings

are well known already from the ritual documents of Du Guangting (see, e.g., the *ci* 詞 supplication of a *luotian jiao* for the king of Shu, in *616 Guangcheng ji* 9.5b–6b; cf. Verellen, "Liturgy and sovereignty," 70).

On 6 February 1015, Wang Qinruo was instructed by the emperor to edit the *luotian jiaoyi* in ten juan (*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 86.10a). Having completed the work, he submitted it, accompanied by the memorial preserved in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 3.1a–3a. According to this memorial, the work consisted of nine juan with the lists of deities (*shengwei* 聖位), and one juan with the actual ritual. It seems possible that the present group of rituals (perhaps together with the following *480 Luotian dajiao shejiao yi*) represents a part of, or even the totality of this one juan (the three rituals here formed a single juan originally, as stated explicitly in *477 Luotian dajiao zaochao ke* 1a). Note, however, that on one point, at least, the rituals differ from the Song standard received from Du Guangting: in the three offerings of incense (*san nianxiang* 三捻香) that follow immediately after the reading of the supplication. In the present liturgy the presentations of the incense end with an expression of allegiance to the Worthy of the Way (Daozun 道尊), the Worthy of the Scriptures (Jingzun 經尊), and the Worthy of the Masters (Shizun 師尊), respectively. While this practice accords with present-day liturgy (see, for instance, Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei,* 274–76), the norm in Song dynasty rituals was to end in all three cases with an expression of allegiance to the Worthy of the Masters. Compare *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 22.2a–10b, where Jin Yunzhong criticizes the new custom—adopted, for instance, by Jiang Shuyu in *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*—of dividing the group of the Supreme Three Worthies (Taishang sanzun 太上三尊, i.e., the Three Pure Ones), to whom the incense is offered, and associating each with one of the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶).

Poul Andersen

Luotian dajiao shejiao yi 羅天大醮設醮儀
9 fols.
480 (fasc. 265)

"Ritual for the Display of Offerings of the Great Offering to the Entire Firmament." This ritual belongs with the preceding three Audiences (*477–479*) and like these may derive from the *luotian jiaoyi* 羅天醮儀 established by Wang Qinruo.

Poul Andersen

Jinlu dazhai suqi yi 金籙大齋宿啓儀
6 fols.
484 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu dazhai qimeng yi 金籙大齋啓盟儀
4 fols.
485 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu dazhai buzhi shuojie yi 金籙大齋補職說誡儀
9 fols.
486 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu zaochao yi, Jinlu wuchao yi, Jinlu wanchao yi 金籙早朝儀金籙午朝儀金籙晚朝儀
7 fols., 6 fols., 7 fols.
487 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu zhai chanfang yi 金籙齋懺方儀
10 fols.
Attributed to Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933)
488 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu jietan yi 金籙解壇儀
6 fols.
489 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu shejiao yi 金籙設醮儀
7 fols.
490 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu fangsheng yi 金籙放生儀
4 fols.
491 (fasc. 266)

"Golden Register Retreat." A complete liturgical service, intended to obtain blessings for the imperial family. Although the rituals have been catalogued as separate texts, they form a complete set, presented in the order in which they are to be performed. The rite of the Opening of the Incense Burner (*falu* 發爐) is the same throughout and corresponds to the version revised by Yang Jie 楊傑, a high official at the court of Emperor Shenzong (r. 1068–1085). Yang revised Du Guangting's liturgical texts (see *498 Jinlu zhai toujian yi* 9b). One of the changes Yang made was to alter the title of the supreme Taoist deity, from Most True Jade Emperor on High of the Great Infinite Supreme Tao (Taishang wuji dadao zhizhen yuhuang shangdi 太上無極大道至眞玉皇上帝; see *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 16.3b–5a) to Jade Emperor on High in the August Sky of the Most Sacred Three Pure Ones (Sanqing shangsheng haotian yuhuang shangdi 三清上聖昊天玉皇上帝). The present set of rituals dates, however, from a later period, because the offering ritual *490 Jinlu shejiao yi* mentions, on page 3a, among the host of saints to be invited to the banquet, the Heavenly Master of the thirtieth generation, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126; here called Xujing zhenjun 虛靖眞君). The same text mentions, on page 5a, the fact that the present liturgy had been composed on imperial orders.

The ritual *483 Jinlu zhai qitan yi*, which the Ming editors of the canon placed just before the present set, is not part of this modern liturgy.

The Nocturnal Announcement (*484 Jinlu dazhai suqi yi*) ritual is very simple. Many rites that normally are part of a *suqi* 宿啓 are missing, such as the installation of the Five True Writs (*an wu zhenwen* 安五眞文; cf. *483 Jinlu qitan yi* 8b–9b and *1411 Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* 35b–37a). The rites of confirmation of the officiants (*buzhi* 補職) and the subsequent promulgation of the rules to be observed during the service (*shuojie* 說誡) are normally also part of the *suqi* ritual. Here they form a distinct ritual (*486 Jinlu dazhai puzhi shuojie yi;* see below).

The next ritual in the present service is a sermon to the participants in the retreat. Called *qimeng* 啓盟 (address to the sworn [brothers and sisters]), this is a speech by the grand master (*gaogong* 高功) at the beginning of the service, on the significance of the Retreat (for similar sermons by Lu Xiujing, see *349 Taishang dongxuan lingbao fazhu jing* 2b).

The sermon enumerates twenty-seven kinds of Retreat: the "interior" ones, such as the Fast of the Heart (*xinzhai* 心齋) of Zhuangzi, as well as those of the "exterior." There are four interior *zhai* 齋 related to the mystical practices of the *Shangqing jing* 上清經 and to other traditions, and twenty-three (the number twenty-two on page 3a is a mistake) exterior retreats, including the *jinlu zhai* 金籙齋 itself. The latter, together with four other kinds of Retreat, is to be accomplished by the emperor; the remaining eighteen types of liturgical service are for commoners. Among these "popular" rites, we find the well-known Yellow Register Retreat (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋), as well as less-known forms such as the *tianbao zhai* 天保齋 and the *beidi zhai* 北帝齋. The last ritual to be listed is the Retreat for the Conversion of Barbarians (*huahu zhai* 化胡齋). The text emphasizes that retreat rituals originated in the Lingbao tradition.

The next item, *486 Jinlu dazhai puzhi shuojie yi,* concerns the confirmation of the officiants (*buzhi*) and the subsequent promulgation of the rules to be observed during the service (*shuojie*), which here form a distinct ritual. According to Yang Jie's version of the Golden Register Retreat, these rites had to take place separately in front of the Master in the Netherworld (*xuanshi* 玄師; see *1226 Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 6.3a–b). The same text can be found in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 16.

The three audiences (*487 Jinlu zaochao yi, Jinlu wuchao yi, Jinlu wanchao yi*) are again simple. There is no indication that there was a presentation of written memorials (*ci* 詞) was part of the proceedings. The spells to invoke protective deities (*weiling zhu* 衛靈祝) are similar to those found in modern texts (compare *466 Jidu jinshu* 11.2b–4b).

The text of *488 Jinlu zhai chanfang yi* is attributed to DU GUANGTING. The *chanfang* 懺方 were rites of penitence and remorse confessed toward the Ten Directions of the universe as part of the Audiences. Here not only do they form a separate item, but the idea of the confession of sins appears to be lacking in the text. This singular form of *chanfang* cannot be found in any of the liturgies written by DU GUANGTING, and the attribution we have here is therefore highly doubtful.

The work *489 Jinlu jietan yi* contains the ritual of the dispersion of the altar, which is the symmetrical opposite of the *suqi* ritual. Here the rite of removing the Five True Writs is mentioned on page 4a, whereas, as we have seen, the initial installation of these writs is absent from *484 Jinlu dazhai suqi yi*.

The offering ritual in *490 Jinlu shejiao yi* is again simple. The rites for the liberation of living beings (*491 Jinlu fangsheng yi*) show, as is to be expected, marked Buddhist influence. Here, too, the complete text can be found in *466 Jidu jinshu* 21.4a–7b, the sole difference being that where our text refers to the patron of the ritual as *shengzhu* 聖主 (sage patron), implying the emperor, the ritual manual substitutes *zhaizu* 齋主 (Retreat patron).

Kristofer Schipper

Yulu sanri jiuchao yi 玉籙三日九朝儀
3 juan
505 (fasc. 269)

"Morning, Noon, and Evening Audience Rituals for Three Successive Days of a Jade Register Retreat." The final Evening Audience is lacking. The rituals are entirely classical in their articulation and wording. The introit hymns are taken from the Pacing the Void hymns (*buxu* 步虛) by the Song emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125; cf. *607 Yuyin fashi*). These Audiences could apparently be used in any kind of service, as there is no specific reference to either the repose of the dead or blessings for the living. The vows for the welfare of the ruling dynasty are common to all Audience rituals.

Kristofer Schipper

Yulu jiyou panhu yi 玉籙濟幽判斛儀
9 fols.
506 (fasc. 269)

"Tending the [Food] Measure to Save [the Souls] in Darkness, a Ritual for the Jade Register Retreat." This is a Taoist *pudu* 普度 ritual for the feeding of the hungry ghosts and the saving of the abandoned souls (*guhun* 孤魂). The final hymn (8b–9a) in this comparatively short ritual has a distinctly popular quality.

Kristofer Schipper

Huanglu shinian yi 黃籙十念儀
7 fols.
510 (fasc. 291)

Huanglu wulao daowang yi 黃籙五老悼亡儀
4 fols.
511 (fasc. 291)

Huanglu zhai shi tianzun yi 黃籙齋十天尊儀
8 fols.
512 (fasc. 291)

Huanglu zhai shizhou sandao badu yi 黃籙齋十洲三島拔度儀
11 fols.
513 (fasc. 291)

"Yellow Register Retreat." These four rituals for requiem services belong to a single modern and popular liturgy. The first ritual, *510 Shinian yi,* centers around the rite of the Ten Devotions (*shinian* 十念), doing obeisance to the gods of the Ten Directions. Each invocation is followed by a short hymn. The ritual begins with the recitation of the Taoist version of the Buddhist Three Refuges (*sangui* 三歸).

The *511 Wulao daowang yi* is a mourning rite paying homage to the Five Elders (*wulao* 五老): the Heavenly Lords (*tianjun* 天君) of the five cardinal points. Here each invocation is followed by a long hymn in seven-syllable verse in vernacular narrative. The third ritual, *512 Shi tianzun yi,* pays respect to the Heavenly Worthies of the Ten Directions, while *513 Shizhou sandao yi* describes in prose and in vernacular poetry the blessings of the paradises of the Ten Islands and the Three Isles of the Immortals, the hopeful destination of the deceased on whose behalf the rituals were celebrated.

Kristofer Schipper

Huanglu jiuyou jiao wuai yezhai cidi yi 黃籙九幽醮無礙夜齋次第儀
29 fols.
Southern Song (1127–1279)?
514 (fasc. 291)

"Outline of the Ritual for the Unobstructed Night Retreat and the Offering to [the Souls in] the Nine Realms of Darkness of the Yellow Register." These are the complete instructions for the performance of a ritual for universal salvation (*pudu* 普度) of

Orphan Souls (*guhun* 孤魂), to be performed as a deed of merit following a major Yellow Register requiem service for a deceased person.

The text is enhanced by a detailed map of the layout of the sacred area (*daochang* 道場) for the *pudu* ritual (26a–27b). The presentation of different documents is accompanied by the offering of "money and horses" (*qianma* 錢馬) for their transmission (2a). The indications concerning the administrative divisions of the empire into prefectures (*fu* 府) followed by districts (*xian* 縣) indicate a Song date for this text. This kind of *pudu* rite became a general feature of requiem services during the Southern Song.

Kristofer Schipper

***Huanglu jiuku shizhai zhuanjing yi* 黃籙救苦十齋轉經儀**

19 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)

509 (fasc. 291)

"Ritual of the Tenfold Scripture Recitation for the Yellow Register Retreat That Saves from Distress." The scripture to be recited ten times in succession is *374 Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing*. The aim of the ritual is the salvation of the souls of the ancestors of the patron of the Retreat (*zhaizhu* 齋主). A similar ritual, which constitutes in fact a small service, is described in the colophon written by Zhao Ziqiu 趙子俅 at the end of *374 Jiuku miaojing*.

Each successive recitation is adressed to one of the ten Tianzun enumerated in *374 Jiuku miaojing*, and each Tianzun corresponds to a given direction. Thus, the present ritual is in fact composed of ten smaller rituals, each having its own rites of invocation (*qingshen* 請聖), danced Procession (*sanhua* 散花), Ascending the chair (*shengzuo* 陞座), Scripture recitation (*yanjing* 演經), and presentation of a memorial, complete with talisman and other documents for its transmission (*xuanfu* 宣符 and *shuguan* 疏關). Finally, the deities are sent back (*songsheng* 送聖). At the conclusion of the ritual, there is a sermon (*tanjing* 嘆經).

Kristofer Schipper

***Difu shiwang badu yi* 地府十王拔度儀**

12 fols.

Song (960–1279)

215 (fasc. 84)

"Ritual of the Ten Kings of Hell for Salvation from Sin." The aim of this ritual is to deliver the souls of the deceased from the ten hells situated under Mount Fengdu. The priest presents incense to each of the Ten Kings in turn and then sings two hymns for them, so that they will allow the deceased to leave hell for "the land of happiness." Each week after a person's death his or her soul leaves one of the ten hells; by the end of

the forty-nine day mourning period the soul has thus traversed seven hells. The eighth hell corresponds to the merit service of the hundredth day after death, the ninth to the first anniversary of the death, and the last to "the greatly auspicious event" of the definitive departure from hell.

A Ritual of the Ten Kings to be chanted is mentioned in *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 71.11a. The present ritual may be compared with the Thanksgiving to the Ten Kings (*Xie shiwang* 謝十王) in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 172.5b–13a.

John Lagerwey

***Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭鍊內法**

3 juan

By Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖, *hao* Suonan 所南 (1241–1318)

548 (fasc. 312)

"Inner Method of Taiji for Sacrificing to and Sublimating [the Souls of the Deceased]." The present edition of this text, linked by its title to Ge Xuan (Taiji zuoxian weng 太極左仙翁), dates to 1406 (see the preface of the Forty-third Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu). Zheng Sixiao, a Southern Song scholar, poet, and painter from Fuzhou, lived in retirement in Suzhou after the fall of the Song in 1279. In a postface, Zheng states that he completed a *Jilian yilüe* 祭鍊議略 in 1270 (3.41a). A second postface by Zheng, dated 1276, mentions his transmission of this book to a disciple and notes that he had written a similar work on the Buddhist Universal Salvation ritual (*pudu* 普度). A third postface, by Zheng's disciple Shen Zhiwo 沈之我 and dated 1291, states that Zheng produced an "augmented and corrected" version of the book in response to Shen's request for "more complete" explanations. Three further prefaces, all dated 1347, attribute to one Wang Daogui 王道珪 (var. 圭) of the Xuanming daoyuan 玄明道院 of Suzhou the edition of that year (the woodblocks of the original edition had burned in a fire). A fifth preface, undated and by Zheng Sixiao, was written at the same time as the postface by his disciple Shen Zhiwo.

The present book is divided into two sections: the ritual as such, called *neifa* 內法 (juan 1), and explanations of the ritual, titled *neifa yilüe* 內法議略 (juan 2 and 3; cf. the title given by Zheng in his postface of 1270). A ritual of this kind can be included in an ordinary Yellow Register Retreat, but it is in reality a Taoist *pudu* 普度 (see *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 2.10b and juan 114). Jin Yunzhong criticized the attribution of what he called this "now current" rite to Ge Xuan (see *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 13.1a–b). Jin states (13.24a) that the use of the *Danyang fu* 丹陽符 (see the present book, 1.6a) in the ritual was characteristic of the *jilian* 祭鍊 as performed in Zhedong (cf. *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 27.16b).

In his preface, Zhang Yuchu mentions five schools of sublimation rites and places Zheng's work in the Danyang school. This attribution is confirmed by the title of

Wang Xuanzhen's 王玄眞 version of this ritual in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 210. Wang says in his preface, dated 1356, that his chief model had been the ritual of Zheng Sixiao.

Zheng is noteworthy for his insistence on the interior character of this rite. Even the recitation of scriptures is to be done "in the heart" and not with the lips (2.4b). "He who is not in a state of profound trance [*shending* 深定] cannot perform it. He who has not cut himself off forever from all sexual desire cannot enter into trance" (3.38a). The officiant, or rather the adept, performs the ritual seated (*dazuo* 打坐) alone in his or her oratory. To practice it, the adept must "have transcended entirely the 'Great Offering of the Yellow Register'" (3.38b).

For the correct dates of Zheng Sixiao, who lived to the age of seventy-eight years (*sui* 歲), see 3.42a.

John Lagerwey

***Chaozhen fayuan chanhui wen* 朝眞發願懺悔文**

3 fols.

1453 (fasc. 1064)

***Lingbao shishi fa* 靈寶施食法**

5 fols.

Thirteenth century or later

1454 (fasc. 1064)

"Text of the Audience with the Zhenren, for Making the Vows and Confessing the Sins"; "Lingbao Method of Distributing Food." These two minor rituals belong together, as the latter prescribes (1a) the recitation of the "same formulas of invocation for absolution from the Three Deeds [*sanye* 三業; Skt. *trividha-dvāra*] as in the preceding *Chaozhen chan*." Since a few lines farther on, the deified Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (fl. 1141) is invoked under the title Yiyuan wushang jiuku Sajun zhenren 一元無上救苦薩君眞人, the texts are unlikely to have existed before the thirteenth century.

The first ritual has a simple structure: formulas of invocation; addresses to the divinities; confessions of sin; vows; and requests for forgiveness.

Of the method of distributing food that follows, it is said that it can be practiced daily. A spoonful of rice set aside from the morning meal forms the basis of the ritual held in the evening. After the divinity of the location (*tudi zhengshen* 土地正神) has been visualized and the *Jiuku jing* 救苦經 has been recited, the various divinities are addressed. Then the hungry ghosts and destitute souls are invited to feast. With the food that has been transformed into an unlimited quantity (*bianhua fashi* 變化法食) by meditative techniques and formulas, all souls in the ten directions of space can be fed.

A similar method can be found in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 207 under the name "Taiji Ge xianweng shishi fa 太極葛仙翁施食法," which again is closely related to the practice named "[Taiji Ge 太極葛] xianweng jilian 仙翁祭鍊" in *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 13. A survey of numerous variants of this method is contained in *548 Taiji jilian neifa* 2.7b–12b, 3.26b–28a.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Lingbao wujing tigang* 靈寶五經提綱**

10 fols.

Twelfth or thirteenth century

529 (fasc. 295)

"Summary of Five Lingbao Scriptures." This summary probably dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. It cites (7a) Zhou Dunyi's 周敦頤 (1017–1073) *Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說 and is cited in *399 Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianzun shuo jiuku miaojing zhujie* 17b–18b. The five scriptures are *318 Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing*, *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*, *13 Gaoshang yuhuang xinyin jing*, *374 Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing*, and *24 Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing*.

Our text is a minor liturgy for the souls of the deceased. In the frame of this ritual a brief exegesis of each of the five scriptures is given before the whole scripture is recited. Liturgical instructions mark, among other things, the cues for the mourners to join in.

For the use of these scriptures during the *huanglu* 黃籙 ritual in Song times, see, for example, *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 29.15a (listing *318 Jiutian shengshen zhangjing* and *620 Qingjing miaojing*), *1226 Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 8.7a–8a (listing *620 Qingjing miaojing*, *374 Jiuku miaojing*, and *24 Shengtian dedao jing*), and *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 12.2b (listing *318 Jiutian shengshen zhangjing*, *374 Jiuku miaojing*, and *24 Shengtian dedao jing*). The recitation of *13 Gaoshang yuhuang xinyin jing* is not attested in those works. Most likely it is also the latest of the five scriptures.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

***Daomen kefan daquan ji* 道門科範大全集**

86 juan

Partially attributed to DU GUANGTING 杜光庭 (850–933); edited by Zhong Li 仲勵 (early fifteenth century)

1225 (fasc. 976–983)

"Complete Collection of Taoist Liturgy." Part of this handbook appears under the name of DU GUANGTING, whereas juan 25–47—as well as 63, 65, 66, and 67—are attributed to Zhong Li. The final juan are not signed. The ascriptions to Du can be only an evocation of the latter's reputation as a liturgist, because there are many indications that the handbook is of a much later date and that many different sources were used by the editor.

Juan 63, which contains a Ritual for the Great Offering for the Marvelous Response of the True Warrior (*Zhenwu lingying dajiao yi* 眞武靈應大醮儀), has a note stating that Zhong Li made use of three versions: a ritual for a Retreat of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi zhaiyi* 北帝齋儀) by DU GUANGTING, a second and similar ritual by Shi Hao 史浩 (1106–1194; see *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 4.17b), and yet another ritual by Chao Guan 巢觀 (fl. 1127–1130; cf. 63.5a in the present text). In juan 25, which is signed by Zhong Li, we find the honorary title of Jiutian jinque lingji hongen zhenjun 九天金闕靈濟洪恩眞君 for the Fujian saints Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhi'e 徐知諤 (25.4b). The saints received this title in 1418 (see *1470 Xuxian zhenlu* 1.6a), which implies that Zhong Li lived in the early fifteenth century, and as the style of the handbook is homogeneous throughout, it is most likely that Zhong edited the entire work.

The handbook contains the rituals for some twenty different liturgical services. Each service comprises a ritual for the inauguration of the altar (*qitan* 啓壇 or *suqi* 宿啓), three Audiences (*chao* 朝), and an Offering (*jiao* 醮). The majority of the services are in honor of the stars that govern destiny. There is a service for obtaining rain (juan 10–18) and for posterity (juan 25–29). A ritual for presenting offerings to popular saints closes the handbook.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu qishou zao, wu, wanchao yi **金籙祈壽早午晚朝儀**
7 + 7 + 6 fols.
492 (fasc. 266)

Jinlu shangshou sanxian yi **金籙上壽三獻儀**
4 fols.
493 (fasc. 267)

Jinlu yanshou shejiao yi **金籙延壽設醮儀**
7 fols.
Ming
494 (fasc. 267)

"Golden Register Rituals for the Celebration of the Emperor's Anniversary." The text of this service is close, at times identical, to that of *484–491 Jinlu zhai yi*. The present corpus should therefore belong to the same group of rituals.

In their present version, the rites must have been performed for the Ming emperors (see, e.g., *493 Jinlu shangshou sanxian yi* 3a). The service was celebrated at the request of the emperor (see *492 Jinlu qishou zao, wu, wanchao yi* 3a). The latter was represented by an officer titled *liguan* 禮官 (see *493 Sanxian yi* 1a). The officiants were masters of the Zhengyi 正一 order (*493 Sanxian yi* 2b).

The principal deity of the service is Xuandu wanshou tianzun 玄都萬壽天尊 (see *493 Sanxian yi* 4a and passim). Among the other deities invoked are the Old Man of the South Pole (Nanji laoren 南極老人) and the three stellar deities of the Three Blessings (Fu Lu Shou xing zhenjun 福祿壽星眞君). The ritual of the Three Offerings (*sanxian yi* 三獻儀) is especially devoted to these three popular deities, and includes the recitation of *620 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing*.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu xuanling zhuanjing zao, wu, wanchao xingdao yi
金籙玄靈轉經早午晚朝行道儀
10 + 9 + 9 fols.
Ming (1368–1644)
495 (fasc. 267)

"Rituals for the Morning, Noon, and Evening Audiences, with Scripture Recitation." The scripture to be "revolved" here is *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing*. The triple Audience service is intended for the blessing of the Ming dynasty and the longevity of the emperor; it is to be performed on the latter's birthday.

The rituals are part of a Golden Register Retreat (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋). The texts are similar to *484–494 Jinlu zhai yi*. Recitations of sacred scriptures are part of the *jinlu zhai* performance; thus the present liturgies probably belong to the same set of court rituals.

At each of the Audiences, *622 Beidou jing* is recited three times, thus nine times in all. At the conclusion of each of the recitations, an incense offering is made to a given direction (*fang* 方). The fifth offering is directed to the center (*zhonggong* 中宮; see "Wuchao yi"; 7a, where *shengong* 申宮 is an error for *zhonggong*).

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao kaishou yi
金籙十迴度人早午晚朝開收儀
11 + 10 + 7 fols.
Ming (1368–1644)
496 (fasc. 267)

"Rituals for the Morning, Noon, and Evening Audiences of the Golden Register [Retreat], with Tenfold Recitation of the [Scripture on the] Salvation of Humanity." The scripture in question is *1 Taishang dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1. Ten times this scripture is solemnly opened (*kai* 開) and recited: four times at the Morning Audience, four times at the Noon Audience, and two times at the Evening Audience. After each recitation, a memorial (*biao* 表) is presented in order to

announce the merit obtained. At the conclusion of the ten recitations, the scripture is stored (*shou* 收), that is, closed and shelved.

The present rituals form part of a service of the Golden Register Retreat (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋) for the celebration of the anniversaries of the emperors of the Ming dynasty. They belong to the same set of protocols as *492–494 Jinlu zhai yi*.

This kind of tenfold recitation is prescribed in the text of the Scripture on the Salvation of Humanity itself. An analogous ritual can be found in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 132–34.

Kristofer Schipper

Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao zhuanjing yi
金籙十迴度人早午晚朝轉經儀
12 + 8 + 9 fols.
Ming (1368–1644)
497 (fasc. 267)

"Rituals for the Morning, Noon, and Evening Audiences of the Golden Register [Retreat], with Tenfold Recitation of the [Scripture on the] Salvation of Humanity." The scripture to be recited is *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1. Like the preceding *496 Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao kaishou yi*, these rituals were intended for the celebration of the emperor's birthday as part of a larger Golden Register Retreat.

The present rituals are more elaborate than the preceding ones. They include, at the beginning and the end of each Audience, distinct rites for the invocation and thanksgiving to the patriarchs (*qishi* 啓師 and *xieshi* 謝師). These rites are conducted at a special altar, the *shitang* 師堂 or *shimu* 師幕 .

The rituals here also mention explicitly the performance of a number of secret rites (*jingnian* 靜念; literally, "silent recitations") which should be accompanied by the chief officiant (see "Zaochao," 5b, 6b, and 11a). These secret meditation rites, especially those invoking the Thirty-two Heavens of the Scripture on the Salvation of Humanity, are of the same type as those found in *1223 Shangjing lingbao dafa* 5.15a–b.

Kristofer Schipper

Yulu zidu suqi yi **玉籙資度宿啓儀**
7 fols.
499 (fasc. 268)

Yulu zidu jietan yi **玉籙資度解壇儀**
8 fols.
500 (fasc. 268)

Yulu zidu shejiao yi **玉籙資度設醮儀**
7 fols.
501 (fasc. 268)

Yulu zidu zao, wu, wanchao yi **玉籙資度早午晚朝儀**
6 + 6 + 6 fols.
502 (fasc. 268)

Yulu shengshen zidu zhuanjing yi **玉籙生神資度轉經儀**
27 fols.
503 (fasc. 268)

Yulu shengshen zidu kaishou yi **玉籙生神資度開收儀**
17 fols.
Ming (1368–1644)
504 (fasc. 269)

"Rituals for the [Retreat] of the Jade Register for Assistance in Salvation." This is a complete service, to be conducted at court, under the auspices of the emperor. The text is close, and at places even identical, with that of the Golden Register Retreat of *484–491 Jinlu zhai yi*. The rituals of *503 Yulu shengshen zidu zhuanjing yi* and *504 Yulu shengshen zidu kaishou yi* concern the recitation of *318 Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* (cf. *497 Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao zhuanjing yi* and *496 Jinlu shihui duren zao, wu, wanchao kaishou yi*).

Several elements in the present texts, such as the canonization title of Rentian jiaozhu huagai fuqiu zhenjun 人天教主華蓋浮丘眞君 (*503 Zhuanjing yi* 7a) and the list of patriarchs of the Qingwei 清微 school of Taoism (*503 Zhuanjing yi* 1a), confirm that they date from the Ming dynasty.

The history and function of the Jade Register Retreat remains problematic. Although the three registers (*sanlu* 三籙)—that is, the Yellow, Golden and Jade Registers—constitute the foundation of the Lingbao liturgy (see *530 Dongxuan lingbao yulu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing*), only rituals for the *huanglu zhai* and the *jinlu zhai* seem to have been current during the Six Dynasties (220–589) period (the affirmation of CGF 43 that Lu Xiujing composed a *yulu zhai* 玉籙齋 is not confirmed elsewhere). During the Tang (618–907), one encounters the name of the *yulu zhai* but nothing more. The work *1124 Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi* 14b–15a quotes a *Dongshen jing* 洞神經, saying: "The *jinlu zhai* abolishes the disasters sent from Heaven and confirms the supremacy of the emperor . . . , whereas the *yulu zhai* brings blessing to those who confess their faults and ask for benedictions." However, *464 Zhaijie lu* 5a quotes this very passage from *1124 Xuan daomen dayi,* with an addition stating that the *yulu zhai* "has not yet been revealed in this world."

For DU GUANGTING, the *yulu zhai* was, together with the *jinlu zhai*, one of the retreats to be performed in the imperial palace, and the *yulu zhai* especially concerned the health and graces of the imperial spouses and consorts (see Du's preface to the *huanglu zhai* service, quoted in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 6.1b). Following Du, many authors expressed the opinion that the *yulu zhai* was the retreat service for the benefit of the imperial spouses. The Forty-third Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410), even confirms that only the empresses and imperial consorts have the right to celebrate the service (*1232 Daomen shigui* 10a). In 1407, the Yongle emperor called upon Zhang Yuchu to celebrate a great *yulu zhai* at the court (see *1463 Han Tianshi shijia* 3.28b).

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.3.d Manuals

***Daomen dingzhi* 道門定制**

1 folio + 10 juan

Compiled by Lü Yuansu 呂元素; edited by Hu Xianglong 胡湘龍; preface dated 1188

1224 (fasc. 973–975)

"Established Order of Taoism." According to *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 147, this text was composed of a first collection (*qianji* 前集) in five juan, compiled in 1188 by Lü Yuansu, and a later collection (*houji* 后集) in six juan, compiled in 1201 by Lü's disciple, Lü Taihuan 呂太煥. Marks of subsequent additions to the text led the editors of the *Siku tiyao* to suggest that their recension of the "Established Order" was printed during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368).

The text in the *Daozang*, although it comprises only ten juan, is indeed divided into two such collections, but only the personal preface (*zixu* 自序) of the first collection is signed and dated (1188). The personal preface to the second collection is neither signed nor dated, but two notes in the text, at 6.15b and 7.36b, are signed by Lü Yuansu and dated to the year 1201. Nowhere is Lü Taihuan mentioned. The role of Hu Xianglong—was his the Yuan edition referred to above?—is difficult to ascertain, inasmuch as only one note, at 4.31b–32b, can be ascribed to him with any degree of probability.

Lü Yuansu, *zi* Puan 樸庵, identifies himself in the first preface as a native of Tang'an 唐安 (modern Chongqing 崇慶 in Sichuan). In his preface to *1226 Daomen tongjiao biyong ji,* dated 1201, Lü identifies himself as a native of Jiangyuan 江原 (west of Chengdu) and says that he was in charge of the Yellow Register in the area of the "two rivers" (the Chengdu basin). Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁, in his *Heshan xiansheng daquan wenji* 42.3b–6a, tells how Lü, "Taoist Master of the Tianqing 天慶 Abbey,"

built a special terrace in 1207 in order to pray for the protection of the local population against bandits. In his prefaces to the present work and to the *1226 Tongjiao ji,* Lü describes himself as an avid collector of Taoist books whose aim was to produce and print standardized texts of Taoist rituals that would avoid the excessive complexity of many contemporary manuals and eliminate the textual errors typical of privately transmitted liturgical manuscripts.

The first collection, which Lü refers to as the *Dingzhi ji* 定制集 (1.12a, 6.1a), begins with a discussion of the correct way of writing Taoist documents and then gives seven model petitions. Lü's tradition in this area is close to that of JIANG SHUYU (1.15a–16a and 1.22a–25a correspond to *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 11.1a–b and 11.1b–5b, respectively) and to that of the older *615 Chisong zi zhangli* (cf. 1.28b–38b and *615 Chisong zi zhangli* 5.26a–34b).

Documents of announcement to the spiritual powers of the Three Realms are supplied in juan 2. Composed essentially of documents of invitation for the Offering, juan 3 begins with a memorial addressed to the emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). WANG QINRUO (962–1025) wrote the memorial in 1009, on the subject of the official definition of the hierarchy of gods for the Offering to the Entire Firmament (*Luotian jiao* 羅天醮). This memorial is followed by the emperor's response. A second text, by Sun Xubo 孫虛白, a Taoist master at Huizong's (r. 1100–1125) court, discusses the number of emplacements (*wei* 位) to be prepared with offerings of paper money and horses (*qianma* 錢馬) for the various types of offering and retreat. The bulk of the juan is taken up by a list of the 1,200 divinities to be invited, using 100 separate documents of invitation, to the *huanglu luotian jiao* 黃籙羅天醮. Lü says in a note (3.46a) that he prepared the list, after consulting with Li Zhongda 李中大, by comparing an imperially promulgated text—presumably that of Sun Xubo 孫虛白—with the "rituals of old." Lü gives the canonical source of each group of divinities included in the list, and he states emphatically that any divinity that cannot be traced to such a source should not be invited, especially those gods who had not received an investiture (*fenghao* 封號) from the court or whose names had been revealed by mediumistic writing (*jiangbi* 降筆; 3.49a).

Juan 4 furnishes the few fu that Lü recognizes as legitimate. Juan 5 provides model memorials (*shu* 疏) containing full ritual programs for the retreats of the Yellow Register, and of the Alliance with the zhenren, and for the Prevention of Catastrophes.

The aim of the later collection, according to its personal preface, is to "fill the lacunae" left by the first one. Juan 6 begins with a general survey of the different types of retreat. Notes here reveal that Lü relied in the first place on the authority of DU GUANGTING, but also on the "head of the immortals" (*weixian* 尉僊), Chao Guan 巢觀, author of a *Huanglu yi* 黃籙儀 (6.4b, 15b). Juan 6 also contains model *ciwen* 詞文 memorials, three of which are by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072; 6.9a–10a; cf.

Ouyang Wenzhong gong ji 82.3b–4a, 83.15b–16a, 84.1a). A note at the end of the juan also mentions the *Jinlu yi* 金籙儀 of ZHANG SHANGYING.

Juan 7 gives texts of petitions for twelve different rituals (7.8a–10a corresponds to *617 Taishang xuanci zhuhua zhang* 3.5a–6b; 7.19a–22a to *617 Zhuhua zhang* 1.1a–8a, passim). At the end of the juan, Lü states that he consulted the *Tianshi qian erbai guanzhang jing* 天師千二百官章經 to verify all the names of the Celestial Officers (*tianguan* 天官) used in his petitions.

Juan 8 provides the symbolic characters and incantations necessary for the creation of the altar in the various rituals. One passage (8.22b–23b), attributed to the Master in the Beyond, is identical to *547 Lingbao yujian* 24.3b–5a (cf. *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.3a–4b).

Juan 9 contains further documents of invitation, such as for the Wenchang liturgy, which includes a seat and offering for Confucius (9.6a). The tenth and last juan is composed primarily of documents for a ritual of initiation.

John Lagerwey

Song Zhenzong yuzhi yujing ji **宋眞宗御製玉京集**

6 juan

By Emperor Zhenzong of the Song dynasty (Zhao Dechang 趙德昌; r. 997–1022)

315 (fasc. 163)

"Collectanea of the Jade Capital." A collection of Intentions (*yi* 意), presumably written by the emperor himself, for memorials presented during Taoist rituals. The present work is mentioned in *Yuhai* 28.10b as having twenty juan. The *Daozang* version must, therefore, be incomplete.

Nevertheless, this is a most important document for the study of religious events during Zhenzong's reign. It contains a text ("Xie jiang Tianshu biao 謝降天書表") expressing thanks for the bestowal of the Heavenly Writs (4.9a), for the conclusion of the *feng* 封 sacrifice on Taishan (4.9b), for the supernatural apparition of the imperial ancestor (95.3a), and for other important occasions.

Kristofer Schipper

Daomen tongjiao biyong ji **道門通教必用集**

3 + 5 fols. + 9 juan.

Compiled by Lü Taigu 呂太古; preface dated 1201

1226 (fasc. 984–985)

"Comprehensive and Requisite Manuals of Taoism." This manual is preceded by two prefaces and a table of contents. The first preface, by Lü Yuansu 呂元素, author of *1224 Daomen dingzhi*, is dated to the year 1201; the second, by Han Huncheng 韓混成, is dated to the Yuanzhen reign era (1295–1296). Lü's preface describes how he entrusted

to the "young master" Lü Taigu—Lü Yuansu's disciple, according to Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (*Heshan xiansheng daquan wenji* 42.4a)—the task of comparing the various ritual texts brought back from the capital by Li Zhongda 李中大 at Lü Yuansu's request with those in the abbey's own library, in order to prepare a standard version of the rituals composing the Yellow Register Retreat. Han Huncheng, *hao* Wuzhen dashi 悟眞大師, of the Ren'an guan 仁安觀 temple, says that the present compilation was in reality the work of Ma Daoyi 馬道逸, a Taoist of the Sanjing guan 三井觀 temple in Chengdu, who combined Lü Taigu's *Tongjiao ji* 通教集 and a *Lianjiao ji* 鏈教集 by a Mr. He 何 of Yuntai 雲臺 (presumably the mountain of that name southeast of Cangxi 滄溪縣 county) and printed the result. A close reading of the text, however, would seem to indicate that Ma made few changes (see table of contents, 2a; 3.4b, 5a; 7.18b) and that the work remains largely that of Lü Taigu.

Lü divides his work into eight sections that correspond, as he explains in the table of contents, to the progressive apprenticeship of a Taoist priest. The first section, based on JIA SHANXIANG's *Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳 (written between 1086–1101), is composed of sixteen biographies of grand masters, who were to serve as models. The following sections provide the texts, hymns, prayers, introductions, and conclusions of the various rituals, including those of the "exterior altar" (*waitan fashi* 外壇法事; 6.2a). The latter ritual seems to derive from Chao Guan 巢觀 (5.8a; cf. 2.23a). The rituals for bathing and nourishing the souls of the deceased (5.19a–32b) are close to those of JIANG SHUYU (*508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 26.8a–17b), though Lü's text prescribes a series of offerings—of incense, flowers, etc. (5.25a–28a)—that Jiang ascribes to "vulgar rituals" (26.17b).

The last three sections concern the work of the chief cantor (*dujiang* 都講) and the grand master (*gaogong fashi* 高功法師). Comparison of the text with the table of contents leads to the conclusion that of the first of these three sections only the introduction has survived. It is an abridged and annotated quotation of DU GUANGTING's *Zandao yi* 讚道儀 (see *507 Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 53.1a–3a). Lü Taigu's discussion of the opening rites (6.3a–4a) is based on works by DU GUANGTING, Yang Jie 楊傑 (*jinshi* 進士 1059), and "Sun the teacher," that is, Sun Xubo 孫虛白. For his Consecration of the Altar (*chitan* 敕壇), Lü uses works by Du, Yang, and ZHANG SHANGYING.

Juan 8 gives the texts of introduction for the nine recitations of sacred texts during a three-day Yellow Register Retreat (the cycle of recitations is the same as that in *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 5.1a–10a). The explanation of the visualizations performed by the *gaogong fashi* during the various rites is close to that of JIANG SHUYU (juan 32 and 34), but it is far less complete. Of particular interest is the acknowledgment of the role of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 movement in the development of the new ritual of Announcement (*fazou* 發奏; 9.1a). The authority of the Taoist master Zhao Mingju 趙明舉 is invoked on two occasions (9.7b, 13a; cf. 3.4a). The reader is referred to Sun

Xubo 孫虛白 for further information regarding the expedition of petitions to Heaven (9.16a).

John Lagerwey

Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi 無上黃籙大齋立成儀
57 juan
By JIANG SHUYU 蔣叔輿; postfaces by Jiang Xi 蔣熙 and Jiang Yan 蔣焱 (dated 1223), and by Gao Wenhu 高文虎
508 (fasc. 278–290)

"Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat." The term *huanglu* 黃籙 (Yellow Register) in the title refers essentially, in JIANG SHUYU's book, to the ritual for the salvation of the dead (3.1b). The postfaces provide biographies of the author by his two sons (57.1a–4b; dated 1223) and of the author's master, LIU YONGGUANG by Gao Wenhu (*jinshi* 進士 1160; 57.4b–9a). In addition to other administrative titles, Gao signs his text as the intendant (*tiju* 提舉) of the Taiping xingguo gong 太平興國宮 on Lushan 廬山.

Although the author of the manual as a whole is clearly JIANG SHUYU, each chapter carries an individual signature that must be taken into account. Thus juan 19 and 20 are attributed to DU GUANGTING alone; juan 25–31 (all the rituals of the Great Method) and 41–43 (the majority of the fu used in the rituals) are signed only by Jiang himself; juan 16, the *suqi* 宿啓 ritual, is described as "written by Lu Xiujing, augmented and corrected by Zhang Wanfu, collated and fixed by Li Jingqi, transmitted by Liu Yongguang, and compiled by Jiang Shuyu." Almost all other chapters are said to have been "transmitted by Liu Yongguang and written by Jiang Shuyu." Juan 51–56 are not signed separately.

Of the above-mentioned masters, Li Jingqi 李景祈 alone is unknown elsewhere (he is mentioned three times in the manual: 16.12b, 17.28b, 18.5a). LIU YONGGUANG (1134–1206; see 32.5b), a disciple of Cai Yuanjiu 蔡元久 on Longhu shan 龍虎山, studied primarily Zhengyi ritual and the methods of the Five Thunders of the Office of Jade (*Yufu wulei fa* 玉府五雷法). Summoned to the capital by the emperor Xiaozong (r. 1163–1189), he was appointed head of the Taoists of the capital (*zuoyou jie daolu* 左右街道錄) in 1203. He celebrated many a retreat of the Yellow Register in the Jiangzhe 江浙 area, and he is even said to have compiled a *Huanglu keyi* 黃籙科儀 (see *Longhu shan zhi*, by Lou Jinyuan, 7.6a–7a, and *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 55.25a). According to the *Longhu shan zhi*, Liu was also an adept of the Tianxin methods 天心法, which he is said to have received at the same time as those of the Five Thunders from a mysterious Taoist named Zhang Fuyuan 張輔元. Some people identified the latter as Zhang Daoling 張道陵. The monograph also makes Liu the founder of a Ziwei sect 紫微派 on Longhu shan.

JIANG SHUYU (1162–1223; for Jiading 10, 57.2b, read Jiading 16: see "Cunzhai Jiang Yiyang muzhi ming 存齋蔣弋陽墓誌銘," in *Huanchuan ji* 10.11b, and "Jiang zhixian muzhi ming 蔣知縣墓誌銘," in *Helin ji* 35.12a) was a local mandarin whose highest office was prefect of Yiyang xian 弋陽縣 in Xinzhou 信州, near Longhu shan. He was also a Taoist initiate, and the names of his three masters—Zhan Qigu 詹齊古, Tian Jushi 田居實 (b. 1074), and LIU YONGGUANG—are given in the manual (35.12a). He is said to have met his initiating master (*dushi* 度師), Liu, for the first time in 1195 in Guacang 括蒼; he later visited Liu on Longhu shan in 1199 and again in 1202. During this last encounter, Liu is said to have transmitted to Jiang all that he had himself received from the *fangshi* 方士 of Jing 荊 and Shu 蜀 and to have encouraged him to "emend" the work of Tian Jushi (57.3a–b). Jiang's sacerdotal title, Taishang zhifa xianshi 太上執法仙士, is mentioned in *219 Shangjing dafa* 28.3a.

According to his sons, JIANG SHUYU worked on his manual for some twenty years. The result of his labors was a *Huanglu zhaiyi* 黃籙齋儀 in thirty-six juan, a *Ziran zhaiyi* 自然齋儀 in fifteen, and a *Duren xiuzhai xingxiang songjing yi* 度人修齋行香誦經儀 in twenty-four. Together, these seventy-five juan were titled *Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉檢 (57.4a). The present manual would appear to represent only the first of these three works (cf. 1.3b). While the manual seems to be complete, it is likely that juan 51–57 consist of additions to the original.

Remarkable for the clarity of its organization, Jiang's manual provides all the texts, drawings, and explanations necessary for the performance of a three-day retreat of the Yellow Register. Frequent, in-depth discussions of individual rites and their correct form (*zhengfa* 正法; 26.3a) also add much to the interest of Jiang's text. (See figs. 43–45)

For Jiang, the retreat of the Yellow Register is, in the first place, the scriptural and liturgical tradition defined by LU XIUJING: the list of thirty-six canonical works given at 1.5a–7a contains only one title—*Dongxuan lingbao daoyin sanguang miaojing* 洞玄靈寶導引三光妙經 (cf. *39 Taishang daoyin sanguang jiubian miaojing*)—that does not derive from the "old Lingbao" canon associated with Lu's name (note, however, that in the body of the manual [12.2a–b] recitation of the following texts is envisaged: *19 Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing*, *374 Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing*, *181 Taishang jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing*, and *24 Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing*).

After LU XIUJING, Jiang recognizes ZHANG WANFU and DU GUANGTING—especially the latter (see 21.13b–17b, 33.2a–b, 7b–10b)—as the chief representatives of the orthodox tradition. In the Meditation Hall (Jingmo tang 靜默堂), these three patriarchs are therefore remembered by means of special "masters' emplacements" (*shiwei* 師位; 38.20b).

If for Jiang the Lingbao scriptures and rituals are the main focus of the tradition,

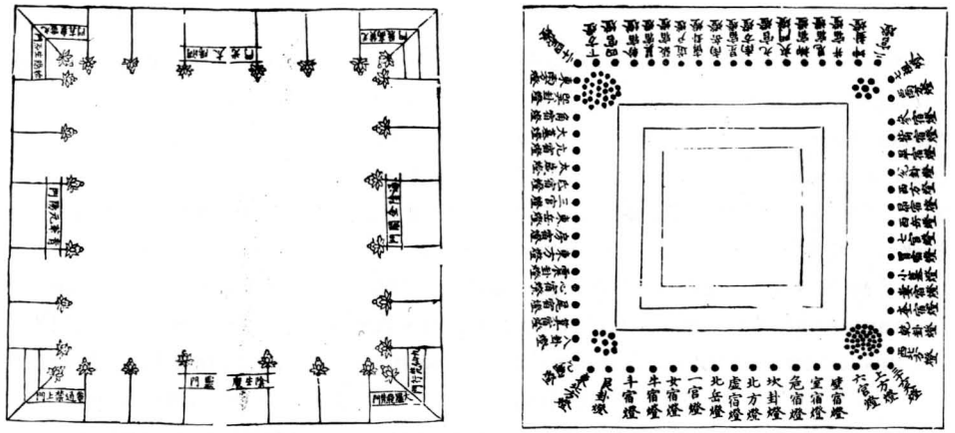


FIGURE 43. Diagrams for the construction of the altar (*508* 2.2a, 4a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/504)



FIGURE 44. Emissaries conveying memorials to Heaven, with spirit guides (*508* 39.16b–17a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/504)



FIGURE 45. True map of the Fengdu underworld, for use in the rites of salvation (*508* 40.5b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/504)

the method of dispatching petitions (*zhang* 章) to Heaven is Zhengyi (9.5b, 10.9b, etc.). The Zhengyi initiation—the *Sanwu dugong lu* 三五都功錄 and the *Zhengyi mengwei lu* 正一盟威錄—is also a prerequisite for the "exteriorization of the officials" (*chuguan* 出官) performed during the first of the nine Audience rituals (*xingdao* 行道; cf. 17.3b–8a and 49.9a). In order to qualify for celebrating a Retreat of the Yellow Register, a grand master (*gaogong* 高功) must have received the two Zhengyi registers and the Lingbao canon and register (*Lingbao zhongmeng wufa lu* 靈寶中盟五法錄), and he or she must have already participated in a ritual of the Great Lingbao Method (*Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法).

Champion of an orthodoxy, Jiang is extremely critical of those who, like Zhang Ruohai 張若海, author of *1280 Xuantan kanwu lun,* do not respect the old ways (*gufa* 古法; see especially juan 16). He also addresses the proliferation of fu, contracts, *mudrā,* and rituals that had occurred "ever since the Great Lingbao Method was revealed" (33.11a). Jiang reduces the use of fu to the strict minimum. He frequently complains of contemporary practices (*shike* 世科; 28.14a–15a, 39.16a) and texts (43.12b). In one case, however—that of two fu representing dragon-messengers—he feels obliged to accept such practices in spite of his reservations concerning their legitimacy: "Masters of the world (*shishi* 世師) have been transmitting and using them for so long that I should not venture to reject them" (40.1b).

Among contemporary forms of Taoism that do find favor in Jiang's eyes are the Shenxiao 神霄 and Zhongxiao 忠孝 movements: the chief divinity of the former Changsheng dijun 長生帝君 and the legendary founder of the latter Shengong miaoji zhenjun 神功妙濟眞君 are both invited to the Offering (38.13a, 8b). Lu Shizhong and his *yutang* 玉堂 methods are mentioned several times without reprobation (15.5b, 39.13a), as is the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (14.16a, 49.5b). The seals of authority whose use Jiang condones reflect the same diversity, for they represent heavenly offices of Lingbao, Zhengyi, Tianxin, Shenxiao, and Zhongxiao origin (see 43.10b–12b).

Beyond these references it is not easy to identify the sources of Jiang's ritual practice. For the two fu mentioned above, he relies on a certain Lin Huiling 林慧靈; for the Yellow Register of Immortality (*Changsheng duming huanglu* 長生度命黃籙), he prefers Cai Zhixu's 蔡致虛 version, deeming it more precise than the Yutang texts and more complete than the *Ziying lingshu* 紫英靈書 (41.10a–16a; cf. *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 260). But for the construction of the altar for the wheel-lanterns (*lundeng* 輪燈), he prefers his "own method" to that proposed by Cai Zhixu and Lu Shizhong (39.12b–13b).

Jiang subscribes to the Tiantai 天台 theory of the Five Translations (47.9a; cf. article on *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa*). Some of his fu seem to be of Shenxiao provenance (cf. 41.18b–19a and 42.2a–3b to *1219 Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa*

11.38b–39a and 11.11a–15a, respectively; also 40.11a–19a and to *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.9b–17b). The rite of the Five Offices (*Wufu shi* 五府事), the core rite in the ritual of the same name (29.5b–16a, especially 12a; cf. *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 40.16a), corresponds to the method of the Five Offices described by JIN YUNZHONG in his postface (dated 1225) to the Tongchu 童初 revelations (*1220 Daofa huiyuan* 178.3a–6a). The postface of Lu Yuanlao 盧元老, which follows that of Jin (178.6a–8a), provides a discussion of seals very much like that of Jiang.

The Tongchu revelations are followed in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* by nine juan (179–187) concerning the Flying Walk on the Nine Powers (*jiuling feibu* 九靈飛步) used in presenting petitions. The *1220 Daofa huiyuan* provides a more complete version of the *Zhengyi shuzhang pin menxia keling* 正一書章品門下科令 cited by JIANG SHUYU in the present text (the passage 10.6a–9a corresponds to *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 180.1a–3b). The beginning of the relevant ritual is identical in both texts (22.1b–2a corresponds to *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 184.1a–2a).

In conclusion, we may note that Jiang seems to call for the use of *407 Lingbao dalian neizhi xingchi jiyao* (24.11a) and that two paragraphs attributed to the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師) are taken from *219 Shangjing dafa* (39.11a–13b corresponds to *219 Shangjing dafa* 50.8b–9b, 51.1a–2a).

John Lagerwey

***Lingbao yujian mulu* 靈寶玉鑑目錄**
31 fols.
Table of contents for *547 Lingbao yujian*
546 (fasc. 302)

***Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑑**
43 juan
547 (fasc. 302–311)

"Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure." The title of this manual may originally have designated a practice of the Great Lingbao Method whose aim was to cause spirits to appear in a mirror (see *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 14.13a–b). BO YUCHAN mentions a text of this name, but it is not clear whether he is referring to the present manual (cf. *1307 Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 2.6b with 4.12a–b of the present work). Yet another text of this name, in ten juan, is attributed to WU QUANJIE (see *Longhu shan zhi,* by Lou Jinyuan, 7.15b).

In its present form, this manual is incomplete: a section on rituals ("Kefan men 科範門"), mentioned twice in the text (33.4b, 34.17b), is missing. It is also extremely difficult to determine the manual's date: it has many passages in common with other

Great Lingbao Method texts, but only rarely is it possible to demonstrate that borrowing has occurred. Two cases, however, seem fairly clear. First, 30.15b–18a is parallel to *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 34.3a–7a (two notes, at 30.16a and 34.3b, respectively, seem to refer to other sections in the text, but those sections are actually in *1221 Lingbao dafa*, not in the *Lingbao yujian*). Second, 14.9b would appear to be an abbreviation of *1221 Lingbao dafa* 32.3b–4a: the author of the latter text leaves to a "future erudite" the task of deciding between his version (*benfa* 本法) of the lamp altars (*dengtan* 燈壇) and that of the Golden Register (*jinlu* 金籙); the author of the *Lingbao yujian* eliminates the variant version. He seems also to have deleted the name of JIANG SHUYU's master, Tian Jushi 田居實, mentioned in the *Lingbao dafa* text. Despite these two cases, however, in the vast majority of parallel passages the variants are so numerous as to suggest two different textual traditions (cf., e.g., *547 Lingbao yujian* 9.18a–21a, 13.20a–22b, and 36.17b–21b, with *1221 Lingbao dafa* 37.15a–18a, 33.1a–2a, 13.7a–8a, and 43.17b–20a).

The relationship of the *Lingbao yujian* with other Great Lingbao Method texts is equally difficult to determine. For example, 18.5b–6b is parallel to *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 10.9b–10b and to *219 Shangjing dafa* 41.8a. However, *219 Shangjing dafa*, though older than *508 Licheng yi,* gives a shortened version of what is to be found in the latter text and in *547 Lingbao yujian*. Moreover, the lines at 18.6b6–10 are unique to the present text, and for *zhepo* 折破 at 18.6a3, *219 Shangjing dafa* 41.8a6 and *508 Licheng yi* 10.9b10 have *choupo* 抽破. Also, *508 Licheng yi* mentions—in notes at 10.10a, 10b—a Taoist at Huizong's (r. 1100–1125) court by the name of Cai Zhixu 蔡致虛 and JIANG SHUYU's own master, Liu Chongjing 留沖靖. The first note may be found in *547 Lingbao yujian* 18.6a, but the second note is lacking there.

Other examples of the difficulties abound. The text at 18.9a–b seems to be more complete than the parallel version in *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 25.5a–6a, as does 18.9b–10a by comparison with *508 Licheng yi* 11.6a. The passage at 18.12b–16a is parallel to *508 Licheng yi* 10.6a–9a and to *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 180.1a–4b: *547 Lingbao yujian* and *1220 Daofa huiyuan* both have forty-five rules, in contrast with the thirty-six of *508 Licheng yi,* but the thirty-six rules that are common to all three texts show clearly that *508 Licheng yi* and *547 Lingbao yujian* derive from the same textual tradition, while *219 Shangqing dafa* follows a different source.

As a final example, we may compare *547 Lingbao yujian* 7.6a–7a with *219 Shangqing dafa* 53.18a–19a and *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 266.7a–8a. The fu in *547 Lingbao yujian* are closer to those in *466 Jidu jinshu* than to those in *219 Shangqing dafa,* but for the accompanying prayers (7.7a, 53.19a–b, 278.13a, respectively), the texts of *466 Jidu jinshu* and *219 Shangqing dafa* are identical, with the exception of the first two words and the last line. The first two words in *219 Shangqing dafa* are the same as those in *547 Lingbao yujian,* but for the rest of the prayer the latter text is quite different.

In short, if the first two cases treated above seemed to show that the present text was compiled after the *1221 Lingbao dafa* of Wang Qizhen 王契眞, all the other cases show that the present version not infrequently represents a textual tradition that is even older than that of *219 Shangqing dafa*. In that regard, we may note that *547 Lingbao yujian* uses the title *Lingbao duren shangjing dafa* 靈寶度人上經大法 to refer not to *219 Shangqing dafa* but to the Great Method of Salvation in general. It is also worth noting that the only Great Lingbao Method master mentioned in *547 Lingbao yujian* is Tian Ziji 田紫極 (Tian Lingxu 田靈虛; see *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 244.2a), whom it refers to as the ancestral master (*zushi* 祖師; 1.11a).

The present manual also draws on the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 traditions. Lu Shizhong is mentioned beside Ge Xuan, Sa zhenren 薩眞人 (probably referring to Sa Shouzhen 薩守眞; see *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 242.1a and *Longhu shan zhi* 7.3b), and "all the ancestral founders through the generations" (1.6b). The register of immortality used in this manual (*547 Lingbao yujian* 27.1a–5b), although it resembles those in the other texts (e.g., *466 Jidu jinshu* 290.10a–13a, *1221 Lingbao dafa* 48.15a–19b; cf. *508 Licheng yi* 41.10a–15b), is the only one that belongs to the Golden rather than to the Yellow Register. According to *508 Licheng yi* 41.16a, the Golden Register version is of Yutang dafa origin.

The author of *547 Lingbao yujian* distinguishes, as is customary, the Lingbao ritual tradition that he follows from what he calls the Zhengyi tianxin 正一天心 tradition (1.11a). At the same time, however, he proposes a method for sending petitions to Heaven that is common to *sandong daoshi* 三洞道士 and *jijiu xuezi* 祭酒學子 (18.1b). In juan 17–18 he cites Zhengyi texts frequently (much of the content of juan 17–18 and 21 is also in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 179–87), and in juan 7 he uses Tianxin 天心 methods of exorcism (cf. 7.15a–23b and *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 1.2a–4a, 2.3b, 5.2b–3a, 6.6b–7a, 11b–12a).

The final fu in this last Tianxin sequence, as well as the accompanying prayer, is attributed in both *547 Lingbao yujian* and *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* to the Shenxiao 神霄 Method. The fu and a part of the prayer are indeed to be found in *1219 Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 10.36a. Among the many traces of Shenxiao influence in the manual (3.11b, 8.8b, 13.38a, 41.16a), one of the most interesting is the poem at 43.17b–18a, which is parallel to *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 3.18b–19b: although the variants are too numerous to suggest borrowing, the poem is important in that it is a veritable summary of *liandu* 鍊度 rites.

In short, the present work, when compared with other manuals of the same school, provides unique, sometimes original versions of Great Lingbao Method practices. It is for that reason a most precious work, all the more so in that it contains—especially in juan 1 and at the beginning of each section, but also scattered throughout the text—short essays and explanatory notes of admirable concision and clarity. As an example, we may take the following sentence at 29.8a: "The five spirits are all like the Fangxiang shi 方相氏: they have the appearance of spirits who open the way (to souls imprisoned in hell), and each wears clothing the color of which corresponds to a direction."

John Lagerwey

Shangqing lingbao dafa 上清靈寶大法

1 + 66 juan

Compiled by Wang Qizhen 王契眞; transmitted by Ning Quanzhen 寧全眞 (1101–1181)

1221 (fasc. 942–962)

"Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao." This manual may owe its title to the desire of its compiler to challenge the preeminence of a rival, Jin Yunzhong, author of *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa*. Of Wang Qizhen, unfortunately, we know nothing, except that his name, ending with the character for "truth" (*zhen* 眞), is typical of the lineage founded by Ning Quanzhen (see the list in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 244.1a–2b). Perhaps he can be identified with the Wang Qizhen mentioned in *Chongding Tiantai shan fangwai zhiyao* 7.10a and called there "Little Lingbao," to distinguish him from his elder brother, Wang Maoduan 王茂端, known as "Big Lingbao." This Wang Qizhen is said to have been the author of a *Lingbao jiaofa bilu* 靈寶教法秘籙 in ten juan that was kept at the Tongbo guan 桐柏觀 temple on Mount Tiantai 天台. The *Fangwai zhiyao* states that both brothers were adepts of the *Shangqing dadong fa* 上清大洞法. However, another reference to Wang Maoduan (4.1a) places him in the time of the emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), which would make him a contemporary of Ning Quanzhen and render the attribution of the present manual to his younger brother unlikely. Nevertheless, this manual clearly represents the Lingbao tradition of Tiantai, and it may be that its compiler was, or considered himself to be, an heir to the tradition of the Tongbo guan master.

An extensive list of the "masters of the sect" may be found at 54.3a. It includes the names of such famous masters of antiquity as Ge Xuan, Ge Hong, and Lu Xiujing, as well as those of many Shangqing masters of the Tang and Song dynasties (Pan Shizheng, Sima Chengzhen, Li Hanguang, Zhu Ziying, Mao Fengrou 毛奉柔, Liu Hunkang). Several of the masters in the same register with, and presumably of the same generation as, Liu Hunkang have names ending with *zhen*: Zhao Qizhen 趙啓眞, Zhang Dazhen 張達眞, Hu Shouzhen 胡守眞. Nothing is known about these three masters or those in the last two registers. The list, however, does give an indication of how the Lingbao school of Mount Tiantai perceived its own lineage.

Internal evidence suggests a relatively late date for Wang Qizhen's manual. In the first place, Wang cites explicitly the *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* of Jiang

SHUYU (56.4a, paraphrasing a note at *508 Licheng yi* 32.2a). In fact, the phrase in question is embedded in a passage that is common to both *Shangqing lingbao dafa* (*1221 Dafa* 56.3b–4b and *1223 Dafa* 21.4a–5b) and poses, thereby, the problem of the relationship between the two manuals. Parallel or identical passages are found in twenty-six of the forty-four juan of Jin's text and in thirty-one of the sixty-six juan of Wang's.

Some of these passages give the impression that Jin abridges Wang (cf. *1223 Dafa* 1.1a–b, 2b–3b, 4a–b with *1221 Dafa* 8.10b–12a, 1.2a–6b, 7a–8b, respectively). This impression is reinforced by the fact that virtually every one of JIN YUNZHONG's tirades against the Lingbao tradition of Tiantai corresponds to a passage in Wang's manual: for example, the names of the *bawei* 八緯 that Jin ascribes to the Tiantai tradition (4.1a–b) correspond to techniques described in *1221 Dafa* 3.22a–25b. Jin's citation of the twenty-fifth section of the Tiantai manual (8.2b–3a) is found at *1221 Dafa* 4.2b5, 3b6, 8, 7, 9–4a2. Jin criticizes (43.18b) the use—prescribed in *1221 Dafa* 29.16b–19b—of ten yellow flags for announcing the Oath of Transmission to the Heavenly Worthy of the Ten Directions.

Such examples could be multiplied. Jin's juan 8 alone contains a dozen instances. Of the forty-nine sections of the original Tiantai manual (see the article on *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*), Jin mentions explicitly twenty-one, most of which he cites, and of these there are only two of which *1221 Dafa* contains no trace. There can, therefore, be no doubt concerning the links of Wang's manual with the Tiantai tradition.

That said, Jin's citations and references are not based on Wang's text, as can be seen from the following analysis of the first three common passages mentioned above, also found in *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*:

1. *1221 Dafa* 8.10b–12a corresponds to *219 Dafa*, 8.5b–7b; Jin (1.2a–b) states that he abridges an "old version."
2. *1221 Dafa* 1.2a–7a corresponds to *219 Dafa* 1.1a–6a; Jin eliminates the eighth "elucidation," common to *219 Dafa* and *1221 Dafa*.
3. *1221 Dafa* 1.7a–9a corresponds to *219 Dafa*, 2.1a–2b; Jin eliminates the fourth "translation," common to *219 Dafa* and *1221 Dafa*.

At the same time, however, a scribal error common to *219 Dafa* and *1223 Dafa* (*nei* 內 at 2.1b6 and 1.4a6, respectively) is read correctly (*xi* 西) at *1221 Dafa* 1.7b10.

Close examination of other passages shared by the three manuals shows that the two *Shangqing lingbao dafa* rely, albeit independently, on *219 Dafa* or its source (cf., especially, *219 Dafa* 54.15b, *1221 Dafa* 45.24a–b, and *1223 Dafa* 32.4b–5a) and that they also have direct links to each other (cf. *219 Dafa* 55.1b8–2a6, *1221 Dafa* 45.9b7–10a2, and *1223 Dafa* 32.6a7–b3). In the latter passages, *1221 Dafa* agrees seven times with *219 Dafa* against *1223 Dafa; 1223 Dafa* agrees two times with *219 Dafa* against *1221 Dafa*, and *1221 Dafa* agrees six times with *1223 Dafa* against *219 Dafa*.

What, then, is the relationship between the manuals of JIN YUNZHONG and Wang Qizhen? The response is to be found in the attitude of the latter toward the Tiantai tradition criticized by Jin: Wang uses that tradition but never mentions its origin. Each time Jin refers explicitly to the practices of Tiantai in a passage shared by the two manuals, that part of the phrase is either lacking altogether in Wang's text or replaced by "it is said that . . . " (cf. *1223 Dafa* 4.13a4–7, 14a2–4, 9; 5.3a2, 4b1, with *1221 Dafa* 10.3b8–10, 5b5–7, 4a7, 44b1, 45a2). In one long parallel passage (*1223 Dafa* 10.5b–10b; *1221 Dafa* 27.17a–20a) the following lines are missing in *1221 Dafa*: 6a10–b3 (mentions Tiantai); 6b5–6 (mentions Tiantai); 7a8–10 (*deng* 等 [*et cetera*] replaces, in *1221 Dafa;* a list of seals in *1223 Dafa*); 7b4–8a7 (criticizes Shenxiao elements adopted in the Tiantai movement); 9a6–b6 (criticizes the vulgar practices of Tiantai). The most striking of these examples concerns the use of seals: before abridging the list of criticized seals with the word *deng,* Wang mentions three of them (27.18b1–2), the use of which he had earlier condoned (27.14a–b). Such incoherences allow us to conclude that Wang's manual is posterior to Jin's.

That being the case, the suppression of all reference to the very Tiantai school from which so much of his text derives must be attributed to the compiler's desire to distance himself from a discredited local tradition, which is no doubt also the explanation for his replacement of the phrase "the Master in the Beyond says" with "the Master says," in passages taken from the *219 Dafa* or its source: JIN YUNZHONG criticizes the former phrase as yet one more instance of Tiantai inanity (5.3a). The author of *1221 Dafa* repeats Jin's criticism, but eliminates Jin's name at the beginning of the note (10.44a–b).

The list of passages common to *219 Dafa* and Wang's manual involves one of two prefaces and forty-six of the first fifty-three juan of *1221 Dafa*. The content of these chapters, divided into twenty-four sections (*men* 門), may be summarized as follows:

- Juan 1: theoretical introduction to the Great Method
- Juan 2–4: basic practices of the Tiantai tradition (ten of the twenty-one sections of the Tiantai sishijiu pin 天台四十九品 mentioned by Jin are found in these three juan)
- Juan 5: recitation of scripture and the audience rites performed inside the body
- Juan 6–7: exorcistic practices and rites of healing using fu
- Juan 8: liturgical calendar, rules, and taboos
- Juan 9: rules for entering and leaving the oratory; ritual of confession
- Juan 10: description of the pantheon and the structure of the universe of the stars, the heavens, and the earths
- Juan 11: fu and incantations for summoning beneficent powers

- Juan 12–26: exorcistic practices and the accumulation of merit, mostly based on the use of the Duren jing 度人經
- Juan 27: the sacerdotal hierarchy; seals of authority
- Juan 28–30: documents and ritual of transmission
- Juan 31–34: full description of the preparations for a Retreat (altar, flags, lamps, fu, etc.)
- Juan 35–38: fu, incantations, and techniques used for summoning souls of the deceased (the ritual of the Divine Tiger)
- Juan 39–48: fu and incantations used in the various rituals of the Yellow Register Retreat
- Juan 49–53: description of the altar, fu and incantations for the Sublimation ritual.

The preface shared by *219 Dafa* and *1221 Dafa*—called "celestial preface" in the latter (preface, 3b–6b), attributed to Tianzhen huangren 天眞皇人 in the former—describes the ritual practice of the Taoist in alchemical terms. In Wang's manual it is preceded by an "old preface" that situates the revelation of the many techniques of salvation in the context of the increasing decadence of the universe since the end of the Longhan era. Its author vaunts the merits of the Yellow Register Retreat, which he says can be celebrated for both the living and the dead, for both ordinary people and the emperor, and by either male or female Taoists.

Juan 54–59 give the "traditional explanation" of the rituals of the retreat. These juan contain many parallel passages with JIN YUNZHONG's work and with that of JIANG SHUYU. The latter is also the sole source of parallels for the seven juan of documents at the end of the present text.

John Lagerwey

Shangqing lingbao dafa mulu 上清靈寶大法目錄
11+22 fols.
Table of contents for *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa*
1222 (fasc. 963)

Shangqing lingbao dafa 上清靈寶大法
44 juan
By JIN YUNZHONG 金允中 (fl. 1225)
1223 (fasc. 963–972)

"Great Lingbao Method of the Shangqing Heaven." The title designates the textual and ritual traditions that JIN YUNZHONG set out to synthesize and for which he wished to provide the orthodox definition (see the documents of transmission, 42.15b; cf. *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 71.32b). The term *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法

is a reminder that the methods of the school of that name were developed on the basis of the Lingbao canon (see preface, 2a); Shangqing is the heaven from which this canon derives in the traditional scheme of the Three Caverns. The fundamental importance of the *Duren jing* in this movement explains why the name *Duren dafa* 度人大法, (Great Method of Salvation) is sometimes used to refer to its practices (preface, 3a).

According to JIN YUNZHONG's introduction to the Tongchu 童初 revelations (*1220 Daofa huiyuan* 178.3a–6a), the names of his masters were Gao Jingxiu 高景修; Tang Keshou 唐克壽, *zi* Daomin 道憫; and Liu Hunpu 劉混朴, *zi* Fuguan 副觀. As with the author, we know of these three generations of masters only what Jin tells us. At the beginning of the Shaoxing era (1131), Gao Jingxiu, who had fled the northern capital and sought refuge in the south, began to work (*huaxing* 化行) in the region between the rivers Jiang 江 and Huai 淮 (17.22b). His version of the *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, according to Jin, was based on "ancient books" transmitted without interruption since the end of the Tang. In the petitions Gao sent to Heaven, he identified himself as "Gao, of the Ziyuan an 紫元庵, in the county of Qimen 祈門, Huizhou 徽州" (in Shexian 歙縣, Anhui; 23.15b). He spent his last years in the same county, at Xinan 新安 (17.22b).

Of Tang Keshou, Jin says that he was a Taoist from Chuzhou 處州, Zhejiang, and that he practiced exclusively the method of the Five Offices (*wufu fa* 五府法), that is, the method of Tongchu (*1220 Daofa huiyuan* 178.3b). Tang transmitted the Tongchu material to Liu Hunpu, who also received initiation in the method of the Retreat (*zhaifa* 齋法) of JIANG SHUYU, whom Jin places in the Zhengyi tradition, and in the method of the nine visualizations for presenting petitions (*jiusi zoufa* 九思奏法) of Tian Jushi 田居實 (17.23b).

JIN YUNZHONG signs the undated preface of this manual with a title that derives in part from the Lingbao dafa tradition (cf. *219 Dafa* 28.3b), but that also refers to his Tongchu attachments. His introduction to the Tongchu revelations is dated 1225. The present manual may well date from approximately the same period, as Jin states in the preface (8b) that "nearly 100 years have passed since the emigration to the south." On the other hand, Jin states that JIANG SHUYU's book, which in its present form dates to 1223, was already widely known (22.7a) and that four centuries had elapsed since DU GUANGTING compiled his *Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 in forty juan (cf. *507 Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*). These remarks imply a much later date, between 1250 and 1300 (40.25b; cf. 21.21b). Jin had already been a Taoist for two decades when he compiled his manual (21.20b). We may note here, too, that three passages, at 5.6b, 6.5b, and 28.3a, seem to have been added to the manual by another hand, probably a disciple.

Jin explains his motivation in writing as follows: "I had the good fortune of not becoming a member of the sect of the heterodox and the counterfeiters, and I cannot bear the thought that future generations be deceived by them. I have followed with

reverence what my masters transmitted to me, adding only from my studies of other manuals that which was in harmony with the rituals of old. . . . I am not one who has received a revelation from Heaven, it is true, but I take my responsibilities here below" (preface, 9a).

Thus does Jin set the tone and reveal his intentions in the preface: in the name of the traditions of his masters he will denounce all latter-day inventions by those who, "in order to steal fame" (21.16a), go so far as to "truncate and alter the books of old and suppress traditional methods on the pretext that they are incomplete, but in reality in order that they may then produce novelties and sell their secrets for money to their disciples" (preface, 10a). Jin intends above all to use the "venerable books of the Central Plain" (12.5b) to halt the progress of the so-called "revelations of Tiantai" (preface, 3a–b) and the "customs of Zhe 浙" (40.27b), referring to the regions of Zhexi 浙西 (10.17a, 37.47b) and Zhedong 浙東 (13.24a, 20.8a, 21.9b, 22.7b), especially Tiantai 天台 itself (preface, 8b, 14.12a, 43.18a). Ever since the appearance of the *Tiantai sishijiu pin* 天台四十九品 during the Shaoxing period (1131–1162; see preface, 3a), the partisans of this method, writes Jin, have been busily inventing seals, grades, and new rites (preface, 4b–5b, 6b–7a, juan 10, 12.6a). They even go so far as to don red turbans and thereby confound the exorcistic rites of vulgar sorcerers with rites based on the *Duren jing* 度人經 (6.13a–14b, 11.14a). Worse still, their esoteric explanations of Taoist ritual, and of the ritual for the presentation of petitions to Heaven in particular, represent a subjectivist, interiorist, and altogether dangerous interpretation of Taoist ritual (preface, 4a, 4.4b, 11a, 7.8a, 11a, 8.3a).

It is fair to describe Jin's manual as a manifesto against the Lingbao dafa of Tiantai, but in fact Jin's criticism spares none. He deplores the egoism and individualism of the contemporary practice of the rites for the salvation of the dead, on the grounds that rituals of this kind were in reality *pudu* 普度, rituals of universal salvation (16.13a, 17.22a, 23.8a, 24a, 35.10b). He attacks the vulgar verses used during the ritual for crossing the bridge (37.39a). Even the ritual masters for whom Jin says he has the highest esteem do not escape: Lin Lingsu was a "master of considerable accomplishments," but he confused the Emperors of the Five Peaks with the Five Celestial Emperors who are the "roots of the Five Energies" (40.3b); Wang Shengqing 王升卿 wrote the best *Lingbao dafa* manual (preface, 2b–3a), but he did not know enough to eliminate all the heavenly offices added by the Tiantai school (5.4a), nor to differentiate the traditional Lingbao seal of authority from its Shenxiao 神霄 version of the Xuanhe reign era (1119–1125; 10.3b–4a); Lu Shizhong was "a man of great talent and vast erudition," but that did not prevent him from elevating the Heavenly Master to the same rank as Shangdi 上帝 (43.17b) nor, holding only a Zhengyi investiture, from jumping a rank and performing Lingbao rituals (10.19b); Jiang Shuyu, who went "even farther than Du Guangting in his research into the canonical rules" and who, therefore,

"far surpasses his predecessors" (21.10b), nonetheless allowed himself to be influenced by the practices of Zhedong and so recommended visualizing a red rather than a yellow vapor during the Noon Audience (21.9b–11a; cf. 22.7b, 40.27b).

