A Survey of Taoist Literature
Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries

Judith M. Boltz
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A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries
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To my mother and father
A Survey of Taoist Literature
Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries

Judith M. Boltz
Although the Institute of East Asian Studies is responsible for the selection and acceptance of manuscripts in this series, responsibility for the opinions expressed and for the accuracy of statements rests with their authors.
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Preface

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

I would like to express my gratitude for the comments submitted by both Professors Judith Berling and Edward Schafer, readers for the version submitted to *CLEAR*. Among those whose comments I solicited are Professors Chan Hok-lam, Wolfram Eberhard, David Knechtges, Piet van der Loon, Daniel L. Overmyer, Paul L-M. Serruys, Nathan Sivin, and Michel Strickmann. I am indebted to all but particularly to the last two for their careful critiques of the first and second drafts, respectively. Most recently I have gained immeasurably by working with Professor van der Loon at Oxford. Had I come under his tutelage earlier, I would most certainly have been more attentive to the history and transmission of texts; but, as indicated in the Introduction, this task is properly left to those contributing to the Tao-tsang Project. I am also especially grateful to Professor Kristofer M. Schipper for his enthusiastic support and detailed response to questions concerning the Project. I have benefited additionally from correspondence with a number of other colleagues whose
names will be found in footnotes throughout. Special thanks are due to Professors John S. Hawley and Cheng Hsi for their encouragement at crucial times in the preparation of this manuscript. Additionally, I would like to acknowledge the cooperation of the staffs at the University of Washington East Asia Library, the University of British Columbia Asia Library, the University of California (Berkeley) East Asiatic Library, the National Central Library and Palace Museum Library of Taipei, the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford, and the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books of the British Library. Mr. David Helliwell, Keeper of the Chinese Collection at the Bodleian, and Dr. Frances Wood and Beth McKillop at the British Library deserve to be singled out for their exceptional ability and willing assistance. I am also indebted to Professor Joyce Kallgren of the Center for Chinese Studies and to Susan Stone and Joanne Sandstrom of the Institute of East Asian Studies for overseeing the publication of a text that presents special technical demands. To my husband, William G. Boltz, I am beholden not only for the faith he has in my work but also for the proofreading he undertook for various drafts, sparing me many incongruities and oversights. The errors that remain are entirely my own responsibility and await readers' correction.

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

JUDITH MAGEE BOLTZ

Oxford
22 May 1986
Abbreviations

**BEFEO**  Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient

**BIHP**  Chung-yang yen-chiu yuan li-shih yu-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊  [Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Nankang]

**BSOAS**  Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies


**HJAS**  Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies


**SKCS**  Ssu-k'u ch'ian-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao 四庫全書總目提要

**SPTK**  Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊

**STY**  Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu 世界宗教研究

**T.**  Taisho shinshu Daizokyo 大正新修大藏經. Tokyo, 1924–1935.


**TSCC**  Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng 著書集成

**ZDMG**  Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
PREFACE TO THE SECOND PRINTING

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

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

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

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

Seattle
January 2, 1995

JUDITH MAGEE BOLTZ
CORRIGENDA

3.19-20 Hsin-wen-feng 新文豐 I-wen 藝文
4.31 (r. 713-756) (r. 712-756)
5.34 正和萬壽道藏 政和萬壽道藏
12.22 Hsin-wen-feng
15.17 (1851-1922) (1850-1922)
17.5 (fl. 142 C.E.) (d. 156)
18.3 imprimatur colophons
23.5 (r. 712-755) (r. 712-756)
28.11 recension
29.8 (1239-1316) (1241-1318)
36.6-7 Lu Shih-chung 路時中, who compiled this work in 1158, 路時中 (fl. 1107-1134)
drew on a series of revelations and also
41.31 (1156-1217) (1162-1223)
41.34-35 Substantial citations were incorporated in his work Significant portions of this new synthesis are derived
42.9-10 Many of the petitions have clearly been altered to serve In two cases, they are formulated as documents for submission
45.1 (1239-1303) (1239-1302)
45.10 eighteen twenty
47.9-10 (d. 1343) (d. 1344)
50.4 1209 1201
53.32 rescensions recensions
60.7 (916-991) (917-992)
60.28 (b. 330) (330-386)
61.7-8 of San-shan 三山, just outside on San-shan 三山 (street) in
61.15 Lo's recommendation may have helped motivate The publisher's colophon of 1607 by
61.16-17 to add his imprimatur to the Sou-shen chi in 1607. that accompanies this text is typically found at the close of each case in the Hsu Tao-tsang.
62.22 imprimatur colophon
woman, had duped the local prefect into matrimony.¹⁸²
dandy, became wedded to the prefect's daughter.¹⁸²
the text in 1154.
the text at the core of this anthology in 1154.
the marriage of his children.
with the exception of one reference
puppet of
司馬承禎
司馬承貞
(r. 1225-1264)
(r. 1255-1264)
(r. 976-997)
(r. 1141-1217)
(r. 712-756)
(r. 1291-1350)
d. 216)
d. 1344)
(d. 1344)
d. 1343)
(1141-1217)
(1291-1352)
(1291-1350)
(62.27 (fl. 1523-1537) (1480-1550)
63.4 (fl. 190-220) (d. 216)
64.23 (d. 1343) (d. 1344)
66.17 (1141-1217) (1142-1217)
71.9 woman, had duped the local prefect into matrimony.¹⁸²
dandy, became wedded to the prefect's daughter.¹⁸²
75.35 (1291-1352) (r. 712-756)
77.10 (r. 713-756) (d. 1344)
78.5 (d. 1343) (d. 1343)
81.29 the text in 1154.
85.7 (r. 976-983) (r. 976-997)
92.13 decision to compile decision to endorse
92.23 883-943 888-943
101, #29 T'ien-t'ai Shan Chin-hua Shan
101, #30 Chin-hua Shan T'ien-t'ai Shan
105.29-30 imprimatur authority
106.27 法苑竹林 法苑珠林
108.12 his marriage.
109.24-25 and he even refers once
109.27 an open challenge to puppet of
111.17 712 司馬承貞
111.18 司馬承貞
(r. 1225-1264) (r. 1255-1264)
711 984 (1032-1111)
121.30 983 太上老君混元聖記
122.13 (1031-1100) (fl. 1294-1307) (fl. 1297-1307) (fl. 1590)
133.27 太上老君混元聖記 (fl. 1551-1602)
136.1 (fl. 1297-1307) (fl. 1294-1307)
140.3 (fl. 1590)
168.27-28 Tuan Chih-chien also compiled this collection in honor of his master
This anthology opens with a preface submitted by a disciple
less than one hundred excerpts that merit collation with
171.27 only ninety
174.34 texts such as
that, although printed separately in the Canon, would otherwise be difficult to date.\textsuperscript{449}

A devout disciple by the name of Ch'en Shou-mo compiled this text based on a series of encounters with Pai. Ch'en reveals that he

he sat in on another session

was written in commemoration of the Lu Shan meeting.

Ch'en Shou-mo's work

tedious

(b. 1290)

(d. 1326)

total earnestness

(1226-1294)

(1291-1350)

(b. 1290)

劉操

(1077-1148)

(1044-1076)

four colophons and one preface

earliest colophon

single preface

colophon

(d. 1343)

(d. 1344)

are lost or exceedingly rare

colophons

and similar works printed separately in the Canon.\textsuperscript{449}

In an undated preface, Ch'en Shou-mo and a colleague explain how they came to learn of the Master's teachings. The two disciples acquired a copy of the text commemorates a chance encounter at Lu Shan.

this selection complex

(b. 1290)

(1226-1304)

(1291-1352)

(1329-1336)

(Shansi) (Fukien)

he adopted a topical format rather than try

four colophons and single preface

four colophons
authorized the emendation and printing of the text
in the Canon,

mark the last volume of each case in the Hsiu Tao-tsang,

chapters 4 and 8

(1031-1100)

(1044-1076)

(330-386)

chapters 5 and 8

(b. 330)

collating texts for

(r. 993-1022)

(d. 1155)

(1042-1111)

(300-386)

249.29

imprimatur

imprimatur

colophon

imprimatur

colophon

imprimatur

colophon

(d. 1155)

(d. 156)

allegedly by (SKCS 3076)

(1230-1301)

(705-774)

NOTES


n42.2 (fl. 632)

(602-670)

n65.3 1974-76:3730

1974-76:3738

n125.8 (b. 330)

(330-386)

n137.3 Mao Kuo-han's

Ma Kuo-han's

n162.3 毛收大 毛收達

n182.1 clearly an a variation on the

n242.4 imprimitur colophon

kung-ch'i

kung-ch'e

n242.8 Hsin T'ang shu Hsin Wu-tai shih

n246.2 chapter 3

chapter 4

n263.9 reconstructed

published

n281.1 HY 307, p. 12a

HY 307, p. 20a
three Sung bibliographies cite... but give

one Sung bibliography cites... but gives

司馬承貞

(1982:308-78)

According to the Ch'i-chen
shih-chuan 10.54 (see note
172), she merely rubbed
coals on her face. The

Corresponding accounts
are found in the Ch'i-
chen shih-chuan 10.53
(see note 172) and in the

p. 43a-b, is in accord with
the former version. A re-
issue of this

p. 43a-b. A reissue of
the latter

Tuan's preface,

the preface here,

蕪庭芝

HY 1248

HY 1243

Wang Ch'in-jo's

the Imperial Library
Director's

Ch'ing-ying It JS^. 1988.

Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang:
Ch'eng-t'ung...

Chin-tan ta-chfeng: 蕪庭芝

341, Akizuki 1978: 倉文社
341, Baldrian-Hussein 1986:
2, forthcoming.
342, Boltz 1986f:
Proceedings... etc.
344, Ch'en Yüan and Ch'ên Chih-
ch'ao 陳智超... forthcoming.

344, Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang:
Ch'eng-t'ung...

345, Chin-tan ta-ch'eng: 蕪庭芝

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341, Akizuki 1978: 倉文社
341, Baldrian-Hussein 1986:
2, forthcoming.
342, Boltz 1986f:
Proceedings... etc.
344, Ch'en Yüan and Ch'ên Chih-
ch'ao 陳智超... forthcoming.

344, Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang:
Ch'eng-t'ung...

345, Chin-tan ta-ch'eng: 蕪庭芝
346, Ch'ung-k' an Tao-tsang chi-yao:
重修道藏輯要

347, Durt, H. and A. Seidel 1986:
2, forthcoming.


355, van der Loon 1984:

358, Pang 1977: pp. 95-112

359, Reiter. . .Forthcoming.

359, Robinet 1979: Meditation

360-361, Schipper 1981:
An expanded version of this paper is forthcoming. . .

362, Seidel 1987:

362, Shiratori 1982:
[defective print, line 2]
[defective print, line 3]

363, Steinhardt 1983[?]:

364, Strickmann 1977c:

346, Ch'ung-k' an Tao-tsang chi-yao:
重修道藏輯要

347, Durt, H. and A. Seidel 1986:
2, forthcoming.


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358, Pang 1977: pp. 95-112

359, Reiter. . .Forthcoming.

359, Robinet 1979: Meditation

360-361, Schipper 1981:
An expanded version of this paper is forthcoming. . .

362, Seidel 1987:

362, Shiratori 1982:
[defective print, line 2]
[defective print, line 3]

363, Steinhardt 1983[?]:

364, Strickmann 1977c:
367, Tao-tsang t'i-yao 道藏提要.

LIST OF NAMES

373, Amoghavajra: (705-774?)
373, Chang Lu: (fl. 190-220)
374, Chang Ssu-ch'eng: (d. 1343)
374, Chang Tao-ling: (fl. 142 C.E.)
374, Chang Tsung-yen: n248
374, Chang Yen-p'ien: (fl. 1523-1537)
374, Chao I-chen: n252
374, Chao Tao-k'o: (fl. 1288)
375, Ch'ên Chih-hsü: (fl. 1329-1336)
375, Cheng Ssu-hsiao: (1239-1316)
375, Chiang Shu-yü: (1156-1217)
377, Feng Meng-lung:
377, Hsü Hsüan: (916-991)
377, Hsü Hui: (1291-1352). . . n621
377, Hsü Ling-fu: 205-206
377, Hsü Sun: 214
378, Huang Yung-liang: 172
379, Ku Yu-tao
379, Lei Ssu-ch'i: (fl. 1280-1300)
379, Li Chih: n250
379, Li Ch'ün-feng: (fl. 632)
379, Li Pien: (883-943)
379, Li Ssu-ts'ung: n248
379, Li Tao-ch'ien:
380, Li Tao-ch'un:
380, Lin Wei-fu: (1239-1303)
380, Liu Yü (fl. 1258): n208
380, Liu Yü (1257-1308):
381, Lou Chin-yüan: (fl. 1740)


Delete: n476, n478
Add: n476, n478

(705-774)
(d. 216)
(d. 1344)
(d. 156)
248
(1480-1550), 48th Celestial Master
n523
(d. 1318)
(b. 1290)
(1241-1318)
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Introduction

Taoist Studies and the Reprint of the Tao-tsang

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

Considerably more well known is the work of Chavannes’s student Henri Maspero (1883–1945), whose research took into account a wider range of literature in the Taoist Canon. Volumes 1 and 2 of his Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l’histoire de la Chine (1967), entitled Les religions chinoises and Le taoïsme, were reissued in 1971 with further selections from his publications as Le taoïsme et les religions chinoises. This work has recently gained a wider audience with the appearance in 1981 of Frank A. Kierman, Jr.’s translation, Taoism and Chinese Religion, with an introduction by T.H. Barrett. Maspero’s research was facilitated in part by his access to the 1926 reprint of the Canon. The
earliest comprehensive survey of the Canon, the *Tao-tsang yün-liu k’ao* 道藏源流考, was compiled in 1949 by Ch’en Kuo-fu 陳國符, also a beneficiary of the 1926 reprint. The 1963 revised edition of this work remains an indispensable resource.

Notable publications reflecting extensive research on the literature of the Canon also began to appear in Japan beginning in the late 1940s. Among the earliest historical studies to be published was Kubo Noritada’s 駒場忠成 *Dōkyō to Chūgoku shakai* 佛教と中國社會 (1948). With his *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* 道教経典史論 (1955), Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 produced a Japanese counterpart to the *Tao-tsang yün-liu k’ao*, replete with comprehensive indices to a number of works citing titles of Taoist texts. Substantial discussions on the history of the Canon are also included in Fukui Kōjun’s 福井亙順 *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究 (1952) and Ofuchi Ninji’s 大澤忍之 *Dōkyō-shi no kenkyū* 道教史的研究 (1964). As in France, a number of more specialized studies also emerged in Japan after the 1940s. Much of that literature is summarized in the recently issued three-volume selection of essays with the overall title of *Dōkyō* 道教 (1983). Many of the senior Japanese scholars got their start in Taoist studies as members of the Shina Bukkyō-shi Gakkai 那佛教史學會 (Society for Research on the History of Chinese Buddhism), founded in 1936, such as, for example, Fukui Kōjun, one of the editors of *Dōkyō* and now the *monzeki* 門跡, or Head Priest, of the Myōhō-in 妙法院 of Kyoto.²

As might be expected in a region where a number of scholars have long been active in Taoist studies, fragmentary copies of the *Tao-tsang* are also to be found in Japan. The dates 1524 and 1598 appear on the sets in the Imperial Household Library of Tokyo.³ Other than those in France and Japan, it is not known how many of these early impressions survive. The 1598 sets can be traced to Ming Shen-tsung 明神宗 (r. 1573–1619), who, on behalf of the Empress Dowager, ordered new copies be made for circulation to all major Taoist temples.⁴ The state traditionally sponsored not only the printing but also the compilation of the Canon. Such pursuits during the imperial period were largely regarded as acts of faith. Although the founders of the Republic cannot be regarded as patrons of any Taoist tradition, they played a critical role in making arrangements for the reprinting of the Canon in the 1920s. After publishing a selection of texts from his own library in 1918 under the
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Tao-tsang pen wu-tzu 道藏本五子 [Five Texts from the Taoist Canon], the former minister of education and renowned bibliophile Fu Tseng-hsiang 傅增湘 (1872–1950) proposed that the entire Canon be reissued. President Hsu Shih-ch’ang 徐世昌 (1855–1939) was subsequently persuaded of the academic value of such a project and agreed to underwrite the publication of the Canon by the Commercial Press of Shanghai. Chang Yuan-chi 張元濟 (1866–1959), the conscientious archivist of the Han-fen-lou 涵芬樓 library of rare editions at Commercial Press, saw the work to its completion from 1923 to 1926. The preface of 1923 is signed not only by Fu Tseng-hsiang, but also by eminent reformists of his time, including K’ang Yu-wei 康有為 (1858–1927) and Liang Ch’i-ch’ao 梁啟超 (1873–1929). The photographic reproduction made in Shanghai, totaling 1120 threadbound fascicles, has since been reprinted in at least three modern editions. With the backing of several Taiwan University professors, including the bibliographer Yen Ling-feng 袁靈鳳, the editor-in-chief of I-wen publishers in Taipei, Yen I-p’ing 袁一萍, produced the first reprint of the 1923–1926 edition in 1962. Now the most widely available and convenient edition is a 60-volume reprint put out by Hsin-wen-feng 新文豐 publishers of Taipei in 1977, with two pages reproduced on one in reduced size print.

The copy of the Tao-tsang from which the Commercial Press made the initial reprint is the woodblock concertina edition kept in the Pai-yün Kuan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Abbey) of Peking, now the central Taoist seminary of the People’s Republic of China.5 This copy was apparently derived for the most part from the 1445 printing and the 1607 supplement to the Canon, but several missing texts are known to have been replaced in 1845. According to the “Pai-yün Kuan ch’ung-hsiu Tao-tsang chi” 白雲觀重修道藏記 [An Account of the Tao-tsang Repaired at the White Cloud Abbey] of Cheng Yung-hsiang 鄭永祥 and Meng Chih-ts’ai 孟至才, the full restoration of the Canon was made possible only with the intervention of a benefactor of the Abbey named Wang T’ing-pi 王廷弼.6 Under Wang’s sponsorship, the missing texts were tracked down at various mountain shrines and recopied. The task was said to have occupied several months before its completion in the autumn of 1845. It has never been determined just which texts were replaced, but a careful collation of all available printings of the Canon should provide some clues.
In a visit to the Pai-yün Kuan during its refurbishment in 1981, Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穗 reported that the Canon formerly kept in the archives there had been broken up and distributed to the National Library of Peking and elsewhere. A research associate at the temple, Ms. Wang I-o 王宜娥, assured me in an interview on 13 June 1983 that the Canon was indeed preserved intact in the Tsang-ching Ko 藏經閣 (Gallery of the Scriptures of the Canon), but she did not specify which copy. Although he was unable to visit the Pai-yün Kuan in 1983, Jan Yün-hua asserts that both the Ming edition and the Shanghai reprint of the Canon have been retained in the Pai-yün Kuan archives. Piet van der Loon, on the other hand, reports that the Ming Canon of the Pai-yün Kuan is now in the National Library of Peking and that the only other complete sets known to date to the Ming are kept in the Shanghai Library and in the Ch'ung-shan Ssu 萬善寺 of T'ai-yüan 太原 (Shan-si). The copy in the Shanghai Library, reputed to include high-quality illustrations, was originally housed in the Pai-yün Kuan of Shanghai. Titles of this Canon were also discovered missing in the nineteenth century and were eventually restored in 1866.

On the History of the Taoist Canon

The origins of the Canon can be traced back to the first comprehensive catalogue of Taoist texts, the San-tung ching-shu mu-lu 三洞經書目錄 [An Index to the Scriptural Writings of the Three Caverns]. This inventory of literature both attested and yet to be revealed was prepared by Lu Hsiu-ching (406–477), the principal codifier of the Ling-pao 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure) corpus of scriptures. The undertaking was ordered by Sung Ming-ti 宋明帝 (r. 465–472). When Lu presented his finished product to the emperor in 471, it was said to have encompassed scriptures, pharmaceutical works, and talismanic collections, totaling altogether 1200 chüan 卷 (scrolls or chapters). Almost three centuries later, T'ang Hsuan-tsung 唐玄宗 (r. 713–756), who believed himself to be a descendant of Lao-tzu, went a step further and commanded that his envoys travel throughout the empire in search of all existing Taoist writings. His decree initiated the first systematic compilation of Taoist literature. All the texts submitted to the capital were brought together under the title San-tung ch'iung-kang 三洞瓊綱 [Exquisite Compendium of the Three Caverns]. Under Hsüan-tsung's authorization in 748, multiple copies of this collection of
material, which reportedly included anywhere from approximately 3700 to 7300 chüan, were to be made for distribution to Taoist temples. But not long afterwards the imperial libraries of Ch'ang-an and Loyang were destroyed during the An Lu-shan and Shih Ssu-ming uprisings, and thus the San-tung ch'iung-kang was apparently lost. Subsequent efforts to reconstruct this Canon during the ninth century fell victim to the Huang Ch'ao rebellion (ca. 878–884), and little is thought to have survived that disruption or the fall of the T'ang.

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

A century later, Sung Hui-tsung 宋徽宗 (r. 1101–1125), convinced that he was himself the incarnation of a cosmic deity, regarded the compilation of a new Taoist Canon to be one of his sacred missions. Thus, he issued an edict in 1114 commanding local officials, clergy, and laymen to dispatch all Taoist texts to the capital. Shortly thereafter a number of Taoist Masters arrived at Kaifeng 開封 (Honan) in answer to his summons to work on the collation of the incoming literature. The culmination of this vast enterprise was a Canon in nearly 5400 chuàn, given the title Cheng-ho wan-shou Tao-tsang 正和萬壽道藏 [Taoist Canon of the Longevity of the Cheng-ho Reign]. It was the first Canon ever to be printed. The blocks for it were carved sometime between 1118 and 1120 in Foochow 福州 (Fukien), where only a few years earlier a print of the Buddhist Canon had been produced. Once
the entire set of blocks had been cut, they were delivered to the capital, but it is not known how many copies were actually printed from them.