In this manner, Jin campaigns against modern decadence and its "latter-day techniques" (*moshu* 末術; 4.4b). Jin recognizes only the three imperially sanctioned ordination centers: Longhu shan 龍虎山 (Zhengyi), Gezao shan 閣皂山 (Lingbao), and Sanmao shan 三茅山 (Dadong; 10.8a). These three centers correspond to the literature of the Three Caverns revealed in the distant past, for Jin identifies the Zhengyi movement with the Dongshen canon (25.1a–b; cf.1.5a, 22.16a, 40.24a–b). Contrary to what the adepts of the Tiantai school affirm, writes Jin, only Zhengyi and Lingbao priests have the right to convey petitions to Heaven. He also criticizes Jiang Shuyu for writing that "the method of the retreat is of Lingbao origin, that of presenting petitions Zhengyi" (25.19b–20a). The true Zhengyi method, says Jin, was lost over the centuries, and the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 movement that grew out of it goes back only to Tan Zixiao and Rao Dongtian (43.16b–17a). Only the Lingbao dafa has a tradition that goes back without interruption to the time of Ge Xuan and Xu Jingyang 許旌陽 (Xu Xun; 43.18a). "The Lingbao way belongs specifically to the Dongxuan canon, but it is the synthesis of all that is essential in the Three Caverns and includes the mysteries of all the sacred books" (42.1a).

The Lingbao ritual tradition, after having been revealed to Ge and Xu, was codified by Lu Xiujing, Zhang Wanfu, and Du Guangting (19.3a). But it is Du Guangting's rituals that, to Jin, represent the ultimate authority, for Du had access to the *Daozang* in the two national capitals when he compiled his *Huanglu zhai* in forty juan (40.25a–26a; Jin gives the table of contents of Du's work in 39.1b–2b; cf. *507 Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*). The Taoist canons compiled since Du, writes Jin—that of the end of the Five Dynasties (907–960) kept at the Tongbo guan 桐柏觀 temple on Mount Tiantai 天台山 (24.11a), that compiled by Wang Qinruo (962–1025; 40.25b), or that compiled under the emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125; 40.26a)—are all partial and contain extracanonical works. For all basic rituals—the Suqi 宿啓, the nine Audience rituals, and so on—Jin therefore refers the reader to Du Guangting's work (40.28a). He also borrows from Du's manual the major portion of his rituals for the Offering (*jiao* 醮) and for Casting Dragons (*toulong* 投龍; juan 40–41). Since the time of Du Guangting, however, there has been such a proliferation of rituals that it is "difficult to abolish them all in a single day" (19.1a). For example, neither the ritual of prior announcement (*yugao* 預告; 16.6b, 19.11a) nor that of sublimation (*liandu* 煉度; 17.19a) existed in Du Guangting's time (Jin states, however, that the *liandu* already existed as a form of individual practice in antiquity, and he cites Liu Hunkang as an authority; 37.1a). In a general way, the ritual texts of Du Guangting contained neither incantations nor documents of announcement (19.1b), for fu, documents,

incantations, and mudra were in the past all transmitted directly from master to disciple (preface, 1b–2a).

JIN YUNZHONG's purpose, then, was to select such prescriptions from the many manuals of the Great Lingbao Method as were in conformity with the teaching of his masters (17.19b, 35.9b) and with "our method" (*benfa* 本法; 19.1b, 43.20a). As mentioned, Jin traces the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* of Gao Jingxiu to the end of the Tang: "For his methods he based himself on the *Duren jing,* and for the retreat he followed the rituals of Du Guangting" (17.22b–23a). For certain novelties, nonetheless, Jin bent his own rules and recommended that which is "easy to practice" or "widely used" (13.22a).

JIN YUNZHONG's arguments are often accurate and always fascinating, but the violence of his attacks on the Tiantai school are troubling: did he really borrow nothing from that school? "It is not the case that I did not originally receive the texts from my master and that I borrowed from the Tiantai method to make my book" (12.6a). Even if the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* of Wang Qizhen "borrowed" from JIN YUNZHONG in a manner that may be described as dishonest (see *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa*), what was the origin of the "old texts" that Jin claims to have abridged when dealing with the "rules and commandments" (1.2a)? Was the theory of the Four Translations that Jin champions against the Five Translations of the Tiantai school as old as he asserts (1.4b)?

Similar questions could be asked of Jin's positions with respect to the Zhengyi movement. He states that the ritual for sending petitions and going before the emperor originated with GE XUAN and that the Lingbao methods of exorcism derive from the teachings that Xiaodao mingwang 孝道明王 transmitted to Xu Jingyang (XU XUN; 25.1b). Yet the history of Taoist ritual suggests, rather, that both aspects of the Southern Song Lingbao synthesis owed a great deal to the Tianxin zhengfa movement that Jin dismisses as "recent."

John Lagerwey

Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa 靈寶無量度人上經大法

1 + 72 juan

Ca. 1200

219 (fasc. 85–99)

"Great Rites of the Book of Universal Salvation." The Book of Universal Salvation (*Wuliang duren jing* 無量度人經) is the central scripture of the Lingbao canon. The *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法 (Great Lingbao Method) is here described as the "way for saving souls from hell" (53.1a). More precisely, the very "heart of the Great Method" is composed of incantations, fu, and techniques (36.1a), the most important of which derive from an esoteric reading of the *Duren jing* 度人經 (see 3.13b–9.7b, especially

juan 5–7, where the *Duren jing* is divided into four-character phrases in order to form fu capable of healing any illness and protecting the bearer in all circumstances).

The preface is attributed to Tianzhen huangren 天眞皇人, who is said, according to the theory of the Five Translations (*wuyi* 五譯), to have transcribed the huge, primordial characters of jade of which the *Duren jing* was originally composed into characters of human size and at the same time to have given them their "correct sound" (2.1b; cf. *97 Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 3.1b–2a). Still later, the Tianzhen explained the basic Lingbao fu to the Yellow Emperor (2.1b, 72.8b; this story derives from *388 Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.17a–23b).

The *Duren dafa* has also received the careful attention of a human editor: the text is divided into ninety sections (*pin* 品), and all cross-references from one section to another (5.13b, 14.12b, 49.10b, etc.) seem to be accurate. The text also contains commentaries, some of which are attributed to [Tianzhen] Huangren (64.1a, 65.32a, 69.26a), some to "the master" (53.1a, 63.1a, 65.7b), but most to the Master in the Beyond (*xuanshi* 玄師). This Master in the Beyond is at one point identified with a Tianzun (Xuanzhong da fashi Jinglao tianzun 玄中大法師靜老天尊; 72.8b–9a), but he is also clearly designated as "my master" in a "note of the editor based on the instructions of the master" (*jin'an shizhi* 謹按師旨; 55.13a–b; cf. 43.2b, 8a, 55.1b, 63.2a). In short, this manual is the work of a disciple, perhaps a disciple of Ning Quanzhen 寧全眞 (1101–1181).

Our text is in any case closely linked to, but older than, *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa*, a manual "transmitted by Ning Quanzhen and compiled by Wang Qizhen 王契眞." Most of the passages attributed here to the Master in the Beyond are also to be found in Wang's manual (see the article on *1221 Shangqing lingbao daofa*). Whether or not the *Duren dafa* is the source of these passages in the Wang text, both manuals clearly belong to the Tiantai tradition of the Great Method, for both subscribe to the abovementioned theory of the Five Translations.

The date of the *Duren dafa* may be set around 1200, for it contrasts the Lingbao method for writing two important fu with that of Liu Chongjing 留沖靖 (1134–1206), the master of JIANG SHUYU (1162–1223). Jiang seems, moreover, to cite this text (cf. the article on *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*). The *Duren dafa*, finally, contains (juan 64) a ritual attributed to "Master Tian 田先生," who is in all probability Tian Jushi 田居實 (b. 1074), the *jishi*-master of JIANG SHUYU.

The anonymous compiler of the *Duren dafa* clearly intended his manual to be a complete description of the Great Method. After first defining the cosmic foundations of the method (1.1a–2.2b), he describes its main practices (2.2b–25.9a), which prepare the adept to receive the Great Method directly from the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (juan 26). The remaining chapters are largely given over to the ritual practice of the Taoist master.

During the preparatory phase, adepts learns to write and to use in their oratory the various fu of the school (juan 4–21); they also learn to absorb the essences of the primeval powers and to send petitions to Heaven (22.1a–25.3b). In addition to the *Duren jing,* two other early Lingbao texts play a major role in this period of apprenticeship: 17.2b–18.16b corresponds to *97 Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 1.1b–12b, 15b–2.18b and 19.1a–11a, 22.1a–6b corresponds to *352 Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 2.4b–20a. Juan 21 is taken almost entirely from *1281 Wuyue zhenxing xulun*. Several Shangqing texts concerning the absorption of the essences of the sun and the moon are also used, especially *639 Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* (4b–9b, 2a–3b correspond to 23.1a–6b in the *Duren jing*), but also *33 Shangqing huangqi yangjing sandao shunxing jing* (1a–b is the same as 22.6b–7a in the *Duren jing*). Next to these traditional elements we find much more recent ones: the letters of jade of the womb (*hunyuan yuzha* 混元玉劄; juan 11–15), the grand methods of the Four Saints and of the Central Bushel (20.2b–11b), and Shenxiao divinities (10.8b–12b; cf. 16.3a–8a and *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.30a–32b). The new techniques have a single aim, namely, "to cause the pure yin to leave the body and the pure yang to fill it," for "that which is entirely yang is immortal, and that which is entirely yin is demonic" (9.8b, 8a).

When apprenticeship is complete, adepts express their "great desire" for universal salvation: it is their intention to save all souls in hell, their own ancestors, and all the "living powers" of the heavens by a spiritual journey through the heavens to the dwelling place of the emperor (25.9a–b). The regular practice of this heavenly voyage gradually enables adepts' yang-spirit to leave this "dusty world" permanently (25.10b) and so prepares them to receive the Great Method directly from the "ancestral master," the Yuanshi tianzun (26.1a–3b). Having been thus initiated, adepts may practice rites of confession and petition before the Three Pure Ones (26.3b–8a), and then rites of absorption of the powerful qi that correspond to the "letters of jade" (26.8a–10a). Adepts who have achieved mastery over the divinities of Heaven and Earth are henceforth capable of "communicating with the zhenren and the spirits [*ling* 靈], of inhaling clouds and thunder and exhaling rain and lightning" (26.10a).

Juan 27, which provides a complete ritual of confession, begins with the phrase, "to have few faults is the very essence of the practice of perfection." Adepts must achieve merit in this world if they would become immortal, and even the method for the use of fu (*fufa* 符法), not to mention the petitions that adepts will present to Heaven "in order to save the living and the dead," will not be efficacious unless adepts first repent of their sins (27.1a). Juan 28.1a–9b gives the hierarchy of the immortals, that is, the various degrees of priestly rank; 28.9b–15a gives the secret names of the Thirty-two Heavens, the Five Peaks, and so on; 29.1a–8b explains the structure of the heavens; 29.8b–15b describes the spirits who are in the service of the priest—including those of

the rite of Opening the Incense Burner (*falu* 發爐)—and explains that the contract of immortality (*shengtian quan* 昇天券) is a passport to Heaven that enables both the Taoist master to present his petitions and the "afflicted souls" to proceed to the Palace of the South.

Once the master is thus assured of his power over all the forces of the universe, he undertakes his public ritual activity, for the living, in the first place, for whom he is essentially an exorcist (juan 30–45), but also for the dead (juan 47–71). He learns to perform the following ritual actions:

- To end natural or political calamities (30–34.12a; juan 31–32 are based primarily on *22 Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing, 97 Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi*, and *352 Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing*)
- To refine (*lian* 鍊) his own self in order to be able to distinguish good spirits from evil (juan 35): "If one is incapable of refining oneself, how will he be able to refine demons, who live in the obscurity of hell?" (35.6b–7a)
- To control demons (juan 36 and 45; note here the elements from the Shenxiao literature: compare 36.29b–35a, to *1219 Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 8.11a–b, 14a–b, 11.3b–4a, and 45.12a–20a to *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 2.22a–30a)
- To save the life of others at the gates of death (37.1a–11b)
- To pray for the birth of a son, for rain, or for sunshine (38.1a–10a)
- To send petitions to Heaven (34.12a–19b, juan 41–44; note that it is the Petition of the Nine Powers [*jiuling zhangbiao* 九靈章表], 43.1b)

Juan 46–71 describe the *huanglu dazhai* 黃籙大齋 (48.3a), as follows: the visualizations to be accomplished in the various rites and rituals (juan 46); the construction of the altar (juan 47); the host's triple request of the master that he perform a given ritual (juan 48); the invitation of the gods (juan 49); the various lamp-lighting rituals (juan 50–51); the banners (juan 52); the fu (juan 53–56); the various methods for recreating the body of the deceased and refining his or her souls (juan 57–65); the ritual of the Divine Tiger for fetching the soul out of hell (juan 66–67); the fu for the sublimation of the souls (juan 68–69; note that 69.18a–25a corresponds to *147 Duren futu* 3.12b–15b, and 69.25b–27b to *147 Duren futu* 1.2a–4b); the fu linked to the incense (juan 70); the preparations for the ritual, the overall program, the offerings, and the ritual vestments (juan 71). The book ends with the ritual and the documents for the transmission of the Great Method (71.21b–72.8a) and with a presentation of the master's seals of authority (72.8a–14a).

The *Duren dafa* thus represents a formidable synthesis of a vast range of literature, ancient and recent: in addition to the books and persons already mentioned, the *Duren*

dafa cites or mentions *6 Shangqing dadong zhenjing, 1016 Zhen'gao, 1052 Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun, 666 Xisheng jing, 65 Taishang zhenyi bao fumu enzhong jing, 215 Difu shiwang badu yi,* and others (see the two lists: 33.5b and 71.8b). The author makes explicit use of CHEN JINGYUAN and LIU HUNKANG, and he refers to LU SHIZHONG and Cai Zhixu 蔡致虛. He mentions, and on occasion uses, works of Jingming 淨明 or Tongchu 童初 origin (45.4a, 71.10b). Among contemporary movements, only the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 goes unmentioned.

The Tianxin zhengfa would seem, nonetheless, to have been well known to the author of the *Duren dafa*, for such techniques as *bugang* 步罡, *quqi* 取氣 and *chuiqi* 吹氣, *bianshen* 變神, and *juemu* 訣目, all fundamental to the rituals described in this manual, are probably of Tianxin zhengfa origin. There are also more specific links: the cup and cover method (*gonggai* 匾蓋; 33.1a; cf. *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 9.12b); the invitation of the King of Demons (Guangming 廣明) when using the Register for Eliminating Malediction (*posui lu* 破祟錄; 36.20b–21a; cf. *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 7.35a). Also worth mention is the use of Heisha 黑煞 and other generals of the north in juan 20, as well as the role of fu and the ways of writing and animating them (cf. 13.6b–10a, 15.16a–b, and *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 2.17a–20b).

Of final note is a common outlook rooted, no doubt, in a common socioliturgic matrix. The aim of Tianxin zhengfa texts is to exorcise the demons that haunt the living, an aim that sometimes necessitates "saving" a troublesome ancestor. If the primary function of the rituals in the *Duren dafa* is to save the dead, that is, ancestors, the manual also insists that a Taoist must first learn to control demons (45.1a), and it supplies an exorcistic method for rescuing the souls of the dead from hell. It is significant that the Book of the Divine Tiger (*Shenhu yinshu* 神虎隱書) on which this method is based is said (66.1a) to have been hidden in a cave on Longhu shan 龍虎山 by the same YE FASHAN who is the source of the *Gusui lingwen* 骨髓靈文, one of the basic Tianxin zhengfa texts (see *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 4.1a).

The Tianxin zhengfa priest "accomplishes transformations on behalf of Heaven" (*daitian xinghua* 代天行化; *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 1.8b); the *Duren dafa* master does the same, but "on behalf of the [Heavenly Worthy of the] Primordial Beginning" (*dai yuanshi yi xinghua* 代元始以行化; 66.5b). The latter phrase is an adaptation of the former and represents the liturgical transfer of the above-mentioned techniques into the context of Lingbao rituals for the salvation of the dead. To these exorcistic techniques the author of the *Duren dafa* adds the ritual of sublimation (*liandu* 煉度), derived in all probability from the Zhongxiao 忠孝 movement associated with the name of XU JINGYANG (48.5a; cf. *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 43.18a).

John Lagerwey

***Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu mulu* 靈寶領教濟度金書目錄**
48 fols.
Table of contents for *466 Jidu jinshu*
465 (fasc. 208)

***Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書**
10 fols. + 320 juan
Transmitted by Ning Quanzhen 寧全眞 (1101–1181); compilation attributed to Lin Lingzhen 林靈眞 (1239–1302)
466 (fasc. 208–263)

"Golden Book of Salvation according to the Lingbao Tradition." The term *jidu* 濟度 in the title is short for *dusheng jisi* 度生濟死 (to save the living and the dead; cf. the prefatory *Sijiao lu* 嗣教錄 [Annals of Transmission], 7b). The term *lingjiao* 領教 seems to refer to the "head of the sect," as in the phrase, "Ever since I became head of the sect . . . " (319.20a). In combination with *sishi* 嗣師 (hereditary master), this term was considered by JIN YUNZHONG to be a usurpation of a Zhengyi title by the Tiantai sect (cf. *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.14a–16b). Elsewhere it is said that LU SHIZHONG was the first to usurp this title (see the article on *220 Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*).

Although this work is presented as "transmitted by Ning Quanzhen and compiled by Lin Lingzhen," the "Annals," written in 1303 by Lin Tianren 林天任 (d. 1324, disciple and successor of Lin Lingzhen), make it clear that the present text in 320 juan is not the text compiled by Lin Lingzhen. The *Daozang shumu xiangzhu* erroneously attributes the present text to LIN LINGSU. This error, in turn, seems to have led to the confusion of our text with the forty-juan *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 compiled in 1432 by Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451), disciple of the Forty-third Heavenly Master, ZHANG YUCHU. The latter text is attributed to LIN LINGSU in the *Tianyi ge shumu* and to Lin Lingzhen in the *Tianyi ge xiancun shumu,* 3.14698.

The real author of the *Lingjiao jidu jinshu* is perhaps Lin Tianren himself: we learn from his biography in *602 Xiandu zhi* (2.2a) that he wandered among the sacred mountains of China in order to "collect Taoist books and emend the rituals." According to his biographies in *Wenzhou fu zhi* 26.14b and *Pingyang xian zhi* 7.3a—where he is called Lin Renzhen 林任眞, *zi* Qizhi 器之—Lin became a Taoist at the end of the Song. He took refuge at Sunshui 蓀水 (near Wenzhou), where he "followed the teaching of Shuinan" (Lin Lingzhen). Like his master, he became famous for his performance of the Universal Salvation ritual (*pudu* 普度). One such performance is commemorated in a poem by Lin Jingxi 林景熙 (1242–1310; see *Jishan xiansheng ji* 5.6a). Lin died in 1324.

Lin Tianren describes his master—Lin Weifu 林偉夫, *fahui* 法諱, Lingzhen 靈眞—as an erudite who "abandoned the Confucian for the Taoist" life after the "troubles of the *ding*-year" (1277?). He converted his house into an abbey, assumed the *hao* Shuinan 水南, and called his abbey the Blessed Plot (*fudi* 福地) of Shuinan. After studying Taoism with Dai Wei 戴煟 (biography in *Wenzhou fu zhi* 26.7a), Lin Xuyi 林虛一 (biography in *Pingyang xian zhi* 26.6b), and Xue Donghua 薛東華 (cf. *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 244.2b), Lin Tianren became heir to the teaching of Donghua 東華. Some time later, a visit to the Heavenly Master at Longhu shan led to Lin's being named Daolu 道錄 of Wenzhou, but he preferred to go into retirement and compile a complete manual of the rituals of the Three Caverns (*Sandong lingjiao zhuke* 三洞領教諸科), which he strove to "bring into conformity with the methods of the Zhengyi sect" ("Annals," 8b). Lin presented his compilation, a *jidu zhi shu* 濟度之書 in twelve juan, to the Heavenly Master, who ordered it printed, and Lin himself was named head of the Tianqing guan 天清觀 temple (清 is probably an error for 慶). In the list of masters given in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 244.2a–b, Lin Lingzhen is followed by his disciple, Dong Chuqian 董處謙 (cf. "Annals," 9a), and Dong is followed by the Thirty-ninth Heavenly Master, Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (d. 1344). The *Pingyang xian zhi* recounts an incident that occurred in 1431 and involved the "eighteenth hereditary master of the Shuinan sect," one Lin Shizhen 林仕貞.

Ning Benli 寧本立, *hui* Quanzhen 全眞, is known as an exorcist from the *Yijian zhi* (22.1a–2a). We learn from the "Annals" that Ning transmitted to Lin Lingzhen a teaching that represented the synthesis of Northern and Southern Taoist traditions. The former tradition, Ning had received from Tian Lingxu 田靈虛, sometime before 1126 in Kaifeng; he received the latter tradition from Shi Zixian 仕子仙, sometime after 1126 and in the south (cf. the *1220 Daofa huiyuan* list, where Tian, but not Shi, is mentioned).

Tian Lingxu's teaching seems itself to have been a synthesis of the canonical tradition of the Three Caverns (*Sandong jingjiao* 三洞經教)—which Tian is said to have received directly from Lu Xiujing—and a form of alchemical practice called *Donghua danyuan xuanzhi* 東華丹元玄旨. Shi Zixian was the spiritual heir of Yang Siming 楊司命, that is, Yang Xizhen 楊希眞, recipient of the Tongchu revelations. In the "Annals" it says (2a) that Yang transmitted to Shi both the "fu, seals, and mudra of the Jade Slips from the Five Offices" (*Wufu yuce fuwen yinjue* 五府玉冊符文印訣), that is, the Tongchu 童初 texts and methods (cf. *Daofa huiyuan* 171.2b), and the Lingbao ritual tradition (*Lingbao xuanfan sishijiu pin* 靈寶玄範四十九品).

The 320 juan of this manual are preceded not only by the "Annals," but also by a table of contents. This table shows a number of discrepancies with the text, primarily in the order of the nineteen sections (*pin* 品) into which both the table and the text divide the ritual materials. There are also discrepancies between the twenty-two ritual programs given in section 3 (2.2a–35a) and the ritual texts supplied for twenty-three programs in section 7 (juan 12–259). These rituals are of two basic kinds: those for the salvation (*kaidu* 開度) of the dead (juan 42–135) and those of prayer and exorcism (*qirang* 祈禳) for the living (juan 136–259). Juan 12–41 are composed of ritual texts that can be used in both kinds of program. There follows a list of the contents of the manual, section by section:

1. *Tanmu zhidu* 壇幕制度品 (juan 1): instructions for the construction of the altar for the various ritual programs
2. *Tanxin jinglie* 壇信經例品 (2.1a–2a): list of the gifts to be supplied by those who request a given ritual
3. *Xiufeng jiemu* 修奉節目品 (2.2a–35a): details of the ritual programs of fourteen Retreats (*zhai* 齋) and eight Taoist rituals (*daochang* 道場)
4. *Shengzhen banwei* 聖眞班位品 (juan 3–7): list of the divinities for whom emplacements (*wei* 位) must be provided on the altar areas for the different ritual programs
5. *Chaozou cixu* 朝奏次序品 (juan 8–9): precise description of the Nocturnal Announcement (*suqi* 宿啓) and the Audience (*chaoye* 朝謁) rituals
6. *Zansong yingyong* 讚頌應用品 (juan 10–11): texts of the main hymns used in the various rituals
7. *Keyi licheng* 科儀立成品 (juan 12–259): texts of the rituals
8. *Ziying lingshu* 紫英靈書品 (juan 260): description of the method of the young lads of Tianshu (*Tianshu tongzi fa* 天樞童子法) for summoning the souls of the deceased
9. *Lianshi shengxian* 鍊尸生仙品 (juan 261): funeral ritual for a high-ranking Taoist
10. *Fujian kuifan* 符簡軌範品 (juan 262–64, 266–67, 271–74): fu for use in various rituals
11. *Kaidu zhuishe* 開度追攝品 (juan 265): fu for use in summoning the souls of the deceased
12. *Liandu* 煉度品 (juan 268–70): fu for use in the rituals of sublimation
13. *Shuzhuan juemu* 書篆訣目品 (juan 275–81): incantations, mudra, and visualizations that must accompany the use of the fu in the preceding sections
14. *Cunshen xuanmiao* 存神玄妙品 (juan 282–86): mudra, visualizations, dance steps, et cetera, that constitute the "secret" part of the rituals
15. *Gaoming dengji* 誥命等記品 (juan 287–91): texts of the "orders" that must accompany certain fu
16. *Fangai chenshe* 旛蓋陳設品 (juan 292): illustrations and descriptions of the banners to be used in the various rituals (see fig. 46)

17. *Biaobang guizhi* 表榜規制品 (juan 293–303): texts of the memorials and placards used in the different rituals, as well as the rules for writing them
18. *Wenxi fafang* 文檄發放品 (juan 304–18): texts of the other documents used in the rituals
19. *Zhaijiao xuzhi* 齋醮須知品 (juan 319–20): instructions concerning the times for and the conduct of rituals

Sections 8, 9, and 19 are clearly composed of preexistent material. Section 8 has a preface that seems to indicate that the chapter concerns a form of *Lingbao dafa* current in the twelfth century and similar to the *Yutang dafa* 玉堂大法 (the author of the preface refers to a line of transmission including LU SHIZHONG). Section 9 is certainly, section 19 probably, by Lin Lingzhen: the former has a signed preface dated 1295; the latter is partially in the first person singular (319.20a, 320.3a, 23b) and refers to Lin Lingshen's master, Lin Xuyi (320.7a).

The work *316 Taishang jidu zhangshe* was in all likelihood originally a part of this manual.

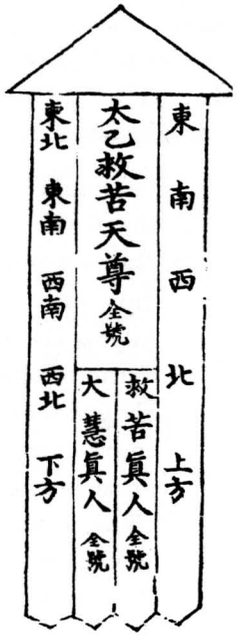


FIGURE 46. Funerary banner for summoning and guiding the soul (*466* 292.14b)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ding Huang, "Guoli zhongyang tushu guan zang Ming Xuande banian kanben."

John Lagerwey

Taishang jidu zhangshe 太上濟度章赦

3 juan

316 (fasc. 164)

"Writs of Pardon and Memorials, from the Book of Salvation of the Most-High." This work provides, as the title indicates, the *zhang* 章 (memorials) and the *she* 赦 (writs of pardon) lacking in *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*. Almost all documents contained in the present collection are mentioned by their titles in the programs of the rituals as given in juan 2 of *466 Jidu jinshu,* but the documents themselves are not given there.

Conceivably, the present collection was formerly part of the *466 Jidu jinshu* manual. The names of the rituals and the manner of indicating them in small characters beneath the titles are identical in both works. The memorials and the documents are presented in a similar—but reversed—order in the present text.

A small number of documents in the first juan (13a–29a), specifically intended for the worship of saints or for healing and exorcism, are not mentioned in the *466 Jidu jinshu* manual, as these rites are not included there. Juan 2 contains a "memorial for the translation into the heavens of the souls of an immortal" (*Shengdu xianhun zhang* 昇度仙魂章; 23b–24b), to be used at the occasion of the funeral of a clerical colleague (*shiyou* 師友). In *466 Jidu jinshu* 2.18b, this memorial is mentioned as part of the program of a requiem service for the remission of sins (*duxing miezui zhai* 度星滅罪齋).

John Lagerwey

Taishang sandong biaowen 太上三洞表文

3 juan

Ming (1368–1644)?

982 (fasc. 616–617)

"Memorials of the Three Caverns of the Most High." This is a collection of formularies for a complete requiem service of an unspecified kind. It contains a complete set for the *liandu* 鍊度 (salvation through sublimation) rituals but offers no indications as to the composition of the service, the kind of officiants, or the books to be recited.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao dalian neizhi xingchi jiyao 靈寶大鍊內旨行持機要

3 fols.

407 (fasc. 191)

"Summary for the Practice of the Esoteric Instructions of the Great Lingbao Sublimation Rite." This summary is also found in *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*. A *Neilian dazhi* 內鍊大旨 is mentioned by JIANG SHUYU (*508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 24.11a), who incorporates this internal sublimation rite into the ritual for the destruction of hell (24.9b–11a). Translations of the two versions of the text are found in Boltz ("Opening the gates of purgatory") and Lagerwey (*Taoist ritual*). Boltz (*A survey of Taoist literature,* 29) suggests a Shenxiao origin for the text but provides no evidence for this attribution.

The *Dalian neizhi* describes the salvation of souls from the point of view of the transformations performed by the Taoist master within his body (this performance is called "transformation in a gourd"; 1a). Beginning with a mise en scène of the celestial assembly described in the first phrases of the *Duren jing* 度人經, the rite consists in the transformation of hell—the region below the navel—into a Pure Land by two Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊 wrapped in the light of the eyes, followed by the ascension of the souls in hell via the spinal column to the heart and then up the twelve stories of the trachea to enter into audience before the Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊. Along the way,

as in the external version of these rites, the souls receive a "writ of pardon," are bathed, cleanly dressed, and nourished with "sweet dew." The audience concludes with the fusion of the souls with Yuanshi tianzun in "the double forgetting of self and things."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boltz, "Opening the gates of purgatory"; Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual,* 233–35.

John Lagerwey

Da Ming xuanjiao licheng zhaijiao yi 大明玄教立成齋醮儀

20 fols.

Compiled by Song Zongzhen 宋宗眞 et al.; prefaces dated 1374

467 (fasc. 264)

"Standard Ritual of the Great Ming for Taoist Retreats and Offerings." This work is preceded by two prefaces. The first preface—dated Hongwu 7, eleventh month—is by the emperor Taizu; the second, dated to the twenty-third day of the same month (26 December 1374), is by the compilers Song Zongzhen, Zhao Yunzhong 趙允中, Fu Tongxu 傅同虛, Deng Zhongxiu 鄧仲修, and Zhou Xuanzhen 周玄眞. Deng and Zhou are known from biographies written by Song Lian 宋濂 (*Song xueshi wenji* 63.7a–8b and 13.6b–8a). Deng's biography mentions that he and Song Zongzhen, abbot of the Chaotian gong 朝天宮 in the capital (Nanking), were ordered by the emperor to compile "a ritual of prayers and sacrifices."

The preface by the emperor Taizu seems to suggest that he wished to reduce Taoist liturgy to this single three-day ritual of salvation. He would have dispensed with Taoism and Buddhism altogether, but Confucian texts alone were not enough to lead people to virtuous behavior, and even literati needed priests for funerals. Nonetheless, Taizu attempted to discontinue the *gongde* 功德 rites, which lasted seven days and forbade the recitation of scriptures for obtaining the pardon of the sins of the deceased. The emperor therefore ordered the Office of Rites to have both Buddhists and Taoists prepare a text for universal use, in conformity with his wishes.

The compilers' preface praises the wisdom of the emperor, who, in "cutting away excess in order to return to simplicity," renewed the way of the immortals.

The text, which is for an "offering of three days for the salvation of the dead," is preceded by the programs of that ritual and of reduced forms that lasted only a day or a day and a night.

John Lagerwey

Taishang sandong shenzhou 太上三洞神咒

12 juan

Ming (1386–1644)

78 (fasc. 33–35)

"Divine Spells from the Most High Three Caverns." A vast, unsigned, undated collection of invocations, incantations, spells, magic formulas, and prayers for ritual purposes. The spells, loosely classified under vague headings placed at the beginning of each juan, are mainly exorcistic in nature. Only juan 6 and juan 12 have formulas that accompany rituals for the salvation of souls and the repose of the dead. The collection opens with a version of the famous Divine Spell of Golden Light (*Jinguang shenzhou* 金光神咒), in which the text is interspersed with pseudo-Sanskrit *(dhāraṇī)*. Exactly the same esoteric version can be found in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 89.2a. Many other formulas are those of today's popular practice, for example, the Spell for Pacifying the Earth God (*an tudi zhou* 安土地咒; 9.5a). The same juan has a popular spell to be pronounced when burning sacrificial money (*huaqian zhou* 化錢咒; 9.3b). It seems safe, therefore, to date this collection to the Ming dynasty.

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.3.e Hymnology

Jinlu zhai sandong zanyong yi 金籙齋三洞讚詠儀

3 juan

Compiled by ZHANG SHANGYING 張商英; between 1100–1125

310 (fasc. 161)

"Hymns for Golden Register Retreats of the Three Caverns." This collection of hymns was compiled by imperial order when ZHANG SHANGYING was minister under Huizong (r. 1100–1125), perhaps in conjunction with the publication of the Lingbao Ritual of the Golden Register (*Jinlu lingbao daochang yifan* 金籙靈寶道場儀範) in 1108 (see *Song shi* 20.380). The collection includes hymns written by the emperors Taizong (r. 976–997), Zhenzong (r. 997–1022), and Huizong. It is probable that Zhang did no more than add the hymns of his imperial patron, for a collection of the hymns of Taizong and Zhenzong in two juan existed already (VDL 91). The hymns of Huizong are also found in *607 Yuyin fashi* 3.16b–23b.

John Lagerwey

Yuyin fashi 玉音法事

3 juan

Ming (1368–1644)?

607 (fasc. 333)

"Precious Tones of Liturgy." This is the most annotated hymnal in the *Daozang*. It contains the major hymns chanted in the Lingbao liturgy. The first two juan list these hymns, in abridged versions, more or less in the order in which they occur in major rituals. The hymns are accompanied by elaborate neumatic notations. No other full examples of these notations have been preserved in China, and therefore, these juan provide important materials for the history of Chinese music (see Demiéville, "Bombai"). The last juan contains the complete ritual for the recitation of sacred scriptures (*qi jingwen* 啓經文), followed by the complete texts of some major hymns (3.16b ff.) and psalmodies.

The *qi jingwen* gives indications differentiating between the ritual texts to be used for Pure Offerings (*qingjiao* 清醮) for the living, on the one hand, and "Yellow Register (*huanglu* 黃籙) Retreats (requiem services) for the deceased, on the other. Although it is not yet exactly known at what moment this distinction became current, it is definitely a development of Southern Song or later Taoism. Since Emperor Huizong, as author of a number of important hymns, is indicated as the Lord of the Tao of the Song Dynasty (Song Daojun 宋道君), it is obvious that the present hymnology is from a later dynasty, probably the Ming.

The neumatic notations indicate the voice modulations for each word, specifying the vocalizations and, probably, the emphasis to be given. It is impossible to interpret these neumes today. They do suggest, however, that some hymns, like the Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛) stanzas (1.1a–6b), were chanted in a slow tempo, whereas others, such as the Hymn of the Three Sufferings (*santu song* 三塗頌; 2.12a–b) appear to have had a faster rhythm.

Prominent among the hymns are the *buxu* stanzas of the canonical *1439 Dongxuan lingbao yujing shan buxu jing*, which had been part of the solemn Lingbao rituals since the early Six Dynasties (see *1439 Buxu jing*). Next come the *buxu* hymns for the imperial Golden Register Retreat (1.5a–6b and 3.23b); these hymns were written by Song Huizong. All other pieces—like the Triple Opening (*sanqi* 三啓) hymns by Lu Xiujing, originally composed to be chanted before the reading of the *1 Lingbao Wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 1 (1.9b–12b), or the magnificent psalms Joy of the Three (3.16b–19b)—are easily identified.

At the end of the work we find the poems that accompany the solemn clothing of the Great Master; they have to be pronounced for each piece of his attire, beginning with the shoes, then the crown, the skirt, and so on. These poems were apparently chanted by acolytes, although nowadays they are pronounced by the master himself while he puts on his robes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boltz, "Neumatic notation"; Demiéville, "Bombai"; Schipper, "A study of Buxu."

Kristofer Schipper

Zhu shizhen gao 諸師眞誥

17 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368) or Ming (1368–1644)

309 (fasc. 161)

"Invocation of Masters and Zhenren." This is a collection of forty-one Laudatory Invocations (*gao* 誥) and Precious Titles (*baohao* 寶號) of the major gods, patriarchs, and matriarchs of the pantheon, for liturgical purposes. The Precious Titles are arranged in a loose hierarchical order, beginning with the Three Pure Ones, Yuhuang 玉皇 (*Miluo hao* 彌羅號; 2a), Tianhuang 天皇 (the Gouchen 勾陳 star), and Beiji 北極 (Ziwei 紫微). Then follow the patron saint Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君 (10b) and the patriarchs of the Quanzhen 全眞 order (12a and 13a), the Qingwei school 清微 (13a), the Southern school 南宗 (14a), the different Thunder magic schools, and others.

Kristofer Schipper

Sandong zansong lingzhang 三洞讚頌靈章

3 juan

Yuan (1279–1368)?

314 (fasc. 162)

"Supernatural Stanzas, Hymns, and Lauds of the Three Grottoes." The hymns (*song* 頌) and stanzas (*zhang* 章) are usually in seven-word verse; the songs (*ge* 歌) and lauds (*zan* 讚) in five-word verse.

The text could have been compiled during the Yuan dynasty in the milieu of the Maoshan 茅山 movement. In 3.11b–13a, there is a Laud to the Heaven of the Lord of Pervading Mystery, Chongmiao xiansheng 沖妙先生." This title is probably the *hao* of Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛 (d. 1281), thirty-eighth patriarch of the Shangqing lineage, author of a commentary to the *Dadong jing* 大洞經 (according to the *304 Maoshan zhi* 12.9b), a text that recurs frequently in the third chapter as the object of lauds.

But the same *hao* could also refer to Li Sicong 李思聰, a Taoist of the Xiangfu gong 祥符宮 (Kaifeng area, founded between 1008 and 1016), author of *1063 Dongyuan ji* in nine juan, the preface of which is dated 1050.

Giovanni Vitiello

Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui lizan 太上洞玄靈寶智慧禮讚
7 fols.
Ming (1368–1644)?
609 (fasc. 334)

"Hymns of Wisdom from the Lingbao Liturgical Canon." The present text borrows its title from the first item in this small collection of hymns and recitations for the Lingbao Retreat: the "Taishang zhihui lizan 太上智慧禮讚" in eight stanzas, from *425 Shangqing taiji yinzhu yujing baojue* 18a–20a and given here in its complete form. The remaining hymns, with the titles "tujian song 土簡頌," "jiangzhen 降眞," and "xiezhen 謝眞," are of unidentified and apparently modern origin. The last part of the text has an elaborate version of the Homage to the Ten Directions ("li shifang 禮十方") and the *chanhui* 懺悔 recitations.

It is uncertain whether the term *mingdai* 明代 (5b) should be read as a reference to the dynasty of that name.

Kristofer Schipper

Da Ming yuzhi xuanjiao yuezhang 大明御製玄教樂章
10 fols.
First half of the fifteenth century
981 (fasc. 616)

"Collection of Imperial Hymns of the Ming Dynasty." This work is composed of hymns for Offerings and for the cults of the Xu brothers and of Xuantian shangdi. All hymns are accompanied by *gongchi* musical notation. Since the emperor Chengzu (r. 1403–1424) was intimately associated with both of the above cults, undoubtedly these hymns must be attributed to him. The hymns for the Xu brothers' cult are perhaps those mentioned in the table of contents of, but no longer extant in, *1470 Xuxian zhenlu* 4; all the documents in that juan of *1470 Xuxian zhenlu* date to the years 1417–1419.

John Lagerwey

3.B.4 Shangqing

In the late Tang (618–907) and early Song (960–1279), the Shangqing lineage became identified with Maoshan 茅山, the holy mountain of Jiangsu. This center enjoyed the patronage of many emperors, and the great Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) even became a close friend of one of the abbots, Liu Hunkang, whom the emperor

presented with many paintings from his own hand. The most conspicuous monument to the glory of the Maoshan center was, however, the magnificent chronicle *304 Maoshan zhi,* published around 1330 under the auspices of the Xuanjiao patriarch Wu Quanjie. The most celebrated writers and artists of the period contributed to this prestigious publication.

The Maoshan patriarchs did much to preserve their literary heritage, and they edited many texts, including the important *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞眞經, which, in spite of its high status among the Shangqing scriptures, apparently had never been fully edited before.

Like the other great centers, the Maoshan was touched by the wave of newly revealed esoteric, mostly exorcistic, rites. Among many such rites, we may quote the revelation by the Most High Lord Lao of *632 Taishang taiqung tiantong huming miaojing* (full of pseudo-Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*) to the illiterate leper Liang Guangying 梁光映, who worked as a servant at the Yuchen guan.

Also influential and perhaps related is the Tongchu fu 童初府 exorcist lineage that originated on Maoshan in the early thirteenth century. The rites of this lineage are preserved in *1220 Daofa huiyuan*. Here we find a *Shangqing tongchu wuyuan sufu yuce zhengfa* 上清童初五元素府玉冊正法 (juan 171–178), with a colophon of the liturgist Jin Yunzhong, author of *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa*. Along with the other great exorcistic rites from Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and Shenxiao 神霄, the Tongchu fu methods were adopted into the great liturgical synthesis of the Southern Song.

3.B.4.a Scriptures

Shangqing dadong zhenjing 上清大洞眞經
6 juan
Preface by Zhu Ziying 朱自英 (974–1029); edited by Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛 (d. 1281); colophons by Cheng Gongduan 程公端 (dated 1272) and Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410)
6 (fasc. 16–17)

"True Scripture of the Great Cavern of Shangqing." The present edition of the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞眞經 is the closest of all the extant versions to the Shangqing original, which was a collection of stanzas that described the wanderings of the deities in the heavens, their manifestations in the human body, and their intercession for the salvation of the adepts and their ancestors. The recitation of the stanzas was accompanied by visualizations of these deities in the body. For these reasons, the *Dadong zhenjing* is considered the text that established the link between the domains of the body and those of the heavens. The stanzas, which abound with names of deities and of their

heavenly abodes, cannot be understood without the revealed commentary as given in YJQQ 8.1a–14a and without a full understanding of Shangqing terminology.

The present version was edited by the thirty-eighth Maoshan patriarch, Jiang Zongying. His biography in *304 Maoshan zhi* states that he wrote a commentary to the *Dadong yujing* 大洞玉經. Jiang's edition was printed by his disciple Cheng Gongduan, who states that this *Dadong jing* was transmitted at the main sanctuary of the Shangqing tradition on Maoshan "for more than 1,000 years" (see the Cheng's colophon). The text we have here is from a later printing by a daoshi from Fujian named Xiong Changyi 熊常一 (see ZHANG YUCHU's colophon).

The preface is signed by the twenty-third Maoshan patriarch, ZHU ZIYING. The work *103 Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 1.7a mentions ZHU ZIYING as the author of a commentary on the *Dadong jing*. The preface is, for the greater part, composed by excerpts from *1313 Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* (11a and 7b) and from *1314 Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* (3a–b). There are colophons by Cheng Gongduan (dated 1272) and by the Forty-third Heavenly Master, ZHANG YUCHU.

Comparison of the present version with the annotations on the variant readings of the *Dadong jing* given in *104 Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* by CHEN JINGYUAN and in *103 Xianjing zhu* by Wei Qi 衛琪 shows that this text is not what these scholars called "the Maoshan version" (*Maoshan ben* 茅山本; cf., for instance, *104 Yujue yinyi* 3a7 with 7a9 of our text; or *103 Xianjing zhu* 4.20a with 3.2b of our text). Also, the first part of *104 Yujue yinyi* (1a–b9) is lacking in the present text; this passage can be found instead in *1355 Shangqing taishang yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing* 1a. Nevertheless, the present version is close to the *Maoshan ben* quoted by Chen and Wei. Our text might well correspond to the "Zhu Ziying version," which CHEN JINGYUAN called the *Sandong fashi Guanmiao xiansheng ben* 三洞法師觀妙先生本 (Guanmiao was ZHU ZIYING's *hao*). Indeed, *104 Yujue yinyi* 11a5 corresponds to our text 6.7a. We have seen that Zhu is also credited with a commentary to the *Dadong jing*. It is therefore likely that the glosses in this edition are his.

The first juan is devoted to the meditation rites to be performed in relation with the recitation of the text. Here again, most of the formulas and instructions come from other Shangqing texts, such as *1352 Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 3.5b–6a, *1355 Gaoxuan zhenjing* 5b–6a, *1314 Dayou miaojing* 41b–42b, and *1330 Dongzhen Taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuan jing* 11b, 12a, 13a–b. Parts of these rites are similar to rituals used for the practice of the Shangqing version of the Book of the Yellow Court (*Shangqing huangting neijing jing* 上清黃庭內景經; see YJQQ 12.57a–60a).

The text of the *Dadong jing* proper begins with juan 2 and ends on 6.15b. It is divided into thirty-nine sections, a division that corresponds to the traditional version of the Shangqing school. A comparison between the original text and the revealed

commentary (as given in YJQQ 8.1a–14a; see Robinet, "Le *Ta-tung chen-ching*") allows us to distinguish the original parts and the later additions. These additions are (1) certain stanzas entitled "Dadong yujing 大洞玉經" (e.g., 2.2a); (2) the stanzas dedicated to the kings of the Yuqing 玉清 heaven; and (3) the esoteric names of the heavens and the exoteric names of the earths.

Two strata can be distinguished in the added materials. First there are the passages that originated from *1355 Gaoxuan zhenjing* and that provide indications for the visualization of the deities of the body and the formulas to call them up. Next there are later additions that are probably due to Jiang Zongying. These are the prescriptions for visualization given just before the "Dadong yujing" stanzas and also, most probably, those that accompany the fu at the end of each section.

The present work ends with a Secret Formula of the Whirlwind and of the Fusion with the One-Ancestor (*Huaifeng hunhe diyi bijue* 徊風混合帝一秘訣; 6.16a–18a), which can also be found in *254 Dadong jinhua yujing* 10b–11b and in *1405 Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing* 8a–9a. This is probably an apocryphal Shangqing text that existed already at the times of TAO HONGJING (see the quotation of *421 Dengzhen yinjue* in *104 Yujue yinyi* 12a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Robinet, "Le Ta-tung chen-ching."

Isabelle Robinet

Shi dichen Donghua shangzuo siming Yangjun zhuanji
侍帝晨東華上佐司命楊君傳記

15 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)

1428 (fasc. 1055)

"Biography of Mr. Yang, Imperial Chamberlain, Senior Assistant of the Donghua [Palace], and Director of Destinies [of Wu 吳 and Yue 越]." This is a later work that—though based on original material in *1016 Zhen'gao*—is not mentioned bibliographically before the twelfth century (VDL 95).

In this text, YANG XI (b. 330), who received the Shangqing revelations between 364 and 370, bears the name Yang Xihe 楊羲和, unknown in earlier times, but that reappears in some texts of the Qingwei 清微 tradition (e.g., *171 Qingwei xianpu* 7a). According to *304 Maoshan zhi* 10.6b, Xihe was Yang's adult name (*zi* 字). YANG XI's year of death is given as 388, slightly later than that given by TAO HONGJING (*1016 Zhen'gao* 20.11b: 386 or earlier).

Despite its later date, the present biography is almost entirely composed of passages taken verbatim from the *Zhen'gao,* that is, YANG XI's own recordings of his visionary

encounters with his celestial bride and other immortals from the Shangqing heaven. The immortals also dedicated a number of poems to him (cf. *1016 Zhen'gao* 1.11a–18a, 2.1a–2b, 2.5b–10b, 3.10b–11a).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Dadong yujing 大洞玉經

2 juan

Colophon by Gong Detong 龔德同; early Ming (1368–1644)

7 (fasc. 18)

"True Scripture of the Great Cavern." This is an abbreviated version of the *Dadong zhenjing*, and is generally close to the original Shangqing version. Gong Detong states that the present text is based on an annotated edition by the zhenren Zhao Taixuan 趙太玄. This edition was found in 1365 at Longhu shan (here called Hantan 漢壇 [Altar of the Han]) by Xiong Taigu 熊太古, *zi* Linchu 鄰初, an official who became a Taoist recluse at the end of the Yuan. This edition was then copied by a teacher (*lianshi* 鍊師) at Longhu shan named Zhou Lanxue 周蘭雪, who gave it to Gong.

The beginning of the text (1a–7b) is devoted to preparatory invocations and fu. One of the fu, the *Chenling fu* 震靈符 on page 2b, is linked traditionally to the *Dadong zhenjing* (see *1313 Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* 16a and *413 Shangqing pei fuwen boquanjue* 4a), although it is lacking in the edition by Jiang Zongying *(6 Shangqing dadong zhenjing),* whereas the long invocation on pages 4a–5b can be found in Jiang's edition on pages 1.9a–10b. This invocation comes originally from *1355 Shangqing taishang yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing* 5a–6a. The preparatory practices as they are given here are thus within the Shangqing tradition.

The text of the stanzas is virtually the same as in Jiang's edition (where the stanzas are quoted as *Dadong yujing*), but the present version is more complete. For instance, the commentary on the expression *yuming* 羽明 in 1.8a is also given in the revealed commentary quoted in YJQQ 8.3b, but it is lacking in Jiang's edition. The same revealed commentary gives a number of additional hymns and "sounds" of the heavens that are lacking here but that are quoted in Jiang's edition. To conclude: the text of the *Dadong yujing* is more complete here, but other elements that belonged to the *Dadong zhenjing* are absent.

The glosses are placed after the stanzas. They are of a textual nature and follow the revealed commentary as quoted in YJQQ 8.1a–14a.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi 上清大洞眞經玉訣音義

16 fols.

By Chen Jingyuan 陳景元 (1025–1094)

104 (fasc. 54)

"Jade Instructions and Phonetic Explanations on the Scripture of the Great Cavern." This is a collection of philological notes on the *Dadong zhenjing* and related texts. The author uses and compares a number of different versions of the *Dadong zhenjing,* the most important of which are the versions by Zhu Ziying (*6 Shangqing dadong zhenjing*) and Huangfu Xi 皇甫希, both of the period 1023–1031. For variant readings Chen also consulted the *Yiqie daojing yinyi* 一切道經音義 by Shi Chong—now lost (see *1123 Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*)—and an unknown "old manuscript" (*guben* 古本).

Other related texts treated here:

- The Hidden Texts of the Inner Invocations (*neizhu yinwen* 內祝隱文) of the *Miemo shenhui yujing yinshu* (see *1355 Shangqing taishang yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing*)
- The Precious Glosses of the Old Lord (*daojun yuzhu* 道君玉注) which corresponds to the revealed commentary partially preserved in YJQQ 8.1a–18b
- The Method of the Return to the Origin (*huiyuan fa* 迴元法) as given in *1377 Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 4b–11a
- The Cinnabar Stanzas in Purple Writing (*ziwen danzhang* 紫文丹章), which come from *1355 Gaoxuan zhenjing* 37b–42b
- The Superior Method of the Hundred Gods (*baishen shangfa* 百神上法) from the beginning of *1360 Shangqing jiutian shangdi zhu baishen neiming jing*. This text gives the names of the heavens and the earths that are placed at the end of each section of *6 Shangqing dadong zhenjing*.

Isabelle Robinet

Shangqing taishang kaitian longqiao jing 上清太上開天龍蹻經

5 juan

Song (960–1279)?

1354 (fasc. 1037)

"Book of the Dragon Stilts That Open up Heaven, a Supreme Purity Scripture of the Most High." A book called *longqiao* 龍蹻 (Dragon Stilts) is mentioned in the library of Ge Hong, as well as in the books that the Queen Mother of the West gave to Han Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.; see *292 Han Wudi neizhuan*). No early work with this title has survived.

The present scripture belongs to a later stage. In spite of its title, there seems to be no direct relationship with the Shangqing scriptures. The work is presented as the

teachings received from the immortal Ning Fengzi 寧封子 (see *294 Liexian zhuan* 1.1b), which is not part of the Maoshan revelations. A *Shangqing taishang longqiao jing* 上清太上龍蹻經 is mentioned in *304 Maoshan zhi* 9.4a as part of the holdings of the Maoshan library in the Yuan period. It is difficult to say whether this was the same work we have here. A *Shangqing taishang longqiao jingtu* 上清太上龍蹻經圖 with talismans is mentioned as lost in *1430 Daozang quejing mulu* 1.2a.

A *Lingbao longqiao zhi jing* 靈寶龍蹻之經 is quoted in the *Daomen dalun* 道門大論 (in YJQQ 6.4b): "Long ago, Huangdi . . . at the Qingcheng shan 青城山 met Lord Ning Feng and received from him the *Lingbao longqiao zhi jing*." This could be a reference to our book, except that the meeting between these two figures in our text does not take place on Qingcheng shan but on Yuntai shan 雲臺山. Later in the *Daomen dalun,* the twelve categories of texts in the Taoist canon are presented with slight differences from those listed in the presented text. Moreover, whenever the revelation is presented by Ning Fengzi, he mentions the book as *Taishang kaitian yuanzhi pinjing* 太上開天元置品經. Only on the last page is a *longqiao* 龍蹻 talisman mentioned. The scripture is divided into thirteen chapters (*pin* 品), and many of these carry the epithet *yuanzhi* 元置 (originally established). The present book is indeed quoted as *Kaitian yuanzhi pinjing* in *723 Daode zhenjing jiyi dazhi,* by Liu Weiyong 劉惟永 and Ding Yidong 丁易東 (dated 1299; 1.4a), and this long quotation is consistent with 3.5b in the present work. We may therefore consider that *Kaitian yuanzhi pinjing* is the correct title of the scripture.

There is a consistent logical structure to the whole work that develops a complete Taoist cosmology. This framework starts out from the well-known Three Qi of the Tianshi dao 天師道 theology: *xuan* 玄, *yuan* 元, and *shi* 始. These pneumata created the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) and their scriptures. The scriptural body of the Sandong canon is subdivided into thirty-six parts, and three times twelve categories is the very model of the structure of the universe and the human body. There are, however, numerous repetitions and unnecessary elaborations, suggesting that the present work is an expansion and a rewriting of an ancient text.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Shangqing danyuan yuzhen dihuang feixian shangjing
上清丹元玉眞帝皇飛仙上經
5 fols.
404 (fasc. 191)

"Superior Book of the Flying Immortals by the Sovereign of Precious Truth Cinnabar Origin, a Shangqing Scripture." This book contains a series of exercises for the absorption of stellar effluvia. The exercises are from the Shangqing tradition but are not linked explicitly to any of its canons. The postface declares that this text was revealed by Lord Wang, superintendent of the Zhenren (Xicheng zongzhen wangjun 西城總眞王君), who transmitted it not only to the Lord Mao 茅君 but also to a Lord Cai 蔡君, zhenren of Wenshui 汶水眞人 (a river in Shandong). The same saint is also mentioned in *994 Shangqing taiyuan shenlong qiongtai chengjing shangxuan yuzhang*.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang yuchen yuyi jielin ben riyue tu 太上玉晨鬱儀結璘奔日月圖
17 fols.
Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279)?
435 (fasc. 196)

"Illustrated Version of the Flight to the Sun and the Moon of Yuyi and Jielin, of the Supreme Heaven of Jade Aurora." The book describes the method of flying to the sun and the moon (*ben riyue zhi dao* 奔日月之道) (fig. 47), which according to the texts of the Shangqing tradition was transmitted originally by Taisu zhenren 太素眞人 to Pei Xuanren 裴玄仁 (see *Qingling zhenren Pei jun zhuan* 清靈眞人裴君傳, in YJQQ 105). Parts of the method are included in Pei's biography in YJQQ 105, and it is elaborated further in several of the early Shangqing scriptures, notably, *639 Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* and *1376 Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 2. A new version of the method was invented within the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 tradition founded by Lu Shizhong in the 1120s (see *220 Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*).

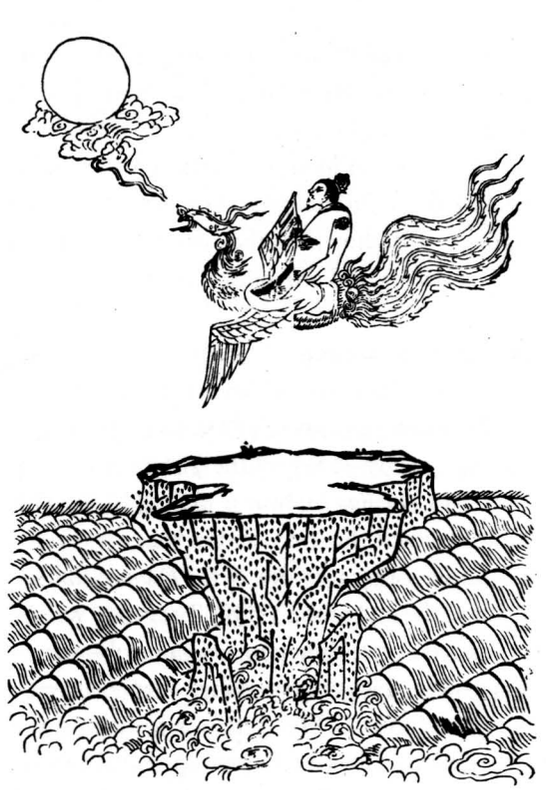


FIGURE 47. Flying to the moon on a phoenix (*435* 12a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/432)

The present book combines elements from all of the above-mentioned sources, opening with a series of excerpts from the biography of Lord Pei (1a; cf. YJQQ 105.16a and 17a; 2a–b; cf. YJQQ 105.20b, 21b, 20a, 19a; 2b–3b; cf. YJQQ 105.19b–20a, 22b, 18b,

21a–b). The book continues with quotations from a *Yutang zongzhi* 玉堂宗旨 (i.e., *221 Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu*) and from the *Lingshu ziwen* 靈書紫文 (6a–b; cf. *639 Lingshu ziwen* 4a–b, 6b–7a, passim). The prominent position of the Yutang dafa elements in the exposition of the method would seem to indicate that the book was compiled within the framework of this tradition, and thus most likely during the Southern Song.

Poul Andersen

Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing 太上太清天童護命妙經
5 fols.
632 (fasc. 321)

Taishang taiqing huanglao dijun yunlei tiantong yinfan xianjing
太上泰清皇老帝君運雷天童隱梵仙經
3 fols.
633 (fasc. 321)

The *Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing* ("Life Protecting Book of the Heavenly Lads of Utmost Purity, [Spoken] by the Most High) is a short spell of less than 300 characters and is attributed here to Liang Guangying 梁光映, alias Liang Wuzhen 梁悟眞, who received it from Laojun in 1109 or 1112. This work *633 Taishang taiqing huanglao dijun yunlei tiantong yinfan xianjing* (Immortal Scripture of the Heavenly Lads in the Secret Language of Brahman) is the same text, enriched with added phrases in pseudo-Sanskrit. The dating and attribution of both texts are problematic.

The *Junzhai dushu zhi* lists a *Tiantong huming miaojing* 天童護命妙經 and says that the *Handan tushu zhi* 邯鄲圖書志 has a similar entry, which may mean that our text was already extant in the middle of the eleventh century (VDL 84). The YJQQ 122.16a–b has a preface by Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) to the *Tiantong huming miaojing*, appended to Du Guangting's *590 Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記. This preface is followed by an anecdote relating a miracle that occurred in 892, occasioned by reciting the text; the anecdote is not found in other versions of the *Daojiao lingyan ji*. Both texts (preface and anecdote) are put at the end of the YJQQ. They may well be a later addition. This preface is also reproduced in *770 Hunyuan shengji* 9.39b–40a.

According to *770 Hunyuan shengji* 9.45b–46a, Liang Guangying, a leper, entered the Yuchen guan 玉晨觀 on Maoshan as a serf in 1112. His duty was to fetch water from the pond in front of the monastery. After several years, Laojun appeared to him, saying: "Do you know my *Tiantong huming miaojing*? It has been in circulation in this world since a long time." When Liang avowed that he did not know it, Laojun taught it to him and told him to recite it over water that would heal him and others of leprosy. A note appended to this story states that the text revealed on this occasion was

the *Tiantong huming miaojing* "current today." The *Hunyuan shengji* was presented to the throne in 1191. Our text has a long colophon (dated 1144) attributed to Fu Xiao 傅霄, the author of *1050 Huayang Tao yinju ji*. Fu (or the anonymous author) states that he was inspired to write this colophon by the *Hunyuan shengji,* an obvious contradiction. However, the colophon gives 1109 as the date of the revelation and calls the text revealed to Liang a version, "with added phrases" (Yuchen guan shiben 玉晨觀石本), of the *Jiaju Tiantong huming miaojing* 加句天童護命妙經.

The work *304 Maoshan zhi* 9.9a mentions a stele of this very text in the Yuchen guan, saying that it was "revealed in 1109 to Liang Wuzhen." The same source mentions (18.1b) that this stele was located in the Ruixiang dian 瑞像殿, dedicated to a Tang statue of Laojun, a fact that concurs with the contents of the colophon. The discrepancy in the date of the revelation—vis-à-vis that given in the *Hunyuan shengji*—may well be explained by the fact that the latter text tries to link this event to political developments of the times. The epithet "with added phrases," used for the version revealed to Liang, would seem to indicate that Liang's version was not the present text.

On the other hand, *633 Yinfan xianjing* is a version to which phrases of pseudo-Sanskrit *(dhāraṇī)* were added between the sentences of the original text, corresponding to the description "with added phrases." Such additions are in keeping with the vogue for pseudo-Sanskrit in Taoist texts of the Huizong (r. 1100–1125) and early Southern Song (1127–1279) periods. If *633 Yinfan xianjing* corresponds to the revelation to Liang, then *632 Tiantong huming miaojing* could be the older version mentioned in the *Junzhai dushu zhi*. This version has been, and is still today, used widely for liturgical purposes (see *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 5.9b).

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing wuying zhentong heyou neibian yujing
上清無英眞童合遊內變玉經
3 fols.
988 (fasc.618)

"Precious Book of Inner Transformation, of the Harmonious Voyage of the True Lad of Void Luminosity, a Shangqing Canon." This is a small treatise on a meditation technique, wherein the god Wuying is visualized, and then seen roaming through the body, according to (*he* 合) a cyclical sequence. The method was revealed to the Green Lad, Jade Keeper King (Yubao wang Qingtong daojun 玉保王青童道君). Wuying is first mentioned in *303 Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* (see Porkert, *Biographie d'un taoïste légendaire*, 101 ff.) as one of the triad of great gods of the body. Of minor importance in the Shangqing pantheon, this deity, assimilated to the immortal embryo, was largely adopted by Lingbao scriptures.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing shenbao dongfang zhenhui shangjing 上清神寶洞房眞諱上經
7 fols.
989 (fasc. 618)

"Superior Book [Revealing] the True Secret Names of the Arcane Chambers, a Divine Treasure of the Shangqing Canon." The present text, which is cognate with *988 Shangqing wuying zhentong heyou neipian yujing*, presents itself as a sūtra-like revelation by the Green Lad, Jade Keeper King (Yubao wang Qingtong daojun 玉保王青童道君) of the esoteric names of the spirits of the body. The practices of visualizing the latter and "gathering the florescence" of the cosmic bodies are also described.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang dongzhen wuxing bishou jing 太上洞眞五星秘授經
5 fols.
44 (fasc. 29)

"Revealed Scripture on the Five Planets of the Most High Dongzhen." If this text is linked by its title (Dongzhen 洞眞) to the Shangqing literature on the Five Planets, and by its form to the revealed scriptures of the Lingbao canon, it resembles in conception and content two Dongshen texts with the term *wuxing* 五星 (Five Planets) in their titles: *976 Taishang dongshen wuxing zan* 五星讚 and *657 Taishang dongshen wuxing zhusu riyue hunchang jing*. A *Lingbao wuxing bishou jing* 靈寶五星秘授經 is mentioned in the list of the *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku queshu mu* (VDL 99).

Whenever certain astral divinities—nine of the eleven lords of *43 Yuanshi tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai shenzhou jing* are mentioned here—shine upon a given region of Earth, a natural catastrophe occurs. The severity of the disaster is a result of the sins that are reported to Heaven by the spiritual officers of the nine provinces on the days of the Three Principles. Therefore, Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 not only reveals the appropriate incantations for each of the divinities mentioned, but also describes their clothing so that people can make images of them and worship them, especially on the days of the Three Principles.

As in the case of *43 Shenzhou jing,* the recitation of the present text is mentioned in *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 33.5b. The two texts are also mentioned together in *1225 Daomen kefan daquan ji* 45.1b.

John Lagerwey

Shangqing bidao jiujing huiyao heshen shangzhen yujing
上清祕道九精回曜合神上眞玉經
4 fols.
993 (fasc. 619)

"Precious Book of the Superior Zhenren for Harmonizing the Spirit with the Returned Efflorescences of the Nine Stars, a Secret Way of the Shangqing." This book contains a late and popular method decribing how to meditate on the stars of the Dipper and absorb their rays, which are assimilated in the adept's body. In addition, the text gives a simple recipe for abstaining from grains (*pigu* 辟穀; 4b).

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing taiyuan shenlong qiongtai chengjing shangxuan yuzhang
上清太淵神龍瓊胎乘景上玄玉章
5 fols.
994 (fasc. 619)

"Precious Text of the Carnelian Embryo of the Divine Dragon from the Great Abyss, for Riding the Rays to the Mysterious on High, a Shangqing Canon." Revealed by the Zhenren of Wenshui 汶水眞人, this text contains an unusual method of visualizing and absorbing a mystic dragon pearl (*shenlong zhi zhu* 神龍之珠; 1a). The text is cognate with *404 Shangqing danyuan yuzhen dihuang feixian shangjing*.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing daobao jing 上清道寶經
5 juan
Song (960–1279)?
1353 (fasc. 1036–1037)

"Shangqing Book of Treasures of the Tao." This is an encyclopedia of Taoism, based mostly but not exclusively on the Shangqing scriptures. The materials are classified according to topic; topics range from the scriptures and the pantheon to practice and dietetics. The method consists of quoting phrases and expressions from different unidentified sources (sometimes in duplication, see the entry on the *Dadong zhenjing* on 1.5b and 4.2b) followed by detailed explanations, some of which are quite lengthy.

The present work is quoted several times in *397 Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie* by Wang Xichao 王希巢, *zi* Yinxian 隱賢, and dated 1205. The citations can be traced in this work; see, for instance, 1.23a and 3.14a.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.4.b Registers

Shangqing dantian sanqi yuhuang liuchen feigang siming dalu
上清丹天三氣玉皇六辰飛綱司命大籙
14 fols.
675 (fasc. 353)

"Shangqing Register of Flying Steps of the Six Stars That Govern Fate of the Jade Sovereign of the Three Pneumata of the Cinnabar Heaven." This long and unstructured title, with its Shangqing epithet, designates a modern talismanic register of the



FIGURE 48. Meditating Taoist (*675* 3a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/670)

six stars of the (fictitious) Southern Dipper (Nandou 南斗), the constellation of Long Life. The text explains and illustrates how to meditate on these deities, as well as on their ladies (see figs. 48–51).

The dance steps (*feibu* 飛步 or *feigang* 飛綱) on the Southern Dipper pattern to which the title of this text refers are mentioned only in two talismans (2a–b). They were to be drawn on the soles of the adept's feet. The dance pattern itself is not mentioned further. It is described in some detail in *638 Taishang feibu nandou taiwei yujing*.

Kristofer Schipper



FIGURE 49. Vestments (*675* 3b–4a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/670)

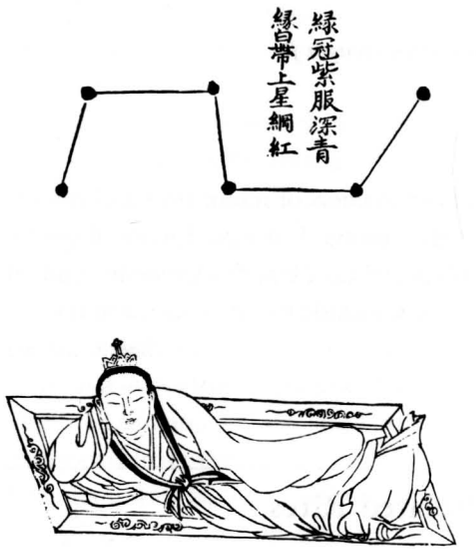


FIGURE 50. Meditation on the Dipper while reclining (*675* 4b–5a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/670)



FIGURE 51. Jade Maidens (*675* 7b–8a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/670)

3.B.4.c Rituals

Dongxuan lingbao zhenren xiuxing yannian yisuan fa
洞玄靈寶眞人修行延年益算法
12 fols.
1271 (fasc. 1003)

"Longevity Methods of the Zhenren." This collection of minor rites and rules is placed under the aegis of the Dongxuan Lingbao canon. It is a patchwork of quotations from different sources. Both *1016 Zhen'gao* and *421 Dengzhen yinjue* are quoted twice. Further implicit citations from the *Zhen'gao* include 8a, 9a–b, 10b, and 11a.

Isabelle Robinet

3.B.5 Tianxin Zhengfa and Related Rites

The Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (Correct Method of the Heart of Heaven) was founded at the beginning of the Song period (960–1279) by the scholars Tan Zixiao and Rao Dongtian. In 994, on Mount Huagai 華蓋 in central Jiangxi, Rao discovered a set of "the secret formulas of the Heart of Heaven" (*tianxin bishi* 天心秘式). These formulas were considered to have belonged originally to Zhang Daoling 張道陵, in his capacity of chief of the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院). They concerned a form of exorcism, especially for illnesses caused by possession (*sui* 祟), known as *kaozhao fa* 考召法 (the method of inspecting [demons] and summoning [spirits]). Four saints (*sisheng* 四聖) identified with a constellation around the Pole Star—Tianpeng 天蓬, Tianyou 天猷, Yisheng 翊聖 (previously Heisha 黑殺; see *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan*), and Zhenwu 眞武—were at the center of these exorcisms. One of the characteristics of the method is that the talismans used to expel demons are made in the likeness of the four saints. During the Song period, shrines were erected for the worship of these deities (see *958 Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 2.13a–b). Moreover, the great popularity of the rites in Song times can be seen from works such as *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗—which was compiled, according to its preface of 1116, for inclusion in the new Taoist canon of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125)—as well as from stories in the *Yijian zhi* by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1203). See also the cognate scripture *1412 Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing,* discussed under the cult of Beidi.

Although it does not seem that the Tianxin zhengfa became institutionalized in the form of a special Taoist order, it did promulgate its own rules—for both its officiants and the deities involved—with its exorcistic practices (see, for instance, *461 Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü*). It also established initiation grades and titles, which later merged with those of the Shenxiao rites (see *Taishang tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格 and *Taishang hundong chiwen nüqing zhaoshu tianlü* 太上混洞赤文女青詔書天律 in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 249–52).

In the early Southern Song period (1127–1279), a local official named Lu Shizhong developed the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 after he had had a vision of Zhao Sheng 趙昇, Zhang Daoling's foremost disciple, who showed him where to find secret texts on Maoshan 茅山. Thus we have here exorcistic rituals of the Tianxin zhengfa type that also make extensive use of traditional meditation techniques of the Shangqing tradition; they are, moreover, adapted to the performance of the Yellow Register Retreat (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋) for the salvation of the deceased.

A final important document of this tradition is *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* (Guide to the Golden Lock and the Moving Pearls), a vast manual of *kaozhao* 考召 rites that was developed from the Tianxin zhengfa (see 4.6a). Attributed to the Tang worthy Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670) and, moreover, to Zhang Daoling, Zhao Sheng, Mao Ying 茅盈, and many other saints, the work also mentions Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 (26.4b, 23.13a). The title of Yuhuang was conferred by Zhenzong in 1015, and the epithet *shangdi* was added by Huizong in 1115. Thus while the book may contain some old material, it appears to belong to the period under consideration here.

Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao 太上助國救民總眞祕要
2 fols. + 10 juan
By Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗; preface 1116
1227 (fasc. 986–987)

"Secret Essentials of the Most High Principal Zhenren Assisting the Country and Saving the People." The preface by Yuan Miaozong is dated 1 March 1116. It mentions the establishment of the Shangqing baolu gong 上清寶籙宮 temple in the capital; the construction of the temple began in 1113, and in 1115 it was placed in charge of the promotion of priests in the capital (see *Song huiyao jigao* 1.466). The preface also mentions ongoing work on the compilation and editing of a new Taoist canon (1a). Yuan Miaozong relates that for more than thirty years he traveled all over the empire, asking Taoist masters about their methods and thus obtaining a complete repertoire of Taoist methods. For several years he lived in Nanyang 南陽, healing people by means of lustral water. Finally he was summoned to the capital, and in 1115 he set to work on the collation of the texts of the new canon (preface, 1b). He thus had an opportunity to examine the entire collection and found that it was deficient in the methods of exorcism and healing by means of fu. Thus he compiled these "oral instructions of secret practices [connected with] the writing of fu" (*fufa biyong koujue* 符法秘用口訣; preface, 1b–2a).

The book gives a complete and systematic presentation of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法. The first part of the book (juan 1–2) is presented under the heading "Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa 上清北極天心正法." It contains the most essential elements of the tradition, that is, the fundamental talismans and seals (see below, on juan 2). A preface to this part explains the basis and origin of the tradition, stating that the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa have their root in the Central Dipper at the Northern Pole (Beiji zhongdou 北極中斗, i.e., the Big Dipper that is the Heart of Heaven [*tianxin*]) and that they issue from the Zhengyi tradition. The founding of the Tianxin zhengfa as a separate tradition is ascribed to TAN ZIXIAO and RAO DONGTIAN (1.1a; see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*); both figures are included in the comprehensive list of the pantheon as "transmitters of the teaching" (*chuanjiao* 傳教), and they are preceded only by Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (2.6a–b). This attribution may be compared to *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 43.16b–17a, where JIN YUNZHONG discusses the Tianxin zhengfa in relation to the form of Zhengyi propagated by Zhang Daoling. Jin states that Tan and Rao continued the basic fu-tradition—while adapting the nomenclature for priestly titles and the wordings of texts to the worldly models (*suge* 俗格) of their time—and that Yuan Miaozong followed their example in editing the present book.

The preface is followed by a section entitled "Quxie yuan qingzhi xingyong ge 驅邪院請治行用格" (Models for the Practices of Appealing for Restoration, of the Department of Exorcism; 1.2a–8b). This section contains the programs for the larger services of exorcism that may be constructed from the individual rites described in the rest of the book, including services for curing illness, for saving deceased ancestors, for obtaining succession, and for the destruction of temples for unorthodox deities. The Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院) is the celestial department to which the priests of the Tianxin zhengfa are assigned, and in which the ultimate patriarch, Zhang Daoling, is instated as commissioner ([*Beiji* 北極] *Quxie yuan shi* 驅邪院使; 1.2b, 2.6a). It should be noted that *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (preface, 1b) uses the same title to refer to RAO DONGTIAN. The department is presided over by the Emperor of the North (Beidi 北帝), who is also referred to as the ancestral master (*zushi* 祖師 Shangqing dadi 上清大帝; 2.11a; see also *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*). He is assisted by the "great generals" of the Department of Exorcism, notably, the group of thirty-six generals headed by Tianpeng 天蓬, that is, the deity corresponding to the ninth star of the Dipper (2.11a; 21a–b; 3.15b). Further down in the hierarchy are the generals of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue 東嶽), who lead the ranks of spirit-soldiers (*yinbing* 陰兵) assisting the priest (2.6b–9b; see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, preface, 1b, where it is said that RAO DONGTIAN obtained his spirit-soldiers from the Lord of the Eastern Peak).

Juan 2 is presented as the "Douxia lingwen fuzhou 斗下靈文符咒" (Numinous Writ and Talismanic Spells of the Jurisdiction of the Dipper), of the *Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa*. It includes the basic instructions for the writing of fu (2.10a–13a, 18b–21a), along with the descriptions of the three fundamental fu—"Tiangang fu 天罡符," "Sanguang fu 三光符," and "Zhenwu or Heisha zhenxing fu 眞武/黑煞眞形符" (2.13a–17a)—and two seals: *Beiji quxie yuan yin* 北極驅邪院印 and *Dutian da fazhu yin* 都天大法主印 (2.17a–18b). It is noteworthy that in a document for a ceremony of ordination, BO YUCHAN placed the Thunder methods (*wulei fa* 五雷法) of the Shenxiao tradition and the Tianxin zhengfa on the same level, and he said of the latter, "Tianxin transmits three talismans and two seals" (*Song Bo zhenren Yuchan quanji* 5.411).