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

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

That which is known as the *Tao-tsang* today is assumed on the whole to be a reproduction of the edition completed in 1444-1445 and a short supplement dating to 1607. Ming Ch'eng-tsu 明成祖 (r.
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1403–1424) initiated this new bibliographic endeavor in 1406 by authorizing the Cheng-i patriarch, or Celestial Master, of the 43rd generation, Chang Yü-ch’u (1361–1410) to act as compiler-in-chief. Final revisions were not completed, however, until 1444, under the leadership of an eminent Taoist Master at court by the name of Shao I-cheng. The Ta Ming Tao-tsang ching [Scriptures of the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming] in 5318 chüan is commonly referred to as the Cheng-t’ung Tao-tsang, or Taoist Canon of the Cheng-t’ung reign (1436–1449). Sets of this Canon were distributed to major temples in 1447. Ming Shen-tsung, who approved the reprinting of the Canon in 1598 on behalf of his mother, the Empress Dowager Li, shortly thereafter designated the 50th Celestial Master, Chang Kuo-hsiang (d. 1611), to compile a supplement. After 240 chüan were affixed to the Canon in 1607, no further addenda were ever produced. This final portion of the Canon is known as the Hsü Tao-tsang ching [Scriptures in Supplement to the Taoist Canon] of the Wan-li reign (1573–1619). Reprints of the entire set, supplement included, are often simply labeled and catalogued as the Cheng-t’ung Tao-tsang.

Organization of the Tao-tsang

Throughout the centuries, the Canon has been consistently organized according to a three-part division of texts known as the San-tung (Three Caverns). This compartmentalization of writings was at one time considered to have been devised under the influence of the San-tsang (Three Receptacles), of the Buddhist Canon, but the organizational principles behind the San-tung actually more closely parallel the concept of triyāna, or San-sheng (Three Vehicles). The Three Caverns, in other words, reflect three distinct revelatory traditions rather than three genres of literature such as are represented by the sūtra, vinaya, and abhidharma of the Three Receptacles. Inherent in this arrangement of the Three Caverns is a ranking of textual legacies, similar to the hierarchy of the Three Vehicles. The opening division, entitled Tung-chen (Supreme Clarity) scriptures, was designed as a repository for the Shang-ch’ing (Supreme Clarity) scriptures. The second and third divisions, entitled Tung-hsüan (Mystic) and Tung-shen (Sovereign) scriptures, were reserved for the texts associated with the Ling-pao and San-huang (Three Sovereigns) scriptural traditions, respectively. The priority given to the
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Shang-ch’ing revelations suggests that the San-tung categorization predates Lu Hsiu-ching’s catalogue of 471, and it is thought that it may have evolved as early as the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.

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

Traditionally, each of the Three Caverns has been divided into twelve subsections: (1) pen-wen 本文 (original revelations), (2) shen-fu 神符 (divine talismans), (3) yü-chüeh 玉訣 (exegeses; lit., jade or precious instructions), (4) ling-t’u 靈圖 (sacred diagrams), (5) p’u-lu 譜錄
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(histories and genealogies; lit., catalogues and records), (6) chieh-lü 戒律 (codes of conduct; lit., precepts and ordinances), (7) wei-i 威儀 (ceremonial protocols), (8) fang-fa 方法 (prescriptive rituals), (9) chung-shu 盡術 (various techniques, i.e., alchemical, geomantic, numerological, etc.), (10) chi-chuan 記傳 (hagiography), (11) tsan-sung 誡頌 (hymnody; lit., encomia and eulogies), and (12) piao-tsou 袒奏 (memorial communications). No subdivisions are found in the Ssu-fu or the Hsu Tao-tsang of 1607. Although the twelve headings cited above give a fairly reliable indication of the distribution of various genres of Taoist literature, the classifications are by no means rigidly maintained. Hagiographic works, for example, are found both in categories 5 and 10, as are topographies.

Research Aids

The first analytic catalogue of the Taoist Canon known to have been compiled is the Tao-tsang mu-lu hsiang-chu 道藏目錄詳註 [An Index to the Tao-tsang with Critical Annotations]. The edition photo-lithographically reproduced from the copy in the Ssu-k'u archives and issued under the auspices of the T'ui-keng T'ang 退耕堂 is ascribed to Pai Yün-chi 白雲裳 and dates to 1626.18 Pai was a Taoist Master affiliated with the Ch'ao-t'ien Kung 朝天宮 (Palace in Homage to the Celestial Realm) at Yeh-ch'eng Shan 凱城山, Nanking (Kiangsu). Other bibliographers of the Ch'ing, including Sun Hsing-yen 孫興運 (1753-1818), attribute a work of the same title to Li Chieh 李杰, a Ming scholar from Liao-tso 潍州, i.e., Liao-tung 遼東 (Shantung).19 The Tao-tsang ching-hua lu 道藏精華錄 (1922) edited by Ting Fu-pao 丁福保 lists this title in the table of contents as a work of Pai Yün-chi, but cites Li Chieh as the compiler on the first page of the text. In fact, the work reprinted by Ting Fu-pao appears to be identical to that published by the T'ui-keng T'ang. In his own prefatory notes, Ting remarks that a pocket-size edition of the Canon was published in 1626, the same year that Pai's Index appeared.20 After collating the differences between the contents listed in the Index and the content of the 1926 reprint of the Tao-tsang, Ch'en Kuo-fu suggests that Pai may very well have worked with just such a variant edition of the Canon, which was perhaps even printed at the Ch'ao-t'ien Kung.21 Yoshioka Yoshitoyo and Liu Ts'un-yen, on the other hand, propose that Ting may actually have
had in mind the 1626 *Index* itself, not a new compact version of the Canon.22

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

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

Far more reliable as a research aid to the Canon is the *Tao-tsang tzu-mu yin-te* 道藏子目引得 (Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature), compiled by Weng Tu-chien 翁獨健 and published initially in 1935 as no. 25 in the *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*. After much of the index series went out of print, this volume was among those for which a reprint was authorized by Ch’eng-wen Publishing Company of Taipei in 1966. It has yet to be surpassed. Although it is not a descrip-
tive catalogue, the *Harvard-Yenching Index* is the only work thus far to index both titles and authors or compilers. The text opens with a sequential listing of 1476 titles in the Canon. Following each title, the number of *chüan* is recorded, as is any established compiler. In addition, Weng cites the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* code and fascicle numbers in which the title is found in the 1926 reprint. For those texts that are also printed in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, the abbreviation *yao* is given, together with the code for the specific section and fascicle in which the text appears.

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

Three indices complete Weng Tu-chien's monumental compilation. The first is an index to all titles in the *Tao-tsang* and *Tao-tsang chi-yao* as well as those cited in the *2-chüan HY 1419 Tao-tsang ch'ueh-ching mu-lu* 道藏經目錄 [An Index to Lost Texts of the Taoist Canon], compiled during the Ming. Those printed in the *Tao-tsang* are identified by the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* code and the fascicle number or numbers in which they appear in the 1120-volume set. Many scholars still cite titles in the Canon according to the fascicle numbers, often with the prefix TT for *Tao-tsang*. In light of the ambiguity of such citations, Michel Strickmann suggested in 1977 that a more precise form of reference to titles in the Canon would be the sequential number assigned in the initial listing of the *Harvard-Yenching Index*. In that way, one number corresponds to one title, whereas a single fascicle number may
encompass more than one text or one text may span several fascicle numbers. The distinguishing code Strickmann proposed as a prefix to these numbers, HY, has been widely adopted and is used here as well.27

The second and shortest of the three indices in the Harvard-Yenching Index is devoted to the authors and compilers identified for works in both the Tao-tsang and the Tào-tsang chi-yao. Also indexed are all the authors and compilers cited in a late 13th-century collection of texts in the Canon, the 60-ch. HY 263 Hsiu-chen shih-shu 修真十書 [Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection].28 The third and largest index is reserved for names of those whose biographies appear in any of 77 hagiographic works in the Tao-tsang. All known nicknames and honorary titles are listed under each entry and a number of apppellations are individually entered, with cross-references to full proper names. The hagiographies are cited according to a code number from 1 to 77, by which they are identified in a sequential list on pp. xxi–xxiii.

An alternate numbering system was devised by Kristofer Schipper for his Concordance du Tao-tsang. This exhaustive concordance to characters in the titles for all texts in the Tao-tsang facilitates the identification of related series of compilations. Schipper’s Concordance was first published in 1975 as volume 102 of Publications de l’École Francaise d’Extrême-Orient and was subsequently reprinted as an index to the 60-volume Hsin-wen-feng reprint of the Canon issued in 1977, under the title Cheng-t’ung Tao-tsang mu-lu so-yin 正統道教目錄索引. Both editions open with a sequential list of 1487 titles, including a citation of the fascicle numbers of the 1926 thread-bound reprint. The 1977 version also includes the corresponding volume and page numbers of the 60-volume reprint. Those who have adopted Schipper’s numbering system sometimes add “no.” or TT and sometimes simply cite the text numbers without any identifying prefix. To avoid further confusion, I suggest that the code CT be applied when citing Tao-tsang texts according to the 1487 titles listed in the Concordance du Tao-tsang. As Strickmann has pointed out, many of the discrepancies between the Harvard-Yenching and Concordance numbering systems are due to the uncertain status of introductory materials appended to several late works.29 I would also add that Schipper’s Concordance corrects the unfortunate transposition of several titles in the earlier index. The two numbering systems are compared in Appendix A.
New catalogues of the *Tao-tsang* are currently under preparation. One is anticipated from the “Projet *Tao-tsang*,” inaugurated on 15 January 1979 under the auspices of the European Science Foundation. Kristofer Schipper is the coordinator of a European consortium of scholars participating in this project. Their main purpose is to compile an analytic and descriptive catalogue of the Taoist Canon, with the following data for each work: (1) a physical description of the text, (2) a translation and explication of the title, (3) precise information on the history and transmission of the text, and (4) a summary of the contents. Over the past six years, entries have been compiled by some thirty scholars in Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Prior to the assignment of the entries, Schipper and his colleague Dr. John Lagerwey made a provisional classification of all works in the Canon, which has been refined continually, dividing the contents of the *Tao-tsang* into three broad historical categories: (1) from ancient times to the end of the Six Dynasties, (2) Sui, T’ang, and the Five Dynasties, and (3) Sung, Yüan, and Ming. Because the provenance of many texts is difficult to determine, a computer data bank was set up so that dating features could be identified and shared with all collaborators. Microfiches from this data bank are now publicly available for a nominal fee. Once the abstracts are completed, a comprehensive catalogue is planned, with the contributions regrouped to reflect historical continuity. This catalogue will apply the numbering system in Schipper’s *Concordance*, with a conversion table to the numbers of the *Harvard-Yenching Index*. Schipper anticipates developing a more definitive numbering system once the Canon itself is reprinted in a modern, critical edition, with texts rearranged in accordance with the catalogue of the *Tao-tsang* Project.

Three subsidiary publications have already appeared as contributions to the project: John Lagerwey’s *Wu-shang pi-yao, somme taoiste du VIe siècle*; K. M. Schipper’s *Index du Yunji qiqian*, vols. 1 and 2; and Piet van der Loon’s *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index*.

A similar enterprise is also under way in the People’s Republic of China under the auspices of the Chung-kuo she-hui k‘o-hsiieh yuan, Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu so (Institute for Research on World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). The Tao-chiao yen-chiu shih 道教研究
A Survey of Taoist Literature

(Department of Taoist Studies) of the Institute in Peking is compiling a *Tao-tsang t‘i-yao* 道藏提要, on the model of the *Ssu-k‘u ch‘uan-shu tsung-mu t‘i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要. Samples of their work have already appeared in two issues of the *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* 世界宗教研究 (1984.2:1-29; 1984.3:84-101), under the title “*Tao-tsang t‘i-yao hsuan-k‘an*” 道藏提要選刊. Included in Parts I and II of this publication are the abstracts for 49 and 23 titles in the Canon, respectively. The first article is followed by the announcement of a workshop on the project held in Hangchow on 3–8 April 1984. Over forty scholars from Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Szechwan, Shensi, Shansi, Shantung, Hunan, Chekiang, and Heilungkiang were said to have participated. This research group also finds the traditional organization of the Canon into *San-tung* and *Ssu-fu* less than adequate and thus adopted plans to draw up a revised sequence of titles. In addition to submitting twenty abstracts of individual entries for consideration, the organizers of the workshop also led discussions on variant types of listings. The sample abstracts published in *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* vary in length, but in addition to describing the contents, the contributors all attempt to establish the authorship and date of each title. The locations of the texts in the Canon are indicated by the numbers of the fascicles in which they appear, as well as by their classification in the *San-tung* and the *Ch‘ien-tzu wen* code. A spokesman for the Tao-chiao yen-chiu shih reports that when the *Tao-tsang t‘i-yao* is completed, it will include five supplements: (1) brief biographical notes on authors and compilers of *Tao-tsang* texts, (2) the table of contents for a new edition of the *Tao-tsang*, (3) the table of contents for the Ming *Tao-tsang*, (4) an index to titles in the *Tao-tsang*, as well as the *Tao-tsang t‘i-yao*, and (5) an index to authors and compilers.32

Three other publications of note are sponsored under a five-year plan of the Institute: *Tao-chia chin-shih lüeh* 道家金石略, a collection of epigraphy pertinent to Taoist traditions, begun by Ch‘en Yuán 陳垣 and under completion by Ch‘en Chih-ch‘ao 陳智超, to be published by Wen-wu Publishers; *Tao-chiao tsung-mu so-yin* 道教綜目索引, a comprehensive index to secondary sources on Taoism, the lifetime work of Professor Su Chin-jen 蘇晋仁 at the Chung-yang min-tsu hsueh-yüan 中央民族學院 (Central Institute for the Study of Nationalities); and *Tao-chiao shih* 道教史, a 4-volume history of Taoism compiled at the Department of Religious Studies at
Szechwan University under the editorship of Ch'ing Hsi-t'ai 吉希泰. Another history of Taoism is under preparation at the Chung-kuo Tao-chiao hsieh-hui yen-chiu shih 中國道教協會研究室 (Research Department of the Chinese Taoist Association) headquartered at the Pai-yün Kuan in Peking. The “Chung-kuo Tao-chiao shih t'i-kang” 中國道教史提綱 published in Chung-kuo che-hsueh shih yen-chiu 中國哲學史研究 (1983.1:41-49) provides an outline of the seventeen chapters into which this work is organized.

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

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

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

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

In their autocratic manner of establishing hierarchies of diverse scriptural legacies, the Celestial Masters often obscured, if not completely obliterated, the local origins of some of the most creative textual traditions. Assimilation of these vast corpuses of revealed literature by the Cheng-i heritage meant their implicit subordination to it. Whether the codifiers of new scriptures themselves began paying lip service to Patriarch Chang out of acquired deference is difficult to say, but it is clear that such verbal obeisance did not always reflect genuine allegiance. The sacral autocracy of the Celestial Masters was superseded only during the Chin and early Yüan dynasties, and then only by the syncretic Ch’üan-chén 杨 贤 真 lineage that prevailed on the northern plains. But once the
Cheng-i patriarchy reaffirmed its papal-like role during the Ming, its editorial prerogatives remained largely unchallenged for the extent of the imperial age. As the many imprimaturs of the 43rd and 50th patriarchs, Chang Yu-chu 張宇初 (1361–1410) and Chang Kuo-hsiang 張國祥 (d. 1611), demonstrate, the Tao-tsang we use today is a formidable witness to the abiding presence of the Celestial Masters.

Ten genres of post-T'ang literature in the Tao-tsang are introduced below under five broad headings: Revelation and Ritual; Hagiography; Topographic, Epigraphic, and Historiographic Treatises; Literary Anthologies and Dialogic Treatises; and Exegeses and Encyclopedic Compilations. I have made no effort to give a comprehensive diachronic summary of any genre of Taoist literature. Rather, I have selected for discussion some two hundred texts of historical as well as religious and literary interest. There are many sources in the Canon, as in other collections of sacred literature, that could be dismissed as purely derivative. Instead of ignoring such texts, I have tried to convey an idea of the various innovations and adaptations that earlier Taoist textual traditions have generated. Appendix B is a sequential list of all titles of the Tao-tsang cited in this monograph, together with the corresponding HY, CT, and TT numbers, to facilitate the location of sources for partisans of the three most widely used numbering systems.
Map 1. Provincial Boundaries of Modern China
Map 2. A Diachronic Guide to Place Names
## Introduction

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<th>Place</th>
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<td>Lai-chou / Tung-lai</td>
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39. Ch'i-hsia (Shantung)
40. Fu-shan (Shantung)
41. Ning-hai (Shantung)
42. Wen-teng (Shantung)
43. Chia-chiang (Szechwan)
44. Hsu-chou (Szechwan)
45. Chin-ch'eng / Ch'eng-tu (Szechwan)
46. Te-yang (Szechwan)
47. Mien-chou (Szechwan)
48. Lang-chung (Szechwan)
49. Chiang-yuan / Chungking (Szechwan)
50. I-tu (Hupeh)
51. Ching-nan (Hupeh)
52. Ching-men (Hupeh)
53. Hsiang-yang (Hupeh)
54. Mien-yang (Hupeh)
55. Wu-ch'ang (Hupeh)
56. Po-chou (Anhui)
57. Lu-chou (Anhui)
58. Ch'i-hchou (Anhui)
59. Tang-t'u (Anhui)
60. Chiang-ning / Chien-k'ang / Chin-ling / Nanking (Kiangsu)
61. I-chen (Kiangsu)
62. T'ai-chou (Kiangsu)
63. Chiang-yin (Kiangsu)
64. Wu-chiang (Kiangsu)
65. Sung-chiang (Kiangsu)
66. Wu-ling / Ch'ang-te (Hunan)
67. Heng-yang (Hunan)
68. T'an-chou / Ch'ang-sha (Hunan)
69. Chien-ch'ang (Kiangsi)
70. Yu-chang / Nan-ch'ang (Kiangsi)
71. Lu-ling / Chi-an (Kiangsi)
72. Ch'ien-chou (Kiangsi)
73. Yü-tu (Kiangsi)
74. Kuang-ch'ang (Kiangsi)
75. Nan-feng (Kiangsi)
76. Nan-ch’eng (Kiangsi)
77. Ch’ung-jen (Kiangsi)
78. Fu-chou/Lin-ch’uan (Kiangsi)
79. Feng-ch’eng (Kiangsi)
80. I-yang (Kiangsi)
81. Jao-chou (Kiangsi)
82. Hu-chou (Chekiang)
83. K’uai-chi (Chekiang)
84. Chin-hua (Chekiang)
85. Kua-ts’ang (Chekiang)
86. Yung-chia/Wenchow (Chekiang)
87. P’ing-yang (Chekiang)
88. Ling-ling (Kuangsi)
89. Kuei-yang (Kuangsi)
90. Chien-ning (Fukien)
91. Ch’ung-an (Fukien)
92. Chien-yang (Fukien)
93. Chien-an (Fukien)
94. Min-ch’ing (Fukien)
95. Min-hsien/Foochow (Fukien)
96. Ch’ang-le (Fukien)
97. Ch’uan-chou (Fukien)
98. Chin-chiang (Fukien)
99. Hui-chou (Kuangtung)
100. Ch’iung-chou (Hainan)
Imperial patronage of revelatory innovations has long been the guiding force in the preservation of the written traditions of many diverse Taoist dispensations. Following the precedents set by T’ai Wu-ti 太武帝 (r. 424–452) of Northern Wei and T’ang Hsuan-tsung 唐玄宗 (r. 712–755), a series of monarchs from the Sung on declared their own regimes as preordained Taoist theocracies. In particular, the material and spiritual support that Sung Hui-tsung 宋徽宗 (r. 1101–1125) lent to new scriptural formulations led to what Strickmann has termed a Taoist renaissance.41 Hui-tsung’s interest in recording every manner of revelation apparently shaped the Taoist Canon for centuries to come. Renewed faith in divine intervention and demonifuge healing, witnessed increasingly throughout the countryside, gave direct inspiration, moreover, to countless creations in verse and narrative.

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

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

While early writings extant before the Five Dynasties (907–960) generally tend to support a view of the adept as wholly absorbed in contemplative exercises, self-cultivation in fact served as the foundation for many other pursuits. Traditionally, the Taoist practitioner has been regarded foremost as a healer, serving apparently in effect as a sort of grass-roots physician. There is unfortunately a scant record of early manuals on healing rituals. That lack, however, is all but compensated by the availability of substantial collections of ritual instruction compiled by the Taoist Ritual Masters (fa-shih 法師) of the Sung to the Ming. These ambitious practitioners offered treatments for a wide range of social problems, from the infestations of locusts to pestilential diseases. In concentrating their healing powers on prevailing maladies, they invoked the aid of vast hierarchies of potent cosmic forces. The dramaturgical overtones of their therapeutic rites recall the propitiatory and apotropaic language of the Shih ching 詩經 [Classic of Poetry] and Ch’u-tz’u 歌謠 [Songs of Ch’u]. In building on a centuries-old legacy of penitential invocations to the sacred realm, the Taoist Ritual Master, or fa-shih, began to assume a new spiritual potency, as the metamorphoses that he and his predecessors had always been taught to achieve within
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their internal sanctuaries of corporeal deities were carried a step fur­ther. Not content with serving as relatively static receptors of divinity, the adepts took on a more active role in orchestrating the therapeutic forces from above. In some ways reminiscent of their shamanic counter­parts, the Taoist practitioner reveal this new age of ritual creativity subjugated their own identity to that of their sacred guardian. No longer was mere visualization or actualization (ts’un) sufficient for the purposes of these multifarious therapeutic rites. Instead, this new generation of adepts was instructed to “envision yourself as…” (ts’un tsu-shen wei) or “metamorphose yourself into…” (pien wei). With the aid of the appropriate incantations and talismans, the Ritual Masters thus came to embody the very deity whose role it was to convey the prescribed remedies. By achieving such a transformation, a practitioner was perceived not merely as a manipulator of divine forces but as the agent through whom they took charge. On this subject the immense ritual compendia spare no detail in specifying every facet of ritual purification, the demarcation of sacred space for meditation chambers and altar settings, the colors and dimensions of ceremonial dress and various accoutrements, as well as vast quantities of talismans and the accompanying incantations and mudra-like manipulations.

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

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

One source in the Canon today traces the history of the Shen-hsiao dispensation that Lin sponsored, from its cosmic origins to the heyday of Hui-tsung’s reign. It is received under the title of HY 1272 Kao-shang shen-hsiao tsung-shih shou-ching shih 高上帝霄宗師受經式 [Formulary for the Transmission of Scriptures According to the Patriarchs of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean]. The mythic sequence of the opening scene in this text is taken directly from the 4th-century Ling-pao revelations. Inspiration is equally drawn from the messianic expectations of the Shang-ch’ing tradition. The perfected of the Shang-ch’ing realm are in fact nominally put in charge of compiling the sacred literature of Shen-hsiao, a corpus of sixty chüan headed by the venerable Ling-pao classic known as the Tu-jen ching 度人經 [Scripture on Salvation]. Only during the glorious epoch of the Sung, with the theophany of the supreme sovereign of Shen-hsiao, are these scriptures destined to be revealed, reports the Formulary. Their release from the celestial abode, following the Shang-ch’ing model, is scheduled for the cyclical year of jen-ch’en 戊辰, which in this case corresponds to 1112. From that year forward the Shen-hsiao lord incarnate in the person of Hui-tsung is thought to have received divine mandate for his sacred mission below, to oversee the salvation of all within his realm. Following the verification of Hui-tsung’s destiny is an inventory of the 61 scriptures comprising the
Shen-hsiao corpus. The titles listed correspond to the chapter headings of the extant 61-ch. HY 1 *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching* [Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Ling-pao]. Sixty of the chapters are ritual recastings of the *Tu-jen ching* (ch. 1), created expressly to further the soteriological calling of the throne. This corpus, regarded as the culmination of the Shang-ch'ing tradition, apparently took precedence over all other sources received in the Taoist Canon of Hui-tsung's reign. It still stands today as the opening text of the *Tung-chen pu*, the first division of the Canon, which serves as a showcase for the Shang-ch'ing heritage.

By late 1119, Lin had presumably played out his hand at court, for in that year he disappeared from the capital under mysterious circumstances. The Shen-hsiao ritual tradition lived on, as a number of later codifications amply demonstrate. Wang Wen-ch'ing (1093–1153), who is regarded as the major beneficiary of Lin's legacy, may have been responsible for the illustrated handbook that appeared as a supplement to the 61-ch. *Tu-jen ching*. The 3-ch. work is entitled HY 147 *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching fu-t'u* [Talismans and Diagrams of the Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Ling-pao]. Just as the 61-ch. *Tu-jen ching* heads the subsection on scriptures in the *Tung-chen pu*, this handbook opens the *Tung-chen pu* subsection on sacred diagrams (*ling-t'u*). It begins with a long preface putatively inscribed by the hand of Hui-tsung himself in laudation of the empyrean lord's soteric mission on earth. Internal evidence indicates that the work was indeed composed after Lin's abrupt fall from imperial grace. Designed to introduce the rudiments of the Shen-hsiao reenactment of the Ling-pao revelation, the treatise supplies the essential cosmological diagrams, talismanic inscriptions, sacred recitations, and lengthy registers of the celestial bureaucracy. Comparable visual aids are to be found in the 12-ch. HY 1209 *Kao-shang shen-hsiao tzu-shu ta-fa* [Great Rites in the Purple Script of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean]. Included in this late redaction of Shen-hsiao ritual codes are not only various procedures for the widely practiced *lien-tu* (salvation through refinement or transmutation) procedures, but also countless applications of the therapeutic principles of Wu-lei (Five Thunder) rites.
By far the most substantial Shen-hsiao ritual corpus is the 72-ch. HY 219 Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-ching ta-fa [Great Rites of the Supreme Scripture on the Infinite Salvation of Ling-pao]. Retained as the lead text of the ritual subsection in the Tung-chen pu, this work is a masterly example of the breadth of coverage that became standard for ritual compendia compiled down through the Ming empire. The sources for the sensory perception of various sacred phenomena are recorded with intricate pictorial detail. Pivotal to the many diagrammatic sequences of talismans, seals, lantern arrangements, pennant designs, and choreographic figures are a number of major strains of lien-tu funereal rites. Printed in one chapter is a rare rescension of a meditation manual on the chorography for the salvation of souls lost in
Fig. 2. A disciple in meditation with Ursa Major superimposed on his wrist. Sketch based on HY 219 Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-ching ta-fa, 8.4a. These illustrations accompany instructions on a meditative technique called Shen-kuang ta-ting (The Great Composure of Divine Radiance), based in part on a visualization inspired by the Tu-jen ching. Through the proper management of respiration, the adept is thought able to achieve a correspondence between the revolution of Ursa Major and his own circulatory system.

purgatory, as envisioned within the adept's own interior sanctuary. The text is also printed separately in the Canon as the HY 407 Ling-pao ta-lien nei-chih hsing-ch'ih chi-yao [The Discreet Essentials of Ling-pao for Practicing and Maintaining the Esoteric Directives of Grand Transmutation]. An exceptional codification of Shen-hsiao oral transmission, this manual provides a contemplative version of the lien-tu rites of purification that are so graphically staged in liturgical settings. Cheng Ssu-hsiao (1239–1316), writing on the Buddhist analogues to these rites of passage, compiled a work that has been received in the Canon under the title HY 548 T'ai-chi chi-lien nei-fa [Esoteric Rites on the Oblatory Transmutation...
of the Grand Ultimate]. This text, evidently lost shortly after its completion in 1291, was reconstructed as a 3-ch. work in 1347 and approved for publication in 1406 by the 43rd Celestial Master, Chang Yü-ch’ü 張羽初 (1361–1410). Cheng proves to be widely conversant in the meditative practices of Taoist, Buddhist, and Neo-Ju or Confucian traditions. With this text he offers one of the most astute syntheses of soteriological doctrine available.56

Only one text directly attributed to Lin Ling-su survives in the Canon, a lyric piece entitled “Chin-huo t’ien-ting shen-hsiao san-ch’i huo-ling ko” 金火天丁神霄三氣火鈴歌 [Song of the Celestial Stalwart of the Golden Flames and the Blazing Tocsin from the Triple Emanations of the Divine Empyrean]. It figures prominently within the ritual code known as the Shen-hsiao chin-huo t’ien-ting ta-fa 神霄金火天丁大法 [Great Rites of the Celestial Stalwart of Golden Flames in the Divine Empyrean]. This text is extant only as ch. 198–205 of the late 14th-century ritual compendium HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 道法會元 [A Corpus of Taoist Ritual].57 Lin’s narrative piece approaches the caliber of the visionary verse ascribed to his Shang-ch’ing predecessors. He recreates in heptasyllabic meter the empyrean domain under the special charge of a cosmic golden lad. Initially, this proleptic spirit is said to have signalled the downfall of the demonic Ch’ih-yu 赤帝 by bestowing his potent blazing tocsin, or fire-bell (huo-ling 火鈴), on the legendary protagonist Huang-ti 黃帝. An introductory essay to the ritual corpus, written by Lin’s second-generation disciple Ch’en Tao-i 陳道一, enlarges upon the mythic and practical aspects of the tocsin as a symbol of the omnipotence of Shen-hsiao authority. By applying this ritual emblem in talismanic or seal form, the adept is advised that he will be granted the capacity to quell all demonic forces wreaking havoc on mankind and to render salvation to all humanity. While a large collection of therapeutic talismans has accrued to this ritual code, the huo-ling talisman, host to cosmic fire spirits, remains central throughout.58 A colophon by Liu Yü 劉玉 (fl. 1258) of Feng-ch’eng 豐城 (Kiangsi) traces the ancestry of the lineage two generations back, from Ch’en Tao-i to his own mentor Lu Yeh 卢臚.59

2. T’ung-ch’u (Youthful Incipience)

Close on the heels of the Shen-hsiao theocracy there arose in the Mao Shan 茅山 region a revitalization of the Shang-ch’ing revelations
Fig. 3. The talisman and altar for summoning the cosmic spirit T'ien-ting. Sketch based on HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yuan, 198.4b, 21b. The series of strokes that make up the talisman, according to the Great Rites of the Celestial Stalwart of Golden Flames in the Divine Empyrean, are thought to embody a number of fire spirits called forth to incinerate perverse spectral agents. The altar is set up on occasions when T'ien-ting is invoked as a rainmaker.
under the name T'ung-ch'u ta-fa 童初大法 (Great Rites of Youthful Incipience). Apparently all that survives of the ritual codes from this tradition is a 13th-century recension in the HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 171-178, entitled Shang-ch'ing t'ung-ch'u wu-yuan su-fu yu-ts'e 上清童初五大元素府玉冊 [Jade Archives from the Immaculate Bureau of the Five Primordials of Shang-ch'ing Youthful Incipience]. The founder of this new ritual tradition is identified as Yang Hsi-chen 楊希真 (1101-1124), a son of rice merchants in I-chen 儀真, just north of Mao Shan. According to the hagiography preserved in the HY 304 Mao Shan chih 茅山志 [A Treatise on Mao Shan], Yang feigned madness in 1120, vanished from sight, and was given up for dead.60 According to the legend, he had been chosen to be the sole recipient of the sacred teachings of T'ung-ch'u. The site of his induction lay within the Mao Shan subterranean chamber of Hua-yang Tung 華陽洞. Within one year he is said to have resurfaced from this cavern, ready to divulge the rites of his initiation into the T'ung-ch'u hierarchy. The account of Yang's enlightenment and the receptivity of Hui-tsung to his novel route toward salvation are all but missing in what historical survey is included within the ritual codes themselves. The chief purveyor of these codes, Chin Yün-chung 金允中 (fl. 1224-1225), traces their practice only as far as two generations prior to his own initiation.61 His version of the T'ung-ch'u rites is characteristically touted as the single truly correct therapeutic dispensation.

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

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

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

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

The earliest extant corpus of T'ien-hsin rites dates from 1116, when a Ritual Master by the name of Yuan Miao-tsung 元妙宗 (fl. 1086–1116) took it upon himself to supply the therapeutic ritual texts he found lacking in the Tao-tsang compilation project at Hui-tsung's court. Based on his own experience as an itinerant practitioner in the Yangtze
Fig. 4. Choreography for treading upon the terrestrial filaments and soaring through Ursa Major. Sketch based on HY 1217 T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao, 8.3b. The instructions call for pacing through the terrestrial filaments and then Ursa Major, three times each, followed by a three-step nine-track pattern. The adept is said thereby not only to preserve his own person, but also to aid the state in relieving the suffering of the people from assorted disasters.

River region, Yüan came up with the 10-ch. HY 1217 T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao 太上助國救民緯轂真祕要 [Secret Essentials on Assembling the Perfected of the Most High for the Relief of the State and Deliverance of the People]. At the heart of this corpus is a manual of talismanic applications with the title Shang-ch'ing pei-chi t'ien-hsin cheng-fa 上清北極天心正法 [Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart from the Northern Bourne of Shang-ch'ing]. According to Yüan's analysis, the ultimate source of the T'ien-hsin rites was precisely the northernmost extremity of the celestial realm. But preserved in his compilation is actually a far broader range of techniques than what T'ien-hsin had to offer. In his effort to fill a major bibliographic lacuna, Yüan
ended up consolidating a vast array of instruction on therapeutic rites circulating in his time. The documentation of T'ang healing traditions that have otherwise been lost is especially valuable.

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

Among the scriptural traditions directly derived from T'ien-hsin is the Shang-ch'ing t'ien-p'eng fu-mo ta-fa [Great Rites of the T'ien-p'eng Spirit of Shang-ch'ing for Subduing Demons]. This intricately designed ritual code, also fashioned around the triad of
T'ien-hsin talismans, is attributed to a Tung Ta-hsien 董大仙. It is preserved in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 156–168. Another corpus that draws on the T'ien-hsin legacy is the 30-ch. HY 220 Wu-shang hsüan-yüan san-t'ien yü-t'ang ta-fa 無上玄元三天王堂大法 [Great Rites of the Jade Hall, from the Three Celestial Realms of the Culminating, Sublime, and Primordial]. Lu Shih-chung 路時中, who compiled this work in 1158, claims to have excavated the Jade Hall ritual manuals at Mao
Shan. His well-illustrated text is in fact the product of a finely worked synthesis of T'ien-hsin therapeutics and Shen-hsiao lien-tu rites. So renowned was Lu throughout the south of China that a number of his exploits are recorded in the I-chien chih of Hung Mai (1123–1202).68

No therapeutic ritual tradition is mentioned in the I-chien chih more often than T'ien-hsin.69 From the I-chien chih stories, it appears that the T'ien-hsin practitioners were recognized above all else for their
expertise in the exorcism of possessing spirits that were thought to have caused various forms of mental disturbances. It is tempting to suggest that they were the first psychotherapists of China. Indeed, one of the most popular stories in which the T'ien-hsin Master is invoked is the prototypical "demon story" based on the predicament of a vulnerable young man who has been seduced by a succubus. The continuing influence of the T'ien-hsin heritage can be discerned in many Chinese novels, most notably the Shui-hu chuan. Encounters between the forces of good and evil, such as those that dominate the pages of T'ien-hsin and cognate rituals, are also showcased in such classics as the P'ing-yao chuan 平妖傳, Feng-shen yen-i 封神演義, Ying-lieh chuan 英烈傳, and the Chung K'uei 鍾馗 corpus. These narratives reveal just how pervasive and imposing the demonifuge heritage was. But perhaps the most lasting impression of the T'ien-hsin legacy is to be found not in Chinese novels but in the ritual paintings of the Yao minority, sets of which are still being produced.

4. Ch'ing-wei (Clarified Tenuity)

Of distinct prominence among the later revelatory traditions is the Ch'ing-wei 清微 (Clarified Tenuity) legacy. Although a substantial record of Ch'ing-wei is preserved in the Canon, there is no overall consensus on the ultimate provenance of this all-inclusive formulation. Most sources do agree on the role played by a singular young woman named Tsu Shǔ 巫 (fl. 889-904). According to hagiographic legend, this dark-complexioned lass, of remarkable height, deserted her family in Ling-ling 雲陵 (Kwangsi) to make a circuit of sacred peaks in search of instruction on meditative practice. Where and from whom Tsu gained divine insight is a matter of some dispute, but it is generally agreed that she achieved a synthesis of four major traditions: Shang-ch'ing, Ling-pao, Tao-te, and Cheng-i. Her putative accomplishment is all the more noteworthy, for not since the founding of the Shang-ch'ing heritage had a woman been identified with the formulation of a scriptural tradition. The transmission of the Ch'ing-wei teachings is traced from Tsu through several generations of female advocates and eventually to a man named Nan Pi-tāo 南辟 (b. 1196). It is said that Nan effected the cure of Huang Shun-shēn 黃舜申 (1224-ca. 1286), a newly appointed administrator in Kwangsi, thereby acquiring a devoted disciple. Huang, a native of Chien-ning 建寧 (Fukien), was apparently responsible for the
codification and widespread transmission of the Ch’ing-wei legacy. During his lifetime, this ritual tradition gained a firm foothold from Kwangsi north to Hupeh’s Wu-tang Shan, the mountain range that came to be associated with the omnipotent spirit Hsuan-wu. But perhaps the most important factor contributing to its perpetuity is the approbation granted this new ritual tradition by the Celestial Master regency.

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

Nowhere is the complexity of the Ch’ing-wei transmission better illustrated than in the ritual corpus of the HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 1–55, the largest section devoted to the textual history of a single scriptural innovation. The chapter headings alone reveal the wide variety of regional traditions of Lei-fa and lien-tu practice that was eventually assimilated under the rubric Ch’ing-wei. As a colophon of 1268 suggests, this syn-
Fig. 7. Talismans of the Ch’ing-wei Thunder Rites. Sketch based on HY 222 Ch’ing-wei shen-lich pi-fa, 2.1a–2a. The talismans on top, right and left are to be inscribed in vermilion on yellow silk, whereas the central talisman is rendered in black ink on black paper. These four are the first in a series of talismans prescribed toward the expulsion of all sources of aberration.
thesis appears to have evolved primarily through the efforts of Huang Shun-shen. Moreover, the signature of the leading syncretist Chao I-chen 趙宜真 (d. 1382) appears throughout the Ch’ing-wei corpus, indicating that the redaction received in the Canon dates no earlier than to the latter half of the fourteenth century. Chao, who titles himself a hereditary son of Ch’ing-wei, evidently had an awakening comparable to that credited to Huang, for his initiation into the contemplative rites of Ch’ing-wei reportedly came upon his seemingly miraculous recovery from a devastating illness. The experiences of Huang and Chao were by no means isolated incidents in the history of Taoist traditions. Such episodes of divine healing demonstrate how closely Taoist practitioners came to link their physiological and mental well-being to spiritual enlightenment. Ch’ing-wei is but one of the more intricate textual traditions from which a study of the aetiological foundations of Taoist therapeutics might be pursued.

5. Ling-pao Liturgical Collections

Several ritual compendia purport to record the practices of what is called Ling-pao ta-fa 灵宝大法 (Great Rites of Ling-pao), a liturgical tradition that was subject to many regional interpretations. Collation of these sources reveals varying syntheses of several Sung dynasty traditions, the provenance of which in a number of cases can be traced to Lin Ling-su’s native Wenchow. One of the earlier compilations of this type is the 57-ch. HY 508 Wu-shang huang-lu ta-chai li-ch’eng i 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 [Protocols on the Establishment of the Great Fête of the Incomparable Yellow Register]. This work is based on the teachings of Master Liu Yung-kuang 刘用光 (1134–1206), who was stationed at the Celestial Master headquarters of Lung-hu Shan 龍虎山 (Kiangsi). Liu was trained in both the Cheng-i and Wu-lei 五雷 (Five Thunder) rites and established a considerable reputation for himself in south China as a successful rainmaker. The editor of Liu’s textual legacy was a disciple named Chiang Shu-yü 蒋叔興 (1156–1217). Chiang, a native of Yung-chia 永嘉, i.e., Wenchow, was equally acclaimed for his ritual feats. As the title suggests, the focus of Chiang’s corpus is on the fête of the Yellow Register, or Huang-lu 黃籙. Substantial citations were incorporated in his work from the ritual texts of earlier Ling-pao codifiers, namely Lu Hsiu-ching 陸修靜 (406–477), Chang Wan-fu 張萬福 (fl. 711), Li Ching-ch’i 李景祈, and Tu Kuang-t’ing 杜光庭.
Fig. 8. A portrait of the Spirit for Restoring the Skeleton and Reviving the Dead. Sketch based on HY 508 Wu-shang huang-lu ta-chai li-ch'eng i, 41.14b. This cosmic figure is among those evoked in the ceremony of a Huang-lu chai, or Retreat of the Yellow Register, staged on behalf of the dead. Cognate illustrations are found in HY 547, 27.4b; HY 1211, 48.18b; and HY 1213, 33.4a.

(850–933). Chiang Shu-yü himself contributes several chapters on the elaborate programmes for variant lien-tu ceremonies. In addition to the pertinent diagrams and talismans, this anthology is replete with exhaustive lists of the deities to be summoned in attendance to the rites. Equally well documented are the specific accoutrements for various liturgies, as well as the means by which the laity were expected to finance the performances. Of special note are the sample petition forms that were to be filled out and conveyed to the appropriate celestial bureau via the smoke of a censer. Many of the petitions have clearly been altered to serve on behalf of the Ming imperial throne. The last chapter in this well-organized collection is a supplement comprising a biography of Chiang Shu-yü by his sons Chiang Hsi and Chiang Yen, and a
biography of Liu Yung-kuang by Kao Wen-hu (chin-shih, 1160). According to the former account, the Huang-lu ritual texts were originally only one part of a far more comprehensive compendium entitled Ling-pao yü-chien [The Jade Slips of Ling-pao].

Another ritual corpus was in fact taken into the Canon under the title HY 547 Ling-pao yü-chien [The Jade Mirror of Ling-pao]. This 43-ch. text is preceded by a detailed table of contents, the HY 546 Ling-pao yü-chien mu-lu, but no introduction to the provenance of the compilation is recorded. An intriguing, although perhaps remote, possibility is that this may be the corpus to which Chiang Shu-yü’s sons referred. Internal evidence suggests a compilation date prior to 1239. Reference to Chang Tao-ling, for instance, is made according to a title conferred in 1108, “Cheng-i ching-ying chen-chün” 正一靜應真君 (The Cheng-i Perfected Lord of Tranquil Response). Conspicuously absent is the honorific affix “Hsien-yu” (Manifest Protection) that was bestowed on the patriarch in 1239. Foremost in the text are the talismans, diagrams, and accompanying incantations requisite to the reenactment of lien-tu rites. Due homage is paid to Tu Kuang-t’ing’s formulations as well as to those of the compiler of the Jade Hall Rites, Lu Shih-chung. Although the T’ien-hsin tradition is spoken of as distinct from Ling-pao ta-fa, the text does in fact incorporate basic features of those rites. The illustrations are in many cases comparable to those in other Ling-pao compendia. Perhaps the most significant clue to the provenance of the Ling-pao yü-chien is the mention of a patriarch named T’ien Tzu-chi 田紫極. His name is linked to what became one of the most prominent traditions of Ling-pao ta-fa, the branch centered in the T’ien-t’ai 天台 mountain range of eastern Chekiang.