Juan 3 contains a series of fu methods for curing consumption and other kinds of illness (3.1a–15a), followed by a section entitled "Tianpeng jiuzhi fa 天蓬救治法" (Method of Tianpeng for Saving People and Restoring Order; 3.15a–28b). This section describes a method of exorcism related to the group of thirty-six generals headed by Tianpeng and based on the recitation of the ancient Tianpeng spell (see *1016 Zhen'gao* 10.10b–11a). Each general is associated with four of the characters of the spell and summoned by means of a pair of fu.

Juan 4–6 contain a separate corpus entitled *Shangqing yinshu gusui lingwen* 上清隱書骨髓靈文 (Spinal Numinous Writ of the Hidden Writing of Shangqing). It is said to have originated with Zhang Daoling and to have been transmitted by YE FASHAN (616–720; see *779 Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 29a–b). Juan 4 contains the nine ancient "Gusui lingwen fu 骨髓靈文符," also found in *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 3.9b–21a. They constitute the basic text (*benwen* 本文) of the *Gusui lingwen* and are followed in the present book by an additional set of ten fu (juan 5), said to have been obtained separately by the author (4.1a). The latter set of fu is connected specifically with the method of building prisons in order to capture demons (*wuyu fa* 五獄法; 5.1a–6a) and with the practice of submitting a document through meditative ascent to Heaven (*fuzhang* 伏章; 5.7b–10b). The final part of the *Gusui lingwen* is the demon code (*guilü* 鬼律; juan 6), said to be a faithful copy of the original (*jiuben* 舊本; 4.1a). In fact, apart from being shorter, the text of this code corresponds to the version of *461 Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü*, which is presented there as the form of the code established by DENG YOUGONG (see *461 Gusui lingwen guilü*).

Juan 7 describes the *kaozhao fa* 考召法 (method of inspecting [demons] and summoning [spirits]). This is an ancient Zhengyi method that is related particularly to the generals of the Three Origins (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍) and that relies on a *sanwu kaozhao zhi lu* 三五考召之籙 (register of the Three and the Five for inspecting and summoning; 7.1a). The version of this method in the present book quotes a *Jinsuo liuzhu* 金鎖流珠, and in fact most of the material in juan 7 is found, although in a slightly

different presentation, in *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* (see, for instance, the passage citing a *Zhengyi kaozhao yi* 正一考召儀, 7.3a–5a, which corresponds to *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 4.5a–7b). Note that according to the *Song huiyao jigao* 1.466, the Taoists living in the Shangqing baolu gong were expected to practice the *Zhengyi lingwen yusi kaozhao fa* 正一靈文玉笥考召法. See also *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.9a–b, where it is stated that the seal of the Quxie yuan is an essential element of the Zhengyi tradition and of the Tianxin zhengfa, and that the *kaozhao* 考召 techniques of the manifold different traditions all pertain to the Quxie yuan.

Juan 8 deals with practices of Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱). It quotes a number of passages found in *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin,* identifying the source simply as "the scripture" (*jing* 經; 8.2b–3a, 4a–b, corresponding to *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 2.1a–b, 17.7b–8a, 8.11b–12a). Other parts of this juan comprise standard elements of Zhengyi forms of *bugang*, found in Tang dynasty texts (cf., e.g., 8.5b–6a with *800 Zhengyi chitan yi* 3b–4a).

Juan 9–10 contain the models for ritual documents, as well as descriptions of some characteristic individual rites of the Tianxin zhengfa, such as, for instance, the *li tianyu fa* 立天獄法 (method of erecting a celestial prison; 9.7b–10b); the *shengtian tai* 生天臺 (method of the platform for being born in Heaven; 9.10b–12b), a ritual for saving members of the family who have died under unfortunate circumstances and who, therefore, linger in hell, causing problems to the living; and the *xia gan'gai fa* 下贛蓋法, a method of obtaining protection for a family for the duration of a year by depositing the souls of its members in the Dipper, represented by a fu placed in a jar and buried in the earth (9.12b–14b). These three methods are all featured as elements of the programs for larger services of exorcism, found in the opening part of the book (1.2a–8b).

Poul Andersen

Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü 上清骨髓靈文鬼律

3 juan

By RAO DONGTIAN 饒洞天 (fl. 994), edited by DENG YOUGONG 鄧有功 (before 1116)

461 (fasc. 203)

"Demon Code of the Spinal Numinous Writ of the Shangqing Tradition." The *guilü* 鬼律 is the penal code applied in the exorcistic ritual of the Tianxin zhengfa. The title *Gusui lingwen* 骨髓靈文 is used to designate a special set of nine fu, transmitted within the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and said to originate with Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 3.9a–21a and *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 4). In the latter work (juan 4–6), the code and the fu are edited together, and the whole is presented under the heading *Shangqing yinshu gusui lingwen* 上清隱書骨髓靈文 (Spinal Numinous Writ of the Hidden Writing of Shangqing). The names of five of the nine fu begin with the term *Shangqing* (see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 3.13b–19b). In the present book (preface, 3a), the penal code is said to have been edited on the basis of a collation of five versions of the Shangqing code (*Shangqing guilü* 上清鬼律). Both the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa itself and independent Song dynasty sources concur, however, that the tradition is Zhengyi, and this characterization is substantiated by the provenance of a major part of the methods (see *1227 Zongzhen biyao*). Yet in all the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa (and particularly in the parts gathered under the heading *Gusui lingwen*), we find expressions of a nominal affiliation to the Shangqing tradition. Most likely these expressions were occasioned by a simultaneous devotion to Shangqing practices on the part of the early organizers of the Tianxin zhengfa, and in fact the editor of the present book, DENG YOUGONG, presents himself under the chapter headings as "having received the Dadong registers of Shangqing and practiced the Tianxin zhengfa 受上清大洞籙行天心正法." It should also be noted that the apparently somewhat later *567 Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa* actually includes a certain number of Shangqing practices, quoted from *639 Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing*.

DENG YOUGONG appears to have lived on Huagai shan 華蓋山 in central Jiangxi, which he refers to as his personal mountain (*benshan* 本山) in *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (preface, 2b). He seems not to be identical with the man of the same name who lived in the same area in 1210–1279 and is mentioned in *Quan Song ci* 4.2977. In *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (preface, 1b–2a), Deng describes the transmission of the texts revealed to RAO DONGTIAN in 994. He traces the transmission through four masters, the last of them, Fu Tianxin 符天信, being his own master (*benshi* 本師). It seems impossible to make this line of transmission stretch over a period of more than 200 years. Furthermore, the information contained in his preface to the present book seems, rather, to indicate that he was active before 1116.

In the preface, Deng attributes the creation of the code to RAO DONGTIAN, the founding immortal (*zuxian* 祖仙), identifying its method with the "secret text" (*biwen* 秘文) unearthed by Rao on Huagai shan. Deng states that Rao, who formerly served as a prefectural official, elaborated the code by consulting laws and regulations of the worldly administration (preface, 2b; see also *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 43.17a, where JIN YUNZHONG advances a similar view). It appears that the text was widely diffused among the Taoists of northern Jiangxi, because Deng reports that he searched for copies in monasteries in Hongzhou 洪州 (Nanchang), Nankang 南康 (Xingzi), on Lushan 廬山, and in Shuzhou 舒州 (southwestern corner of Anhui). He says that in this way he obtained "five versions of the Shangqing code" (*Shangqing guilü wubu* 五部), and that he edited the present version on the basis of a collation of these five versions, arranging the entries in accordance with the original form (preface, 3a).

Having completed the text he burned it and sent it to the Gold Portal (Jinque 金闕) of Heaven, whence it was forwarded to the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院; the celestial department to which the priests of the Tianxin zhengfa were assigned) and to other places in Heaven. Through the response from Heaven it was established that the text did not lack in any respect but was indeed a complete volume (preface, 3b).

Another version of the code is included in *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 6 (edited by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 in 1116), where it is said to be a faithful copy of the original (*jiuben* 舊本; see *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 4.1a). In fact, though lacking certain paragraphs (especially the concluding models for ritual documents, some of which are included in *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 9.1a–7a), the text of this version corresponds exactly to that of the present book. The account given by Deng concerning his own procedure implies a certain amount of editing and excludes the possibility that he simply extracted the work from *1227 Zongzhen biyao*. If we believe his account, it follows that the version in *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 6 was derived from the form of the code established through his editing, which must therefore have taken place before 1116. It should also be stressed that, in connection with the group of fu attached to the "Beidi fu 北帝符" (*1227 Zongzhen biyao* 2.21a–b), Yuan Miaozong states that in the original *(jiuben)* these fu were transmitted along with—and not as part of—the Tianxin zhengfa. This statement may be compared to *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (preface, 3a), where Deng states that in fact he edited the "Beidi fuwen 北帝符文" separately.

It appears that the present book was intended for general circulation. The preface has the form of an address to the emperor and ends with a plea that the book be promulgated in all parts of the empire. If the majority of the priests practiced ritual according to this code, it is explained, evil influences from distant lands and remote districts would be averted, and such protection could also be considered a contribution to the establishment of imperial rule (preface, 4a). The book is divided into three parts, of which only the first, the "Guilü," is in fact a demon code. The second part, called "Yuge 玉格" (Precious Models), contains some regulations for the initiation of priests, while the third part, named "Yishi 儀式" (Rituals and Formulas), includes both the list of priestly titles (3.6a–7b) and formulas for ritual documents (3.8a–19b). According to the editor, the material of all three parts, as it was possessed by the common priests (*sushi* 俗師) of the time, was highly inadequate. While these priests often preserved some sort of *guilü* in written form, the *yuge* were commonly transmitted only orally and the *yishi* were kept in concealment, with the result that many priests lacked especially the material of the two latter categories (preface, 1b). The consequent low quality of the rituals performed by these priests certainly could not correspond to the "intentions of heaven" (*tianyi* 天意), according to the editor (preface, 2a).

Poul Andersen

Tianxin zhengfa xiuzhen daochang shejiao yi **天心正法修眞道場設醮儀**

12 fols.

807 (fasc. 566)

"Ritual for the Display of Offerings, of the Area of the Way for the Cultivation of the True [Tao] of the Tianxin Zhengfa." This work contains, among other things, a list of deities that includes the title of Laozi bestowed in 1013—Hunyuan shangde huangdi 混元上德皇帝 (see *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 81.713 and *770 Hunyuan shengji* 9.34b–35a)—and the title of the Jade Emperor bestowed in 1014 (4b; see *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 83.731), the latter apparently in the expanded form bestowed by Huizong in 1116 (see *Xu Zizhi tongjian* 92.2382). A date no earlier than the twelfth century seems indicated also, both by the use of the term *Tianxin zhengfa* 天心正法 in the title, apparently referring to an established tradition, and by the juxtaposition in the list of deities of the two departments: Tianshu yuan 天樞院 and Beiji quxie yuan 北極驅邪院 (5a, 6a; compare *549 Shangqing tianshu yuan huiju bidao zhengfa*).

A possible context of the ritual lies in the programs for services of exorcism given in the main compilations of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa, for instance, in *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 1. Generally these services conclude with a "rewarding of the soldiers" (*shangbing* 賞兵) and, in addition, with a "great offering of thanksgiving" (*jiaoxie* 醮謝 or *dajiao yi xie* 大醮以謝), on the day the exorcism has worked and calamity has been dispersed (*1227 Zongzhen biyao* 1.2b). Both this offering and the present ritual are said to come at the end of a Retreat (*zhai* 齋) of a given number of days (2b). This ritual thus fulfills the traditional function of a *jiao* 醮, which is to accomplish the presentation of offerings at the end of a *zhai*. An innovation of the present ritual that became customary during Song times is that it lacks the initial invitation of the host of assisting deities (*qingguan* 請官) and addresses itself to the entire pantheon, from the supreme deities downward. For the earlier type of ritual, compare *1212 Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* by ZHANG WANFU.

It may be noted that the present ritual opens with the extended form of the *weiling zhou* 衛靈咒—derived originally from *330 Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing* 6a–7a—in which the Five Directions are addressed separately. While apparently absent from the liturgy of DU GUANGTING, the extended *weiling zhou* is widely current in rituals of the Song dynasty (960–1279); see, for instance, *480 Luotian dajiao shejiao yi* 1a–2b and *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 17.1b–2b and 32.8b–10a.

Poul Andersen

Shangqing tianxin zhengfa 上清天心正法

7 juan

By DENG YOUGONG 鄧有功; not earlier than the mid-twelfth century

566 (fasc. 318–319)

"Correct Method of the Heart of Heaven, of the Shangqing Tradition." The book is a compilation of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法, which is referred to also simply as *zhengfa,* with the additional meaning of "method of correcting," that is, of impersonating the Way and thereby imposing the correct order on situations created by evil influences (cf. *461 Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü,* preface, 2a).

The author appears to have been active around the end of the eleventh century (see *461 Gusui lingwen guilü*). In the preface, he gives a brief account of the history of the Tianxin zhengfa, beginning with RAO DONGTIAN, a scholar in retirement (*chushi* 處士) living on Huagai shan 華蓋山 in central Jiangxi. Rao's biography in *778 Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi* (5.4b–5b) states that he was a minor official in the county of Linchuan 臨川. The work *461 Gusui lingwen guilü* (preface, 2b) confirms his status as an official. It is reported that one night in 994, Rao saw a multicolored light reaching Heaven from one of the summits; the following morning when he dug into the ground at the spot from which the light had shone, he found a bookcase containing a set of "the secret formulas of the Heart of Heaven" (*tianxin bishi* 天心秘式). Not yet knowing how to put the rubrical instructions (*juemu* 訣目) and the Precious Models (*yuge* 玉格), into practice (i.e., lacking the qualification of a priest), he met a divine person who advised him to become a disciple of TAN ZIXIAO. Tan transmitted his teaching to Rao and referred him to the Lord of the Eastern Peak (Taishan tianqi rensheng di 泰山天齊仁聖帝), from whom Rao obtained soldiers for his army of spirits (*yinbing* 陰兵). Thus equipped with a complete tradition, Rao became the founder of the Tianxin zhengfa (*Tianxin chuzu* 天心初祖; preface, 1a–b).

On TAN ZIXIAO, see especially *Xin Wudai shi* 68.851, Ma Ling's 馬令 *Nan Tang shu* 24.162–63, *Lushi Nan Tang shu* 17.388–89, and LZTT 43.8a–11a. A Taoist from Quanzhou, he served the fourth ruler of Min, Wang Chang 王昶 (r. 935–939), from whom he received the title Zhengyi xiansheng 正一先生. Tan collaborated with the medium Chen Shouyuan 陳守元, who at the court of Wang Chang was raised to the status of Heavenly Master and acquired virtual control of the government (see also *Zizhi tongjian* 279.9137). According to Lu You 陸游, Chen Shouyuan had found a set of fu written on several tens of wooden slips buried in the ground in a bronze bowl. Not knowing how to use them, he passed them on to TAN ZIXIAO, who penetrated their mysteries and thereafter declared that he had obtained the Tianxin zhengfa of Zhang Daoling 張道陵. Lu ends the account by stating that all those who today refer themselves to the Tianxin zhengfa consider TAN ZIXIAO to be the founder of the tradition.

The sources agree that after the fall of Min, Tan went into hiding on Lushan 廬山 (northern Jiangxi), where, according to Lu You, he acquired a following of more than 100 students (see also Yu Jiaxi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng*, 846–47). Presumably this is the situation underlying the statement in the preface of the present book to the effect that RAO DONGTIAN was initiated into the priesthood by TAN ZIXIAO. The preface, however, gives prominence to Huagai shan as the place of origin of the Tianxin zhengfa and states that the movement did not appear in the world until the ascendancy of the Song dynasty (preface, 2b). Deng refers to Huagai as his personal mountain (*benshan* 本山) and gives a line of transmission of the methods from Rao through four otherwise unknown masters to himself (preface, 1b–2a). He further mentions the three immortals—Fuqiu Liang 浮丘良 and his two disciples, Wang Daoxiang 王道想 and Guo Daoyi 郭道意—who were supposed to have lived on the mountain toward the end of the third or in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Deng finally refers to the Qiaoxian guan 橋仙觀 monastery, the residence of the two disciples (see *778 San zhenjun shishi* 1–2). The name of the monastery was changed to Chongxian guan 崇仙觀 by imperial decree in 1075 (*778 San zhenjun shishi* 2.11b–13a).

The implication of DENG YOUGONG's use of the earlier name for the monastery, namely, that the preface dates before 1075, is consistent with the line of transmission described by the author. Yet the text of the book itself shows evidence of a later date. The book incorporates material adopted from the Shenxiao tradition, which did not emerge until about 1117 (5.8a–9a). Furthermore, the description of a set of fu (3.9b–20a) is said to be copied verbatim from the text edited by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126). It seems likely that the preface originally belonged to an earlier version of the book. Note also that both in the preface (3a) the author states that he had divided the work into two juan, and that a book of the same title, but comprising three juan, is listed in the *Tongzhi*, "Yiwen lüe" (VDL 75). It would appear that the present seven-juan book is an expanded version, no earlier than the middle of the twelfth century, of a work compiled by DENG YOUGONG toward the end of the eleventh century.

The content of the book is referred to in the preface as "the secret and essential fu writs for the four degrees of scriptures and registers" (*sijie jinglu biyao fuwen* 四階經籙秘要符文; preface, 3a). The four degrees represent the totality of the early Taoist scriptural and liturgical traditions, described in the preface in a short historical survey ending with the Shangqing revelations. The preface states that only through these revelations were the ritual categories (*kepin* 科品) established. Deng also credits YANG XI with the transmission of the basic fu-tradition to the world (preface, 2a–b). He continues by stating that the tradition of the present book is the only one of the major Taoist traditions to have appeared as late as the Song dynasty. Its appearance is ascribed to the presence of the Qiaoxian guan on the mountain, a relic of the three

immortals (cf. the claim in *778 San zhenjun shishi* 2.7b that the present book in fact represents the teaching transmitted by Fuqiu Liang to his two disciples). The preface makes clear that the book was intended for the use of priests initiated into the Tianxin zhengfa, and the author states that he had compiled a separate synopsis in three juan of the common talismanic usages of contemporary priests: the *Beidi fuwen* 北帝符文, meant to be transmitted outside the "correct method," reaching those who practice "the precious registers and secret repertories of the four degrees of the three caverns" (*sandong sijie baolu bipu* 三洞四階寶籙秘譜; preface, 2b–3a).

The core of the present book are the fu described in juan 3, the most important of which are the three fundamental fu of the Tianxin zhengfa: "Sanguang fu 三光符," "Heisha fu 黑煞符," and "Tiangang fu 天罡符" (3.1a–9a; cf. *567 Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa* 1a, 6a–13a, and *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 2.10a–17a, where these fu are described in their characteristic combination with the two seals of the Tianxin zhengfa). Next in importance come the nine fu referred to as "the spinal numinous writ" (*Gusui lingwen* 骨髓靈文) and said to be transmitted separately by Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (3.9b–21a; cf. *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 4–6, which includes a variant version of the above-mentioned nine fu in a more comprehensive *Gusui lingwen* corpus).



FIGURE 52. Talisman of Heisha (*566* 3.6b)

The central deity, acting through the fu, is the Emperor of the North (Beidi 北帝), also called the Great Emperor of the Northern Pole (Beiji dadi 北極大帝) or the Great Emperor of Supreme Purity (Shangqing dadi 上清大帝), and commonly referred to as the ancestral master (*zushi* 祖師; 3.17a, 19a, 5.1a; cf. *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 2.11a, 14b, 21a–b). The Emperor of the North presides over the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院), that is, the celestial department to which the priests of the Tianxin zhengfa are assigned (see *461 Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü,* preface, 1b). He is the supreme commander of the host of "great generals" of the department and is often described as being guarded by the thirty-six generals headed by the "great marshal Tianpeng" (Tianpeng da yuanshuai 天蓬大元帥; 2.3a–b, 3.1a, 8b; see *1227 Zongzhen biyao*). A characteristic agent of the Emperor of the North is the Black Killer (Heisha 黑煞). He is referred to as the Pledged Envoy of the Dark Warrior (*Xuanwu fushi* 玄武符使), and he is depicted in the Black Killer talisman ("Heisha fu") as carrying the command (*chi* 敕) of the Emperor of the North (3.5a–7a [fig. 52]; see *220 Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa* 8.13a–16a, 27.6b–9b). Note that in the *Nan Tang shu* 24.162 by Ma Ling, the Black Killer is singled out as the deity worshipped by TAN ZIXIAO (see also *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan,* and Liu Zhiwan, *Zhongguo minjian xinyang lunji,* 318–20).

Besides the fu, the book contains a large variety of individual rites that may be used either independently for curing illnesses and such, or as parts of larger exorcistic services (outlines of such services are given in juan 4–5). A large number of these rites are identical with those described in *1227 Zongzhen biyao* (q.v.).

Poul Andersen

Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa 上清北極天心正法

37 fols.

Probably Southern Song (1127–1279)

567 (fasc. 319)

"Correct Method of the Heart of Heaven of the Northern Pole, of the Shangqing Tradition." The book belongs to the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and thus is related to *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*. The inclusion of the term *beiji* 北極 (Northern Pole) in the title, makes it identical with the title used as the heading of the first section of *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (juan 1–2). Like the present book, this section centers on the three fundamental fu of the Tianxin zhengfa.

The book quotes the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126; 1a and 28b–29a; "Zhimi ge 指迷歌"), and thus should not be earlier than the Southern Song dynasty. One of its parts, the "Huoyao tiangang zhi fa 活曜天罡之法" (Method of the Celestial Mainstay of Animating Brilliance; 23a–26b), is said to have been stored in the library of the Taiping guan 太平觀 temple on Maoshan 茅山 and to have been transmitted into the world up to the present by the Black Emperor Immortal (Heidi xianren 黑帝仙人; probably Beidi 北帝, the Emperor of the North and ancestral master of the Tianxin zhengfa; see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*).

The book contains a condensed version of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa. From the repertoire of fu it includes only the three most fundamental ones, namely, "Tiangang fu 天罡符," "Sanguang fu 三光符," and "Heisha fu 黑煞符" (6a–13a). The introduction states that formerly the tradition disposed only of these three fu (1a; cf. *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 174.12b–13a, where only the practices related to the writing of the "Sanguang fu" are recognized as representing the Tianxin zhengfa transmitted from Zhang Daoling 張道陵).

On the other hand, the book greatly develops the system of inner practices accompanying the writing of fu. It is emphasized that the efficacy of the fu depends on the "collection of qi" (*quqi* 取氣) and that the breaths on which the fu of the Tianxin zhengfa rely are those of the Three Luminaries (*sanguang* 三光), that is, the sun, the moon, and the Big Dipper (13a; cf. *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 6.11a–b). The later part of the book is taken up mainly by descriptions of methods for the inhalation and inner circulation of these qi, beginning with a recasting (13b–19b) of material found in *639 Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* 4a–8b. The following three sections—"Taiyang lun 太陽論" (20b–21b), "Taiyin lun 太陰論" (22a–23a), and "Tiangang lun 天罡論" (23a–29b)—describe techniques related to the *liuren* 六壬 and *dunjia* 遁甲 methods for calculating the times and directions for the collection of the qi. The final section, "Tianxin sanguang zonglun 天心三光總論" (29b–37a), includes, among other things, a list of factors that may cause the fu to be ineffective (30b–31a), as well as a list of occasions at which lustral water prepared with the "Sanguang fu" may be used (33b–35a).

Poul Andersen

Shangqing tianshu yuan huiju bidao zhengfa 上清天樞院回車畢道正法
3 juan
Probably late Song (960–1279)
549 (fasc. 313)

"True Shangqing Method of Returning by Chariot and Completing the Way According to the Department of the Celestial Pivot." The expression *huiju bidao* 回車畢道 (returning by chariot and completing the way) is the name of a Shangqing register and of a corresponding immortal's contract (*quan* 券; cf. *1125 Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 5.2b and *1239 Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* 18a). These documents are related to the final stages in the life of a priest, when he stops performing public ritual and retires to the mountains in order to practice the methods of completion (*bifa* 畢法), that is, the Shangqing techniques for the attainment of immortality. According to the section "Huiju zhi dao" (The Way of Returning by Chariot) in *1237 Sandong xiudao yi* 7b–8a, the chariot brings the master to the foot of the mountain and is burned there. The master wanders off into the mountain, never to return again. It is said that from then on he will practice "the ways of flying ascent of the Latter Saint of the Gold Portal." The whole process is referred to as a departure from the manifest world (*chu sanjie* 出三界). The *huiju bidao* register is mentioned in *777 Zhangxian mingsu huanghou shou shangqing bifa lu ji* 2b (dated 1024), which commemorates the full ordination of the empress dowager in the Shangqing tradition, and in *304 Maoshan zhi* 9.8a. According to Jin Yunzhong, it was a general register of the Dongzhen section (*1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.10b).

Surprisingly, the present book, in spite of its title and its purported relation to the Shangqing tradition, bears no relation to the above-mentioned practices. It is a manual of exorcistic methods, brought together probably around the end of the Song dynasty and closely related to the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法. The book is distinguished from the early texts of this tradition by being affiliated with the Department of the Celestial Pivot (Tianshu yuan 天樞院) instead of the usual Department of Exorcism of the Northern Pole (Beiji quxie yuan 北極驅邪院). The tradition of the book is defined in one place as the Tianxin zhengfa of the Department of the Celestial Pivot (2.1a). The distribution of the civil grades (*wenjie* 文階) in these two departments (corresponding to the celestial South Pole and the North Pole, respectively) is noted in *Taishang tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格 (in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 249–50), which also mentions the direct connection between the method of the Celestial Pivot (Tianshu fa 天樞法) and the "Shangqing register of returning by chariot and completing the way" (249.20a).

The book contains many elements that confirm its relation to the Tianxin zhengfa. Thus, for instance, one of the seals is the "Dutian da fazhu yin 都天大法主印" (1.4a–5b), which is one of the two basic seals of the Tianxin zhengfa, and the titles of two of the fu—"Heisha shenfu 黑殺神符" (1.17a–18b) and "Tiangang shenfu 天罡神符" (1.20a–21b)—are identical to the titles of two of the three fundamental fu of the Tianxin zhengfa (see *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*). However, the methods of the book generally are much simpler than those of the early texts of the Tianxin zhengfa, the only large-scale service included being the one for curing insanity (2.7b–17b). The divine forces called upon in this service are predominantly those of the south—for instance, the deities of the celestial South Pole (Nanji 南極)—and the rite of Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱) is performed along the stars of the Southern Dipper (*Nandou* 南斗). The actual warfare against the demons is carried out by soldiers sent by the local gods of the territory—Siming tudi 司命土地 and Chenghuang 城隍—and there is no appeal to the generals of the Eastern Peak (as in the early texts of the Tianxin zhengfa), nor any memorial presented to the supreme Taoist pantheon.

All of juan 3 is taken up by a description of the practice of presenting a statement or a complaint (*touzhuang* 投狀). This practice is to be performed at the beginning of the cure for insanity and is found also in the great services of exorcism described in the early texts of the Tianxin zhengfa (see, for instance, *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 1.2b, 3b–4a). It is explained in the present book as a method of graphological diagnosis. The *zhuang* 狀 is a document written by a representative of the sick person or family. It is addressed to the Shangqing tianshu yuan and contains a prayer for help. In answer to this prayer, the local Stove God (Zaojun 竈君) is ordered from above to carry out an investigation concerning the category of the evil influences causing illness and to disclose this category in the form of the characters as written in the document. The priest interprets the document (*yanzhuang* 驗狀) by means of a code, which gives

several ways in which each character may be wrong. For instance, a character may be stained (*dianwu* 點汙) or may be missing a stroke for lack of ink (*zhushi* 注失). In each case, a different kind of evil influence is indicated.

Poul Andersen

Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa 無上玄元三天玉堂大法
30 juan
By Lu Shizhong 路時中 et al.; after 1158
220 (fasc. 100–104)

"Great Method of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin." As explained in the text, the Jade Hall (Yutang 玉堂) is formed out of the qi at Yujing shan 玉京山 and contains the Nine Ancients (*jiulao* 九老; 1.2b).

The book is a collection of the ritual handbooks that constitute the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 tradition. The tradition was founded by Lu Shizhong (*zi* Dangke 當可), who is known from many liturgical texts of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) as the True Official Lu (Lu zhenguan 路眞官; see, e.g., *1307 Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 2.7b, 8b). According to an anecdote in the *Yijian zhi* ("Bingzhi 丙志," 13.12.479), based on the account of a former schoolmate, Lu came from the county of Shangshui 商水 in Chenzhou 陳州 (Henan), where his father, Lu Guan 路瓘, was the county magistrate. He was seventeen years old in the Zhenghe period (1111–1117). Another anecdote from the same source ("Dingzhi 丁志," 18.1.684), based on the account of a nephew of Lu Shizhong, states that Lu Guan was a great-uncle of Lu Shizhong and adds that the latter probably obtained his methods in the area of Shu 蜀. The episodes in the adult life of Lu Shizhong, related in the *Yijian zhi* and carrying dates, all take place in the period 1125–1130 (see "Yizhi 乙志," 6.4.232, 7.1.237–39; and "Bingzhi," 5.5.403–4). He is shown to have been active in widely separated parts of China (from Xuzhou 徐州 in the north to Jinling 金陵 in the south) and to have been called upon by members of the official class to perform large ceremonies on their behalf. In 1125, Lu performed a Yellow Register Offering (*huanglu jiao* 黃籙醮) in Jinling for the repose of the soul of a former vice president of the Board of Finance (*hubu shilang* 戶部侍郎) named Cai Juhou 蔡居厚 (see *Yijian zhi*, "Yizhi," 6.4.232).

The present book contains a colophon by Lu Shizhong himself (1.7a–8a). It relates specifically to the first part of the book (1–23), "the unsurpassed doctrine in twenty-four sections" (*wushang zongzhi ershisi pin* 無上宗旨二十四品), which corresponds to the third and highest degree of initiation within the tradition (see 2.6a, 26.1b–2a, and 28.7a–b). In this colophon, Lu relates that in 1120 he had a nightly vision of Zhao Sheng 趙昇 (a disciple of Zhang Daoling 張道陵), who descended into his room and told him about the secret writing (*bishu* 秘書) he had left behind, buried in the ground at Maoshan 茅山. When Lu served later as assistant prefect (*tongshou* 通守; it should be noted that in fact this title was not officially in use during the Song dynasty) in Jinling, he visited the mountain and dug up the scroll. He arranged the text in twenty-four sections; in 1126, while staying in Piling 毗陵 (Jiangsu), he transmitted it to the world.

Another colophon is found at the end of the part of the book (juan 26–28) referred to as "the seven sections for the initial degree" (*chujie qipin* 初階七品; 26.1b). This colophon states that the discursive parts in these seven sections—the so-called "model sayings" (*geyan* 格言), which are interspersed between the passages of ritual formulas and usually begin with the phrase "the master said" (*shiyue* 師曰)—were revealed one by one during the first half of 1107, in the form of oral instructions from Heavenly Lord Great Master of the Teaching (Da jiaozhu tianjun 大教主天君). After this initial revelation and up to the year 1119, the actual ritual formulas were transmitted through spirit-writing (*jiangbi* 降筆); the totality was then copied in 1158. The speech of the Heavenly Lord sounded like that of a baby and was audible only to Lu Shizhong and his disciple Zhai Ruwen 翟汝文, both of whom noted it down (28.7b–8a). Zhai Ruwen (*zi* Gongxun 公巽, 1076–1141) was a noted scholar-official, calligrapher, and painter (see *Song shi* 372.11543–45 and the text of his epitaph in his collected writings, *Zhonghui ji*, "fulu 附錄"). He edited a ritual compendium for the *huanglu dajiao* 黃籙大醮, entitled *Mengzhen yujian* 盟眞玉檢, in ten juan and a *Jinggong puji yi* 淨供普濟儀 for the *Mingyang zhai* 冥陽齋 in three juan (*Zhonghui ji*, "fulu," 17a): he also made several paintings of Taoist deities (*Zhonghui ji*, "fulu," 21a–b). The preface of the first work has survived in *Zhonghui ji* 8.8b–10a and is also quoted in *508 Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 17.29a. It refers to a liturgical style comparable to that of the present book.

The Yutang dafa tradition is defined in the book as the inner secrets (*neibi* 內秘) of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (26.1a) and is said to represent the essential method of Zhang Daoling: "the fundamental oath between Xuanyuan [i.e., Taishang laojun 太上老君] and the Saintly Master 玄元與聖師本誓" (1.7b). The Tianxin zhengfa is referred to as the "ancestral teaching" (*zujiao* 祖教; 2.6a); the oral instructions from the Da jiaozhu tianjun (cf. the second colophon, 28.7b–8a) are said to have been obtained as elucidations of the teachings of the Tianxin zhengfa (1.5b–6a). The Yutang dafa is held to be more fundamental and more meditative, and it is said to have been discovered, as a result of the above-mentioned oral instructions, that the Tianxin zhengfa represented the exorcistic—that is, the "outer"—practices (*quxie zhi shi* 驅邪之事) of the Yutang dafa (1.6a). The link to the ancestral teaching is preserved accordingly, as it appears from the book's exposition of progressive initiation within the tradition (2.6a, 26.1b–2a). It is stated there that the novice may receive a work entitled *Tianxin zhengfa* in ten juan ("in order to support the correct teaching"; 2.6a), and only after having

practiced it for three years may he or she ascend to the initial degree of the Yutang dafa (26.1b). It is specified in a note that only the edition of the present order (*bentan* 本壇) may be used (26.1b). This edition is discussed by JIN YUNZHONG in his *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 43.17a–b, where he describes it as a revised version, edited by LU SHIZHONG in the beginning of the Shaoxing period (1131–1162), of the earlier compilation by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗, that is, *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (dated 1116).

The connection with the Tianxin zhengfa is borne out by the contents of the present book. The two traditions agree in emphasizing the use of the forces of the Three Luminaries (*sanguang* 三光; i.e., the sun, the moon, and the Dipper), for instance, in the writing of fu; and indeed the three basic fu of the Tianxin zhengfa ("Sanguang fu 三光符," "Heisha fu 黑煞符," "Tiangang fu 天罡符"; cf. *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 2.10a–17a and *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 3.1a–9a) are included, with certain variations, in the present book. The first of these fu is designated here as "Sanguang zufu 三光祖符" (Ancestral Talisman of the Three Luminaries), and it is described as "the cornerstone of the myriad methods" (*wanfa zhi zong* 萬法之宗; 8.11a–13b, 28.1a–2b). A large proportion of the exorcistic rites described in the present book are closely related to those found in the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa (compare, e.g., the cures for consumption in 23.7b–8b and 24.18a–28a with those given in *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 3.1a–4a; compare also the method of obtaining protection for a whole year by depositing one's soul in the Dipper [*gan'gai fa* 贛蓋法] in 24.7b–11a with *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 9.12b–14b). The major differences are the inclusion of elements of the funeral liturgy and the greater emphasis on individual, meditative practice within the Yutang dafa.

The funeral rites (juan 14–18) constitute elements of the Lingbao dafa 靈寶大法 liturgy, which emerged toward the end of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). The work *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 260.1a reports that LU SHIZHONG transmitted the Lingbao dafa in Jiankang 建康 during the Zhenghe period (1111–1117). JIN YUNZHONG criticizes the masters of the Yutang dafa school for performing the funeral liturgy of the Lingbao categories while holding only Zhengyi titles and registers (see *1223 Lingbao dafa* 10.19b). Jin notes the incorporation of Yutang dafa practices within the funeral liturgy of many Dongxuan priests, but opposes this tendency (*1223 Lingbao dafa* 20.7b). Regarding the rite of "salvation by sublimation" (*liandu* 煉度), he considers the method of LU SHIZHONG to be somewhat superficial (though not entirely worthless), since it relies on the qi of the sun and the moon, instead of those of the trigrams *li* 離 and *kan* 坎, for obtaining the True Fire and True Water (*1223 Lingbao dafa* 37.2b–3a). In the present book, however, it is stated (18.1b) that the *liandu* rite of the Lingbao tradition depends on the Yutang dafa tradition for the methods of collecting fire and water from the sun and the moon, and that this dependency demonstrates the superiority of the tradition of the present book.

The Yutang dafa is said to be "based on flying high to the sun and the moon" (*Yutang yi gaoben riyue wei zongzu* 玉堂以高奔日月爲宗祖; 27.1a). This description refers to "the way of flying high" (*gaoben zhi dao* 高奔之道), that is, the meditative technique of ascent to, and internalization of, the qi from the sun and the moon (sometimes the Dipper as well). The technique is described in varying degrees of detail in juan 4 and 5 and in 27.1a–3a, and again more fully in the separate work *221 Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu*. It is associated with the "Gaoben zhang 高奔章" chapter (26) of the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經, quoted in the present book (4.1b). The commentary of the *Huangting jing* by Liangqiu Zi 梁丘子 (fl. 722), however, identifies the method underlying the *Huangting jing* as that described in *639 Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* (see *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經註 in *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 57.1a–b). This method is similar to, but clearly distinct from, the one described in the texts of the Yutang dafa. The latter method is not found in any of the extant, early Shangqing material and is apparently an authentic creation of the Yutang dafa (cf. *435 Taishang yuchen yuyi jielin ben riyue tu*).

Poul Andersen

Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu
無上三天玉堂正宗高奔內景玉書
2 juan
First half of the twelfth century
221 (fasc. 104–105)

"Precious Text of Flying High in the Inner Landscape, from the Correct Tradition of the Jade Hall of the Supreme Three Heavens." This text is linked closely with *220 Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*. The method of flying high is described twice in the latter handbook (*220 Yutang dafa* 4–5 and 27.1a–3a), with a varying amount of detail for different degrees of initiation. The *220 Yutang dafa* 26.1b, moreover, speaks of a more complete description of this method in a book entitled *Gaoben yujing* 高奔玉經, clearly referring to the present book. We may therefore ascribe the present work to LU SHIZHONG, the founder of the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法, to whom the central texts of the tradition were revealed in the 1120s.

The book describes the inner practices on which the Yutang dafa was founded, the "way of flying high" (*gaoben zhi dao* 高奔之道; see *220 Yutang dafa*). These practices consist in methods of meditative ascent to, and internalization of, the qi of the sun, the moon, and the Dipper. The purpose of these practices is the individual attainment of immortality, and they are also requirements for the performance of the public rituals of the Yutang dafa. Juan 1 describes the method of flying high to the sun and the moon (*gaoben riyue zhi dao* 高奔日月之道). It is related to the immortals of the sun

and the moon (Yuyi 鬱儀 and Jielin 結璘) and associated with the "Gaoben zhang 高奔章" chapter (26) of the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經, which is quoted here on 1.1b. The method is similar to, though clearly distinct from, the methods of flying high described in early Shangqing texts (cf. *639 Huangtian shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* and *1376 Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 2.1a–8b).

Juan 2, which deals with the Dipper, consists almost entirely of excerpts from early Shangqing texts, especially *1351 Dongzhen taishang feixing yujing jiuzhen shengxuan shangji* 4b–8b, *879 Shangqing jinshu yuzi shangjing* 5a–7a, and *1377 Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 4b–11a. All these quotations appear to have been culled from the YJQQ.

Poul Andersen

Taishang sanyuan feixing guanjin jinshu yulu tu
太上三元飛星冠禁金書玉籙圖

8 fols.

764 (fasc. 534)

"Illustrated Jade Register of the Most High in Golden Writing of the Three Origins for Flying to the Stars and for Wearing [the Stars] and Controlling [the Demons]." On Mount Heming 鶴鳴山, Lord Lao transmitted to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 the Jade Register written in gold, and he revealed a method, said to be part of the Zhengyi teachings, that protected against all calamities.

This method consists in the adept's visualization—in several variations and with recitation of invocative formulas—of the Five Planets, the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, and those of the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台). He or she then "dons" (*guan* 冠) these heavenly bodies. After that, the adept should practice the Paces of Yu (*yubu* 禹步) or the pace of the Nine Traces (*jiuji bu* 九跡步) every night. The appropriate positions of the feet for these paces are illustrated.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Guandou zhongxiao wulei wuhou bifa 貫斗忠孝五雷武侯祕法

15 fols.

By Wu Sheng 吳昇; late fourteenth century

585 (fasc. 323)

"Secret Method of the Martial Prince, of the Loyal and Filial Five Thunders Traversing [the Stars of] the Dipper." The Martial Prince is Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234), the general of the Three Kingdoms period. The term *guandou* 貫斗 (traversing the Dipper) refers both to the presence of the forces of thunder in the stars of the Big Dipper, and to the movement of the priest along the stars (as coordinated with the

Luoshu 洛書 arrangement of the Eight Trigrams), whereby the forces of thunder are called forth.

The author, Wu Sheng from Xuyang 旭陽 (in northern Jiangxi), defines the tradition of the book as the secrets left behind by Zhuge Liang (see postscript, 12b). According to the preface, the secrets were transmitted to the world in the period Zhiyuan 至元 (1264–1295), when they were revealed to Zhang Huizhai 張暉齋 from Jingmen 荊門 (Hubei). The latter had acquired a round stone that emitted a bright light at night. When he split open the stone, he found a square slab inside with inscriptions on both faces. Having made several hundred rubbings of the inscriptions and burnt some of them, Zhang fell asleep. In his dream, Zhuge Liang appeared to him, told him that the inscriptions were the divine seals for calling to arms his loyal and filial thunder-soldiers (*zhongxiao leibing* 忠孝雷兵), and gave him the present book.

Zhang thereupon retired to Wudang shan 武當山, where he studied the Tianxin zhengfa. He achieved fame for the efficacy of his ritual, and in the period Dade 大德 (1297–1308) the emperor granted him the title Yinzhen xuanyang zhenren 隱眞玄陽眞人. A sanctuary in his honor, established by his disciples after his death, was accorded an official tablet with the name Shengzhen guan 昇眞觀. Two years later the stone with the inscriptions disappeared into the air with a burst of lightning. The seals were recreated by Zhao Quanyang 趙全陽 (i.e., Zhao Daoyi 趙道一, the author of LZTT), who carved them on date wood and transmitted the method to Huang Guyang 黃谷陽. In 1351, the latter retired to the Western Mountains of Hongdu 洪都 (present-day Nanchang), where he instructed Wu Sheng. Huang died there in 1369.

The work is a manual describing a form of Five Thunder practices (*wulei fa* 五雷法). The purpose of these practices was "to cure sickness and exorcise demons, to preserve oneself, and bring peace to one's household" (治病除邪, 保己寧家; 12b). An important element of the *wulei fa* is the block for commanding thunder (*leiting haoling* 雷霆號令), which corresponds to the stone slab and its reconstruction in date wood mentioned in the preface. The block is used for summoning the thunder-soldiers, headed by Zhuge Liang and his assistant generals, who descend to the altar from the west (5b). The pantheon is characterized by the color white and the forces of metal (corresponding to the west). The thunder-block is said to have featured representations of the planet Venus on both sides (9a).

Another important element is the rite of Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱) through the positions of the Eight Trigrams, following the sequence of the numbers of the magic square by which the thunder-soldiers are called forth and disposed at the eight gates of the ritual area, thus forming the eight battle formations (*bazhen* 八陣; 3a–4a; see also preface, 1a–2b). The incantations are not the same as those accompanying this pattern in the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa (cf. *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 5.3a), with the exception of one that opens with the line "The white qi flows diffusely

through my body" (*Boqi hundun guan woxing* 白氣混沌灌我形). This incantation is widespread in Song dynasty texts and even in present-day manuals (see, e.g., Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei,* 242) and more typically accompanies the walk across the Dipper, following the arrangement of the stars of the constellation (see, e.g., *587 Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi bijue* 10b).

Poul Andersen

Jinsuo liuzhu yin 金鎖流珠引
29 juan
Attributed to Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670)
1015 (fasc. 631–636)

"Guide to the Golden Lock and the Moving Pearls." The present book defines itself as an "introductory guide to the practices of Pacing the Mainstay [*bugang* 步綱]." The comprehensive scripture on *bugang* was the now lost *Jinsuo liuzhu jing* 金鎖流珠經. The present work both introduces the reader to these practices and demonstrates the patterns that should be followed in the performance of the paces (preface, 2a–b, 1.1b–3b, 4.1a). It states that one may receive the present guide only after having possessed the scripture for a period of three years (28.6b–7a), and indeed the performance of the practices described in the book frequently requires the reference to the scripture. Several parts of the practices are either omitted or given in an abridged form (the latter is the case for most of the incantations), the reader being referred to the relevant section of the scripture. The phrase *jinsuo liuzhu* 金鎖流珠 (golden lock and moving pearls) is explained as an adaptation by the Latter Saint (Housheng 後聖) of the earlier title for practices of *bugang:* "the methods of walking of the Golden Register" (*jinlu xingfa* 金籙行法). The term *jinsuo* 金鎖 (replacing *jinlu* 金籙) is said to refer specifically to the methods by which one strengthens one's own body, locking the souls into their places, whereas the term *liuzhu* 流珠 (designating the nine stars of the Dipper) is associated with the forms of walking performed to assist the country and save others (preface, 7a–b).

Both compilation of the book and the commentaries are attributed to Li Chunfeng, the famous astronomer with Taoist leanings who held the office of Grand Astrologer (*taishi ling* 太史令) during the Zhenguan period (627–649; biographies in *Jiu Tang shu* 79.2717–19 and *Xin Tang shu* 204.5798). The content of the book, however, affords grounds for doubting this attribution. In 21.4a–b, the author relates that in 617 the Latter Saint (i.e., Laozi) descended on Zhongnan shan 終南山, announced to Li Chunfeng that the Li family would presently establish the Tang dynasty, and directed Li in writing a synopsis of the *Ershiba xiu jing* 二十八宿經 (in the celestial version consisting of twelve juan), that is, the divination technique occupying the rest of juan 21 (see *Song shi* 206.5232, where a *Shangxiang ershiba xiu zuanyao jue* 上像二十八宿纂要訣 in one juan is included in the list of works by Li Chunfeng).

This version of the announcement of the mandate is related to various other accounts, occurring in texts dating from the late Tang dynasty (618–907) to the Northern Song (960–1127), none of which make any mention of Li Chunfeng. See, for instance, *Tang huiyao* 50.865, *591 Luyi ji* 5.5b–6a and *593 Lidai chongdao ji* 4a–5b (both by Du Guangting), and *774 Youlong zhuan* 5.11a–14b (dated between 1086 and 1101). The account of the announcement of the mandate found in the latter text is said to be culled from a national history *Guoshi* 國史, and it is repeated, with variations, in *770 Hunyuan shengji* 8.4b–8a (dated 1191) by Xie Shouhao, who gives a *Tang shu* 唐書 as his source. Xie, however, adds the story concerning Li Chunfeng, giving a *Jinsuo liuzhu* as his source (*770 Hunyuan shengji* 8.2b; cf. 1.37a, where the title is rendered as *Jinsuo liuzhu ji* 記). Thus it would appear that the association of Li Chunfeng with the announcement of the mandate of the Tang dynasty derives from the present work. If the book existed earlier, it did not come to the attention of the hagiographers before the twelfth century.

The *Jinsuo liuzhu* is cited in several Song dynasty (960–1279) texts (e.g., *1226 Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 7.11b–12a; note that the citation in the Tang *464 Zhaijie lu* 7a, though corresponding to a commentary in the present book [24.5b] is identified as deriving from the original classic, *Jinsuo liuzhu jing*). It appears to have circulated particularly among the followers of the Zhengyi tradition, and it was clearly used as a source for the compilation of the books of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法. Thus the description of the *kaozhao fa* 考召法 (method of inspecting [demons] and summoning [spirits]) included in *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 7.1a–6b (dated 1116) is quoted from a *Jinsuo liuzhu* and appears as a reworking of passages found in the present book (cf. 28.6b, 7.2b–3a, 28.5b, 4.7b–8b, 5a–7b, and 7.3b–4b). Likewise, the passages on *bugang* found in *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 8.2b–4b correspond to 2.1a–b, 17.6a–b, 7b–8a, and 8.11b–12a of the present book. An important difference between the two versions of the *kaozhao fa* is found in a passage defining the tradition practiced. The *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 7.4a states simply that the priest "practices according to the celestial code" (*yi tianke xingfa* 依天科行法), while the present book adds that in so doing he practices the *Tianxin zhengyi zhi fa* 天心正一之法 (4.6a). The occurrence of this phrase suggests that it was composed after the origin of the Tianxin zhengfa movement in the 930s (see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* and *1227 Zongzhen biyao*). However, the phrase does not seem to be part of the original version of the *Jinsuo liuzhu*, from which *1227 Zongzhen biyao* quotes. It seems unlikely that Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗, who compiled and edited *1227 Zongzhen biyao* in an effort to promote the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa, would have suppressed the mention of this tradition had it been found in his source. It may be suspected that the phrase is a late addition to the existing copy of the book

(so much the more since it is the only reference to the Tianxin zhengfa; the *kaozhao fa* is defined throughout the book simply as a Zhengyi method).

It may be added that the content of the present book clearly seems to represent a layer of the Zhengyi tradition that is prior to the origin of the Tianxin zhengfa. The book contains a large amount of material related to the methods mentioned in early Zhengyi texts. Note, for instance, the visualization practices and forms of *bugang* associated with the generals of the Three Origins (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍) and described in juan 5–9 (cf. *1208 Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu* 1.12b–15a). Also the tradition of the book is referred to as the method of the Three and the Five (*sanwu zhi fa* 三五之法; preface, 2a; 3.1a–5b), and note that a characteristic title of a Zhengyi priest, widely used in early texts, defines him as a zhenren of Primordial Destiny Pacing the Mainstay of the Three and the Five of the Red Heaven (*chitian sanwu bugang yuanming zhenren* 赤天三五步綱元命眞人; see *615 Chisong zi zhangli* 2.22b). Moreover, nowhere in this material do we find any reflection of the typical Tianxin zhengfa reforms of the Zhengyi tradition. Thus, for instance, the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院) and the title of the first Heavenly Master (Zhang Daoling 張道陵) as commissioner of that department (*Quxie yuan shi* 使; see *1227 Zongzhen biyao* 2.6a) are absent from the present book, as are the army of spirit-soldiers (*yinbing* 陰兵) of the Eastern Peak (see *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*).

In a note on the dating of the book, T. H. Barrett points to a possible reference to the An Lushan Rebellion (25.16a–b), as well as to the mention of the Tibetan threat, which was a major concern especially during the reign of Daizong (763–779) and which lasted until the middle of the ninth century (15.1b; see Barrett, "Towards a date"). This would suggest a date some time in the late Tang (618–907) or the Five Dynasties (907–960). [*Editorial note:* On the placement of this article in the present section, see the introduction to part 3.B.5 above.]

The preface, attributed to Li Chunfeng, describes the transmission of the book into the world. The main revelatory deity is the Latter Saint, who is defined as a separate manifestation (*fenshen* 分身) of Lord Lao. He is said to have been incarnated as Laozi, later to be instated as the Jade Emperor (1a–2b). The Latter Saint transmitted the tradition to Yin Xi 尹喜, Zhang Daoling, and Wang Yuan 王遠, among others (2b–3a). Wang Yuan was ordered to transmit it further to Mao Ying 茅盈, who instructed the founders of the Shangqing tradition—including YANG XI and the two Xu—in its use (5b–6a). The preface adds that the present book transmits the teachings of the Former Saint (Qiansheng 前聖; i.e., Taishang daojun), as well as those of the Latter Saint. The book is said to result from a combination and codification of the sayings of both figures, distinguished in the original version by writing in black and red ink, respectively, with the addition of oral instructions received from the Latter Saint by Zhang Daoling and Wang Yuan (6a–b).

In juan 3 the revelation of the tradition from the Latter Saint to Zhang Daoling is described, and it is said that in this connection the Latter Saint introduced the term *Zhengyi* for the totality of the methods (3.2b, 4b, 5b). The tradition is said to be divided into three levels: Shangqing (in some places conceived as the teachings of the Former Saint, Taishang daojun, see 3.6b); Zhengyi proper; and the Five Methods (*wufa* 五法), which are related to the five fu of the Lingbao tradition (3.4b–5a; cf. *1240 Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 5a–b). These statements (as well as those of the preface) accord with the attempt manifested in the book to create a synthesis of the methods of *bugang* of the Shangqing and Zhengyi traditions.

Generally, *bugang* is described here as being performed in a series of variations (see, e.g., 22.7a–b): (1) "treading along the Terrestrial Sequence" (*nie diji* 躡地紀; here the Dipper, Beidou 北斗, is conceived as consisting of seven stars); (2) "flying along the Celestial Mainstay" (*fei tiangang* 飛天綱; here the Dipper is referred to as the Central Dipper, Zhongdou 中斗, and conceived as consisting of nine stars); (3) the Paces of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步); (4) the practice of covering one's body with the stars of the Dipper (*peiyi* 配衣); and (5) the sending forth of the forces of the Dipper by means of the twirling method (*nianjue* 捻訣). A frequent term for the latter practice is *zhuan tianguan* 轉天關 (revolving the Gate of Heaven, i.e., pointing the seventh star of the Dipper in the direction of the evil influences).

This system clearly reflects the concepts and terminology of the early Shangqing scriptures on *bugang* (see *1316 Dongzhen shangqing taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing*). In fact, the present book incorporates a good deal of material derived from these scriptures. Thus a central passage from *1316 Bu tiangang jing* (8a–b), describing the effects of performing the practice, is constantly repeated and elaborated upon (1.2b, 9b–10a, 15.4a). Yet the tenor of the book, with its emphasis on exorcistic and other ritual applications of *bugang*, is representative of the later Zhengyi rites. It may be noted in this connection that the author strongly criticizes the practice of retiring to the mountains in order to seek exclusively personal salvation (3.6a, 7.1a, 12.8b). This practice is connected with Buddhism and with the concrete and overt accumulation of merit (*yanggong* 陽功) through, for instance, the construction of temples, the fabrication of images, and the work of charity (19.8b–10b). Though positive in its own way, *yanggong* is said to be infinitely inferior to the intangible and hidden accumulation of merit (*yingong* 陰功) practiced by Taoist priests, whose ritual activity benefits all human beings and—while it relies on secret, inner practice—must be carried out among human beings (17.1a–19.8b).

Poul Andersen



FIGURE 53. Portrait of Laozi as Undifferentiated Beginning (*1277* 1.4a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1259)

Lingshu zhouhou chao 靈書肘後鈔
6 fols.
Song (960–1279)?
1279 (fasc. 1004)

"Breviary of the Numinous Writings." This work is a collection of summary descriptions of various exorcistic techniques, probably of the Song dynasty. The term *lingshu* 靈書 is commonly used to designate fu traditions such as the True Writs (*zhenwen* 眞文) of the Lingbao tradition and the "method of attracting and summoning" (*shezhao fa* 攝召法) used within the funeral liturgy of the *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法 for summoning the soul of the deceased (see *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 260.1a–28b). The present work, however, contains only methods for the living (some of which are designed to form part of *jiao* 醮 services), and at least the initial section is clearly related to the Zhengyi method of inspecting and summoning (*kaozhao fa* 考召法; 1a–2a; cf. *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*). The work begins with a description of practices of externalization of the Generals of the Three Origins (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍), and it continues with some references to the legend of Zhao Rui 趙芮, the patriarch of the *kaozhao fa* (cf. *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 11.2a–b and 23.8a–b). It may be noted that a *Sanyuan zhouhou lingshu* 三元肘後靈書 is quoted in *1015 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 6.5b for some information on the externalization of the *sanyuan jiangjun*.

Poul Andersen

Daofa zongzhi tu yanyi 道法宗旨圖衍義
2 juan
By Deng Nan 鄧柟, *zi* Yizheng 以正, *hao* Tieyai zi 鐵崖子, and Zhang Xixian 章希賢, *hao* Yangwu 養吾; preface dated 1299
1277 (fasc. 1004)

"Fundamental Principles of Taoist Rites Illustrated and Explained." This text offers a lay person's introduction the underlying philosophy of Thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法).

Of the authors, only Zhang Xixian is mentioned. He is referred to as a *canxue* 參學 (administrator) of the prefectural academy of Linchuan 臨川 in Jiangxi. He is the author of the explanations. Deng Nan drew the illustrations and may have been a daoshi (see fig. 53).

Among the prefatory matter, the first text, dated 1308, is by the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (d. 1316). It expresses the patriarch's admiration for the fact that Zhang Xixian managed to unite the teachings of the Three Teachings into a coherent discourse. Next comes Zhang's own preface, dated 1299, followed by a shorter one by Wang Wanqing 汪萬頃 (*hao* Kongxuan zi 空玄子), dated 1304. A concluding note by the author gives an account of the miraculous feats attributed to Kongxuan zi. It relates that one of Wang's student made his teacher's portrait shortly after his death in 1308. This act moved the sage to return to life. He thereupon wrote a last poem of farewell, burst out laughing, threw the brush away, and then died again. He was, however, seen about in Fujian until 1330.

The first juan of the work is devoted to cosmology in the Three Teachings discourse; this juan considers the works of Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) and other Confucian worthies and evolves toward the theory of *leifa*, quoting Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153; 2.11b).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.6 Shenxiao Fa and Related Thunder Rites

The name of Shenxiao 神霄 (Divine Empyrean) for the supreme Heaven situated above the traditional pantheon is supposed to have been introduced by LIN LINGSU, a court Taoist in the later period of the reign of Song Zhenzong (997–1022). Both the official histories (*Song shi* 462) and Taoist hagiography (LZTT 53.1a–16a) report that Lin was invited to court in the beginning of the Zhenghe period (1111–1118), at which time he had said: "In Heaven there are nine supreme [spheres], of which the Jade Purity Divine Empyrean [Shenxiao yuqing 神霄玉清] is the highest. . . . The sovereign there is the eldest son of the Highest Ancestor [Shangdi 上帝]. He presides over the South, and his name is the Great Sovereign of Long Life [Changsheng dadi 長生大帝]. Your majesty is he." Following Lin's visit, the emperor assumed the title Lord of the Tao (Daojun 道君), and all over the empire temples were erected in his honor. They were called Palaces for the Longevity of the Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao wanshou gong 神霄萬壽宮). Many other members of the imperial family were also identified as divine beings, and received Shenxiao registers (*Shenxiao bilu* 神霄秘籙) in confirmation. LIN LINGSU is credited with having been versed in the Five Thunder rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法) that enabled him to summon rain. At the capital, he also conducted *zhai* 齋 services on a grand scale for the salvation of the dead.

Among the many texts on Shenxiao rites and the Shenxiao pantheon preserved in

the *Daozang*, none can be attributed directly to LIN LINGSU himself or dated to the time when he was active (until 1116). The only work that bears his name is a song titled "Jinhuo tianding shenxiao sanqi huoling ge 金火天丁神霄三氣火鈴歌" in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 199.1a–5b, which is certainly spurious. Even the creation of an additional Shenxiao pantheon on top of the traditional one cannot with certainty be ascribed to him. Yet the fact that this addition occurred during the Song period (960–1279) is significant. The deities of the Shenxiao pantheon, which got its final form much later, all preside over, or play a role in, different kinds of rites (*fa* 法), in contrast to the more abstract and general pantheon headed by the Three Pure Ones. Great numbers of popular deities were enrolled as agents of the exorcist Thunder rites and were assigned to the new organizations of the heavenly government, such as the Ministry of North Apex of the Expulsion of Evil Forces (*Beiji quxie yuan* 北極驅邪院).

The Shenxiao rites also became part of the services for the salvation of the souls of the dead, especially the Orphan Souls (*guhun* 孤魂) of those who died an unnatural or violent death. The ritual of feeding these suffering souls followed the Buddhist practice of the Avalambana ritual, but Taoism added extensive rites for healing the dead of their diseases and injuries and then refining their substance in order to transform them into immortals (*liandu* 鍊度). This ritual became the prominent form of liturgy.

LIN LINGSU's successor at Huizong's court was Wang Jun 王俊 (or Wang Wenqing 王文卿; 1093–1153). Although it is said that Wang was recommended by Lin, there is no proof that the two men were connected or that Wang was Lin's disciple. Wang was also famous for his Five Thunder rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法) of the Shenxiao pantheon. Several texts state that Wang obtained his art from the fire master (*huoshi* 火師) Wang Zihua 汪子華 of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Wang Wenqing is the author of a number of treatises on *leifa* 雷法. Some of his disciples are also known. The lineage extended well into the Southern Song (1127–1279) period, especially in South China, the native region of both LIN LINGSU and Wang Wenqing.

The Shenxiao rites as we know them from the *Daozang,* however, all seem to have passed through the hands of BO YUCHAN. Bo also greatly enhanced and enlarged the Shenxiao legacy. He called himself the Little Clerk of the Divine Empyrean (*shenxiao sanli* 神霄散吏) as a sign of his devotion to this tradition. Under his direct or posthumous patronage, the Five Thunder rites thrived, and in the commentary of the Jade Pillar scripture (see below), more than 200 kinds of thunder are enumerated (see *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*).

It was probably BO YUCHAN who introduced Jiutian yingyuan leishen puhua tianzun 九天應元雷聲普化天尊 as an addition to the Shenxiao pantheon. This deity was the revealer of the Scripture of the Jade Pivot *(16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing),* a work that became the canon of the Thunder rites. Formed after the model of the Buddhist Samantabhadra, the Puhua tianzun represents the

esoteric practice of the thunder (*vajra*) in all its aspects; he represents life, and thus the life-giving rites, in contrast to the Taiyi jiuku tianzun 太乙救苦天尊, the master of death. The Puhua tianzun, the Jiuku tianzin, and the Nanji Changsheng dadi 南極長生大帝 introduced by LIN LINGSU are the three major deities of the Shenxiao pantheon of the Nine Sovereigns (*jiuchen* 九宸), in complement, but not superior, to the traditional Nine Majesties (*jiuyu* 九御) headed by the Three Pure Ones. In this way, the new exorcistic rites became fully integrated into the Taoist liturgy. The dual pantheon, moreover, gave a theological foundation to the separation of the liturgy into rituals for the living and rituals for the dead. Both forms of ritual are represented in the Shenxiao fa, which enlarged substantially the importance of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* by creating the sixty-chapter version that now stands at the beginning of the *Daozang*. The dual pantheon also integrated a vast number of popular demon-quelling spirits, the rites of whom have been preserved in *1166 Fahai yizhu* and *1220 Daofa huiyuan* (the article concerning this large collection of texts has been placed in part 3.B.7, on the Qingwei 清微 school).

***Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經**

61 juan

After 1112

1 (fasc. 1–13)

"Wonderful Superior Book of Immeasurable Salvation from [the Canon of] the Marvelous Jewel." This version of the *Duren jing* includes the original fourth-century text (juan 1, pages 15a–16a and 18a–20b, however, do not belong to the original work; see section 1.B.3.a) plus sixty juan that were added after 1112, probably by LIN LINGSU. This date is provided by *1282 Gaoshang shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi* 1b, where the revelation of the *Lingbao zhenjing* 靈寶眞經 is announced "after the year *renchen* of the Zhenghe era [1112]." The same text then gives (2b–4b) the content of a *Gaoshang shenxiao taishang dongxhuan lingbao duren jing* in sixty-one juan, which corresponds indeed to the content of the present work. The new *Duren jing* that consequently belonged to the Shenxiao scriptures (the term *shenxiao* is found all through the text on pages 22.12a, 40.17b, etc.) was to be considered on the same level with the Tongzhen 通眞 scriptures (*1282 Shoujing shi* 4b), which may be the reason this *Duren jing* is placed at the head of the Taoist canon.

The title Changsheng dadi jun 長生大帝君 in juan 31 refers to Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125). The arrangement of the sixty additional juan could well correspond to a sixty-day cycle of recitations. At the same time, these sixty juan represent a journey descending from the Great Tao to the hells, and ending with "the eternal cessation of reincarnation."

The form of each juan is identical and is patterned upon the ancient *Duren jing*,

but each juan also presents itself as a statement on a distinct practice, sometimes including symbols (*fu* 符). Occasionally, interesting ritual (3.13a–b) or cosmological (40.4b–5a) indications are found. The frequent use of the alchemical term *zhentu* 眞土 (True Earth; 13.3b, 31.6b, 52.3b, etc.) is noteworthy, as is the occurrence of phrases that were to become key expressions in the Lingbao dafa: "causing zhenren to descend and marshaling the spirits" (*jiangzhen zhaoling* 降眞召靈; title of juan 23) and "silent audience of the supreme god" (*mochao shangdi* 默朝上帝; 31.6a). It may be noted that Beiji dadi 北極大帝 is said to have taught Mingwei 明威 (i.e., Mengwei 盟威) zhenren an exorcistic method linked to the Beidou 北斗 seven stars (37.13b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Strickmann, "The longest Taoist scripture."

John Lagerwey

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhiyin
元始無量度人上品妙經直音

23 fols.

2 (fasc. 13)

"True Sounds of the Wonderful Scripture of the Primordial Beginning on Universal Salvation." This text contains the phonetic glosses—the correct sounds (*zhiyin* 直音) of the title—for the recitation of the sixty-one juan of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* (cf. Strickmann, "The longest Taoist scripture," 341).

John Lagerwey

Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu
靈寶無量度人上品妙經符圖

3 juan

Preface attributed to Emperor Huizong of the Song (r. 1100–1125)

147 (fasc. 67)

"Fu and Charts of the Book of Salvation." This text, a kind of commentary on the *Duren jing,* is one of the Shenxiao 神霄 writings (Strickmann, "The longest Taoist scripture," 344–46). Strickmann suggests that the reference in the preface attributed to Huizong (2b) to the "elimination of heterodox methods and the flourishing of the True Way" in the years *renchen* 壬辰 and *gengzi* 庚子 (1112 and 1120) may refer to the persecution of Buddhism under Huizong. It should be pointed out, however, that the attribution of the preface is open to question: it is neither signed nor dated, and the author refers to himself by using not the imperial *zhen* 朕 but the ordinary *wo* 我.

Strickmann also mentions the cosmic charts found both in this text (2.5b, 3.4b–5b) and in *1219 Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* (2.18b, 2b–3a). These and other elements of the Shenxiao movement were to become standard features of the later *Lingbao dafa* method: all its basic fu, and such key practices as the *liandu* 鍊度 (3.6a–b; *1219 Zishu dafa* 11.30b) and the *yuangang liuyan* 元綱流演 (3.16a; *1219 Zishu dafa* 1.19b) are already found, or at least mentioned, in these Shenxiao texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Strickmann, "The longest Taoist scripture."

John Lagerwey

Gaoshang shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi **高上神霄宗師受經式**

7 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

1282 (fasc. 1005)

"Protocol of the Reception of the Scriptures of the Patriarch of the Highest Divine Empyrean." This work is an introduction to the revelation of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing,* that is, the Song version of the Book of Salvation in sixty-one juan (see part 3.B.1). The present work tells the story of the revelation of the text by the Worthy of the Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi zhi zun 元始之尊) and of its transmission, first to Yuchen taishang daojun 玉宸太上道君 and then from the latter to the True King (Shenxiao Yuqing zhenwang 神霄玉清眞王), divine patriarch of the Shenxiao 神霄 order. The latter figure—after having entrusted his younger brother, the Qinghua dijun 青華帝君, with his functions in Heaven—descended to Earth in order to become the ruler of humankind, that is to say, Emperor Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125). In conjunction with this divine reign, in the year *renchen* of the Zhenghe era (1012), the great Book of Salvation was revealed, and with it the register that empowered its possession, the *Gaoshan shenxiao yuqing milu* 高上神霄玉清秘籙 in three juan.

The present work contains the complete list of titles of the sixty-one chapters of this version of the Book of Salvation (2b–4a); then it presents the register and other divine works revealed by the divine redeemer Emperor Huizong, or compiled under his auspices: the imperial commentaries on the *Daode jing* 道德經 and the *Zhuangzi,* the hymns and hagiographies written by him or under his direction, and finally the editing of the Taoist canon (5a–6b). The work ends with a short presentation of the ordination regulations and degrees pertaining to the Shenxiao order.

Although there is some historical foundation for a relation between certain elements of the Taoist theocracy of Huizong and the Shenxiao revelations, it is obvious that the present work is an attempt to muster the emperor's patronage for the order as it developed in later times. The simple reference throughout the text to "Song Hui-

zong" indicates that it could not have been written during the emperor's reign. The Shenxiao rituals became popular in Southern Song times, and the present work must have been written in connection with this late development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Strickmann, "The longest Taoist scripture."

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Taishang sanshiliu bu zunjing 太上三十六部尊經

6 juan

8 (fasc. 18–19)

"Venerable Scripture of the Most High in Thirty-six Sections." According to the author of *4 Wushang neibi zhenzang jing* (4.1b), a scripture of this title had been written to demonstrate that the Taoist books of the Six Dynasties (220–589), divided into Three Caverns of twelve sections each, had been superseded by a new literature. The present book is the summary of that literature. Just before giving a list of the thirty-six sections, *4 Zhenzang jing* attacks the "ignorant" who divide Taoist books into such sections without realizing that "all beings alike constitute the matter of scripture" (cf. *1221 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 54.5b–7a). In similar fashion, *9 Taishang yicheng haikong zhizang jing* criticizes those "poor Taoists who, failing to understand my meaning, preach the scriptures of the Three Caverns in thirty-six sections and, on the basis of these texts, develop a spirit of certitude" (10.8b–9a).

A certain number of passages in the present text are virtually identical to passages in *9 Haikong jing* (for example, 1.12a–b and 6.15a–b here correspond to 7.14a–b and 7.11b–12a, respectively, in the latter). In another parallel passage, the two texts refer in complementary fashion to the early Heavenly Master movement: according to *9 Haikong jing* (7.16b–17a), the "powerful spirits [*guishen* 鬼神] of the five roads" lost the Way because of four demons (*mo* 魔); here (2.6b–7b) they are said to have lost the Way because they had recourse to libationers (*jijiu* 祭酒). The number and the nature of such parallel passages suggest that these two texts were written, if not by the same author(s), at least at the same time and in the same place.

Other elements, however, suggest a much later date. Most notably, a certain number of probably Northern Song (960–1127) practices are mentioned: the methods of the Four Saints (*sisheng* 四聖) and of the Heart of Heaven (*tianxin* 天心; 6.6b); a ritual of the Eleven Luminaries (*yao* 曜, 3.12a); and a series of thirty-six fu to be used in conjunction with *318 Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* in rituals for the salvation of the souls of the dead. The notion that the practice of returning the elixir can harm both nature and life (*xingming* 性命; 5.12a) also seems to point to the Song period.

The presence of these elements in the text suggests that it was written in the Northern Song and made to correspond to the table of contents of *4 Zhenzang jing*. Ideologically, it is, nonetheless, close to the scriptures of early Tang Taoist monasticism.

John Lagerwey

Mingzhen powang zhangsong 明眞破妄章頌

7 fols.

By Zhang Jixian 張繼先, *hao* Xujing zhenren 續靜眞人, the Thirtieth Heavenly Master (1092–1126)

979 (fasc. 615)

"Stanzas of Understanding Truth and Refuting Error." This text contains a series of forty-three didactic, four-line, seven-syllable poems on ritual, mainly *liandu* 鍊度 and Thunder rites. For the expression *mingzhen* 明眞 in the title, compare the poem on page 6a: "Dang mingzhen yao 當明眞要." The *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 71 reproduces the present text under the title *Xujing tianshi powang zhang* 虛靖天師破妄章. This version has one additional poem (on 7a), entitled "Sanjiao yili 三教一理," and several variant titles.

The work is not mentioned in Zhang Jixian's extant biographies, nor is it included in *1249 Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu*. It appears to have been considered spurious already at an early date.

Kristofer Schipper

Taiqing yusi zuoyuan biyao shangfa 太清玉司左院祕要上法

12 fols.

By Xiaying 霞映, *hao* Dongshan zhenren 洞山眞人

1247 (fasc. 991)

"Secret, Essential, and Superior Methods from the Left Hall of the Highest Purity Jade Office." This is a short manual for exorcism (*kaozhao fa* 考召法; see page 8b). As the name of the author does not appear to be complete, he may be tentatively identified as Li Yingxin 李應新, *hao* Dongxuan zhenren, a patriarch of the *hundun xuanmen dafa* 混沌玄門大法, a Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法) in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 110.1b (also 109.12b).

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Leifa yixuan pian 雷法議玄篇

15 fols.

By Patriarch Wan zongshi 萬宗師, *hao* Yuanxu zhenren 元虛眞人

1254 (fasc. 997)

"Explanations on the Mysteries of Thunder Magic." This is collection of short essays on *leifa* 雷法. Only the first piece is by Patriarch Wan. He claims to be a disciple of Wang Jun 王俊, alias Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153), the founder of the Five Thunder rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法) of the Shenxiao 神霄 school (3a) who is otherwise unknown. Wan relates in his introduction that he first studied the *leifa* from books but failed to understand it. After having been properly initiated, however, he obtained the essentials of the art, and the present work is intended to share these with other adepts. His essay contains a number of more theoretical considerations on the exorcistic practices of Thunder magic.

A second essay is titled "Leifa yuanhai zhengyanshu 雷法淵海正演數" (Correct Explanations on the Arts [reading 術 for 數] from the Ocean of Thunder Magic). The anonymous author wrote a long didactic poem that he had printed in 1248. Probably the poem "Yuxiao yin, zeng Shi'an xiansheng 玉霄吟贈識庵先生" (Song of the Jade Empyrean, presented to Master Shi'an) is by the same author. From the context, we can suppose that the recipient of the poem was surnamed He 何; beside He, the poem mentions a Master Kuang 鄺. Neither person has been indentified.

The work continues with a short treatise on the "Chuahuo zhenxing 欻火眞形" (True Form of the Violent Fire), the talisman of the God of Thunder. The author explains that during the years 1078–1085 this efficacious talisman belonged to Patriarch Zeng 曾宗師. The author obtained it in 1133 in Jinling 金陵 (Nanking). Now, as he is advancing in age, he proposes to print it.

The work ends with a note on the sacrifice to the spirits of the Four Directions on the Thunder Altar ("Taiji leitan ji siweishen fa 太極雷壇祭四維神法"). It contains a number of theriomorphic talismans.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Taiyi huofu zougao qirang yi 太乙火府奏告祈禳儀

17 fols.

217 (fasc. 84)

"Ritual of Announcement for an Exorcism, from the Fire Court of the Great Monad." This text gives in succinct form the ritual found in *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 188–94 (cf. van der Loon, "A Taoist collection"). According to the introduction to these juan, written in 1271 by Huang Yixuan 黃一炫, "the thunder of the Fire court of the Great Monad . . . is a manifestation [*huashen* 化身] of the true qi of the Northern Dipper." The Great Monad is the "master of the methods" that are linked to the heavenly body known as Yuebo 月孛. Huang also recounts the story of the first six of the seven ancestral masters of the lineage invoked in the present text (*1220 Daofa huiyuan* 188.3b).

In addition to an invocation, a triple offering, and the presentation of a memorial, the present text contains a litany on the redemptive powers of the lords of the Seven Principles of the Northern Dipper. The Fire Court is the residence of the Celestial Emperor of the Great Redness. We learn from *1166 Fahai yizhu* 3–5 that this emperor is none other than the Great Monad.

John Lagerwey

Taishang shuo chaotian xielei zhenjing 太上說朝天謝雷眞經

18 fols.

17 (fasc. 25)

"Scripture on Petitioning Heaven for the Propitiation of Thunder." The thirty-six Thunder Gods are in charge of the punishment of evil. The present book tells how to avert their wrath, especially for deceased persons. A number of talismans "in seal script," should be put in the coffin. After closing it, a hole should be made in the wood, enabling the talismans to communicate with the powers of the Thunder.