Ning Pen-li (1101–1181), a leading codifier of the T’ien-t’ai branch, is traditionally identified as the disciple of T’ien Tzu-chi. His teachings are found, first of all, in the 66-ch. HY 1211 Shang-ch’ing ling-pao ta-fa 上清靈寶大法 [The Great Rites of the Shang-ch’ing Ling-pao Tradition]. This collection was put together by a Taoist Master named Wang Ch’i-chen 王契真, about whom nothing is known. Ning was a native of Kaifeng 開封, the Northern Sung capital. Sometime around 1154, during Sung Kao-tsung’s reign, Ning gained a fair amount of notoriety for his ritual activities south of the Yangtze. His exploits in quelling demonic forces, particularly in the T’ien-t’ai area, are celebrated in the anthology of his near-contemporary Hung Mai.
Fig. 9. An inside view of the nine palaces within the cranium of an adept. Sketch based on HY 1211 Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa, 3.23a. The visualization and recitation of the names of the nine palaces ten thousand times is said to lead to transcendence. The commentary to the instructions on this practice states that the person of the adept is to be envisioned within the second of the four palaces on the upper level.

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

Another work drawn from Ning Pen-li's instructions is the 320-ch. HY 466 Ling-pao ling-chiao chi-tu chin-shu 靈寶領教濟度金書 [The Golden Script on Salvation Based on the Teachings Conveyed by the Ling-pao Tradition], the most voluminous compendium of ritual proto-
col found in the Canon. Lin Wei-fu 林偉夫 (1239-1303), who is credited with carrying on the legacy of Ning in his native Wenchow, took the responsibility for editing the work. Appended to the table of contents are extensive biographies for both Ning and Lin, composed by a disciple named Lin T'ien-jen 林天任 less than four months after Lin Wei-fu’s demise. This self-appointed hagiographer evidently inherited his master’s post as Hsüan-hsüeh chiang-shih 玄學講師 (Lecturer in Arcane Studies) at Wenchow. The corpus that he helped transmit is the most systematically and comprehensively presented body of ritual texts preserved in the Tao-tsang. The material is organized under eighteen general headings. The first chapters include extensive chorographic diagrams for altar settings and long lists of deities to be summoned for various ritual needs. Closing the text are all the necessary forms for divine communication, complete with advice on the proper selection of date and site for sending off communications to the deities addressed. Over 250 chapters at the core of the work are devoted to the other formalities prescribed for a range of ritual functions from obsequies and ordinations to the treatment of pestilential diseases and eradication of locusts. Among the more noteworthy features are internal prefaces and summaries that give an accounting of the diverse matrices of this branch of Ling-pao rites. Special acknowledgment, for example, is made once again of the revelations promoted by Lu Shih-chung.

The compiler of another, much smaller, ritual compendium takes exception to the increasing amplification of the Ling-pao liturgy. Chin Yün-chung 金允中 (fl. 1224-1225), in the preparation of his own 44-ch. HY 1213 Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa, seeks to rectify what he considers to be the excesses of his age. As noted earlier, Chin was the major codifier of the T'ung-ch'u rites, a late development of the Shang-ch'ing tradition. With this text, he proves himself to be a harsh critic of contemporary Ling-pao practice. His lengthy preface, which appears prior to the table of contents, HY 1212 Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa mu-lu, provides an introductory survey of the history of Ling-pao liturgy. Chin traces its origins from the fundamental scripture, the Tu-jen ching, to the codification of Lu Hsiu-ching and Tu Kuang-t'ing. The basics of these early liturgical standards, he claims, have been all but distorted by modern-day innovations. Chin reserves his strongest condemnation for the T'ien-t'ai programmes that were so widely adopted following the Shao-hsing reign (1131-1162). Although Ning Pen-li is not mentioned
by name, there seems to be little question that Chin is referring to his work under the rubric of T’ien-t’ai Ling-pao fa. This ritual system as practiced in the Chekiang region, to Chin’s way of thinking, was so overly complex that the true essence of Ling-pao had been all but lost. In order that something of this pristine quality might be restored, Chin offers a more succinct manual of ritual protocol, the inspiration for which he directly attributes to his personal instructors. Although he states in his preface that their names are recorded at the end of the chuan 卷, or roll, they in fact remain anonymous. All we know of their provenance is that they were active in the central plains (chung-yuan 中原), i.e., in the Honan-Shantung region. The only legitimate ritual tradition, according to Chin, is that founded on the principles of chin-tan 金丹 (golden elixir or metallous enchymoma) as taught prior to its assimilation in the south. All other rites, such as the “Mo-ch’ao Shang-ti” 默朝上帝 [Silent Homage to the Supreme Sovereign], associated with T’ien-hsin, he labels as hsiao-fa 小法, or lesser rites, for which he expresses nothing but contempt.95

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

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

The vast majority of texts in the *Tao-fa hui-yüan* are Thunder Rites of almost every regional variety imaginable. Over a dozen chapters reveal the mark of the well-known Shen-hsiao Master Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093–1153). Very few ritual texts associated with this Wenchow practitioner have otherwise survived. Likewise, the eminent Thunder Master Pai Yü-ch’an 白玉蟾 (fl. 1209–1224) is credited with several titles. Included among his contributions are valuable comparisons of divergent Thunder Rites prevailing during his time. Unique copies of ritual codes identified with Pai’s mentor Ch’en Nan 陳楠 (d. 1213) are also to be found, noteworthy despite their dubious authenticity. Equally rare are the manuals on the Thunder Rites of Hun-yüan 混元 (Primordiality of Chaos) to which the Hupeh Master Lei Shih-chung 雷時中 (1221–1295) was privy. Even the Lei-t’ing 雷霆 (Thunderclap) Rites associated with Mo Ch’i-yen 莫起炎 (1226–1294) are recorded. Listed as the patriarch for another strain of the potent Lei-t’ing prescriptions is Sa Chien 薩堅. Tradition has it that Sa
sought training from the preeminent 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien 張繼先 (1092–1126), as well as the Shen-hsiao advocates Lin Ling-su and Wang Wen-ch'ing. His quest inspired at least one tsa-chü play as well as a long narrative work.¹⁰⁶

No less significant are ritual codes centered around local guardian spirits, of both celestial and terrestrial origin.¹⁰⁷ Rites such as these sometimes end up in multiple redactions, representing several regional
variations. On occasion, the Ritual Masters who applied these rites were expected to engage the services of a spirit medium. In the absence of prefaces or colophons, the provenance of many such ritual codes may not be readily apparent, but often all the information essential for dating a particular manual can be derived from the cast of ritual players that is almost invariably cited at the onset. For example, those listed as administrators of the ritual (chu-fa 主法) or as patriarchs (tsu-shih 祖師) and venerable masters (tsung-shih 祖師) may provide all the clues necessary to a reconstruction of the historical context for the ritual itself. How one ritual complex stands vis-à-vis another is further clarified in the closing expositions of the Tao-fa hui-yuan. The various administrative centers and ordination ranks as well as the behavioral codes here attests to the common ground between the legal system of China and the institutionalization of Taoist traditions.

7. Miscellaneous Regional Collections

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

The second preface was composed in 1295 by a Taoist Master named Han Hun-ch'eng 韓混成 in compliance with the request of the compiler Ma Tao-î 馬道儀, a Taoist Master stationed at Chin-ch'eng 錦城 (i.e., Ch'eng-tu). According to Han, Ma had taken it upon himself to draw together selections from the T'ung-chiao chi of Lü T'ai-ku and a Lien-chiao chi [Anthology of Instructions on Transmutation] ascribed to a certain Ho Yün-t'ai or Ho of Yün-t'ai [Shan] 何公 in
central Szechwan. The edition that follows proves to be fundamentally the work of Lü, with few but significant alterations. It is preceded by a table of contents for eight folios and a brief introductory statement by Lü T'ai-ku, dating to 1209. The eight categories listed correspond to the headings for chapters 1–7 and 9. Chapter 8, apparently interpolated, is a record of jip invocations and scriptural readings required for the Huang-lu (Yellow Register) ritual sequence. The first chapter opens with a short series of citations concerning the various paths toward becoming a devotee. The bulk of the chapter is then turned over to sixteen hagiographic accounts, starting with Chang Tao-ling and ending with Liu Ts'ung-shan (990–1070). These accounts were extracted from Chia Shan-hsiang's (A Hagiography of Those Who Exalt the Tao), a text extant only in fragmentary citations. According to the table of contents, the substance of the original chapter 4 on “Pu-hsü” (Pacing the Void) has been exchanged for a series of invocations taken from a “Lien-chiao” text, presumably that of Mr. Ho. The only other chapter that does not exactly correspond to the table of contents is chapter 6, where only one from a total of eight headings is retained, namely, a preface on ritual protocol by Tu Kuang-t'ing. Particularly interesting in the commentary there is the reference to a reedition of the Chin-lu (Golden Register) liturgies prepared by Yang Chieh (fl. 1078–1086), an adviser to Sung Shen-tsung (r. 1068–1085) on court music. Actual selections from Yang's writings, together with those of Tu Kuang-t'ing and Chang Shang-ying (1043–1121), make up chapter 7. Recorded in the last chapter is a selection of early meditative incantations and talismans, some of which, as the commentary states, were drawn from the T'ien-hsin rites.

An even earlier compilation that seems also to have been the product of Lü Yün-su's efforts to recover basic liturgical sources is the 10-ch. HY 1214 Tao-men ting-chih [Prescribed Practices from the Portal of the Tao]. While Lü himself assembled the text, the final collation is credited to a Hu Hsiang-lung. According to Lü's preface, dated 1188, this collection was made in answer to what he considered the over-elaborate ritual practices of his age. In advocating a simplification of ritual procedure, Lü thus seems to anticipate Chin Yün-chung's reformist tendencies. As in HY 1216 Tao-men t'ung-chiao pi-yung chi, Tu Kuang-t'ing appears to be the main source of inspiration.
Among the more noteworthy features of this work is the copy of a memorial that Wang Ch’in-jo 王錫若 (962–1025) submitted to Sung Chen-tsung 宋真宗 (r. 998–1022), announcing his re-collation of a text on the protocols of a chiao-fête. Lù also includes a number of lists of all the divine forces to be marshaled for various ritual functions, including the 1200 required for a Huang-lu chiao. Among those to be invoked are several tutelary spirits as well as the local worthies associated with variant revelatory traditions, such as Shang-ch’ing and T’ien-hsin. The text is equally explicit about the specific materials essential to variant rites, from the yardage and colors of fabrics to the quantity of oil and paper money. A much larger repertoire of talismans than is found in Lù T’ai-ku’s corpus is also recorded here, together with a detailed diagram of a three-tiered altar. This anthology appears to have served as a reference long after the Sung, for at least one petition form in the Tao-tsang redaction is worded on behalf of the “Ta Ming-kuo,” or Great State of Ming.

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

The last title to be considered under this summary of revelation and ritual, the HY 317 Ling-pao t'ien-tsun shuo Hung-en ling-chi chen-chun miao-ching [Wondrous Scripture of the Celestial Worthy of Ling-pao Speaking on the Perfected Lords of Vast Mercy and Divine Relief], is representative of the sort of scriptural fabrication that often arose in conjunction with the nationalization of local cults. The “Perfected Lords of Vast Mercy and Divine Relief” to which the title refers are the brothers Hsü Chih-cheng 徐知濟
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(fl. 937–946) and Hsü Chih-o 徐知誼 (fl. 937–946). The text is introduced by a preface that was composed upon imperial order in 1420, which indicates the role Ming Ch’eng-tsu 明成祖 (r. 1403–1425) played in reinforcing the status of two folk deities as guardians of the state. According to the account in the Ta Ming hui-tien 大明會典, the emperor appears to have thought himself the personal beneficiary of their divine power. It is said that after praying to the two deities, he found himself completely recovered from a devastating illness that had kept him bedridden and on which pharmaceutical preparations had proved ineffective. The temple he established in their honor at the palace, the Ling-chi Kung 靈濟宮 (Palace of Divine Relief), was the site of official sacrifices until 1576.119

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

Hagiography

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Chao Tao-i's Masterpiece

The most extensive hagiographic collection in the Canon is the 53-ch. HY 296 Li-shih chen-hsien t‘i-tao t‘ung-chien 历世真仙体道通鑑 [A Comprehensive Mirror on Successive Generations of Perfected Transcendents and Those Who Embody the Tao]. This work and two supplements, the 5-ch. HY 297 Hsü-pien 續編 [Supplemental Folios] and the 6-ch. HY 298 Hou-chi 後集 [Later Anthology], are all attributed to Chao Tao-i 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307), a Taoist Master of Fou-yün Shan 鴻雲山 (Chekiang). The appended texts in fact appear to date to the
late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Although the initial corpus itself was completed in the early Yuan, the sphere of influence within which it took shape was clearly that of displaced Southern Sung notables. Chao’s own prefatory remarks are unfortunately not dated, but he reveals in them an awareness of the work of the Southern Sung specialist in Thunder Rites Pai Yü-ch’an 伯玉蟾 (fl. 1209–1224). Two other prefaces, dated 1294, are signed by the Sung loyalists Liu Ch’en-weng 劉辰翁 (1232–1297) and Teng Kuang-chien 鄧光薦 (1232–1303). Both Liu and Teng refer to Chao by his familiar name Ch’üan-yang 錫陽 and speak in glowing terms of his accomplishments as a hagiographer. Among those known to have been associated with Liu were distant kin of the Sung imperial house of Chao. There is thus the vague possibility that Chao Tao-i himself may have been among the many relatives of the royal family who took up eremetic pursuits throughout the south following the Mongol incursions.

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

In gathering material from earlier, less complete hagiographies, Chao considered his task to be the compilation of a comprehensive reference comparable to those available for exemplars of Buddhist and Ju classical traditions. He acknowledges his reliance on the HY 769 Hun-
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Yuan Sheng-chi [A Chronicle of the Sage from the Primordiality of Chaos] of Hsieh Shou-hao 謝守瀟 (1134–1212) in establishing accurate dates for people and events. According to his “Pien-li” [Compiler’s Guidelines], Chao seeks to document all of note from antiquity to the final years of the Sung. His entries are organized in a semichronological fashion, interrupted only by an occasional summary that characteristically features a citation from the Tao-te ching. Chao admits in an undated colophon that chronology was sometimes sacrificed in order to provide systematic coverage of hereditary lineages. Thus, for example, chapters 18 and 19 are turned over to the Celestial Master patriarchy, starting with the founder Chang Tao-ling and ending with the 35th generation Chang K’o-ta 張可大 (1218–1262). Chao merely notes, in regard to the perpetuation of this lineage, that the 35th patriarch’s authority was transferred to his second son Chang Tsung-yen 張宗演 (1244–1291) in 1262. Nothing is said concerning Tsung-yen’s subsequent activities as the first Celestial Master to serve the Mongol empire.

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

Both supplements, the Hsü-pien and the Hou-chi, were apparently prepared in part as tributes to the Ch’üan-chen legacy. The first opens with lengthy accounts on the Ch’üan-chen patriarchs active during the Chin and early Yüan. The second supplement, which is completely turned over to the biographies of divine women, closes with an entry on the Ch’üan-chen matriarch Sun Pu-erh 孫普仁 (1119–1183). Mention of the syncretist Chao I-chen 趙宣真 (d. 1382) in one of the closing chapters of the Hsü-pien suggests that this particular work may not have been compiled much before the turn of the fourteenth century. Colla-
tion of both supplements with other hagiographic sources in the Canon should reveal further clues to their ultimate provenance.136

2. Smaller General Works

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

The HY 595 Chiang Huai i-jen lu 江淮異人錄 [A Record of Singular Individuals from the Yangtze and Huai River Regions], dating almost two centuries earlier, was compiled with no apparent thesis in mind. This regional hagiography is the work of Wu Shu 吴叔 (947–1002), who is perhaps best known for his encyclopedic Shih-lei fu 事類賦 [Rhapsody on Categories of Things]. The Chiang Huai i-jen lu
is one of the few texts in the *Tao-tsang* to have also been accepted for publication in the Ssu-k’u Imperial Library. Classification of the anthology has always presented some problems for bibliographers, for it has been identified both as a biographical text and as a work of fiction. According to the Ssu-k’u editors, the inspiration behind Wu’s account was the *Chi-shen lu* [A Record of Pursuits into the Sacred] of his father-in-law, Hsü Hsuan (916–991). The imperial bibliographers deemed both works comparable to collections of tales such as the *Shan-hai ching* [Classic on Mountains and Rivers], the lead text in the division of “Hsiao-shuo” under which they are catalogued. It is nonetheless acknowledged that many of Wu’s entries were considered authentic enough to be included in two variant *Nan T’ang shu* compiled by Ma Ling (fl. 1105) and Lu Yu (1125–1210). All but two of the 25 episodes concern the experiences of southern adepts dating to the Later T’ang (922–957). But in territorial coverage and content, this hagiography seems to be a forerunner of Hung Mai’s vast repertoire, the *I-chien chih*. As such, it preserves an excellent record of pre-Sung variations on the versatile demonifuge theme that informed Hung as well as later anthologists such as Feng Meng-lung (1574–1646) and P’u Sung-ling (1640–1715).

The 5-ch. HY 780 *Hsuan-p’in lu* [A Record of the Ranks of the Sublime] compiled by Chang Yu (1283–1356+) in 1335, although not reprinted as part of the Ssu-k’u collection, is given an entry in Ch’ien-lung’s imperial catalogue. It, too, reflects the regional interests of the compiler, which in this case center around the seat of the Shang-ch’ing revelations at Mao Shan (Kiangsu). Most prominent among the biographies Chang records are those that trace the transmission of this heritage from the visionary Yang Hsi (b. 330) to the 25th patriarch Liu Hun-k’ang (1035–1108). Superimposed upon his chronologically arranged anthology is a set of twelve categorical labels. Among those cited as exemplars of “Tao-yin” (Reclusion in the Tao) is T’ao Ch’ien (365–427). The literary excellence of several T’ang poets, including Li Po (699–762) and Wu Yün (d. 778), falls under the category “Tao-hua” (Efflorescence of the Tao). Most practitioners associated with one scriptural tradition or another are labeled as “Tao-p’in” (Ranks of the Tao), but those who exhibit special therapeutic capacities, such as the ritual codifier Liu Yung-kuang (1134–1206), are given the heading of “Tao-shu”
By far the most eclectic of the general hagiographies printed in the Tao-lsang is the 6-ch. HY 1466 Sou-shen chi [In Search of the Sacred]. No name appears with the preface attached to this text, but it is known to be the work of Lo Mao-teng (fl.1593-1598). Lo acquired the edition to which he added his remarks in 1593 from the Fu-ch’un T’ang publishing house of San-shan, just outside Nanking. Unfortunately, the illustrations that once accompanied the text are missing from the redaction in the Canon. Lo suggests that this hagiography be regarded as a continuation of the earlier Sou-shen chi ascribed to Kan Pao (fl. 317). He also makes the point that the act of reissuing the text invokes divine munificence. Similar statements of faith in the theory of retribution continue to be an important impetus to the publication of religious literature in Chinese society down to the present day. Lo’s recommendation may have helped motivate the 50th Celestial Master Chang Kuo-hsiang (d. 1611) to add his imprimatur to the Sou-shen chi in 1607.

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

3. Genealogical Records of the Celestial Masters

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

The text proper begins with chapter 2. It opens with an introit written by Chang Yüeh 張鉷, a contemporary of the 48th Celestial Master, Chang Yen-p’ien 張應頌 (fl. 1523–1537), who apparently also had a hand in the compilation. An underlying premise of this genealogy is that the Celestial Master patriarchy had been maintained without interruption since the time of Chang Tao-ling. It is also understood that the lineage was always very closely linked to Lung-hu Shan. A convincing case for either claim has yet to be made. The first biography on Chang Tao-ling, which is much shorter than the one in Chao Tao-i’s corpus, seeks to establish the name of the mountain with the founder’s residence there. Legend has it that after Chang refined an elixir (lien-tan 煉丹) on Yun-chin Shan 雲錦山 ca. 92 C.E., a dragon and tiger appeared, whence the name of the mountain was changed to Lung-hu Shan.
The next time the mountain is mentioned in the genealogy is in the passage concerning the fourth Celestial Master, Chang Sheng 張盛 (fl. 222–226). The third patriarch, Chang Lu 張魯, (fl. 190–220), reportedly told his son to leave the Shu area in which the original parishes were maintained and to establish residence on Lung-hu Shan, where their ancestor had made his home. Although this genealogy says nothing further about the extent of Chang Sheng’s settlement on Lung-hu Shan, Chao Tao-i’s account asserts that many of his descendants continued to live on the northeast side of the peak. The next generation for whom this regional link is clearly established is the 10th Celestial Master, Chang Tzu-hsiang 張子祥 (fl. 618). Following a short term in service to the Sui court, the 10th patriarch is said to have fled with his family to Lung-hu Shan, where eventually he attracted several hundred disciples. How soon thereafter the patriarchy actually made Lung-hu Shan its permanent base is difficult to say. More than one source, however, confirms that a Kiangsi merchant was aware that the 19th generation Master Chang Hsiu 張修 (fl. 868) could be found in residence on the mountain. Regardless of whether the patriarchy was firmly established at Lung-hu Shan sometime between the seventh and ninth centuries, it was not until 1105, during Sung Hui-tsung’s reign, that the imperial government began to sponsor large-scale restoration and construction projects at the site. The inspiration for this golden age of state patronage of Lung-hu Shan, which is well documented in the genealogy, can be attributed to the 30th Celestial Master, Chang Chi-hsien 張繼先 (1092–1126).

The biography of this influential patriarch is second in length only to that of Chang Tao-ling. Even Chang Yü-ch’u, in an undated postface, singles out the career of Chang Chi-hsien. Many of the earlier biographies, especially those dating before the Sung, are remarkably short and almost formulaic in composition and are therefore not easy to authenticate. The officially authorized Han T’ien-shih shih-chia may be compared with Chao Tao-i’s Comprehensive Mirror as well as with variant editions of a monograph on Lung-hu Shan. These topographies are particularly valuable sources on the later generations of the lineage, but even more recent accounts are also available. In 1918, the 62nd Master Chang Yuan-hsü 張元旭 (d. 1924) brought the Tao-tsang compilation up to date with a Pu Han T’ien-shih shih-chia 補 [A Supplement to the Genealogy of the Celestial Masters since the Han]. Included in it are the
biographies for twelve patriarchs, from the 50th generation down to
Chang Yüan-hsü’s father, Chang Jen-cheng 張仁晟 (1820–1882). Six
decades later, the 64th Celestial Master Chang Yüan-hsien 張源先
issued the Li-tai Chang T’ien-shih chuan 歷代張天師傳 , covering
sixty-three generations of his predecessors. 158

4. Ch’üan-chen Documents

By the founding of the Mongol empire, the Ch’üan-chen 金真
lineage began to assert itself as the dominant religious force north of
the Yangtze. 159 A number of hagiographies stand as memorials to the Wu-tsu
ch’i-chen 五祖七真 (Five Ancestral Patriarchs and Seven Perfected)
of Ch’üan-chen. One such work is the HY 174 Chin-lien cheng-tsung
hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan 金連正宗仙源像傳 [An Illustrated Bio-
graphical Account of the Transcendent Origins of the True Lineage of
the Golden Lotus]. 160 It was completed in 1326, the result of a joint ven-
ture between Liu Chih-hsüan 劉志玄 and Hsieh Hsi-ch’an 謝西蟾.
As Liu reveals in his preface, it was his goal to create a definitive, illus-
trated reference work on the origins of Ch’üan-chen. He enlisted the aid
of Hsieh not only in tracking down all available written documents but
also in copying down any pertinent stone inscriptions that could be
found. Another preface, inscribed a year later in 1327, compliments the
compilers on their achievement. It is signed “T’ai-hsüan-tzu” 太玄子,
the sobriquet of the 39th Celestial Master, Chang Ssu-ch’eng 張嗣成
(d. 1343). Preceding the biographies and the accompanying wood-cut
illustrations are the imperial decrees of 1269 and 1310 in honor of the
Ch’üan-chen lineage. The Five Patriarchs are the first to be introduced
in the text proper: (1) Hun-yüan Lao-tzu 混元老子 (Lao-tzu from the
Primordiality of Chaos), (2) Tung-hua ti-chün 東華帝君 (Sovereign
Lord of Eastern Florescence), (3) Cheng-yang-tzu 正陽子 (Chung-li
Ch’üan 錘離權), (4) Ch’ün-yang-tzu 純陽子 (Lü Yen 呂巖, b. 798?),
and (5) Hai-ch’an-tzu 海蟾子 (Liu Ts’ao 劉操, fl. 1031). Following
the biographies of the patriarchs are eight accounts dedicated to the
founder of Ch’üan-chen, Ch’ung-yang-tzu 重陽子 (Wang Che 王嘉,
1112–1170), and the group of his early disciples known as the Seven
Perfected: (1) Tan-yang-tzu 陳陽子 (Ma Yü 马鈺, 1123–1183),
(2) Ch’ang-chen-tzu 長真子 (T’an Ch’u-tuan 隨處端, 1123–1185),
(3) Ch’ang-ch’ing-tzu 長生子 (Liu Ch’u-hsüan 劉處玄, 1147–1203),
(4) Ch’ang-ch’ün-tzu 長春子 (Ch’iu Ch’u-chi 邱處機, 1148–1227),
Fig. 12. A portrait of Lao-tzu in a Ch’üan-chen hagiography. Sketch based on HY 174 Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yuan hsiang-chuan, 11b.

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

More detailed documentation of the Ch’üan-chen hierarchy, apparently unknown to Liu and Hsieh, is found in the 5-ch. HY 173 Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi 金蓮正宗記 [An Account of the True Lineage of the Golden Lotus]. The text, with a preface dating to 1241, is ascribed to “Shu-li Tao-jen” 楝欅道人 (Useless [lit., ailanthus and chestnut-oak—trees of no timber value] Man of the Tao). 162 This is the name by which Ch’in Chih-an 鄭志安 (1188-1244) was known during his residence at the Shu-li T’ang 楝欅堂 of P’ing-yang 平陽 (Shansi). He is recognized primarily for his editorial work on the Canon that was
recompiled at P’ing-yang during the years 1237–1244. This text is one of five compositions that Ch’in added to the 1244 Canon, most of which were lost in the book-burning some 40 years later.\textsuperscript{163} In the first chapter, Ch’in includes accounts of all the ancestral patriarchs listed above, save Lao-tzu.\textsuperscript{164} Chapter 2 is devoted to the founder Wang Che and chapter 3 to his first disciple, Ma Yù, as well as two little known figures: Yú-ch’an-tzu (Ho Te-chin 和德瑾，d. 1170) and Ling-yang-tzu (identified only as Li Chen-jen 李真人，d. 1189). In the last chapters, the biographies of the remaining six of the Seven Perfected are finally taken up. Ever true to his bibliographic expertise, Ch’in cites all the literary works these worthies were known to have compiled. Fortunately, many are still found in the Canon. Others are known by title alone.

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

Ch’iu Ch’u-chi 秋處机 (1148–1227) is without a doubt the best known of the Seven Perfected, owing to the influence he exercised over Chinggis Khan. Summoned repeatedly to the Khan’s presence, Ch’iu finally met with him in 1222. His arduous journey into Central Asia is given a full report in the 2-ch. HY 1418 Ch’ang-ch’un chen-jen hsi-yu chi [The Journey to the West of the Perfected Ch’ang-ch’un], completed in 1228 by Li Chih-ch’ang 李志常 (1193–1256), who
was among those accompanying the septuagenarian.\cite{165} Li’s account opens with a brief summary of Ch’iu’s life up to the time of the journey. The rest of the text is a detailed journal of his last seven years, starting with the westward trek in 1221 and ending with the patriarch’s term as head of the T’ien-ch’ang Kuan 天長觀 in Yenching. Close to the site of this temple today stands the Pai-yün Kuan 白雲觀, where Ch’iu is still honored as the founder of the Lung-men 龍門 branch of Ch’üan-ch’en.\cite{166}

Sometime during the Yüan regime, the Ch’üan-ch’en ancestral patriarch Lü Yen 吕岩 (tzu, Tung-pin 洞宾) became popularly associated with a divine assemblage known as the Pa-hsien 八仙 (Eight Transcendents). The adventures of this infamous collective were a part of the standard repertoire with which tsa-chü troops entertained their audiences.\cite{167} The stuff-material of their fare presumably came in large part from the same body of oral tradition that informed hagiographic writings. One text that exemplifies the way in which the storyteller’s material on Lü Tung-pin could be successfully organized as a sort of documentary on religious history is the 7-ch. HY 305 Ch’un-yang ti-chün shen-hua miao-t’ung chi 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 [Annals of the Wondrous Communications and Divine Transformations of the Sovereign Lord Ch’un-yang]. This lengthy chronicle of Lü’s exploits is the work of Miao Shan-shih 苗善時 (fl. 1288–1324), a Hsüan-men 玄門 Master of Chin-ling 金陵 (i.e., Nanking). The text was apparently completed sometime after 1310, the date of the second imperial decree cited in regard to the honorary titles bestowed on the ancestral patriarchs and founder of Ch’üan-ch’en. If Miao is to be taken at his word, the received version of the text appears to be much reduced from his original compilation. Instead of the 120 episodes mentioned in Miao’s preface, only 108 are retained in this version. They are arranged in a less than strictly chronological order, with several entries labeled simply as missing. The series of accounts opens with Lü’s divine birth in 798 and closes shortly after his putative instruction to Wang Che, an event traditionally dated to 1159.\cite{168} Narrative sequences such as this on the timely appearances of transcendent forces constitute a subgenre of “transformation” (hua 化) hagiography. This type of literature in turn appears to have been one of the most adaptable sources of inspiration for those who painted temple murals.\cite{169} Another preeminent example is the Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua-t’u 老君八十化圖 [Illustrations on the Eighty-one Transformations of
Lord Lao], a text that figured prominently in the debates between Buddhists and Taoists at the Mongol court. The text was among those proscribed in 1258, for it perpetuated the claim that the Buddha was Lao-tzu incarnate. Thereafter it appeared to have been lost beyond recovery, with the exception of a few incriminating passages cited in Buddhist polemical works. Late editions have surfaced, however, and they invite further consideration in the context of Taoist hagiographic literature as well as in the development of the pao-chüan 獄卷. Advocates of the Ch’üan-chên tradition were superb record keepers, unmatched in breadth and detail except perhaps by their Buddhist contemporaries. One of the most accomplished archivists of this syncretic legacy is Li Tao-ch’ien 李道謙 (1219–1296). The HY 175 Ch’i-chên nien-p’u 七真年緯 [A Chronology of the Seven Perfected], which he compiled in 1271, covers the years 1112–1227, from the birth of founder Wang Che to the passing of Ch’iu Ch’u-chî. Li also compiled a supplementary hagiography of later Ch’üan-chên affiliates, namely, the 3-ch. HY 954 Chung-nan Shan tsu-t’îng hsien-chên nei-chüan 總南山祖庭實真內傳 [An Inside Account of the Transcendent Perfected of the Ancestral Hall of Mt. Chung-nan]. It consists of biographies for 37 figures prominent during the Chin and Yuan regimes, starting with Ho Te-chin 和德瑾 (d. 1170) and ending with Kao Tao-k’uan 高道寬 (1195–1277). As the self-appointed historian of Ch’üan-chên, Li also took the responsibility for collecting and editing a wide variety of inscriptions and documents pertinent to the Mt. Chung-nan region, where the founder Wang was said to have had his first encounter with divine agents.

5. A Ch’ing-wei Roster

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

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

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

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

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

6. Hsü Sun and the Ching-ming Cult

Among the more noteworthy of cultic figures to whom hagiographic works have been dedicated is Hsü Sun 許遙 (239-292/374?). The texts associated with his cult span six centuries, permitting a much longer-range view than most such literary legacies provide. Hsü is commonly referred to by the choronym Ching-yang 旌陽, in reference to the district in Shu-chün 蜀郡 (Szechwan) where he reputedly served as prefect. His career was equally well established east of there, in the Yü-chang 輿章 (Kiangsi) area where he made his home. Apparently, Hsü was venerated first both as a healer and for his capacity to vanquish dragons and similarly fearsome creatures. Only later, it seems, was this heroic vision amplified by legends defining him as a paragon of filial piety. Eventually, the regional customs of worship associated with this local guardian were subsumed into a nationalistic dispensation given the name of Ching-ming chung-hsiao Tao 淨明忠孝道 (The Loyal and Filial Way of the Pure and Perspicacious). Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月観映 divides the complex history of homage to Hsü into four stages, according to the dating of hagiographic sources and imperially ordained titles: (1) fourth century-681, (2) 682-1130, (3) 1131-1296, and (4) post-1297.179 Of the six hagiographic sources examined below, the first seems to be representative of stages 1 and 2, the second of stage 3, and the last three of stage 4.
The earliest text on this cult to survive intact is the HY 449 *Hsiao-tao Wu Hsü erh chen-chün chuan* (A Hagiography of Wu and Hsü, the Two Perfected Lords of the Filial Way). It is an account of the adventures of Hsü and a fellow dragon-slayer cum filial son named Wu Meng. Following their success in banishing a gigantic serpent that had been threatening the economic and social welfare of Yü-chang, Hsü was reportedly summoned west to Ch'ang-sha (Hunan). The story there is that he killed a dragon that, posing as a woman, had duped the local prefect into matrimony. Once the demon-slayer theme is established, the remaining two-thirds of the text is turned over to the history of Hsü's induction as the patriarch of a new ritual code known as Hsiao-tao (Way of Filiality). This portion of the hagiography is set in Shu-chün. It appears to be a later innovation on the legends surrounding Hsü Sun, reflecting the changing perceptions of his cultic role during the early T'ang. His nephew Hsü Chien (fl. 347), himself a Taoist Master, is actually put forward as the first to perpetuate the legacy of Hsiao-tao. There are, however, no texts attesting to a Hsiao-tao ritual tradition before the late T'ang. The one liturgical work that seems to be related to the hagiographic legend on Hsiao-tao has been found, in fact, to have many features in common with the Ling-pao rites codified by Tu Kuang-t'ing. Hsiao-tao, in other words, appears to have been little more than an early regional variation on the deeply rooted Ling-pao ritual heritage. Whatever their antiquity, these rites were invariably staged before the Yu-wei Kuan (Abbey of the Flying Carpet), the shrine set up outside Yü-chang at the putative site of Hsü's ascension. According to the prevailing myth, Hsü did not depart from the mortal realm alone, but took with him over 40 members of his family, together with their chickens and dogs. The brocade mat that accompanied him was identified as the one on which he had been seated at a farewell banquet the night before. It was thought to have returned of its own accord to Hsü's homestead, where the Yu-wei Kuan was established. By 627 this shrine had reportedly fallen into disrepair, for the tradition of offering devotions to Hsü had long been forgotten. But sometime around 682 the shrine was said to have been restored, just as a revival of Hsiao-tao rites was under way. At the end of this text is a list of the line of descendants from Hsü Chien seventeen generations down to Hsü Hao-jan. Although nothing is known about the career of the latter, he was no doubt instrumental in promoting a pro-
gramme of worship services celebrating the filiality of his ancestor. The last date cited for such services is 819, when a Huang-lu (Yellow Register) fête was performed for three days and nights in commemoration of the 562nd anniversary of the ascent of Hsù Sun.

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

In addition to incorporating episodes conditioned by changing perspectives of Hsu’s status, Pai Yü-ch’ an also includes a short history of the development of the cult since the T’ang, complete with copies of Hui-tsung’s decree. The significance of the shrine as a vital symbol of unity in the face of Jurchen invasions is also examined. The extent to which Hsu’s protective powers were invoked when the fate of the Sung mandate hung in the balance is further attested by the revelation of new scriptures in 1129–1131. Pai Yü-ch’ an’s own chronicle of Hsu’s role in repelling the Jurchen ends in 1158. Following that chronicle are descriptions of various ritual processions at the Yii-lung shrine, the most popular of which took place during the Mid-Autumn festival, marking the putative date of Hsu’s apotheosis. Pai’s account closes with a series of biographies of those associated with Hsu, including the eleven traditionally identified as his disciples. The last and longest of the entries traces the career of Hu Hui-ch’ ao 胡惠超 (d. 703), who is thought to have been the leader of the cult’s revival in 682.

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

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

Another postscript suggests that the edition printed in the Canon came from the archives of the Yü-lung Kung. The author of this closing note identifies himself as the Ling-pao ta-shih (Great Master of Ling-pao) Sun Yuan-ming, Abbot of the Yü-lung wan-shou Kung (Palace of the Longevity of Jade Beneficence) of Hsiao-yao Shan. Sun reports that a spirit appeared before him on the eve of the Chung-yüan festival and told him to expect a visitor bearing texts the following day. True to the prophecy, a recluse named Chia Shou-ch' eng arrived from Shih-ch' eng (Kiangsi) and submitted to him a copy of the *Ching-yang pa-shih-wu hua shih-chuan* [An Account in Verse of the Eighty-
five Metamorphoses of Ching-yang]. Chia is, in fact, among seven devotees whom Shih Ch'en singles out in his undated colophon as familiar with the history of Hsü Sun's life. His devotion to the cult is made all the more apparent to Abbot Sun Yuan-ming by his immediate recitation of the entire text he had handed over. Sun then says that he announced the presentation of the text to the large crowds gathered at the temple in commemoration of the departed and thereafter placed it in the temple archives. Three days later he added his own postscript, giving the year as ting-wei (1247).

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

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

Seven hagiographic accounts are recorded in the largest collection of materials on the cult, the 6-ch. HY 1102 Ching-ming chung-hsiao chüan-shu [A Comprehensive Compilation on the Ching-ming Tradition of Loyalty and Filiality]. This anthology was initially compiled by Huang Yüan-chi (1270–1324) and was augmented later by his understudy Hsü Hui (1291–1352). Huang had been the disciple of Liu Yu 劉玉 (1257–1308), whom Akizuki identifies as the founder of what came to be known as Ching-ming Tao (The Way of Purity and Perspicacity). The original corpus that Huang
Fig. 13. The ascent of Hsü Sun and his entourage in dragon-drawn chariots. Sketch based on HY 440 Hsü T'ai-shih chen-chün t'u-chuan, 2.18b–19a. As Hsü ascends with 42 members of his household, together with chickens and dogs, the villagers below, according to the narrative account, beg him not to abandon them.

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

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

In 1308, shortly before his demise, Liu designated Huang Yüan-chi to succeed him. Huang, according to his biography in HY 1102, entered the Yü-lung wan-shou Kung at age twelve and was said to have treated Liu and his wife as his parents. By 1323, he arrived in the capital
spreading the teachings of his master, the essence of which was that one’s mind should be rooted in purity and perspicacity (ching-ming) and one’s actions regulated by loyalty and filiality (chung-hsiao). A year later his devoted followers spoke highly of their mentor to the 39th Celestial Master Chang Ssu-ch’eng 張松成 (d. 1343), who then recommended that Huang Yuan-chi be made Abbot of the Yü-lung Kung. On his first encounter with Hsü Hui, Huang is reported to have announced that he had dreamed of his coming the night before and had immediately recognized him as his spiritual heir. According to the biography here, Hsü later sought instruction on Ch’üan-chen from a Lan Chen-jen 蘭真人在 residence at the Ch’ang-ch’ün Kung 長春宫(Yenching). Other than a few verses that are quoted in this biography, there is apparently no further record of the direction Hsü’s thinking took thereafter. Although several hundred disciples were reputedly drawn to him, including a number of senior literati, he does not seem to have singled out any one of them as his immediate successor.

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

7. Three Wardens of Hua-kai Shan

A short distance south of Hsi Shan lies Hua-kai Shan 華蓋山, the seat of the T’ien-hsin revelations. This central Kiangsi range has long served as the backdrop to divine manifestations, a full accounting of which is given in the 6-ch. HY 777 Hua-kai Shan Fou-ch’iu Wang Kuo san chen-chün shih-shih 華蓋山浮丘王郭三真君事實 [A Case History of the Three Perfected Lords Fou-ch’iu, Wang, and Kuo of Mt. Hua-
The text is a composite work, based on various writings dating from the tenth to fourteenth centuries. Central to all of the texts is the history of veneration for a trio of local guardians to whom the welfare of the region was traditionally entrusted: Lord Fou-ch'i'u and his disciples Wang Tao-hsiang and Kuo Tao-i.212 As the number of prefaces attached to this text indicates, the received version passed through the hands of many editors and copyists.

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

Although we do not have the good fortune to find a postscript by the abbot Ch’en Yuan-ying similar to that added to the Hsi Shan hagiog-
raphy by Sun Yuan-ming, two later prefaces indicate that even this text had to be restored. The woodblocks of the work evidently had been lost in the local uprisings of 1352, or so Chang Yen states in his preface of 1391. Subsequently, the temple sites, according to Chang, were restored under the direction of another lay person named Chiang Pi-ch'eng (tzu, Yüan-yüan). Finding A Case History in pieces, Chiang also took steps to reconstruct the entire work. To fill in the lacunae he enlisted the aid of K'ung Te-jung, overseer of the Hsüan-miao Kuan, to supervise the task. Once the work was done, Chang Yen reports, the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch’u paid a visit to Hua-kai Shan in order to commend Chiang personally for his accomplishments. Master Chang’s own preface was composed in 1407, at which time the text circulated under the title Hua-kai Shan san-hsien shih-shih [A Case History of Three Transcendents of Mt. Hua-kai].

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

The second third of the anthology is derived from the Hua-kai Shan shih-shih [A Case History of Hua-kai Shan], compiled by Chang Yuan-shu in 1185. It consists of a series of en-
tries on various topographic and architectural features of the region, each of which generally makes note of the history of the guardians’ presence or the ritual traditions indigenous to the site. The last two chapters comprise a selection of biographical and narrative accounts. The provenance of this segment of the text is not indicated, but most of the narratives appear to date to the first five reign periods of the Southern Sung (1127–1189), which suggests they may have come directly from the edition printed by Liu Hsiang and Wang K’o-ming. Of note among the biographies are those of the compiler Shen T’ing-jui (d. 985) and of Jao Tung-t’ien (fl. 994), the putative recipient of the T’ien-hsin scriptures. In fact, Jao’s biography contains the only direct reference in the entire compilation to the T’ien-hsin ritual tradition born of Hua-kai Shan. As the closing series of anecdotes confirm, this corpus was designed foremost as a celebration of the apotheosized Wang and Kuo. Invocations to them throughout the Southern Sung are alleged to have brought relief from a multitude of life-threatening forces. Later hagiographies and ritual texts attest to the vitality of the cult throughout the Ming.