This scripture, of a popular idiom, is otherwise unknown. A few formal parallels loosely link it to the two Thunder books preceding it in the *Daozang* (*15 Wushang jiuxiao yuqing dafan ziwei xuandu leiting yujing* and *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*). It prescribes the incantation of the name of the Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun 九天應元雷聲普化天尊, and speaks of the great power of Marshal Deng 鄧元帥, one of the major exorcist gods of the Thunder rites (12a).

An appendix (15b–18a) contains four laudatory hymns by different divine worthies, each one having apposed his seal as a guarantee for the divine transmission of these texts, which appear to be of mediumistic origin; the "canonical titles" given to these worthies are spurious. A final paragraph, dictated by Qingdi tianjun 青帝天君, calls upon the faithful to distribute this scripture in print.

Kristofer Schipper

Deng tianjun xuanling bamen baoying neizhi 鄧天君玄靈八門報應內旨

14 fols.

1266 (fasc. 1002)

"Esoteric Meaning of Retribution through the Eight Gates of Dark Transcendence, [Transmitted by] the Heavenly Lord Deng." The eight gates of dark transcendence refer to the disposition of the nine palaces in the Hidden Days (*dunjia* 遁甲) method. The Heavenly Lord Deng is a deity of the Five Thunders ritual (*1220 Daofa huiyuan* 80, "Yanhuo lüling Deng tianjun dafa 焱火律令鄧天君大法"). He was worshipped on the Wudang shan (*962 Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 1.7a). Our text also mentions the

divine marshal Wen yuanshuai 溫元帥 (14a, on Wen, see *780 Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan*).

The author claims to be inspired, among others, by theories developed by Xu Shouxin 徐守信 (1033–1108) under the name Damen chui gejue 打門槌歌訣 (1a and 7a). The text itself is a collection of magical recipes, short circumambulatory rites, and mantic formulas of various origins. It seems to have been conceived primarily for therapeutic rituals.

Marc Kalinowski

***Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠**

46 juan

Ming (1368–1644)

1166 (fasc. 825–833)

"Pearls Retrieved from the Sea of Rites." This is a loose collection of various methods of Five Thunder magic (*wulei fa* 五雷法). Many of the rites are close to those given in *1220 Daofa huiyuan*, albeit in a less complete form (compare, for instance, the rites of Marshal Deng 鄧元帥 in juan 23 to 26 of the present work with those in juan 80 in the *Daofa huiyuan*).

This compilation dates to the Ming, as among the deities we find Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, an appellation for Xuanwu 玄武 only used beginning in Ming times. A preface (45.7b) by Zhang Shunlie 章舜烈, a master of the Tianpeng 天蓬 exorcism and healing tradition gives the year 1344. This is the only explicit date in the entire work.

Among the methods that stand out prominently are those related to the Shenxiao 神霄 tradition of the *Yushu jing* (see *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*). Juan 1, 2, and 11 of the present work contain the Inner Sublimation (*neilian* 內煉) rites of this tradition. In 11.12b, the ritual calls for the recitation of the *Taishang huanglao dijun shuo yunlei tiantong zhenjing* 太上黃老帝君說運雷天童眞經. The text, as it is given, is a version combining *632 Taishang taiqing tiantong huming miaojing* and of *633 Taishang taiqing huanglao dijun yunlei tiantong yinfan xianjing*. These texts were revealed to Liang Guangying 梁光映, alias Liang Wuzhen 梁悟眞, on Maoshan, in 1109 or 1112.

From juan 12 on, the *Fahai yizhu* gives all kinds of rituals related to the worship of the Dipper stars (*doufa* 斗法), such as the methods using the divine help of the goddess Jiutian xiannu 九天玄女 (preface signed by Li Xisheng 李希聖). Another highly popular deity is Guandi 關帝 (here rendered Guan yuanshuai 關元帥), who has rituals in juan 39 and again in juan 43.

Juan 14 also contains rites of the Beidou 北斗, but this time of the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) of Bo Yuchan. In juan 14 we find the interesting method of calling

cranes (*zhaohe* 召鶴), whether a single bird as a means of transportation upon achieving immortality or a whole flock for enlivening a successfully concluded liturgical service.

Juan 15 has a ritual for the transmission of the *wulei fa*. The rites of purification and Pacing the Mainstay (*bugang* 步綱) are in general very close to the southern Taiwanese practice that still exists today.

Also close to today's practice are certain aspects of the exorcist "lifting the earth" (*qitu* 起土) rites in juan 30 and, equally linked to the Great Year stellar deity (Taisui 太歲), the rites of Marshal Yin 殷元帥 in juan 44. In our text we find (5b–8b) the names and talismans corresponding to the twelve generals who assist Marshal Yin in his duties. The names are those of the Twelve Royal Lords (*wangye* 王爺) venerated on the occasion of the Royal Offerings (*wangjiao* 王醮) prevalent today in southern Taiwan and southern Fujian.

Kristofer Schipper

Wushang jiuxiao yuqing dafan ziwei xuandu leiting yujing
無上九霄玉清大梵紫微玄都雷霆玉經

28 fols.

15 (fasc. 24)

"Precious Book of the Thunder [Rites] from the Nine Empyrian Jade Purity Great Brahma Pole Star Dark Capital." This undated modern scripture of the Shangqing Lingbao liturgy contains a rather systematic presentation of the Shenxiao 神霄 pantheon and the rituals connected with it. Most of the major deities from this pantheon, or assimilated with it, are presented here, as well as some cosmological theories related to the Thunder rites. Uppermost are the Nine Sovereigns (Jiuchen 九宸) of the Nine Stellar Palaces, to whom memorials (*zou* 奏) are addressed. Then come the Nine Offices (*jiusi* 九司), in charge of receiving the reports (*shen* 申; 11a–b).

Bo Yuchan in one of his letters to his disciple Peng Helin 彭鶴林, dated 1217, mentions the printing of the present scripture by Peng and its distribution in the Jiangxi area (see 1307 *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 4.19b).

Among the titles of gods mentioned we find the Jiuzhou duxian taishi gaoming dashi 九州都仙太史高明大使 [Xu Xun] and the Jiutian yingyuan leishen puhua tianzun 九天應元雷聲普化天尊, the principal deity of *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*. These titles are not known before the thirteenth century.

Kristofer Schipper

Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing
九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經
11 fols.
16 (fasc. 25)

"Precious Book of the Jade Pivot, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy of Universal Transformation of the Sound of the Thunder of Responding Origin in the Nine Heavens." This undated work is quoted in the commentary dated 1103 by Zhu Weiyi 朱惟一 of the *Leiting aozhi* 雷霆奧旨 (*1220 Daofa huiyuan* 76.13b), attributed to Bo Yuchan. This suggests that the present work on Five Thunder ritual belongs to the early years of the Shenxiao 神霄 tradition. An edition with a colophon dated 1333 is preserved in the British Library (see Little, *Taoism and the arts of China*, 237–39). Bo's involvement in the diffusion of the Shenxiao *leiting* rites is confirmed in many places. His *1307 Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 4.19b mentions the printing and diffusion by his disciple Peng Helin 彭鶴林 of a *Leiting yujing*. This mention may refer to *15 Wushang jiuxiao yuqing dafan ziwei xuandu leiting yujing* as well as to the present work, which in the colophon of *99 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun baojing jizhu* by Thirty-ninth Heavenly Master Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 is also called *Leiting yujing* and dated 1333.

The Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun is the Taoist form of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Puxian 普賢). His presence in the Taoist pantheon is closely linked to the present scripture.

The *16 Yushu baojing* is one of the most prominent scriptures in modern liturgy and an important treatise on the Shenxiao Thunder rites. The style, the frequent occurrence of abstruse characters, as well as the fact that the commentary *99 Baojing jizhu* is attributed to Bo, makes the latter a likely candidate for its authorship.

Kristofer Schipper

Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing jizhu
九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經集註
2 juan
By Xu Daoling 徐道齡, *hao* Xuanyang zi 玄陽子; colophon dated 1333
99 (fasc. 50)

"Collected Glosses on the Precious Book of the Jade Pivot," referring to *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*. The main glosses (*zhu* 註) are attributed to the patriarch Bo Yuchan whose relationship to the Jade Pivot scripture is well known, whereas the first Heavenly Master is credited with explaining the general meaning (*yi* 義), the Thunder deity Zhang tianjun 張天君 with the interpretation (*shi* 釋), and Lü Dongbin with the hymns (*zan* 贊). The text quotes no other source.

According to a colophon by the Thirty-ninth Heavenly Master Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子 (d. 1344), the present work was "found" and printed by Xuanyang zi, i.e., Xu Daoling. In 1334, the same scholar published a commentary on the *Beidou jing* 北斗經 (*750 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu*) that in many respects resembles the present. Like these glosses on the Jade Pivot, the commentary on the *Beidou jing* also appears to be based on divine inspiration, in the latter case by Zitong dijun 梓童帝君.

Kristofer Schipper

Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baochan
九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶懺
11 fols.
195 (fasc. 82)

"Precious Litany of the Heavenly Worthy of Universal Transformation on the Sound of Thunder." This Heavenly Worthy is the Taoist Samantabhadra, the revealer of *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing* (see the present text, 5a), of which this ritual is a cognate. It does not follow the usual litany style of reciting long lists of Tianzun, but is more in the style of a homage (*liwen* 禮文). Pages 8a–9b list the deities of the Shenxiao pantheon, including the Jiuchen 九宸.

Kristofer Schipper

***Leiting yushu youzui fachan* 雷霆玉樞宥罪法懺**
9 fols.
196 (fasc. 82)

"Ritual Litany for the Forgiving of Sins from the Jade Pillar of Thunder." The *196 Youzui fachan* short ritual, cognate to *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*. The Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun 九天應元雷聲普化天尊 is invoked as the Lord of the Thirty-six Heavens.

A hymn in seven-character verses on 4a–b has a distictly popular flavor.

Kristofer Schipper

***Taishang xuansi miezui zifu xiaozai fachan* 太上玄司滅罪紫府消災法懺**
10 fols.
536 (fasc. 295)

"Litany of the Most High for Blotting out Sins in the Dark Tribunal and Averting Disaster in the Purple Office." Recited by a priest on behalf of a lay believer, this ritual enables one to avoid any star-fated catastrophe and to appear innocent in the courts of the underworld.

The high rank in the celestial hierarchy accorded Leisheng puhua tianzun 雷聲普化天尊 marks this text as modern.

John Lagerwey

Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa 高上神霄玉清眞王紫書大法
12 juan
Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?
1219 (fasc. 881–883)

"Great Magic from the Purple Book of the True King of the Highest Divine Empyrean Jade Purity." This is a complete manual of exorcism in the tradition of the Five Thunder magic. By a number of elements, notably diagrams (juan 1) and initiation titles (5.6a), it is indeed linked to other Shenxiao manuals, but without the "salvation by refining" (*liandu* 鍊度) component. The undated and unsigned preface explains that the True King, who is the patron deity of this form of exorcism, is the eldest of eight sons of the Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王 and his spouse, the Jiutian shangxuan yuqing shenmu 九天上玄玉清神母. The True King is also known as Nanji changshen dadi 南極長生大帝. By his own volition, he descended to Earth to save mankind. This account is slighty altered in the book itself, as on page 1.3b, the Yuanshi tianwang declares: "I have ordered the Taihuang wanfu zhenjun 太皇萬福眞君 to open the book cases of the Purple Empyrean and give them to the eldest son of the Jade Emperor [Yudi] so that the teachings of Heaven be promulgated and mankind may be saved and return to the correct Tao." In the genealogical chart given on 1.14b, it is also shown that Yuhuang descends from Yuanshi tianwang, and that the Shenxiao yuqing wang is the oldest of the eight sons of Yuhuang. On page 1.15b, the deity is again identified as the son of the Yuanshi tianwang. Probably, Yuhuang is considered here as the hypostasis of the Yuanshi tianwang.



FIGURE 54. Female deity holding the register (*1219* 11.35a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1202)

At the beginning of juan 1, it is specified that the True King was ordered by Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 to become the ruler of all men (that is, the emperor of China; 1.1a). This is spelled out in greater detail on page 3a, where the revelation of the *Shenxiao fa* is linked to the crucial year *jiachen* 甲辰 of the Lord of the Tao's (Daojun 道君) ascendancy. As in other texts in this part, these are references to the reign of Song Huizong (1100–1125) as a Taoist redeemer. Similar prophecies are found in the preface of *147 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* attributed to Song Huizong concerning the year *renchen* 壬辰. These years could then correspond to the years 1124 and 1112 respectively.

In fact, however, nothing in the present work allows us to consider it as a product of the reign of Huizong and the liturgy of Lin Lingsu. The latter part of the work contains the documents for the transmission of the present ritual tradition, and there the True King is already the patron saint (*zushi* 祖師) of the order (12.9b). A passage beginning on 5.6a gives the full range of ordination titles and their correspondence with the ordinary degrees of the Taoist clergy. These grades appear to be those of the modern Zhengyi order, such as Zhengyi mengwei 正一盟威, Sanwu dugong 三五都功, Shangqing dadong 上清大洞, (5.2a–b) and this is confirmed for the offices (*zhi* 職) the masters receive (see 5.6b). The present work was therefore compiled at a time the Shenxiao revelation was already fully institutionalized and coupled with the liturgical organization of the Zhengyi order.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.7 The Qingwei School

Among the modern lineages of Thunder rites for exorcism and salvation, the Qingwei 清微 school has a special importance. As the latest of the different ritual currents, it appears as a successor to most others, extending its patriarchy well into the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). It endeavors to encompass the different traditions, such as Zhengyi 正一, Lingbao 靈寶, and Daode 道德, and reveres the Shangqing 上清 female patriarch Wei Huacun as one of its founders. The school was officially recognized and adopted by the Zhengyi order. Its patriarchs are mentioned among those of the various schools in the prayers of *503 Yulu shengshen zidu zhuanjing yi*, a ritual performed at the Ming court. In the ordination tables of the Qing (1644–1911) period of the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 temple in Peking, the Qingwei school ranks second in importance to the Quanzhen 全眞 order (see Oyanagi Shigeta, *Hakuunkan shi*, 103–8). Indeed, during the Qing, the daoshi of the Zhengyi order were often defined, in terms of their liturgical capacity, as "Lingbao qingwei 靈寶清微" practitioners.

The Qingwei school claims its descent from the legendary female ancestor Zu Shu 祖舒, who is said to have lived during the Five Dynasties (907–960) period in the southern region of Guangxi. She had many women disciples. Huang Shunshen, a local official in Guangxi during the thirteenth century, is named in the extensive genealogies of the Qingwei school as one of the founders. The multiple references

of the scholar Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241–1318) to Qingwei rites in South China suggest their popularity at that time (see his *548 Taiji jilian neifa*, preface and *passim*). Other daoshi whose relationship with the Qingwei school is indicated by independent sources include Ye Xizhen 葉希眞, also known as Ye Yunlai 葉雲萊, who was active in the late thirteenth century (see *962 Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 3.27b), and his disciple ZHANG SHOUQING. The patriarch ZHAO YIZHEN (d. 1382) also contributed to the dissemination of the Qingwei methods. After their deaths, these patriarchs were enshrined as members of the pantheon of the Qingwei school, for this movement practiced the deification of human beings even more extensively than had the preceding Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and the Shenxiao fa 神霄法.

The Qingwei school developed a distinctive style of talismanic writing, which is found in all their scriptures and rituals (see, for instance, the rendition of the text of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* in *80 Yunzhuan duren miaojing*). Considering itself a successor to the Shenxiao school, the movement was mainly concerned with Thunder methods (*leifa* 雷法) for the purpose of saving the souls of the dead. However, the extensive manual of Qingwei rites included at the beginning of *1220 Daofa huiyuan* (juan 1–55) also contains rites for obtaining offspring (juan 42) and protection against epidemics, war, locusts, tigers, and other calamities. The last chapter of the manual (juan 55) is devoted to the treatment of mental illness.

The relationship between the Qingwei school and the *Yuhuang benxing jijing* 玉皇本行集經 *(10–11 Gaoshang yuhuang benxing* and *1440 Huangjing jizhu*) deserves attention. Although it is the fundamental scripture (*benwen* 本文) of the daoshi of the Lingbao qingwei school, the texts of the *Yuhuang jing* do not explicitly mention this relationship. Yet other closely related scriptures, such as *194 Gaoshang yuhuang manyuan baozhan*, clearly indicate that they belong to the Qingwei school by invoking its patriarchs and saints (see, e.g., 1.1b–2a and 2.1b). The *Yuhuang jing* did not appear before the late Southern Song (1127–1279) period. It seems safe to assume that it was a scripture of the Qingwei school.

***Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經**

3 juan

10 (fasc. 23)

"Combined Scriptures of the Founding Acts of the Jade Emperor on High." This text comprises three scrolls (*juan*) and five chapters (*pin*). Since the late middle ages, Yuhuang 玉皇 has been an epithet given to the chief deity of the pantheon. In this most sacred scripture of modern Taoism, he is pictured as the leader of the host of gods assembling before the throne of the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning in the Qingwei 清微 heaven. There he multiplies his body in order to speak to all parts of the universe the Pure Doctrine of Salvation. Then he becomes one again and tells

the story of his birth as an avatar of the Most High Daojun and his subsequent cultivation of sainthood during 3,200 kalpas, before attaining the status of Golden Immortal with the title of Tathāgata (*rulai* 如來), King of Pure and Spontaneous Awakening, in order to teach all bodhisattva the true doctrine of Mahāyāna.

The scriptures making up *10 Yuhuang benxing jijing* are not mentioned before the thirteenth century. The appendix of the *Junzhai dushu zhi* of 1249 ("Fuzhi 附志," 1161) gives a reference to an edition printed in 1240 by the Chengtian lingying guan 承天靈應觀 in Hangzhou, which was based on a version from Sichuan (*Shu ben* 蜀本), with a preface by Cheng Gongxu 程公許 (*jinshi* 1211; VDL 99). The Chengtian lingying guan is mentioned in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 75.8a. It was dedicated to the cult of Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君 and received its present name in 1236.

Quotations from the *10 Yuhuang benxing jijing* can be found in a number of Yuan (1279–1368) works, such as *103 Yuqing wuji zongzhen zhenwen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 5.17a, 25b. The second *pin* contains the revelation, by Yuanshi tianzun, of the True Writs in Vermilion Writing on Jade Tablets (*Lingbao chishu yupian zhenwen* 靈寶赤書玉篇眞文) from *22 Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing*.

The extent to which the present work may be a reconstitution based on the lost early Lingbao scripture *Lingbao zhenwen duren benxing miaojing* 靈寶眞文度人本行妙經 (see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 265) is difficult to determine.

Kristofer Schipper

***Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經**

3 juan, 6 fols. + 3 fols.; appendix (Songjing ganying 誦經感應), 4 fols.

Attributed to Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 187 B.C.)

11 (fasc. 23–24)

"Combined Scriptures of the Founding Acts by the Jade Emperor on High." This undated commentary, spuriously attributed to Zhang Liang in his function as supreme minister of the Heavenly Pivot (Tianshu shangxiang 天樞上相), is placed directly after the "fundamental scriptures" (*benwen* 本文) text of the corresponding scripture of the same title in the Ming canon, *10 Yuhuang benxing jijing*. It is difficult to say whether this placement is the result of an oversight by the compilers or whether this commentary was equally considered to be a *benwen*. The text yields no clues as to the date of its compilation. The commentary is preceded and followed by a number of equally spurious documents pertaining to the collation and transmission of the text by two unknown saints named Lin Shaohua 林少華 and Cang Rujia 蒼汝嘉.

The appendix contains seven anecdotes illustrating the miraculous powers of the text, all dating from the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) periods. The sources of these anecdotes are unknown.

Kristofer Schipper

Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jingsui 高上玉皇本行經髓
6 fols. + 3 fols. appendix, "Chuanjing yuanliu 傳經源流"
Transmitted by Liu Chuyuan 劉處源 (fl. 1344)
12 (fasc. 24)

"Essentials of the Combined Scriptures of the Founding Acts of the Jade Emperor on High." This is an abbreviated version of *10 Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing*. According to the appended account, this abstract was passed on to Liu Chuyuan by an immortal in the year 1344. Liu was a Qingwei 清微 master of the twenty-fourth generation after the founding goddess Qingzhen Zixu yuanjun 清眞紫虛元君 (Wei Huacun).

Kristofer Schipper

Gaoshang yuhuang xinyin jing 高上玉皇心印經
1 fol.
13 (fasc. 24)

"Scripture of the Seal of the Heart of the Jade Emperor." This text is a didactic poem in four-word verses, without any indication as to authorship or date. The mention of the practice of the Silent Audience before the Emperor-on-High (*mochao shangdi* 默朝上帝) refers to an important meditative and liturgical practice of the Southern Song (1127–1279) period.

The present text is included in the liturgy of *529 Lingbao wujing tigang*, which is also probably a Southern Song work.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao chaotian xiezui dachan 太上靈寶朝天謝罪大懺
10 juan
189 (fasc. 79–80)

"Great Litany of Atonement, for the Audience in Heaven of the Lingbao Liturgy." This longest of all Taoist litanies, listing no less than 1,200 Heavenly Worthies *tianzun* (天尊), is of a late date. Among the great Heavenly Worthies invoked at the beginning of each litany, we find, for instance, the Zhenming dasheng jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun, the Taoist Samantabhadra, introduced by *16 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*. Its recitation is mentioned in *467 Da Ming xuanjiao licheng zhaijiao yi* 10b (dated 1374).

Kristofer Schipper

Yuhuang youzui xifu baochan 玉皇宥罪錫福寶懺
24 fols.
By Xin Hanchen 辛漢臣; fourteenth century (?)
193 (fasc. 81)

"Precious Litany of Repentance That Moves the Jade Emperor to Grant Absolution from Guilt and the Allotment of Good Fortune." This writing is attributed to Xin Hanchen, who was "commander-in-chief of the fierce messengers of Thunder and Lightening" (*Leiting mengli dudu* 雷霆猛吏都督; see also *1307 Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 2.14a and *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 61.2b). The work opens with a reference to *10 Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* and gives the great invocation of Yuhuang (*baohao* 寶號) from that scripture (5a).

Eulogies of the might and glory of the gods introduce this work, featuring the guilt of man and his desire to do penance. Repentance can be realized by reciting this litany. At the end of each phrase, the honorary title of a deity was to be added. These prayers had to be spoken together with a Taoist priest. Eight paragraphs follow this part of the work. They present texts were used by Taoist priests as petitions to specific deities. The priest introduces the lay person on whose behalf he is acting to these deities. He also explains the distress of his client. Litanies appropriate to each case are provided. The first and second part (1a–5b) of this work, however, do not feature such litanies.

Florian C. Reiter

Gaoshang yuhuang manyuan baochan 高上玉皇滿願寶懺
10 juan
Fourteenth century
194 (fasc. 81–82)

"Precious Litany That Moves the Jade Emperor on High to Fulfill Wishes." This work contains ten litanies conveying requests or prayers addressed to the Jade Emperor. The text also introduces the names of the ancestors of the Qingwei 清微 school and representatives of the other Taoist groups. They are all members of the pantheon to which the envisaged religious performance is to be directed. This internal evidence points to the fourteenth century as the most likely period for the composition of the text.

A presentation of the relevant pantheon can be found at the very beginning of the text. It is headed by the deity Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, who is labeled "Leader of the Doctrine, who preaches the scriptures." There are some practical instructions for the performance of the recitations. Participants kneel and concentrate their minds. The priest sends a petition to the deities including the names of all participants present. Then the litanies are recited, addressing Yuhuang da tianzun xuan qionggao shangdi 玉皇大天尊玄穹高上帝. The various wishes and vows are stated in the titles of the

ten chapters of this work, for example, "Chuzui 除罪" (The Elimination of Guilt; juan 4). The pious intentions formulated in this text and the very name of the main deity seem to connect this text with *193 Yuhuang youzui xifu baochan*.

Florian C. Reiter

***Qingwei xianpu* 清微仙譜**

17 fols.

Transmitted by HUANG SHUNSHEN 黃舜申, *hao* Leiyuan 雷淵 (fl. 1224–1287); preface by Chen Cai 陳采 dated 1293

171 (fasc. 75)

"Chronology of the Immortals of the Qingwei Heaven." This work was transmitted by the founder of the Qingwei 清微 school, HUANG SHUNSHEN (15b). His follower Chen Cai wrote the preface, which states that the tradition featured in the chronology had always been in existence under various names: Shangqing, Lingbao, Daode, and Zhengyi. These currents had been united during the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) periods by Zhaoning zu yuanjun 昭凝祖元君 and Hunyin zhenren Nangong 混隱眞人南公, respectively. The contacts between Nan Bidao 南畢道 (Nangong) and HUANG SHUNSHEN resulted in the continuation of the tradition. HUANG SHUNSHEN lived in Fujian, whence he disseminated the teachings of Qingwei. Thanks to the Qingwei Taoists' knowledge, they were able to enlist the help of the heavenly powers to produce rain or thunder. They were also able to call forth spirits and gods to heal the sick and come to the assistance of others generally (preface, 15a). The name Qingwei stands for the highest heaven, see *1128 Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 3.1a.

This text has six paragraphs, beginning with the Qingwei lineage, followed by the other names of the tradition mentioned above. The names of deities are cited, as well as their heavenly residences and their human avatars. The text also points to the scriptures or credentials that these deities or saints have passed to their successors as tokens of legitimation. HUANG SHUNSHEN is the last name in the sixth paragraph (11b–15b), which describes the unification of all the traditions, again called "Qingwei."

The chronology of the present work can be compared with *223 Qingwei yuanjiang dafa* 25.8b–12b, in which the titles of the deities, however, show many variants (cf. also *224 Qingwei zhaifa* 1.1a–13b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reiter, *Grundelemente*, 45–50.

Florian C. Reiter

***Qingwei yuanjiang dafa* 清微元降大法**

25 juan

Fourteenth century

223 (fasc. 106–110)

"Great Rituals of the Manifestation of the Original Forces of the Qingwei Heaven." The writings comprised by the present text were collected after the time of HUANG SHUNSHEN (thirteenth century; 25.8b–12b; see *171 Qingwei xianpu*).

This work includes scriptures, petitions, and fu, which are partly written in magical characters. It includes as well instructions on how to read them. They were designed for use in specific rituals. There are numerous explanations concerning the handling of such fu as well as the (visionary) appearances of the deities involved. This work also contains some theoretical essays, such as "On the Origin of Taoism" (Daoyuan 道原; 1.8b–9b) and "The Inner Basis for Taoist Rituals" (Daofa shuniu 道法樞紐; 25.3b–8b; cf. also *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 1.2b–8a). The present work is the most comprehensive title in the Taoist canon dealing with the ritual methods of the Qingwei Taoists.

Florian C. Reiter

***Sandong shenfu ji* 三洞神符記**

23 fols.

79 (fasc. 36)

"Notes on the Divine Talisman of the Three Caverns." This is a late compilation made from two different sources.

The first part (pages 1a to 14a), taken without any changes from YJQQ 7, is a small treatise on divine writings quoting many sources from the Six Dynasties (220–589) and Tang (618–907) periods. It presumably was part of a larger work known as the *Daomen dalun* 道門大論.

The second part, beginning on 14a, contains instructions for writing fu-talismans of the modern Qingwei 清微 school, followed by the reproduction of five cosmic writs called *Taishang fuluo wupian* 天上敷落五篇 of that same school.

Kristofer Schipper

***Yunzhuan duren miaojing* 雲篆度人妙經**

35 fols.

80 (fasc. 36)

"Marvelous Book of Salvation in Seal Script." The transcription of the *Duren jing* using "cloud seal" characters was very popular during the Southern Song (1127–1279). JIN YUNZHONG criticizes it thus: "In this fashion, people make a seal out of eight characters in the text. Thus, there is extant a 'celestial seal character' [*tianzhuan* 天篆] *Duren jing,* and it would be possible to transcribe the entire text into innumerable

seals" (*1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa* 10.7b). Indeed, the Tiantai Lingbao dafa 天台靈寶大法 school did precisely that (see *219 Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 5–7).

One of the chief functions of the seal in Taoism is to summon spiritual beings. In *563 Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa* 1.6a, for example, this type of writ in "celestial seal characters" is said to be a kind of "true writ for summoning [the spirits] of the Ten Directions." The characters that most closely resemble those in the present text are found in *223 Qingwei yuanjiang dafa*, (Grand Method of the Descent from the Primordium of the Supreme Heaven), and the latter title may reveal something of the origin of this kind of text: the term "descent" (*jiang* 降) is often used with "brush" (*bi* 筆) to refer to mediumnistic writing.

John Lagerwey

***Qingwei xuanshu zougao yi* 清微玄樞奏告儀**

13 fols.

School of Ye Yunlai 葉雲萊; Yuan (1279–1368)

218 (fasc. 84)

"Qingwei Ritual for Memorializing to the Mysterious Pillar [i.e., the Heavenly Chancellery]." This is a hybrid liturgy composed by the disciples of Ye Yunlai (fl. late thirteenth century), one of the successors to HUANG SHUNSHEN (fl. 1224–1286; see *1311 Xianquan ji* 1.19a) and a senior member of the branch to which the well-known Yuan Taoist ZHANG SHOUQING (fl. 1315–1332) belonged (see *222 Qingwei shenlie bifa* 1.3b).

In the present work, the lineage of patriarchs ends with Ye Yunlai (1b and 2b). This ordering, in the context of the Qingwei 清微 school, means that this ritual was composed by Ye's direct disciples.

The ritual opens with a long invocation of the masters (1a–3b), followed by the invitation to the emissaries to be charged with the transmission of the memorial. After these preliminary rites follows the presentation, a mixture of a *daochang* 道場 ritual and a lamp rite for the cult of the Dipper stars.

Kristofer Schipper

***Qingwei shenlie bifa* 清微神烈祕法**

2 juan

Fourteenth century

222 (fasc. 105)

"Secret Methods of the Divine Fire of the Qingwei Heaven." This text is a collection of Qingwei 清微 methods. The words "Divine Fire" also form part of the titles of the two Heavenly Marshals Gou Liuji 苟留吉 and Bi Zongyuan 畢宗遠, who together with the Master of the Teachings, Zihuang taiyi tianjun 紫皇太乙天君, constitute

the highest triad of the Thunder Gods (1.3b–4a). The introductory passages explain the revelation of the "Thunder methods of the Qingwei heaven," which are identified with the Shenxiao 神霄 methods. The subsequent line of transmission begins with WEI HUACUN, but names like ZHANG SHOUQING from Mount Wudang extend the lineage well beyond the time of HUANG SHUNSHEN (see *171 Qingwei xianpu*; cf. *961 Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 11b–12b).

The text contains fu, magical writings, and petitions that can be used to address the respective deities and the many assisting generals and messengers. They all may help to expel demons or to rescue people from distress. The text also gives practical instructions about the ways of writing out these fu and how to present them.

Florian C. Reiter

***Qingwei zhaifa* 清微齋法**

2 juan

Fourteenth century

224 (fasc. 111)

"Qingwei Liturgies of Purification." This title describes practical procedures for presenting petitions to the Qingwei 清微 pantheon. It is a collection of texts and instructions.

The "Line of Transmission" introduces these presentations. It resembles *171 Qingwei xianpu*, but does not contain a section on the Shangqing tradition. The names of the saints are not entirely the same as those in *171 Qingwei xianpu,* and they occupy different sections. This transmission is followed by the "Exposition Concerning the Elimination of Doubts with Regard to the Performance of Taoist Rituals," in which the nature of Taoist ways is compared with the Neo-Confucian ideal of the "investigation of things." This concept is also mentioned in *222 Qingwei shenlie bifa* 1.2a and suggests a common background of Neo-Confucian inspiration and diction. After this exposition, the text presents "The Great Rituals of Purification and Celebration of the Lingbao Tradition." Explanations are offered concerning the divine hierarchies, the divinities, and their spheres of dominion. Finally, some explanations deal with the "nine feasts of purification" and their divine patrons. The remaining parts of this work contain mostly literary formulas, "registers," "petitions," "letters," and fu. The texts describe the purposes for which they may be used (e.g., the salvation of the souls of the ancestors, help for the country). There are also some instructions about the actual composition and the presentation of such religious formulas, which include the names of the divine addressees and the transmitting messengers.

Florian C. Reiter



FIGURE 55. The Inner Structure, showing the Cinnabar Field and the spinal column, with the caption "Downstream makes a human being, upstream an immortal is born" (*278* 8b)

Qingwei danjue 清微丹訣

10 fols.

278 (fasc. 134)

"Instructions for the Practice of Inner Alchemy of the Qingwei School." HUANG SHUNSHEN, *hao* Leiyuan 雷淵 (fl. 1224–1287), the founder of the Qingwei 清微 school, is quoted on page 3b of this work. The title constitutes a short guide to meditative practice of a very general and simple nature, in particular as a preparation for officiants before ascending the altar in liturgical services (*lintan* 臨壇). The text clearly explains the main points in the body, and a diagram of the Inner Structure is given on page 8b (fig. 55).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao hongfu miezui xiangming jing 太上靈寶洪福滅罪像名經

40 fols.

377 (fasc. 182)

"Scripture of the Metaphoric Names for Eliminating Guilt and Increasing Good Fortune." Seeing that his son Haikong 海空, heir to the throne of the kingdom of Anren 安忍國, is determined to become a monk, the king summons to court the zhenren Peerless. Peerless transmits the *Lingbao zhenwen* 靈寶眞文 and the *Sanyuan pinjie* 三元品戒 to Haikong "in accordance with the ritual code." Thus prepared, Haikong sets off to study on the Mount of the Man-Bird. After twelve years of pure fasting, the Five Old Imperial Lords transform him into a zhenren by transmitting a book to him.

Returning to the throne, Haikong prepares and distributes "a mountain of food" on the Day of the Median Principle. The incense mounts to the Nine Heavens, where Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, seeing that Haikong is ready to be "transformed" (*huadu* 化度), sends a celestial cortege to bring him to Heaven. At the same time, the celestial assembly gathers around the Tianzun, who radiates a light of five colors. The zhenren of Immortal Powers sees that the people of "the world below" are all in trouble with the Three Officials because of their sinfulness, and he asks the Tianzun what they should do to obtain pardon.

The present text is the response of Yuanshi tianzun to this query. It consists in a triple sequence of homage to the Three Treasures, followed each time by a confession of sins and an expression of wishes. The homages take the form of the recitation of

"metaphoric names." In the first sequence, for example, homage is paid to 120 Tianzun, to "the venerable scripture in twelve sections," and to twenty-two Taoists of legend, such as WEI BOYANG and Li Babai 李八百. Recitation of these names procures "immense good fortune and the elimination of guilt."

In the first sequence, homage is paid to a series of books whose titles are the same as those in the table of contents of *8 Taishang sanshiliu bu zunjing*; in the second sequence, several of these titles recur, but mention is also made of *1138 Wushang biyao* and *10 Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing*. The text cannot, therefore, be earlier than the Song (960–1279) period.

John Lagerwey

Zihuang liandu xuanke 紫皇鍊度玄科

30 fols.

1451 (fasc. 1064)

"Sublimation Ritual of the Purple Sovereign." This text provides a ritual of sublimation (first by fire, then by water) and passage to the other world (reconstitution and dressing of the deceased person's body, transmission of the commandments). The Purple Sovereign is identified with "the unique qi of Heaven" in the *falu* 發爐 and with the Emperor of the North by his title, which includes the more usual name of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝. The Qingwei 清微 school is the first mentioned in an enumeration (3a) of various lineages, and so it seems likely that the text belongs to that school. We may note as well that some of these lineages, such as that of "the method of Fengdu," are known only from texts in *1220 Daofa huiyuan*.

Three things distinguish this ritual from other *liandu* 鍊度 rituals: the massive use of generals and marshals, the ascension of the ritual master onto a throne to perform the ritual in a seated position, and the transformation of the reconstituted body into a cosmic one.

John Lagerwey

Daofa huiyuan 道法會元

268 juan

Ming (1368–1644)

1220 (fasc. 884–941)

"Taoist Methods, United in Principle." This title constitutes a vast, undated, and unsigned, collection of rites (*fa* 法) related to many forms of modern practices and cults. The table of contents of this *congshu* 叢書 lists a great number of such *fa*, but in fact many belong to larger entities constituting manuals in their own right, predominantly of "salvation through sublimation" (*liandu* 鍊度) rituals combined with the methods of Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法). A number of the prefaces and

colophons of these manuals have been preserved, thus giving us some indication as to their dates and the origins. These elements do not, however, readily resolve the problem of the compiler's identity and the date of the work's compilation. As we have not found any editions of the *Daofa huiyuan* outside the *Daozang,* it may be that the collection was especially compiled for the Ming canon, possibly by the *Daozang* editors themselves. This hypothesis may be reinforced by the fact that the *Daofa huiyuan* begins with a long section (juan 1–55) devoted to the rites of the Qingwei 清微 school that contains a certain number of texts edited by ZHAO YIZHEN (d. 1382), together with his prefaces and colophons (see, e.g., 5.39a, 7.8b, 8.3b, 14.3b, 14.15a, and 17.17b). However, in other places, and especially in the latter parts in that section (from juan 19 onward), Zhao's name and title are given in the ritual invocations addressed to deified patriarchs summoned to descend to the altar and receive homage and offerings (see 19.3b, 20.4b, 21.2b, 23.6b, 25.2b–3a, 26.9a, 32.4b, 33.2a, 34.4a, 46.2a, and 49.18b). These invocations imply that at the time this manual was compiled and included in the *Daofa huiyuan,* ZHAO YIZHEN had been dead long enough to be deified by his successors. In other words, it had to have been completed well after 1382 by a direct or indirect disciple of Zhao (cf. Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen"). The name that comes most readily to mind is that of Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (fl.1427–1454), the successor to Zhao's disciple LIU YUANRAN (1351–1432). Liu and Shao were both patriarchs of the Qingwei school. Shao became the final compiler of the Ming *Daozang* (see the general introduction). All this points to a date somewhere during the first half of the fifteenth century for the compilation of the *Daofa huiyuan*.

The real founder of the Qingwei school was HUANG SHUNSHEN, who was born in 1224 in Fujian and was received at the court of Kublai in 1286. Most of Huang's followers, and many other masters of Thunder magic as well, also came from Fujian, especially from the northern parts of the province, or else from the adjoining districts of southeastern Zhejiang. This region seems therefore to have played a major role in the origin and diffusion of the Five Thunder rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法).

It would be beyond the scope of this summary to give a detailed account of the contents of the collection. We shall present here only its major components.

The Qingwei rituals that occupy the first fifty-five juan open with a description of the well-known background of this school: the lineage of patriarchs, beginning with the two female saints WEI HUACUN and Zu Shu 祖舒, as well as the mysterious writings they received and from which the Qingwei fu derived. (See fig. 56.) Central to the Qingwei ritual is the *liandu* practice by which the souls of the deceased are saved through the meditation (i.e., Inner Alchemy) of the officiant. Some minor rituals concern the pacification of domestic deities, those of the hearth, the doors, the well, the



FIGURE 56. Primordial Revelation and the Secret Sounds of the Qingwei (*1220* 4.1a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1203)

privy, etc. (*antu* 安土; juan 7), the protection of candidates to the official examinations (*shijin* 仕進), protection against locusts (*quhuang* 驅蝗). Later in the *Daofa huiyuan* (juan 249 and 250), we find the complete set of initiation and ordination rules for the Qingwei school.

The next part of the collection (juan 56–71) is more heterogeneous. Here a great number of different rituals have as sole common denominator a more or less explicit relation to the Five Thunder rites of the Shenxiao 神霄 school (see part 3.B.1). The Thunder ritual reputedly founded by Wang Jun 王俊, alias Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153; see 67.25a), who obtained it from a divine immortal, the "fire master" (*huoshi* 火師) Wang Zihua 汪子華 (supposedly of the Tang dynasty, 618–907). It was later transmitted to many masters, some of whom put their signatures to the practices assembled here. First we find BO YUCHAN (fl. 1194–1229), who contributed a commentary to the *Xuanzhu ge* 玄珠歌 in juan 70. Then there are Zhang Shanyuan 張善淵 (fl. 1280–1294) and Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (fl. early twelfth century). Both authors offer explanations on the nature of thunder in juan 67. Finally, we find the names of Pan Songnian 潘松年, Yang Gengchang 楊耕常, and Mo Yueding 莫月鼎 (1226–1293). Some of the contributions are of a doctrinal nature, for instance the "Qidao baduan jin 祈禱八段錦" by Wang Wenqing, in which the patriarch explains a method of prayer combined with the practice of Inner Alchemy. There is also a commentary by a certain Yufeng 御風, mentioned by the Heavenly Master Zhang Yuchu in his *1311*

Xianquan ji 2.31b–33b. Another interesting treatise is the above-mentioned *Xuanzhu ge*, also by Wang Wenqing (juan 70). Finally there is the "Powang zhang 破妄章," a rhymed treatise by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126). This text is also found in the *Daozang* as *979 Mingzhen powang zhangsong* 明眞破妄章頌.

The following three juan (73–75), titled "Tianshu leizhuan 天書雷篆," belong to the Maoshan tradition of *leifa* 雷法. They claim to hail from Ge Xuan and the Tang (*sic*) Heavenly Master Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., Zheng Yin). Many other "historical" patriarchs are also mentioned as revealers of these texts.

From juan 76 through 108, the rituals again belong to the Shenxiao school of Wang Wenqing and others. The "Leiting miaoqi 雷霆妙契" of juan 77 is also found in *1253 Daofa xinchuan*. Among these many texts, a separate group is formed by juan 83–87, under the title of "Xiantian leijing yinshu 先天雷晶隱書." This work is attributed to Wang, and contains important indications concerning the tradition of the *wulei fa* (see 84.1a–5b). The final five juan (104–108) of this part of the *congshu* stand also out as a single book called "Gaoshang jingxiao sanwu hunhe dutian dalei langshu 高上景霄三五混合都天大雷琅書," abbreviated as "Dutian dalei fa." It was purportedly written by Bo Yuchan, who had received it from his master Chen Nan 陳楠 (fl. 1111–1118). In a postface dated 1212, Bo provides a biography of Chen and describes how the latter received this Thunder magic (108.15b–16b). At the end of Bo's postface, there is an undated colophon by the great Yuan scholar Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348). Yu Ji explains that this *Jingxiao leishu* was in fact in the possession of a daoshi called Wu 吳, *hao* Puyun 浦雲, who obtained it in the north of China but was unable to understand it. Upon returning to Hangzhou, the daoshi meditated and prayed, until Bo Yuchan himself descended into the meditation room and gave him the necessary explanations. Yu Ji writes about Wu as a friend and contemporary. This story is at variance with a text by Bo Yuchan himself, the Inscription for the Pavilion of the Meeting of Immortals of the Yulong Gong ("Yulong gong huixian ge ji 玉隆宮會仙閣記") in *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (in *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 31.1a–5b). There Bo describes his meeting with Wu Puyun at the Yulong gong at Xishan 西山 near Nanchang (Jiangxi) in the years around 1218. One of the texts must therefore be spurious, and given that the *Daofa huiyuan* contains many texts apocryphally attributed to Bo Yuchan, it seems likely that Yu Ji's colophon here is a forgery. It does not occur in Yu Ji's collected works.

Juan 109 and 110 contain the "Hunyuan xuanshu 混元玄書," an exorcistic ritual, under the aegis of a certain Li Mingzheng 李明正. Juan 111–13 correspond to the *Diling baozhu wulei qidao dafa* 帝令寶珠五雷祈禱大法 transmitted by Zhu Meijing 朱梅靖 of the Jixian yuan academy to Li Xianyun 李閑雲, a high court official, the Thirty-sixth Heavenly Master Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (d. 1292), and others. The entire method appears to be based on the system of the *Yijing* 易經.

Juan 114–20 contain the "Taiji dulei yinshu 太極都雷隱書," again a form of Shenxiao fa by Wang Wenqing, whereas with the following "Taishang sanwu Shaoyang tiemian huoche wulei dafa 太上三五邵陽鐵面火車五雷大法" (juan 122–24), we are back to the subject of exorcism, this time under the auspices of Xu Xun and Wu Meng 吳猛. Shaoyang is a place in Hunan, and the deity at the origin of the magic is a certain Lü Bujian 閭不漸. The work is prefaced by Chen Nan (122.1a–2b). Juan 125–28 contain the "Jiuzhou sheling yanglei dafa 九州社令陽雷大法," again under the aegis of Xu Xun and his friends. Here the Earth Gods of the Nine Districts are to be appealed to in times of drought.

After a number of smaller texts, we come to the "Taiyi zhenlei pili dafa 太乙眞雷霹靂大法" (juan 133–45). Here the forces of thunder and lightning are marshaled against heterodox cults and temples, great demons and perverse dragons, baleful stars, and other powers. There is no clear indication of authorship, but the end of juan 139 mentions that it was transmitted by the Thirtieth Heavenly Master. Juan 146 contains a single text, the "Zhengyi zhongxiao jiashu baizhuo wulei dafa 正一忠孝家書白捉五雷大法," which, at the end, has an interesting story about its origins. While in mourning for his father, a daoshi named Zhao Lü 趙履 from Pingyang in Zhejiang obtains Thunder magic from the deity Fumo shangxiang Li zhenjun 伏魔上相李眞君. By means of a seal, the daoshi is enabled to call on the help of two heavenly marshals at will. More original is the work "Dongxuan yushu leiting dafa 洞玄玉樞雷霆大法" (juan 147–53). An account of its origins written by a certain Xue Shichun 薛師淳 and dated 1296 tells us that Bo Yuchan (who here, curiously, is said to have originally been named Zhuge Meng 諸葛猛) reveals himself to the daughter of a certain Ma of the Maritime Transportation Bureau of Quanzhou. His revelation enables her to produce rain at the request of the famous merchant Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚 (here identified as executive director, *zuocheng* 左丞, of this agency). Later, a servant of Pu named Weng Leishi 翁雷室 learned the rain-producing skills and put them to practice in her master's home region of Jianning 建寧 in the north of Fujian. Weng had more than one hundred disciples, including the author of this narrative. As van der Loon ("A Taoist collection") points out, the merchants Ma and Pu from Quanzhou must both have been Muslims.

Juan 154 and 155 contain the "Hunyuan liutian miaodao yiqi ruyi dafa 混元六天妙道一氣如意大法," a method that claims its origin from Lei Shizhong 雷時中, *hao* Mo'an 默庵, *alias* Old Man Twinbridge 雙橋老人 (1221–1295). The present rites were revealed to him by the True Lord Lu 路眞君 (see *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 5.11b–14a). The True Lord Lu appears to be none other than Lu Shizhong (fl. 1120), the creator of the Yutang 玉堂 rites (see *220 Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*). The practice of these rites were meditative and close to those of Inner Alchemy, although their function was mainly exorcistic.

Equally exorcistic is the far larger "Shangqing tianpeng fumo dafa 上清天蓬伏魔大法" (juan 156–68). The method, for once, does not originate in Fujian, but is said to have come from Sichuan's Ximing shan 西明山. The author does indicate, however, that he has studied with specialists in northern Fujian and southern Zhejiang (see the beginning of juan 166). The great Tianpeng deity, whose secret spell is first given in *1016 Zhen'gao*, here becomes the chief marshal of a vast number of exorcistic spirits that combat all kinds of evils.

The next part of the *Daofa huiyuan* contains rites of the modern Maoshan tradition. Here we find a "Shangqing tongchu wuyuan sufu yuce zhengfa 上清童初五元素府玉冊正法" (juan 171–78). This form of magic is also derived from the great exorcist tradition of Tianpeng, and it is reported to have been revealed to a daoshi named Yang Xizhen 楊希眞 (mentioned already in relation to the *Tianpeng fa* in 156.14a). The Tongchu fu on Maoshan was a center for exorcistic ritual practices and in the early thirteenth century, the liturgist JIN YUNZHONG, author of *1223 Shangqing lingbao dafa*, appears to have been its chief. He is the editor of this ritual manual. There is an undated note signed by him on 173.14a and a colophon dated 1224 at the end of the work (178.3a–6a). It is followed by another colophon by a certain Lu Yuanlao 盧元老. The next manual, named "Shangqing wuyuan yuce jiuling feibu zhangzou bifa 上清五元玉冊九靈飛步章奏秘法" (juan 179–87) is a sequel to the preceding one. According to van der Loon ("A Taoist collection"), it may also have been produced by JIN YUNZHONG.

The "Taiyi huofu wulei dafa 太乙火府五雷大法" (juan 188–94) was edited by Huang Yixuan 黃一炫 and begins with his story (dated 1271) of the origin of the ritual tradition *fayuan shiji* 法源事跡: During the Tianbao era of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang, a local official in Mianzhou obtained a *leifa* from a Holy Mother of Northern Yin 北陰聖母. Thereupon the official became a daoshi on Qingcheng shan 青城山 in Sichuan. The Thunder magic was lost during the troubled period of the Five Dynasties (907–960), but was rediscovered later on Mount Hua. It returned to Sichuan before being brought to Yanping 延平 in Fujian. In 1225 Yang Defang brought it from Fujian to the Maoshan, where it flourished. Later Huan Xixuan obtained the method and reintroduced it to Chengdu (Sichuan). Many of the rites are related to nature, marshaling winds and rain, exorcising goblins, and healing the mental disorders caused by them.

Juan 195 to 197 contain the "Dongshen tianyi wulei dafa 洞神天一五雷大法." The ritual is placed under the patronage of the Thirtieth Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian and is concerned with healing practices. Van der Loon ("A Taoist collection") notes the instructions for the use of a spirit medium in 196.13b–15a.

The next manuals are related to the Shenxiao tradition: "Shenxiao jinhuo tianding

dafa 神霄金火天丁大法" (juan 198–206). The first chapter contains both an undated preface by Chen Daoyi 陳道一 stating the connection between these rites and the *liandu* methods and a colophon giving the detailed account of the transmission by his disciple Liu Yu 劉玉, hao Qingqing 清卿 (fl. 1258) of this form of magic (198.28b–27a). Liu obtained the complete rites, not from Chen, who died in Jianjiang 劍江 in northern Fujian, but from Chen's disciple Lu Ye 盧埜 (see also 253.10b–11a). The next chapters are attributed to LIN LINGSU himself (see, e.g., the poem signed by him in 199.1b–5b). The rites in this section mainly aim at curing possession by demon spirits. A special feature is the use of female spirit soldiers.

Juan 210 contains the "Danyang jilian neizhi 丹陽祭鍊內旨," introducing a special *liandu* method from Danyang, the heartland of Shangqing Taoism. In his preface dated 1356, the compiler Wang Xuanzhen 王玄眞, a daoshi of the Quanzhen 全眞 order, tells how he collected the materials of the specific Danyang tradition of the *pudu* 普度 ritual from a number of teachers and combined them into the present method. Explaining its title, he states (page 1a) that *jilian* 祭鍊 means (1) to sacrifice (*ji*) to the souls of the deceased and (2) to sublimate (*lian*) oneself. Only if one undergoes this sublimation can the souls of the dead be saved (*du* 度). At the end of the text, there is a colophon by Zhang Yu 張雨 dated 1356. Zhang Yu, author of *781 Xuanpin lu*, lived from 1276 to 1342, so either the colophon is misdated or it is a forgery. Zhang, who himself was a student of Yu Ji, states that Wang Xuanzhen was a disciple of the great painter and Quanzhen master Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), whom Wang met in Hangzhou.

Juan 216 has a popular ritual of the Mysterious Woman of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian xuannü 九天玄女), so famous in epic literature. She is worshiped at the kitchen stove and has the power to protect children and heal their diseases. Equally popular are the rites for the expulsion of pestilence demons (*wenshen* 瘟神; juan 119–121). The present work offers the sole instance in the Taoist canon of the famous sending off of the boat with *wenshen,* a ritual still celebrated frequently in southern Taiwan.

Juan 232–40 contain the rites of the great exorcistic deity and patron of wealth Zhao yuanshuai 趙元帥, known as Black Altar (Xuan Tan 玄壇). His specific method consists in harmonizing (*hehe* 和合), uniting beings in joy, for prosperity and healing. Among his helpers we find the great theater deity of Fujian, Tian duyuanshuai 田都元帥, chief of many other saints of the theater stage (see Schipper, "The Divine Jester").

Many of these modern exorcistic rites and cults were not easily integrated within the traditional liturgical framework. This essential problem is addressed in the next four chapters (juan 249–52), which form a separate small manual of rules and precepts called "Precious Rules" (*Taishang tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格 and *Taishang hundong*

chiwen nüqing zhaoshu tianlü 太上混洞赤文女青詔書天律). The "Precious Rules" first lists the different ordination grades and titles for the most important *fa* of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 and Shenxiao 神霄 schools. It then explains in detail the conditions on which these grades are to be given and how they have to match previous ordination grades of the traditional liturgical framework. As the text states clearly (249.13b), the *fa* has to follow the Register (*lu* 籙), and there can be no discrepancy between the two. Juan 250 gives detailed instruction as to how the new ritual traditions should be combined with the ancient ones. The text repeatedly quotes the *Nüqing tianlü* 女青天律 as being the fundamental law book on this and other questions. As their titles suggest, the next two chapters also refer to the precepts of Nüqing, so fundamental in the Way of the Heavenly Master (see part 1.B.A). The proscriptions of the "Precious Rules" concern not only the clergy but also the laity, and even gods and demons related to the different ritual practices. This unique book of law is thus a continuation and development of earlier similar codes, especially the *461 Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü* and *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (especially the first juan). Both of the latter works were produced by the Tianxin zhengfa school. This is probably also the case for the present work, as it states that the Tianxin tradition is at the origin of all *fa*. As known, the Tianxin zhengfa was considered in Song times (960–1279) and later to represent the esoteric tradition transmitted by the First Heavenly Master.

Liu Yu 劉玉, the editor of the above-mentioned "Tianding fa," appears again in "Diqi Wen yuanshuai dafa 地祇溫元帥大法" (juan 253–56). Wen yuanshuai is the great Taoist saint and tutelary deity from Pingyang 平陽 county near present-day Wenzhou. Liu was the author of the hagiography of the saint, preserved in the *Daozang* as *780 Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan*, and the preface at the beginning of juan 253, dated 1258, is in fact the preface to this hagiography (see van der Loon, "Taoist collection," 404). The hagiography was originally included in the *Diqi fa* we have here, which contains a number of different materials concerning the *diqi* deities in general and Wen yuanshuai in particular. The *Diqi fa* was compiled by Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾, who is also the author of a *Diqi xuyu lun* 地祇緒餘論 dated 1274 (253.3b–10a). Huang also wrote a biography of Liu Yu (253.10a–12a), which does not, however, contain any date.

As an officer of the guard of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak (Yuedi 嶽帝), Wen yuanshuai had all the troops of Inferno (Fengdu 酆都) under his command and was therefore a most powerful exorcistic deity. A similar position in the underworld was at that time occupied by the saint Lord Guan 關公, who in later times would rise to great eminence in Chinese religion (juan 259–60). The final chapters of the *Daofa huiyuan* (261–68) are entirely devoted to the rites of Fengdu and the administration of the underworld. Juan 264, 265, and 267 are signed by Zheng Zhiwei 鄭知微 as compiler and by Lu Ye as commentator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Schipper, "The Divine Jester"; Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen"; van der Loon, "A Taoist collection of the fourteenth century."

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

Huangjing jizhu (Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing zhu)
皇經集註 (高上玉皇本行集經註)

10 juan

Compiled by Zhou Xuanzhen 周玄貞; preface dated 1585

1440 (fasc.1060–1062)

"Collected Commentaries to the Noble Scripture." This is a profusely annotated and punctuated edition of *10 Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經 (q.v.). It combines glosses of divine as well as human origin, at least for part of the work. The edition was made by Zhou Xuanzhen, a Quanzhen daoshi from Shandong, for Bo Yunji 白雲霽 (*Daozang mulu xiangzhu*). The editorship of Zhou is undeniable, but in his preface he states that he received the text from Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504–1564). In 1585, Zhou served as compiler of the Wanli (1573–1620) supplement of the Taoist canon (his complete title was Da Ming jiang daojing xiu Xuanzang si Quanzhen dizi Shandong Zhou Xuanzhen 大明講道經修玄藏嗣全眞弟子山東周玄貞; see 1.17a). Work on the Wanli supplement of the Ming *Daozang* had begun in the same year.

Luo Hongxian, *zi* Nianan 念庵, a *zhuangyuan* 狀元-laureate of 1529, was dismissed from public office in 1541 after a difference with the Jiajing emperor. Luo is known as an ardent admirer of Wang Shouren 王守仁, *zi* Yangming 陽明 (1472–1529). After his dismissal, Luo embraced a semireligious career as an instructor of the Three Teachings at his school Shilian dong 石蓮洞 temple in Jiangxi. Among his disciples we find the founder of the Sanyi jiao 三一教, Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩 (1517–1598). In his preface, also dated 1585 and titled "preface to the original edition" (*chuzuan qianxu* 初纂前序), Luo states that only after he had left government could he turn to the writings of the Three Teachings. He then found that Taoism was the highest of all, and the *Huangjing* (i.e., the *Yuhuang jing*) was its most profound expression. Having written a commentary, which included the glosses "by various immortals" he had no means of publishing it. He therefore presented his work to Zhou Xuanzhen, who accepted it on behalf of the Fiftieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥. The inclusion of this commentary in the present work explains why, following the titles of juan 3, 4, and 5, we find

the signatures of Zhang Guoxiang as editor, Luo Hongxian as supervisor, and Zhou Xuanzhen as compiler.

A third, brief preface by Wang Jingcui 王靜粹 (dated 1588) gives some more details. Wang, who calls himself a disciple of Zhou Yunqing 周雲清 (an alias of Wang Xuanzhen?) was charged with the copying out of texts to be included in the Wanli supplement. He also must have had a hand in arranging the different texts that went into the present edition.

The three prefaces discussed here are preceded by other prefatory matter, which came from the brushes of such eminent saints as Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君 (Wenchang 文昌), Lü Dongbin, Qiu Chuji, and the Heavenly Marshal Deng. As these deities are also authors of parts of the commentary, they must be the "various immortals" mentioned in Zhou's preface. The supernatural character of their writing may well be extended to the preface and the commentary by Luo Hungxian, as it is dated 1585, a full eight years after the scholars had been reported to have died, according to *Ming shi* 383. However, Luo's death date has not been conclusively determined. For other reasons as well, it is uncertain whether this might be a falsification or a product of planchette writing. It is possible, for instance, that part or all of the commentaries were indeed provided by Luo or his disciples, and that the preface was added with a later date. In any event, the signature of Zhang Guoxiang would not appear alongside Luo's if the latter's involvement had been completely fictitious.

Chapter 1, besides the three prefaces, also contains the text of the "Original Tao" (*Yuandao* 原道) essay by the "Lean Immortal" (Quxian 臞仙) Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378–1448; see *1483 Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*). There are, moreover, numerous short notes by Zhou Xuanzhen elucidating a number of terms and also a presentation of the work in his hand.

From juan 2 on, the combined commentaries begin. As we can see from the table of contents on page 2, the different chapters are arranged under the original three juan division of the *Yuhuang jing*. In spite of this and other efforts to streamline the work, it remains very heterogeneous. Although the entire work is called *Huangjing jizhu*, from juan 2 on the title changes to *Huangjing zhujie* 皇經註解. It reverts to *Huangjing jizhu* from juan 5 onward.

The juan 2 to 4, which are the commentary to the first juan of the *Yuhuang jing*, truly stand apart. They combine the "glosses" by numerous immortals, saints and deities with the commentary of Luo Hongxian. There is a note, presumably by Zhou Xuanzhen, that explains the way this part had been edited (4.29b–30b). Luo's commentary comes after that of the others and is introduced by the words *yu'an* 愚按 ("in my benighted opinion") or *guanjian* 管見 ("according to my limited views"). His ideas are expressed most clearly and show the influence of Wang Yangming's thinking (see, for instance, 3.3a, the quote of "someone from former times" on "applied knowledge," *zhizhi* 致知).

The remainder of the work is less clear. From juan 5 on, the glosses by the transcendent beings disappear, as well as the indications marking Luo's commentary. Although following the title of juan 5 we still find the three signatures of Zhang, Luo, and Zhou, it is unclear who the author and editor of this and the following parts are. The tone of the commentary, sometimes followed by a subcommentary, is very different from that of the preceding part. For the time being, the question of the authorship of these later juan has to remain open.

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

3.B.8 The Jingming Zhongxiao School

In the history of the saints of Taoism, none is better documented than Xu Xun 許遜. According to legend, he lived during the Jin dynasty (265–420) and was at one time the local administrator of Jingyang 旌陽 in Sichuan, hence his name Xu Jingyang. The center of his legends and worship, however, is the region of the Boyang lake and the mountains west of Nanchang 南昌西山. It is there that the veneration of the saint and the holy places related to his legend grew to become an important Taoist school (see Akizuki Kan'ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*). In the *Daozang*, the earliest complete source for this tradition is *449 Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan*, which is believed to date from the late Tang (618–907) period (see part 2.A.6.b). The Way of Piety (*xiaodao* 孝道) of Xu Xun and Wu Meng 吳猛 of the Tang period is represented by an important scripture that has been preserved in no less than three different versions (*66 Yuanshi dongzhen cishan xiaozi baoen chengdao jing, 380 Dongxuan lingbao daoyao jing,* and *1112 Taishang dongxuan lingbao baxian wang jiaojie jing*). The "piety" here is not only filial devotion, but a form of dedication to nature in general.

In Song times (1112), Xu Xun was canonized by Emperor Huizong as True Lord of Divine Merit and Marvelous Succor (Shengong miaoji chenjun 神功妙濟眞君). Bo Yuchan wrote an extensive hagiography, preserved in his *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (see *263.31 Xiuzhen shishu*), on which all lives of the saint are based. Xu's worship developed into a full-fledged school known as the Pure and Clear Way of Loyalty and Piety (Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道) only in the late Southern Song (1127–1279) period. As many sources attest, the school was considered to be part of the Lingbao liturgical tradition, and Xu Xun, together with Ge Xuan, is named as its founder.

The *Daozang* contains a large number of texts produced by the Jingming zhongxiao

dao. A remarkable feature of these texts is that, instead of being scattered in different parts of the canon, most of them are presented in two blocs of scriptures and rituals, numbers 550 to 565 in the *fangfa* 方法 section of the Dongxuan bu (with 618 and 619 in the *biaozou* 表奏 section of the same), and 1103 to 1110 (and 1112) in the beginning of the Taiping bu. Among these texts, *1110 Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* is of particular interest.

***Xuanmen baoxiao zhuijian yi* 玄門報孝追薦儀**
15 fols.
Ming (1368–1644)
481 (fasc. 265)
"Taoist Ritual for Expressing Filial Piety and Seeking Blessings for the Deceased." This short requiem liturgy belongs to the Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道, as shown by the evocation of the founders of the school (3b): Lan gong 蘭公, Chen mu 諶母, and Xu Xun (Taishi 太史).

The first ritual is a *daochang* 道場 (1a–11a), the second a *jiao* 醮. Although certainly modern (both start with a *buxu* 步虛 hymn), they are of the regular Lingbao type.

Kristofer Schipper

***Shengong miaoji zhenjun liwen* 神功妙濟眞君禮文**
10 fols.
518 (fasc. 293)
"Ritual of Homage to the True Lord of Wonderful Succor and Divine Merit [Xu Xun]." The canonization title given on page 1a, Jiuzhou duxian taishi gaoming dashi zhidao xuanying shengong miaoji zhenjun 九洲都仙太史高明大使至道玄應神功妙濟眞君, corresponds to that awarded by Yuan Chengzong in 1295.

The text recited for lauding the saint alternates with seven-character verses of a narrative nature, similar to those found in later Precious Scrolls (*baojuan* 寶卷).

Kristofer Schipper

Xu zhenjun shou lian xingshen Shangqing bidao fayao jiewen
許眞君受鍊形神上清畢道法要節文
2 fols.
550 (fasc. 313)
"Rubrics of the Essential Method of the Ultimate Shangqing Way, Received by the True Lord Xu [Xun] for the Refining of Body and Soul." This is a small guide to meditation and exorcism in a liturgical context, in three paragraphs with a commentary. The preface stresses the Lingbao filiation of this text, and some verses quote the *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* (for instance, 2b, lines 2 and 4). This filiation

is in keeping with the tradition of the Jingming zhongxiao school to which the text belongs.

Kristofer Schipper

***Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ling* 天樞院都司須知令**
4 fols.
551 (fasc. 313)

***Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ge* 天樞院都司須知格**
6 fols.
552 (fasc. 313)

Lingbao jingming tianshu yuan dusi fayuan xuzhi fawen
靈寶淨明天樞院都司法院須知法文
4 fols.
553 (fasc. 313)
"Heavenly Chancellery Documents of the Pure and Clear Way." These three liturgical documents of the Qingming zhongxiao school address the Heavenly Chancellery (Tianshu yuan). The first text, *551 Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ling,* provides the nominative list of the officials in the different departments as well as their titles and assignments; *552 Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ge* contains the regulations for the transmission of documents and the grid for promotion, according to merit, in the different offices (this is called the *qiange* 黔格; the black, or popular, code). The black code is followed by rules, given in a discursive form (6a–b). Finally, *553 Lingbao jingming tianshu yuan dusi fayuan xuzhi fawen* gives a number of simple directions for meditation, for verification of the identity of spirits (*jiucha* 糾察), for transmitting messages, with a spell in the vernacular (3b).

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming yuan jiaoshi Zhou zhengong qiqing huayi
靈寶淨明院教師周眞公起請畫一
9 fols.
By Zhou Fangwen 周方文
554 (fasc. 313)
"Questions for Unification by the Instructor from the Pure and Clear Hall, the Perfected Master Zhou." Zhou Fangwen is also the author of *556 Lingbao jingming huangsu shou shiyi bijue* and is thought to have lived in Southern Song (1127–1279) times. The questions presented here concern aspects of Taoist practice, liturgical as well as self-cultivation.

Kristofer Schipper

Gaoshang yuegong taiyin yuanjun xiaodao xianwang lingbao jingming huangsu shu 高上月宮太陰元君孝道仙王靈寶淨明黃素書

10 juan

Commentary by Fu Feiqing 傅飛卿

555 (fasc. 314)

"Yellow and White Book of the Pure and Clear School, Revealed by the Immortal King of the Way of Filial Piety, Original Lord of the Supreme Yin of the Moon Palace on High." This is a theoretical and practical treatise for daily hygiene for laymen, with explicit sexual overtones (see, for instance, 8.1b and 9.1a–b).

The author of the commentary, himself a master of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school, is otherwise unknown.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming huangsu shu shiyi bijue 靈寶淨明黃素書釋義祕訣

13 fols.

By Zhou Fangwen 周方文

556 (fasc. 314)

"Secret Formulas and Glosses of the Yellow and White Book of the Pure and Clear School." The author of this work requests the founder of the school, Xu Xun (here titled *zhenshi* 眞師), to clarify certain points of *555 Gaoshang yuegong taiyin yuanjun xiaodao xianwang lingbao jingming huangsu shu,* in relation to the theories of such well-known treatises as the *Zhong-Liu chuandao ji* (see *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 14–16). On 10b, Zhou relates the different methods of Inner Alchemy he has obtained. None of the dates and persons mentioned have been identified.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming rudao pin 太上靈寶淨明入道品

5 fols.

557 (fasc. 315)

"Instructions for Novices in the Pure and Clear School." The instructions contain indications regarding the first ordination into the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming yuan zhenshi migao 靈寶淨明院眞師密誥

3 fols.

558 (fasc. 315)

"Secret Instructions by the Perfected Master of the Pure and Clear Hall." These instructions, all transmitted by the patriarch Xu Xun to Zhou Fangwen 周方文, comprise an updated list of dignitaries in the different departments and sanctuaries of the Jingming yuan, a talisman given to the medium Yang Wenqing 楊文卿 in the year *jiyou* 己酉 (1129?), for the healing of possession and plague, and finally a recipe for pine needles in a diet of abstention from cereals.

Kristofer Schipper

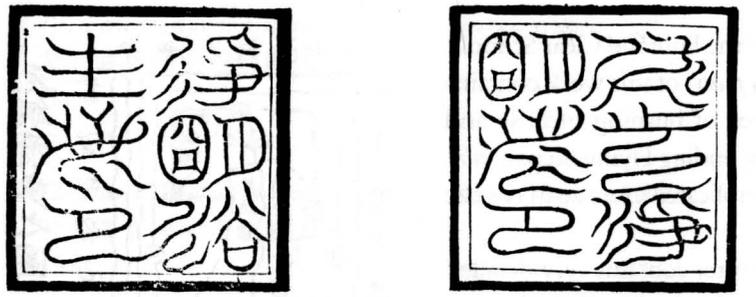


FIGURE 57. "Seal of the Most High Pure and Clear [Jingming] Order" and "Seal of the Master of Rites of the Jingming School" (*559* 2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/454)

Taishang lingbao jingming fa yinshi 太上靈寶淨明法印式

2 fols.

559 (fasc. 315)

"Model for the Ritual Seals of the Pure and Clear School." This very short text contains the drawings for two liturgical seals, to be used on memorials (fig. 57). There is a long preface by Xu Xun, the legendary founder of the Jingming 淨明 school, in which he claims to have written a Taoist scripture in thirty-five chapters. This "Preface to the Jingming Ritual" (*Taishang lingba jingming fa xu* 太上靈寶淨明法序), which does not mention the seals, probably belongs to another text.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming dafa wandao yuzhang bijue 靈寶淨明大法萬道玉章祕訣

38 fols.

560 (fasc. 315)

"Secret Instructions for Precious Stanzas of the Myriad Ways, of the Great Ritual of the Pure and Clear School." In this collection, a large number of esoteric names and correspondances are given for the gods and the cosmogony of the Lingbao liturgy. On 9b–14a, for example the Thirty-two Heavens are placed in relationship with the stances of the *Zhutian neiyin* 諸天內音 of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing,* and each verse is in turn related to one of the Sixty-four Hexagrams of the *Yijing*.

The second part of the text gives instructions about the meditational practices related to these esoteric formulas.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming bifa pian 太上靈寶淨明祕法篇
2 juan
561 (fasc. 315)

"Secret Rites of the Pure and Clear School." The first chapter (*pian*) of this work contains the prepatory rites of burning incense and invoking the gods, ending Flying Steps (*feibu* 飛步), with a complicated exercise in cosmic dancing (fig. 58).

The second chapter contains very detailed instructions on a *dhāraṇī*-based meditation called, respectively, the *Lingshu shangpian* 靈書上篇 (1a–8a) and *Lingshu xiapian* 靈書下篇 (8b–14a). This text is mentioned in *1103 Taishang lingbao jingming dongshen shangpin jing* 2.10a. The pseudo-Sanskrit formulas correspond to the names of the gods of the body. The practice, which appears to be intended for the laity, is highly esoteric and complex.

Kristofer Schipper



FIGURE 58. Choreography of the Flying Steps, for performance in the sacred area (*561* 8b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/556)

Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa
靈寶淨明新修九老神印伏魔祕法
9 fols.
By He Shouzheng 何守證; 1131
562 (fasc. 315)

"New Version from the Pure and Clear School of the Secret Rites for the Quelling of Demons by Means of the Divine Seal of the Nine Ancients." He Shouzheng, in his preface, gives an account of the origin of the Jingming 淨明 school. It proceeded from Mother Chen 諶母, who transmitted her healing rites to Xu Xun.

After many generations, the original texts had become full of errors, and therefore, in the year 1129, the Six True Patriarchs revealed again the secret rites of the Jingming school and appointed the Immortal Minister Dongshen 洞神仙卿 as Training Scholar. A few years later, at the request of their disciples, the Patriarchs revealed this new vesion of the old practice. (On He Shouzheng, see Akizuki Kan'ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei,* 120 ff.)

The first part of the text concerns the divine seals and gives instructions for exorcism. The second part deals with simple breathing techniques for private practice.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa
太上靈寶淨明飛仙度人經法
5 juan
563 (fasc. 316)

Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa shili
太上靈寶淨明飛仙度人經法釋例
7 fols.
Commentary attributed to Xu Jingyang 許旌陽 (Xu Xun 許遜)
564 (fasc. 317)

"Liturgical Exegesis of the Book of Salvation, by the Flying Immortals of the Pure and Clear School of the Most High Lingbao Tradition." This esoteric commentary on *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* was revealed to He Shouzheng 何守證 in 1131 on the Xishan 西山, at the height of the crisis at the end of the Northern Song (960–1127) dynasty (see the preface to *562 Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa; 1110 Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 1.19b; and Akizuki Kan'ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei,* 122 ff.). However, as Akizuki remarks, early on in the work (1.3a) Xu Xun is given the title Jiuzhou duxian taishi gaoming dashi zhidao xuanying shengong miaoji zhenjun 九州都仙太史高明大使至道玄應神功妙濟眞君, a form that corresponds to his canonization in 1295. The work therefore must have been revised at a later date.

The exegesis offers detailed comments, not only on the esoteric meanings of each paragraph, but also on the stages of initiation and ordination associated with each part of the scripture. The text therefore gives some insight into the liturgical organization of the school.

Among its ritual uses, we find instructions in the fifth chapter on which parts of the text should be eaten, on specific days.

The *564 Shili* is of a philosophical nature and addresses such topics as the cosmic meaning of writing.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang jingming yuan buzou zhiju taixuan dusheng xuzhi
太上淨明院補奏職局太玄都省須知
18 fols.
Commentary attributed to Xu Jingyang 許旌陽 (Xu Xun 許遜)
565 (fasc. 317)

"Vade Mecum of the Chancellery of Highest Mystery for Promotion and Assignments of Office in the Pure and Clear Hall." This almanac of the bureaucratic organization of the Jingming yuan, with its lists of officials and grids for promotion is an appendix to the *563–564 Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa (shili),* which refers to the present work on 1.22b–22a, and 1.24a. Folios 9b–14b are also reproduced in *551 Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi ling*.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao jingming yuan xingqian shi 靈寶淨明院行遣式
18 fols.
Attributed to Zhou Fangwen 周方文; Southern Song (1127–1279)
618 (fasc. 340)

Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi xingqian shi 天樞院都司須知行遣式
4 fols.
619 (fasc. 340)

"Models for the Dispatching [of Documents] of the Pure and Clear School in the Lingbao tradition." This work bears the signature of the hereditary instructor of the Hall of Pure Light, Zhou zhenren. Zhou, probably a divine being, is also indicated as author of *554 Lingbao jingming yuan jiaoshi Zhou zhengong qiqing huayi* and *556 Lingbao jingming huangsu shu shiyi bijue*. As stated by Akizuki Kan'ei (*Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei,* 201), the canonization title of Xu Xun given on page 11b suggests that this text was written between the years 1112 and 1295. It therefore belongs to the Jingming 淨明 school revelations of the Southern Song period.

The text contains a number of models for liturgical documents: tallies for the armies of the Tianshu yuan, marching orders for transporting sums of money to the Heavenly Treasure House (*tianku* 天庫), mandates for arrest of demons in the case of possession-caused illness, lists of rewards (*xianzhuang* 獻狀) given to the heavenly soldiers in thanks for their assistance, an attestation of ordination for disciples (followed by the Ten Precepts they have to observe), an additional attestation for the transmission of certain holy scriptures, several secret spells, and other texts linked to initiation.

Among the scriptures mentioned in the attestation for ordination (12a) are *563–564 Taishang lingbao jingming feixian duren jingfa (shili)* and *556 Lingbao jingming huangsu shu shiyi bijue,* as well as an unidentified *Lingbao dafa* 靈寶大法 in four juan. *619 Tianshu yuan dusi xuzhi xingqian shi* is a short vade mecum giving a few practical indications for the writing and handling of liturgical documents.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming dongshen shangpin jing
太上靈寶淨明洞神上品經
2 juan
1103 (fasc. 756)

"Superior Scripture of Pervading Divinity, of the Pure and Clear School of the Lingbao Tradition." Akizuki Kan'ei regards this work as "the fundamental scripture of the Xu Xun movement of the Song [960–1279]" and identifies it as one of the revelations made to He Shouzheng 何守證 (*Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei,* 241, 125).