8. The Watchman of Lu Shan

Just south of the hometown of Liu Hsiang and Wang K’o-ming lies Lu Shan, a mountain site that housed, among other well-known retreats, the hermitage of Hui-yuan (334–416) and the White Deer Grotto Academy of Chu Hsi (1130–1200). The guardian spirit watching over this region is the subject of the 7-ch. HY 1276 [A Case History of the Perfected Lord of Inquisition at the Palace of the Flourishing State of Great Peace on Mt. Lu]. Yeh I-wen (1098–1170), prefectural vice-administrator of the region, compiled the text in 1154. He speaks in his preface of the five centuries of prosperity resulting from regular tribute to the Perfected Lord. The guardian, known as Chiu-t’ien shih-che (Envoy of Inquisition from the Nine Celestial Realms), was first enshrined upon his manifestation before T’ang Hsuan-tsung in 731. Nearly two and a half centuries later, in 977, Sung T’ai-tsung (r. 976–997) decreed that the shrine be given the name of his reign title, T’ai-p’ing hsing-kuo, as further endorsement of his mandate. The compiler Yeh himself presided over the ri-
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tual offerings at this temple in the spring of 1154. A Taoist Master in residence at the shrine approached Yeh at that time and beseeched him to compile a chronicle of the guardian’s divine transformations. Internal evidence reveals that the edition in the Canon, while it may preserve the core of Yeh’s compilation, was expanded considerably over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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

The next three chapters are composed of various imperial memorials and other texts related to the shrine, dating from 978 to 1318. Those documents pertaining to ritual observances almost invariably call upon the Perfected Lord to carry out his circuit of investigation in order to ensure the welfare of the state and the curtailment of disaster. Some of the texts are more specific, such as the prayer of 1161 appealing for divine protection of the silkworm industry as well as the sweeping away of the ominous forces attacking the borders of the empire. Such pleas continued to be issued in the face of the Jurchen threat. The Mongol regime also called upon the symbolic strength of the Envoy. Of note in the texts dating to the Yüan are references to the participation of the Celestial Masters in upholding the ritual traditions of the shrine. The concluding
entries, moreover, attest to the active part the influential Chang Liu-sun 張留孫 (1248-1321) played in keeping sacred the memory of this guardian figure at Lu Shan.225

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

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

9. A Guardian of the Northern Sung Empire

Paramount among Sung theogonic hagiographies is the 3-ch. HY 1275 I-sheng pao-te chuan [A Hagiography of the (Perfected Lord) in Subservience to Sageliness and in Assurance of Merit]. It was the work of Sung Chen-tsung's 宋真宗 (r. 998-1022) Commissioner of Military Affairs, Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (962-1025), mastermind of a
The whole range of auspicious omens verifying the legitimacy of the Sung imperial house. The deity to whom Wang’s text pays tribute, the I-sheng pao-te chen-chun (Perfected Lord in Subservience to Sageliness and in Assurance of Merit), came to be regarded as the special guardian of the Sung empire. The redaction of this account in the Canon, apparently completed in the early twelfth century, introduces some curious textual anomalies. Opening the text, for example, is an imperial preface wrongly attributed to Sung Jen-tsung (r. 1023–1063). The title of the text according to this preface, moreover, reflects an honorary title that was not bestowed upon the Perfected Lord until 1104. In fact, the original preface came from the hand of Sung Chen-tsung, as is correctly noted in the copy of this work preserved in an 11th-century anthology, the HY 1026 Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien. According to the Ch’u-chou edition of Ch’ao Kung-wu’s Ch’un-chai tu-shu chih, Sung Chen-tsung himself ordered Wang to compile the chronicle sometime during the Ta-chung hsiang-fu reign (1008–1016).

The account opens with a description of the Perfected Lord’s initial descent to the mundane realm, upon the command of the Jade Sovereign. This event is dated just prior to the establishment of the Chien-lung reign (960–962), which inaugurated the founding of the Sung. Legend has it that the divine messenger appeared first before a native of Chou-chih (Shensi) named Chang Shou-chen (948–983). While journeying within the Chung-nan Shan mountain range, this naive young fellow, as Chang is portrayed, was said to have borne witness to the Perfected Lord’s prophecies concerning the imminence of the Sung mandate. When the cosmic lord invited Chang to take up his teachings, the youth reportedly denied that he trafficked with spirits as a medium (wu). The Perfected Lord’s response once again reiterates the age-old distinction between cultic practices that were traditionally deemed to be acceptable and those considered unacceptable. He asserts that he is not a spectral force, but rather a divine spirit, one to whom incense and tea and fresh fruits and vegetables would be appropriate offerings, in contrast to the fermented beverages and fleshy sacrifices commanded by local cults. Upon this encounter Chang was ordained a Taoist Master under the tutelage of Liang Ch’üan (d. 978), Abbot of the historic Lou Kuan or Tiered Abbey.
Later episodes in this account relate Chang's subsequent training under the Perfected Lord himself. He was taught the procedures for various therapeutic rites and propitiatory fêtes in order that he might, according to this text, ward off disaster and invoke good fortune on behalf of the empire. The efficacy of his practices eventually came to the attention of the Prince of Chin, the future Sung T'ai-tsung (r. 976–983). During the Ch’ien-te reign (963–967), the prince authorized the construction of the Shang-ch’ing T’ai-p’ing Kung (Palace of the Grand Peace of Shang-ch’ing) in honor of the Perfected Lord. His older brother, Sung T’ai-tsu (r. 960–975), skeptical of the ominipotence of this divinity, invited Chang Shou-chen to the palace so that he might be allowed to witness the phenomenon himself. When the Perfected Lord finally descended in audience with the emperor, he reportedly praised the humanity of the Prince of Chin. The text can thus be viewed as a confirmation of his succession, for it is said that on T’ai-tsu’s death the very next day, his brother inherited the throne. T’ai-tsung, the father of Chen-tsung, immediately summoned Chang Shou-chen to preside over a propitiatory chiao-fête. A new temple complex was constructed thereafter at an auspicious site in the Chung-nan Commandery. In 981 the title I-sheng chiang-chün (General in Subservience to Sageliness) was authorized. The chronology in chapter 1 ends with Chen-tsung’s canonization of the Perfected Lord in 1014 as I-sheng pao-te chen-chün, shortly after which this text first must have been compiled.

Chapters 2 and 3 offer a fuller record of the divine encounters Chang Shou-chen and others experienced. Chang is said at one time to have advised that a shrine on Chung-nan Shan be burned to the ground upon learning that cows and pigs were sacrificed there amidst a cacophony of percussive dance. On many occasions, Chang was said to have expelled fox spirits and other malevolent apparitions that laid siege to the surrounding countryside. More than once he reportedly succeeded in purging troublesome spectral forces where both specialists in exorcism and Buddhist monks had failed. Those to whom the Perfected Lord offered his assistance were almost invariably members of the aristocracy. Overall, this guardian of the Sung appears to have been perceived as a cosmic agent who enforced the traditional values of the literati class, especially those preparing to serve in public office. Closing this record of the divine patron of the elite is Wang Ch’in-jo’s presentation statement,
supplemented in the Canon edition with a copy of the imperial decree of Sung Hui-tsung, dating to 1104, that authorized the extended honorific title printed incongruously in the preface. No doubt the significance of this guardian enshrined at Chung-nan Shan was considerably reduced once the Sung court was forced to vacate the northern plains. There is, in this text at least, no record of his veneration beyond the reign of Sung Hui-tsung.

10. Hsüan-wu at Wu-tang Shan

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

The longest theogonic account on this god of the north is the 8-ch. HY 957 Hsüan-t’ien shang-ti ch’i-sheng lu 玄天上帝放聖錄 [An Account of Revelations Conveyed to the Sages by the Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm]. It is a composite work, derived from a large body of oral tradition and written texts attesting to Hsüan-wu’s primary role as defender of the empire. Several texts devoted to this almighty guardian figure are known to have circulated under the title Ch’i-sheng lu or Ch’i-sheng chi 放聖. Chapters 2 to 8 of the version in the Canon seem to have been drawn from a mid-eleventh century compilation. It should be noted that throughout this portion of the text the name of the deity is consistently given as Chen-wu 真武, to avoid the taboo name Hsüan-lang 玄朗 of the ancestor to the Sung imperial house. The introductory chapter, which serves as a sort of appendix, includes an extensive commentary dating no earlier than the late thirteenth century. As an account focussing largely on Hsüan-wu’s cosmic origins and legendary conquests,
the text proper of chapter one seems to be among the earlier codifications of the lore surrounding this figure. The myth of his birth within the mundane realm parallels that of the birth of Lord Lao. Hsuan-wu in fact is said to have been the 82nd metamorphosis of [Lord Lao,] the Most High. One of the major festival days of his cult is the date of his putative descent, the third day of the third lunar month. Among the exploits covered in chapter 1 is his subjugation of the despot- ic last ruler of Shang, an episode central to the Feng-shen yen-i. The image this deity evokes is comparable to that of the lokapala of the North, Vaiśravana, who commonly stands guard at Buddhist shrines, with demonic forces underfoot. According to this account, Hsuan-wu was on one occasion dispatched to the nether regions, where he stomped out malevolent vapors in the form of tortoise and snake. The terrestrial site at which this cosmic force of the North took up residence is identified as T'ai-ho Shan 太和山, otherwise known as Wu-tang Shan 武當山, in north Hupeh. There Hsuan-wu reportedly took a vow to eliminate all malign forces of water and fire, as represented by the tortoise and the snake.

Apparently the latest citation included in the annotations to these episodes is taken from a topography on Wu-tang Shan compiled in 1291.235 Also embedded within the commentary is the closing passage of a preface composed by a Master Tung Su-huang 董素皇 in 1184. A fuller version of this preface, which once preceded a Chen-wu shih-lu 真武實錄 [Veritable Records of the Perfected Warrior], is found in the 6-ch. HY 753 T'ai-shang shuo Hsuan-t'ien ta-sheng chen-wu pen-chuan shen-chou miao-ching 太上說玄天大聖真武本傳神咒妙經 [Wonderous Scripture of the Sacred Incantation of the Most High on the Fundamental Account of the Perfected Warrior, Great Deity of the Dark Celestial Realm], compiled by Ch'en Chung 陳忱 sometime after 1197.236 The text recorded by Master Tung is said to have been conveyed by divine revelation to the Taoist Master Chang Ming-tao 張明道, Head of the Tzu-hsü T' an 紫虛壇 (Shrine of the Purple Void) at Hsiang-yang 襄陽 (Hupeh). In his lengthy commentary to the Wonderous Scripture, Ch'en often cites the account Master Tung transcribed, according to the title Chiang-pi shih-lu 降筆實録, thus reaffirming its origin as a product of fu-chi 握乩 or what is commonly called spirit-writing.
Aside from the divine texts Master Tung made available, Ch’en Chung also draws on several passages from a *Ch’i-sheng chi*, the parallels of which can be found in chapters 2 to 8 of the *Hsuan-t’ien shang-ti ch’i-sheng lu*. These seven chapters of the *Ch’i-sheng lu* appear to be the textual counterpart to a series of temple frescoes dedicated by Sung Jen-tsung (r. 1023–1063) in 1057. The commemorative statement issued by the emperor on that occasion is recorded at the end of this compilation and the sequence of wall paintings is outlined in chapter two. Altogether 104 tableaux were rendered according to the five domains over which Chen-wu’s protection was sought: (1) national security, (2) military success, (3) meteorological control, (4) healing of the afflicted, and (5) salvation from floods, fires, and epidemics. The numerical distribution of paintings indicated under these categories corresponds remarkably well to the organization of the *Ch’i-sheng lu*. A large number of episodes, for example, attest to the Perfected Warrior’s aid in the establishment of the Sung imperial mandate. Equally dominant are the narratives documenting Chen-wu’s aid in overcoming the invasions of the Western Hsia, the threat of which appears to have been the major motivating factor behind Sung Jen-tsung’s timely tribute to the deity. But as many of the entries in this compilation reveal, Chen-wu was venerated by the people as well as the state, namely for his miraculous ability to relieve both natural and man-made disaster. Temple paintings for centuries after appear to have drawn inspiration from the sequence memorialized in this hagiography. Several of the headings given the episodes here are even matched by the labels Willem Grootaers recorded from the frescoes of shrines in north China.

Another compilation, the HY 959 *Hsuan-t’ien shang-ti ch’i-sheng ling-i lu* [An Account of the Numinous Marvels Revealed to Sages by the Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm], confirms that official homage to Hsiian-wu did not end with the Sung. This collection of laudatory texts dating from 1270 to 1325 testifies to the high degree of reverence with which this deity was held throughout the Mongol regime. Although no compiler is cited, the text was apparently completed by a member of the literati class sometime in the last decades of the Yuan. Among the texts included are reports on shrines sanctioned for Hsüan-wu and the honorary titles granted in tribute to his guardianship of the empire. Those whose names are attached to these encomia were known to be especially active in matters of church
and state, for example, Hsü Shih-lung 徐世隆 (1206–1285), Wu Ch'üan-ch'ieh 吴全節 (1269–1346), Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), Ch'eng Chü-fu 程錫夫 (1249–1318), Chang Chung-shou 张仲寿 (1252–1324), and Yü Chi 虞集 (1272–1348).239

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

The next three-quarters of this text is devoted to a series of vignettes marking the divine manifestations of Hsüan-wu at Wu-tang Shan in the years 1412 and 1413. These episodes also appear to have inspired the frescoes of many temples,241 and are almost invariably interpreted as signs of Hsüan-wu's approval of the construction or renovation of his shrines. His endorsement of these efforts was thought, for example, to be reflected by the sudden appearance of a large bell, emerging from the river during a storm. The scenes depicting such occasions convey something of the devotional response generated by faith in Hsüan-wu. The illustrations in the latter part of the text contrast sharply with these narrative landscapes. There are altogether eleven variant portraits of the god himself, an enhaloed figure amidst clouds rising from his shrine at
Fig. 14. The Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm appearing at Wu-tang Shan. Sketch based on HY 958 Ta Ming Hsuan-t’ien shang-ti ju-ying t’u-lu, 16a–b. The radiant image of Hsuan-t’ien shang-ti was reportedly seen on the 25th day of the fifth lunar month of 1413, following the restoration of the copper pavilion on the topmost peak of Wu-tang Shan.

Wu-tang Shan. His epiphany in one instance is read as a response to the emperor’s personal devotion, signaling thus an age of peace and prosperity. The final seven illustrations portray Hsuan-wu in seven different poses on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month of 1413, accompanied each time by distinctive divine escorts. The emphasis on the cult during the Ming undoubtedly contributed to the assimilation of the hagiographic legacy in several works of fiction. One text was devised entirely on the basis of the lore surrounding the Dark Warrior, namely, the Pei-yu chi Hsuan-t’i ch’u-shen chuan 北遊記玄帝出身傳 [A Journey to the North: An Account of the Incarnations of the Dark Sovereign]. It was edited by Yü Hsiang-tou 余象斗 (fl. 1588–1609), a Fukien book
dealer who issued a number of early novels in popular editions, proving to be an astute judge of the market for such works.243

11. The Hung-en Brothers

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

The brief biographical account following the decree highlights the reputed success of the pair in calling forth divine troops to subdue rebel forces in the empire of Min. Other skills noted here include their ability to prevent fires from erupting, to purge locusts infesting crops of grain, and to prescribe talismanic treatments for those suffering difficulties in childbirth. As is characteristic of such local cults, both the parents and wives of the brothers were also canonized, the entitlements of which are all recorded. Closing the text is a memorial calling for the distribution and application of ritual codes invoking the two Perfected Lords on behalf of the people and the military alike.
An abbreviated version of *A Case History* (HY 476) is incorporated in the 5-ch. HY 1458 *Hsü-hsien chen-lu* 徐仙真錄 [A Verifiable Account of the Hsu Transcendents]. As previously noted, this text is a composite work, reflecting the contributions of editors dating as late as 1486. It was apparently first compiled in 1424, the date of the first preface by a provincial official of Fukien named Ma Mien 马懋. According to a second preface, authored in 1441 by Chu Hui 朱徽 of Ch'uan-chou 越州 (Fukien), the original text included illustrations. A third preface, dating to 1443, is signed by Wang Yung-sheng 王用盛, a native of Min-hsien 蕉縣 who refers to himself as a student of the Ju classics. Wang reiterates the profound faith his countrymen had in the two Perfected Lords, on whom he says they were known to call for every rite of passage. His decision to compile a record of this cult, not surprisingly, was motivated in part by what he considers to be the primary qualities of the Hsü brothers: “their loyalty to government officials, filiality to their kin, humanity to their community, and love for all living creatures” 忠君孝親仁民愛物.

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

Successive chapters in the text trace the history of shrines to this cult and the rituals observed therein. Particular notice is given to the temple grounds established in Peking under the direction of Fang Pin 方
a minister of defense under Ming Ch’eng-tsu. Aside from the Ling-chi Kung itself, most attention appears to have centered around a Chu-sheng T’ang (Hall for Infusing Life), erected on the western side of the 1417 complex. This shrine, founded under the aegis of the wives of Chih-cheng and Chih-o, served those specifically concerned with fertility and childbearing. Two sequences of oracular verse associated with the Ling-chi Kung and the Chu-sheng T’ang are preserved in chapter 3. Also of interest in this chapter is a lengthy liturgical work based on ten vows to be recited before the images of the Hsu brothers. Such recitations are common to many scriptural traditions. What stands out in this list is the priority given the ruling class, for the first three vows are to be spoken in guarantee of the emperor’s longevity, the high rank and pay of his ministers, and the wealth of the literati. Future studies of this cult may want to consider whether this emphasis on the well-being of the elite in the official liturgy in any way led to its eventual decline.

12. Four Additional Accounts Based on Coastal Worthies

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

In a preface of that date, Chu states that he had only recently returned to his native Chiang-ning (Kiangsu) when he was approached by an exalted Master named T’an Ssu-hsien (tzu, Tao-lin), together with five of his colleagues from the local Ch’ing-yuan Kuan (Abbey of Glaucous Primordiality). Their sanctuary had been established at the site of Ko’s old homestead shortly after his ascent and, according to T’an, saw many visitors throughout the millennium thereafter. T’an admitted, however, that they were inadequately prepared to answer all the inquiries of their guests, for they lacked a full account of their patron saint’s life. In making a direct appeal for assistance from Chu, T’an turned over to him a fragmentary
Hsien-kung chuan 仙公傳 that had been passed down to him from his mentor Kung Wei-lin 貢惟琳 (hao, Chu-yen Weng 竹嚴翁). Kung, it was said, had sought out this work after an earlier compilation had been lost in the burning of Taoist texts during the Mongol regime. The edition eventually acquired was one that had been recorded at the Ling-pao ordination center of Ko-tsao Shan 高阜山 (central Kiangsi). Since Chu found the text given him to be somewhat disordered, he reorganized it and added supplementary materials.249

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

Hsü Shou-hsin. Just across the Yangtze, northeast of Chiang-ning, lies T’ai-chou, home of the prophetic Hsü Shou-hsin 徐守信 (1033–1108). Contrary to what the title implies, the 2-ch. HY 1241 Hsü-ching ch’ung-ho hsien-sheng Hsü Shen-weng yu-lu 虛靖冲和先生徐神翁語錄 [A Verbatim Account of the Transcendent Elder Hsü, Master of Piercing Harmony and Spatial Tranquility] is more of an ep-
isodic biographical record than a dialogic treatise. The first edition was completed in 1158 by Chu I (1093–1167), based on what he recovered of the first-hand accounts of Hsu’s disciple Miao Hsi-i. Miao’s manuscript in turn, Chu states, was based on several decades of study with the master. By 1187 the text had been edited once again, this time by Chu Sung-ch’ing of T’ai-chou. Although he found Chu I’s version to be fairly detailed, Chu Sung-ch’ing decided it deserved to be more carefully collated. After making inquiries locally of those who knew Hsu or his disciples, Chu acquired a summary of Hsu’s activities, which he refers to simply as the *Hsing-hua chuang* 行化狀. He added this new material to Miao Hsi-i’s main corpus and then incorporated eighteen more episodes that he had gathered himself from Wei T’ai’s *魏泰* (fl. 1050–1110) *Tung-hsüan pi-lu* 東軒筆録, Su Ch’e’s *蘇轍* (1039–1112) *Lung-ch’uan pieh-chih* 龍川別志, Sun Sheng’s *孫升* (chin-shih, 1065) *Sun-kung t’an-p’u* 孫公譜圃, and Tseng Yuan-li’s *曾元禮* (fl. 1124) *T’ung-an chih* 同安志.

The text opens with a brief outline of Hsu’s career. All that is revealed about his provenance is that the Hsu family came from Hai-ling in T’ai-chou. At age nineteen, Hsu Shou-hsin is said to have entered the *T’ien-ch’ing Kuan* 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Felicities), where he worked in obscurity as sweeper of the grounds. Eventually he received instruction and began reciting the fundamental classic of the Ling-pao tradition, the *Tu-jen ching* 度人經. When asked to foretell the future, Hsu took to reciting phrases from this scripture. In 1103 Sung Hui-tsung canonized him as Hsu-ch’ing ch’ung-ho hsien-sheng, the name that appears in the title of the hagiography. Three times he was summoned to the capital, and in 1108 he was said to have achieved divine metamorphosis at the Shang-ch’ing ch’u-hsiang Kung 宮 (Palace of the Cumulative Auspices of Shang-ch’ing) in the capital, Kaifeng. During the Hsüan-ho reign (1119–1125), a Sheng-chen Kuan 昇真觀 (Abbey of the Ascendant Perfected) was constructed east of T’ai-chou, at the site where his remains had been interred. As the successive narratives demonstrate, Hsu was recognized throughout the southeastern coastal region for his skills as a prognosticator. Although some came to ask his advice on specific problems, such as the casting of a bell, many more simply appeared before him seeking their fortune in writing (*ch’iu-tzu* 金字). Hsu’s habit was to inscribe a word or phrase in response which, though generally somewhat cryptic, was always borne
out as an accurate prophecy of the fate of the individual in question. It is difficult to say whether he spoke posthumously through any other medium, such as spirit-writing, but this text suggests that his memory, at least, was kept alive by his disciples for several decades after his ascent.

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

Following the preface is a one-page genealogical record of the Yeh lineage, dating back to an ancestor of the fifteenth generation. It was a family that boasted three Taoist Masters: Fa-shan; his grandfather, Yeh Kuo-chung 葉國重; and his father, Yeh Hui-ming 葉慧明; but it was the life of Yeh Fa-shan that inspired countless storytellers over the centuries. The text here presents a chronologically organized series of episodes, many of which can be traced back to earlier hagiographies and
Yeh appears to have established his reputation initially as an exorcist. Upon receiving the sacred rites of Cheng-i in a divine revelation, Yeh is said to have been able to cure those possessed by malevolent forces as well as to annihilate all wayward spirits to whom sacrifices were made upon threats of violence. As Ma Kuang-tsu suggests in his preface, Yeh was also noted for his ability to prevail over the powers deemed to be in control of meteorological phenomena. Yeh was not unlike Hsu Sun, with whom Yeh reportedly met, in that no dragon nor any other serpentine agent creating havoc within the aquatic domain remained beyond his reach. Yeh’s skill in combatting such agents is highlighted in a talismanic text Yeh was said to have received from Chang Tao-ling himself. Although he is credited with serving five rulers of the T’ang, from Kao-tsung (r. 650–683) to Hsuan-tsung (r. 712–756), it is Yeh’s career under the latter that has most captured the imagination of the literati. One of the best-known episodes from that era concerns his journey with Hsuan-tsung to the lunar palace, where the emperor was held spellbound by the music of the “Ni-shang yü-i” [Rainbow Skirt and Feathered Dress]. Upon his ascent, dated here to the year 720, the centenarian Yeh reputedly left behind three pentasyllabic lü-shih, all recorded in full here, along with the eulogies of both T’ang Hsuan-tsung and his successor, Su-tsung (r. 756–762). These verses are followed by three communiqués that Yeh dispatched to Hsuan-tsung in 716 and by tomb inscriptions for all three generations of Taoist Masters of the Kua-ts’ang Yeh lineage. The text closes with the decrees of Hsuan-tsung authorizing titles of enfeoffment and those of Sung Hui-tsung granting more esoteric epithets in 1116 and 1120.

Wen Ch’iung. It appears that HY 779 Ti-ch’i shang-chiang Wen T’ai-pao chuan [A Hagiography of Grand Guardian Wen, Supreme Commander of the Tutelary Deities] was similarly derived from an assortment of narratives. It was collated in 1274 by Huang Kung-chin, a disciple of Liu Yu (fl. 1258). A colophon of this date that must have accompanied this edition originally is preserved separately in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 253. The text is dedicated to Wen Ch’iung (b. 702) of P’ing-yang (Chekiang). According to the legend recorded here, Wen was in the vanguard of the troops assigned to Kuo Tzu-i (b. 697–781), a hero in the suppression of the An Lu-shan rebellion. Wen was said to have been
able to conjure up a dense black fog that confused the enemy and, in the end, caused them to suffer mass fatalities. His career was cut short, however, when Kuo had an ominous dream, which convinced him that Wen did indeed possess miraculous powers. Awe was soon overcome by suspicion, and once Wen sensed that his captain intended to murder him, he fled to the sacred peak of the East, T'ai Shan. There, according to tradition, he took up butchering cattle and selling wine until a divine emissary challenged him to abandon his unsavory ways. Wen thereafter gave up killing and entered the Tung-yüeh Miao (Shrine of the Eastern Peak). At this site he eventually achieved a divine metamorphosis and took over as Grand Guardian of the peak. Later, when prayers were offered before a shrine to T'ai Shan at Wen-chow in Chekiang in a plea for rain, there were said to appear clouds capped by a banner on which Wen Ch'iung's name was inscribed. The rescue of his home territory from a drought came to the attention of the 30th Celestial Master, Chang Chi-hsien.

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

Subsequent episodes concern the fulfillment of Wen's vow to assist the Celestial Master "in destroying demonic forces that threaten mankind and in purging specters identified with riotous teachings." His circuit ranged across the entire continent, from Ch'üan-chou (Fukien) west to Ch'ing-ch'eng Shan in Szechwan. In this fifteen-page text and the five-page supplement of Huang Kung-chin that follows, there is a wealth of data on the various folk shrines against which the ritual power of Wen Ch'iung was said to have prevailed. The fearsome appearance of this tutelary deity was reported to have startled Master Chang Chi-hsien himself. The vision he
saw soaring down before him on horseback at Ch’ing-ch’eng Shan is depicted as a blue-faced, armored figure, wielding a bludgeon in his hand. Descriptions of Wen in the ritual codes of HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 254–256 are considerably more striking. His demonic face is said to feature buck teeth, fiery red hair and whiskers, and eyes gleaming with golden irises. This image is evoked in countless rites of the Taoist Canon and has inspired many storytelling traditions, as is attested, for example, in the Hsi-yu chi 西遊記 [Journey to the West] and Shui-hu chuan 水滸傳 [Water Margin].
Map 3. Mountains and Waterways
1. T'ai Shan (Shantung), Sacred Peak of the East
2. Hua Shan (Shensi), Sacred Peak of the West
3. Heng Shan (Hunan), Sacred Peak of the South
4. Heng Shan (Shansi), Sacred Peak of the North
5. Sung Shan (Honan), Sacred Peak of the Center
6. Hui Shan (Kansu)
7. Lung Shan (Shensi)
8. Chung-nan Shan (Shensi)
9. Lung-men Shan (Shensi)
10. Wang-wu Shan (Shansi)
11. P'an Shan (Hopeh)
12. K'un-yü Shan (Shantung)
13. T'ieh-ch'a Shan (Shantung)
14. Ao Shan (Shantung)
15. Ho-ming Shan (Szechwan)
16. Ch'ing-ch'eng Shan (Szechwan)
17. Wu-tang Shan (Hupeh)
18. Mao Shan (Kiangsu)
19. Lu Shan (Kiangsi)
20. Hsi Shan (Kiangsi)
21. Ko-tsao Shan (Kiangsi)
22. Hua-kai Shan (Kiangsi)
23. Lung-hu Shan (Kiangsi)
24. Fou-yün Shan (Chekiang)
25. Chi-ch'ou Shan (Chekiang)
26. Chin-kai Shan (Chekiang)
27. Ta-ti Shan (Chekiang)
28. Ssu-ming Shan (Chekiang)
29. T'ien-t'ai Shan (Chekiang)
30. Chin-hua Shan (Chekiang)
31. Hsien-tu Shan (Chekiang)
32. Kua-ts'ang Shan (Chekiang)
33. Pai-ho Shan (Chekiang)
34. Wu-i Shan (Fukien)
35. Hsien-yu Shan (Fukien)
36. Ao-feng (Fukien)
37. Lo-fou Shan (Kuangtung)
38. Li-mu Shan (Hainan)
III

Topographic, Epigraphic, and Historiographic Treatises

Topography

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

Although the compiler of a local gazetteer occasionally took his inspiration from the scenery alone, a personal pilgrimage was more likely to define his literary objective. Such journeys could easily culminate in an audience with resident Taoist Masters. Indeed, it was not uncommon for the pilgrim to find his editorial mission spelled out by a very persuasive host, regardless of how well the compiler of a topography was informed about his subject. His awareness of the religious significance of a
site was often revealed in the commentary supplied on the status of structures within various temple compounds. References to current ritual celebrations at a particular shrine also give ample evidence that the writer's knowledge of local religious traditions was more than passing.

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

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

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

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

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

1. "Kao fu-mo" [Copies of Entitlements], a collection of imperial decrees and memorials dating from 1 B.C.E. to 1319 (ch. 1–4);
2. "San-shen chi" [A Record of the Three Divine Spirits], biographies of Mao Ying (145–1 B.C.E.) and his younger brothers Mao Ku and Mao Chung (ch. 5);
3. "Kua-shen ch'ü" [Sites in Which Spirits Are Embraced], the mountains, caverns, rivers, rocks, altars, bridges, and pavilions (ch. 6–7);
4. "Chi-ku" [Archaeological Sites], including roadways, wells, and tombs (ch. 8);
5. "Tao-shan ts'e" [Fascicles from the Mountain of the Tao], an inventory of texts, from the Tao-te ching and the Shang-ch'ing corpus to a catalogue of titles attributed to various perfected writers and a list of all works pertaining to Mao Shan in the bibliographic essay in Cheng Ch'iao's T'ung-chih (ch. 9);
6. "Shang-ch'ing p'in" [The Ranks of Shang-ch'ing], hagiographic accounts of the Shang-ch'ing celestial hierarchy and the 45 generations of Shang-ch'ing dignitaries, from the one and only Matriarch, Wei Hua-ts'un (251–334) to the 45th Patriarch, Liu Ta-pin (ch. 10–12);
7. "Hsien ts'ao-shu" [Transcendent Officers], a survey of the divine transvestents in charge of various administrative bureaus at Hua-yang tung-t'ien (Grotto-heavens of Hua-yang), i.e.,
Mao Shan (ch. 13–14);
8. "Ts’ai-chen yu" (Travels of the Select Perfected), accounts of those who took refuge at the site and lists of those who made pilgrimages (ch. 15–16);
9. "Lou-kuan pu" (An Inventory of Garrets and Abbeys), discussions of the various temple compounds, shrines, and hermitages (ch. 17–18);
10. "Ling-chih chien" (An Investigation into the Numinous Horticulture), on the sacred fungi and rare pharmaceutical agents indigenous to Mao Shan (ch. 19);
11. "Lu chin-shih" (Keeping Records on Metal and Stone), inscriptions on metal vessels and stelae dating from 520 to 1314 (ch. 20–27);
12. "Chin-hsieh" (Golden Shallots), an anthology of verse starting with a sequence by T’ao Hung-ching (456–536) and ending with a piece by Chin Yüeh dating to 1279 (ch. 28–32); and a collection of miscellaneous compositions, starting with Hsieh Ling-yün’s (385–433) preface to his "Lo-fou Shan fu" and closing with Chao Meng-fu’s (1254–1322) preface to a lost tableau entitled “Shang-ch’ing ch’uan-chen t’u” (In Illustration of the Perfected Recipients of Shang-ch’ing) (ch. 33).

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

2. T’ai Shan, Sacred Peak of the East

The 18-ch. HY 1460 *Tai shih* [A History of Tai] is among those texts incorporated into the 1607 Hsü Tao-tsang under the impermatur of the 50th Celestial Master Chang Kuo-hsiang (d. 1611). This to­

graphy of the eastern branch of the five sacred peaks (*wu-yüeh*), T’ai Shan, was edited by the governor of Shantung Cha Chih-lung (fl. 1554–1586). The opening preface, addressed to Ming Shen-tsung (r., Wan-li, 1573–1619), was composed on New Year’s day of 1587 by T’an Yao, a censor in the imperial Bureau of Investigation. In discussing the significance of T’ai Shan in the ritual
protocols of the state, T'an points out the need for a definitive monograph on the site. Toward that end, he gathered together what records he could find and presented them to Cha for collation. According to Cha's own presentation statement, dated two months earlier, the most noteworthy of all the material he received was an anthology of verse composed by literati on their travels to T'ai Shan. In the organization of a more comprehensive treatise, he adopted four broad categories favored by early historians: “K‘ao” (Background Investigations), “Piao” (Inventories), “Chi” (Chronicles), and “Chih” (Treatises). The text is further divided into fourteen subheadings. It was originally printed in seven ts'e, or fascicles, which were labeled according to the sequence of words in a line from the Chung-yung: “Chih chu kuei-shen erh wu-i” (Confront all specters and spirits, and you will be devoid of apprehension). Cha's choice of this cataloguing code appears to have been made for its reinforcement of the ritual obligations of the state to T'ai Shan.

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

1. Ch. 11, “Kung-shih” 宮室 (Palatial Structures), including, for example, the T'ai Shan shu-yüan 泰山書院 (Academy of T'ai Shan) on the grounds of the former hermitage of the T'ang poet Chou P'u 周朴 (d. 878).

2. Ch. 12, “Wu-ch'an”物產 (Material Products), including indigenous botanical and zoological species, as well as mineralogical assets and miscellaneous local commodities such as silk, cotton, and beeswax.

3. Ch. 13, “Hsiang-shui”香稅 (Incense Tax), concerning the personnel and regulations governing the collection of taxes levied on all those who came to worship at T'ai Shan.276

4. Ch. 14, “Tsai-hsiang”災祥 (Disastrous and Auspicious Events), on the interpretations of natural and supernatural phenomena from 78 B.C.E. to 1586.277

5. Ch. 15–18, “Teng-lan”登覲 (On Climbing and Sightseeing), a vast literary anthology of prose and prosodic compositions resulting from journeys into the mountains.

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

3. Hua Shan, Sacred Peak of the West

Although only a fraction of the size of the monograph on T'ai Shan, the HY 307 Hsi-yüeh Hua Shan chih 西嶽華山誌 [A Treatise on Hua Shan, Sacred Peak of the West] is nonetheless an important resource on the history of sanctified mountains in China. The name of
the editor cited on the title page of this text is “Retiree of Lotus Peak, Wang Ch’u-i” 追華逸士王處一. Contrary to the assumption made in a 19th-century gazetteer entitled Hua-yüeh chih 華嶽志, there is no evidence indicating that this Wang Ch’u-i should be identified with the Ch’üan-chen patriarch of the same name. All we know about the Wang whose name appears on this work is what Liu Ta-yung 劉大用 (tzu, Ch’i-chih 之) of Ni-yang 泥陽 (Kansu), the author of an 1183 preface, tells us, and regrettably he gives very little background information. Liu simply refers to the compiler as “my friend Wang Tzu-yuan” 吾友王子源, which leaves the impression that he was on intimate enough terms to use a familiar name. Wang, he says, took refuge at Hua Shan shortly after his marriage. Whatever the circumstances that may have led to this move, Liu leads us to believe that Wang came to develop an interest in local history. When he came across a copy of a text entitled Hua Shan chi 華山記 [A Record of Hua Shan], Wang reportedly made it the foundation of his own compilation. Additional material, according to Liu, was drawn from regional atlases and hagiographies such as Liu Hsiang’s 劉向 (77–6 B.C.E.) Lieh-hsien chuan 列仙傳 [Lives of Transcendents]. When a text of over seventy folios had been completed and was ready to be carved on blocks, Liu says that Wang invited him, because of his literary skill, to add a preface. The self-congratulatory language is just one of the many features that suggest Liu may not only have invented the “Retiree of Lotus Peak” but contrived the text as well. He claims that he, too, had a desire to settle at Hua Shan, primarily to compound what he calls “divine pharmaceuticals” (shen-yao 神藥), and that his encounter with Wang might finally give him the opportunity to fulfill that desire.

The text that follows, based largely on earlier materials, could just as well have been written by someone who had only known Hua Shan from a distance. Printed immediately after Liu’s introduction is a preface attributed to T’ang Hsūan-tsung that may have accompanied the original Hua Shan chi. Another passage ascribed to the emperor is found at the end of the text, a statement dating to 714 in authorization of an entitlement for the spirit embodied at Hua Shan, no doubt extracted from the earlier topography. Unlike the treatise on T’ai Shan, the Hsi-yüeh Hua Shan chih 華山志 offers no further documentation of state or local rituals in propitiation of the resident deity.
The opening essay on the geography of the region summarizes the changes in place names from pre-Ch’in to Sung times. The remainder of the text is organized under a series of miscellaneous headings highlighting the geological features, architectural landmarks, and individuals associated with Hua Shan. The first entry concerns one of the dominant peaks, Lien-hua Feng (Lotus-Flower Peak), from whence, we are apparently expected to understand, the editor derived his nickname. The peak was known, according to this account, for a thousand-petaled white lotus flower, which when eaten reputedly enabled one to achieve divine transformation. Various other indigenous plants and minerals with similar magical properties are named in succeeding passages—precisely the subject matter in which Liu Ta-yung expressed considerable interest. Imaginative stories are also told about a black dragon to whom the local people prayed for rain and the miraculous exorcism of possessing spirits manifested as foxes and snakes, to give but two examples. The few texts cited are well-known works such as T’ao Hung-ch’ing’s (456–536) Teng-chen yin-chüeh [Concealed Instructions for Ascent to Perfection], the Shan-hai ching [Classic on Mountains and Seas], and a verse of Tu Fu (712–770). The majority of narrative accounts are set in the Han to T’ang dynasties. Although this treatise was supposed to have been compiled at least five decades after the Jurchen mandate had been established in the region, there is no reference to Chin dynasty reign titles. For the comparable period of history, the editor cites instead the titles of the Southern Sung, and he even refers once to a reign title of the Great State of Ch’i, an independent political unit set up at Tung-p’ing (Shantung) by Liu Yü (1073–1143) as an open challenge to the Jurchen regime. The Hsi-yüeh Hua Shan Chih may thus have been compiled under a pseudonym by someone anxious to see the overthrow of the state of Chin.

4. Heng Shan, Sacred Peak of the South

A third work in the Canon devoted to one of the five sacred peaks is HY 606 Nan-yüeh tsung-sheng chi [An Anthology on the Collective Highlights of the Sacred Peak of the South]. Although no provenance is indicated, a much longer edition of the same title, in three ch’uan, is found in the Buddhist Canon (T. 2097). There the work is attributed to Ch’en T’ien-fu 陳田夫 (tzu, Keng-sou ; hao, Ts’ang-
yeh-tzu 老子 (fl. 1131–1163). The fuller version includes a comprehensive report on Buddhist and Taoist temples, as well as the folk shrines, of Heng Shan 衡山 (central Hunan). None of the passages dealing with Buddhist temples (ssu 寺) nor folk shrines (tz’u祠) is printed in the abridgment of this text in the Tao-tsang. Also missing is Ch’en’s preface of 1163. Internal reference to the Ch’ien-tao 乾道 reign (1165–1173) in both editions indicates that the work was expanded at a later date.

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

_T'ien-t'ai Shan_. An intricate network of Taoist sanctuaries once dominated the landscape of Chekiang. A sense of their past glory can be derived from five topographies in the Canon. The provenance of one such work, HY 603 _T'ien-t'ai Shan chih_ 天台山志 [A Treatise on the T'ien-t'ai Mountains], remains somewhat of a mystery. The editor of this haphazard collection of geographical summaries, tied together with prosodic and prose compilations, drew heavily on Hsu Ling-fu's _T'ien-t'ai Shan chi_ 天台山記 [A Record of the T'ien-t'ai Mountains] and no doubt considered his own work to be a supplement to this earlier treatise. Among the literary selections he chose to cite in full are Sun Ch'o's _T'ien-t'ai fu_ 天台賦 [Rhapsody on T'ien-t'ai] and Li Po's _T'ung-po Kuan shih_ 諏問布觀詩 [Verse on the Abbey of T'ung-po].

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

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

Opening the text is a series of 24 heptasyllabic quatrains attributed to a “Mu Hsüan-hsü 木玄虛 of the T’ang.”288 The commentary of a self-ascribed “Mad Alien of Ssu-ming” (Ssu-ming k’uang-k’o 四明狂客), Ho Chih-chang 胡知章 (659–744), serves as a sort of mini-topography in and of itself. It consists largely of glosses on geological, botanical, and zoological features, together with brief hagiographic summaries. A short unsigned biography of Liu Kang follows. Succeeding accounts, such as the “Ssu-ming Shan ming” 四明山銘 [Inscription on Ssu-ming Shan] of Wei Su 危素 (1295–1372), offer variant readings on the means by which both Liu and his wife achieved transcendence.289 Wei’s inscription was composed in 1362, at the request of Wu Kuo-kung 吳國珙, another disciple of Master Mao. According to Wei, a shrine was established in the mountains shortly after the ascent of Liu and his wife, Ms. Fan 樊氏. Then in 744 T’ang Hsüan-tsung ordered it moved down into the foothills of Ssu-ming. The history of this shrine, which came to be called the Abbey of White Water, is presented more fully in Wei’s “Pai-shui Kuan chi” 派水觀記 [A Record of the Abbey of White Water]. The temple compound was enlarged significantly during the Cheng-ho 政和 reign (1111–1117) of Sung Hui-tsung, and at his behest both Liu and his wife were granted long honorific titles. The leading Taoist Master in residence at that time was Wu Chen-yang 吳蒼陽 (hao, Hun-p’u-tzu 混樸子), a disciple of the 30th Celestial Master,
Chang Chi-hsien. It was Wu’s position that the Venerable Master Mao Yung-chen eventually inherited at Ssu-ming Shan. In 1361 Tseng Chien himself composed a “Shih-t’ien shan-fang shih hsü” [Preface to a Verse on the Mountain Habitat of the Rocky Fields], in memory of the hermitage Mao had established next to the Abbey.

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

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

The first chapter is organized under three headings: “Shan-ch’uan” 山川 (Mountains and Rivers), “Tz’u-yü”祠宇 (Shrines), and “Shen-hsien”神仙 (Divine Transcendents). Included in the opening section on topographical features are numerous citations from local gazetteers and other rare texts, such as a Hsüan-hsü chih 元祖志 ascribed to the T’ang transcendent Liu Ch’u-ch’ing 劉處靜 (hao, Yin-chen 隱真; d. 873). Special attention is paid throughout to the history of divine manifestations at Hsien-tu Shan. The dragon-drawn chariot of Huang-ti, for
example, is said to have left permanent ruts on the central peak, Tu-feng Shan. During the Shao-hsing reign (1131-1162), moreover, a shrine was reportedly established in propitiation of two giant serpents thought to have brought relief from drought. The most prominent of all landmarks discussed in this chapter is the Yü-hsu Kung (Palace of the Jade Void), which was the name by which a shrine established in honor of the Yellow Emperor came to be known after 1065. The original shrine was said to have dated to 748. Incorporated in an unusually detailed description of the Palace are not only the titles of various halls and shrines within the temple grounds, but also the names of those calligraphers responsible for the many dedicatory inscriptions posted throughout. The calligrapher most frequently cited is none other than the eminent Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322). Chapter 1 closes with two biographies, one of a T'ang ascetic named Chou Ching-fu and another of Liu Ch'u-ching.