The text, divided into thirty-five paragraphs, is of a doctrinal nature. Paragraph 29 indicates that the Jingming scriptures 淨明 number forty chapters in all, and praises the efficacy of the recitation of the *Lingshu erpian* 靈書二篇, probably a reference to the text of the second chapter of *561 Taishang lingbao jingming fa* (*Lingshu shangpian* 2.1a–8a and *Lingshu xiapian* 2.8b–14a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akizuki Kan'ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*; Akizuki Kan'ei, "Jōmyōdō keisei ron kō."

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming yuzhen shu zhenjing 太上靈寶淨明玉眞樞眞經
3 fols.
1104 (fasc. 756)

"True Scripture of the Pillar of Precious Truth, from the Pure and Clear School of the Lingbao Tradition." This is a short didactic poem in seven-character verse, with an introduction presenting its author, "the immortal Danyang zi 丹陽子." Danyang is also quoted in *562 Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa (*1a ff.), by He Shouzheng 何守證. The poem describes a meditation practice on the Hall of Pure Light, accompanied by the dance of Flying Steps (*feibu* 飛步).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming daoyuan zhengyin jing
太上靈寶淨明道元正印經
2 fols.
1105 (fasc. 756)

"Scripture of the Orthodox Seal of the Foundation of the Tao, from the Pure and Clear School." This is a short doctrinal treatise, in rhymed, four-character verses, of

a philosophical nature. The text breaks off in the middle of a verse at the end of page 1b, and a section corresponding to part of the printing block numbered *feng* 奉 (3.3) appears to be missing.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming tianzun shuo yuwen jing
太上靈寶淨明天尊說禦瘟經

4 fols.

1106 (fasc. 756)

"Scripture for the Control of Plagues, spoken by the Pure and Clear Heavenly Worthy, in the Lingbao Tradition." This short scripture is modeled on the traditional Lingbao texts. Instead of placing the revelation in some remote cosmic era, the text says that it took place in the year *jiyou* 己酉, corresponding to 1129, the year in which He Shouzheng 何守證 received the Jingming scriptures on Xishan (see the preface to *562 Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa*).

At the request of the "new disciple" Huiwen zhenren 惠文眞人, the Tianzun explains why even the faithful are not spared the plague that rages on Earth. However, a new spell and talisman, obligingly copied out by Xu Xun, is given to the disciple as a means of protection.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao shouru jingming sigui mingjian jing
太上靈寶首入淨明四規明鑑經

5 fols.

1107 (fasc. 756)

"Book of the Fourfold Mirror: An Introduction to the Pure and Clear School, in the Lingbao Tradition." Four mirrors arranged in a square around the adept (*sigui mingjing* 四規明鏡) are a common aid to the practice of ecstatic meditation (see, e.g., *1207 Shangqing mingjian zhenjing* 1a ff.). In the title of the present work, *jian* 鑑 stands for *jing* 鏡, in avoidance of a Song (960–1279) taboo.

This is a short philosophical and moral treatise in the classical style, comprising four paragraphs (hence the title). It was intended as an introduction to the thought of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming jiuxian shuijing **太上靈寶淨明九仙水經**

6 fols.

1108 (fasc. 765)

"Book of Water, from the Nine Immortals of the Pure and Clear School." This is a short essay on the element water and its cosmological role, compared to that of blood in the human body. The reference to Nine Immortals in the title is not explained.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang lingbao jingming zhonghuang bazhu jing
太上靈寶淨明中黃八柱經

6 fols.

1109 (fasc. 756)

"Scripture on the Eight Pillars of the Yellow Center of the Pure and Clear School." This essay on the theory of Tending Life techniques comprises eight paragraphs, hence the title. The Yellow Center is seen as the rectifying norm, the nexus of the structure of the energies of the universe and the body.

According to his biography, Jingming 淨明 patriarch Liu Yu (1257–1308) transmitted the *Zhonghuang dadao baji zhenquan* 中黃大道八極眞詮 to his disciple Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (see *1110 Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 1.22b). This revelation may well have been the present work, as the sayings of Liu Yu (*Yuzhen xiansheng yulu* 玉眞先生語錄 in *1110 Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 3–5) contains a paragraph devoted to the *zhonghuang baji* that shows similarities to the present work. Moreover, the text uses *xuanwu* 玄武 for the emblem of the North, in the place of *zhenwu* 眞武 in Song (960–1279) texts.

Kristofer Schipper

Jingming zhongxiao quanshu **淨明忠孝全書**

6 juan

By Huang Yuanji 黃元吉, *hao* Zhonghuang xiansheng 中黃先生 (1271–1325); edited by Xu Hui 徐慧, *hao* Danjiong daoren 丹扃道人; introduction dated 1327

1110 (fasc. 757)

"Complete Works of the Pure and Clear School." Xu Hui (1291–1350) was a disciple of Huang Yuanji, the successor of Liu Yu (1257–1308), author of the renewal of the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school in Yuan (1279–1368) times. In his introduction (dated 1327), Xu tells how he collected the sayings of his master, as well as those of Liu Yu. Xu added a number of documents revealed by planchette or other writings in Yuan times, edited them, and had the whole collection printed. The present edition, however, must have been reedited later, as Xu Hui's own biography has been added to those of his masters (1.27b–31a).

Xu's preface is preceded by no less than six prefaces by different scholars of the Yuan period: Zhang Gui 張珪 (1264–1327), Zhao Shiyan 趙世延 (1260–1336), Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348), Teng Bin 滕賓 (also written 滕斌, a Hanlin academician of the years 1308–1313, who later became a daoshi), Zeng Xunshen 曾巽申 (1282–1330), and finally a certain Peng Ye 彭埜, a local academician. These prefaces have been studied by Akizuki Kan'ei (*Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei,* 148–55). The first juan contains a number of biographies of the patriarchs of the school, and juan two has a number of planchette revelations. Juan 3–5 have the sayings of Liu Yu (*Yuzhen xiansheng yulu* 玉眞先生語錄), devoted to a wide range of topics, from self-cultivation to liturgy and exorcism. The last juan contains the sayings of Huang Yuanji (*Zhonghuang xiansheng wenda* 中黃先生問答), compiled by his disciple Chen Tianhe 陳天和.

This collection constitutes an important source for the history of the school in Yuan times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hata Shinobu, "Gendai jōmyōdō."

Kristofer Schipper

Taiwei xianjun gongguo ge 太微仙君功過格

14 fols.

By Youxuan zi 又玄子; 1171

186 (fasc. 78)

"Table of Merits and Offences [Revealed] by Taiwei Xianjun." In his preface, Youxuan zi states that in the year 1171, under the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), he ascended in a dream to the Purple Palace (*zifu* 紫府), where he received from Taiwei xianjun the standards for merits and offences and was admonished to pass them on to believers. After waking up, he noted them down—without adding any ideas of his own. The preface is signed "Youxuan zi from the Wuyou studio of the Huizhen Hall on Xishan 西山會眞堂無憂軒又玄子." Since the Xishan in Jiangxi was not under Jin rule, the author's reference to the Huizhen Hall may point to his affiliation with the Jingming 淨明 tradition there (cf. Akizuki Kan'ei, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei,* 197 ff.).

Thirty-six kinds of meritorious and thirty-nine kinds of impious deeds (divided into four categories each) are listed in the text, ranging on a scale of less than 1 to more than 100 points. The author recommends recording one's good and bad deeds in separate columns in a ledger every night, establishing a provisional balance once a month and an accumulative balance once a year. The aim of such bookkeeping is to become aware of one's actions and to change one's conduct accordingly.

The present text is the earliest preserved of its kind and served as a model for the various tables of merits and offences that were popular, especially in Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1912) times.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brokaw, *Ledgers of Merit and Demerit*, 43–52; Sakai Tadao, "Kōka no kenkyū."

3.B.9 The Quanzhen Order

The founder of the Quanzhen school, Wang Zhe 王嚞, *hao* Chongyang zi (1113–1170), decided after a failed career in both the military and the civil service under the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) to lead a hermetic life in the Zhongnan shan 終南山 mountains (southern Shaanxi). In 1159 he had two encounters with immortals (usually understood to be Lü Dongbin and Zhongli Quan), adopted a severe asceticism, and obtained the Tao. In 1167 Wang went to the tip of Shandong peninsula to preach. There he converted a wealthy notable, Ma Danyang (1123–1184), who became his prominent disciple under the surname Danyang zi. Wang converted others as well. Among these disciples, hagiography singles out the Qizhen 七眞 (Seven Zhenren). In 1170, Wang Zhe took his four core disciples on a journey back to Shaanxi, but he died in modern Kaifeng en route. While in Shandong, Wang Zhe established the Quanzhen (Complete Truth) school, named after his hermitage, and founded lay congregations (*hui* 會) based on the Three Teachings. Although well corroborated, the sources for Wang's biography are rather late; we have no funerary stele before 1232, and the first hagiographic work in the canon concerning him is *173 Jinlian zhengzong ji*, written in 1241. Although he seems to have been a very impressive personality, Wang seems to have become famous largely through the teachings of his disciples. The main work related to him is *1153 Chongyang quanzhen ji*, a large collection of his poems, possibly compiled while he was still alive. Other works deal with Wang's special relationship with Ma Danyang and were edited by Ma's circle: *1154 Chongyang jiaohua ji*, *1155 Chongyang fenli shihua ji*, and the probably apocryphal *1158 Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershisi jue*. Two other works are also attributed to Wang; *1156 Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue*, concerned with *neidan* 內丹 techniques, and the programmatic *1233 Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun*. He is, furthermore, credited with other books in later hagiographies. It is possible that, in the course of time, some of these lost anthologies were merged in larger anthologies such as *1153 Chongyang quanzhen*

ji. The unsystematic nature of these compilations is indicated by the duplication of numerous poems in different texts, for example in both *1153 Chongyang quanzhen ji* and *1154 Chongyang jiaohua ji*.

MA DANYANG is, after WANG ZHE, the most prolific author in this corpus. His poems are collected in *1142 Jianwu ji, 1149 Dongxuan jinyu ji,* and *1150 Danyang shenguang can,* and his speeches in *1057 Danyang zhenren yulu* and *1234 Danyang zhenren zhiyan*. We know little about the editorial history of Ma's works since none of them except *1150 Danyang shenguang can* has a preface. Ma's funerary steles mention his poetic skills but quote no title. On the other hand, *174 Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* quotes quite a few titles we can no longer trace. In contrast, the other male apostles of Quanzhen all have literary collections: Wang Chuyi 王處一 *(1152 Yunguang ji),* LIU CHUXUAN *(1141 Xianle ji,* as well as the didactic treatise *1058 Wuwei qingjing Changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu*), TAN CHUDUAN *(1160 Shuiyun ji),* HAO DATONG *(1161 Taigu ji),* and QIU CHUJI (1148–1227; *1159 Panxi ji*). Sun Buer 孫不二, the only female disciple, is absent from the corpus, together with the entire, and considerable, feminine part of the Quanzhen school. We have Sun's poems only in *1100 Minghe yuyin*, but some of these compositions seem to have originated in planchette writing. A problem of attribution is raised by *1056 Jin zhenren yulu*, which is quoted in WANG ZHE's works and also quotes him: it may be a compilation of texts by different authors contemporary to Wang.

At first a spiritual movement outside established Taoist institutions, the Quanzhen, under the leadership of preachers such as MA DANYANG and Wang Chuyi 王處一, soon attracted many converts and became an independent order. After some conflict in the 1190s, the Jin state eventually recognised the Quanzhen order, permitting it to develop its monastic foundations in the open. Under the leadership of QIU CHUJI, the movement expanded widely and was given a strong and centralized structure. In 1220, the Mongol emperor Genghis Khan, having already invaded part of northern China, called on Qiu to visit him. This he did, with eighteen of his prominent disciples. They met near Samarkand, after a long and difficult journey. Genghis was pleased to grant him privileges and comprehensive authority over China's monks (*chujia* 出家), an edict that was to raise much controversy. The whole journey is recorded in *1429 Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*, the dialogues with Genghis Khan in *176 Xuanfeng qinghui lu*. After these momentous events, a second generation of disciples oversaw the greatest expansion of the order.

This second generation is represented in the canon by a number of texts. From Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (1169–1251), QIU CHUJI's heir to the patriarch's seat, we have an anthology *(1146 Baoguang ji)* and a collection of sayings *(1310 Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu)*. A disciple of MA DANYANG composed *1143 Caotang ji*, and a disciple of Liu Chuxuan wrote *1264 Lifeng laoren ji*. WANG ZHIJIN, another disciple of QIU CHUJI, who also

studied with HAO DATONG, is the subject of *1059 Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu*. A disciple of WANG ZHIJIN authored the *1140 Yunshan ji*. From later generations come *267 Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao* and two works by Quanzhen patriarchs of the late thirteenth century, *1147 Xiyun ji* and *1073 Daochan ji*.

Apart from these works by well-known masters, the canon also contains other texts from the same period (1220–1280) whose authors are clearly identified with the Quanzhen order but not well documented historically. They are *247 Huizhen ji, 248 Qizhen ji, 1064 Dongyuan ji, 1144 Ziran ji, 1145 Xuanxu zi mingzhen ji,* and *1151 Wuzhen ji*. These second-generation authors were not all mere imitators. If they drew on the same sources of inspiration as the patriarchs, their poetry shows an evolution in style and doctrine, especially concerning the life of the hermit. As Quanzhen enlarged its audience and gained control of the large ordination monasteries, emphasis shifted from hermetic withdrawal to community life. Selfless striving for merit is the essential theme of works of this period, and Quanzhen's social action was initially rewarded with unprecedented political autonomy. This privilege started to be restricted in the 1250s, in reponse to the Quanzhen courtship of Buddhists. The movement was severely curtailed in the early 1280s when, in a fit of rage and sudden reversal of policy, the emperor Kublai ordered its canon burned. These changes in court politics, however, did not affect Quanzhen entrenchment in the countryside. Indeed, in the early fourteenth century, the order would recover its official patronage. Meanwhile, the establishment and administration of large ordination monasteries called for monastic rules. It was during the period of consolidation in the early fourteenth century that *1235 Quanzhen qinggui*, a compendium of rules, and *1229 Quanzhen zuobo jiefa*, a technical manual explaining the use of a method for collective meditation, were compiled.

Although political support for the Quanzhen declined in the late thirteenth century, the reunification of China in 1279 brought it into full contact with the southern schools, among which it immediately gained considerable prestige. The various orders had in fact been acquainted for some time. As early as 1260 and 1264, masters of the Quanzhen and Southern school (Nanzong 南宗) traditions, along with other eminent Taoists, were included in comprehensive lineage charts. Travels of Taoist masters across the border are not well documented, but books did make the journey. Van der Loon points to a Southern Song (1127–1279) work, the *Taishang shilu* 太上實錄 (see the article on *770 Hunyuan shengji*) included in the Quanzhen-sponsored canon of 1244 (VDL 56). The inclusion of *1059 Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* (an eminently Quanzhen text) in the Nanzong anthology *263 Xiuzhen shishu* must also have come shortly after the reunification of China (1279), if not before. Quanzhen did spread to southern China, but it never managed to establish large networks of communities there. Instead, it mostly operated small but renowned cloisters attached to large Zhengyi centers in the south.

Not many post-reunification Quanzhen texts are clearly dateable. There is *276 Xiyi zhimi lun* whose author, Niu Daochun, also wrote a commentary (*727 Wenshi zhenjing zhu*) and the hagiographic account *174 Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*. The major legacy of that period is identified with the more speculative works of southern authors such as LI DAOCHUN, Miao Shanshi 苗善時, CHEN ZHIXU, WANG JIE (mid-fourteenth century), and Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (1276–1336), who was raised in the Nanzong tradition and also initiated into Quanzhen pedagogy, thus claiming double affiliation. Although not a priori Quanzhen Taoists, these authors produced some of the most remarkable premodern Taoist literature, and eventually became regarded as authorities in modern Quanzhen. Beside this syncretic tradition, the continuity of the classical early Quanzhen tradition, at least during the early Ming (1368–1644), is documented in *1076 Suiji yinghua lu*, a *yulu* by He Daoquan 何道全 (1319?–1399). Encyclopedic works from the Ming such as *1232 Daomen shigui* and *1483 Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* also attest to the broad acceptance of Quanzhen practice and texts among all Taoist circles.

The comparatively small number of Quanzhen texts, amounting to less than 4 percent of the canon's volume, does not reflect the historical importance of the order that since the late twelfth century has come to be regarded as a vital element of the Taoist tradition. And yet the sixty-odd texts discussed here, casually scattered in various compilations, provide a huge wealth of historical and doctrinal information that to this day has scarcely begun to be explored by scholars. The major problem with Quanzhen writings lies in their unsystematic nature. Quanzhen is not a revelation, and there is no founding scripture on which the whole tradition can be said to rest. The fact that the school produced no classic was considered a blemish by the early Ming theoretician ZHAO YIZHEN. For a school with a deep sense of its unity and mission, the corpus left by Quanzhen is dispersed and heterogeneous.

It is not easy to define a Quanzhen text. No common formal criteria seem to link the corpus together. Reference to the patriarchs (most often WANG ZHE and QIU CHUJI) is frequent but not systematic. Neither is the word Quanzhen a reliable indicator: on one hand it is claimed by authors primarily affiliated with other schools, and on the other, it is absent from many core Quanzhen texts. Its synonyms include Golden Lotus (Jinlian 金蓮) and, more frequently, Mysterious Movement (Xuanfeng 玄風). It is indeed a rather vague term, and as Hachiya Kunio points out, its use by WANG ZHE himself is not very consistent (*Kindai dōkyō,* 15). To indicate "becoming a Quanzhen Taoist," one employed the usual terms for entering the religious life or monastic orders (*chujia* 出家 or *rudao* 入道). For the doctrine of the Quanzhen masters, the nonsectarian *wuwei qingjing* 無爲清靜 was most commonly used. It is, moreover, hazardous to identify a Quanzhen text on the basis of doctrine. Their prominent features, *neidan* and Three Teachings "syncretism," are common to many

writings of that period, including the Nanzong. The patriarch of this southern lineage, ZHANG BODUAN, is often quoted in Quanzhen works (although more often in second generation texts), and the two schools share the same theoretical foundations. Some scholars have tried to distinguish between the "Northern" (original Quanzhen) and "Southern" schools on the basis of their different emphases regarding *xing* 性 and *ming* 命 (mind and body) cultivation; this has been put into perspective by more recent research (see especially Chen Bing, "Jin Yuan Quanzhen dao," 538–40).

The early Quanzhen placed great emphasis on morals. Their scriptures hold forth about karma and the necessity of accumulating merit over many generations to attain truth and dismiss all practices but the purification of the mind. This has led some contemporaries to identify Quanzhen with Chan (see *1066 Xuanzong zhizhi wanfa tonggui* 3.7b: "Quanzhen practices the Sudden Way, it is therefore a sort of Buddhism"). This image of early Quanzhen as pure moral asceticism might primarily reflect a sociological distinction rather than a doctrinal choice. The Quanzhen order was at that time addressing very large lay congregations, and the "recorded sayings" (*yulu*) bear witness to their popular audiences. Most extant non-Quanzhen *yulu*, by contrast, are esoteric discussions between advanced adepts. The same differences can be observed among the audiences of Quanzhen and non-Quanzhen poetry. A few theoretical texts by Quanzhen authors (e.g., *1161 Taigu ji*, *247 Huizhen ji* 1, *248 Qizhen ji* 3), however, show that the school's propogators were not averse to the kind of speculative writings for which the Southern school (Nanzong) is justly famous. The most sensible way to identify a Quanzhen text, then, would be by affiliation of the author with the Quanzhen organization, with the help of historical sources, notably epigraphy. Unfortunately, many texts in the canon have either authors who are otherwise unknown, or no indication of authorship at all. Thus we have a number of texts that seem related to the Quanzhen movement, but that cannot be incorporated into a strictly defined corpus. The present set of some sixty well-identified texts, however, is large enough to allow for a description of the major genres. These are (1) hagiography, (2) recorded saying (*yulu*) and collected works, and (3) didactic writings, covering both precepts and practices.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the early Quanzhen was the edition of the 1244 canon, almost without state support, in a very short period of time and under troubled conditions. It is difficult to have a clear idea of the contents of this canon, but available evidence suggests that the compilers did not interfere with the traditional Three Caverns and Four Auxiliaries (*sandong sifu* 三洞四輔) partition, nor did they attempt to fill the canon with their own literature. At most, they added a few hagiographic works at the end. This process was completely in line with the nature of the Quanzhen movement: the masters respected the canon and strove to enlarge its diffusion, but they considered their own writings to be extracanonical. The Quanzhen

order, however, did not completely abstain from manipulating the potent symbols of the canonical tradition. There are a few cases where it tried to find a place for itself in this tradition. The first such case was the rediscovery of the *Wenshi zhenjing* 文始眞經 in 1233. This scripture authored by Yin Xi 尹喜, Laozi's disciple, had been lost for centuries. When it was found in a cache of documents and presented to the patriarch Yin Zhiping 尹志平, it was considered to be an omen of the new propagation of Taoism. The coincidence of the Yin name was reinforced by the fact that Yin's master, QIU CHUJI, was himself widely considered, owing to his western travels, to be a new Laozi. The *Wenshi zhenjing* was not a real rediscovery, however, since the text (probably a tenth-century apocryphal work) had actually been in circulation for some time already.

A different kind of scriptural manipulation was the forging of new *jing*. Although this can never be proved definitely, it does seem that at least two (and probably more) "Lingbao scriptures," the *Datong jing* 大通經 and the *Chiwen donggu jing* 赤文洞古經 were written in Quanzhen circles. This authorship would explain why these two works almost always appear with commentaries by Quanzhen masters, and also why to this day they are included in almost all Quanzhen collections. Other possible cases include *646 Taishang laojun wai riyong miaojing* and *25 Yuanshi tianzun shuo dedao liaoshen jing*. On the other hand, neither the *Wenshi zhenjing* nor the various "Quanzhen scriptures" ever commanded special authority among the adepts.

The history of Quanzhen texts should be understood in the framework of the Quanzhen organization, a monastic order based on a dense network of small monasteries and temples, supported by lay congregations (*hui* 會). For instance, the 1309 reprint of *176 Xuanfeng qinghui tu* was due to fundraising organized by a number of lay members of Taoist associations spread from Hangzhou to Peking. We can therefore understand the existence of many "association members" (*huishou*) among the dedicatees of Quanzhen poetry. Most prefaces were written by lay believers who were not, properly speaking, Taoists, but whose deep faith and admiration went well beyond the polite deference of a scholar pen-friend. Du Dekang 杜德康, the sponsor of Yin Zhiping, is a telling example; Wang E 王鶚 (1190–1273), sponsor of WANG ZHIJIN and his disciple Ji Zhizhen, is another. These men were Confucians engaged in political careers; they were clearly not free to follow the ascetic path of celibacy and poverty of a Quanzhen monk but were nonetheless engaged, in a personal and not merely intellectual sense, in the Quanzhen movement.

The complete reorganization of the Quanzhen after the fall of the Yuan entailed a loss of the best part of such support. Literary output dropped dramatically and never recovered the intensity of the thirteenth century. It is likely that many works were also lost around that time. The compilers of the Zhengtong canon, who held Quanzhen in high esteem, included all the scriptures they could find (possibly in the libraries of large monasteries), but much more was lost. It is unlikely that the 1281 condemnation played a role in this, since Quanzhen writings were not especially targeted. The burning of many temples during the Yuan-Ming transition is a more likely culprit. Moreover, although Taoist-inclined literati enjoyed Quanzhen poetry, it never caught the fancy of mainstream literary criticism, which, with some reason, found it too forceful and ideological. The Quanzhen anthologies were therefore rarely to be found in large private libraries. Quanzhen poetry is rarely included in imperial anthologies of classical poetry; it has been rediscovered by literary historians only in recent decades.

This picture is confirmed by two observations. First, very few Yuan and Ming editions of Quanzhen works in the canon survive separately. We have only a Jin edition of *1159 Panxi ji* and Yuan editions of *1140 Yunshan ji* and *1059 Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu,* all in the Peking Library. The *1059 Wang zhenren yulu* is often quoted, has been included in several Ming collectanea (*congshu*), and commanded the respect of luminaries like Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541–1620). Jiao's attitude might be typical of the many scholars who, without considering the Quanzhen masters as first-class poets or essayists, were impressed by the depth of insight and spirituality conveyed by their words. The second observation concerns the listing of Quanzhen works in the bibliographic catalogues of the Ming and Qing. Thirty-six titles are mentioned, some of them since lost, belonging to all categories (see Goossaert, "La création du taoïsme moderne," 436–38). The anthologies, however, are underrepresented: it is remarkable, for instance, that WANG ZHE's works are completely absent from these catalogues. The most salient information is that hagiographic works account for almost half of the references. It seems that mainstream Chinese scholars chose to remember early Quanzhen for its historical significance rather than for its contribution to Chinese thought and literature. It is also noteworthy that, of the five early Quanzhen works that have been transmitted outside the canon (*Xuanfeng qinghui tu, Laozi bashiyi hua tu, Qizhen xianzhuan, Quanzhen zongyan fangwai xuanyan,* and *Daode jing zhu* by He Daoquan, all mentioned above), three are of a hagiographic nature.

Quanzhen works mentioned in epigraphy, hagiographic texts, and quotations from Ming texts, as well as their prefaces in literary collections, resuscitate titles of books now lost. A comprehensive check provided a list of eighty-one such titles. As far as we can tell from mere titles, these books seem to have been similar in format to those that are extant; mainly poetry, *yulu*, and a number of commentaries on the Taoist classics. This suggests that the selection of Quanzhen texts now extant, largely thanks to the Zhengtong canon, is representative of the larger production of early Quanzhen.

3.B.9.a Hagiography and Biography

A large collection of hagiographic works, inside and outside the canon, is concerned with the Quanzhen movement. In the canon, the oldest text is *173 Jinlian zhengzong ji*, composed by Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188–1244), coeditor of the Taoist canon of the Jin, the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 of 1244, for inclusion in that collection. Then come three works by the greatest Quanzhen historiographer, Li Daoqian (1219–1296): a chronology *(175 Qizhen nianpu)*, a collection of biographies *(955 Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan)*, and an anthology of stele inscriptions *(973 Ganshui xianyuan lu)*. From a later date are *174 Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*, which probably aimed at the same public as *173 Jinlian zhengzong ji*: both are breviaries of the origins and early history of the Quanzhen. Also written in the fourteenth century, *1069 Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi* adopts the same format as the two works above: the Five Ancestors, *wuzu* 五祖 (Laozi, Donghua dijun 東華帝君, Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, and Liu Haichan; Wang Zhe may replace Laozi), and the Seven Zhenren; it also adds his own subbranch of the lineage. There existed further narratives about the Quanzhen patriarchs, as their celebrity made them public figures. For instance, one of the sources of *175 Qizhen nianpu* is a book by the Jin literary figure turned Quanzhen monk Wang Cui 王粹 (d. 1243), a work later expanded into the *Qizhen xianzhuan* 七眞仙傳, still extant in a 1417 edition. These narratives in turn inspired full-fledged novels called "stories of the Seven Zhenren," of which several examples date from the Qing. Novelists were not the only ones interested in these tales. Playwrights also plumbed them. Ma Danyang was the hero of plays written at the end of the thirteenth century (see Hawkes, "Quanzhen plays"). A variety of works from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries together provide as many as six different versions of the history of Wang Zhe and his seven apostles, not to mention some 500 extant stone inscriptions.

Although usually treated as a group, the early Quanzhen masters also have individual hagiographies in anecdotal style. *594 Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu* is concerned with one of the Seven Zhenren, Wang Chuyi 王處一; *305 Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* is the standard hagiography of Lü Dongbin, as well as providing the framework of the murals of the Chunyang dian 純陽殿 in the renowned Quanzhen monastery Yongle gong 永樂宮, built on Lü's presumed birthplace (Ang, "Le culte de Lü Dongbin"). In the same monastery, the murals of the Chongyang dian 重陽殿, devoted to Wang Zhe, are in a poor state and little studied, but they were certainly based on a similar hagiographic work. The murals can be identified with an illustrated biography of Wang, *Chongyang zhenjun minhua tu*, quoted in the still partially extant 1309 edition of *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* 玄風慶會圖 (reprint Shanghai: Hanfen lou, 1925). This work by the Quanzhen monk Shi Zhijing 石志經 (1202–1275) is an illustrated biography of

Qiu Chuji. This beautifully edited work matches a full-page illustration with each anecdote. Shi Zhijing, a friend of Li Daoqian, also composed the *Laojun bashiyi hua tu* 老君八十一化圖, an illustrated narration of the various apparitions of Laozi on Earth, which elicited much furore from the Buddhists since it included the old *huahu* 化胡 story. All of these works, whether written or pictorial, belong to the same genre, to which one can also add *170 Zitong dijun huashu*.

Most of these works appeared during the half century 1230–1280, when Quanzhen identity was being elaborated in a very competitive setting. In particular, Li Daoqian and Shi Zhijing were active around the time of the famous Buddho-Taoist controversies of the 1250s, and their works might very well be an answer to them, although they do not show any prejudice against other religions (see Miura Suichi, "Gendai shisō"). The *1429 Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* is also relevant to this problem. The literary, artistic, and historiographic qualities of the Quanzhen accounts of this period contrast with the offensiveness of their detractors (cf. Rachewiltz, "The *Hsi-yu lu*," and Kubo Noritada, "Prolegomena"). The Quanzhen compilers usually mention their sources and rarely take recourse to spurious evidence (the first four ancestors being an exception). All authors mainly rely on stele inscriptions. This underlines the role of lay patrons in fashioning Quanzhen's identity, for most steles were written by scholars, even if they used the memoranda provided by the Quanzhen monks.

Quanzhen lore is centred on lineages, not on places. The order nonetheless regarded the Zhongnan shan 終南山 (Shaanxi) as its holy land, and it is in Quanzhen circles that *956 Zhongnan shan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* (also available in rubbing) and *957 Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* were compiled, thus acknowledging the local traditions to which the Quanzhen movement was heir.

Jinlian zhengzong ji 金蓮正宗記

5 juan

By Qin Zhian 秦志安, *hao* Changchun hutian 長春壺天, Linjian yuke 林間羽客, Shuli daoren 樗櫟道人; preface dated 1241

173 (fasc. 75–76)

"Record of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus School." This scripture has a preface by the author, dated 1241. In Henan, Qin Zhian joined Song Defang. Both Taoists assumed responsibility for the edition of the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏. Qin Zhian incorporated "The Time Line of Transmission" into this collection of Taoist literature (see Yuan Haowen 元好問, "Tongzhen zi mubei ming 通眞子墓碑銘," in *Yishan xiansheng wenjing* 31.314b–315b).

The "True Line of Transmission" comprises fourteen Taoist names. The respective biographies have been arranged according with the historical development of the lineage as understood by the author. The first patriarch of the Golden Lotus (Quanzhen)

school is Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫), who was initiated into the Taoist order by the deity Boyun shangzhen 白雲上眞. Donghua dijun passed his knowledge to ZHONGLI QUAN. The biographies of LÜ YAN and LIU HAICHAN follow. These two Taoists were also spiritual ancestors of the Quanzhen school. Then the text gives the biographies of WANG CHONGYANG and his two friends from Shaanxi, He Yuchan 和玉蟾 and Li Lingyang 李靈陽, preceding the presentation of the Seven Zhenren (Qizhen 七眞), who are connected with WANG CHONGYANG's activities in Shandong. The two friends from Shaanxi constitute a link with the village of Liujiang (see *955 Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 1.1a–4a). WANG CHONGYANG is featured as a successor to LIN LINGSU. However, WANG CHONGYANG's specialty was Taoist teachings dealing with human nature and existence (*xingming* 性命).

The biographies contain a descriptive text and one or several eulogies. They also mention the honors that had been bestowed on these Taoists by emperors of the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. Finally they list the literary works written by these masters. Each biography concludes with a mediumistic poem. The "The Time Line of Transmission" aims to legitimize the Quanzhen school in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Florian C. Reiter

Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan 金蓮正宗仙源像傳

45 fols.

Compiled by Liu Zhixuan 劉志玄, *hao* Lushan qingxi daoren 廬山清溪道人, and Xie Xichan 謝西蟾; preface dated 1326

174 (fasc. 76)

"Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus [School]." Two prefaces introduce this work. The first was written by the Thirty-ninth Heavenly Master, Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成, *hao* Taixuan zi 太玄子, and is dated 1327. The second preface is by Liu Zhixuan and is dated 1326. This work, like *173 Jinlian zhengzong ji,* deals with the history of the Quanzhen school.

The short biographies, each of which is preceded by a portrait of its subject (figs. 59–61), also indicate the literary works of the master. Reference is made to the temples or cloisters, which were founded after the death of the respective master in places where he had lived, taught, and finally died. At the end of each text, the honorary titles decreed by the court of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) are listed. A short eulogy concludes the text of each biography. An independent collection of historical documents precedes the portraits and biographies. This collection was printed in 1324. The documents comprise Genghis Khan's statements inviting QIU CHUJI, the decree bestowing honorary titles on the founders of the Quanzhen school, issued in 1269 by

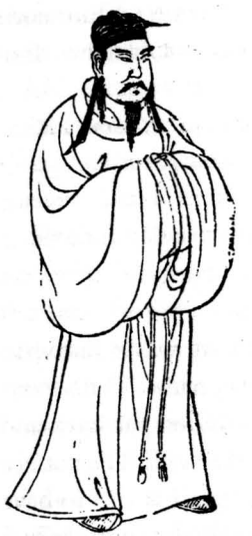


FIGURE 59. Portrait of the immortal Lü Dongbin (*174* 15b)



FIGURE 60. Wang Zhe, the founder of the Quanzhen order (*174* 18a)



FIGURE 61. Qiu Chuji, Taoist ambassador to Genghis Khan (*174* 32a)

Kublai, and finally four similar documents issued in 1310 by Wuzong. All these documents had been copied by Liu Zhixuan when he was serving the Quanzhen master Sun Deyu 孫德彧 (1243–1321) at the Changchun temple in the capital.

Florian C. Reiter

Qizhen nianpu 七眞年譜

22 fols.

Compiled by Li Daoqian 李道謙; 1271

175 (fasc. 76)

"Chronological Biographies of the Seven Zhenren." Li Daoqian is said to have compiled these biographies in the Ancestral Hall at Liujiang village, Shaanxi. This was the western center of the Quanzhen school. The Seven Zhenren are the seven masters of the first generation, the followers of WANG ZHE (Chongyang). At the beginning of the text, biographical data concerning WANG ZHE are given. They are taken from a biography written by Wang Cui 王粹. The chronology covers the period between the birth of the historical founder of the school, WANG ZHE (1112), and the death of QIU CHUJI (1227). QIU CHUJI (Changchun) was the last of the Seven Zhenren to die. The chronology compiles the most remarkable events and data referring to the Qizhen's contacts with WANG ZHE and their careers as Quanzhen Taoists.

The biographies attempt to reconcile some contradictory information, which could have been drawn from older (not specified) biographies. Li Daoqian bases his correc-

tions on the literary collections of the Seven Zhenren, which are treated as authentic and reliable documents. The text also points to some other works by Quanzhen Taoists that are said to be reliable.

Florian C. Reiter

***Xuanfeng qinghui lu* 玄風慶會錄**

9 fols.

By Yila Chucai 移剌楚才; preface 1232

176 (fasc. 76)

"Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Taoism." This account was in fact written by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材. Yila Chucai is a distortion of that name. The anonymous preface is dated 1232. It speaks about the visit of the Quanzhen patriarch and preceptor of state, QIU CHUJI, to the temporary residence of the Khan. The preface compares this event with the famous journey to the West that Laozi is said to have undertaken. It is stated that the "Celebrated Encounter" had been written at the behest of the Khan.

The text records the encounters between QIU CHUJI and Genghis Khan in 1222. It features the Taoist's answers to the Khan in response to his request for medicine to prolong his life. QIU CHUJI expounds his philosophy and discusses the conditions that shape a human life. He pays special attention to the conditions of the ruler. There is an intimate relationship between the external affairs of state and the human qualities of a ruler. The Khan is advised to restrain his old habits. QIU CHUJI points to the pacifying effects of the Way, which the teachings and deeds of Taoists (Zhengyi and Quanzhen) had brought to China. He also suggests imitating the example of the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) rulers, who had employed Liu Yu 劉豫 to enforce Chinese ways of government. The most interesting parts of the "Celebrated Encounter" are translated in Waley, *The travels of an alchemist*, 21–25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Zhang Zheng, "*Genfū keikai roku* wo megutte."

Florian C. Reiter

***Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀**

By Miao Shanshi 苗善時 (fl. 1324)

7 juan

305 (fasc. 159)

"Records of the Miraculous Manifestation of the Transcendence of the Imperial Lord Pure Yang." Chunyang dijun is the official title LÜ YAN received in 1310 by decree of the emperor Wuzong. The author of this account, a native of Nanking, was a

disciple of LI DAOCHUN (see *1060 Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 3) and the editor of *651 Taishang dongshen sanyuan miaoben fushou zhenjing* (postface dated 1324).

According to the preface, the records consisted of 120 tales of miraculous manifestations (*hua*) in six juan. The present edition only reaches the *hua* 108. The episodes 20–24 and 26–33 are missing; the remaining *hua* number ninety-five and are arranged in seven juan. They trace the life of the saint, from his birth in 790 at Yongle (Hezhong fu, Shanxi) to his death at the end of the Tang (*hua* 1 to 8). Next in the narrative come the many post-mortem appearances of the saints, continuing into the late thirteenth century. Many of these tales feature anecdotes known through later compilations (see *1484 Lüzu zhi*) as well as Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) plays and vernacular literature. The author adds his comments to the tales, either as a "judgment" (*tuan* 彖) or as a poem (*shi* 詩). The first *hua* are all followed by *tuan,* whereas later *hua* are mostly followed by poems. Comments on the last stories (after number 101) are missing.

The author freely declares his views through the comments. He represents the texts of *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* and of *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (in *263 Xiuzhen shishu* juan14–15) as forgeries. On the other hand, the saint is said to have received *19 Taisjang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing,* a holy book collecting the essence of the Three Teachings, during his initiation (2.5b). At the beginning of the present work, the author reproduces two imperial decrees canonizing the Five Patriarchs of Quanzhen, LÜ YAN being one of them. These decrees, dated 1269 and 1310, also feature in *174 Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ang, "Le culte de Lü Dongbin"; Mori Yuria, "*Junyō teikun shinka myōtsū ki*."

Kwong Hing Foon

***Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu* 體玄眞人顯異錄**

15 fols.

Thirteenth century

594 (fasc. 329)

"Report on the Wondrous Events [in the Life of] the Adept who is United with the Mystery." This account concerns the Quanzhen patriarch Wang Chuyi 王處一 (first generation of the Seven Zhenren), on whom Emperor Zhangzong in 1198 bestowed the title of Tixuan dashi 體玄大師. This work was compiled by his followers. It contains nineteen accounts of the wondrous deeds of the patriarch. Wang Chuyi appears to have effected the miracles in order to convert people.

In 1287, Yao Sui 姚燧 based his inscription "Yuyang tixuan guangdu zhenren Wang zongshi daoxing beiming 玉陽體玄廣度眞人王宗師道行碑銘," in *973 Ganshui xian-*

yuan lu 2.13a, on this work. The expanded honorary title of the Taoist, which was used in the title of Yao Sui's inscription, had been conferred on Wang Chuyi in 1269 by Emperor Shizu. It is possible that the present text already existed before 1269.

Wang Chuyi is featured as a Taoist priest and healer who was well versed in magical methods. No mention is made of his affiliation with the Quanzhen school. This work describes events that are reported in part in *1152 Yunguang ji,* such as the magic that Wang performed in order to procure rain in Peking in 1209 (4a–4b). The present work provides important information about the way of life of this Taoist who traveled widely in Shandong and Hebei, not having the habit of staying long in one place. This work and *1152 Yunguang ji* complement one another.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mori Yuria, "*Taigen shinjin ken'iroku*."

Florian C. Reiter

Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan 終南山祖庭仙眞內傳

3 juan

By Li Daoqian 李道謙; preface by Wang Daoming 王道明 dated 1284

955 (fasc. 605)

"Biographies of the Immortal Zhenren of the Ancestral Hall at Mount Zhongnan." These biographies describe the activities of Quanzhen Taoists of the first, second, and third generations. The Ancestral Hall (Liujiang village, Shaanxi) was around the end of the thirteenth century a major center of the Quanzhen school (compare *175 Qizhen nianpu* 5b–9b). The author of the preface, Wang Daoming, was in charge of the Yuxian gong 遇仙宮 temple in Ganhe zhen 甘河鎮 (Zhongnan).

The immortals and zhenren in question were the friends and followers of WANG CHONGYANG, MA DANYANG, QIU CHUJI, and other patriarchs of the Quanzhen school, who had lived for some time in the Ancestral Hall. The biographies feature the affiliations of these Taoists. They show clearly how the Quanzhen school increasingly gained influence in society. The biographies list their subjects' literary works and sometimes officially decreed posthumous titles. Numerous biographies concern persons for whom no inscriptions had been written. This work preserves important supplements to the collection of inscriptions later compiled by the same author (see *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu*).

Florian C. Reiter

Ganshui xianyuan lu 甘水仙源錄

10 juan

By Li Daoqian 李道謙, *hao* Hefu 和甫; postface by Zhang Haogu 張好古; 1289

973 (fasc. 611–613)

"Record of the Immortals from the Sweet Water [River]." This collection of inscriptions concerns the history of the Quanzhen school. The Sweet Water River (Ganhe) flows through Ganhe county in Shaanxi where WANG CHONGYANG (1112–1170) met with zhenren and received Taoist instructions. The immortals constitute the historical and orthodox line of transmission in the Quanzhen school, from the first to the third generation. Li Daoqian hailed from Kaifeng. In 1281 he was the abbot of the Chongyang wanshou gong temple (Liujiang village, Shaanxi). Li Daoqian, who is also the author of *175 Qizhen nianpu* and *955 Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan*, was a student and follower of Yu Dongzhen 余洞眞 (1166–1250). He was a major author and compiler of the history of the Quanzhen school. His student Zhang Haogu says in his postface (10.32a–33a) that Li collated all texts of this collection.

Li Daoqian places at the very beginning of this work the edict of Emperor Shizu (1269), which decrees religious titles for the spiritual ancestors of the Quanzhen school and for WANG CHONGYANG and his seven followers. The compilation of inscriptions that follow this edict deal with life within the Quanzhen order and with Quanzhen temples. This work also contains official and scholarly poems that refer to Quanzhen Taoists.

Some inscriptions were composed by well-known literati like Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257), Yao Sui 姚燧 (1238–1313), and Wang E 王鶚 (1190–1273). There are several different types of texts: tomb inscriptions, steles, and biographies. Comparisons with other editions show that Li Taoqian did not always transcribe his texts accurately and completely. However, most of the inscriptions in this edition cannot be found elsewhere; for this reason, the compilation remains the most important source for the history of the Quanzhen school.

Florian C. Reiter

Changchun zhenren xiyou ji 長春眞人西遊記

2 juan

By LI ZHICHANG 李志常, *hao* Zhenchang zi 眞常子; preface by Sun Xi 孫錫 dated 1228

1429 (fasc. 1056)

"Report on the Journey of the Adept Changchun to the West." This account was written by the Quanzhen Taoist LI ZHICHANG, who accompanied the leader of the school, QIU CHUJI, on his journey in 1221–1224 from Peking via Central Asia to the temporary residence of Genghis Khan near Kabul.

The present text describes the travelers, itinerary, and people the two zhenren met along the way. The author observes the activities of the patriarch, who had numerous contacts with local officials and participated in religious festivities. There is only scant information about the discussions with the Khan (on that subject, see *176 Xuanfeng qinghui lu*). This work also covers the period between QIU CHUJI's return to Peking and his death in 1227. It includes information about the arrangements for nominating a successor in the leadership of the Quanzhen school (Yin Qinghe 尹清和). The appendix (2.27b–32a) contains seven documents. Most of these had been sent either by the Khan or the administration of Peking concerning QIU CHUJI. Large portions of this report are translated by A. Waley (*The travels of an alchemist*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Waley, *The travels of an alchemist;* Zhang Zheng, "Chōshun shinjin saiyūki ni tsuite."

Florian C. Reiter

3.B.9.b Logia and Collected Works

Many Quanzhen masters had their own literary anthology, usually composed only of *shi* 詩- and *ci* 詞-poems, and various songs. Besides individual anthologies, selected collective anthologies of Quanzhen poetry were compiled to help spread the gospel of Quanzhen predication. Although it is not limited to Quanzhen authors, *1100 Minghe yuyin* contributed to the diffusion of Quanzhen poetry. A Quanzhen monk edited the authoritative collection of LÜ DONGBIN's poetry, *1055 Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji*.

The prevalence of poetry in Quanzhen literature seems quite natural; poetry was a part of the curriculum in Quanzhen schools. Quanzhen poems range between the didactic and lyric styles. The variety of subjects is matched by the variety of styles. Unlike the clearly structured poetical works of southern *neidan*, Quanzhen poetry is experimental. For instance, verses exchanged between WANG ZHE and MA DANYANG leave the first character of a verse for the recipient of the poem to guess (*cangtou* 藏頭). MA DANYANG also offers verse experiments in the repetitive style. The most common mode is the *ci* and, more generally, poetry to be sung. Beside their use as "cases for reflection" (*gongan* 公案), these songs were also chanted during meditation or ritual and more generally on collective occasions. The Quanzhen rules specify, "During the *hai* hour [9 to 11 P.M.] we sing and chant, read religious discourses, lyric and regular poetry to dispel the temptations of sleep" (*1235 Quanzhen qinggui* 6a.).

Why did Quanzhen masters prefer to communicate through poetry? Quite simply, their poetry appealed to the emotions; its aim was to convert as much as to explain. It was intended to induce a religious experience that would cause one to "enter the Tao," not to understand it. Quanzhen was a missionary institution, and poetry its language of conversion. A large number of Quanzhen poems were composed upon solicitation by an adept, or given to prospective adepts with a performative intent. Many verses begin with words such as "I enjoin you to . . . (*quan jun* 勸君)." In order to increase their audience, poems were engraved on stone in temples. This is why hagiographic accounts, when quoting a book, always insist on its being "spread in the world" (*xing yushi* 行于世), the very opposite of an esoteric book. The performative aspect of Quanzhen poetry is borne out by its links with Yuan theater (*zaju* 雜劇), which is replete with "Taoist aspirations" (*daoqing* 道情) lyrics and allusions to the cult of the immortals. The canon contains a set of *daoqing* songs, *1144 Ziran ji*, that might have been sung during festivals at Quanzhen temples and monasteries, possibly to accompany the life stories of the immortals and Quanzhen saints, not unlike the Buddhist *bianwen* 變文.

Just as Quanzhen poetry was anthologized, its *yulu* (sayings) were also edited in "selections," such as *1256 Zhenxian zhizhi yulu*. The most remarkable examples of Quanzhen logia, however, are four longer independent works: *1057 Danyang zhenren yulu*, *1310 Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu*, *1059 Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu,* and *1076 Suiji yinghua lu*. Many more Quanzhen *yulu* were compiled during the Ming and Qing periods, some of which are in the present corpus, but few match the missionary spirit of these four works. The prevalence of colloquial *baihua* now make them difficult to read, but their humor (sometimes in the tradition of Linji Chan) and the predominance of autobiographical narratives contribute to their appeal. They exhibit a pedagogy based on imitation of the lives of the saints and collective emulation of asceticism, in a exalted atmosphere. The continued relevance of these older *yulu* is documented by their edition by a Quanzhen monk at the beginning of the twentieth century (see *Liezhen yulu jiyao* 列眞語錄輯要, *Daozang jinghua,* ser. 3, vol. 8) and by excerpts posted in monasteries today.

***Yunguang ji* 雲光集**

4 juan

By Wang Chuyi 王處一; between 1213–1217

1152 (fasc. 792)

"Radiance of the Clouds." This literary collection presents lyrical works of various genres. Originally the collection had a preface by the author, now lost (see *175 Qizhen nianpu* 4a). There is a reference to the death of HAO DATONG (1213). Wang Chuyi died in 1217. These dates suggest that the collection was compiled between 1213 and 1217. Radiance of the Clouds is the name of a cave in Wendeng 文登 (Shandong), where Wang Chuyi was living when he joined WANG CHONGYANG in 1168.

The collection contains dedications written for friends and acquaintances, instructions for students or disciples (see, e.g., 4.28a–28b), and also many texts that deal with specific events in the life of the author. Wang Chuyi, who had received attention from the imperial court, was a renowned Taoist priest and practitioner of exorcistic and liturgical services. His activities, which were commented upon by himself and eventually by his followers, connect this work with *594 Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu.*

Florian C. Reiter

Jin zhenren yulu 晉眞人語錄

14 fols.

Thirteenth century

1056 (fasc. 728)

"Recorded Discourses by the Zhenren Jin." This work comprises five extended sections of quite different texts. Only the first part (1a–4b) corresponds to the title and contains discourses concerning physiological and meditative self-cultivation. These discourses have been attributed to Jin Daocheng 晉道成 (cf., e.g., "Chongzhen pian 崇眞篇," in *1017 Daoshu* 19.3b–4b). Considering the many quotations of "Adept Jin" in early Quanzhen materials, like *1153 Chongyang quanzhen ji* 10.21a, this part of the work suggests that at an early stage some concepts of the Song (960–1279) *neidan* 內丹 school had made their way into Quanzhen teachings. However, the true author or compiler of the five sections of this work is unknown. The four subsequent texts indicate that this work could not have been compiled before the thirteenth century.

The work includes, in addition, the following texts: "Chongyang zushi xiuxian liaoxing bijue 重陽祖師修仙了性秘訣," which deals with the way of life recommended by WANG CHONGYANG (4b–6b); "Da Ma shifu shisi wen 答馬師父十四問," containing definitions of terms and concepts by MA DANYANG (6b–8b); and "Xuanmen zabao shiba wenda 玄門雜寶十八問答," with poems concerning basic concepts of the Quanzhen school (8b–11b), for example, "to leave the family behind and practice self-cultivation." At the end of the work, Quanzhen themes are again addressed in the form of odes (11b–14b).

Florian C. Reiter

Danyang zhenren yulu 丹陽眞人語錄

16 fols.

By Wang Yizhong 王頤中, *hao* Lingyin zi 靈隱子; twelfth century

1057 (fasc. 728)

"Recorded Discourses of the Adept Danyang." These discourses contain statements made by MA DANYANG along with accounts of his lectures, which were compiled after his death in 1183 by his follower Wang Yizhong (4b). This work illustrates how MA DANYANG's way of life was in harmony with his teachings.

Wang Yizhong starts his compilation with a short account of his first contacts with MA DANYANG in 1183 in Shandong. He presents precepts for living in accordance with the Quanzhen teachings, as expressed by MA DANYANG. "Purity and Tranquility," the absence of any distractions by the profane world, is more important than progress achieved by reading and studying books (10a). As evidence for the claim that the "elixir emerges by itself, and the immortal becomes immortal of himself," this text introduces Liu Gaoshang 劉高尙 (fl. 1100; 8b; cf. *781 Xuanpin lu* 5.22a–22b). Many statements made in this text can be found, with variants, in related texts (see, e.g., *1234 Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 1b [14b, "The Tao of Heaven"]). Some parallels are found in *1256 Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 1.1a–9b.

Florian C. Reiter

Wuwei qingjing Changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu
無爲清靜長生眞人至眞語錄

35 fols.

By LIU CHUXUAN 劉處玄; preface dated 1202

1058 (fasc. 728)

"Record of the Most True Words [of LIU CHUXUAN]." This is a well structured series of eighty didactic expositions about theories and concepts pertaining to the Quanzhen teachings of the Taoist LIU CHUXUAN, one of the Seven Zhenren (Qizhen 七眞). The systematically arranged expositions present definitions of terms or concepts in the form of replies to the questions of a fictitious interrogator. The text is preceded by an index of the eighty terms or concepts. They are arranged in sets of two complementary items. Han Shiqian 韓士倩 (*zi* Yanguang 彥廣) was asked by LIU CHUXUAN to write the preface (dated 1202). Han Shiqian called himself "Taoist Xubo, from the city of Duan in Huozhe [Shanxi]," Huozhe Duancheng Shuangxi Xubo daoren 濩澤端城雙溪虛白道人. Han Shiqian had received the text of the "Most True Words" through the intermediary of two disciples of LIU CHUXUAN who also transmitted the request for a preface. Han Shiqian points in particular to the literary activities of LIU CHUXUAN. He emphasizes that this work was based on the explanations provided by the Huang-Lao 黃老 school, and that it presents the knowledge of life and death. It also shows, he says, the way of leaving behind the "ocean of misery."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reiter, "The blending of religious convictions," 454–58.

Florian C. Reiter

***Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 清庵瑩蟾子語錄**

6 juan

By Chai Yuangao 柴元皋, *zi* Heian 嘿庵, *hao* Guangchan zi 廣蟾子, and others; preface dated 1288

1060 (fasc. 729)

"Sayings of Master Yingchan." This collection contains the teachings of LI DAOCHUN (d. 1306), compiled by his main disciples, each of whom edited one juan. They are, in addition to Chai Yuangao, a Maoshan Taoist who also signed the preface, Zhao Daoke 趙道可, *zi* Dingan 定庵; Miao Shanshi 苗善時, *zi* Shian 實庵; Deng Decheng 鄧德成, *zi* Ning'an 寧庵; Zhang Yingtan 張應坦, *zi* Meng'an 蒙庵; Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤, *zi* Sun'an 損庵. There is a colophon by WANG JIE, who printed the text, after having obtained the manuscript from Cai Zhiyi.

According to the preface of *1065 Xuanjiao da gongan* (1b), LI DAOCHUN, native of Duliang 都梁 in Hunan province, was the disciple of Wang Jinchan 王金蟾, who in turn was a pupil of BO YUCHAN. Li's teaching is considered to be a synthesis between the Northern school (i.e., the Quanzhen order) and the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗). Himself a southerner, he must have lived for a time at the Changsheng guan 長生觀 temple in Henan province (see *Gujin tushu jicheng* 396, "Lixing bu" 李姓部). According the preface of the present work, Li stayed for a period on Maoshan. It was, however, at Nanking, in the Zhonghe jingshe 中和精舍, that his teaching took place (see *249 Zhonghe ji* 4.11a).

LI DAOCHUN's logia concern a variety of subjects: Chan Buddhism, Inner Alchemy, explanations on the *Daode jing,* and so forth. Juan 2, especially, concerns the eighty-one chapters of the *Daode jing,* which the master quotes in "case" fashion (*gongan* 公案); these explanations are called "the spiritual understanding of the *Daode jing.*" Additional explanations were provided when LI DAOCHUN transmitted the *699 Daode huiyuan* to Zhao Daoke, a passage of which is quoted here.

The last juan contains a series of twenty-five poems on alchemical themes, with the title "Essentials of Alchemy" ("Jindan biyao 金丹秘要"; 6.14b–18b). The introduction refers to thirty-five themes, but this must be an error. At the end of this juan, there is an annotated hymn in praise of the Three Teachings.

Catherine Despeux

***Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* 盤山棲雲王眞人語錄**

44 fols.

Compiled by Lun Zhihuan 論志煥; preface dated 1247

1059 (fasc. 728)

"Record of the Discourses by the Adept Wang Qiyun from Mount Pan." This title contains reminiscences and instructions concerning the teaching activities of the Quanzhen Taoist WANG QIYUN. Wang was active as lecturer and preacher between the years 1219 and 1227 at Mount Pan 盤山 in Shaanxi, the period this work focuses upon. The preface (dated 1247) was written by Lun Zhihuan, a disciple of WANG QIYUN. Lun calls this work a "compass" for the beginner in Taoist studies. The work, he says, is based on materials collected by Mr. Liu 劉, who had served as Wang's companion for a considerable period of time.

By means of Wang's replies to questions about the religious life and its specific demands, the work presents practical instructions that appear to be typical of the Quanzhen school (e.g., see 16a–17a, "the ascetic self-cultivation"). Certain statements by WANG QIYUN about the words or deeds of MA DANYANG and QIU CHUJI clearly link this work (and Wang himself) directly to the generation of the founders of the Quanzhen school (20a, 22a).

This work has been incorporated, with many abridgments and variants, into *263.53 Xiuzhen shishu* 1a–41b.

Florian C. Reiter

***Panshan yulu* 盤山語錄**

41 fols.

263.53 *Xiuzhen shishu* 53 (fasc. 130)

"Record of the Discourses from Mount Pan." This is a different arrangement of the sayings of WANG QIYUN (1178–1263), the Quanzhen master from Mount Pan (cf. *1059 Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu*).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Dongyuan ji* 洞淵集**

5 juan

By Changquan zi 長筌子 (fl. 1231)

1064 (fasc. 732–733)

"Collected Works of the Abyssal Cavern." This collection is signed by Master Fish Trap, from Guishan 龜山 (Shandong). The identity of the author concealed behind this peculiar penname is unknown. In the present work (4.1a), he declares that in 1231 he fled the war with the Mongols and settled as a recluse in the district of Biyang 泌陽 (Henan). To judge from his writings, he must have been a scholar who sought refuge in Quanzhen Taoism during the great upheavals of that period. Other works signed by him in the *Daozang* are *101 Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing zhu* and *106 Taishang chiwen donggu jing zhu*. They do not yield any additional information as to his identity.

Juan 1 and 2 contain the first and second parts of a philosophical and mystical treatise entitled "Zhiyi shu 至一書," comprising seventy-two short chapters. Juan 3

contains thirty poems (plus an additional one) written under the inspiration of the thirty famous poems by Liu Xiyue 劉希岳, alias Langran zi 朗然子 (see *271 Taixuan langran zi jindao shi*). These poems were very popular in Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) times.

The remainder of the contents are either rhapsodies (*wenfu* 文賦) or songs (*ci* 詞). Some are inspired by the author's religious career, such as the piece in commemoration of his religious training as a Quanzhen monk at the Changchun guan 長春觀 temple in Tangzhou 唐州, Shanxi ("Tangzhou Changchun guan jinlian hui 金蓮會"; 4.11a–12a) or of his preaching to the multitude ("Shengtang shizong 昇堂示衆"; 4.9a–10b).

Kristofer Schipper

***Daochan ji* 道禪集**

9 fols.

By Wang Zhitan 王志坦, *zi* Gongping 公平, *hao* Chunhe zhenren 淳和眞人 (1200–1272)

1073 (fasc. 739)

"Collected Works on the Tao and Chan." The author of this collection was the successor of Zhang Chengming 張誠明 at the Changchun gong 長春宮 temple in Peking. He was promoted by Empress Regent Nimacar (Naimazhen) to fifth patriarch of the Quanzhen order and for six years lived at the imperial palace (see *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 7.1a–5b). Among his actions, it is recorded that he distributed to the entire court copies of the *Illustrated Eighty-one Transformations of Laozi* (*Bashiyi hua tu* 八十一化圖), published by Li Zhichang (see *Bianwei lu* 3.768a).

The present work consists of an introduction and seventy-three poems (instead of the seventy-four announced in the title on page 2b). The poetry takes as its subject Chan Buddhist themes, such as the taming of the buffalo (poems 22, 32, and 38), although there are also references to Inner Alchemy (22, 13, 47, 60) and to the Quanzhen order (5, 27, 41, 47).

Catherine Despeux

***Huanzhen ji* 還眞集**

3 juan

By Wang Jie 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子; preface by the Forty-third Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu 張宇初, dated 1392.

1074 (fasc. 739)

"Collected Works on the Return to the True." Wang Jie, the author of this collection, was acquainted with the disciples of Li Daochun (see his colophon to *1060 Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu*). Heavenly Master Zhang Yuchu states in his preface that



FIGURE 62. Mind and Mystery, as the foundations of the alchemical process (*1074* 1.1a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1060)

Wang came from the region of Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi). Zhang obtained the manuscript from his disciple Yuan Wenyi 袁文逸, who brought it back from a visit to the Wu 吳 region in the spring of 1392.

Juan 1 is devoted to Inner Alchemy and expounds the three stages in which the immortal embryo is formed and nourished so as to become the *yangshen* 陽神. The text is illustrated by diagrams. At the end of this juan, there are lists of the different terms used for the cauldron, the elixir, and the fire phases of this process. (See fig. 62.)

The next two juan contain songs and poems often dedicated to disciples. Each is concerned with a particular alchemical issue. A short treatise on dreams (*mengshuo* 夢說) is found in 2.8a–9a, and a longer one on fundamental nature (*xingshuo* 性說) in 2.9a–10b. A poem entitled "Hunran ge 混然歌" describes the author's delight in meditation (2.14b–15b). A liturgical "Buxu ci 步虛詞" in five stanzas seems to have been written for ritual performance in the author's temple (2.18b–19a).

Catherine Despeux

***Daoxuan pian* 道玄篇**

15 fols.

By Wang Jie 王玠, *zi* Daoyuan 道淵, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子; fourteenth century

1075 (fasc. 740)

"Volume on the Tao and Its Mystery." This volume is a collection of fifty-five poems on Taoist and Confucian themes, such as the Great Way (*dadao* 大道), the Mysterious Ultimate (*xuanji* 玄極), rites and music (*liyue* 禮樂), and the Doctrine of the Mean (*zhongyong* 中庸). On the author, see *1074 Huanzhen ji*.

Catherine Despeux

***Suiji yinghua lu* 隨機應化錄**

2 juan

By He Daoquan 何道全, *hao* Wugou zi 無垢子 (d. 1399); edited by Jia Daoxuan 賈道玄; preface by Lingtong zi 靈通子 dated 1401

1076 (fasc. 740)

"Record of Conversions Made according to Circumstances." This is a collection of logia of the early Ming Quanzhen master He Daoquan, consisting of dialogues and poems recorded during his numerous travels.

He Daoquan, alias Songxi daoren 松溪道人, was born in Qiantang 錢塘 (Hangzhou). He later traveled through Jiangsu and Henan, and most of the pieces in this collection are set in these two provinces. In 1386 he sojourned at the Temple of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue miao 東嶽廟) at Huayang 華陽 in Jiangsu (1.16b). A few days later, on the fifteenth day of the ninth month, he conducted the traditional Quanzhen Retreat of the Alms-Bowl Clepsydra (*zuobo* 坐鉢) at the Danyang Wanshou gong 丹陽萬壽宮 temple in Chang'an 長安 (1.16b–17a). Two years later, in 1388, he was at the temple called Wangxiang tai 望鄉台 ("The tower for Gazing Homeward," one of the places in the Inferno, and thus linked to a Temple of the Eastern Peak in the "valley of Huayang"). There he entered into a Retreat of one hundred days (2.9a). It is not known at what time he retired to the Guifeng 桂峰 on Mount Zhongnan (Shaanxi), where he "accomplished the Tao." A stele was erected to commemorate the event (preface, 1a). He died in 1399 in an infirmary at Chang'an (preface, 1a). Two years later, his grandson, a daoshi named Shoutong zi 壽通子, asked the author of the preface to publish the teachings of He, edited by his disciple Jia Daoxuan.

The topics of these logia are very general. Only in one instance is Inner Alchemy discussed. The answers given by He Daoquan are strongly influenced by Chan Buddhism. A third of his partners are Buddhists. He quotes the great classics of Buddhism and of Quanzhen Taoism, as well as LI DAOCHUN.

Catherine Despeux

***Minghe yuyin* 鳴鶴餘音**

9 juan

Edited by Peng Zhizhong 彭致中 in 1347; preface by Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348)

1100 (fasc. 744–745)

"Echoes of the Call of Cranes." This is a collection of the poetry of major Taoist figures of the Song (960–1279). It contains approximately 500 items, for the most part *ci*-詞 lyrics, written to more than 150 tunes, by forty different authors.

According to Yu Ji's preface, the Taoist master Feng from Guiji 會稽 composed twenty *ci*-poems to the well-known tune "Su Wu man 蘇武慢" on the study of the Tao and the cultivation of immortality (see 2.1a–8b). Encouraged by a friend named Fei Wuyin 費無隱, Yu Ji composed eleven poems to the same tune (2.8b–13a), mostly during the years 1343 and 1344. Three years later, in 1347, Peng Zhizhong, a Taoist from Mount Xianyou 仙游 in the Huagai range in Zhejiang (see *778 Huagai shan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi* 6.12b–13a), joined these poems to his anthology of Taoist poetry and had the entire collection printed.

The collection is composed for the most part of works by the Quanzhen patriarchs, although there are also poems by Taoists from other schools, such as BO YUCHAN (3.7a–11a). Some of the poems of the Quanzhen patriarchs have been separately transmitted in the *Daozang*. Among the poetry uniquely preserved here, there are seventy-one pieces by SONG DEFANG. His biography in *955 Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 3.23b mentions his collected works under the title *Lequan ji* 樂全集, a work that is no longer extant. Our collection (8.18a–20a) also includes eight poems by Langran zi (d. 989), corresponding to poems 1, 2, 3, 4, 27, 28, 29, and 30 in *271 Taixuan langran zi jindao shi*. In the present collection, these poems are followed by a biographical colophon signed Fanghu Zhizu 方壺知足 and dated 1131.

Juan 8 contains mostly poems on alchemy, such as a "Qinyuan chun 沁園春" similar to *136 Lü Chunyang zhenren Qinyuan chun danci zhujie*. There is also "Chunyang zhenren baizi tu 純陽眞人百字圖" (8.17b–18a), which has a number of variant readings with respect to *1055 Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 1.13a–b. Among the poems ascribed to semilegendary persons, those by LÜ DONGBIN are the most numerous, totaling 115. Some poems were revealed by spirit writing, like those by legendary immortals such as Han Xiangzi 韓湘子 (8.17a–b), or by the Taoist deity Xin tianjun 辛天君, revealed on Mount Wudang 武當 (3.11a).

The poems of master Feng and of Yu Ji have been edited separately, under the same title as the present collection, in a single juan, by Jin Tianrui 金天瑞 (preface dated 1364). That version quotes a *Minghe yuyin* in eight juan.

Catherine Despeux

Addendum

In the early Ming (1368–1644), another edition of this anthology was printed under the title *Quanzhen zongyan fangwai xuanyan* 全眞宗眼方外玄言 (see Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature*, 188–90). This later edition, preserved in the Taiwan National Library and the Naikaku bunko 內閣文庫, is shorter but includes some additional prose texts. It features the same preface by Yu Ji 虞集 (see Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben xuba jilu*, vol. 子.4, 414). This preface, along with Yu's and Feng's original poems are also found in Yu's anthology, *Daoyuan yigao* 6.3a–4a (cf. Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 798). A note appended to this text by Jin Tianrui 金天瑞, dated 1364, mentions that Master Feng's works were also included in a collection titled *Dongyuan ji* (*Daoyuan yigao* 6.18a–b). Indeed, almost all of Feng's poems found

in 1100 *Minghe yuyin* are also extant in *1064 Dongyuan ji*, the work of an author known as Master Fish Trap (Changquan zi 長筌子), who took refuge in the Quanzhen community after the final onslaught of the Mongols on the Jin in 1232. The *Minghe yuyin* was to become the main vehicle by which Quanzhen literature spread in Southern China.

Vincent Goossaert

***Yunshan ji* 雲山集**

8 juan

By Ji Zhizhen 姬志眞; prefaces by Pei Xian 裴憲, *zi* Zifa 子法, dated 1250, and by Wang E 王鶚; dated 1265

1140 (fasc. 783–784)

"Clouds and Mountains." The author of this literary collection was one of the followers of the Quanzhen master WANG ZHIJIN. Pei Xian states that his friend Lun Boyu 論伯瑜 presented him with this collection, which Lun wished to have printed and distributed. Pei's preface was presumably commissioned for that occasion. In 1265 Wang E wrote his preface as a favor for LI ZHICHANG, with whom he had long been acquainted. LI ZHICHANG was in turn acquainted with Pei Xian. This collection of Ji Zhizhen's literary works was printed in the author's lifetime.

The collection is arranged according to literary categories. It contains prose, songs, and poems of various meters. Most texts deal with themes typical of the Quanzhen school, e.g. "Traveling like Clouds" (3.3b) or "The Three Teachings" (4.15a). Many of the texts are dedicated by the author to his friends and acquaintances. Juan 7–8 contain inscriptions concerning temples and rituals, among other things, some of which describe Ji Zhizhen's life as a Taoist and follower of the Quanzhen school.

Florian C. Reiter

***Xianle ji* 仙樂集**

5 juan

By LIU CHUXUAN 劉處玄, *hao* Changsheng zi 長生子 (after 1201)

1141 (fasc. 785)

"Pleasure of the Immortals." The author of this literary collection is the Quanzhen patriarch LIU CHUXUAN. To his Taoist name "Changsheng zi" are added the words "Shenxian wuwei yingyuan 神仙無爲應緣."

The "Discourses on Guilt and Good fortune [in the Light of the] Heavenly Tao," which introduces the collection (1.1a–3b), consists of 102 sentences. The discourses contain antithetical descriptions of human actions with their ensuing retributions. The lyrical texts that follow the discourses present didactic instructions, for example, describing the way of life that will lead to the experience of the "pleasures of the immortals." LIU CHUXUAN, who had met with WANG CHONGYANG in 1169, lived and taught as a Quanzhen Taoist in Shaanxi and Shandong. He also performed Taoist liturgies. In 1201 he acted as master of ordinations for the order (3.9b). LIU CHUXUAN combines the way of life of the Quanzhen school with the profession of the Taoist priest.

Florian C. Reiter

***Jianwu ji* 漸悟集**

2 juan

By MA DANYANG 馬丹陽 (1123–1184)

1142 (fasc. 786)

"Gradual Enlightenment." This literary collection contains lyrical works by MA DANYANG from Mount Kunyu 崑崳山 (Shandong). Their inclusion suggests that the collection was compiled during the years 1182 and 1183.

The lyrical texts describe MA DANYANG's personal development. Some of the texts are dedicated to friends, like LIU CHUXUAN (1.34b), QIU CHUJI (1.19a), and HAO DATONG (1.35b). A few names, for example, Quan Zhiwei 權知微 (2.7b) and Wang Zhixuan 王知玄 (1.2b), connect this collection with other works written by MA DANYANG (see *1150 Danyang shenguang can* 5a, 6a). In accordance with the title, MA DANYANG presents several linked poems (e.g., 2.26a–28a) featuring the gradual cultivation of self that a Quanzhen Taoist should strive toward (1.26a, 27b).

Florian C. Reiter

***Caotang ji* 草堂集**

41 fols.

By Wang Dangui 王丹桂, *zi* Changling 昌齡, *hao* Boyun zi 白雲子; late twelfth century

1143 (fasc. 786)

"Grass-Hall." This literary collection is the work of Wang Dangui, a follower of MA DANYANG. The two men probably met in 1183, when Wang was living at Mount Kunyu in Shandong (18a–b).

The collection includes "Instructions for Novices" (e.g., 40a–b). One text features the bestowal of a Taoist name on a student or new follower named Yang Deyuan 楊德遠 (11b). However, most texts in this collection have descriptive and poetic contents referring to the life of the Quanzhen Taoist. This way of life, which was free of all social restraints and obligations, is represented by the terms "Grass-Hall (Moon and Wind)." Attention should be drawn to the section entitled "Building Activities" (*1233 Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun* 2b), where it is said that the hut built of reeds or "grasses" constitutes the ideal surroundings within which to practice the Quanzhen way. The

collection also contains many dedications written for disciples, friends, and acquaintances.

Florian C. Reiter

Ziran ji 自然集

11 fols.

Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) or Yuan (1279–1368)

1144 (fasc. 787)

"Spontaneity." The author of this literary collection is unknown. The texts make some references to the founders of the Quanzhen school. This fact as well as the work's terminology connect the collection with the movement. The texts must have been written and compiled either during the late Jin or the Yuan period (10b–11a).

The "*Ci*-詞 lyrics on the Tao" is concerned with physiological and meditative self-cultivation. It refers to ZHONGLI QUAN and LÜ DONGBIN as the patriarchs of those methods of self-cultivation (4b, 11a). "Sudden enlightenment" is emphasized over book-learning as the way to ascend as an immortal (8a). The state of Wuwei zhenren 無爲眞人 will spontaneously result from the prescribed methods.

Florian C. Reiter

Xuanxu zi mingzhen ji 玄虛子鳴眞集

12 fols.

By Xuanchong shi 玄沖師; preface by Zhang Zhiming 張志明; dated 1251

1145 (fasc. 787)

"Heralding Truth." The preface to this literary collection was composed in 1251 on the occasion of the title's printing. The preface suggests that the name Xuanxu zi was missing from the original title. It is likely that the title of this work was extended by later editors. The honorary name Xuanchong shi may refer to the Taoist Liu Zhiyuan 劉志淵 (fl.at the end of the Jin), an identification strengthened by indications in the preface. Liu Zhiyuan and his disciple Zhang Zhiming lived for a short while at the Longxing guan 龍興觀 temple in Fenyin 汾陰 (Shanxi). Liu Zhiyuan was an admirer of QIU CHUJI.

Most poems in this collection are dedicated to friends and acquaintances. There are some descriptive and contemplative texts like "Admonishing Contemporaries" (4b–5b). Themes found in texts such as "Sudden Enlightenment" (2a) and "The Way of Life" (4b, 6a) are typical of the Quanzhen school.

Florian C. Reiter

Baoguang ji 葆光集

3 juan

By Yin Zhiping 尹志平, *zi* Dahe or Taihe, *hao* Qinghe zi (1169–1251); preface by Yanxia yiren 煙霞逸人, dated 1299

1146 (fasc. 787)

"Anthology of Concealed Lights." Yin Zhiping was heir to QIU CHUJI (1148–1227) as leader of the Quanzhen school. The present work is a poetic anthology. Its title, derived from the *Zhuangzi* ("Qiwu lun 齊物論") alludes to the name of a pavilion in the Baoxuan 寶玄堂 temple in the Da Changchun gong 大長春宮 in the capital. Yin enjoyed spending time in this pavilion, hence the name for his book.

The first chapter contains 258 poems and two prose texts: the first, a discourse ("Yulu 語錄," 42b–44a) composed on demand for a Tianzhen daoren 天眞道人 (also named Longxi gong 隴西公), explaining the basic tenets of the Quanzhen school, and the second, "straightforward words" ("Zhiyan 直言," 44a–45a) aimed at the Taoists of the Youde temple 祐德觀 of the Chongyang gong 重陽宮 monastery, to remind them of their privileges and obligations to those fortunate enough to dwell at the cradle of their teaching, the Zuting 祖庭. The two remaining chapters include 169 lyric poems (*ci* 詞). The poems and lyrics describe Yin's travels, thoughts, religious life, and contacts with Taoists and Confucian scholars.

Some pieces are dated. One of them confirms an event frequently mentioned by Yin's biographers: when QIU CHUJI returned to the capital after his travels to the West, he settled at the Taiji gong 太極宮 temple. Yin stayed for a while with his master, but afterward renounced life in the town and withdrew to the Longyang guan 龍陽觀 temple in Dexing county 德興縣. These events have been dated to the years *guiwei* (1223) or *jiashen* (1224; see *175 Qizhen nianpu* 18b–19a; *955 Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 3.2b–3a), or again to the year *yiyou* (1225; see *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 3.4b; *957 Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 2.4b). The poem here pertaining to these events gives the date Yin took leave of his master as the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the year *jiashen* 甲申 (1224; 1.9b–10a).

According to the preface by Yanxia yiren, the anthology was published by Du Dekang 杜德康, prefect of Qinzhou 沁州, who was acquainted with Yin Zhiping. Du once invited Yin to perform a large *jiao* 醮 in the Qinzhou area. Our anthology features a lyric poem composed as a farewell gift to Du Dekang (3.8b–9a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 538–41, 567–70, 680–81, 689–90.

Kwong Hing Foon

***Xiyun ji* 西雲集**

3 juan

By Guo Zhicheng 郭志誠, *hao* Dongming zi 洞明子 (1219–1293)

1147 (fasc. 788)

"Anthology of Western Clouds." Guo Zhicheng was the disciple of and heir to SONG DEFANG. Before becoming leader of the Quanzhen school in 1272, he stayed in the Lequan an 樂全庵 temple and then in the Yunxi guan 雲溪觀 temple on Mount Jin'ge 金閣山 (Yunzhou 雲州) outside the capital. The burning of the *Daozang* in 1281 took place during his mandate as Taoist leader. He retired four years later to the Pengshan 蓬山道院 monastery (see the inscription "Xuanmen zhangjiao da zongshi cunshen yinghua dongming zhenren Qigong daoxing zhi bei 玄門章教大宗師存神應化洞明眞人祁公道行之碑" in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 699–700).

The present anthology collects 238 poems, all of them quatrains (*qiyan jueju* 七言絕句). They do not come in chronological sequence, but are ordered according to the themes of a Taoist life. The first chapter is completely devoted to the author himself, dealing with six topics; 13 poems focus on his life in the mountains ("Shanju 山居"), 50 on his states of mind ("Shuhuai 述懷"), 5 detail his pleasures ("Qianxing 遣興"), 7 are occasional pieces ("Ouzuo 偶作"), 2 are on leisure ("Xianyong 閑詠"), and 2 others were written for amusement ("Xizuo 戲作"). Throughout, the concern is with the poet's enjoyment of the contemplative life and his dislike for the agitation of everyday life. Some poems are more specific. For instance, the first poem must have been written after 1285, for Guo mentions his retirement (1.1a). The thirtieth and forty-fifth poems of the "Shuhai" set were written when he was in his forties (1.5a–b, 6b); the thirty-second and thirty-sixth in the same set may allude to the conflicts between Taoists and Buddhists (1.5b, 6a).

The second chapter is less homogenous. Poems were written for various purposes, such as public speeches (2.2a–4a), advice (2.4a–b), answers to questions on Taoist practice or other topics (2.5a–6a), homages (2.6a–8b), birthday wishes (2.9b), and condolences (2.9b–10a).

The events mentioned in the third chapter are just as varied as in the second but more decisive for the author's official life: his missions at the imperial behest to Ji'nan 濟南 (1273), Taishan, Tiantan, Lake Dongting 洞庭湖, Zhurong feng 祝融峰, Jiyuan 濟源, and Mount Song 嵩山 to present offerings to mountains and rivers (3.6a–8a). There are, moreover, a number of poems composed to match others' rhymes ("Ciyun 次韻," 3.1a–3a), poems on traditional celebrations (3.3b), as well as on the weather (3.4a–b), on temples (3.5b, 8.a–b, 9b, 10a), on geographical sites (3.7b–9a, 10b), on Guo's health in 1293 (3.11a), and others. Finally, there are two poems bidding farewell to the world ("Yishi 遺世," 3.11b–12a).

Kwong Hing Foon

***Dongxuan jinyu ji* 洞玄金玉集**

10 juan

By MA DANYANG 馬丹陽, *hao* Wuwei qingjing 無爲清靜 (1123–1184)

1149 (fasc. 789–790)

"Gold and Jade of the Cavern Heaven." This literary collection contains works written by MA DANYANG from Mount Kunyu 崑崳 (Shandong) arranged according to genre. Some of the texts were written in Shandong as late as 1183. The collection was edited after the death of MA DANYANG in that year (6.8b). The key words in the title of this collection are derived from Ma's Taoist name, Yu 鈺, which symbolizes the essence of his refined and sublimated body, in accordance with Quanzhen teachings (e.g., 7.11a, 10.13b). In 1183, MA DANYANG lived for some time in a Gold and Jade Hermitage (1.23a).

MA DANYANG himself is the theme of the literary presentations in this collection. The work gives many insights into his way of life. It speaks about friends and acquaintances and displays his methods, like the "burning of nets and boats," which would effect the miracle of the Fata Morgana (9.9b). MA DANYANG affirms his position within the ranks of the Quanzhen Taoists, referring to the legacy of WANG CHONGYANG, which he had received shortly before Wang died in 1170. Part of this legacy was the instruction to spread the teachings of the Quanzhen school (1.2a–3b).

Florian C. Reiter

***Danyang shenguang can* 丹陽神光燦**

37 fols.

By Ma Jue 馬玨; preface by Ning Shichang 甯師常, dated 1175

1150 (fasc. 791)

"Radiance of the Spiritual Force of Danyang." This literary collection consists of one hundred *ci*-詞 lyrics written to the tune "Manting fang 滿庭芳." This number is also indicated in Ning Shichang's preface, which says that the texts were composed in Shaanxi after the death of WANG CHONGYANG in 1170 (2a).

There are verses dedicated to friends and acquaintances, some of whom are mentioned in *1149 Dongxuan jinyu ji*. Certain texts display concepts or ideas then current in the Quanzhen school. Quietude and purity of mind were the most desirable state. The achievement of such a favorable state is referred to in the title expression "radiance of the spiritual force" (*shenguang can* 神光燦), a formula that was said to allow one's "original face" to emerge. This formula links the present work with other works of the early Quanzhen school, notably *1152 Yunguang ji* 4.9a and *1141 Xianle ji* 4.5b.

Florian C. Reiter

***Wuzhen ji* 悟眞集**

2 juan

By Master Li xiansheng 李先生, *hao* Tongxuan zi 通玄子; thirteenth century

1151 (fasc. 791)

"Awakening to Truth" This literary collection was written by a Mr. Li (or Taoist Li), who hailed from Mount Jinping 錦屏 (in Henan). The author says that WANG CHONGYANG was his patriarch (1.26a), and thus he affiliates himself with the Quanzhen school. Taoist Li most likely lived in the thirteenth century, as the quotation of SONG DEFANG (1183–1247) suggests (1.19b).

The collection comprises songs and poems of various meters, some with dedications to acquaintances and friends. It also includes didactic texts admonishing disciples (e.g., 1.23b–24a, 2.9b–10a) or encouraging "persons, who have not yet realized the Tao" (1.9a–9b). Some of the demands clearly refer to tenets of the Quanzhen school, such as deliberate detachment from one's social background (2.1a) or retirement to a hermitage (1.25b). Some texts express the sentiments of the author and describe his way of life.

Florian C. Reiter

***Chongyang quanzhen ji* 重陽全眞集**

13 juan

By WANG ZHE 王嚞, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子; preface by Fan Yi 范懌, dated 1188

1153 (fasc. 793–795)

"Complete Perfection according to Chongyang." This literary collection presents lyrical works by WANG ZHE. The poems are arranged by genre. When WANG ZHE was still alive, a collection of his works entitled *Quanzhen ji* already existed (see *1149 Dongxuan jinyu ji* 1.2b). "Zhongnan shan Chongyang zushi xianji ji 終南山重陽祖師仙跡記" (a title dated 1232 in *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 1.12b–13a) cites the work *Quanzhen qianhou ji* 全眞前後集. The preface by WANG ZHE himself is not extant (see *175 Qizhen nianpu* 5b–6a). The preface by Fan Yi 范懌, dated 1188, explains that the poems had circulated in Shaanxi and that LIU CHUXUAN had them reprinted in order to make them available in Shandong as well. That Shaanxi edition comprised nine juan. Presumably, the editors of the Ming *Daozang* of 1445 rearranged the materials into thirteen juan. The quotations of the *Wang Chongyan quanzhen ji* in *1005 Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 2.18b–19a are not found in the present edition, which is incomplete.

This collection contains a great number of dedications, for example, to local administrators. The texts are often designed to instruct and encourage. WANG ZHE (Chongyang) also speaks about self-cultivation, about the conversion of MA DANYANG, and about the line of transmission in the Quanzhen school. Wang also gives autobiographic information. The materials gathered here thus accurately reflect the teachings and personality of WANG ZHE.

Florian C. Reiter

***Chongyang jiaohua ji* 重陽教化集**

3 juan

By WANG ZHE 王嚞, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子; prefaces dated 1183

1154 (fasc. 795–796)

"Instruction and Conversion according to Chongyang." This literary collection originally had the title *Jiaohua xiashou chi* 教化下手遲 (see preface, 6a). Both this title and *1155 Chongyang fenli shihua ji* are the remains of a larger compilation in three parts, dated 1183. The title of the third part, now lost, was "Hao lixiang 好離鄉 [ji 集]" (Content to Leave Home). There are six prefaces, written by followers of MA DANYANG and dated 1183. The prefaces on 1a–10a refer to the original edition. Each of its three parts originally had individual prefaces attached to them. The preface by Liang Dong 梁棟 (10a–11b) refers to the present work, and the preface on 11b–13b refers to the now lost "Hao lixiang." The appendix of our collection contains a text erroneously labeled "postface" that also refers to the "Hao lixiang." Among the authors of the prefaces, Fan Yi 范懌 (2b–4a) is a good example of MA DANYANG's local connections in Shandong (cf. *1153 Chongyang quanzhen ji*).

This collection contains lyrical works by MA DANYANG and WANG ZHE. It was originally printed in Shaanxi between the years 1170 and 1182. Because of the great geographical distance between Shaanxi and Shandong, a new edition had to be printed in Shandong in 1183. This happened before the death of MA DANYANG that year (preface, 9a–9b). The texts in this collection focus on the initiation of MA DANYANG by WANG ZHE into the Quanzhen teachings. They also feature the development of the relationship between the two men.

Florian C. Reiter

***Chongyan fenli shihua ji* 重陽分梨十化集**

2 juan

By WANG ZHE 王嚞, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子; preface by Ma Dabian 馬大辨, dated 1183

1155 (fasc. 796)

"Dividing the Pear in Periods of Ten [Days]." In this title, the expression *fenli* 分梨, "dividing the pear," can be understood literally and metaphorically. It stands for the phrase *fufu fenli* 夫婦分離, "husband and wife separate" (see *1149 Dongxuan jinyu ji* 7.6b). "Periods of ten days" refers to the time schedule according to which WANG ZHE distributed fifty-five pieces of pear to MA DANYANG. When the number 55

had been reached, WANG ZHE had achieved his purpose: MA DANYANG and his wife separated, and each of them retired to live a celibate life as befitted Quanzhen Taoists.

This collection contains lyrics featuring the conversion of MA DANYANG and his wife, who both joined the Quanzhen school and made their way as members of the Seven Zhenren. Each time WANG ZHE distributed the pieces of pear, he also composed lyrics of various meters, to which MA DANYANG responded. On the compilation of this literary collection, compare the article on *1154 Chongyang jiaohua ji*.

Florian C. Reiter

Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershisi jue 重陽眞人授丹陽二十四訣

4 fols.

Twelfth century

1158 (fasc. 796)

"Twenty-four Instructions of the Zhenren Chongyang to Danyang." This collection was compiled by followers of MA DANYANG, who is called "Master Danyang" (4b). The text presents definitions of concepts and terms phrased in the manner of didactic dialogues. The number 24 signifies completeness.

This work aims to demonstrate that the Quanzhen teachings did justice to the key concepts of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism). The Quanzhen Taoist and practitioner wishing to live up to their standard had to abandon all profane pursuits.

Florian C. Reiter

Panxi ji 磻溪集

6 juan

By QIU CHUJI 丘處機, *hao* Changchun zi 長春子; prefaces dated 1186–1208

1159 (fasc. 797)

"Panxi Collection." The title of this literary collection derives from a place name in Shaanxi, where QIU CHUJI "from Qixia 棲霞" (Shandong) resided between 1174 and 1180. The collection contains lyrical works, some of which must have been composed after his departure from Panxi (see, e.g., 1.9a, the poem dated 1194). There are four prefaces. The first, by Hu Guangqian 胡光謙, is dated 1186, and the last, by Chen Daren 陳大任, is dated 1208. They give no indication as to the editing and printing history of this collection. The Peking National Library holds a printed edition that is believed to date from 1209. The Peking edition shows that the work originally comprised three juan. There are conspicuous omissions and distortions in the present version (cf. the descriptions by Wang Yuliang and Reiter cited below).

Most of the texts convey autobiographical details and contemplative reflections, which mirror the attitude of the Quanzhen Taoist. Mention is made of the later sojourns of the Taoist in Longmen shan 龍門山 and Zhongnan shan 終南山. The texts also speak about QIU CHUJI's contacts with LIU CHUXUAN, TAN CHUDUAN, and MA DANYANG. This work antedates QIU CHUJI's visit to the temporary residence of the Mongol Khan in 1222, but it mentions the author's contacts with the Jin emperor Shizong in 1188 (3.6a–7a). The text Song of Azure Sky ("Qingtian ge 青天歌") (3.1a–1b) is the basis for *137 Qingtian ge zhushi*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reiter, "A praise of Buddha"; Wang Yuliang, "Qui Chuji *Panxi ji*"; Zhu Yueli, "*Panxi ji* chuangzuo shijian kao."

Florian C. Reiter

Taigu ji 太古集

4 juan

By HAO DATONG 郝大通, *hao* Guangning zi 廣寧子 and Taigu daoren 太古道人; prefaces by Fan Yuanxi 范圓曦 and others, dated 1178–1236

1161 (fasc. 798)

"Works of [Master] High Antiquity." This work contains the few remains of a larger collection comprising fifteen juan in three books. The extant texts deal with the cosmic elements and forces represented in ancient documents like the *Hetu* 河圖 and *Luoshu* 洛書. Such documents preserved the guidelines for "the seeker of the Way." HAO DATONG explains the title in that sense (see his preface, dated 1178, 6b–8a). The preface by Feng Bi 馮璧 (1a–3b) introduces the title *Kunyu wenji* 崑崳文集, which is said to stem from the time of "the Zhenren [HAO DATONG]." However, it is not clear what relationship between this work and the *Taigu ji* may have existed. Most important for the revision and new edition of HAO DATONG's literary works were the efforts of his disciple Fan Yuanxi (see prefaces, 5a–6a). Judging by the indications concerning the contents and titles of HAO DATONG's literary works in the different prefaces, it appears that substantial materials were lost after 1236.

This work still contains the "Zhouyi cantong qi jianyao shiyi 周易參同契簡要釋義" (1.1a–8b), Explanations about the Essential Contents of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (the preface of this text is dated 1178). Thirty-three charts and expositions deal with topics taken from the *Yijing*. There are also thirty poems on the Gold Elixir (4.1a–8b), using the terminology of *neidan*.

Florian C. Reiter

***Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 丹陽眞人直言**

3 fols.

Twelfth century

1234 (fasc. 989)

"Forthright Words of the Zhenren Danyang." As its subtitle ("Instructions for the Disciples") indicates, this text presents a practical and theoretical program for Taoists. Compiled by an unknown follower of MA DANYANG, these instructions were probably transmitted around 1178 to followers in Longmen shan 龍門山 (Shaanxi). They correspond with parts of *1057 Danyang zhenren yulu*. Although there are parallels, this work has to be regarded as an independent edition. Its introductory passages can be found in *1256 Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 1.1a ff. The text "Ma Danyang zhenren zhiyan 馬丹陽眞人直言" in *1257 Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 2.15a–16a is not identical with this work.

Florian C. Reiter

***Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 眞仙直指語錄**

2 juan

Compiled by Xuanquan zi 玄全子, *hao* Haitian qiuyue daoren 海天秋月道人; Yuan (1279–1368)

1256 (fasc. 998)

"Recorded Discourses and Forthright Instructions of the Zhenren and Immortals." The author, an unknown follower of Quanzhen Taoism, compiled these texts after the death of Yin Qinghe 尹清和 in 1251 (Yin's Discourses are presented in juan 2).

Juan 1 of this work contains discourses of MA DANYANG, which correspond in part (1.1a–2a) to passages in *1234 Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 1a–2a and in *1057 Danyang zhenren yulu*. The "Recorded Discourses [of TAN CHUDUAN]" is the same as *1160 Shuiyun ji* 1.20b–21a. The present work also preserves some records that otherwise would have been lost: see the texts concerning Liu Changsheng 劉長生 [LIU CHUXUAN] (1.10b–12a) and HAO DATONG (1.19a–22b). Although the contents of these texts fit well with earlier Quanzhen materials, their origins are unknown. There is one short description of a dream referring to the theme "rebirth and retribution," which seems to be somewhat out of place within the frame of this work (1.18a–19a).

Florian C. Reiter

***Lifeng laoren ji* 離峰老人集**

By Yu Daoxian 于道顯, *hao* Lifeng zi 離峰子 (1168–1232)

1264 (fasc. 1001)

"Collected Works of the Old Man of Lifeng." This title comprises 319 poems, of which 225 are four-line poems, and 94 eight-line poems. The author was a follower of LIU CHUXUAN (1147–1203), one of the direct disciples of WANG ZHI, whom he served for several years at the Changsheng guan 長生觀 temple (see 2.29b and *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 2.7a). After this service, Liu went to southern China, where his reputation spread rapidly. During the Zhengda era (1224–1231), he was made superintendent of the Taiqing gong 太清宮 temple at Bozhou 亳州 (Henan), the birthplace of Laozi. In 1232 he went to Lushi 盧氏 in the south of Henan, where he died the same year. The main source for Yu's life is the tomb inscription by Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257) in *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 4.2b–5b.

One third of the poems in the present collection are intended as "teachings" (*shi* 示 or *gao* 告). Another third are dedicated to friends, and a final third are written in answer to queries from disciples or in honor of certain occasions. Most of the recipients were at that time living in Henan, not far from Luoyang. Many were of Jurchen origin and were high officials such as censors, astronomers, and prefects. Forty-four poems are addressed to women, either Taoist nuns (*gu* 姑) or high-born ladies (*furen* 婦人).

The general themes of the poems are mysticism, peace, and emptiness of the mind, the joys of hermetic life. Only a few poems refer to Inner Alchemy.

Catherine Despeux

***Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu* 清和眞人北游語錄**

4 juan

By Yin Zhiping 尹志平, *hao* Qinghe 清和 (1169–1251); compiled by Duan Zhijian 段志堅 in 1237

1310 (fasc. 1017)

"Recorded Sayings of the Northern Journey of the Zhenren Pure Harmony." This is one of the richest pieces of the Quanzhen literature. Yin Zhiping had been head of the Quanzhen order for six years when he made his journey to south Liaoning in the autumn 1233. Two of his four epitaphs detail this voyage: those by Li Zhiquan 李志全 (1191–1261; in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe,* 538–41) and by Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304; in *Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji* 56.8a–13b). All four epitaphs, as well as Yin's biography in *955 Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* (3.1a–6a), mention the present text, pointing to its popularity. It is a major source for Yin's (somewhat standardized) hagiography, for example, his dramatic first encounter with LIU CHUXUAN (2.16), which he says he has never disclosed before and which is narrated in all the above-mentioned texts.

In the course of his journey, Yin gave general instructions to the assemblies of seven different monasteries, apparently all within a small area north of today's Jinzhou 錦州. The text was assembled by disciples, among whom the otherwise unknown Duan Zhijian is mentioned as the compiler. Of the three prefaces, the first two were written by local literati in 1237, and the last in 1240 by Yin's successor to the seat of Quanzhen

patriarch, LI ZHICHANG (1193–1256). The prefaces indicate that the edition was commissioned and financed by Du Dekang 杜德康, also responsible for the edition of *1146 Baoguang ji*. Back from his northern journey, Yin moved to the East, where he engaged actively in temple repairing and building. He met Prefect Du in Shanxi in 1235 and performed rainmaking feats at his request, earning Du's gratitude. Actually, Du was already a convert of QIU CHUJI's, and his wife a fervent follower of Quanzhen (cf. Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 480–81).

Most of the master's fifty-eight discourses were not written in response to a specific question, but when there is an introduction, evoking a place, date, name, or question, it is by an editorial oddity attached to the previous paragraph. The last two juan form a separate entity; they record the master's comments on *Daode jing* at the Tongxian guan 通仙觀 temple. The chapters of the *Daode jing* 道德經 are commented upon in their usual order. They are named before the exegesis and range from the first to the seventy-third; they do not all receive individual attention. It may be that the series is incomplete. The style, however, is consistent from the opening chapters to the last, and the master freely uses narrative discourse throughout.

Although this text, like Yin Zhiping's other *yulu* 語錄 (juan 2 of *1256 Zhenxian zhizhi yulu*), uses fewer vernacular expressions than, for instance, *1059 Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* (which suggests some rewriting before publication), it is nonetheless highly narrative and exoteric. The audience comprises an entire assembly, no doubt including the local Taoists, residents of the monasteries, lay patrons and association members. One of the protagonists is an artisan of religious sculpture (2.4a). Yin stresses that given the low spiritual level of most newcomers to Taoism, certain subtle teachings are better left aside. He even shuns the discussion of chapter 42 of *Daode jing,* arguing that this should not be aired in public. All the same, he repeatedly dismisses the usefulness of secret teachings, or oral transmissions. To prove his point, Yin makes extensive use of stories concerning himself and the Quanzhen patriarchs. Thus, though he never met him, Yin evokes WANG CHONGYANG, most of all through the striking narrative of Wang's last moments (2.9b–11a). Yin's own masters, MA DANYANG and QIU CHUJI (*shifu,* "my master"), are invoked on almost every page; Wang Chuyi 王處一 and LIU CHUXUAN are mentioned frequently; HAO DATONG and TAN CHUDUAN, several times. Only Sun Buer is completely absent.

Of particular importance to Yin's rhetoric is the notion of merit. It is endlessly repeated that without merit no achievement is possible. The patriarchs themselves had reached the Tao only because of their store of merit from previous existences. The actual acquisition of merit is not clearly detailed, but it is connected to cultivation of mind as well as service to the community. In this context, monastic life is essential (see 3.11b), and several examples of independent-minded Taoists gone astray prove this further. This is again a theme developed in a section of Yin's anthology *1146 Baoguang ji* (1.42b), also called *yulu:* solitude and subtle metaphysics are of no benefit to young Taoists.

The problem of language and transmission of the Tao is at the heart of the Quanzhen masters' discourse. Yin Zhiping is nowhere as radical on this point as the Chan masters he is so keen on quoting. Whereas oral exchanges with the master are prominent in his pedagogy, reading the classics is equally necessary. He is also ready to allude to Quanzhen poetry (cf. 2.17b). On the other hand, the Tao is ineffable, and the words of the saints can only be understood by an accomplished adept. The authors of the prefaces also try to deal with the tension between the urge to educate, the distrust for all techniques and recipes, and the wordlessness of the Tao. Therefore, Yin's approach to the *Daode jing* is very practical, and he praises the HESHANG GONG commentary. His interpretation, though, is not an alchemical reading, but points to ways of life and relations to society. Song Huizong's (r. 1100–1125) commentary is discussed; Su Zhe's commentary (*691 Daode zhenjing zhu*) is also used, despite its Buddho-Confucian approach.

Given this ecumenical stance, persons and texts quoted cover a large range: from the Confucian classics (*Lunyu* 論語, *Mengzi* 孟子, *Yijing* 易經); Taoist scriptures (*Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Liezi* 列子, *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, *Qingjing jing* 清靜經, and works by ZHANG BODUAN); Buddhist sūtra (the Lotus sūtra, the *Avataṁsaka sūtra*); Chan masters (his favorite is Yongjia 永嘉 [665–713], whose *Yongjia ji* circulated widely outside the Buddhist canon); to poets (in particular, Du Fu 杜甫 [712–770]).

Vincent Goossaert

***Huizhen ji* 會眞集**

5 juan

By Wang Jichang 王吉昌, *hao* Chaoran zi 超然子 (active early thirteenth century)

247 (fasc. 116–117)

"Anthology on Gathering Truth." This title represents the collected works of Wang Jichang, who also authored a short exegetical work, *313 Shengtian jing songjie*. Wang was active around 1220–1240, as we know from the funerary steles of two of his pupils, the Quanzhen masters Li Zhiming 李志明 (1200–1266) and Shen Zhizhen 申志貞 (1210–1284; see *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 6.22a and 8.26a). A short undated preface by his disciple Yang Zhipu 揚志朴 suggests that Wang's skills in *neidan* 內丹 were so great as to attract immortals. The first juan introduces the basic cosmological notions through charts and comments, and the principle of reversal that was central to *neidan*. Wang then goes on to alchemical procedures. Juan 2 through 5 are lyric poems (*ci* 詞) on various tunes: those in juan 2 and 3 are topically arranged, while those in juan 4 and 5 are independent, freer lyrical compositions.

In contrast to his pupil Liu Zhiyuan's anthology (*248 Qizhen ji*), the present work

introduces a rather systematic method based on *wuxing* 五行 (Five Phases), trigrams, ordinal, and cyclical numbers. In the more theoretical first juan, Wang only occasionally uses the physiological imagery that is prevalent in the last four juan. Throughout the whole work, the author rarely insists on moral training. He frequently quotes ZHANG BODUAN and only once alludes to WANG CHONGYANG (3.16a). However technical the work might seem, the lyrical voice is not absent, as in the first *ci* of juan 4, which is very much in the style of mainstream "Taoist feelings" (*daoqing* 道情) poetry that focused on the misery of this world and the bliss of immortality.

Vincent Goossaert

***Qizhen ji* 啓眞集**

3 juan

By Liu Zhiyuan 劉志淵, *hao* Tongxuan zi 通玄子 (1186–1244)

248 (fasc. 117)

"Anthology of Expounding Truth." A preface by the otherwise unknown Dong Shiyan 董師言, dated 1244, indicates that the author was a disciple of the Quanzhen master Wang Jichang 王吉昌, author of *247 Huizhen ji*. An obituary notice (3.13b–14b), which largely repeats the preface, specifies that Liu Zhiyuan died aged fifty-nine. His works were collected and arranged by Li Zhiquan 李志全 (1191–1261), who at that time was helping the celebrated Quanzhen leader SONG DEFANG (1183–1247) with the compilation of the 1244 canon (see *973 Ganshui xianyuan lu* 8.1). The first juan collects the master's regular verses (seventy-one quatrains and four octaves). The second is made of fifty-six lyrics (*ci* 詞) for twenty-seven tunes, fifteen of which are also used in *247 Huichen ji;* the first tune used is "Manting fang 滿庭芳," a favorite among Quanzhen masters. The third juan contains thirteen essays (*zhang* 章) that obscurely describe the progression of the *neidan* 內丹 process. They are followed by the obituary notice and a few eulogies. The dedicatees are all unknown locals, but we may note two "association members" (*huishou* 會首) and a Confucian teacher. Place names point to Shaanxi and Shanxi provinces.

Although he never uses the term *quanzhen,* Liu quotes QIU CHUJI (3.4a) and MA DANYANG along with BO YUCHAN (3.7a). He seems little involved in the institutional and liturgical aspects of religion. His instructions are less didactic than other Quanzhen writings, touching on many techniques without apparent system.

Vincent Goossaert

***Shuiyun ji* 水雲集**

3 juan

By TAN CHUDUAN 譚處端, *hao* Changzhen zi 長眞子; 1229

1160 (fasc. 798)

"Water and Clouds." This literary collection contains lyrical works of different genres, which the author, a native of Mount Kunyu 崑崳 (Shandong), composed after 1170 in Shaanxi. TAN CHUDUAN preached his Quanzhen teachings in Shaanxi. Originally Wang Liuhui 王琉輝 had this collection printed in Junzhou 濬州, but in 1186 the printing blocks were lost. In Shandong, LIU CHUXUAN arranged for new printing blocks to be cut (see the preface by Fan Yi 范懌, dated 1187). Because of the impact of military actions in the area, there soon was no complete edition available. Later, Lu Qian'gao 路鈐高 and others found a complete edition, which had been owned by disciples of TAN CHUDUAN. That edition was then reprinted, and a postface by a son of Fan Yi attached to it (3.18b–19a). A second edition of this printed version was issued in 1229 due to the efforts of the Quanzhen Taoist Zhang Zhiquan 張志全 (see the second postface by the son of Fan Yi, dated 1229, 3.19b–20a).

The expression "Water and Clouds" refers to TAN CHUDUAN's admonition to his disciples to discard all emotional and social bonds and lead the way of life known as Quanzhen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hachiya Kunio, "Dan Chōshin no shōgai to shisō."

Florian C. Reiter

3.B.9.c Rules and Organization

Although less important than poetry, recorded sayings, and hagiography, didactic works also feature in Quanzhen literature. Several masters wrote commentaries on the classics, such as the *Laozi* 老子 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子 or major scriptures of the Lingbao 靈寶 tradition. Examples are *122 Huangdi Yinfu jing zhu* and *401 Huangting neijing yujing zhu*, both by the patriarch LIU CHUXUAN; *974 Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu* by Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (d. 1196); and *313 Shengtian jing songjie* by Wang Jichang. On the other hand, no liturgical work is ascribed to a Quanzhen author, a surprising fact given the dominant place of ritual activities for Quanzhen masters in North China over a long period of time. Chapter 210 of the ritual compendium *1220 Daofa huiyuan* is a stand-alone *liandu* 鍊度 ritual compiled in the late Yuan (1279–1368) by a "Quanzhen daoshi" (postface dated 1354), but the connection with Quanzhen doctrine and practice seems tenuous. All in all, it is likely that the conservative outlook of the Quanzhen order pushed the daoshi to use established scriptural

traditions rather than create a new one. An analysis of the ordination registers mentioned in Quanzhen historiography suggest that they had by the mid-thirteenth century incorporated all the major current liturgical traditions. The didactic works other than commentaries authored by Quanzhen masters can be grouped into two unequal categories: (1) rules and organizations and (2) individual practice. The first category only accounts for three texts, a trifle compared to the amount of Vinaya literature in the Buddhist canon. This paucity of material in the canon may come as a surprise, since the real innovation of the Quanzhen school lay in its creation of a monastic order with very specific institutions and a strong hierarchy. The organization is actually documented in much more detail in the epigraphic sources. Of the three canonical texts, the *1235 Quanzhen qinggui* is a compendium of short rules attributed to the patriarchs; it may have been used as a model collection for monasteries to design their own rules. The *1229 Quanzhen zuobo jiefa* is a technical manual explaining the use of the sinking clepsydra, a device used for collective meditation in Taoist monasteries from the last decade of the thirteenth century onward. The *1233 Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun*, although often translated and quoted in the secondary literature, is simply a short programmatic description of the Quanzhen lifestyle of uncertain date and authorship.

The majority of the didactic works are concerned with individual practice. It should be noted that none was written during the early stage of the Quanzhen order. Although early masters such as HAO DATONG, and later ones such as Wang Jichang (*247 Huizhen ji*), Liu Zhiyuan (*248 Qizhen ji*), or Ji Zhizhen (*1140 Yunshan ji*) wrote theoretical essays (included in their anthologies), one has to wait until the late thirteenth century to see the appearance of complete prose works devoted to self-cultivation, specifically Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹): these works are *276 Xiyi zhimi lun*, still half-way between logia and treatise and *267 Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao*. All the others texts were authored by masters from southern China, who were affiliated with Quanzhen but mostly heir to the Nanzong pedagogy. Their syncretic approach was to become the Taoist orthodoxy of the late imperial period. LI DAOCHUN, who taught in Nanking, and his disciple Miao Shanshi 苗善時, as well as CHEN ZHIXU seem to have been independent masters, whereas WANG JIE (mid-fourteenth century) and Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (1276–1336), the supposed master of the famous painter Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), were very close to Zhengyi circles. These authors wrote theoretical *neidan* essays and poetry as well as commentaries on the Taoist classics. Li's works are *249 Zhonghe ji*, *250 Santian yisui*, *251 Quanzhen ji xuan biyao*, and *1060 Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu*. His disciple Miao Shanshi authored *1065 Xuanjiao da gongan* as well as the hagiographic work *305 Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji*. CHEN ZHIXU composed *1067 Shangyang zi jindan dayao* and its sequels *1068 Jindan dayao tu, 1069 Jindan dayao liexian zi, 1070 Jindan dayao xianpai;* the anonymous *1077 Xiulian xuzhi* belongs to the same milieu. WANG JIE wrote *137 Qingtian ge zhushi*, *1074 Huanzhen ji,* and *1075 Daoxuan pian*. Huang Gongwang wrote or transmitted *242 Zhichou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi*, *281 Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue*, and *576 Baoyi hansan bijue*.

The central importance of *neidan* in Quanzhen identity makes the absence of early Quanzhen patriarchs in this realm even more surprising. Although *1156 Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* and *244 Dadan zhizhi* are systematic texts on *neidan* attributed to WANG ZHE and QIU CHUJI, respectively, these attributions are highly doubtful. The explanation for this lack of purely Quanzhen reference work is likely the same as for liturgy: Quanzhen masters were happy to use the classics at their disposal. Although detailed information on the Quanzhen curriculum is lacking, it seems that classics (*Daode jing, Qingjing jing, Yinfu jing,* and others), along with major *neidan* writings (ZHANG BODUAN's in particular), were often used. Buddhist and Confucian classics were also taught to adepts: WANG ZHE's oft-quoted advice to study the *Daode jing* 道德經, *Xiao jing* 孝經, and the Heart sūtra is a case in point. Indeed, Quanzhen writings are rarely polemical. One of QIU CHUJI's most prominent disciples, Feng Zhiheng 馮志亨 (1180–1254), instructed his disciples in the Four Books, and was probably one of the earliest of Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) followers in northern China. Feng even directed the academy of the Confucius temple in Peking, providing a model for the nonsectarian educational role of the Quanzhen.

Quanzhen zuobo jiefa 全眞坐鉢捷法
4 fols.
Yuan (1279–1368)
1229 (fasc. 988)

"Practical Method of Meditation Using the Clepsydra." The clepsydra was used in cloisters of the Quanzhen school to measure the time of sessions of meditation. On the context of Quanzhen monasticism, especially during the Yuan period, see also *1235 Quanzhen qinggui* 5a–b.

The present work describes the clepsydra, the principles of its construction, and its use. It concludes with precise instructions for the handling and appropriate setting of the clepsydra in combination with the calendar. On page 4a, the text gives a chart representing the cosmic phases according to which the envisaged meditation should be practiced. The two sentences that express the guiding principles are taken from the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, "To observe the Tao of Heaven," and "To behold the Movements of Heaven" (see *31 Huangdi yinfu jing* 1a).

Florian C. Reiter

Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun 重陽立教十五論

6 fols.

By WANG ZHE 王嚞, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子 (1113–1170)

1233 (fasc. 989)

"Fifteen Lessons for the Establishment of the Doctrine." This work comprises short essays on the basic tenets of the Quanzhen school. The fifteen titles are "Living in Retreat" (1a), "Wandering" (1a–b), "Learning from Books" (1b–2a), "Proper Blending of Medicines" (2a–b), "On Dwelling" (2b–3a), "Spiritual Companionship" (3a), "Active Meditation" (3b), "Disciplining the Mind" (3b–4a), "To Nurture One's Being" (4a), "Matching the Five Vital Energies" (4b), "Union of Being and Existence" (4b), "Way of the Sages" (5a), "Escaping the Three Realms" (5a–b), "Body of the Law" (5b), and "Leaving the World of Men" (5b–6a). Each of these texts discusses an aspect of self-cultivation or the Quanzhen way of life. A poem by MA DANYANG in *1149 Dongxuan jinyu ji* 2.13a–13b shows that Ma knew an exposition by WANG ZHE concerning the theme of "Wandering" and indeed imitates the structure and the contents of that essay in the present work. The "Fifteen Lessons" has been widely studied and repeatedly translated as a manifesto of Quanzhen teaching (see the bibliographical references below).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ishii Masako, *Dōkyō gaku no kenkyū,* 13–17; Reiter, "Ch'ung-yang sets forth his teachings"; Sommer, *Chinese religion*, 199–203; Yao Tao-chung, "Ch'üan-chen."

Florian C. Reiter

Quanzhen qinggui 全眞清規

16 fols.

Compiled by Lu Daohe 陸道和, *hao* Tongxuan zi 通玄子; fourteenth century

1235 (fasc. 989)

"Pure Rules of the Quanzhen School." This title consists of a collection of twelve texts on the conditions of celibate life in a cloister. The work begins with the admission of youths to the community (inquiries into family background; 1a–2b), their investiture as Taoists, and the search for an appropriate master (2b–4b). The author describes the rules for maintaining order within the monastic community (e.g., compliance with the laws of the country; 12a) and stipulates the need for well-organized meditation sessions in which the entire community participates. The texts on pages 11b–16a are attributed to WANG CHONGYANG, QIU CHUJI, Zhao Wuxuan 趙悟玄 (1148–1211), and Liu Zhenyi 劉眞一. The title of Dijun 帝君 for WANG CHONGYANG points to a date after 1310 for the compilation of this work (11b).

The text documents an advanced phase in the history of the Quanzhen school, which was characterized by well-organized forms of monastic activity (cf. *1229 Quanzhen zuobo jiefa*).

Florian C. Reiter

3.B.9.d Individual Practice

Dadan zhizhi 大丹直指

2 juan

Attributed to QIU CHUJI 丘處機, *hao* Changchun 長春; early Yuan (1279–1368)

244 (fasc. 115)

"Clear Directions on the Great Elixir." This is a *neidan* 內丹 (see fig. 63.) work attributed to the Quanzhen patriarch QIU CHUJI (cf. *1159 Panxi ji*). The techniques described in the text are based on the theory and methods of *1191 Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* and *246 Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*. The former divides its procedure into ten steps, as does the present text, with some differences in headings and order.

Our work quotes SHI JIANWU at length, but a comparison with *246 Xishan qunxian hui zhen ji* shows that it is not exactly the same text (cf., e.g., 1.11b, 4.4a, 9b, 1.12a, and 5.6a with 1.6a, 8a, and 12a of our text). The passage on the ten demonic manifestations (2.2a–6b) is an excerpt from *263.14 Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (*263 Xiuzhen shishu* 16.25a–26a). QIU CHUJI appends his own explanations to these techniques, which he illustrates with diagrams.

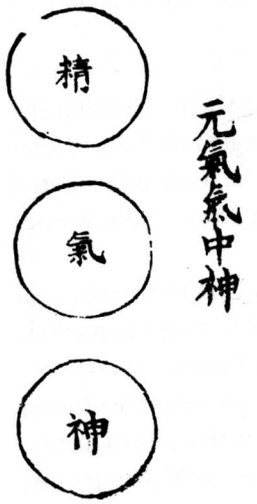


FIGURE 63. Essence, Energy, Spirit: The three elements of Inner Alchemy (*244* 2.13a)

In his preface (1a–3a), Qiu explains the working of the macrocosm and the microcosm: the qi of the Great Void 太空一氣, having reached extreme stillness, gave rise to movement, separated into yin and yang, and formed Heaven and Earth. But the qi, having once acquired motion, could not remain still, hence the qi of yin and yang began their cyclical rotation. The alternation of yin and yang, sun and moon, day and night is made possible through a central axis (*zhongqi* 中氣), which resides in the handle of the Dipper (1a–b). The embryo develops similarly; after birth, the Primordial Qi (*yuanqi* 元氣) is found in the center, that is, the navel. Through breathing exercises, this center is activated, leading to an unhampered natural circulation of the body fluids. Through the practice of these exercises, the adept acquires long life and eventually sainthood.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

***Baoyi hansan bijue* 抱一函三秘訣**

28 fols.

Compiled by Jin Yueyan 金月巖, transmitted by Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354)

576 (fasc. 321)

"Secret Instructions on Holding the One and Encasing the Three." This work is a pedagogical *neidan* 內丹 manual of the late Yuan period (1279–1368) and contains no internal indication of authorship. However, the term *baoyi* in the title might refer to the Liu xiansheng 劉先生 of *281 Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue*, and the text is rather consistant with both that work and *242 Zhizhou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi*.

The text is divided into some fifteen explanations (*ming* 明), treatises (*lun* 論), and discourses (*shuo* 說), most of them accompanied by a chart, like the sketch of a meditation room on 25b. Each section begins with the inception of the embryo and ends with its divine apotheosis, offering detailed explanations on physiology and time cycles. Some parts are written in dialogue style (5b). The need for oral instructions (*koujue* 口訣) is repeatedly indicated.

Vincent Goossaert

***Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue* 抱一子三峰老人丹訣**

18 fols.

Compiled by Jin Yueyan 金月巖, transmitted by Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354)

281 (fasc. 134)

"Alchemical Instructions of the Old Man Three Peaks, the Master Holding the One." This work raises problems of identification, both with regard to the compiler and the author (see *242 Zhizhou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi*). The work is attributed to a Liu xiansheng 劉先生, bearing the appelation "Old Man Three Peaks, Master Holding the One," but it is not clear if he is a historical figure.

The first lines list the contents of the work, which are Liu's Oral Instructions on the Celestial Immortals' Chart ("Tianxian tu koujue 天仙圖口訣"), Oral Instructions on False *Xingming* ("Jia xingming koujue 假性命口訣"), Oral Instructions on True *Xingming* ("Zhen xingming koujue 眞性命口訣"), and sixteen poems on the lowest pass of the spine ("weilü xue 尾閭穴"). The text then proceeds with an introduction (1a–6b). Its general tone is comparable to that of *242 Quanzhen zhizhi*, being quite polemical against heterodox practices. The term *quanzhen* is absent here.

The work does not in fact follow this precis exactly. The first section comprises oral instructions on both the false *xingming* (6b–9a), the small achievement of those who fix their mind only on the lower *dantian* 丹田 (which should be practiced only initially; see 13a), and the true *xingming* (9a–15a), the great achievement of those who effect the reversal of the true yin and yang to have them circulate throughout the body. The "celestial immortals' chart" (15a–16b) is actually composed of four trigrams. The chart of the *weilü* 尾閭 and its accompanying sixteen poems come last (16b–18b). All textual references are to Quanzhen patriarchs (Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, Liu Haichan, Wang Chongyang, and Song Defang), but the idea that the state of zhenren can be attained in three hundred days (like gestation; see 15a–b) is uncommon in Quanzhen texts. This method seems to be intended solely for male adepts. The term *sanfeng* 三峰 (Three Peaks) sometimes refers to sexual techniques in other contexts, mostly in later works like the *Sanfeng caizhan fangzhong miaoshu bijue* 三峰采戰房中妙術秘訣 in the *Shesheng zongyao* 攝生總要 (Ming [1368–1644]) and the *Sanfeng danjue* 三峰丹訣 in the *Zhengdao bishu* 證道秘書 (Qing [1644–1911]). But that is probably not the case here.

Vincent Goossaert

***Yuanshi tianzun shuo dedao liaoshen jing* 元始天尊說得道了身經**

4 fols.

25 (fasc. 27)

"Pronouncement of the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning on Obtaining the Tao and Understanding the Body." Despite the title, the rhythm of this text suggests that it was not likely used for recitation. At the beginning, the Heavenly Worthy illustrates (*xian* 現) the Tao and discourses upon the Tao of Complete Truth (*quanzhen dadao* 全眞大道). Then, after incorporating the first sentence of *24 Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao jing*, the text says that the Heavenly Worthy "pronounced" the *Shengtian dedao quanzhen liaoshen jing*.

An explanation of the Quanzhen Way follows. This explanation begins precisely with "the ban of the mouth" (*jinkou* 禁口). When "the heart has been washed clean" of all thoughts and when "one has forgotten the environment," the practice of the circulation of the qi is recommended. This will lead to the "exhaustion of the yin, the purification of the yang, and the formation of the saint's embryo" (2a). Thus, the adept unites with Spontaneous Emptiness, that is, with the True One of the Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi zhenyi 元始眞一), who is the adept's "real body." The remainder of the text explains this process in greater detail, using alchemical terminology. One learns, in particular, that "to understand the body" means to understand how to combine nature, *xing* 性 (mercury, produced by wood and fire, which is linked to expiration and heart) and life, *ming* 命 (lead, produced by metal and water, which is linked to inspiration and kidneys).

John Lagerwey

Qingtian ge zhushi 青天歌註釋
8 fols.
Commentary by WANG JIE 王玠 (fl. 1331–1380)
137 (fasc. 60)

"Glosses on *Song of the Azure Sky*." This text is also found in QIU CHUJI's collected works (see *1159 Panxi ji* 3.1a–b), in an identical version. According to WANG JIE's preface, Qiu wrote this song in thirty-two verses with reference to the Thirty-two Heavens of *1 Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing*.

WANG JIE divides the song in three parts, with eight verses on innate nature (*xing* 性), eight on vitality (*ming* 命), and eight on the fusion of *xing* and *ming* that enables the spirit (*shen* 神) of the adept to be delivered from the body. His commentary draws on sources of the Three Teachings. For Taoism, he uses principally *1 Duren jing*.

The text of the "Song of the Azure Sky" was engraved on stone in 1273.

Catherine Despeux

Zhonghe ji 中和集
6 juan
By LI DAOCHUN 李道純 (fl. 1288–1306); edited by Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤, *zi* Sun'an 損菴, *hao* Baochan zi 寶蟾子 (late thirteenth century); preface by DU DAOJIAN 杜道堅 (1237–1318); printed in 1306
249 (fasc. 118)

"Collection of Central Harmony." According to the preface written in 1306 by DU DAOJIAN, Cai Zhiyi of Weiyang (Yangzhou), disciple of LI DAOCHUN, collected the fragmented manuscripts of his master and edited them into the present collection. It is named after LI DAOCHUN's meditation room, the Hermitage of Central Harmony (Zhonghe jingshe 中和精舍) in Nanking (see 4.11a). Du Daoqian had the work printed in 1306. His preface was written in the Xuanyuan zhenguan 玄元眞館 temple at Qiantang 錢塘 (Hangzhou).

An earlier edition of the work, dating from Yuan (1279–1368) times, is mentioned in *Bisong lou cangshu zhi* 66.29a under the title *Qing'an xiansheng zhonghe [ji]* 清庵先生中和 [集] in six juan, divided into two parts (*qianji* 前集 and *houji* 後集). A copy of this edition is preserved in the Seikadō bunkō (see Seikadō bunkō, *Seikadō bunkō kanseki bunrui mokuroku*, 612).

After an explanation of the Taiji 太極 and the *Taiji tu* 太極圖 of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073), the work is mainly composed of regular and *ci* 詞-poetry, songs, short prose texts, and dialogues between master and disciples. The subjects concern spiritual exercises, alchemy, and so on. The author refers to the Quanzhen school, and he gives a definition of its name (3.28b). The second juan is devoted to Inner Alchemy. It contains numerous illustrations and diagrams concerning the ingredients, the furnace, the three fundamental stages of the alchemical process, fire-phasing, the inner and outer remedies. The author lists nine heretical schools of alchemy and explains the different techniques associated with the technical terms used by those schools. Above these schools there are the Three Superior Vehicles (in ascending order) and the Supreme Vehicle, which corresponds to the stage in which LI DAOCHUN situates himself (2.12b–17a).

Catherine Despeux

Santian yisui 三天易髓
12 fols.
By LI DAOCHUN 李道純 (d. 1306); revised by WANG JIE 王玠, *hao* Hunran zi 混然子 (fl. mid-fourteenth century)
250 (fasc. 119)

"Quintessence of the Changes of the Three Heavens." The author mentions this work in his preface, dated 1290, to *699 Daode huiyuan*. The *Santian yisui* must consequently be earlier than that date.

The title comprises three distinct texts. To begin with, there is an alchemical treatise, which is again subdivided into two parts. The first part is a collection of sayings from the Book of Changes (*Zhouyi* 周易) with a rhymed commentary. This part deals, according to the sayings, with what the Confucians call the Great Ultimate (Taiji 太極). The second part of the treatise lists the nine phases of transformation, also with a rhymed commentary. The text adds: "This is what Taoists call cinnabar [*dan* 丹]."

The two other texts are (1) a commentary to the *Xinjing* 心經 (The *Hṛdaya-sūtra* or Sūtra of the Heart of Prajñā-pāramitā 般若波羅蜜多心經), which LI DAOCHUN wrote at the request of his disciple Ji'an 濟庵, and (2) a commentary to *31 Huangdi yinfu jing*.

Catherine Despeux

Quanzhen ji xuan biyao 全眞集玄祕要
18 fols.
By LI DAOCHUN 李道純, *hao* Qing'an 清菴 (d. 1306)
251 (fasc. 119)

"Secret Principles of the Collected Quanzhen Writings." There are two parts to this work. The first (1a–6a) is a commentary to one of the sections of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 called While Reading the *Cantong qi* ("Zhudu *Zhouyi cantong qi* 註讀周易參同契"; see *141 Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian zhushu*, 8.1 and *145 Wuzhen pian zhushi* 3.3b). According to LI DAOCHUN, this text concerns the principles of the art of fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候). The second part (6a–18b) is a commentary on the "Explications

on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate" (*Taiji tujie* 太極圖解) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073).

The author draws on different sources, such as the Book of Changes (*Yijing* 易經), the *Laozi* 老子, the Neo-Confucian thinkers Zhou Dunyi and SHAO YONG, the *Wuzhen pian*, and the *Cantong qi* 參同契.

Catherine Despeux

***Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao* 上乘修眞三要**

2 juan

By Gao Daokuan 高道寬, *hao* Yuanming laoren 圓明老人 (1195–1277)

267 (fasc. 132)

"Three Essentials for the Cultivation of the True according to the Superior Vehicle." The author, a hermit on Mount Zhongnan 終南山, was a disciple of the Quanzhen patriarchs MA DANYANG and Li Chongxu 李沖虛.

The first juan contains an illustrated didactic poem titled "Sanfa song 三法頌" (Song of the Three Methods), which describes the spiritual discipline of the heart (*xin* 心) and of fundamental human nature (*xing* 性) by means of the allegory of the training of a horse. The song comprises twelve verses in an irregular *daoqing* 道情 meter of seven- and three-character lines with accompanying illustrations. In addition, there is a commentary in small print, also rhymed and in five-character verses.



FIGURE 64. Practitioner preparing to eradicate the Roots of Impermanence (*267* 1.1b)

The metaphor of the training of the horse, current in Quanzhen Taoism, seems to have been inspired by the analogous allegory of the training of the buffalo of Chan Buddhism in four, six, eight, ten, or twelve scenes. We have here the sole fully illustrated version of the training of the horse of the mind in the *Daozang* (see figs. 64 and 65). The ten illustrations of the horse training are similar to those of the training of the buffalo in ten scenes by the Chan master Puming 普明 (end of the eleventh century).

The second juan is devoted to the life force (*ming* 命). It is composed of twelve sections, each with its own title and illustrated by a diagram, with one or two lyrical *ci*-詞 poems and a rhymed formula (*jue* 訣). Following the tradition of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (q.v.),



FIGURE 65. Steps in Taming the Horse of the Mind (*267* 1.2a–9a) *(continued)*

the author exposes the essential phases of Inner Alchemy: the choice of the cauldron and the furnace, fire-phasing, the transmutation of cinnabar, the deliverance of the body, the return to the true origin and to nonaction. At the end the Song of the Pure Awakening of Heart and Nature ("Chunjue xinxing ge 純覺心性歌"; 2.15a–16a) describes the *xing* as a white buffalo and the *xin* as the shepherd. This metaphor may be compared to the phrase "the Superior Vehicle of the great buffalo is the method of true cultivation and inner refinement" (*da niuju shangsheng zhe, xiuzhen neilian zhi fa ye* 大牛車上乘者, 修眞內鍊之法也) in *275 Sanji zhiming quanti* (9a) by Wang Qingsheng.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Despeux, *Le chemin de l'éveil*.

Catherine Despeux

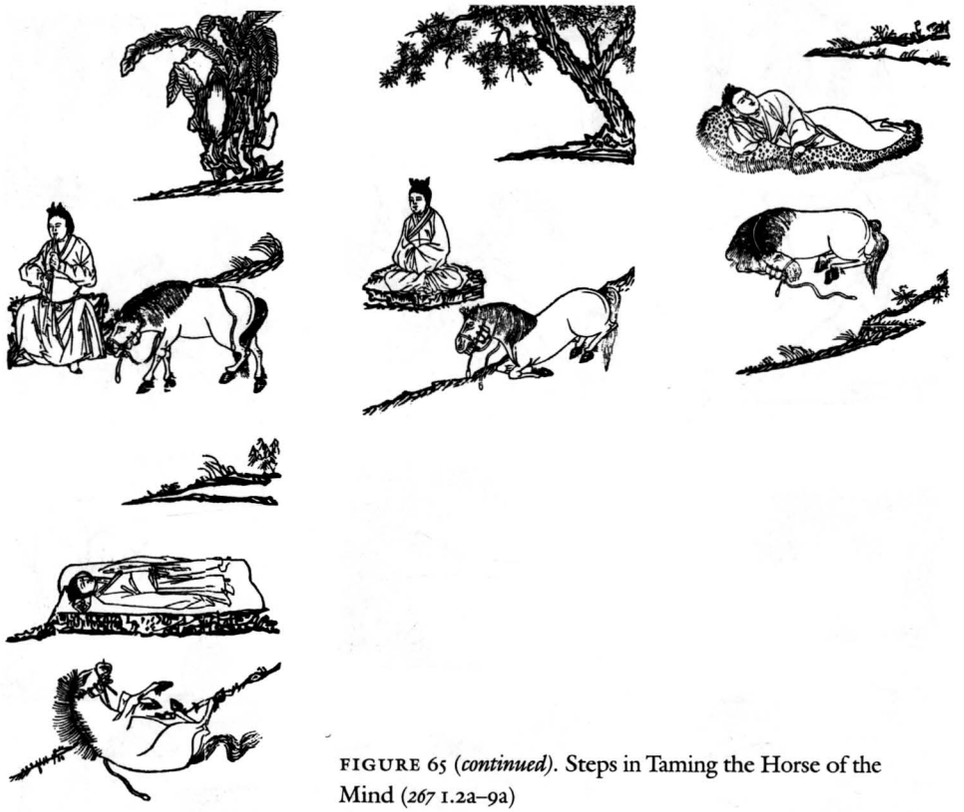


FIGURE 65 (*continued*). Steps in Taming the Horse of the Mind (*267* 1.2a–9a)

***Xiyi zhimi lun* 析疑指迷論**

16 fols.

By Niu Daochun 牛道淳, *hao* Shenfeng xiaoyao dashi 神峰逍遙大師; 1299

276 (fasc. 134)

"Discussions for Resolving Doubts and Pointing out Errors." These discussions were composed by Niu Daochun, according to his own preface, dated 1296. There is a colophon by Liu Daozhen 劉道眞 dated 1298, which together with a preface by Wang Daoheng 王道亨 dated 1299, precedes the preface by Niu Daochun. Wang Daoheng explains that Niu Daochun continues the (Quanzhen) tradition of MA DANYANG, TAN CHUDUAN, LIU CHUXUAN, and QIU CHUJI.

Niu Daochun answers the questions of his disciple Li Zhiheng 李志恆, who inquires about the principles of the Quanzhen school, the "Secrets of the True Tao," the meaning of *xingming* 性命, and especially the methods of self-cultivation. The discussions in the second part of this work (8a ff.) are conducted between two probably fictitious persons, Guangmo xiansheng 廣漠先生 and Zhaoran zi 昭然子. These dialogues deal with definitions of technical terms and practices. They also list specific

means of self-cultivation, which Niu Daochun rejects (12b–13a). Niu Daochun emphasizes the "sudden enlightenment" and the recovery of the "original face." However, his fundamental attitude seems to be that "actually there is nothing to say and nothing to transmit" (15b). This type of statement is characteristic of the Quanzhen school.

Florian C. Reiter

***Xuanjiao da gongan* 玄教大公案**

2 juan

By Miao Shanshi 苗善時, *zi* Taisu 太素, *zi* Shian 實菴 (fl. fourteenth century); edited by Wang Zhidao 王志道, *zi* Cheng'an 誠庵; preface dated 1324

1065 (fasc. 734)

"Great Cases in the Teaching of Mystery." This book is composed of sixty-four paragraphs called "rules" (*ze* 則) in harmony with the hexagrams of the *Yijing* 易經 (see prefaces, 1b and 5b), and three additional paragraphs on the "three poles" (*sanji* 三極), which contain the quintessence of the Teaching. Wang Zhidao was a disciple of Miao Shanshi. In addition to Wang's preface, there are three others: one by Ke Daochong 柯道沖, *hao* Yuanhei daoren 淵嘿道人; one by Tang Daolin 唐道麟, *hao* Jiuqu yimin 九曲逸民, who apparently had the work printed; and one by Wang Congyi 王從義, investigating censor of the Branch Censorate (*Xingtai jiancha yushi* 行台監察御史).

Miao Shanshi was a disciple of LI DAOCHUN. At his master's temple, the Zhonghe jingshe 中和精舍 in Nanking, he occupied the function of *zhitang* 知堂 (see *1060 Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 3.1a). According to the preface by Wang Congyi (3b–4a), he wrote supplementary notes in order to complement the *Yizhuan* 易傳, the great commentary on the *Yijing* by Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), as well as a *Yiwang jiehuo* 易網解惑.

Each paragraph is composed of quotations of different Taoist scriptures, such as the *Daode jing* 道德經, the *Wenshi* 文始, the *Liezi* 列子, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the *Yijing* 易經, or of sayings of great Taoists such as LÜ YAN, WANG ZHI, BO YUCHAN, and the three Mao brothers. These texts are followed by judgments and interpretations as to the true meaning of those texts (see prefaces, 5b), hence the title "Great [Judicial] Cases." At the end of each case, there is a hymn (*song* 頌).

Catherine Despeux

***Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 上陽子金丹大要**

16 juan

By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; ca. 1331

1067 (fasc. 736–738)

"Master Shangyang's Essentials of the Elixir." This work includes an introduction (2.1a–7b) by CHEN ZHIXU (dated 1331) and two prefaces written by his disciples (ca. 1335). The text must therefore have been compiled between these two dates.

CHEN ZHIXU, a Taoist of the Zixiao jiang gong 紫霄降宮 temple, lived in the Hunan and Hubei region: he met his master in Hengyang 衡陽 (Hunan), and in the course of his peregrinations gathered many disciples in the Jiugong shan 九宮山, mountains in Hubei (11.8a, 12.1a). Chen belonged to an offshoot of the Quanzhen school tracing its lineage to MA DANYANG (12.5b, 14.8b; see also *1069 Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi* 7a–9a). Although CHEN ZHIXU claims to adhere to the syncretist movement uniting the Three Teachings (*sanjiao wei yi* 三教爲一; see especially 14.3b ff.), Taoist and Chan teachings predominate. On the Taoist side, he is strongly influenced by ZHANG BODUAN and BO YUCHAN. CHEN ZHIXU was familiar with most of the texts in *263 Xiuzhen shishu,* as is evident from his quotations (see, e.g., the quotation from the *Wuzhen pian* 悟眞篇 in 5.9a).

On the Buddhist side, he greatly admired the teachings of the master Nanquan 南泉 (748–834) and his disciple Zhaozhou 趙州 (777–896). Chen's work alludes throughout to Chan *gongan* 公案 riddles (see especially 15.6a ff. and 16.4b ff.). Also of interest is his frequent use of Chan technical terms, such as *jianxing cheng fo* 見性成佛 (14.13a, 16.1a), that is, the attainment of buddhahood upon beholding the buddha-nature within oneself. Among the standard Buddhist sūtra, the Diamond Sūtra, the scripture most revered by the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 惠能 of the Southern school of Chan, is most frequently quoted in the text.

CHEN ZHIXU's work represents a harmonious concord between *xing* 性 (Chan) and *ming* 命 (Taoism). The entire work is theoretical, cryptic, and allusive—as Chen himself says, the text alone, without indications from a master, was of no use (5.9b). The elixir *jindan* 金丹, is for him the ineffable, all-embracing, immanent, and transcendental qi of "Former Heaven" (1.4a; 5.1b–2a). CHEN ZHIXU nevertheless, in keeping with the *Wuzhen pian* tradition, shows a close familiarity with alchemical terminology that may be applied to both *neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹 (see juan 5–8). The way to attain the elixir consists first in acquiring a thorough understanding of social rules, then in meditation resulting in wisdom (2.7a).

Juan 1 of this text is in fact the introduction to the work (cf. the *Daozang jinghua* edition, where it is featured separately as a preface). According to this introduction (1.11a–11b), the composition of the *Jindan dayao* is as follows:

1. "Xuwu 虛無," three *zhang* 章
2. "Shangyao 上藥," one *zhang*
3. "Miaoyong 妙用," nine *zhang* (only seven *zhang* in the present text; for the missing two, cf. the *Daozang jinghua* edition)
4. "Xuzhi 須知," seven *zhang*
5. "Jigong shige 積功詩歌"
6. "Leixing 累行"

7. "Fazhen wenda 發眞問答"
8. "Xiuzhen tu xiang 修眞圖象"
9. "Yuege nigu 越格擬古"
10. "Chaozong 超宗"

The entire work should comprise ten juan, but the present version follows a different division.

Juan 2, titled "Void," comprises a preface and commentary on the first section of the *Daode jing* 道德經.

Juan 3 and 4, titled the "True Medicine," include a discussion of preserving the original *jing* 精 (essence), *qi* 氣 and *shen* 神 (spirits, divinities), also called the "*jing,* qi, *shen* existing before the formation of Heaven and Earth" (3.1a).

Juan 5 and 6 comprise seven of the nine discussions on the "subtle" use of certain ingredients (*miaoyong* 妙用). These deal with the elixir *jindan,* ingredients, alchemical vessels, the best moment for collecting the ingredients, the true catalyst (*zhentu* 眞土), fire-phasing, and divine transformation. The *Daozang jinghua* edition includes the last two discussions concerning *huandan* 還丹 (cyclically transformed elixir) and *diandao* 顚倒 (reversal of the natural order).

Juan 7 and 8 offer additional explanations of alchemical terms, from fire-phasing to transfiguration. These are entitled "Requisite Knowledge." The additional explanations mainly concern the problem of transmission. Chen advocates the Chan idea of *xinshou* 心授 (mental transmission, which enables the adept to behold the buddha-nature within himself intuitively; 8.3b–5b).

The juan that follows (9), under the heading "Accumulation of Merit," consists of a collection of poems.

Juan 10 comprises eighty-one couplets on the *Daode jing.*

Juan 11 and 12 are entitled "Accumulation of Pious Acts" ("Leixing 累行") and are epistles addressed to the author's disciples. This section is incomplete (cf. the *Daozang jiyao* edition).

Juan 13 and 14 are entitled "Fazhen 發眞" (from a term meaning to manifest the truth or exhibit the innate buddha-nature). Both are in the form of "recorded conversations" (*yulu* 語錄) and concern universal problems such as life, death, the origin of the universe, realization of one's innate buddha-nature, and others.

The titles of the last two juan (15 and 16), "Yuege 越格" and "Chaozong 超宗," are taken from a Buddhist expression meaning to surpass the origin of the great dharma and go beyond rules and norms. Juan 15 examines *gongan* 公案 riddles. Juan 16 is an exposition concerning the phrase "to attain buddhahood upon beholding ones own innate nature" (*jianxing cheng fo* 見性成佛).

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein



FIGURE 66. The progressive and regressive dynamics of the Great Ultimate and the materialization of the Primordial Qi as a landscape (*1068* 3a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1054)

Shangyang zi jindan dayao tu 上陽子金丹大要圖

12 fols.

By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; ca. 1331

1068 (fasc. 738)

"Alchemical Diagrams to Master Shangyang's Essentials of the Elixir." This collection is in fact juan 8 of the *Jindan dayao* 金丹大要, where it appears under the heading "Xiuzhen tuxiang 修眞圖像" (see *1067 Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 1.11b). The diagrams depict various symbols and utensils used in alchemy, both *neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹: Taiji, Five Elements, Eight Trigrams, as well as the phases of the moon, dragon, tiger, cauldron, furnace, and others. (See figs. 66 and 67.)

Some of the diagrams were copied from other works; see, for instance, *263 Xiuzhen shishu* 1.1a, 26.5a–b, and *1003 Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu* 8a–b for the diagrams on 7b, 8a, and 10b of the present text. The sequence of the diagrams is slightly different in the *Daozang jiyao* edition.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein



FIGURE 67. Dragon and tiger as alchemical symbols (*1068* 8a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1054)

Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi 上陽子金丹大要列仙誌

9 fols.

By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; ca. 1331

1069 (fasc. 738)

"Record of Famous Immortals Pertaining to Master Shangyang's Essentials of the Elixir." This is a collection of sixteen biographies of CHEN ZHIXU's school, starting with Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫 and ending with Chen himself. Chen traces the direct lineage of his school back to MA DANYANG: from Ma to Song Youdao 宋有道, Li Jue 李玨, Zhang Mu 張模, Zhao Youqin 趙有欽, and finally CHEN ZHIXU.

CHEN ZHIXU received instruction from Zhao Youqin in a year *jisi* 己巳 (1269 or 1329) at Hengyang 衡陽.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Shangyang zi jindan dayao xianpai 上陽子金丹大要仙派

10 fols.

By CHEN ZHIXU 陳致虛, *zi* Guanwu 觀吾, *hao* Shangyang zi 上陽子; ca. 1331

1070 (fasc. 738)

"Lineage Pertaining to Master Shangyang's Essentials of the Elixir." This short work details the "lineage of the immortals" (*xianpai* 仙派) of CHEN ZHIXU's school (1a–2b), and includes as well a description of the ritual ceremony on the occasion of ZHONGLI QUAN's and LÜ DONGBIN's birthdays ("Zhong Lü erxian qingdan yi 鍾呂二仙慶誕儀"). Since LÜ DONGBIN and ZHONGLI QUAN were born on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the fourth month, respectively, the offerings in their honor were presented together.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Xiulian xuzhi 修鍊須知

20 fols.

Yuan (1279–1368)

1077 (fasc. 740)

"Essential Knowledge about the Practice [of Inner Alchemy]." This text is a short *neidan* 內丹 treatise by an unknown author, although he latter must have belonged to the Quanzhen order. He refers to the instructions given by Quanzhen teachers in the practice of Inner Alchemy (page 5a) and speaks of LÜ DONGBIN as the Pure Yang Patriarch (Chunyang zushi 純陽祖師), also referring to him as the Imperial Lord Pure Yang (Chunyang dijun 純陽帝君). The latter title was granted LÜ DONGBIN in 1310.

The work draws on a great variety of sources, not only quoting classical Confucian texts, but also referring to the Taoist activities of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (Zhu Huian 朱晦庵; 1130–1200). Buddhists scriptures are also drawn upon. Reference to Taoist works mostly concern the Southern school (Nanzong 南宗). Of BO YUCHAN (Ziqing Bo zhenren 紫清白眞人) it is said that he met his master CHEN NAN (Niwan weng 泥丸翁) when he was already sixty-four years old (6a). Among the later masters, special reference is made to LI DAOCHUN (Yingchan zi 瑩蟾子; 1b), Zhao Youqin 趙友欽 (Yuandu zi 緣督子; fl.1329) and CHEN ZHIXU (Shangyang zi 上陽子). Chen is quoted more than ten times, and the entire last part of the treatise, the "Seven Steps in the Cultivation of True Nature" (*Xiuzhen qishi* 修眞七事) is entirely his work. The present work is therefore likely to belong to his school.

Kristofer Schipper

Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue 重陽眞人金關玉鎖訣

23 fols.

By WANG ZHE 王嚞, *hao* Chongyang zi 重陽子 (1113–1170)

1156 (fasc. 796)

"Instructions concerning the Golden Bar and the Jade Lock." This title has been attributed to WANG ZHE. The character *zhe* 嚞 used here could point to the years between 1159 and 1167, when WANG ZHE was still living in Shaanxi, for the approximate date of the compilation of this work (see *1154 Chongyang jiaohua ji* 1.15b). It should be noted that the contents and predominant terminology of this work differ greatly from other writings that can be confidently attributed to WANG ZHE. Those works, however, were written later, when WANG ZHE was preaching in Shandong.

This work contains didactic dialogues dealing with methods to preserve and sublimate the Three Treasures (essences, breath, blood). The Golden Bar and the Jade Lock also represent procedures, "the guiding of the gold-essences up to the brain and their fixation in the brain" and "the clenching of the teeth" (6b, 11b). Both procedures represent a great number of meditative and physiological methods, which are all said to effect self-cultivation. These methods are not introduced or mentioned in other works connected with WANG ZHE's activities in Shandong, where he founded the Quanzhen school. Yet some of the tenets set forth here can be regarded as typical of his later Quanzhen teachings, for example, concerning the three schools of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hachiya Kunio, "*Chōyō shinjin kinkan gyokusa ketsu*."

Florian C. Reiter

Zhuzhen neidan jiyao 諸眞內丹集要

3 juan

Compiled by Xuanquan zi 玄全子, *hao* Haitian qiuyue daoren 海天秋月道人; Yuan (1279–1368)

1258 (fasc. 999)

"Collection of Essentials concerning the Inner Alchemy of the Zhenren." This title was compiled by Xuanquan zi (see also *1256 Zhenxian zhizhi yulu*), either after 1264 or 1274. The date Song Xianchun jiazi 宋咸淳甲子 (3.10b) is erroneous.

This work contains a few short texts concerning *neidan* self-cultivation attributed to the Zhong-Lü school (e.g., 1.1b–4b). In most cases, the author is not indicated, and the literary sources are never named. The majority of the texts are "songs" or "instructions" that can be attributed to the later Quanzhen school, for example, the "Twelve Sentences with Secret Instructions concerning Fire-phasing in Inner Alchemy" (2.6b–

8a), which this work attributes to Chunyang 純陽. The texts "True Proofs of the Inner Alchemy" (2.9a ff.) and "Discourse on the Eight Joints" (3.10b ff.) are identical. The list of terminologies concerning the Gold-Elixir (2.13a–14b) clearly documents the didactic purpose of this work.

Florian C. Reiter

Zhizhou xiansheng quanzhen zhizhi 紙舟先生全眞直指

7 fols.

Compiled by Jin Yueyan 金月巖, transmitted by Huang Gongwang 黃公望, *hao* Dachi 大癡 (1269–1354)

242 (fasc. 114)

"Straightforward Directions on Quanzhen by Master Paper Boat." This text purports to reproduce the teaching of Jin Yueyan, transmitted by Huang Gongwang, both heirs to the Quanzhen lineage (*si* Quanzhen 嗣全眞). Master Jin must be Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (1276–1336), surnamed Pengtou 蓬頭, whose biography by Zhang Yuchu can be read in *1311 Xianquan ji* (4.9a–11a). Jin, who lived on Mounts Longhu 龍虎山 (Jiangxi) and Wuyi 武夷山 (Fujian), attained a considerable reputation for his mastery of *neidan* 內丹.

This identification is from Rao Zongyi, *Huang Gongwang*. The renowned painter Huang Gongwang indeed seems to have been the disciple of Jin Pengtou. However, his association with the present work must remain a hypothesis since the name Yueyan is absent from all extant biographical material concerning Jin Pengtou. The two other works similarly ascribed to Jin Yueyan or Jin Pengtou (*281 Baoyi zi sanfeng laoren danjue* and *576 Baoyi hansan bijue*) do not shed further light on this question. The identity of Master Paper Boat is not known.



FIGURE 68. The Skiff of Salvation, for crossing to immortality (*242* 5a)

The text is divided into four parts: an introduction (1a–2b), followed by a theoretical outline of the Quanzhen teachings (2b–3b), a description of the seven phases of Truth (3b–4b), and ten practical instructions for meditation (5a–7b; fig. 68). The introduction is a eulogy to Quanzhen, and a criticism of both secret longevity techniques and pure metaphysics. Becoming an immortal is indeed possible, but it requires serious individual efforts and accumulation of merit. These are standard Quanzhen themes. The theoretical outline is merely a symetrical presentation of form (*xing* 形) and spirit (*shen* 神), with charts, poems, and prose developments.

The seven phases of Truth (*zhen* 眞), which are the result of the interaction of spirit and form, are each introduced by a small drawing and a quatrain. The final ten instructions on meditation are of a more practical nature; they deal with body control (instructions 1 to 3) and the supranormal effects of meditation (instructions 4 to 10).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rao Zongyi, *Huang Gongwang.*

Vincent Goossaert

Taishang laojun nei riyong miaojing 太上老君內日用妙經

2 fols.

645 (fasc. 342)

"Taishang Laojun's Wonderful Scripture for Daily Inner Practice." This is a short work containing rules for the exercises of meditation that are to be practiced every day. The rules mainly consist in preserving the spirit (*cunshen* 存神) and concentrating thought (*dingyi* 定意), while shutting out all external thoughts and sensual perceptions. The purity and tranquility that have to be maintained constantly for twenty-four hours lead, via Inner Alchemical intermediate stages, to the vision of the intracorporeal region (*guan neijing* 觀內境) and from there, after a ninefold cyclical transformation, to the preparation of the Great Elixir (*dadan* 大丹) itself.

The text, which is probably affiliated with the Quanzhen school (cf. *646 Taishang laojun wai riyong miaojing*), figures in an abridged and slightly different version entitled *Riyong jue* 日用訣 in Dong Jinchun's *1257 Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 1.1a–b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Legge, *The sacred books of China.* 2:269–72.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang laojun wai riyong miaojing 太上老君外日用妙經

1 fol.

646 (fasc. 342)

"Taishang Laojun's Wonderful Scripture for the External Daily Practice." The title of this short work suggests that the compilers of the *Daozang* saw a direct relation between it and *645 Taishang laojun nei riyong miaojing*, the "scripture for the inner daily practice." The recommendations for the moral conduct of life, which are the message of this mnemonic poem of forty-seven trisyllabic lines, are obviously meant to round off externally the spiritual exercises described in the preceding *645 Nei riyong miaojing*.

The text of this poem, which is clearly influenced by the Quanzhen tradition, was engraved in stone in 1352 under the title *Taishang laojun riyong miaojing* and erected

by the Mongolian governor of Zhouzhi 盩厔 (Shaanxi), Ding An 定安, at the ancient Louguan 樓觀 temple at Zhongnan shan 終南山 (*Jinshi cuibian weike gao* 金石萃編未刻稿 3.37a–b). The inscription differs from the *Daozang* version by one omission (verse 4) and three minor textual variants.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

3.B.10 The Beidi and Xuantian Shangdi Cult

The rationale for the present section is somewhat theoretical, as it does not correspond to a historically or bibliographically well-defined school. Beidi, the god of the North, appears at an early stage as the ruler of the dark regions of death, the lord of Fengdu 酆都, the defunct capital of the heroes who founded the kingdom of Zhou, and hence the Chinese city of Hades. As the commander of the legions of the souls of the dead, Beidi is also a powerful exorcist spirit. The early Shangqing revelations contain an exorcist rite of Beidi (*Beidi shagui zhi fa* 北帝煞鬼之法) in which the demon spirit of Tianpeng 天蓬 is invoked (see *1016 Zhen'gao* 10.10a–11b and *421 Dengzhen yinjue* 2.11a–13b). This short text has provided the basis for a number of scriptures, mostly in relation to the Dongyuan 洞淵 tradition (see *53 Taishang dongyuan beidi tianpeng huming xiaozai shenzhou miaojing*) and also some minor rituals. For a distinct class of Taoist practice under the aegis of Beidi, we have to turn to the early Song (960–1279) work *1237 Sandong xiudao yi,* which lists, after the well-known orders of the Taoist organization of the Tang period (618–907), an exorcistic order that practiced the Thunder magic (*leifa* 雷法) of the Emperor of the North (*Beidi leigong fa* 北帝雷公法; 9a).

The cult of Beidi flourished in modern times. During the Northern Song (960–1127), the worship of the Yishen baode zhenjun 翊聖保德眞君, a powerful protector of the dynasty linked to Beidi and his demon kings, became an officially recognized cult, with which the above-mentioned Tianpeng and other spirits were associated. The new schools of Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法, Shenxiao 神霄, and Qingwei 清微, with their Thunder rites, all incorporated these deities and related spirits of the realm of Beidi. Under the Ming (1368–1644), the god of the North became the High Divine Ancestor of the Dark Heaven, Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, the protector of the dynasty (cf. Nikaidō Yoshihiro, "Genten jōtei no henyu"). The present section is therefore far from complete, containing only those scriptures and rites that have not already been discussed within the context of the above-mentioned schools. The reader is therefore invited to consult the corresponding sections for more extensive information.

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing
太上元始天尊說北帝伏魔神咒妙經
10 juan
Compiled by Ouyang Wen 歐陽雯; Song (960–1279)
1412 (fasc. 1053–1054)

"Wondrous Scripture of Divine Incantations for Subduing Demons of the Emperor of the North, Set Forth by Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning." This book is a compilation of exorcistic methods associated with the god Beidi, Emperor of the North. A list of texts containing such methods is found in *1237 Sandong xiudao yi* 8b–9a, where they are said to be practiced by the Taoists of the Great Obscurity of the Emperor of the North (Beidi taixuan daoshi 北帝太玄道士). The Taoists of this group are said to have specialized in exorcising evil influences and averting calamity by regulating the demons and spirits of the Six Heavens, that is, Fengdu shan 酆都山, the underworld below the northern sky. They wear the Seals of Fengdu (*Fengdu yin* 酆都印) and their books include a *Fumo jing* 伏魔經 in three juan; a *Tianpeng jing* 天蓬經 in ten juan, and a *Beidi jinzhou jing* 北帝禁咒經 in three juan.

There can be little doubt that the present book forms part of these practices and materials. It includes, for instance, the Twelve Seals of Fengdu (5.2b–5b), the "Tianpeng zhou 天蓬咒" (1.15b–17b and passim), and the list of the names of the palaces of the Six Heavens (1.13a–15a and passim). However, the date of its compilation remains uncertain. It is clear that a book with the title *Beidi jing* 北帝經, containing some of the material of our text, had already been transmitted during the Tang dynasty (618–907). This is borne out by quotations in YJQQ 47.1a and 6a, of which the first is also found in the present book (1.15a–b), and by the "incantation of the Emperor of the North for killing demons" (*Beidi shagui zhou* 北帝殺鬼咒), found both in YJQQ 46.19a–b and 47.6b and in the present book (4.7a). Note also the quotation from a *Beidi jing* concerning the Seals of Fengdu, found in TPYL 676.9b. But the present redaction of the material cannot be earlier than the end of the tenth century. It includes a postscript that mentions the Four Saints (Sisheng 四聖), and gives the name Yisheng 翊聖 to the divine protector of the Song dynasty (10.8a; see *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan*).

A probable *terminus ante quem* may be fixed by the reference to a *Beidi da fumo shenzhou jing* 北帝大伏魔神咒經 in the commentary of *1167 Taishang ganying pian* 1.4b (dating from around 1233). The work is quoted there as one of the sources for an account of the underworld—an account that relies heavily on the notions presented in the present book (see, for instance, 1.3a–4a). See also the mention in the early Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) work *466 Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 320.19a of the *Jiuzhen jie* 九眞戒 and two fu said to be described in the *Beidi fumo jing* and in fact included in the present book (6.5b–7a). It may be noted, finally, that a book in ten juan with the title *Beidi shenzhou jing* and possibly identical with the present work, is listed in the

Chongwen zongmu (1042) and mentioned in the *Quejing mulu* as lost (VDL 95). Recent archaeological evidence has been interpreted as suggesting a late Northern or early Southern Song date, that is, roughly twelfth century (see Zhang Xunliao, "Jiangxi Gao'an chutu").

A good deal of the book may well be derived from early Shangqing texts. Thus, for instance, some of the key elements are found also in *1317 Dongzhen shangqing kaitian santu qixing yidu jing* 2.5a–6b, under the heading "Beidi fengdu liugong dusi fa," and in *1016 Zhen'gao* 10.9b–11b. Both texts include versions of ritual recitation of the names of the Six Heavens of Fengdu 酆都六天宮名. In the *Zhen'gao* this incantation is followed by the "Tianpeng zhou." The passage from the *Zhen'gao* is quoted in YJQQ 45.16a–18a, where it is stated that the two incantations derive from the Shangqing tradition, and that the Zhengyi corpus also includes them. The relationship with the Zhengyi tradition is confirmed in the present book by the fact that the transmission of a series of fu is described as taking place within the tradition of the Heavenly Masters 天師門下 (8.1b; see also *1413 Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi* on the list of Heavenly Masters invited in this ritual).

The Shangqing 上清 texts quoted by title include *1356 Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shenhui yuqing yinshu* (1.19b) and *1366 Shangqing tianguan santu jing* (1.13a). Both texts contain versions of the names of the Six Heavens of Fengdu and appear to be the sources for the first version of this incantation in the present book (1.13a–15a). Our book, however, also incorporates a good deal of material from Lingbao 靈寶 rituals of the Tang or Song dynasties, for instance, *181 Taishang jiuzhen miaojie jinlu duming bazui miaojing* and *75 Yuanshi tianzun shuo ganlu shengtian shenzhou miaojing*, which are combined to make up most of juan 6. Note also the occasional references to elements of the Dongyuan tradition, for instance the *Sanmei jiangjun* 三昧將軍 (9.1a), as well as the correspondence between 4.1a–2b and *53 Taishang dongyuan beidi tianpeng huming xiaozai shenzhou miaojing* 1a–2b. The syncretic character of the book is reflected in the series of legends concerning the early practitioners of the tradition found in 1.18b–20b. It begins with Tao Hongjing, continues with Zhang Daoling 張道陵 and Wang Yuan 王遠, and ends with Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (Zheng Yin) and Ge Xuan.

The book takes the form of a scripture set forth by the supreme deity, in the setting of an assembly of the gods before Yuanshi tianzun. Questioned by the Zhenren of Wondrous Actions (Miaoxing zhenren 妙行眞人), the deity describes the topology of the northern sky presided over by Beidi, and of the underworld situated below, that is, Mount Fengdu with its six palaces governed by the demon kings of the Six Heavens (Liutian mowang 六天魔王). Further asked about the ways of avoiding the harmful influences from this underworld, Yuanshi tianzun orders Beidi to descend with his army into the world in order to deal with the matter. As a result, the present book is transmitted into the world, and the majority of its methods are presented as the sayings of Beidi. The six harmful effects caused by the demon kings of the Six Heavens are described (1.12a–b), but it is understood that by means of the methods of the book these forces can be turned to a protective use (see for instance 10.2a).

The purpose of the methods is mainly exorcistic and for the benefit of the living, from the healing of sickness and protection against the dangers of childbirth to the control of insect pests (1.9a–12a). In addition, a series of elements of the funeral liturgy makes up juan 6. It is explained that the incantations of the book should be accomplished as part of larger services, notably comprising the construction of an altar for the seven stars of the Dipper (*qiyuan tan* 七元壇) and an Offering (*jiaoji* 醮祭) to the lords of the stars (see, e.g., 1.9b–10b). Descriptions of methods of the *jiao* (including the *jiao* that accompanies the transmission of this book) are found in juan 9 and 10. Note also the ritual framework for the recitation of this scripture, described in two separate texts, *1413 Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi* and *1414 Fumo jing tan xieen jiaoyi*.

The present work is in several respects close to the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法. See, for instance, the first version of the "Tianpeng zhou 天蓬咒" found in the book, in which each four characters of the incantation is associated with a particular deity or group of deities (1.16a–17b). This interpretation of the spell is also found in *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 3.18b–28b, where the deities are further represented by fu. It would appear that the tradition of the present book served as a source for the Tianxin zhengfa, and it may be significant that the preface to *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (1a) states that Mount Huagai 華蓋山, the place of origin of a part of the Tianxin zhengfa, was earlier the site of the appearance into the world of the *Fumo jing*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Zhang Xunliao, "Jiangxi Gao'an chutu Nan Song Chunxi liunian Xu Yong mu."

Poul Andersen

***Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi* 北帝伏魔經法建壇儀**

19 fols.

By Lu Zhongling 盧中苓; Ming (1368–1644)?

1413 (fasc. 1054)

"Ritual for the Construction of the Altar [according to the] Method of the Scripture for Subduing Demons of the Emperor of the North." Both this and the following ritual (*1414 Fumo jing tan xieen jiaoyi*) belong together with the preceding scripture, *1412 Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing*. The scripture has a postscript entitled "Arcane Instructions for the Recitation of the Scripture" (Songjing xuanjue 誦經玄訣), which states that in addition to the rite of Announcement (*fa*

wenzi 發文字) in the early morning and the subsequent optional recitation, the main recitation ceremony includes two major rituals: the construction of the altar (*jiantan* 建壇), performed after midday and comprising the actual recitation, and the concluding presentation of offerings to the deities (*shejiao* 設醮), performed in the evening.

It is clear that the present ritual and the presentation of offerings were created especially to fulfill these functions. The two texts are presumably contemporary, and on the evidence found in the presentation of offerings, they may be dated as later than 1377. Both rituals contain invitations of the divine masters (5a–b and *1414 Jiaoyi* 1b–2a), opening with the two zhenren Sun 孫 and Min 閔, who are referred to as the founders of the tradition (*qijiao* 啓教), and continuing with the Thirtieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126). In the offering ritual he is followed by a whole series of Heavenly Masters, up to the Forty-second, Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (1335–1377).

The present book contains descriptions of many visualization practices used in connection with the construction of the altar and during the recitation of the *Fumo jing* (10a, 11a–b, 15b–18a). The altar has three levels (*sanji tan* 三級壇), corresponding to the three levels of Heaven, and a special seat is reserved on it for Beidi, who is identified as the Patriarch of the Subduing of Demons (Fumo zushi 伏魔祖師; 3a, 11a). During his recitation, the priest is seated in the way of Yuanshi tianzun, who lectures the host of deities inside the precious pearl, like the Most High upon the Jade Throne (*yuju* 玉局; 15a). The whole ceremony of recitation is termed a Retreat (*zhai* 齋), and it includes the announcement of the purpose of the *zhai* (*xuanyi* 宣意; 8b).

Poul Andersen

Fumo jing tan xieen jiaoyi 伏魔經壇謝恩醮儀
10 fols.
Ming (1368–1644)?
1414 (fasc. 1054)
"Offering Ritual of Thanksgiving, of the Altar for [the Recitation of] the Scripture for Subduing Demons." See *1413 Beidi fumo jing fa jiantan yi*.

Poul Andersen

Beidi shuo huoluo qiyuan jing 北帝說豁落七元經
10 fols.
Ming (1368–1644)?
1415

Qiyuan zhen jueyu quyi bijing 七元眞訣語驅疫祕經
5 fols.
1416

Qiyuan xuanji zhaomo pinjing 七元璇璣召魔品經
3 fols.
1417

Yuanshi shuo du Fengdu jing 元始說度酆都經
5 fols.
1418

Qiyuan zhaomo fu liutian shenzhou jing 七元召魔伏六天神咒經
12 fols.
1419

Qiyuan zhenren shuo shenzhen lingfu jing 七元眞人說神眞靈符經
9 fols.
1420 (fasc. 1055)

These six texts deal with the war waged by the Emperor of the North against the demonic forces of Fengdu 酆都, or the Six Heavens. His strategy, transmitted by the Heavenly Worthy in the first year of the mythical Longhan era—a *jiawu* 甲午 year (*1417 Qiyuan xuanji zhaomo pinjing* 1b)—and subsequently transmitted to the Heavenly Master, consists essentially in the use of the spirits of the seven stars of the Big Dipper. These spirits, called the Seven Zhenren, or the Zhenren of the Seven Principles, could be summoned by means of fu such as the *huoluo fu* 豁落符 of the Shangqing 上清 tradition and then dispatched to drive away the "demon officers" (*guiguan* 鬼官; the term is used in all but *1420 Qiyuan zhenren shuo shenzhen lingfu jing*) who cause epidemics (cf. *1416 Qiyuan zhen jueyu quyi bijing*) and other disorders.

Reference is frequently made to the establishment of the Altar of the Seven Principles, or of the Northern Bushel (*1415 Beidi shou huoluo qiyuan jing* 5a; *1418 Yuanshi shuo du Fengdu jing* 2b; *1419 Qiyuan zhaomo fu liutian shenzhou jing* 1b; *1420 Lingfu jing* 5b). At the altar, officiants "Pace the Mainstay" (*bugang* 步綱), recite "divine formulas" (*shenzhou* 神咒), dispatch "red memorials" (*zhuzhang/biao* 朱章表), and make offerings (*jiaoji/xie* 醮祭謝). The officiants are known variously as "Taoist master of the Three Caverns," "Taoist master of the latter days," "male/female officer," or "libationer." The "Shangqing Taoist," who lives as a hermit in the mountains, seems to form a separate category (*1420 Lingfu jing* 1a). The preeminent role accorded to the lords and the qi of the Three and the Five (which appear in all but *1420 Lingfu jing*) confirms the close relationship of these texts to the Heavenly Master movement.

Yoshioka Yoshitoyo ("*Sandō hōdō kakai gihan*," 52–53) rightly draws attention to the similarity between these texts and those in *335 Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*, but since the latter work did not assume its present form before the early ninth century, the similarity is hardly a reason for dating these texts to the late Six Dynasties (220–589).

Yoshioka's other argument for a Six Dynasties date is even less acceptable, for though it is true that the Seven Zhenren appear in *1125 Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*, there is nothing else to link the exorcistic Taoism of these texts to the monastic Taoism of that work.

Other features suggesting a late Tang (618–907) or even a Northern Song (960–1127) date are the role of the Emperor of the North himself and the references to "destiny-money" (*mingcai* 命財; *1416* 3a), to "money and horses" (*1415* 6b; *1418* 4a), and to the Black Killer, Heisha 黑殺 (*1418* 3a; *1420* 2b).

John Lagerwey

***Zhenwu lingying hushi xiaozai miezui baochan* 眞武靈應護世消災滅罪寶懺**

6 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)

814 (fasc. 567)

"Litany of the Spirit of the North, for the Extirpation of Sins." This ritual is cognate with *1412 Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing* and the following liturgies (*1413–1414*) since in the present text (1a), the Heavenly Worthy says: "Therefore I revealed the *Fumo jingfa* 伏魔經法." However, there are no textual correspondences. The present ritual prescribes abstinence and acts of devotion (*chizhai* 持齋) on specific days of the year and the month (2a).

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang shuo ziwei shenbing huguo xiaomo jing
太上說紫微神兵護國消魔經

3 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)

655 (fasc. 343)

"Scripture of Quelling Demons, by the Divine Soldiers for the Protection of the State, spoken by the Most High." This is a short text in honor of Zhenwu 眞武, the great exorcist spirit of the North (Ziwei 紫微), and divine protector (*huguo* 護國) of the Song empire. The text writes *zhen* 眞 for *xuan* 玄, not only for the name of the god, but in such instances as the names of the three primordial pneumata *xuan* 玄, *yuan* 元, and *shi* 始, here named *zhen*. (1b.8). It is therefore a Song text, notwithstanding the title of the god given on 3a, which dates to the Yuan (1279–1368).

The present scripture relates the story of Zhenwu, his merits as an exorcist, and his appointment as protector of the state.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benchuan shenzhou miaojing
太上說玄天大聖眞武本傳神咒妙經

11 fols.

775 (fasc. 556)

"Scripture of the Divine Spell Personally Transmitted by Zhenwu, Great Saint of the Dark Heaven, and Spoken by the Most High." The compilers of the Ming canon of 1445 placed this work in the *pulu* 譜錄 section of the Dongshen 洞神 division, assuming no doubt that it was a biography (*benzhuan* 本傳). The text, however, only mentions the Zhenwu 眞武 legend in passing and focuses on his worship. The commentary of the present text by Chen Zhong 陳沖 *(754 Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng)* explains that the divine spell (6a–b) was transmitted by the god personally; hence the title. Chen also seems to indicate that this text was revealed by planchette in 1184, to be recited by the Taoists of the age, according to an equally revealed text titled *Xuandi shilu* 玄帝實錄 (1.4b–5a). The *Xuandi shilu*, qualified by Chen as "recent" (4b), must indeed be of a later date, as it features the Yuan title for Xuandi (see *961 Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 9a).

The present work does not observe the Song (960–1279) taboo on the character *xuan* 玄 and in every respect appears to be a modern popular book. It begins with a hymn in seven-character verses and is in general narrative in nature.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benchuan shenzhou miaojing
太上說玄天大聖眞武本傳神咒妙經

6 juan

By Chen Zhong 陳沖, *hao* Tianfang zi 田方子; Yuan (1279–1368)?

754 (fasc. 530–531)

"Commentary on the Scriptures of the Divine Spell." This text bears the same title as the scripture it takes as its subject. The author is unknown beyond this work. The mention of the ordination title of Shengxuan neijiao dizi 昇玄內教弟子 is surprising for someone who certainly lived after the Song (960–1279) period (see 3a), and who calls himself "a man from the market," *chanren* 廛人, to indicate his place of origin.

It is equally surprising to find such a thorough and long commentary on what was certainly a popular text. Chen eclectically quotes a wide range of works, from the classics to modern Taoist scriptures.

Kristofer Schipper

Beiji zhenwu puci dushi fachan 北極眞武普慈度世法懺

10 juan

Ming (1368–1644)

815 (fasc. 567)

"Litany of Salvation by the True Warrior of the North Pole of Universal Compassion." In this text, the canonization title of Zhenwu is given on page 1.3b as Beiji zhentian yousheng zhushun zhenwu lingying fude zhenjun 北極鎭天佑聖助順眞武靈應福德眞君, followed by the Taoist title, Yuxu shixiang Xuantian shangdi 玉虛師相玄天上帝. On the same page, the legend of the recluse of the Wudang shan 武當山 is recalled: during forty-two years Xuantian shangdi underwent eighty-one transformations, and it is stated that the god became united with the contellations of Xuanwu 玄武. Therefore, although the canonization title is of Song (960–1279) date (see *962 Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 3.1a), the remainder of the titles are Yuan (1279–1368) or Ming, with a greater likelihood for the latter dating.

Kristofer Schipper

Beiji zhenwu yousheng zhenjun liwen 北極眞武佑聖眞君禮文

12 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

816 (fasc. 567)

"Rite of Homage to the True Warrior of the North Pole, True Lord of Saintly Succor." This text is cognate with the previous *815 Beiji zhenwu puci dushi fachan*. It gives the god the title of Yuxu shixiang Xuantian shangdi 玉虛師相玄天上帝 (1a). The various acts of grace are intermingled with descriptive poems in seven-character verse of a distincly vernacular flavor. In this the text resembles a Precious Scroll (*baojuan* 寶卷).

Kristofer Schipper

Yuanshi tianzun shuo beifang zhenwu miaojing 元始天尊說北方眞武妙經

7 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

27 (fasc. 27)

"Marvelous Book of the Perfected Warrior of the North." This title is a popular scripture, otherwise unknown, for the cult of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, the divine protector of the Ming dynasty. The legend of his forty-two years of ascetic practice on the Wudang shan 武當山 is mentioned on 3a.

The text opens with a hymn in seven-character verse in the style of the vernacular incantations of modern popular ritual.

Kristofer Schipper



FIGURE 69. The Emperor of the Pole Star (*1215* 8b–9a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1198)

Taishang beiji fumo shenzhou shagui lu 太上北極伏魔神咒殺鬼籙

20 fols.

Ming (1368–1644)

1215 (fasc. 879)

"Register of the Lord of the North Pole [Star] Who Subdues Demons and Whose Divine Spells Kill Ghosts." Like *1214 Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu*, which precedes this work in the Ming *Daozang* of 1445, the present register was issued by the Longhu shan 龍虎山 headquarters of the Heavenly Masters and is signed by Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427), Heavenly Master of the forty-fourth generation (19b).

The register is followed by an illustration representing the Emperor of the Pole Star as ruler of the Fengdu 酆都 hells in the North (8b; fig. 69) with the seven stars of the Dipper (7b–8a). The text also gives the secret names of the residences of the devils in Fengdu (Fengdu liugong 酆都六宮), as a requisite for subduing them.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang xuantian zhenwu wushang jiangjun lu 太上玄天眞武無上將軍籙

9 fols.

1213 (fasc. 879)

"Register of the Supreme General, the Real Warrior of the Most High Black Heaven." This is a protective talismanic *lu*, issued for a fee to lay believers by the Heavenly Masters of the Longhu shan 龍虎山. The present version is reproduced from a printed copy (8a) distributed under the Forty-fourth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427).



FIGURE 70. Xuantian zhenwu (*1213* 1b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1196)

The attestation of transmission is illustrated by an image of Zhenwu 眞武 (fig. 70). The register itself is coupled with a large talisman and accompanied by several exorcistic spells. A number of other documents linked to the transmission are appended.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang ziwei zhongtian qiyuan zhenjing
太上紫微中天七元眞經
4 fols.
1421 (fasc.1055)

"True Scripture of the Seven Primordial [Luminaries] at the Center of Heaven." A short text with spells to invoke the seven stars of the Dipper constellation, which governs the universe. This text was doubtlessly intended for the rituals of the Dipper Lamp (*doudeng* 斗燈) for the preservation of life and the avoidance of calamities. Coming right after the series *1415 Beidi shou huoluo qiyuan jing, 1416 Qiyuan zhen jueyu quyi bijing, 1417 Qiyuan xuanji zhaomo pinjing, 1418 Yuanshi shuo du Fengdu jing, 1419 Qiyuan zhaomo fu liutian shenzhou jing,* and *1420 Qiyuan zhenren shuo shenzhen lingfu jing,* concerning the cult of the Seven Primordial Shiners (*huoluo qiyuan* 豁落七元), the present work could well be connected with these ritual texts.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang jiutian yanxiang di'e sisheng miaojing
太上九天延祥滌厄四聖妙經
14 fols.
Fourteenth century (?)
26 (fasc. 27)

"Most High Miraculous Scripture of the Four Saints in the Nine Heavens Who Grant Good Fortune and Dispel Distress." The Four Saints (*sisheng* 四聖), Tianpeng 天蓬, Tianyou 天猷, Yisheng 翊聖 (previously Heisha 黑殺), and Zhenwu 眞武, signify a constellation around the North Pole, to which special exorcistic powers are ascribed. Their significance is attested by the role that the *sisheng* acquire in the modern exorcistic Taoist schools of the Song (960–1279) period (see, e.g., *1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 7.34b–35a). At least as early as the tenth century, there existed officially maintained places of worship to this constellation of four (see, e.g., *958 Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 2.13a–b).

Judging by the honorary titles that the deities bear in this work, meant for recitation, the text in its present form could not have been written prior to 1306 (cf. Zhenwu's title on page 2b with *961 Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 10b).

The work comprises several talismans that were to be hung in the house to obtain the deities' assistance, as well as instructions for the ritual recitation of the scripture, for which up to forty-nine Zhengyi daoshi 正一道士 could be invited.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Xuantian shangdi baizi shenghao 玄天上帝百字聖號
56 fols.
1482 (fasc. 1108)

"Holy Appellations in One Hundred Characters of the Emperor of the Dark Heaven." This title constitutes the introduction to the main work, the "All-Responding Oracle Slips of the Emperor of the Dark Heaven" (*Xuantian shangdi ganying lingqian* 玄天上帝感應靈籤; 2b).

The oracles collected here are of the kind commonly used in temples for divination through oracle slips (*lingqian* 靈籤). Besides the hundred-characters appellation, the introduction also includes a eulogy of the True Warrior, Zhenwu 眞武 (1a–b), identified from the Yuan (1279–1368) onward with the Emperor of the Dark Heaven. The eulogy, which the present work attributes to the Song emperor Renzong (r. 1023–1063), is also included in *958 Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 8.24b, which names 1184 as the date of the first apparition of the Emperor of the Dark Heaven (1.21a).

If the present collection was indeed written in connection with the cult of this deity, it is not likely that it was compiled before the late Song (960–1279). The existence of a slightly different version in *1298 Sisheng zhenjun lingqian* suggests, however, that some of its elements may date from an earlier period. The present edition was revised in 1607 by Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 for the publication of the supplement to the canon, the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏.

The work contains forty-nine numbered oracles, allowing the user seeking divination to select the oracle corresponding to the number on the slip previously drawn. The oracles then indicate their auspicious or inauspicious nature, a holy counsel (*shengyi* 聖意) in four verses of seven characters, a set of prognostics in verse ordered by categories, and finally, a comment (*jie* 解) in prose.

Marc Kalinowski

Xuantian shangdi shuo bao fumu enzhong jing 玄天上帝說報父母恩重經
3 fols.
By ZHAO YIZHEN 趙宜眞 (d. 1382)
663 (fasc. 345)

"Scripture on the Recompense for Parental Kindness, Spoken by Xuantian Shangdi." The present text consists of the actual scripture (*jing* 經), an invocatory formula with the canonical titles (*shenghao* 聖號) for Zhenwu 眞武, and an explanatory postface by ZHAO YIZHEN (for biographical details on Zhao, see *1071 Yuanyang zi fayu* and Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen"). It is stated in this work that Taiqing dadi 泰清大帝 after his eighty-second physical transformation proclaimed this scripture as Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 to express gratitude to his parents. The *1224 Daomen dingzhi* 5.9b prescribes the recitation of a *Zhenwu lingying zhenjun bao fumu ende jing* 眞武靈應眞君報父母恩德經 in one juan within the *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 Retreat, probably referring to the text of the present *jing*.

Concerning the *shenghao*, Zhao explains a practice by pious sons and daughters, who during a three-year period of fasting (corresponding to the feeding period for infants) recite the litany of these titles 18,000 times (corresponding to the number of sections, *pianmu* 篇目, in the complete canon of Taoist scriptures).

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu 玄天上帝啓聖錄
8 juan
Yuan (1279–1368)?
958 (fasc. 606–608)

"Record of the Epiphany of the Supreme Ancestor of the Dark Heaven." This title represents a comprehensive hagiography of the God of the North. The appellation "Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝" is part of the imperial canonization bestowed on the saint under the Yuan in 1303, "Yuansheng renwei xuantian shangdi 元聖仁威玄天上帝." The present work has neither preface nor colophon, but on page 1.5a there is a commentary, dated 1291, quoting the *962 Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* (2.14b) by Liu Daoming 劉道明. In a general manner, the present hagiography appears to be inspired by the *Zongzhen ji*. Some episodes seem to have been taken from other sources, such as the one signed by Dong Suhuang 董素皇, *hao* Feixia lingguang zhenren 飛霞靈光眞人, dated 1184 (1.20b–21b). The work contains no datable materials from the Ming (1368–1644); it probably belongs to the Yuan period (1279–1368).

The narratives concern the deeds of the saint, his life on earth, and his posthumous miracles. The bulk of the stories date from the Tang, Five Dynasties, and both Song periods (seventh through thirteenth centuries). The beginning of the work retraces the saint's life, from his birth, his youth, through awakening, to his ascent to Heaven



FIGURE 71. Apparition of Xuantian shangdi above the summit of Wudang shan in 1413 (*959* 16a–b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/952)

(1.10a). The stories of his later manifestations all are highly moral in tone but set in a distinctly Taoist context.

Kristofer Schipper

Da Ming xuantian shengdi ruiying tulu 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄
25 fols.
959 (fasc. 608)

"Illustrated Album on the Auspicious Miracles Performed by the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven." Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 (Xuanwu 玄武) was reputed to have assisted the founder of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) in his rise to power and therefore became the patron saint of the empire. The present hagiography reproduces a series of decrees by the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424), attesting to his devotion to the deity and to his support of the great complex of sanctuaries on Wudang shan 武當山.

The richly illustrated text further features a series of apparitions of Xuantian shangdi at Wudang shan between 1412 and 1413 (see fig. 71). The manifestations are again in response to Yongle's devotion and temple-building activities and give evidence of the tutelary god's active support of the dynasty.

Caroline Gyss-Vermande

***Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啓聖靈異錄**
18 fols.
Ming dynasty (1368–1644)
961 (fasc. 608)

"Records of the Miraculous Manifestations that Occurred in Response to the Worship of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven." This title is a collection of Yuan (1279–1368) inscriptions, petitions, decrees, and prefaces written between 1270 and 1326. The author is unknown. The first two texts, inscriptions for the founding of the Zhenwu miao 眞武廟 and the Zhaoying gong 昭應宮 temples in Peking, both dedicated to the saint, are dated 1270 and written by the Hanlin academician Xu Shilong 徐世隆 (1206–1285). The temples were founded by order of Kublai Khan in response to the miraculous appearances, in 1268 and 1269 respectively, of a turtle and a snake in the vicinity of the town. This was regarded as an auspicious omen for the Yuan dynasty.

An inscription by Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫 (1249–1346), dated 1315, concerns the founding of the great Tianyi zhenqing wanshou gong 天一眞慶萬壽宮 temple on Mount Wudang by Emperor Renzong (r. 1312–1320), on the initiative of the daoshi Zhang Shouqing. Cheng relates the beginning of the cult on Mount Wudang 武當山 during the Zhenguang era (627–649) and the stages of its development.

Next come the decrees for canonization: in 1304 for the saint himself, with the title Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi 玄天元聖仁威上帝 (10b); in 1314, for his parents and for Zhang Shouqing; in 1325 for the turtle and the snake.

The present work also retains a certain number of prefaces of illustrated tracts published by Zhang Shouqing. The authors are the Thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (1312); Wu Quanjie, patriarch of the Xuanjiao school (1314); the academician Zhang Zhongshou 張仲壽 (1322); Zhao Mengfu (1312); the academician Zhao Bian 趙汴 (1312); Yu Ji 虞集 (1312); and Bao Siyi 鮑思義 (1311).

Caroline Gyss-Vermande

***Zhenwu lingying zhenjun zengshang yousheng zunhao cewen* 眞武靈應眞君增上佑聖尊號冊文**
2 fols.
By Emperor Huizong 徽宗 of the Song; 1108
776 (fasc. 556)

"Imperial Order Upgrading the [Canonical] Title of Zhenwu Lingying Zhenjun with [the Epithet] Yousheng." This canonization by Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) was granted in 1108 in response to a memorial presented by Yu Shen 余深 (d. 1132). In the same month, a Lingbao Golden Register Liturgy (*Jinlu lingbao daochang yifan* 金籙靈寶道場儀範) was also published (see *Song shi* 20.380).

Kristofer Schipper

***Yuzhi Zhenwu miao bei* 御製眞武廟碑**
3 fols.
By Emperor Ming Chengzu 明成祖; 1415
960 (fasc. 608)

"Imperial Stele Inscription for the Zhenwu Temple." This commemorative inscription by the Yongle emperor for the foundation of the Zhenwu miao 眞武廟 temple in Peking is dedicated to the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven (Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝). The text is appended to *959 Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*.

Kristofer Schipper

***Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 武當福地總眞集**
3 juan
By Liu Daoming 劉道明; *hao* Dongyang zi 洞陽子; 1291
962 (fasc. 609)

"Comprehensive Collection of True [Facts] concerning the Land of Bliss of Wudang." This work is a gazetteer of the holy mountain Wudang 武當山 and its cult of Zhenwu 眞武, or Xuandi 玄帝. There is a preface by the author, dated 1291, and a postface, dated 1301, by Lü Shishun 呂師順, a retired official.

Liu was named superintendent (*tidian* 提點) of the imperial foundations of the Wudang shan in 1286 (1b). His monograph covers the geography (juan 1 and 2), as well as the history of the cult (juan 3). It contains much valuable information, and quotes a number of sources that are lost today, such as the *Xuandi zhuanji* 玄帝傳記 (3.2b–12b).

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.11 The Wenchang Cult

The worship of Wenchang 文昌, patron of students, literati, and officials, originated as a local nature cult in the mountains of Zitong 梓潼 in northern Sichuan. An ancient god of Zitong appears in the fourth-century *Huayang guozhi* (91) as a serpentine Thunder deity. Situated on the road to Shu 蜀, the cult received imperial recognition by the two Tang emperors exiled to Sichuan, Xuanzong (r. 712–756) and Xizong (r. 873–888). The Divine Lord of Zitong's 梓潼帝君 transformation into Wenchang and the spread of the cult throughout China were stimulated by a series of apparitions and manifestations under the Northern Song (960–1127). In 1181, the medium Liu

Ansheng 劉安勝 recorded the god's revelations by means of spirit writing (*fuji* 扶乩). The text thus obtained is an early specimen of the morality book (*shanshu* 善書) genre, in the guise of the god's autobiography, or "Book of Transformations" (*Huashu* 化書; see Kleeman, *A god's own tale*).

This twelfth-century *Huashu* is at the foundation of the small scriptural corpus associated with the Wenchang cult as transmitted in the *Daozang*. The *Daozang* version, *170 Zitong dijun huashu*, a Yuan (1279–1368) recension, is followed here by a Ming (1368–1644) compilation of related hagiographic material, *169 Qinghe neizhuan*. Two scriptures, *28 Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun yingyan jing* and *29 Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun benyuan jing*, probably dating to the thirteenth century, feature the Lord of Zitong in audience with Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning, discussing his mission as savior and keeper of the Cinnamon Record, in which the names and careers of scholar-officials were inscribed. The section concludes with an illustrated *lu*-籙 register for Wenchang adepts.

***Zitong dijun huashu* 梓潼帝君化書**

4 juan

Presented in 1316

170 (fasc. 74)

"Book of Transformations of the Divine Lord of Zitong." This title constitutes a first person account, revealed through planchette, of the avatars and divine offices of the god eventually appointed Wenchang, god of literature and patron of examination candidates.

The "Book of Transformations" survives in two recensions, one from the Southern Song entitled *Wendi huashu* 文帝化書, reprinted in *Daozang jiyao* ("Xing 星"), and the present *Daozang* text from the Yuan (1279–1368). Prefaces to the *Wendi huashu* record that the first seventy-three episodes (*hua* 化) were revealed to a medium named Liu Ansheng 劉安勝 and three of his kinsmen in a temple on the otherwise unknown Baoping shan 寶屏山 near Chengdu, Sichuan, in 1181, and that the next twenty-one episodes were revealed in 1194. Internal evidence shows that the last three episodes date from around 1267. The preface to the *Daozang* edition states that at the beginning of the fourteenth century there were northern and southern editions in circulation. The recension presented to the Yuan emperor in 1316, at the time of the ennoblement of the Divine Lord of Zitong as Wenchang, was based on the northern edition, but had been revised by the Divine Lord. Comparison of the two recensions reveals that this revision primarily involved emending or deleting passages unfavorable to non-Chinese peoples and rearranging the text to fill the gaps. All other editions of the work, including those in Wenchang collectanea like *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書 (preface 1775; edited by Liu Tishu 劉體恕) seem to be of the Southern Song (1127–1279) version

(e.g., Pelliot B1374, British Library 15113.b.4 and 5113.b.8). The earliest extant edition seems to be the one from 1645 in the Naikaku Bunkō 內閣文庫 and at Harvard (discussed in Sakai Tadao, *Chūgoku zensho*, 412).

A number of other texts were revealed to Liu Ansheng 劉安勝 during these spirit-writing sessions in the latter half of the twelfth century, including an earlier recension of *5 Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing* (1168), *169 Qinghe neizhuan* (1168–1181), and *1214 Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu* (1181).

The *Huashu* is an early example of the morality book genre. Through concrete examples drawn from his many temporal and divine incarnations, the Divine Lord teaches basic virtues such as filial piety, loyalty to the state, honesty, and compassion. Many, but not all, episodes center on appropriate behavior for officials, reflecting the important role of aspiring officials in the cult. The work is unique in its first-person viewpoint and its emphasis on the Sichuan region.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kleeman, *A god's own tale*.

Terry Kleeman

***Qinghe neizhuan* 清河內傳**

18 fols.

Ming (1368–1644) compilation; original revelation between 1168 and 1177

169 (fasc. 73)

"Secret Biography of Qinghe." This short autobiography, revealed by planchette, of one of the incarnations of the Divine Lord of Zitong (Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君), is followed by documents concerning the god and his cult and several ethical treatises. During the Western Jin (265–316), the god is born to the Old Man of Qinghe 清河 (i.e., Zhang Daoling 張道陵, see *1463 Han tianshi shijia* 2.5b) and awakens to his divine family in a Cavern-Heaven.

The "Secret Biography" itself was revealed between 1168 and 1177, and was inscribed on a stele in the god's temple in the capital Lin'an 臨安 (modern Hangzhou) in 1177 (see *Liang Zhe jinshi zhi* 9.55b–57a). This text provided the nucleus for the first seventy-three chapters of the *Huashu* 化書, predecessor of *170 Zitong dijun huashu* (see *Wendi huashu* 文帝化書 15a–b and 86b–87a, in *Daozang jiyao*, "Xing 星"). The preface to *1299 Xuanzhen lingying baoqian* states that the "Secret Biography" was revealed at Shuangsong 雙松, a place otherwise unknown but probably to be identified with Baoping shan, where most of the Wenchang 文昌 scriptures were revealed (see the abstract for *170 Huashu*). The "Secret Biography" is followed by an ennoblement of the god dated 1265 and ennoblements of members of his family dated 1269. These appointments are different from the twelfth-century ennoblements recorded in *Song huiyao jigao* 1:792.

Next is a Yuan (1279–1368) enfeoffment and a text bestowing a temple placard, dated 1316. The "Exhortation to the Twenty-one Officers" ("Gaoyu ershiyi si wen 告諭二十一司文") in which the god instructs subordinate officials on the performance of their duties, is also of Yuan date (cf. the reference to Dadu 大都, the Yuan capital). The "Subsidiary Shrine Record" ("Xingci ji 行祠記") commemorates the construction of a new shrine to the god in Chengdu in 1341. The work concludes with two moral essays that seem to be of early Ming date, the "Tract Encouraging Reverence for Writing Paper" ("Quan jing zizhi wen 勸敬字紙文") and the "Tract Cautioning Scholars" ("Jie shizi wen 戒士子文").

Terry Kleeman

Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun yingyan jing
元始天尊說梓潼帝君應驗經
4 fols.
Thirteenth century (?)
28 (fasc. 27)

"Scripture of the Responses and Proofs of the Divine Lord of Zitong, expounded by Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning." At an audience before the Heavenly Worthy, the Divine Lord of Zitong (Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君) vows to save all living creatures from the impending kalpa disasters. The scripture concludes with the divine appellation (*hao* 號) of the Lord of Zitong.

This scripture derives from the Zitong dijun, that is, the Wenchang 文昌 cult, which arose during the Southern Song (1127–1279). A reference to ninety-four transformations (3b) dates the work no earlier than 1194, the date of composition of the last fourteen episodes of the Book of Transformations (*170 Zitong dijun huashu*). Episodes 95–97 of this work date to around 1267; therefore the reference to ninety-four transformations can probably date the present text to the period 1191–1267, but it is possible that the ninety-four chapter recension remained in circulation into the Yuan period (1279–1368). Identification of the Divine Lord with Fenghuang shan 鳳凰山 rather than, as is more common, Qiqu shan 七曲山 may indicate that this text derives from a rival cult center in the Zitong 梓潼 area in northern Sichuan.

The Heavenly Worthy praises the Divine Lord's repeated incarnations and refers to the Divine Lord's role as keeper of the Cinnamon Record, which determines one's fate as an official, as patron of literature, and as savior. He is to save the world by preaching moral transformation through the planchette.

Terry Kleeman

Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun benyuan jing
元始天尊說梓潼帝君本願經
12 fols.
After 1194
29 (fasc. 27)

"Scripture of the Original Vow of the Divine Lord of Zitong, as Expounded by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning." In his Buddhist-inspired writ, the Divine Lord of Zitong (Zitong dijun 梓潼帝君), better known as Wenchang 文昌, the patron deity of the literati and the examination system (see *170 Zitong dijun huashu*), is selected by the Heavenly Worthy to save men before the arrival of the impending kalpa disasters.

Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 presides over an audience at which the declining state of world morality and the impending disasters are discussed. When the Zhenren of Compassionate Salvation (Ciji zhenren 慈濟眞人) asks that someone be sent to relieve men in their misery, Yuanshi tianzun suggests a great god of Sichuan named Zitong, who controlled the fate of officials through his Cinnamon Record, had manifested himself in more than ninety transformations, had been entrusted by the Jade Emperor with a *ruyi* 如意 scepter, and had been assigned to convert the populace through the "flying phoenix," or spirit-writing (2a). The reference to "ninety-odd transformations 九十餘化" dates the text to the period after 1194 (see *170 Zitong dijun huashu*). Although it most probably was produced during the thirteenth century, before the cult was suppressed at the beginning of the Yuan (1279–1368), it is also possible that the text appeared only after the cult's revival in the later Yuan. Unlike *28 Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun yingyan jing,* which links the god to an alternate cult-site on Fenghuang shan 鳳凰山 (also near Zitong 梓潼), this scripture clearly links the god to the traditional cult center on Sevenfold Mountain (Qiqu shan 七曲山).

Terry Kleeman

Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing
太上無極總眞文昌大洞仙經
5 juan
Attributed to Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君; revealed in 1168, revised in 1264, with an addition dated 1302
5 (fasc. 16)

"Great Cavern Scripture according to Wenchang." This text is a ritualized version of the *Dadong jing* (see *6 Shangqing dadong zhenjing* and *7 Dadong yujing*) attributed to the popular saint Wenchang 文昌. The preface is attributed to the saint himself under his canonical name Gengsheng yongming tianzun 更生永命天尊. The saint tells how he once received the visit of three spirits who gave him the *Dadong jing,* together with

an accompanying register (*lu* 籙) and a ritual (*fa* 法). This same preface is given in the commentary to the work: *103 Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 2.17a–21a. The commentary version has a few variant readings. The preface in our text here quotes, in an abridged form, a number of passages from *170 Zitong dijun huashu* (especially from juan 1.3a–b and 1.8a–9a of this hagiography).

In an additional note, beginning on 1.5a5 of the preface, it is written that the saint presented a certain Liu Ansheng 劉安勝 with this version through spirit writing ("jiangbi yu luantai 降筆於鸞臺") in 1168 and that almost a hundred years later, in 1264, a certain Luoyi zi 羅懿子 received a revised version, presumably also by planchette, at the Mowei dong 摩維洞 grotto on Aotou shan 鼇頭山 (southern Sichuan, near Chongqing). The author of the revision was, according to the signature at the beginning of the book, a saint named Taixuan wushang shangde zhenjun 太玄無上上德眞君, otherwise unknown. An additional revelation of hymns (*song* 頌) related to the scripture was made in 1302. The saint says, on this occasion: "The *Duren jing* 度人經 and the *Dadong shu* 大同書 are the ancestors of all scriptures. . . . Previously I have written hymns to the *Duren jing*. I have now made those for the *Dadong jing* and order all disciples to print this version and distribute it."

The major differences of the present version with those of *6 Shangqing dadong zhenjing* and *7 Dadong yujing* can be summarized as follows:

1. There are only thirty-eight stanzas, instead of the traditional thirty-nine, as numbers 10 and 11 have been combined to form a single stanza.
2. The text of the stanzas is given here without additional notes or commentary mentioning the names of the deities of the body and giving their description. From this we may conclude that the stanzas are simply meant to be recited here and were not intended to be accompanied by visualizations.
3. There is an introductory ritual (juan 1 and 2), attributed to the saint Wenchang. This ritual is very similar to that given in *103 Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu*.
4. Among the textual variations from other versions, stanza number 4 (3.3a) here reads "likan 離坎" instead of "lizi 離子," and stanza number 26 (5.3b) referes to "canghu jie 倉胡頡," the name of a pearl (similar to that mentioned in the Duren jing).

The stanzas that here occupy juan 3, 4, and 5 are in general closer to those found in the version of *7 Dadong yujing* than to the version of *6 Shangqing dadong zhenjing*. It is not clear whether the present text is the "old version" mentioned in *103 Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu*, as there appear to be many discrepancies with that text, notably in the sequence of the stanzas (in *103 Dadong xianjing zhu*, 3.13a begins with stanza number 11).

Isabelle Robinet



FIGURE 72. Wenchang dijun and his acolytes (*1214* 1.1b–2a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1197)



FIGURE 73. Stellar guardian (*1214* 2.13b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1197)

Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu 高上大洞文昌司祿紫陽寶籙

3 juan

Fifteenth century (?)

1214 (fasc. 879)

"Precious Register of Purple Yang of the Career Controller Wenchang of the Highest Category." The present *lu* is said to have been issued by the Heavenly Masters of the Longhu shan, reproduced from a copy delivered by the Forty-fourth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427; see 3.18a). The certificate of transmission is illustrated with a portrait of Wenchang dijun and his acolytes. The register itself is divided into twenty-four chapters (*pin* 品), and the table of contents is given on 3.17b.

The accompanying images for visualization are of a great variety: generals, scholars, officials, godesses, and even, in the last chapter (3.11b–12b), eight visions of animals, monsters, and strange situations, which, when seen in a dream, announce great felicity (*yingmeng* 應夢). (See figs. 72–74.) The illustrations of the dream visions are



FIGURE 74. Auspicious dream images (*1214* 3.11b–12b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/1197)

followed by a number of examples of famous men of different periods in history who have owed their successes to this practice.

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.12 The Hongen Lingji Zhenjun Cult

The writings in this section all come from the same temple cult located in central Fujian, in the vicinity of the city of Fuzhou. There, in the Lingji gong 靈濟宮 temple of Aofeng 鰲峰, two historical persons, Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhie 徐知謔, the fourth and fifth sons of Xu Wen 徐溫 (862–927), a statesman under the last emperor of the ephemeral Wu 吳 dynasty (902–937), are still honored today. During the troubled times of the Five Dynasties (907–960), the two brothers settled in Fujian, and some time after their death, they manifested themselves as the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor (*Hongen lingji zhenjun* 洪恩靈濟眞君) through spirit-writing of a very high quality. Fujian during the Song (960–1279) and until the late Ming (1368–1644) was a region of great wealth and high cultural standards. Fuzhou especially was a center of literature and book printing. The fact that this local cult was highly literate was no doubt related to this cultural context. Imperial patronage was

extended to the cult, and subsidiary temples were founded in Nanking and Peking. The acclaim of the writings of the Xu brothers was such that many of them were included in the Taoist canon of 1445 and again in the supplement of 1607.

Xuxian hanzao 徐仙翰藻
14 juan
1468 (fasc. 1083–1085)

"Literary Writings of the Immortal Xu [Brothers]." In the province of Fujian, at Aofeng 鰲峰 near Fuzhou, a spirit-medium cult devoted to two local saints arose in the Northern Song period (960–1279) (see 1.6b in the present text and *Fuzhou fu zhi* 14.24b), continuing until modern times (see *Minhou xian zhi* 17.2a). These two saints are identified with two historical persons of the Five Dynasties period (907–960): Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhi'e 徐知謔, the fourth and fifth sons of Xu Wen 徐溫 (862–927), a statesman under the last emperor of the Wu 吳 dynasty (902–937) and also the adoptive father of Li Bian 李昪 (alias Xu Zhigao 徐知誥), the first emperor of the equally short-lived Southern Tang dynasty (r. 937–945). When the Southern Tang dynasty was founded, the two brothers received the titles of Jiangwang 江王 and Raowang 饒王.

Among the many books that were produced by the cult of the Xu brothers and included in the Ming *Daozang* of 1445, the present collection is doubtless the earliest. In the edition seen by the authors of the *Siku tiyao* (147.37b–38a), these "literary writings" were originally prefaced, in 1295, by an educational intendant named Zhou Zhuangweng 周莊翁. This preface is lacking in the *Daozang* edition. Indeed, the information in the *Siku tiyao* appears to be problematic, for an essay dedicated to the same Zhou Zhuangweng and dated 1299 is included in the collection (6.5b–7a). The colophon, by a certain Chen Menggen 陳夢根 (14.6b), is dated 1305, and this is also the latest date to be found in the book. It therefore seems probable that the present work was edited during the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty. It was probably printed only under the Ming (1368–1644), at the same time as the other collection produced by the cult (see the prefaces to *1470 Xuxian zhenlu*).

All the pieces contained in this collection were "written" by the immortal Xu brothers themselves, by spirit-writing (*luanji* 鸞箕 or *jibi* 箕筆; see 3.13a). The technique made use of a winnow basket.

The collection is classified according to genre: commemorative inscriptions, poems, petitions, letters, and so forth. There are a few discrepancies between the table of contents and the actual text. Certain pieces are missing (e.g., "Shudu 書讀" and "Changming deng shuo 長明燈說" at the end of juan 6). Some pieces of juan 7 are now to be found in juan 9 and vice versa.

Kristofer Schipper

***Xuxian zhenlu* 徐仙眞錄**

4 juan

Initially compiled by Huang Heng 黃恒, *hao* Linqiu sanren 林丘散人 (1424); printed by Sun Jingkang 孫景康 (1443); with later additions

1470 (fasc. 1086–1088)

"True Records of the Immortal Xu [Brothers]." As the title makes clear, this is a collection of materials related to the temple and worship of the immortal Xu brothers. The initial editor appears to have been Huang Heng, an old gentlemen from the locality who had been associated with the temple for a long time. He explains this in his own words on 1.8b. There are three prefaces. The earliest is that of Ma Mian 麻勉, member of the Fujian provincial administration commission, dated 1424. Ma visited the temple and met Huang Heng, who showed him his manuscript and asked him to write a preface. At that time, the text had not yet been printed. The second preface, by Zhu Wei 朱徽, dated 1441, relates that the printing in that year was sponsored by Sun Jingkang, the military commander of Fujian. Sun also financed a reprinting two years later, in 1443, and this time asked Wang Yongsheng 王用盛, professor at the Confucius temple in Fuzhou (Minxian ruxue 閩縣儒學) to write a preface. The work does, however, contain much later material, such as a the text of a long imperial inscription for the restoration of the Peking temple ("Yuchi chongxiu Hongen lingji gongbei 御製重修洪恩靈濟宮碑"; 3.6a–13b), dated 1485.

Ma's preface reports that the first temple was built at Zhiyu 芝嶼 (Aofeng?) in 983. Juan 1 contains the most complete record available on the history of the cult and the different canonizations that were bestowed on the Xu brothers and their temple from Song times onward. Juan 2 contains the rituals that are also found separately in *468–475 Hongen lingji zhenjun*. Added to these are the oracle slips of the temple, "Hongen lingji gong zhenjun lingqian 洪恩靈濟宮眞君靈籤" (2.76a–95b). Juan 3 and 4 contain materials on the construction of the temples at Aofeng and in Peking under the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424), as well as on their dispostion and the consecration rituals. Juan 5 contains various records on the temple, including land deeds.

Yuan Bingling and Kristofer Schipper

***Zanling ji* 贊靈集**

4 juan

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)

1469 (fasc. 1085)

"In Praise of the Spirit." This is a collection of different writings in honor of the immortal Xu 徐 brothers, this time not by the gods themselves, but by various human authors. Juan 1 contains inscriptions (*beiji* 碑記); juan 2, ritual documents; juan 3, prefaces and other literary compositions; and juan 4, poems. The earliest inscriptions

are most informative with regard to the history of the Lingji temple 靈濟宮. In the undated "Lingji gong ji 靈濟宮記" (1.1a1), we learn that the sanctuary was founded on the site of an earlier temple. The Lingji wang ci 靈濟王祠 had been the center of a local cult to an unidentified deity who made use of spirit writing. When the old temple was restored under its new name, divination ascertained the identity of the writing deity, revealed as a spirit by the name of Xu. Later, believers learned that in fact two spirits were involved, the souls of two well-known historical figures, the Xu brothers. Once their identity had been established, written documents poured forth at an astonishing rate. These events are more fully described in the stele inscriptions (dated 1293) that follow the history ("Chongxiu Lingji gong ji 重修靈濟宮記"; 1.9a–12b). The text that was written to accompany a map of the place ("Aofeng shenxiu tu 鰲峰神秀圖"), by Wang Bao 王褒, a local scholar who had been a secretary of the Hanlin academy, is dated 1411. At this time the gods had not yet received the great imperial honors they were to obtain a few years later in 1417.

Among the prefaces there are two unsigned colophons for *1468 Xuxian hanzao* 徐仙翰藻.

Yuan Bingling

***Hongen lingji zhenjun shishi* 洪恩靈濟眞君實事**

9 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)

476 (fasc. 265)

"Veritable Account of the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor." The saints of this title are two historical persons, Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhi'e 徐知諤, the fourth and fifth sons of the statesman Xu Wen 徐溫 (862–927). On the history of their cult, see also *1468 Xuxian hanzao*.

The Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424) was cured from a serious illness thanks to the talismans and remedies emanating from the temple of the Xu brothers. As a token of his gratitude, the emperor had a new temple built for the saints at Aofeng 鰲峰, near present-day Fuzhou (Fujian). The name of the new temple was Lingji gong 靈濟宮, and the two saints received new honorary titles preceded by the epithet "Vast Mercy" (*hongen*). The temple was inaugurated by the Forty-fourth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (d. 1427). Similar temples were built in the two capitals of Nanking and Peking. Zhang Yuqing conducted a service of universal salvation (*pudu* 普度) with thousands of daoshi at the temple in Nanking (see *1463 Han tianshi shijia* 3.30a–b).

The present work contains the text of the commemorative stone inscription for the founding of the Lingji gong temple by the Yongle emperor (1a–3a). Next is found a short account of the lives of the immortal Xu brothers and some poetry. Finally, there

is a memorial presented by a certain Master Wang, ordained in the Five Thunder magic Order of the Heavenly Pillar (Tianshu yuan 天樞院; see *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 249). The memorial concerns the performance of certain rituals written by the saints themselves, some of which have been preserved in the *Daozang*, such as *468–473 Hongen lingji zhenjun yi*, *474 Hongen lingji zhenjun liyuan wen,* and *475 Hongen lingji zhenjun qizheng xing dengyi*.

Kristofer Schipper

Lingbao tianzun shuo Hongen lingji zhenjun miaojing **靈寶天尊說洪恩靈濟眞君妙經**
2 fols. + 3 fasc.
Preface by the Yongle 永樂 emperor; 1420
317 (fasc. 165)

"Book of the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy Lingbao." This small scripture for the cult of the immortal brothers Xu 徐 in northern Fujian recalls through its title and in the text the canonization obtained from the imperial court in 1417 (see *1470 Xuxian zhenlu* 1.5b). In his preface, the emperor recommends the recitation of this scripture, and its distribution in print. The exalted position given to the present work as first scripture of the Dongxuan 洞玄 division of the Ming *Daozang* of 1445 may well be linked to this imperial patronage. The book is reproduced in *1470 Xuxian zhenlu* 1.34a–38a. The story of its revelation in Heaven is told in the same work (1.12a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Zhou Shaoliang, "Ming neifu kanben."

Kristofer Schipper

Hongen lingji zhenjun ziran xingdao yi **洪恩靈濟眞君自然行道儀**
7 fols.
468 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun jifu suqi yi **洪恩靈濟眞君集福宿啓儀**
6 fols.
469 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun jifu zaochao yi **洪恩靈濟眞君集福早朝儀**
8 fols.
470 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun jifu wuchao yi **洪恩靈濟眞君集福午朝儀**
9 fols.
471 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun jifu wanchao yi **洪恩靈濟眞君集福晚朝儀**
9 fols.
472 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun qixie shejiao ke **洪恩靈濟眞君祈謝設醮科**
9 fols.
473 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun liyuan wen **洪恩靈濟眞君禮願文**
Preface 1 fol. + 43 fols.
474 (fasc. 264)

Hongen lingji zhenjun qizheng xing dengyi **洪恩靈濟眞君七政星燈儀**
16 fols.
Published in 1397
475 (fasc. 265)

"Rituals for the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor." This title represents a collection of liturgical rites for the cult of the Hongen lingji zhenjun 洪恩靈濟眞君, the two immortal Xu brothers of northern Fujian (see also the article on *1468 Xuxian hanzao*). According to the "Preface to the Rituals of Zhenjun," written in 1397 by Ouyang Zhufang 歐陽柱芳 (*1469 Zanling ji* 3.1a–2a), these eight texts were dictated by the immortal brothers themselves.

The first six rituals are for a *jiao* 醮 liturgy. They are in a traditional format, the only remarkable feature being that the two zhenjun occupy the place of the highest gods, and thus replace the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝) at the head of the pantheon at the end of the consecration formula of the incense burner (*falu* 發爐; see *468* 1b).

The votive ritual *474 Hongen lingji zhenjun liyuan wen* is also reproduced in *1470 Hongen lingji zhenjun qizheng xing dengyi* (2.16b–45b), as is *475 Hongen lingji qizheng xing dengyi* (2.45b–60b).

Kristofer Schipper

Hongen lingji zhenjun lingqian **洪恩靈濟眞君靈籤**
8 fols.
1301 (fasc. 1011)

"Oracle Slips of the True Lords of Vast Mercy and Marvelous Succor." This is a collection of oracles used for divination through oracle slips (*lingqian* 靈籤). Hongen

lingji zhenjun 洪恩靈濟眞君 is the title given to the euhemerized figures of the two Xu 徐 brothers. They were model officials of the Southern Tang dynasty (937–975). Their cult appeared in Fujian, where it flourished under the Southern Song (1127–1279). It was later given imperial support during the Ming (1368–1644) dynasty (see *476 Hongen lingji zhenjun shishi* 1a–6a).

The divination through oracle slips is intimately linked to the cult of the gods governing the oracle, in this case the Lingji zhenjun. The present collection must therefore have originated in one of their temples. Its date is uncertain; it may be as early as the Song (960–1279), or as late as the Ming, when the old temple in Fujian was restored and a new one built in the capital (*476 Hongen lingji zhenjun shishi* 2a, 6a).

Each of the fifty-three oracles has a number that allows one to match it with the number of the slip previously drawn by the believer seeking a divination. Every oracle also indicates its auspicious or inauspicious nature, and provides a poem in four verses of seven characters in a literary style. This style, also used in *1302 Lingji zhenjun Zhusheng tang lingqian*, distinguishes these two collections from other oracles preserved in the *Daozang*.

Marc Kalinowski

Lingji zhenjun Zhusheng tang lingqian 靈濟眞君注生堂靈籤

10 fols.

1302 (fasc. 1012)

"Oracle Slips of the Hall of Recording Births of the True Lords of Marvelous Succor." This is a collection of oracles used for divination through oracular slips (*lingqian* 靈籤). Its origin and dating are similar to those of *1301 Hongen lingji zhenjun lingqian*. The present work differs from that text only by the number of oracles, sixty-four in the place of fifty-three. The title indicates that the divination through the slips took place in the Zhusheng tang, or Hall of Recording Births, probably a part of the temple devoted to the Lingji True Lords.

Marc Kalinowski

3.B.13 The Zhenyuan Scriptures

The ten texts that make up this section, scattered in different parts of the Zhengtong canon, share a number of significant characteristics and clearly belong to the same movement. This movement refers to itself as the "True Origin" (Zhenyuan 眞元) school. Many of its texts feature this term. Another recurring expression is "Shangfang 上方," the highest sphere among the ten cardinal points: the eight points of the compass, the zenith, and the nadir. Prominent among the practices of the school is the meditation on the ten deities of these ten directions of space. These are the Ten Heavenly Worthies (*tianzun* 天尊), or Ten Buddhas. They constitute the origin of the cosmos. At the same time, the deity of the uppermost direction (*shangfang*) is given the name of "Minghuang 明皇," and this Minghuang tianzun 明皇天尊 is identified with the Taoist Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), whose posthumous name was Minghuang (see *436 Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* 上方大洞眞元妙經品). Tang Minghuang thus becomes the supreme deity, the great ancestor, and the revealing spirit of the school.

This mixture of theology and history is characteristic of the Zhenyuan movement. An appendix to *57 Shangfang tianzun shuo zhenyuan tongxian daojing* (16a–21a) contains liturgical instructions attributed to a certain Master Shi of the Highest Purity (Taiqing Shi gong 太清時公). This Master Shi may well be Shi Yong 時雍 (fl. 1159), *zi* Yaomin 堯民, the editor of the commentary in *696 Daode zhenjing quanjie* who is mentioned at the beginning of *437 Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing tu*. On the other hand, in the appendix to *57 Zhenyuan tongxian daojing*, Shi addresses himself to a certain "Ziming 子明," the *zi*-字 style of the Tang master CHEN SHAOWEI (fl. between 712 and 734). Such anachronisms are plentiful. For instance, both the preface and the text of *696 Daode zhenjing quanjie* are signed "Shi Yong Xiaoyao 時雍逍遙," which seems to indicate that Shi Yong's *hao* was Xiaoyao. A person named Xiaoyao is also one of the patriarchs of the movement that produced the Shangfang texts. The colophon of *436 Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* cites a Master Shi Xiaoyao speaking to an unidentified Taiqing yuke 太清羽客, and the author calls himself a disciple of Xiaoyao (Xiaoyao menxia 逍遙門下). But *439 Shangfang dadong zhenyuan tushu jishuo zhongpian* begins with Ziming (CHEN SHAOWEI) saying to Li Fang 李昉, the minister of Song Taizong (r. 976–997): "I once heard Xiaoyao say . . . when I met Master Sima Boyun 司馬白雲 [i.e., SIMA CHENGZHEN (647–735)] on [Mount] Wangwu. . . . " It is clear, then, that the Shangfang movement took great liberties with history, freely mixing historical and divine figures. These features suggest that the Zhenyuan or Shangfang scriptures emanated from a highly syncretistic lay movement within the realm of modern popular Taoism.

Although few in number, some of the texts of this school have been noticed by scholars in modern times and singled out as important documents. For example, the diagrams of *437 Zhenyuan miaojing tu* have drawn the attention of students of Neo-Confucianism. Feng Yu-lan, in his *History of Chinese Philosophy* (2:438), considers that Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073) may have been inspired by the schema in *437 Zhenyuan miaojing tu* for the design of his own Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji tu* 太極圖), since the *Daozang* text, prefaced by the Tang emperor Xuanzong, was of

a much earlier date. As we shall see below, however, that preface cannot be authentic, nor can the Zhenyuan texts be of such an early date.

On the basis of internal evidence, we must conclude that the works under consideration here belong to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Some of the indications are specific, such as the use of the title Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, the Ming canonical name for Xuanwu 玄武, in *995 Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian* 7a. Others are more circumstantial, such as the use of spirit money for an offering to the same deity, or the insistence on female self-immolation. The anachronistic conflation of history and theology in these texts evoke the intellectual and devotional world of the religious novels of the Ming period.

Shangfang tianzun shuo zhenyuan tongxian daojing
上方天尊說眞元通仙道經
22 fols.
57 (fasc. 30)

"Scripture of the Tao on the [Deity of the] True Origin Who Attained Immortality, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy of the High Regions." The text is divided into three chapters (*pian* 篇). The first, under the title Revelation of the Virtue of the Highest Ultimate ("Taiji jiangde shangpian 太極降德上篇") describes the hierophany of the Heavenly Worthy of the High Regions as born from the Very Great One Pneuma of the True Origin (*zhenyuan haohao yiqi* 眞元浩浩一氣). In the beginning, he pronounced the Ten Names (*shihao* 十號) of the supreme deities of the universe. The second chapter (5a) is titled Virtue's Return to Simplicity and the Void ("Degui suwu 德歸素無"). It advocates the union of all Taoist scriptures of the canon with the classics of Confucianism (*sanfen zhi dian* 三墳之典). The last chapter, The [God of] True Origin's Attainment of Immortality ("Zhenyuan tongxian 眞元通仙"), tells about the revelation of cosmic texts (*zhang* 章) written in "cloud seal" (*yunzhuan* 雲篆) characters, as instruments for salvation.

An appendix (16a–21a) contains instructions for the ritual practices related to the foregoing revelations. These instructions are attributed to a Master Shi of the Highest Purity (Taiqing Shigong 太清詩公), referring perhaps to Shi Yong 時雍, *zi* Yaomin 堯民, *hao* Xiaoyao 逍遙 (see the introduction to this section).

The ritual practices are (1) the recitation of the Ten Names and (2) the invocation of protective deities by writing on given days the "cloud seal" characters on paper and making "charm water" (*fushui* 符水) with them.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin **上方大洞眞元妙經品**
8 fols.
Preface attributed to Tang Minghuang 明皇 (Emperor Xuanzong, r. 712–756)
436 (fasc. 196)

"Chapters from the Marvelous Scripture of True Origin, the Great Cavern, and the Highest Direction." In the preface, fictitiously attributed to Tang Minghuang, the emperor relates his awakening to the Tao and its esoteric traditions. It stresses the need to be initiated and to receive the registers and charts (*lu* 籙 and *tu* 圖), as revealed by the Divine Ancestor of the True Origin (Zhenyuan shengzu 眞元聖祖) and Heavenly Worthy of the Highest Direction (Shangfang tianzun 上方天尊). The preface quotes from *987 Taishang dongxuan lingbao tianguan jing,* a short Tang-period Lingbao scripture. The citation is taken from 5b–6a, but is largely emended and altered to suit the purposes of the present work. The author of the present scripture may have been inspired by the fact that *987 Lingbao tianguan jing* introduced the Heavenly Worthy of the Ten Directions and gave the Shangfang tianzun the name of Minghuang. From this, he appears to have concluded that this Heavenly Worthy was the same person as the historical Tang Xuanzong, whose posthumous name was Minghuang.

There is an undated colophon (6a–b) by an anonymous disciple of the Liberty school (*xiaoyao menxia* 逍遙門下), reporting a discussion by his master Shi Xiaoyao 時逍遙 (Shi Yong 時雍; fl. 1159), who explained that there were three grades of scriptures: the *Shangfang kaihua jing* 上方開化經 and the *Yanfan jing* 演範經 constituted the lowest degree; the *Zhenyuan jing* 眞元經 the middle class, and the *Dadong [zhen]jing* 大洞眞經 the highest attainment.

The text is composed of three sections (*pin* 品), the first of which (1a–2b) has the same title as the book. It describes the revelation of the Zhenyuan scriptures. The second section presents itself as spoken by an unidentified Shenfeng xiansheng 神峰先生. The third, spoken by an equally unknown Qingyun jushi 青雲居士, deals with the divine efficacy of the scripture. It recommends that each year, on the festival day of the Immortal of the True Origin (Zhenyuan xianjie 眞元仙節), the third day of the third lunar month, one should recite the *Zhenyuan jing* one hundred times and present an offering of "life-bestowing spirit money" (*shousheng mingqian* 受生冥錢) equivalent to ten thousand strings of cash. Adepts are also told to wear a special talisman, represented on page 5a, which should be renewed every year on the festival of the Immortal Holy Prince (Shengwang xianjie 聖王仙節), that is, the saint Zhenyuan.

Yuan Bingling



FIGURE 75. Cultivating immortality through the sublimation of the True Person (*437* 10b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/435)



FIGURE 76. Officiant going to audience at the Gold Portal (*437* 12b). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/435)

Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing tu 上方大洞眞元妙經圖
9 fols.
437 (fasc. 196)

Shangfang dadong zhenyuan yinyang zhijiang tushu houjie
上方大洞眞元陰陽陟降圖書後解
13 fols.
438 (fasc. 197)

"Diagrams of the Marvelous Scripture of True Origin, the Great Cavern, and the Highest Direction," and "Additional Explanations on the Diagrams and Texts on Ascent and Descent." These two titles in fact refer to a single work. The second title appears to be a subtitle to the first. Presumably, the editiors of the *Daozang* divided the original work into two.

The present work is in all respects a sequel and an enlargement of the preceeding *436 Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin*. It starts out with Shi Yaomin 時堯民, that is, Shi Yong 時雍 (fl. 1159), questioning the Immortal Lord (*xianjun* 仙君) on the True Origin of the Great Cavern. The text then introduces twelve diagrams to illustrate Taoist cosmogony, beginning with a chart of the Void Spontaneous (*xuwu ziran* 虛無自然). Next come diagrams, for example, on Primordial Chaos (*hunyuan* 混元) and the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極). The long text that follows the diagram on the energy cycle (*qiyun* 氣運; 5a–9a) is very similar to that of *995 Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian*.

As in *436 Zhenyuan miaojing pin,* the worship of the great saint of the North Xuanwu 玄武 (here called Zhenjun 眞君) figures prominently, and the legend of his forty-two years of ascetic retreat on Wudang shan is mentioned on page 3a.

The "Diagrams of the Marvelous Scripture" has only five diagrams, and the "Additional Explanations" contains the remaining seven. The first drawing illustrates the phases of yin and yang, and hence fire-phasing in alchemy. The text quotes the Song of Alchemy ("Jindan ge 金丹歌") by Gao Xiangxian 高象先 (fl. 990–1013; see *1079 Zhenren Gao Xiangxian jindan ge*). Minhuang 明皇, the Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756), is mentioned on page 10b. (See figs. 75 and 76.)

Yuan Bingling

Shangfang dadong zhenyuan tushu jishuo zhongpian
上方大洞眞元圖書繼說終篇
6ff.
439 (fasc. 197)

"Final Chapter of the Continued Explanations of the [Marvelous Scripture of] True Origin, the Great Cave, and the Highest Direction." In spite of its title, this fragment of the Zhenyuan scriptures appears to be distinct from the preceding texts. The work begins with a discussion between "Ziming 子明" (the *zi* of CHEN SHAOWEI, fl. 712–734) and the early Song statesman Li Fang 李昉 (924–995), a glaring anachronism. "Xiaoyao 逍遙," that is, Shi Yong 時雍 (fl. 1159), is also present, as is Sima lianshi 司馬鍊師, probably referring to SIMA CHENGZHEN. The subject of the discussion is the origin of the Zhenyuan scriptures and their distribution: These books should be printed and given away by all those blessed with good health and fortune. The highest merit would accrue from this action. The text continues by explaining the origins and the development of the Taoist canon and the Three Caverns from the three original pneumata. The final lines of the text resemble those in *995 Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian*.

Yuan Bingling

Taishang qingjing yuandong zhenwen yuzi miaojing
太上清靜元洞眞文玉字妙經
6 fols.
986 (fasc. 618)

"Marvelous Scripture of True Writs and Jade Characters." This book consists of a collection and explanation of secret names that may have been linked to certain Shangqing 上清 and Lingbao 靈寶 registers. The names of the five Lingbao emperors, for example, are those of *388 Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 3.6a. These names are the "true writs and jade characters" of the title, but the present scripture gives their "translation" into characters of this world from their original form as "cloud characters." Without these

"cloud characters," the present text makes little sense. Moreover, the relation between the text and the first part of its title is not clear.

John Lagerwey

Yuanyuan daomiao dongzhen jipian 淵源道妙洞眞繼篇
3 juan
Attributed to Li Jingyuan 李景元
995 (fasc. 619)

"Sequel to the Dongzhen [Scriptures], Marvels of the Tao of Abyssal Origins." This is a short medical handbook, concerning in particular the energy cycles (*qiyun* 氣運) and other cosmological factors. The author signs it as "disciple of the Zhenyuan [school]" (*zhenyuan menren* 眞元門人). The main text comes with a commentary, most likely by the same author. Juan 3 is devoted to miscellaneous matters. It quotes the *waidan* 外丹 of Langran zi 朗然子, said to have been head of the Tongxuan guan 通玄觀 temple in Tang times (618–907) and of the Jizhen guan 集眞觀 temple under the Song Duangong era (988–989), during which period he rose up to Heaven. The citation in question (3.3a, line 3) can be found in the preface to *291 Taixuan Langranzi jindao shi*. In a final commentary, the author introduces Minghuang tianzun 明皇天尊 and Minghuang jiaozhu 明皇教主 of the Zhenyuan school and its scriptures. He also mentions the worship of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, the Ming canonical name for Xuanwu 玄武 (3.7a, line 1). At the end of the book, there is a note advocating lay Buddhism (3.6a), as well as a memorial by the author presenting the book to an unidentified emperor.

Yuan Bingling

Shangfang lingbao wuji zhidao kaihua zhenjing 上方靈寶無極至道開化眞經
3 juan
1133 (facs. 766)

"True Scripture of the Transformation through the Infinite and Supreme Tao, of the Highest Direction Lingbao Canon." According to the colophon of *436 Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* 上方大洞眞元妙經品 (6a), a work called the *Shangfang kaihua jing* 上方開化經 corresponded to the initial phase of attainment within this school. This must be the present work, which is manifestly intended for a lay audience.

The three juan are subdivided into twenty-four chapters (*zhang* 章). The first eight, in juan 1, are dedicated to Confucian instructions concerning the correct moral behavior of rulers, subjects, fathers, mothers, elder and younger brothers, and sons and daughters. The last chapter emphatically stresses female chastity, not only of daughters, but also of wives, and advocates their self-sacrifice as "female martyrs" (*lienü* 列女). This section also has a long "commentary" explaining Inner Alchemy theory, particularly for women.

Juan 2 and 3 are related more to the practice of the Tao, not only by the individual, but also liturgically. For instance, the first *zhang* of juan 2 gives instructions about how to conduct funeral and requiem services for deceased family members. The text is very syncretistic, constantly mixing Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist precepts and concepts. For instance, in 2.9a, the study of the *Shujing* 書經 and the *Yijing* 易經, of the *Daode jing* 道德經 and the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經, as well as the Nirvāṇa sūtra is recommended in a single sentence. The theory of the unity of the Three Teachings is expounded in 3.19b.

Yuan Bingling

Shangfang juntian yanfan zhenjing 上方鈞天演範眞經
2 fols.
1134 (fasc. 767)

"True Scripture Expounding the Model of High Heaven of the Highest Direction." As with *1133 Shangfang lingbao wuji zhidao kaihua zhenjing,* this is a doctrinal treatise for beginners in the Zhenyuan school (see *436 Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* 上方大洞眞元妙經品 6a). Divided into three chapters (*zhang*), this short text rehearses a number of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist commonplaces. The text ends with a poem by Bo Yuchan.

Yuan Bingling

3.B.14 Other Popular Cults

The emancipation of lay communities and their temple organizations is the foremost characteristic of Chinese religion in modern times. Whereas Taoism during the medieval period was opposed to temple cults devoted to one's ancestors (that is, mortals), as against the worship of the "pure" immortals, this changed, as we have seen, with the development of the great merchant centers, especially in the Jiangnan era, from the Five Dynasties (907–960) and the Song (960–1279) period onward. It should be noted that this development of urban society and the growing importance of temple organizations occurred during a period of Confucian renewal and, as many texts in the Taoist canon show, of a close association between Confucianism and Tao-

ism. The worship of local saints was common to both traditions. Yet in the Zhengtong *Daozang,* scriptures devoted to the worship of a given saint are few. Tianfei 天妃 (Mazu 媽祖) is honored through the *649 Taishang laojun shuo Tianfei jiuku lingyan jing*, and Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君 with several works, such as *29 Yuanshi tianzun shuo Zitong dijun benyuan jing.* The Xu 徐 brothers from Fuzhou's Hongen lingji gong 洪恩靈濟宮 temple produced the *317 Lingbao tianzun shuo Hongen lingji zhenjun miaojing*, which was placed, with a preface by the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424), at the very beginning of the Dongxuan 洞玄 division. Many other saints were not represented at all. This situation changed dramatically with the 1607 supplement to the *Daozang,* which contains the holy books of numerous popular saints such as Guandi 關帝 and Bixia yuanjun 碧霞元君, as well as whole collections of the divination slips to be used in their temples. During the Ming period (1368–1644) as well, widely distributed religious literature in the form of popular handbooks for astrology, everyday magic, home remedies, and simple exercises in meditation and recitation flourished, and these also found their way into the canon. The present section groups such texts under the common heading "popular cults."

3.B.14.a Scriptures of Popular Cults

Taishang laojun shuo Tianfei jiuku lingyan jing
太上老君說天妃救苦靈驗經
7 fols.
Between 1409–1413
649 (fasc. 342)

"Scripture of the Miracles [Worked] by the Celestial Consort for Saving from Distress, Pronounced by Taishang Laojun." This work documents the inclusion of Mazu 媽祖, the popular protector of seafarers, into the Taoist pantheon. The cult to the goddess, which originated on Meizhou 湄州, a small island off the Fujian coast, had since the twelfth century gained an increasing popularity, reflected in successive bestowals of official honorary titles. Some of these titles are mentioned in the present text, the latest among them being the one conferred in 1409 (1b, 3b). A printed edition of the work with illustrations, kept in the Tenri Library, has a colophon dated 1414 in which the donor declares that by its publication he had fulfilled a vow made in the previous year (Sawada Mizuho, "Tenri-toshokan shoken dōsho shiroku," 90; the text of that edition is reproduced in Li Xianzhang, *Baso shinkō no kenkyū,* 34–38).

In the present work, the former local deity becomes the incarnation of a Jade Maiden dwelling in the Northern Dipper 北斗. After a short meritorious life on Earth, she vows to act as a protector in difficult situations (seafaring, commerce, childbirth). Thereupon she is appointed "Support of the Dipper" (Fudou 輔斗) and

"Saint Empress of the Gold Portal" (Jinque shenghou 金闕聖后) in the Taoist pantheon. A fu, together with a formula of invocation, concludes the short work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boltz, "In homage to T'ien-fei"; Li Xianzhang, *Baso shinkō no kenkyū;* Wiethoff, "Der staatliche Ma-tsu Kult."

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Dahui jingci miaole tianzun shuo fude wusheng jing
大惠靜慈妙樂天尊說福德五聖經
8 fols.
1192 (fasc. 875)

"Scripture of the Five Saints of Good Fortune, Pronounced by the Heavenly Worthy Dahui Jingci Miaole." This text is presented in the framework of the ritual of canonization that confirmed fusion of the Taoist deity Zhengyi lingguan [Ma] yuanshuai 正一靈觀[馬]元帥 with Wuxian lingguan dadi 五顯靈觀大帝, that is, the Wuxian deities who had descended from the illegitimate cult of the Wutong 五通 spirits. Although the fusion of Ma yuanshuai's Wutong into their orthodox alter ego had been under way for some time (see, e.g., *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 222.4a; 250.15b), a direct identification would hardly have been acceptable to Taoists prior to the national recognition of the Wuxian by Ming Taizu (r. 1368–1398; see the article on *206 Wuxian lingguan dadi dengyi*).

Our text, which also alludes to the association of the Wuxian with Huaguang 華光 (cf. *1448 Taishang dongxuan lingbao Wuxian guan Huaguang benxing miaojing*), already contains numerous elements that reappear in a narrative form in the popular Ming novel *Nanyou ji* 南遊記. Besides fu-talismans and specifically Taoist titles for the five deities, we also find the official honorary titles granted to the deities in 1257.

The popular character of this work is underlined by the recommendation to promote the scripture through printing.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang shuo Qingxuan leiling faxing yindi miaojing
太上說青玄雷令法行因地妙經
5 fols.
1198 (fasc. 875)

"On the Origin of the Religious Practice of the Green-Black Thunder Commander, a Scripture Spoken by the Most High." This holy book is a hagiographic product of the cult of the god Wen Qiong 溫瓊, from Pingyang 平陽 (Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang). The presentation of the god and his powers as an exorcist corresponds in general

to his biography given in the Ming (1638–1644) *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan*, and is different from his story in *780 Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan*. From internal evidence (1b), we can deduce that this scripture was produced in northern Sichuan (*Shujing zhi zhong* 蜀境之中), whereas the cult originated in Zhejiang. This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the cult was very active in Sichuan. Wen Qiong's hagiography narrates, for example, how the god liberated the Shu 蜀 region (Sichuan) from a plague demon (see *780 Wen taibao zhuan* 4b–5b).

The invocation of the god in seven-syllable verse that stands at the beginning of the present work is still in use today.

Kristofer Schipper

Yuanshi tianzun shuo dongyue huashen jisheng dusi bazui jieyuan baoming xuanfan gaozhou miaojing 元始天尊說東嶽化身濟生度死拔罪解冤保命玄範誥咒妙經

12 fols.

1441 (fasc. 1063)

"Marvelous Scripture of Redemption by the Emperor of the Eastern Peak." During a séance in the Daluo heaven, four zhenren ask the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning to save the living and the dead from all their miseries. The Heavenly Worthy responds by telling them of the divine origin of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak. He then gives them a series of invocations addressed to that emperor and a number of his underlings. It is the recitation of this text, and in particular of "the invocations of the Celestial Chart" it contains, that will "save the living and the dead" from the sins and grievances mentioned in the title of the text. The illiterate may ask a Zhengyi priest to perform the recitation for them.

John Lagerwey

Taishang sanyuan cifu shezui jie'e xiaozai yansheng baoming miaojing 太上三元賜福赦罪解厄消災延生保命妙經

11 fols.

Southern Song (1127–1279)?

1442 (fasc.1063)

"Most High Marvelous Life-Protecting Scripture of the Three Principles Granting Happiness, Forgiving Sins, and Averting Disasters." This work is also known as the Book of the Three Officials (*Sanguan jing* 三官經). The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water have been important deities in liturgical Taoism since Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) times. At a later stage, their cosmological function earned them the title "Three Principles," that is, the primordial cosmic forces.

The scripture, one of the most popular texts for recitation in modern Chinese religion, is referred to in the commentary by Wei Qi 衛琪, dated 1309, in *103 Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu*. It should therefore have existed at least since Yuan times (1279–1368) and possibly even during the Southern Song (1127–1279).

Its vast popularity made this text one of the most widely printed scriptures in Ming times. The edition in the 1607 supplement to the canon, the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏 reproduces one such printing, intended for lay readers, giving all the indications and introductory formulas usually known to a daoshi as applicable to all scriptures of this kind. See also the edition of 1470 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (detail in Little, *Taoism and the arts of China*, 236).

The present text does not begin with the scripture proper. What we have first are the usual formulas for the purification of the mind and the mouth, followed by those for the body, for the pacification of the God of the Earth (who might be frightened by the sudden outburst of cosmic responses caused by the recitation), for the purification of the sacred area, and so on. Then there are the solemn Precious Announcements (*baogao* 寶誥), also known as Precious Titles (*baohao* 寶號), one for each of the Three Officials. These onomastic formulations contain not only the canonical titles of the gods, but also list their many attributes, as well as, in some cases, elements of their hagiography.

The actual scripture opens on page 5a. It decribes in sequence the divine powers and functions of the Three Officials, and the merits to be gained from their veneration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Franke, "Bemerkungen zum volkstümlichen Taoismus der Ming-Zeit."

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang yuanyang shangdi wushi tianzun shuo huoche Wang lingguan zhengjing 太上元陽上帝無始天尊說火車王靈官眞經

12 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

1443 (fasc. 1063)

"True Book Spoken by the Supreme Ancestor Most High Original Yang, the Heavenly Worthy without Beginning, on the Divine Officer Wang of Chariots of Fire." Wang lingguan 王靈官 is a powerful exorcist deity of modern Taoism (see *1220 Daofa huiyuan* 141–43), being the incarnation of one of the fiery stars of the Southern Dipper (Nandou 南斗). Fire chariots were an offensive weapon in traditional Chinese warfare. Wang lingguan hurls these burning vehicles at malevolent spirits that have incurred his wrath. He also is the guardian spirit of Taoist monasteries.

The legend of Wang lingguan's conversion to Taoism by the zhenren Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (see *297 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 4.1a–3a) is well known in popular

literature and drama. The legend is here referred to on pages 2a–3b. Most of the subsequent scripture is in five-syllable verse, in the style of Ming popular "precious scrolls" (*baojuan* 寶卷).

Kristofer Schipper

Yuanshi tianzun shuo yaowang jiu bashiyi nan zhenjing
元始天尊說藥王救八十一難眞經
8 fols.
1444 (fasc. 1063)

"True Scripture on Deliverance from the Eighty-one Difficulties by the King of Medecine." Revealed by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning in the Daluo 大羅 heaven, this text consists primarily of a litany of the Eighty-one Difficulties from which the King of Medicine, Bian Que 扁鵲, can save the reciter. The faithful may also ask a Taoist to recite the text for them. It is further recommended that one keep the book at home or even carry it on one's person.

The Eighty-one Difficulties of the title have nothing in common with the medical work of that name (see *1024 Huangdi bashiyi nan jing zuantu jujie*).

John Lagerwey

Bixia yuanjun huguo bimin puji baosheng miaojing
碧霞元君護國庇民普濟保生妙經
8 fols.
1445 (fasc. 1063)

"Scripture of the Lady of the Clouds of Dawn, for the Protection of the State and the Succor of the People, and for the Salvation of All Creatures." In response to the question of one Yuluo 鬱羅, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning explains how the Lady of the Clouds of Dawn came "to transform herself into a woman in order to save all creatures." Born on the eighteenth day of the fourth month, she "revealed her compassionate face on Taishan." Her merits on Earth were such that the Jade Emperor set her at the head of the soldiers of the Eastern Peak and charged her with the inspection of human behavior.

A lengthy discussion of the system of moral causality follows this account, ending with a "divine formula" of the tale of the Lady that frees people from the consequences of their sins in previous lives. Yuluo urges believers to invite a Taoist who keeps "the pure commandments" (*qingjie daoshi* 清戒道士) to recite this book for them.

The Precious Title (*baogao* 寶誥) of the Lady is given at the end of the text.

John Lagerwey

Taishang dasheng langling shangjiang huguo miaojing
太上大聖朗靈上將護國妙經
2 fols.
1446 (fasc. 1065)

"Marvelous Scripture on the Saintly General Protector of the Nation." The "great saint and commander-in-chief" of the title is Guan Yu 關羽, called here Chongning zhenjun 沖寧眞君. He "protects the country" and "promotes peace" with the soldiers entrusted to his charge by the Jade Emperor. The enumeration of his military forces in an incantation forms the core of the present text. One of the opening enumerations ends with the mention of "those who obtained the Tao on Mount Yuquan 玉泉山."

John Lagerwey

Taishang laojun shuo chenghuang ganying xiaozai jifu miaojing
太上老君說城隍感應消災集福妙經
5 fols.
1447 (fasc. 1063)

"Scripture Proffered by the Most High Lord Lao concerning the City God's Efficacy in Averting Catastrophes and Increasing Good Fortune." The administrative system described in this punctuated text is that of the Ming (1368–1644). The scripture begins with Taishang laojun 太上老君 vaunting the powers of the god of the capital city. Then a zhenren pays homage to the city gods of all levels, as well as to their assistants, the "censors" (*panguan* 判官). Moved, the god of the capital promises his assistance to whoever recites this book. Laojun provides a calendar for such recitations.

This work is also known by the title *1447b Huguo baoning yousheng wang weiling gong ganying chenghuang jing*, based on the declaration of the capital god in the appendix (5b).

John Lagerwey

Taishang dongxuan lingbao Wuxian guan Huaguang benxing miaojing
太上洞玄靈寶五顯觀華光本行妙經
9 fols.
1448 (fasc. 1063)

"Wonderful Lingbao Scripture on the Origin of the Wuxian [Ling] Guan and [the Bodhisattva] Huaguang." This title is, after *206 Wuxian lingguan dadi dengyi* and *1192 Dahui jingci miaoluo tianzun shuo fude Wusheng jing* (q.v.), the third document for the integration of the Wuxian into the Taoist pantheon. Unlike its companion texts, the work shows a distinct Buddhist tinge. It mentions various manifestations of the five heavenly marshals (among others, as Jixiang rulai 吉祥如來, cf. the Ming novel *Nanyou ji* 南遊記 1), but expressly confirms their identity with Huaguang pusa, who,

like the Wuxian, was still vehemently opposed by the Taoists as late as the thirteenth century (see "Wen taibao zhuan buyi," *780 Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* 1b–2b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cedzich, "The cult of Wu-t'ung."

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

3.B.14.b The Cult of the Northern Dipper

Beidou zhifa wuwei jing 北斗治法武威經

8 fols.

870 (fasc. 579)

"Scripture of Martial Power, of the Method of Government of the Northern Dipper." This book is said to have been transmitted by the Mysterious Woman of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian xuannü 九天玄女) to a man named Yuan Qing 遠清, who served as an official in Luoyang in the first years of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Yuan helped pacify the empire by means of the method described here and was granted the title of left chancellor of the Mobile Administration (*xingtai zuo puye* 行臺左僕射; 1a–b). The story is reminiscent of that of the famous diviner of the same period, Yuan Tiangang 袁天綱, to whom it may allude (see *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 111.2298, *Jiu Tang shu* 191.5092–94, *Taiping guangji* 221.1694–97).

The first part of the book (2a–5b) contains astrological information related to the nine stars of the Dipper and to the Twenty-eight Stellar Mansions. The second part (5b–8a) describes a method of warfare (*bingfa* 兵法), in particular a rite of "Pacing the Mainstay" (*bugang* 步綱) by means of which the seventh star of the Dipper, Tiangang pojun 天綱破軍, is pointed in the direction of threatening dangers. The rite is accompanied by an incantation entitled "Tiangang shenzhou 天罡神咒," which is closely related to the "Beidou zhou 北斗咒" of the Book of the Dipper, the *Beidou jing* 北斗經 (see *622 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 6a). According to the commentary of Fu Dongzhen 傅洞眞, this incantation derives from the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (*752 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.23a), and in fact we find in *566 Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* both a version identical to that of the *Beidou jing* (4.18b–19a), and a version closer to that of the present book (7.2b).

Poul Andersen

Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhenjing
玉清無上靈寶自然北斗本生眞經

4 fols.

45 (fasc. 29)

"True and Unsurpassed Lingbao Scripture from the Yuqing Heaven on the Spontaneous Origin of the Northern Dipper." This work was transmitted, according to its subtitle, by Baoming da tiandi 保命大天帝. It deals with the origin of the stellar deities of the Beidou in the frame of a revelation to Baoshang zhenren 寶上眞人 by Yuanshi dadi 元始大帝 (also called Taiji zhenzun 太極眞尊). While the goddess Ziguang furen 紫光夫人 is bathing, nine lotus blossoms unfold, from which Tianhuang dadi 天皇大帝, Ziwei dadi 紫微大帝, and the other seven stars of the constellation are born.

The recitation of the text, alternatively named Scripture of the Nine Luminaries (*Jiuguang zhenjing* 九光眞經), is recommended for the first day of the New Year, in connection with an Offering to the Nine Luminaries (Jiuguang jiao 九光醮).

This work is cited in *1167 Taishang ganying pian* 29.3b (commentary of Li Changling 李昌齡) and *752 Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing zhu* 2.19a–20a (commentary of Fu Dongzhen 傅洞眞).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Yuqing taiyuan neiyang zhenjing 玉清胎元內養眞經

3 fols.

63 (fasc. 32)

"True Scripture of the Yuqing Heaven on Internally Nourishing the Original Embryonic State." This scripture was transmitted, as it is said, by Yuantai zhenjun 元臺眞君 (a name mentioned in *42 Yuqing yuanshi xuanhuang jiuguang zhenjing* 2b). It contains Yuanshi shangdi's instruction to propagate methods for restoring one's original vital forces, which consist in enriching one's immanent qi with the cosmic "true spirit." In terms of individual practice, this means concentration of the mind (*dingxin* 定心), shutting out external distractions (like alcohol, sex), as well as restriction of the inner ambitions and thoughts. By observing first the small and eventually the great precepts (*xiaojie*, *dajie* 小戒大戒), the adept finally attains the state of nonacting. By multiplying their persons (*fenshen* 分身), Taishang laojun and Ziguang tianmu 紫光天母 ensure the diffusion of the scripture and the salvation of innumerable beings, who, for their part, promise in a hymn to continue the work of salvation (see also *64 Yuqing wushang neijing zhenjing*).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Yuqing yuanshi xuanhuang jiuguang zhenjing 玉清元始玄黃九光眞經
4 fols.
Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?
42 (fasc. 29)

"True Scripture of the Yuqing Heaven on the Nine Luminaries of Primordial Black and Yellow." Although the term "Nine Luminaries" is not used in this text, it undoubtedly refers to the Nine Heavens and to the saints of these heavens who recite this scripture (2a). The text itself is referred to as a "sacred text [made by the mixture] of yellow and black [*xuanhuang yuwen* 玄黃玉文; 1a]." Its recitation leads "to the union of vital breath and the spirits."

The brief but dense text appears to be the product of mediumistic writing, for in the Taoist ritual described at the end—reference is even made to the "lighting of the incense burner [*falu* 發爐]"—the revealing divinity descends to add (*jiangyue* 降曰) to "my sacred text" (*wo yujing* 我玉經) a "secret formula," which the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning is said to have used of old in order "to save all the Powers." The recitation of the text in "300-odd characters" replaces the recitation of the "great books in more than 260 juan," and that of the final formula enables one "to live forever in Jade Purity." This formula is said to be an order of the Primordial Beginning himself and of the Saintly Lord of Pilu zhena 毘盧遮那大聖主: it "orders the unification of the two religions."

John Lagerwey

Yuqing wushang neijing zhenjing 玉清無上內景眞經
2 fols.
64 (fasc. 32)

"True Scripture from the Yuqing Heaven on the Supreme Inner Landscape." This scripture was transmitted, like *644 Taishang neidan shouyi zhending jing,* by the goddess Ziguang tianmu 紫光天母 (on whom see *45 Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhenjing*). The scripture treats the creation by Yuanshi zhizhen dasheng 元始至眞大聖 of the external images in the Brahma heaven as symbols of the Inner Landscape and the differentiation of the pneumata of the Five Directions and their divinities in correspondence to the five organs of the human body. As a result, the Inner Alchemical process can be started and completed. The restriction of the senses (*jie* 戒) and mental concentration (*ding* 定) lead to wisdom (*zhi* 智), or in other words, "inner illumination through reversed contemplation" (*fanguan neizhao* 反觀內照).

At the same time, the revelation of the scripture symbolizes the enlightenment resulting from the completion of the process. Yuanshi's rays of light evoke the awakening of the original mind (*benxin* 本心). In the empty darkness of the Yuqing heaven, the moon (symbol of Ziguang mu) appears, and in it, in the midst of a purple pneuma, the newborn, who praises the teaching once more in a *gāthā*.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang neidan shouyi zhending jing 太上內丹守一眞定經
1 fol.
644 (fasc. 342)

"Supreme *Neidan* Scripture on True Concentration and Holding the One." This scripture was transmitted by the Celestial Empress Purple Radiance (Ziguang tianhou 紫光天后; cf. *45 Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhen jing*). The brief work resembles *64 Yuqing wushang neijing zhenjing* transmitted by the same goddess. It recommends and expounds spiritual concentration (*dingshen* 定神), which along with respiratory regulations (*yuqi* 御氣), enables the adept to Hold the One (*shouyi* 守一), thus forming the basis for the Inner Alchemical process (*neidan* 內丹).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Bao yueguang huanghou shengmu tianzun kongque mingwang jing 太上元始天尊說寶月光皇后聖母天尊孔雀明王經
34 fols.
1433 (fasc. 1058)

Shengmu kongque mingwang zunjing qibo yi 聖母孔雀明王尊經啓白儀
23 fols.
1434 (fasc. 1058)

Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo kongque jing bowen 太上元始天尊說孔雀經白文
21 fols.
1435 (fasc. 1058)

The three titles "Scripture of the Empress of Precious Moonlight, Heavenly Worthy Holy Mother and Luminous Peacock Queen, Pronounced by Taishang Yuanshi Tianzun," "Ritual of Invocation of the Venerable Scripture of the Holy Mother and Luminous Peacock Queen," and "Text of Invocation of the Peacock Scripture, Pronounced by Taishang Yuanshi Tianzun" represent the headings of three juan of a single work: a scripture to be recited within a complete ritual including invocations, litanies, and an offering.

According to a colophon preceding Zhang Guoxiang's 張國祥 imprimatur of 1607, this Buddho-Taoist text was found by the superintendant Li *tidian* 李提點 of the Zixiao gong 紫霄宮 temple on Wudang shan 武當山. Recovered from a nearby grotto and kept in the temple since, the scripture was appended to a copy of the *Duren*

jing 度人經 in eighty-five juan. Possibly its discoverer was Li Youyan 李幽巖, who, together with Hu Guya 胡古崖, was appointed to the office of the superintendant in 1413 (*959 Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 5a–b).

In its present form, the work certainly dates no earlier than the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), as is suggested by the folk tunes ("Caicha ge 採茶歌" or "Qingjiang yin 清江引") prescribed for the ritual, and especially the name of a dragon deity, Da Mingguo zhongping da longwang 大明國中平大龍王 (*1435 Kongque jing baiwen* 6b). A reference to the dragon deities of a *Kongque jing* 孔雀經 is also found in the commentary to *754 Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng zhenwu benzhuan shenzhou miaojing* 2.14b.

The goddess at the center of this ritual for controlling *gu* 蠱 magic and bewitchments is a fusion of Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, mother of the Buddha, who plays a significant role in Buddhism and especially in Tantrism, with the Taoist Bao yueguang huanghou 寶月光皇后, mother of the Jade Emperor (see *10 Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 1.5a–6b). Among the other deities invoked are the hosts of female *rākṣasas* (*luocha nü* 羅叉女), *nagas* (*longwang* 龍王, *longnü* 龍女), and daughters of Māyā (*moye nü* 魔耶女), the traditional divinities of the thirty-two heavens and twenty-eight stellar constellations invoked. Thus the equivalence of Buddhism and Taoism is consciously emphasized (see, e.g., *1435 Kongque jing bowen* 2a).

A 1551 edition of a comparable Buddhist work entitled *Kongque zunjing keyi* 孔雀尊經科儀 is found in *Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō* 2.

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Xiantian doumu zougao xuanke 先天斗母奏告玄科

18 fols.

1452 (fasc. 1064)

"Prayer Mystery Ritual of the Mother of the Bushel of Former Heaven." The deity invoked in this scripture, the Mother of the Bushel, is Marīci (Molizhi 摩利支), Queen of Heaven of Purple Glow (Ziguang tianhou 紫光天后), a goddess of Tantric origin who has been popular in China since late Tang times (618–907). She acquired a Taoist form as Dasheng yuanming daomu tianzun大聖圓明道母天尊 (on these titles, see pages 2b and 12b). In the present ritual, she is visualized in meditation and worshiped.

Accompanying the meditation, a number of pseudo-Sanskrit mantra are pronounced (10b–12a). A general invocation of gods, saints, and patriarchs precedes the worship of Marīci. Among the patriarchs invoked, we find on page 3b the name of Mo Yueding 莫月鼎 (1226–1293), which suggests that the ritual is of Yuan (1279–1368) or, more probably, Ming (1368–1644) date.

Kristofer Schipper

Sanguang zhuling zifu yanshou miaojing 三光注齡資福延壽妙經

1 fol.

20 (fasc. 25)

"Scripture on the Improvement of Fate and Prolongation of Life [Thanks to] the Influence of the Three Luminaries." This very brief text encourages adepts to live on a sacred mountain in order to avoid the diversions of the senses. Thus, one may devote oneself to the absorption of the Liquified Gold (*jinyi* 金液) and the cyclically transformed elixir (*huandan* 還丹). By so doing, one benefits from the nourishment of the spontaneous qi of the Three Luminaries and from the protection of the Seven Mechanisms (*ji* 機) of the Northern Dipper.

John Lagerwey

3.B.14.c Popular Rites

Taishang xiaozai qifu jiaoyi 太上消災祈福醮儀

11 fols.

810 (fasc. 566)

"Ritual of the Offering of the Most High for Dispersing Calamity and Praying for Blessing." This ritual may be dated after 1117, as it refers to Taihuang wanfu zhenjun 太皇萬福眞君 (5a–b), the deity who transmitted the secrets of the Shenxiao 神霄 tradition to Lin Lingsu (cf. *1219 Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 1b). Indeed, the names of the other deities cited are reminiscent of those of the nine Shenxiao masters (cf. *1219 Zishu dafa* 1.18a–b), and the ritual may belong to that tradition. However, the text is also quite similar to *807 Tianxin zhengfa xiuzhen daochang shejiao yi*. The initial "Weiling zhou 衛靈咒" of both texts is the extensive version, derived originally from *330 Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing* 6a–7a, and the "exteriorization of the officials" (*chuguan* 出官) of the present ritual (3a–4a) is identical with the first part of the *chuguan* in *807 Daochang shejiao yi*. A difference between the two rituals is in the form of the consecration of the incense-burner (*falu* 發爐), where the present ritual has a short version with no reference to the local earth-deities (2b–3a).

Poul Andersen

Taishang bifa zhenzhai lingfu 太上祕法鎭宅靈符

21 fols.

Ming (1318–1644)?

86 (fasc. 37)

"Powerful Talismans for Stabilizing the Home." This is a popular book with charms for domestic use: to avert harmful happenings such as pigs eating their litter, money

fleeing the house, poltergeists, neighborly slander, baleful stars, hobgoblins, and so on. There are no accompanying spells or documents.

A short text at the beginning relates an anecdote about Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty, who, when taking a walk in the district of Hongnong 弘農縣 (Lingbao hsien 靈寶縣), discovered an ill-sited house that should have brought great distress upon its inhabitants. The latter, however, were prosperous, thanks to the present book, given to them by two young boys, who in fact were the gods of the Northern and Southern Dippers.

Kristofer Schipper

Dongxuan lingbao wuyue guben zhenxing tu 洞玄靈寶五嶽古本眞形圖

27 fols.

Attributed to Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (145–93 B.C.). Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

441 (fasc. 197)

"Old Version of the Chart of the True Form of the Five Peaks." This is a modern version of the ancient protective talismans mentioned by GE HONG and found in *292 Han Wudi neizhuan*. The legends and rituals connected to the ancient versions are all assembled in *1281 Wuyue zhenxing xulun* (q.v.). As the "old version," this text presents itself as a register (*lu* 籙) of the lords of the Five Peaks and the four accessory holy mountains (Qingcheng shan 青城山, Lushan 廬山, Huoshan 霍山, and Qianshan 潛山) and their subalterns. (See fig. 77.)

After a preface attributed, in the tradition of the *Han Wudi neizhuan* and *598 Shizhou ji*, to Dongfang Shuo, the text presents the rulers of the holy mountains, their servants, and their outward appearance (e.g., clothes, attributes). The documents for the ritual for the transmission of the register are also given (4b–5b), imitating the old models. The talismans themselves are partly of the well-known "archaic sealscript" kind, and party of the "geological map" type. The latter were studied for the first time by Inoue ("Gogaku shinkei zu ni tsuite"), in comparison with modern geographical maps. In fact, these drawings correspond to outlines for so-called lamp maps (*dengtu* 燈圖). These outlines were used in requiem services of the modern *liandu* 鍊度 kind. They were copied on a flat surface, and lamps were placed at given spots. Then the officiants would walk on these diagrams according to a ritual pattern, thus "inspecting" the holy mountains and retrieving the souls imprisoned in them (see Schipper, "Gogaku shinkei zu no shinkō"). These liturgical diagrams are used here for antiquarian purposes.

Kristofer Schipper

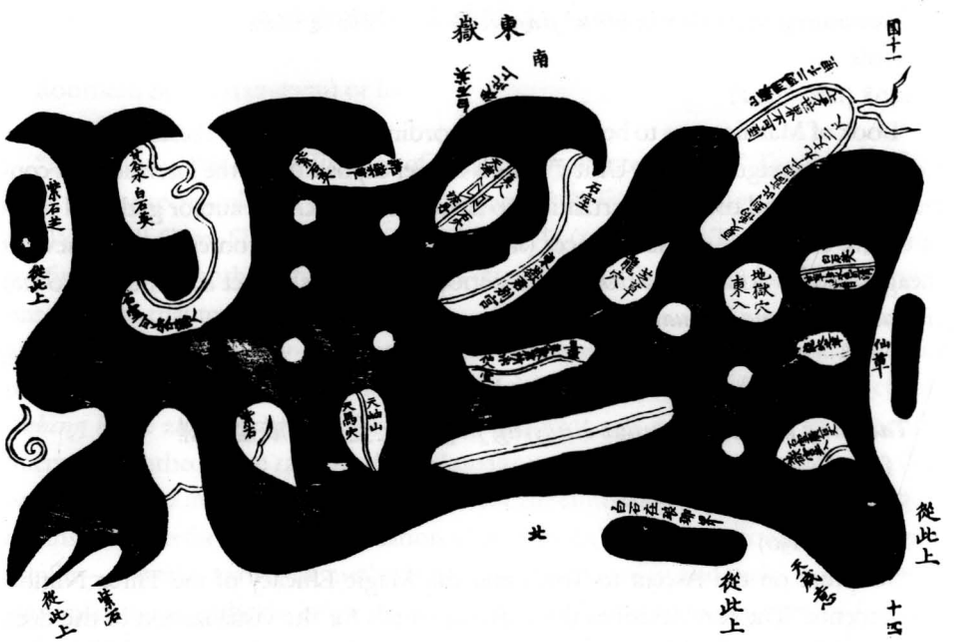


FIGURE 77. Mount Taishan (*441* 17b–18a). Ming reprint of 1598. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. (Chinois 9546/438)

Jiutian shangsheng bizhuan jinfu jing 九天上聖秘傳金符經

14 fols.

1267 (fasc. 1002)

"Book of the Golden Talisman Secretly Transmitted by the Supreme Saint of the Nine Heavens." This work is a short hemerological treatise for popular use. It belongs to the "Three Origins and Nine Stars" (*sanyuan jiuxing* 三元九星) tradition and probably dates from a period no earlier than the late Song (960–1279). The first part of the title refers to an earlier work repeatedly quoted in the text as *Jinfu jing* (7b) or *Jinjing* (1a, 1b).

The present text can be divided into a short introduction devoid of factual elements (1a–b) and three main parts. The first part (1b–7b) deals with the mantic values of the nine stars and their distribution among the sexagesimal binoms of the days. The names of the stars are totally different from those in common use. The second part (7b–11a) discusses the mantic values of the generals of the Three Origins (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍) and their distribution among the days of each month. The system is placed under the aegis of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮. The text ends with more general notions of calendrology (11b–14a).

Marc Kalinowski

Tianhuang taiyi shenlü bihui jing 天皇太一神律避穢經

2 fols.

1268 (fasc. 1002)

"Book of Maleficences to be Avoided, According to the Divine Prescriptions of the Celestial Sovereign of Great Unity." This is a brief exposition of the interdictions concerning space and time and pertaining to alchemical work. The author gathered them in twelve categories of maleficences (*shier hui* 十二穢). The contents are somewhat meager and obviously date from a late period. The text is in fact an appendix to *1267 Jiutian shangsheng bizhuan jinfu jing*.

Marc Kalinowski

Taishang dengzhen sanjiao lingying jing 太上登眞三矯靈應經

7 fols.

Song dynasty (960–1279)?

286 (fasc. 136)

"Scripture on the Ascent to Truth and the Magic Efficacy of the Three Nimble Movements." The text describes three minor rituals for the visualization of the deer, tiger, and dragon, of which the adept can avail himself in order to move at will across the earth and through the air. These techniques depend on the use of the Jade Emperor's seal (*Yudi yin* 玉帝印). The text concludes by explaining in detail how to make this seal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kaltenmark, "Un procédé de vol magique."

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Taishang laojun shuo jiusheng zhenjing 太上老君說救生眞經

2 fols.

630 (fasc. 341)

"True Scripture for Saving Life, Spoken by Taishang Laojun." In this brief scripture the provenance of which is unknown, but which was probably intended for lay-believers, Taishang laojun 太上老君 orders the divinities of the six cyclical *jia* 甲 and *ding* 丁 combinations (*liujia* 六甲, *liuding* 六丁) to keep devotees from harm and to ensure their well-being. It is recommended that believers recite the text seven times to thirty-seven and to copy it by hand.

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Guigu zi tiansui lingwen 鬼谷子天髓靈文

2 juan

Southern Song (1127–1279) or later

867 (fasc. 579)

"Numinous Writ of the Essence of Heaven, by Master Guigu." The book defines itself as "the secret celestial writ" (*bimi tianwen* 秘密天文) of Guigu zi, the master of the Waterfall Cave, Shuilian dong zhu 水濂洞主 (1.1a–b, 6b). The opening passage confirms that the author of *1025 Guigu zi* is intended, but the present book is otherwise unrelated to that text.

The book is not likely to be earlier than the Southern Song dynasty. Note, for instance, the mention of the Black Killer, Heisha jiangjun 黑殺將軍 (2.16a; cf. *1285 Yisheng baode zhuan*), and the list of deities on page 1.5a, which seems to reflect the Shenxiao pantheon (see *1219 Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 1.18a). The work contains a mixture of minor methods for the cultivation of immortality—including instructions for the inner circulation of qi (1.5b–6a) and recipes for the preparation of pills—as well as exorcistic methods based on the use of fu and seals. In an effort to legitimize these methods, references are made to a line of transmission that includes several of the immortals of the Shangqing tradition (1.11b–13a). However, the book is intended for the use of people living in the world, and of both sexes (*zaishi nannü* 在世男女; 1.2a), and the practitioner is described in several places as having the appearance of a popular exorcist, performing barefooted and with loosened hair, and using techniques such as biting the tongue and spurting the blood out (see, e.g., 2.1a–b). Note also the inclusion of a version of the divinatory technique based on the use of the *Sanjia fu* 三甲符 and the *Tongmu fu* 通目符 (cf. the versions in *589 Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu* 17b–22a and *860 Shangqing zhenyuan rongling jing* 16a–17a), here opening with the summoning of the judges and guards of hell, who are called upon to protect the altar (1.17b–21b).

Poul Andersen

Yuanyang zi wujia lun 元陽子五假論

5 fols.

864 (fasc. 578)

"Treatise on the Five Simulations, by Master Yuanyang." A postscript to this book (5a–b) attributes its methods to Yuanyang zi from Changbo shan 長白山眞人. Several alchemical works in the *Daozang*, including a commentary to the *Cantong qi* 參同契 found in *1017 Daoshu* 34, are attributed to this figure (see CGF 287–88 and VDL 72, 118, 119, 163). The contents of the present book, however, are unrelated to these alchemical writings.

The method of Five Simulations (*wujia fa* 五假法) is here described as a way of avoiding danger by separating oneself from the body (*fenshen* 分身). In the presence of evil influences, one may grasp an object and make one's body enter it, or one may unite the body with one of the elements. In both cases, one becomes invisible and is at liberty to leave on a spiritual journey. Other, and generally simpler, versions of the method are found in several Song dynasty (960–1279) texts (see, e.g., *589 Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu* 10a–11b, *855 Taiqing jinque yuhua xianshu baji shenzhang sanhuang neibi wen* 3.7a–13a, *858 Taishang dongshen xuanmiao boyuan zhenjing* 10b–13a, and *867 Guigu zi tiansui lingwen* 1.8b–11b). In style and content, the present version is similar to that found in *867 Tiansui lingwen*, and it seems likely that they belong to the same period.

Poul Andersen

Kuigang liusuo bifa 魁罡六鎖祕法

8 fols.

582 (fasc. 323)

"Secret Methods of the Six Locks of the Dipper Constellation." This is a short text with instructions on how to provoke cosmic changes, by abolishing day and night, provoking black gales and yellow sandstorms and other apocalyptic phenomena. These cataclysms are obtained through the use of a Spell of the Heavenly Chaos ("Huntian zhou 混天咒") and other magic means. There is a list of the Thirty-two Heavens, which appears with pseudo-Buddhist names. Some of the spells are in pseudo-Sanskrit. The text is undatable.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang sanbi wujie bifa 太上三辟五解祕法

13 fols.

583 (fasc. 323)

"Secret Methods for the Three Evasions and Five Liberations." Following the title, a subtitle in small characters reads: "A Correct Way to Reach Immortality, Consisting of Eight Methods to Hide in the Earth, by the Great Official of Chu 楚大夫隱地八術 通仙正道." The methods of evading this world cause the spririts to leave the body, and enable one to liberate oneself through feigned death, leaving behind a substitute body (*shijie* 尸解). The simulacrum may look like a corpse, but it is in fact a substitute object. Alternatively, one may practice the "hidden period" (*dunjia* 遁甲) magic to vanish or travel to other places. One of the other ways to make oneself invisible is to make use of a "heavenly garment" (*tianyi* 天衣) made of the placenta of a male baby. This "garment" has been dried and then inscribed with a talisman, and it will enable its wearer to be invisible at will. This text could be of almost any period, except for some modern colloquialisms (e.g., "*yige yue* 一個月; 2b1).

Kristofer Schipper

Dadong jing jixiang shenzhou fa 大洞經吉祥神咒法

6 fols.

1461 (fasc. 1064)

"Method of the Auspicious Divine Spell of the Great Cavern Scripture." This is a magical formula aiming at conjuring auspicious forces. The formula for their manifestation is constructed around the phrase "Jixiang tanchijun 吉祥檀熾鈞," repeated one hundred times. The expression *tanchijun* corresponds to a sound originally produced by the Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王 that contains the entire True Great Cavern Scripture (*Dadong zhenjing* 大洞眞經). The formula is explained in a commentary and illustration by Wei Qi 衛琪, in his *103 Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 1.22b (dated 1309). The image depicts various kinds of musical instruments, and the surrounding commentary explains the meaning of the three syllables of the spell.

Kristofer Schipper

Shangqing liujia qidao bifa 上清六甲祈禱祕法

10 fols.

584 (fasc. 323)

"Secret Shangqing Method for Invoking the Six Jia." This is a small ritual centered on the cult of the decade spirits of the sexagesimal cycle, the six *jia* 甲, and the six spirits of the fourth day (*ding* 丁).

The account of the work's transmission (1a–b) relates that the *Liujia tianshu* 六甲天書 in three juan that constitutes the basis of this ritual was instituted upon the return of Xuanyuan laojun 玄元老君 to the Taiqing gong 太清宮 temple. It may be assumed that the arrangement of the present work is not earlier than the Tang. It differs from other compilations of the same type in that the decade spirits here are associated with unusual female deities: the five Nayan tiannü 那延天女 and the twelve Xinü 溪女.

Marc Kalinowski

Taiyi yuanzhen baoming changsheng jing 太乙元眞保命長生經

2 fols.

46 (fasc. 29)

"Scripture on Guarding Vitality and Extending Life." The core of this text revealed by Taiyi yuanzhen 太乙元眞 is an incantation, the recitation of which, followed by visualizations and the circulation of the vital qi and the spirit, ensures "the protection of your original life force" (*baoming* 保命) and even "eternal life" (*changsheng* 長生).

The core scripture is enclosed in cosmological and liturgical wrappings. At the end of the text, mention is made of a *Taiyi shengzhen jing* 太乙聖眞經, which is said to contain the instructions for the use of this book in a ritual setting in which statues are cast of Taiyi and sixteen zhenren. The book must only be transmitted to serious adepts, on "an altar of the covenant" (*mengtan* 盟壇).

John Lagerwey

Yuqing shanggong ke taizhen wen 玉清上宮科太眞文

25 fols.

Ming dynasty (1368–1644)?

1408 (fasc. 1052)

"Writs of the Most True Ones, [according to] the Standard of High Palaces in the Jade Pure [Heaven]." This text combines a set of rules for conduct in the mode of the Standards for Merit and Demerit (*gongguo ge* 功過格) with a "register" of gods and saints.

The *Taizhen ke* 太眞科 is an important ancient code of the early Heavenly Master church (see *615 Chisongzi zhangli*). It was adapted by the Shangqing 上清 scriptures into a code for the transmission of texts (see *184 Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 太眞玉帝四極 明科經). The present code is entirely different and clearly intended for the laity.

Although since medieval times there had been a strong connection between rules of conduct and registers—the observance of the former conditioning the authority to utilize the latter—this is not truly an ordination document. The register lists the names of the lords of the Thirty-two Heavens, together with their "taboo names" written in "cloud sealscript" (*yunzhuan* 雲篆). Next come eighteen of the highest Heavenly Worthies, all hypostases of the Tao, among which in the first place was the Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, but also Guanshiyin 觀世音 (Avalokiteśvara; see 11b and 12a). Later names of heavenly rulers also have distict Buddhist connotations.

Kristofer Schipper

Xuanpu shan lingqin bilu 玄圃山靈檎祕籙

3 juan

Preface by Huangfu Peng 皇甫朋; traditionally dated to the Tang period (618–907)

580 (fasc. 322)

"Secret Register of the Golden Casket from the Mysterious Garden Mountain." This is a small compendium of magical arts, based on talismans and pseudo-Sanskrit spells. Mudrās (*xuanyin* 玄印) and *vajrapāṇi* 金剛, called "Brahma gods" (*fanshen* 梵神) are also mentioned. The introduction gives a detailed but fantastic account

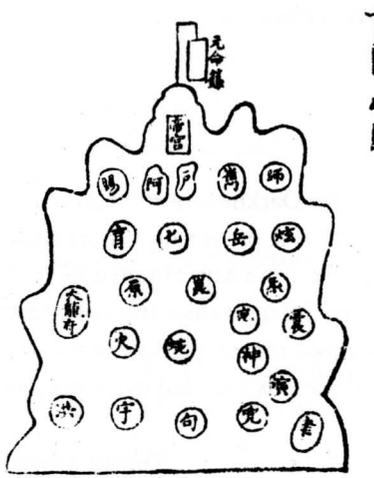


FIGURE 78. Map of Mount Xuanpu (*580* 3.16a)

of the transmission of the work. A certain Xiapi xiansheng 下邳先生, "obtained it on Taishan." This must be Laozi, inasmuch as the Great Sage appeared during the reign of Qin Shi huangdi of Xiapi shan (see *1483 Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuci* 1.28b). The sage transmitted it to Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 187 B.C.), the celebrated Han general. From here it passed through many other semihistorical or legendary persons up to a certain Zhang Jing 張晶, said to be a descendant of the Heavenly Masters on Longhu shan 龍虎山. The methods explained here should therefore be seen as belonging to the Heavenly Master tradition. The author of the preface, Huangfu Peng, retired from his post as prefect of Xunyang 潯陽, Jiangxi, and returned to Chang'an. There he met one day a stranger by the name of Lin Ziyao 林自遙, who was able to walk on water and who gave him these ancient methods. Both Huangfu and Lin loved wine, and many of the magical arts call for the use of this ingredient. The preface is dated from the first year of the "Zhoutong 周通" era. This may be a graphic error for Xiantong 咸通 (860–874). In any case, the date must be considered ficticious. The work is mentioned under the title *Xuanpu shan lingjin dafa* 玄圃山靈金大法 in *1483 Taiqing yuci* 3.29b–30a, together with a table of contents that makes the identification certain.

The Mysterious Garden mountain is another name for the holy Kunlun mountain, Xuanpu, the dwelling place of a god named Xutuo dijun 虛陀帝君. Under this deity are twenty-four generals, corresponding to the twenty-four energy nodes (*jieqi* 節氣). The methods of invoking and employing these deities are given on pages 1.5a–17a. Next follow twenty-four magical methods, eight in each juan. Those of juan 1 concern the mastery of the elements (wind, rain, and so forth). Juan 2 is devoted to warfare. Juan 3 has different magical arts, like becoming invisible or transmitting messages to others through dreams. At the end of the work there is a supplement (*bieji* 別集) that includes a drawing of the Xuanpu shan for ritual use (fig. 78).

Yuan Bingling

Taishang jingui yujing yansheng dongxuan zhuyou chan
太上金櫃玉鏡延生洞玄燭幽懺
12 fols.
Song dynasty (960–1279)?
811 (fasc. 566)

"Jade Mirror in the Golden Casket and Torch in the Darkness of the Cavern of Mystery." This litany is a hybrid text of uncertain antecedents, proposing a short ritual of purification and atonement for individual use. A preface by a Xuyi zhenren 虛一眞人 reveals that this is a scripture in three juan with three different titles (two of which are incorporated in the present title). Before its recitation, the adept must bathe and fast. A ritual for this bathing (*muyu* 沐浴) in perfumed water is included in the present text (9a–10b).

Kristofer Schipper

Tianlao shenguang jing 天老神光經
15 fols.
Attributed to Li Jing 李靖 (571–649)
866 (fasc. 578)

"Scripture of the Divine Light of the Celestial Elder." The Celestial Elder, Tianlao 天老, is a minister of the Yellow Emperor, who according to legend was particularly knowledgeable about omens, divination, and the arts of war (see *Xuanyuan benji* in YJQQ 100.4b, 6b, 7a–b, 10b, 15a–b; see also Zhu Yueli, "Tianlao kao"). The divine light is described in the present book as a spark seen behind the eyelids and representing the ability to discern the star Fuxing 輔星 (Alcor, 80 Ursae Majoris), the small companion of the sixth star of the Big Dipper (preface, 1a–b). The loss of this ability is said to be an omen of misfortune and—when concomitant with illness—a presaging of imminent death (1a–b).

The book is attributed to Li Jing, the famous general of the Sui (581–618) and early Tang (618–907) periods (biographies in *Jiu Tang shu* 67.2475–83 and *Xin Tang shu* 93.3811–17). It is prefaced by a memorial (dated 633), in which Li Jing presents the book to Emperor Taizong (r. 626–649). However, the attribution seems to be spurious and is absent from the listings of the title in Song bibliographies. The *Tongzhi,* "Yiwen lüe," mentions a Cai Deng 蔡登 as author, while the *Song shi* has a Su Deng 蘇登 (VDL 83).

The first part of the present book (1a–5b) describes the technique of divination based on visualization of the Fuxing. Good or bad fortune is determined both according to whether the star is actually seen and according to the color of the light that appears. The remainder of the book is entitled "Image of Addressing the Mystery" ("Gaoxuan tu 告玄圖"; 5b–13b). It contains a method of praying to various stars,

comprising the presentation of offerings and written petitions, as well as forms of "Pacing the Mainstay" (*bugang* 步綱).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Zhu Yueli, "Tianlao kao."

Poul Andersen

Taishang laojun taisu jing 太上老君太素經
2 fols.
1424 (fasc.1055)

"Book of the Great Simplicity, by the Most High Lord Lao." This is a short philosophical text of uncertain date and authorship. The term *taisu* 太素 refers to the origin of the world and relates to the the phase of the beginning of matter. It is an ancient term, already present in many early texts, such as the *Huainan zi* 淮南子 and the *Yijing* 易經 apocrypha *Qianzuo du* 乾鑿度. A *Taisu jing* 太素經 is listed in the bibliographical chapter of the BPZ (19.96).

The present short text offers itself as an ancient work of philosophy, combining various sources such as the *Laozi* 老子 with excerpts from the appendixes of the *Yijing*. Despite the antiquity of these sources, the text is very likely a modern amalgam.

Kristofer Schipper

Taishang zhongdao miaofa lianhua jing 太上中道妙法蓮華經
10 juan
1432 (fasc. 1058)

"Scripture of the Lotus of the Marvelous Law of the Central Tao of the Most High." This is a popular pastiche of the Buddhist Lotus sūtra, placed at the very beginning of the 1607 supplement of the Taoist canon. Its ten juan contain seventeen chapters (*pin* 品) of very uneven length, some amounting to a single page, others covering a full juan. The pastiche superficially borrows a number of chapter titles, terms, and concepts from its Buddhist model. The text itself is, however, poorly written, with little or no development either in logic or in narrative. The work is probably the result of crude planchette writing.

Kristofer Schipper

3.B.14.d Divination Slips

***Sisheng zhenjun lingqian* 四聖眞君靈籤**

49 fols.

1298 (fasc. 1010)

"Oracle Slips of the Four Saintly True Lords." This is a collection of oracles used for divination by means of oracular slips (*baoqian* 寶籤). The names of the True Lords are mentioned in the introduction (1a). The oracles all issued from Northern Song religious movements, notably the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (*1227 Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 3.10a). A temple was devoted to the True Lords in Luoyang (*958 Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 2.11b–13b). Divination through oracular stems was very common in the milieus that propagated their cult, and Zhenwu 眞武 in particular usually presided over requests for oracles (*1227 Zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 2.14b–15a, 7.13a–14b).

The present work can be considered as representative of the *lingqian* collections of the Song (960–1279) period. It is possible that it was the source of *1482 Xuantian shangdi baizi shenghao,* clearly a later work, as it uses the Yuan (1279–1368) title Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝. In any case, both collections spring from the same tradition, as is apparent in their introductions (compare 1a–b in the present text with *1482 Baizi shenghao* 1b–2a) as well as in the number of oracles (forty-nine in both cases) and the text of some oracles.

Each oracle provides its number, name, and auspicious or inauspicious nature; *1482 Baizi shenghao* also adds the names of two of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, according to an order that explains their total number of forty-nine. Each oracle then provides an oracular poem in twelve verses of seven characters, a Holy Advice (*shengyi* 聖意) in prose (in *1482 Baizi shenghao* the Holy Advice is in four verses and included in the oracular poem), a prognostic passage (*zhan* 占) in rhythmic prose, and a final poem in four verses of five characters.

Marc Kalinowski

***Xuanzhen lingying baoqian* 玄眞靈應寶籤**

3 juan

1299 (fasc. 1010–1011)

"All-Powerful Oracle Slips of the True Mystery." This is a collection of oracles used in divination by oracular slips (*baoqian* 寶籤). The preface is attributed to the god who governed the oracle or who dwelled in the temple where the divination took place (*wumiao* 吾廟; preface 1a). His name, Xuanzhen 玄眞, refers to the Wenchang 文昌 cult and the tradition of the Dadong xianjing 大洞仙經 as it appeared in Sichuan under the Southern Song (1127–1279; CGF 18). He is also said to have authored the

preface to *5 Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing* (1.1a). The title appended to our preface as an edict (*gao* 誥; 1b–2a) is also included in that work, with some variants (2.8a–b, 2.15b–16a).

The factual preface explains that this collection was compiled in answer to the growing popularity of divination by oracle slips in the area (Sichuan). It mentions several titles of oracle sets that were used for the present compilation. Divination must have started to supplant the oniromancy tradition linked to the *169 Qinghe neizhuan* (1a). Indeed, the Yuan edition of that work in the *Daozang* opens with the interpretation of a dream (*169 Qinghe neizhuan* 1b–2a). It also reproduce the title appended to the preface of the present work (2b–3a), with more variants than in *Dadong xianjing*. The dating of the present work is thus linked to that of the Qinghe neizhuan. A Yuan (1279–1368) date can be considered as likely.

The 365 oracles all conform to the same pattern: number, name, and auspicious or inauspicious verdict, an oracular poem in four verses of five characters, and finally a prose comment on the poem.

Marc Kalinowski

***Daci haosheng jiutian weifang shengmu yuanjun lingying baoqian* 大慈好生九天衛房聖母元君靈應寶籤**

23 fols.

1300 (fasc. 1011)

"All-Responding Oracle Slips of the Holy Mother Protecting the Bedchamber, from the Nine Heavens, Loving Life, and Greatly Compassionate." This is a collection of oracles used in divination by oracle slips (*baoqian* 寶籤). The Holy Mother protecting the bedchamber belongs to the pantheon of the Yushu baojing 玉樞寶經. This text is mentioned in several places, in the introduction quoting the passage (*99 Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing jizhu* 2.2a–b) pertaining to the goddess as well as in the oracles (21a, 22a, 22b). The date of the present text must therefore be later than that of the *Yushu baojing*, pointing to the Southern Song (1127–1279) or Yuan (1279–1368) period.

The Holy Mother is introduced as the deity governing requests for oracles. The collection contains ninety-nine oracles. Each of them has a number to match it with the slip drawn by the person seeking divination, the oracular poem in four verses of seven (sometimes five) characters, and a comment (*jie* 解) in rhythmic prose.

Marc Kalinowski

Futian guangsheng ruyi lingqian 扶天廣聖如意靈籤

61 fols.

1303 (fasc. 1012)

"Oracle Slips of the Assembly of Saints Assisting Heaven." This is a collection of oracles used in divination by oracle slips (*lingqian* 靈籤). Nothing in the title nor in the contents of the work points to a precise date. Since the other oracle collections preserved in the *Daozang* were compiled between the Southern Song (1127–1279) and the Ming periods (1368–1644), this is likely to be the case also for the present text.

The 120 oracles are all written according to the same model, giving their number and auspicious or inauspicious nature, an oracular text in rhymed prose, and a prognosis (*zhan* 占), including numbers, dates, and directions to be favored.

Marc Kalinowski

Ganzhou Shengji miao lingji li 贛州聖濟廟靈跡理

6 fols.

By Song Lian 宋濂; 1371

1304 (fasc. 1012)

Huguo Jiaji Jiangdong wang lingqian 護國嘉濟江東王靈籤

41 fols.

By Fu Ye 傅燁; var. Fu Yu 傅煜; 1225–1227

1305 (fasc. 1012)

"Miraculous Events at the Shengji Temple in Ganzhou." Song Lian's inscription concerning this title, dated 1371 (cf. the more comprehensive version in *Song Wenxian gong quanji* 宋文憲公全集 4), serves here as an introduction to the text of the well-known divination series (*lingqian* 靈籤) of the god Prince East of the River (Jiangdong wang 江東王) and provides details about the historical development of the cult from which the oracle originated.

Tradition had it that the local hero Shi Gu 石固 from Ganzhou 贛州 (southern Jiangxi) manifested his divine power for the first time in 196 B.C. by helping the general Guan Ying 灌嬰 to subdue Zhao Tuo 趙陀 under the Han. In A.D. 847, a certain Wen Liang 聞諒 (Song's *Quanji* reads "Zhou Liang 周亮"; *Jiajing Ganzhou fuzhi* 6.30 has "Zhou Cheng 周成") founded the historical temple east of the river Gong 貢江, from which the popular name for the deity, Jiangdong wang, was derived. As the cult grew during the following centuries, it received numerous official honors. Song mentions the renaming of the temple from Jiaji miao 嘉濟廟 to Shengji miao 聖濟廟 under the Song emperors (between 1056 and 1064, according to the *Jiajing Ganzhou fuzhi*) and the bestowal of the epithet *huguo* 護國 under the Yuan dynasty (*Ganzhou fuzhi* gives 1334 as the date). Between 1225 and 1227, a certain Fu Ye (the *Quanji* reads "Fu Yu") from Putian 莆田 (Fujian), who held a military post in the subprefecture Gan 贛縣, wrote a series of a hundred divinatory verses (*yaoci* 繇辭), which immensely increased the cult's popularity. The assumption that the present *lingqian* (one hundred poems of four heptasyllabic lines each) are identical with Fu's oracles seems justified on the grounds of the corresponding number of verses. The appended explanations (*jie* 解) and exegesis of their "holy meaning" (*shengyi* 聖意)—the latter again being poems of eight lines of three characters each—are possibly of a later date.

Song Lian's inscription for the temple in Ganzhou was composed a few years after Ming Taizu (r. 1368–1398) had decreed that an official representative should attend the temple festivities on every eighth day of the first month (according to the *Ganzhou fuzhi,* the decree was issued in 1368).

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Tables of Contents

Daozang quejing mulu 道藏闕經目錄

2 juan

Compiled by the editors of the *Da Ming Daozang jing;* fifteenth century

1430 (fasc. 1056)

"Catalogue of the Missing Books in the *Daozang*." When the editors of the Zhengtong canon had finished their work, they drew up a list of titles included in previous Taoist canons but no longer extant. The catalogue comprised 794 titles (VDL 62). The editors made this list, according to a note placed under the title, on the basis of an old catalogue (*yu jiu mulu nei chaochu* 於舊目錄內抄出). Which list or lists they may have used has been the subject of debate. The compilers did not reproduce the material at their disposal, as had been done in previous canons (see the present text 2.21a) and as was also regularly done in Buddhist canons. There is likely to have been a reason for this omission. Whatever it may be, the list of "lost works" is a most important source for the study of Taoist bibliography.

Chen Yuan 陳垣 (*Nan Song chu Hebei xin daojiao kao*, 28) has argued that the editors of the Ming *Daozang* of 1445 based their listing of lost works solely on the comparison with the catalogue of the very last canon to be compiled before their own, that is, the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 of 1244, compiled by the Quanzhen 全眞 order under the direction of SONG DEFANG (1183–1247). Chen's argument is based on the following evidence: In an epitaph for the Quanzhen patriarch Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188–1247), who, as a disciple of SONG DEFANG had participated actively in the editing, the Yuan

scholar Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257) wrote that at the very end of the canon, Qin added four historical works written by himself, the *173 Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記, the *Yanxia lu* 煙霞錄, the *Yixian zhuan* 繹仙傳, and the *Wuxian zhuan* 婺仙傳 (see *Tongzhen zi muji ming* 31.12a–13b). The present catalogue lists at the very end (2.21a) three of the above-named works that are not in the Ming *Daozang*. In support of Chen Yuan's argument it could be said that on the same last page we have the titles of the lost catalogues of the former Song (960–1279) and Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) canons, while that of the Yuan (1279–1368) canon is not mentioned. Thus the editors of the Ming *Daozang* did have access to it, but did not reproduce it other than through this checklist of missing titles. Against Chen's hypothesis, however, stands the fact that between the three Quanzhen historical works, the *Quejing mulu* inserts an altogether different title, that of a *Wushan Huanglu dazhai jingyao* 無山黃籙大齋精要 (*wushan* 無山 is an error for *wushang* 無上). This title probably does not come from the same Yuan canon catalogue, but must have been taken from another inventory. So the compilers of the *Quejing mulu* must at least have had two catalogues at their disposal.

In his detailed discussion of the compilation of the Yuan canon of 1244 (which he calls a "reprint") and its subsequent destruction by Kublai Khan in 1281, van der Loon argues that the editors had several catalogues, or fragments of catalogues, at their disposal, since the shelflist of the imperial library of 1441 contains a number of "Taoist Catologues." One of these catalogues was of the Taoist books actually shelved in that library. Another was a single fascicle with "several lists of the Taoist canon." Still another was a work in ten fascicles (VDL 61–62). It therefore is probable that the editors did indeed use several different catalogues, which may explain a number of inconsistencies and errors signaled by van der Loon.

Still, it would seem that the main source used by the compilers of the Ming canon for their verification was the catalogue of the Yuan canon of 1244. We may be certain that they had it at their disposal, and it is tempting to suppose that the one large list in ten fascicles in the imperial library was that. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that, as an appendix to the *Quejing mulu,* we find the text of an inscription dated 1275 and named "Short Inventory of the Taoist Canons through the Ages" (*Daozang zunjing lidai gangmu* 道藏尊經歷代綱目), which must have been placed at the Yongle gong 永樂宮 temple in Shanxi where SONG DEFANG was abbot and from where he directed the compilation of the 1244 canon. The inscription is very much to the glory of his enterprise and of his canon, the printing blocks of which were kept in the Yongle gong temple. It is logical that the text of such an inscription would have been added to the catalogue of the 1244 canon.

The logic of the above hypothesis is important, inasmuch as the *Quejing mulu* does show a pattern in the way it lists the lost Taoist works. Indeed, it clearly follows the classification of the Three Caverns and Four Auxiliaries of the previous canons.

Beginning on page 1a and numbering the titles in sequence, we find the following in juan 1:

- Numbers 1 through 32 (1a–2b5) are Dongzhen 洞眞 texts.
- Numbers 33 through 45 (2b6–3a9) are Dongxuan洞玄 texts.
- Numbers 46 through 103 (3a10–6b2) are also Dongzhen texts.
- Numbers 104 through 109, on 6b, are miscellaneous entries (such as the *Xiang'er zhu* 想爾注 of the Laozi and catalogues such as the Sui *Yuwei jingmu* 玉緯經目 and the Tang *Sandong qionggang* 三洞瓊綱; see CGF 112–14).
- Numbers 110 through 229 (6b8–13a7) are again Dongxuan texts.
- Numbers 230 through 234 (13a–b) are miscellaneous texts on divination.
- Numbers 235 through 298 (13b4–16b6) are Dongshen 洞神 texts.
- Numbers 299 through 388 at the end of juan 1 (21a) are Taixuan bu 太玄部 texts, many beginning with Laozi's Song-period canonical title Taishang hunyuan shangde huangdi 太上混元上德皇帝 (at the end of this part, we find many doctrinal and polemical works as well as hagiographies).

Coming now to juan 2, we see that it continues with the listing of hagiographical texts, the last being a monograph on Qingcheng shan 青城山 (no. 404). This part of the Taixuan bu therefore covers more than a hundred titles (299 to 404).

- Number 405 is the *Yiqie daojing yinyi* 一切道經音義 (see *1123 Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi*).
- Numbers 406 and 407 are Taiqing bu 太清部 works, standing wrongly just before 408 and 409.
- Numbers 408 and 409, the Taiping bu 太平部 scriptures. The *Taiping jing* itself is listed as lost (see 1101a *Taiping jing*)
- Numbers 410 through 500 are all Taiqing bu texts, some marked as such, others clearly related to alchemy, Tending Life, and so on, including Inner Alchemy texts inspired by the *Cantong qi* (e.g., 459, on page 4b2).
- Numbers 501 through 557 are texts from the Zhengyi bu 正一部.

The remainder of the list is filled with titles of books that are mostly from later periods, comprising even some Southern Song (1127–1279) works, and listed without any apparent order. These may have been the works that had no direct relationship with the traditional Seven Divisions and were therefore placed at the end of the canons as a supplement.

To conclude, although there are some manifest overlappings and irregularities and the use of at least two and probably more catalogues is evident, the *Quejing mulu* follows in general the subdivision of the Three Caverns and Four Auxiliaries, and large parts are composed of works of a single category. Within these, the Dongxuan division

stands out as the largest, with 127 texts, followed by the Taixuan (105), the Taiqing (90), and the Dongzhen divisions (89). As always, the Dongshen division is small and the Taiping division amounts to almost nothing. As to the size of the Zhengyi division, as in the Ming canon, coming at the very end, it has been enlarged by many later additions.

Although in some instances texts of a certain type are grouped together, such as hagiographies, rules of conduct, and "discussions" (*lun* 論), there is no trace of a subdivision in Twelve Categories (Shi'er lei 十二類) as we find in the Ming canon. The *Quejing mulu* does give us a key to the original organization of the Taoist canons, as they were organized and structured from the times of WANG YAN at the end of the fifth century until the Yuan canon of 1244. It is thus an invaluable and hitherto largely untapped source for the study of Taoist bibliography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chen Yuan, *Nan Song chu Hebei xin daojiao kao;* Ozaki Masaharu, "*Dōzō ketsukyō mokuroku* kanken."

Kristofer Schipper

Da Ming Daozang jing mulu 大明道藏經目錄

Xu Daozang jing mulu 續道藏經目錄

4 juan

1431 (fasc. 1057)

"Table of Contents of the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming." This listing stands at the very end of the Zhengtong canon of 1445, whereas that of the Wanli supplement of 1607 stands at the very beginning of the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏. There is no possibility of confusion between the two since the typography is strikingly different, in keeping with the graphic forms of the characters prevalent in the respective parts. The colophon at the end of the two tables of contents by the Fiftieth Heavenly Master, Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, dated 1607, therefore applies to the contents of the supplement only.

The table of contents of the Zhengtong canon is preceeded by a short text entitled "Origins of Taoism" (*Daojiao zongyuan* 道教宗源), an introduction to the genesis and structure of the Daoist canon. It can therefore be considered as the preface to the *Daozang*. It is followed by even shorter "instructions for use" (*fanli* 凡例).

The introduction makes the origin of the canon coequal with that of the universe:

> How remote! The beginning of the Family of the Tao (*Daojia* 道家)! It started from where there was nothing before; it manifested itself in response to stimulus; it was born from the Marvelous One. From this Marvelous One came the division into Three Principles. These Three Principles transformed into the Three Qi [energies], and these again transformed into the Three Kinds [Heaven, Earth, and Life]. The Three Kinds then began to give birth and the ten-thousand beings attained their fullness.
>
> The Three Principles . . . produced the Lord of Heavenly Treasure, the Lord of Marvelous Treasure, and the Lord of Divine Treasure. . . . They reigned over the Three Pure Regions, which are Jade Purity, Supreme Purity and Most High Purity, also named the Three Heavens. . . . But as the *[318] Jiutian shengshen zhangjing* says: "Although these names are different, their foundation is One. These Three Lords are also the chief teachers of the Three Caverns. They are the Dongzhen, the Dongxuan, and the Dongshen . . . , each containing twelve divisions. From the Three Caverns sprang the Four Auxiliaries, Taixuan, Taiping, Taiqing, and Zhengyi.

And so the canon came into being. The introduction then sets forth explanations of the division, of the works included in each of the Three Caverns, and into Twelve Categories (*shi'er lei* 十二類), going to great lengths to justify the need for each of them. The *fanli* does likewise, adding concrete examples.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ozaki Masaharu, "*Dōzō mokuroku shōchū* kanken."

Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling

KRISTOFER SCHIPPER was, until his retirement in 2003, professor of Chinese Religions at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and professor of Chinese History at Leiden University; he currently is director of the Library of the Western Belvedere at the University of Fuzhou.
FRANCISCUS VERELLEN is director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, where he holds the chair in History of Taoism.

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637
The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London
© 2004 by The University of Chicago
All rights reserved. Published 2004
Printed in the United States of America
13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06 05 04 5 4 3 2 1

ISBN (cloth, vol. 2): 0-226-73813-2
ISBN (the set): 0-226-73817-5

Published with the generous assistance of the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dao Zang.
The Taoist canon : a historical companion to the Daozang = [Dao zang tong kao]
3 v. ; cm.
Parallel title in Chinese characters.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Contents: vol. 1. Antiquity through the Middle Ages / edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen—vol. 2. The modern period / edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen—vol. 3. Biographies, bibliography, indexes / edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen.
ISBN 0-226-73817-5 (set : alk. paper) —ISBN 0-226-73811-6 (v. 1 : alk. paper) —ISBN 0-226-73813-2 (v. 2 : alk. paper) —ISBN 0-226-73815-9 (v. 3 : alk. paper)
1. Dao Zang. 2. Taoism. I. Title: Dao zang tong kao. II. Schipper, Kristofer Marinus. III. Verellen, Franciscus. IV. Title
BL1900.A1D359 2004
299.5'1482—dc22 2004047959

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

VOLUME 2
List of Illustrations *vii*
Summary Contents of Volumes 1 and 3 *xi*
List of Contributors *xiii*

PART 3: The Song, Yuan, and Ming
Introduction: Taoism in the Early Modern Era *633*
3.A Texts in General Circulation *640*
3.A.1. Philosophy *640*
3.A.1.a Commentaries on Ancient Philosophers *640*
3.A.1.a.1 The *Daode jing* *640*
3.A.1.a.2 The *Zhuangzi* *671*
3.A.1.a.3 The *Liezi* *682*
3.A.1.a.4 Others *685*
3.A.1.b Commentaries on the *Yinfu jing* *691*
3.A.1.c Commentaries on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* and Related Scriptures *701*
3.A.1.d Commentaries on Zhengyi, Shangqing, and Lingbao Scriptures *706*
3.A.1.e Treatises and Essays *735*
3.A.2 Divination and Numerology *746*
3.A.3 Medicine and Pharmacology *765*
3.A.4 *Neidan* and *Yangsheng* *779*
3.A.4.a General Works and Manuals *780*
3.A.4.b The Zhong-Lü Tradition *801*
3.A.4.c The *Wuzhen pian* and the Southern School (Nanzong) *812*
3.A.4.d Other *Neidan* Traditions *840*
3.A.5 Alchemy *850*
3.A.6 Sacred History and Geography *870*
3.A.6.a Sacred Histories and Records *870*
3.A.6.b Hagiographies *884*
3.A.6.c Mountain and Temple Monographs *909*
3.A.7 Collectanea *924*
3.A.7.a Logia (*Yulu*) *924*
3.A.7.b Collected Works *931*
3.A.8 Handbooks and Anthologies *942*

3.B Texts in Internal Circulation *949*
3.B.1 Zhengyi *949*
3.B.1.a Scriptures *951*
3.B.1.b Lamp Rituals *962*
3.B.1.c Registers and Talismans *971*
3.B.1.d Miscellanea *973*
3.B.2 Sanhuang *975*
3.B.3 Lingbao *981*
3.B.3.a Scriptures *982*
3.B.3.b Litanies *992*
3.B.3.c Rituals *995*
3.B.3.d Manuals *1010*
3.B.3.e Hymnology *1039*
3.B.4 Shangqing *1042*
3.B.4.a Scriptures *1043*
3.B.4.b Registers *1053*
3.B.4.c Rituals *1056*
3.B.5 Tianxin Zhengfa and Related Rites *1056*
3.B.6 Shenxiao Fa and Related Thunder Rites *1081*
3.B.7 The Qingwei School *1095*
3.B.8 The Jingming Zhongxiao School *1115*
3.B.9 The Quanzhen Order *1127*
3.B.9.a Hagiography and Biography *1134*
3.B.9.b Logia and Collected Works *1142*
3.B.9.c Rules and Organization *1167*
3.B.9.d Individual Practice *1171*
3.B.10 The Beidi and Xuantian Shangdi Cult *1188*
3.B.11 The Wenchang Cult *1203*
3.B.12 The Hongen Lingji Zhenjun Cult *1210*
3.B.13 The Zhenyuan Scriptures *1216*
3.B.14 Other Popular Cults *1223*
3.B.14.a Scriptures of Popular Cults *1224*
3.B.14.b The Cult of the Northern Dipper *1230*
3.B.14.c Popular Rites *1235*
3.B.14.d Divination Slips *1246*
Tables of Contents *1249*

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Projection of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions onto the human body (*723* 1.6a) *662*
2. Instruments for Heavenly Music (*103* 1.22b) *709*
3. The circulation of yin and yang in the body: A metaphorical representation of the Inner Landscape (*90* "*biao*," 8a–b) *717*
4. The correspondence between respiration and the circulation of qi and the movement of the Big Dipper stars (*93* 1.6a) *721*
5. Portrait of Yin Xi (*667* 1a) *737*
6. A integral representation of the Great Ultimate (*157* 1.1a) *746*
7. The Hexagram *fu*, "Regeneration" (*158* 2.25a) *747*
8. Man positioned between Heaven and Earth (*162* 2.1a) *749*
9. The River Chart, a drawing by Lei Siqi (*1013* 1a) *751*
10. Cloud formations and haloes for meteorological forecasts (*1275* 3b–4a, 4b–5a, and 5b–6a) *753*
11. Two techniques for winning salt from sea water (*769* 3.7b–9a and 9a–b) *768*
12. A furnace for making mercury (*769* 3.22b) *769*
13. Fabulous mushrooms of immortality (*1406* 2a, 21b, 30a, 62a) *770*
14. Arrangement of the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches on the hand (*1022* 1.2a) *772*
15. The Inner Landscape (*1024* "Xulun," 4a–b) *773*
16. Insects and worms in the human body (*1164* 10.6b) *776*
17. Loci for moxibustion (*1164* 11.20a) *777*
18. Sores and rashes (*1165* 9.9b and 10a–b) *778*
19. The *baduan jin* or Eight Lengths of Brocade method (*263* 19.4a–5b) *800*
20. The Ten Islands of the Blessed, for visualization in meditation (*149* 8a) *803*
21. Allegory of the sublimation of yin energy in Inner Alchemy (*240* 2.13a) *829*
22. The being of light rising from its mortal body (*154* 10a) *830*
23. Heaven and Earth, to be visualized in the first stage of the inner recreation of the universe (*151* 2b) *833*
24. Yin and yang, with the vessels of reproduction (*151* 3a–b) *833*
25. Maintaining the immortal principle (*151* 13b–14a) *834*
26. The crucible with the different stages of the alchemical process (*252* 2.2a) *847*
27. Water as the primordial element and its devolution (*252* 2.9a) *847*
28. Illustration of Returning to the Root (*279* 3b) *848*
29. The alchemical altar (*900* 5b) *866*

30. A furnace for the extraction of mercury (*900* 7a) *866*
31. Instructions for making and loading alchemical vessels (*914* 3b–4a) *868*
32. Yu Huang and the Thirty-two Heavens (*155* 10b–11b) *876*
33. The Controller of Fate, Jiutian siming (*155* 6b–7a) *876*
34. Gengsang zi (*163* 2b) *894*
35. Zhuangzi (*163* 8a) *894*
36. Xu Xun fighting mountain spirits (*440* 1.19b–20a) *900*
37. Xu Xun smelting the iron pillar (*440* 2.7b–8b) *900*
38. Xu Xun rising up to Heaven (*440* 2.17b–18a) *900*
39. Lü Dongbin with his birth and ascension dates (*1484* 1.1b) *937*
40. Diagram illustrating the fundamental unity of the Three Teachings (*1066* 1.7a) *939*
41. The buffalo and its Precious Chariot (*1066* 1.10a–b) *939*
42. Exorcist with a sword and a bowl of charm water (*1217* 2a–b) *972*
43. Diagrams for the construction of the altar (*508* 2.2a, 4a–b) *1016*
44. Emissaries conveying memorials to Heaven, with spirit guides (*508* 39.16b–17a) *1016*
45. True Map of the Fengdu underworld (*508* 40.5b) *1016*
46. Funerary banner for summoning and guiding the soul (*466* 292.14b) *1036*
47. Flying to the moon on a phoenix (*435* 12a) *1049*
48. Meditating Taoist (*675* 3a) *1054*
49. Vestments (*675* 3b–4a) *1054*
50. Meditation on the Dipper while reclining (*675* 4b–5a) *1055*
51. Jade Maidens (*675* 7b–8a) *1055*
52. Talisman of Heisha (*566* 3.6b) *1066*
53. Portrait of Laozi as Undifferentiated Beginning (*1277* 1.4a) *1080*
54. Female deity holding the register (*1219* 11.35a) *1094*
55. The Inner Structure, showing the Cinnabar Field and the spinal column (*278* 8b) *1104*
56. Primordial Revelation and the Secret Sounds of the Qingwei (*1220* 4.1a–b) *1107*
57. "Seal of the Most High Pure and Clear (Jingming) Order" and "Seal of the Master of Rites of the Jingming School" (*559* 2a) *1119*
58. Choreography of the Flying Steps (*561* 8b) *1120*
59. Portrait of the immortal Lü Dongbin (*174* 15b) *1137*
60. Wang Zhe, the founder of the Quanzhen order (*174* 18a) *1137*
61. Qiu Chuji, Taoist ambassador to Genghis Khan (*174* 32a) *1137*
62. Mind and Mystery, as the foundations of the alchemical process (*1074* 1.1a) *1149*
63. Essence, Energy, Spirit: The three elements of Inner Alchemy (*244* 2.13a) *1171*
64. Practitioner preparing to eradicate the Roots of Impermanence (*267* 1.1b) *1176*
65. Steps in Taming the Horse of the Mind (*267* 1.2a–9a) *1177*

66. The progressive and regressive dynamics of the Great Ultimate and the materialization of the Original Qi as a landscape (*1068* 3a) *1182*
67. Dragon and tiger as alchemical symbols (*1068* 8a) *1183*
68. The Skiff of Salvation, for crossing to immortality (*242* 5a) *1186*
69. The Emperor of the Pole Star (*1215* 8b–9a) *1197*
70. Xuantian zhenwu (*1213* 1b) *1198*
71. Apparition of Xuantian shangdi above the summit of Wudang shan in 1413 (*959* 16a–b) *1201*
72. Wenchang dijun and his acolytes (*1214* 1.1b–2a) *1209*
73. Stellar guardian (*1214* 2.13b) *1209*
74. Auspicious dream images (*1214* 3.11b–12b) *1210*
75. Cultivating immortality through the sublimation of the True Person (*437* 10b) *1220*
76. Officiant going to audience at the Golden Portal (*437* 12b) *1220*
77. Mount Taishan (*441* 17b–18a) *1237*
78. Map of Mount Xuanpu (*580* 3.16a) *1243*

SUMMARY CONTENTS OF VOLUMES 1 AND 3

VOLUME 1

PART 1: Eastern Zhou to Six Dynasties

1.A Texts in General Circulation

1.B Texts in Internal Circulation

PART 2: The Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties

2.A Texts in General Circulation

2.B Texts in Internal Circulation

VOLUME 3

Biographical Notices: Frequently Mentioned Taoists

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Primary Sources

Secondary Sources

About the Contributors

Indexes

Classified Title Index

Work Number Index

Pinyin Title Index

Finding List for Other *Daozang* Editions

General Index

CONTRIBUTORS

Denis Allistone

Poul Andersen

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

Lidia Bonomi

Alfredo Cadonna

Ursula-Angelika Cedzich

Catherine Despeux

Adrianus Dudink

Fang Ling

Vincent Goossaert

Caroline Gyss-Vermande

Marc Kalinowski

Terry Kleeman

Pauline Bentley Koffler

†Kwong Hing Foon

John Lagerwey

Alessandra Lavagnino

Jean Lévi

Jan A. M. De Meyer

Christine Mollier

Fabrizio Pregadio

Florian C. Reiter

†Isabelle Robinet

Kristofer Schipper

Hans-Hermann Schmidt

Nathan Sivin

Franciscus Verellen

Giovanni Vitiello

Yuan Bingling

Part 3

The Song, Yuan, and Ming