The second chapter is organized in four parts: “Kao-shih” (Exalted Masters), “Ts'ao-mu” (Grasses and Trees), “Pei-chieh” (Stone Inscriptions), and “T'i-yung shih-chi” (Prosodic Anthology of Topical Recitations). The first of the nine biographies at the beginning of the chapter is that of Yu Ta-ch'eng, a key figure in the restoration of the Yü-hsu Kung following its destruction by rebel forces in 1120. The last generation documented are two contemporaries of the editor and collator, namely, Chao Ssu-ch'i and Li Te-ning. Chao, according to the preface, was appointed head of the Yü-hsu Kung in 1320, and Li held the position of second-in-charge at the temple for over forty years.

Although the section on indigenous plants that follows is for the most part simply a list of species, the initial entries do include brief discussions. Repeated here, for example, is the legend that lung-hsü is 'ao (dragon-whisker grass), a rush used in making fine mats, was made from the hairs pulled out of the beard of Huang-ti's dragon. Earliest among the inscriptions that reportedly survived at the time this work was compiled is a stele on which the words “Huang-ti tz'u-yu” (Shrine of Huang-ti) had been carved in the seal script of the famous calligrapher Li Yang-ping (fl. 756-762). Also recorded in this section is a list of writings by various local authors on the landmarks of Hsien-tu Shan, the majority of which are no longer extant. The literary
selections with which this text closes include a number of verses mentioned in the earlier discussions, for example, those of Lu Kuei-meng, P'i Jih-hsiu, and Po Chü-i (772–846). Many of the choices appear to have been made primarily for their reinforcement of the folklore surrounding the Yellow Emperor. Since Huang-ti was regarded as the ancestor of the ruling house of the Sung, the Yü-hsu Kung at one time no doubt hosted many an elaborate fête on behalf of the state. This account, on the other hand, is remarkably silent on the ritual calendar observed during both the Sung and Mongol regimes.

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

The text opens with a hagiographic account of the Two Lords Huang. At the age of fifteen, the younger of the two was said to have been spirited away from his herd of sheep and into the mountains by a Taoist Master. Later, when the older brother encountered a Taoist Master at the marketplace and asked him to divine the whereabouts of his lost sibling, he, too, was escorted into a rocky chamber of Chin-hua Shan. Both, it was reported, were confronted by the illusory simulacrum (huan-hsiang 幻相) of the legendary Ch'ih-sung-tzu. After they, too, could effect magical transformations, the Huang brothers returned home.
and taught the art of transcendence to a number of disciples. Their tech­
nique was apparently based on the ingestion of pine resin and Poria
cocos (fu-ling 蘆苓), a fungus commonly found at the roots of old pine
trees. Upon the ascent of Huang Ch'u-p'ing and Huang Ch'u-ch'i, the
villagers built a Ch'ih-sung Kung (PALACE OF THE RED PINE) to
honor their master. Subsequent canonizations of the pair, in the years
1189 and 1262, are cited at the close of this introductory account.

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

The seven worthies allotted biographies in this text were all devo-
tees of the Erh Huang-chùn, starting with Shu Tao-chí 舒道紀, a strong
adversary of the Buddhist monk Kuan-hsiu 貫休 (832–912), and ending
with Chu Chih-ch'ang (fl. 1259–1265), who was apparently a
contemporary of Ni Shou-yueh. According to the record here, Chu first
took up residence at Chin-hua Shan, and then in 1256 he was put in
charge of the prestigious Yü-ch'en Kuan (Abbey of Jade Day-
break) at Mao Shan. Later he proved himself capable not only of con-
trolling meteorological phenomena, but also of leading divine troops
against invading Mongol hordes. Chu was said to have been decreed the
title of 41st Patriarch of Shang-ch'ing sometime around 1263. He re-
portedly went back to Chin-hua Shan two years later and built himself a
hermitage in which to spend his retirement years. At the height of Chu’s career, the two Huang brothers were given additional honorary titles. The decrees of 1262 and 1189 are recorded in full here, as well as an earlier one dating to 1099 in canonization of Ch’ih-sung-tzu. Among the inscriptions listed under the closing category in the Chin-hua Ch’ih-sung Shan chih is one from an image of Lord Lao, another from the local Chen-wu T’ang 真武堂 (Hall of the Perfected Warrior), and one at the Abbey of Precious Abundance contributed by Master Chang Chi-hsien. The titles of four texts found at Chin-hua Shan are also cited, with the precise location of each clearly specified. A copy of this treatise was selected for the Ssu-k’u library as well. That edition, according to the imperial bibliographers (SKCS 1508), includes a short composition by Ming Ying-tsung 明英宗 (r. 1436–1449) that dates to 1439 and apparently at one time adorned a temple facade on Chin-hua Shan. The existence of this composition suggests that the site continued to be a center of ritual activity long after Ni Shou-yüeh compiled his monograph in the thirteenth century.

Ta-ti Shan. Ta-ti Shan 天堂山, located just outside Hangchow, is the northernmost of the five sacred mountains of Chekiang under discussion. This highland region is known to have attracted large numbers of transcendents, including early dignitaries of both Shang-ch’ing and Ling-pao scriptural traditions. Two compilations pay tribute to the site, a topography and a literary anthology. Only the topography is printed in the Canon, in a 3-ch. edition entitled HY 781 Ta-ti tung-t’ien t’u-chi 大天堂圖記 [A Cartographic Record of the Grotto-Heavens of Ta-ti]. This redaction is an abbreviated version of the Tung-hsiao t’u-chih 洞霄圖志 [A Cartographic Treatise on the Caverned Empyrean], compiled in 1305 under the editorship of Teng Mu 鄧牧 (1247–1306). It served as a complement to the Tung-hsiao shih-chi 洞霄詩集 [An Anthology of Verse from the Caverned Empyrean] that Teng’s chief collaborator Meng Tsung-pao 盧宗寶 completed three years earlier in 1302. Both works were the result of a local community project organized by Abbot Shen To-fu 沈多福 (fl. 1290–1306). The endeavor was devised, according to Shen’s preface of 1305, in order that the sacred history of Ta-ti Shan would not be forgotten. In reviewing the literature available in the temple archives, Shen observed that both the Chen-ching lu 真境錄 [An Account of a Perfected Realm] of T’ang Tzu-hsia 唐子霞, dating to the Cheng-ho 政和 reign (1111–1117), and another compilation dating to
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the Tuan-p’ing reign (1234–1236) were notoriously unreliable. Two other prefaces attached to this edition strongly commend Shen’s own bibliographic enterprise. One was composed in 1305 by the eminent Wu Ch’üan-chieh (1269–1346). The other, much later, preface was contributed in 1398 by the 43rd Celestial Master, Chang Yü-ch’u (1361–1410). His introduction offers a particularly eloquent summary of the history of spiritual rapture at Ta-ti Shan. The Ssu-k’u editors, who prepared entries for both a 6-ch. Tung-hsiao t’u-chih and a 3-ch. Ta-ti tung-t’ien chi, suggest that the Taoist Masters who invited Chang Yü-ch’u to contribute a preface simply made an abridgment of Teng’s work and put it out under a new title.293

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

The headings of chapters 2 and 3 also tend to draw attention to the diversity of transcendent whose presence was thought to have graced Ta-ti Shan. Note is made, for example, of the site of an early homestead
occupied by Chang Tao-ling, of the very spot from which the Shang-ch'ing Patriarch Hsu Mai 許邁 (300–348) reputedly made his ascent, and of the hall in which Yeh Fa-shan (616–720) was known to have lectured. The category under which the latter is cited, “Traces of Antiquity,” includes a number of highly provocative narratives, some of which were drawn from local gazetteers that survive in name alone.

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

6. Wu-tang Shan

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

The first chapter and a half consists of a series of headings on various geological features of the Wu-tang mountain range. Many of the dis-
cussions allude to episodes in the career of the Dark Warrior, especially his subjugation of demonic forces. The peaks and stream beds of Wu-tang, as a result, often evoke the images of various reptilian and cheloni-an creatures regarded as subject to his jurisdiction. Among local denizens whose names come up more than once in connection with assorted place names are Lord Lao and his putative disciple Yin Hsi 喜, Ch'en T'uan 陳摶 (d. 989), and a Southern Sung specialist in Thunder Rites named Teng An-tao 鄧安道 (fl. 1141).

Following this remarkably detailed introduction to the geography of Wu-tang Shan is a historical survey of major temples. The dominant shrine, and the one in which Liu Tao-ming himself resided, is the Wu-lung ling-ying Kung 五龍靈應宮 (Palace of the Divine Response of the Five Dragons). Legend has it that this temple marks the spot where five dragons conducted the Dark Warrior to the realms above. Additional lore on Hsüan-wu's triumphs is preserved in the succeeding headings on “Shen-hsien ling-chi” 神仙腳跡 (Numinous Traces of Divine Transcendents). The same can be said for the closing sequences of chapter 2, concerning rare species in the animal and plant kingdoms of Wu-tang. Finally, in chapter 3, Liu turns his undivided attention to the theogony of the Dark Warrior. Close cognates to his account are to be found in a series of hagiographic works dating from the Sung to the Ming. Liu amplifies his own discussion with copies of decrees dating from 1018 to 1270, in authorization of honorary titles for the deity and his shrine. Following these texts are three very unusual lists pertinent to the cult: (1) the days on which Hsüan-wu was expected to descend, (2) the range of offerings sanctioned for him, including items such as lotus flowers and pomegranates, and (3) the hierarchy of deities present within the shrines of Hsüan-wu. In closing his treatise, Liu contributes 21 biographical accounts, many subjects of which are mentioned in earlier discussions. One such figure is Yeh Hsi-chen 葉希真 (hao, Yun-lai 雲萊, 1251–1286), a fellow disciple of Huang Shun-shen who traced his ancestry to the renowned Yeh Fa-shan (616–720). Liu's awareness of both the historical and contemporary aspects of Wu-tang culture apparently contributed to the widespread approval of his work. Lu Shih-shun 呂師順, for one, endorses this treatise without reservation in a colophon dating to 1301. Jen Tzu-yüan 任自垣 (fl. 1431), writing over a century later, also spoke highly of Liu’s pioneering study and often drew from it in the compilation of his own Ta-yüeh T'ai-ho Shan chih 太嶽太和山志.
Religious epigraphy, whether dedicated to a cultic or a patrilineal tradition, almost invariably carries a hortatory message. Those who composed inscriptions in honor of deities and their shrines and, moreover, those who made anthologies of them seem to have regarded their mission as one of celebration. As testimonials of personal devotion, inscriptions thus tended to serve as eternal memorials for otherworldly figures and their sacred terrain. It is not uncommon to find lists of inscriptions on stelae incorporated in topographic treatises, as, for example, in HY 601 Chin-hua Ch’ih-sung Shan chih discussed above. Many of the topographies examined in the preceding section were found to include a special heading for inscriptions copied out on site. Among those texts registering more than a passing interest in stelae are HY 304 Mao Shan chih, HY 602 Hsien-tu chih, and HY 781 Ta-ti tung-t’ien t’u-chi. Also printed in the Canon are a few titles in which epigraphy is the central focus, some of which are simply copies of individual inscriptions dating from the T’ang to the Ming.

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

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

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

Another inscription printed separately in the Canon reflects imperial solicitude of what came to be regarded as an equally important state cult, that of Hsüan-wu (Dark Warrior), also known as Chen-wu (Perfected Warrior). The text entitled Yü-chih Chen-wu Miao pei [An Imperial Inscription on the Shrine of the Perfected Warrior] dates to 1415 and immediately follows the work documenting manifestations of the deity from 1405 to 1418, that is, HY 958 Ta Ming Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti jui-ying t'u-lu [An Illustrated Account of the Auspicious Responses of the Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm during the Great Ming]. Both bear witness to Ming Ch'eng-tsu's extraordinary reverence for the Dark Warrior. Whereas the hagiographic compilation addresses the history of the shrines at Wu-tang Shan, the inscription articulates Ch'eng-tsu's desire for the erection of a sister temple in the capital at Peking—indeed, it is his authorization for such a shrine. The emperor justifies the construction on two counts. He argues first that a shrine in the capital would facilitate the conveyance of regular oblations, and secondly, that it could only enhance the range of Hsüan-wu's divine protection. The imperial house, in short, entrusted this guardian to purge the state of ill-boding supernatural forces and to ensure its immunity from floods, drought, and
epidemic diseases. Similar statements of faith are found in many other inscriptions preserved in the Canon and elsewhere. Until the comprehensive anthology of Taoist epigraphy by Ch'en Yuan and Ch'en Chih-ch'ao becomes available in print, the best aid in searching out such inscriptions in epigraphic collections, as a complement to *Tao-tsang* sources, is Yang Tien-hsün's 石刻題跋索引. 304

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

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

The four diverse works cited here provide a valuable supplement to the vast literary corpus of the Ch'üan-chen tradition, thus confirming the extent to which this heritage dominated the northern frontier. The largest reference work is the 10-ch. HY 971 *Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu* 甘水仙源錄 [An Account of the Origins of Transcendents at Kan-shui], compiled by the major archivist of Ch'üan-chen, Li Tao-ch'ien 李道謙 (1219-1296), a native of Kaifeng. The place name in the title refers to the Kan-ho Garrison 甘河鎮, west of Hsi-an, where the Ch'üan-chen founder Wang Che 王 （1112-1170) reputedly gained enlightenment in the year 1159. The legendary Chung-li Ch'üan and his disciple Lü Yen are commonly credited with inspiring his spiritual awakening. According to Li's preface of 1288, however, an unnamed perfected transcendent
(chen-hsien 真仙) gave Wang divine water to drink and left him sacred codes of instruction, thereby leading him to forsake his mundane life and prepare himself for a mission of teaching that eventually took him to the Shantung peninsula. This text is thus a testimony to the impact of Wang’s teachings for well over a century.

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

Chu Hsiang-hsien 杜象先 (fl. 1279–1308) of Mao Shan 萬山 compiled two epigraphic anthologies in homage to the cult surrounding Yin Hsi 嶽喜, the legendary guardian of Han-ku Pass 河谷關 who was said to have inspired Lao-tzu to leave behind his teachings in the form of the Tao-te ching. Central to both collections is the Lou Kuan 樓觀 (Tiered Abbey) established at Yin Hsi’s reputed homestead in the Chung-nan Shan 終南山 (Shensi) region, a shrine that eventually came under the guardianship of the Ch’üan-chen patriarchy. The earlier of the two texts is HY 955 Chung-nan Shan Shuo-ching T’ai li-tai chen-hsien pei-chi 終南山說經墓歷代真仙碑記 [An Epigraphic Record of the Successive Generations of Perfected Transcendents at the Pavilion for Explaining Scriptures on Chung-nan Shan]. In an undated afterword, Chu explains that this text came about as the result of a pilgrimage he made to the Tiered Abbey in 1279. There he spent the summer, he says, familiarizing himself with the temple archives in the Pavilion for Explaining Scrip-
tures. The earliest hagiographic account on Yin Hsi, according to Chu, was the *Lou Kuan hsien-shih chuan* [A Biography of the Ancestral Master of the Tiered Abbey], compiled by a putative cousin named Yin Kuei 尹軌. A millennium later the text reappeared under the name of Wei Chieh 華節 (497–569), a Taoist Master at the court of Northern Chou. Eventually, Yin Wen-ts’ao 尹文操 (d. 688), a T’ang Taoist Master who apparently was regarded as a descendant of Yin Hsi, issued an expanded version of the work.\(^{305}\) It is this edition, comprising altogether thirty biographical accounts, that inspired Chu’s own composition. Only a few fragments have survived outside of Chu’s compilation. Chu no doubt hoped to ensure the permanency of his contribution by having it carved on stone, a task he reports that an Abbot Nieh 衞公 and the Superintendent Chao 推點趙公 undertook.\(^{306}\)

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

By the early T’ang the Tiered Abbey had become a major center of state ritual propitiation. T’ang Kao-tsu 唐高祖 (r. 618–626) issued a decree in the year 620, designating it as the Tsung-sheng Kuan 宗聖觀 (Abbey of the Venerable Sage). Fifty-seven years later, Yin Wen-ts’ao was put in charge of the shrine. Subsequently, it appears to have served as a talisman for both the Sung and Mongol empires. The abbot Liang Ch’üan is remembered for his role in training Chang Shou-chen 張守真, the medium through whom the I-sheng pao-te chên-chûn 弊盛保德真君 (Perfected Lord in Subservience to Sageliness and in Assurance of Merit) expressed his prophecies concerning the succession of the throne.\(^{307}\) By 1232 the Abbey apparently had been reduced to ashes following clashes between the Jurchens and the Mongols. It was Ch’iu Ch’u-chi’s hand-picked successor, Yin Chih-p’ing, who later paved the way for its restoration.\(^{308}\) Once the Tiered Abbey had been restored, Yin appointed Li Chih-jou its abbot. In this way, Chu concludes, “The well-springs of transcendence flowed into the Sea of Ch’üan-chen” (仙源流到全真海).\(^{309}\)
The history of the Abbey of the Venerable Sage and its community is examined in greater depth in Chu Hsiang-hsien’s second compilation, the 3-ch. HY 956 Ku Lou Kuan Tzu-yün yen-ch’ing chi 吉樓觀紫雲衍慶集 [An Anthology from the Abundant Felicity of Purple Clouds at the Tiered Abbey of Antiquity]. The title of this text is derived from the name of one of three separate galleries added to the temple compound in 1242, the Tzu-yün yen-ch’ing Lou 紫雲衍慶樓. Three accounts date to the T’ang. One is a history of the Abbey written by the imperial adviser Ou-yang Hsun 欧陽詢 (557-641) and recorded on a stele in 625. Another is the tomb inscription of Yin Wen-ts’ao, composed by the academician Yuan Pan-ch’ien 元潘千 (d. 714) and carved in stone in 717. The third text, written by an officer in the Census Bureau named Liu T’ung-sheng 劉同昇 and erected in 742, commemorates the divine manifestations of Lord Lao, ancestor of the imperial house.

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

Another anthology of inscriptions in the Canon, HY 970 Kung-kuan pei-chih 宫觀碑誌 [Epigraphic Memorials of Palaces and Abbeys], proves to be an exceptional resource on ecclesiastic history from the tenth to thirteenth centuries. It is an anonymous work, compiled sometime after 1264 by an archivist whose primary interest appears to have
been the state patronage of various shrines, especially the temple that came to serve as the national headquarters of Ch’üan-chen. Of the nine inscriptions recorded in this heterogeneous collection, one dates to the Sung, six date to the Chin, and two are from the early Yuan. The territory covered extends from Ching-chou 淅州 (Kansu) east to Peking and south to Po-chou 濮州 (Anhui). The earliest inscription, composed by the Han-lin academician T’ao Ku 陶毂 (903–970), marks the restoration of the Wang-mu Kung 王母宮 (Palace of the Royal Matriarch) at Hui Shan 回山, just outside Ching-chou. In keeping with the precedent of Chou Mu-wang 周穆王 and Han Wu-ti 漢武帝, both of whom reputedly paid homage to the Royal Matriarch of the West at this site, Sung T’ai-tsu 宋太祖 (r. 960–975) determined that he, too, would make the pilgrimage. The announcement of the emperor’s intention in 968, T’ao reports, led to a flurry of activity at the shrine in preparation for the imperial entourage. Similarly, the later of the two Yuan inscriptions, dating to 1264, commemorates the restoration of the T’ai-ch’ing Kung 太清宮 (Palace of Grand Clarity) at Po-chou, the putative birthplace of Lord Lao. It was written by an imperial adviser named Wang O 王鶴 (1190–1273), at the invitation of a commission of Ch’üan-chen Masters headed by Chang Chih-ch’ing 張志敬 (1220–1270). Clearly, the significance of this venerable shrine was not lost on Khubilai, who was, at the time, completing his campaign to annex all the territory of the Southern Sung empire. The second Yuan inscription was composed following the performance of a Huang-lu chiao-fête at the Ch’ang-ch’un Kung 長春宮 (Palace of Everlasting Spring) in the capital at Yenching (modern-day Peking). The abbot Li Chih-ch’ang 李志常 (1193–1256) presided over this seven-day ritual of salvation in 1254, at the behest of Mongke (Hsien-tsung 哲宗, r. 1251–1259). The Ch’ang-ch’un Kung, predecessor to the Pai-yün Kuan, was named after Ch’iu Ch’u-ch’i, whose office Li had inherited.

The most outstanding feature of the Kung-kuan pei-chih is without a doubt the selection of inscriptions dating from the Jurchen era. These texts offer a rare view of early archival and ritual activities in the northern plains. The majority of inscriptions from the Chin focus on the T’ien-ch’ang Kuan 天長觀 prior to 1227. It was at this temple that a new edition of the Canon was prepared, by the command of Chin Shih-tsung 金世宗 (r. 1161–1189). An inscription recorded here announces the completion of the Ta Chin hsüan-tu pao-tsang 大金玄都寶藏 [Pre-
cious Canon of the Arcane Metropolis of the Great Chin] in 1191. Two additional stelae dating a year earlier attest to the elaborate propitiatory chiao-fête staged on behalf of the ailing Empress Dowager. Another stele of considerable interest celebrates the conclusion of a massive renovation of the T'ien-ch'ang Kuan in 1179. Five years earlier, a Taoist Master named Yen Te-yüan (1094–1189) had been summoned from Hsi-ching lu (Western Capital, modern-day Ta-t'ung, Shansi) to oversee the project. In spite of the prominent role he played in the history of the T'ien-ch'ang Kuan, there appears to be no further reference to Yen in the Canon. Fortunately, however, his tomb was recently discovered outside Ta-t'ung, and among the artifacts found inside is a stele erected by his disciples in tribute to their master's 96 years in the mundane realm. Yen's tomb is one of three such excavations thus far to yield material of incomparable value to the study of such texts as the Kung-kuan pei-chih.

**Historiography**

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

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

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

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

Tu’s chronicle opens with a brief statement on Chou Mu-wang’s legendary pilgrimages in homage to the Royal Matriarch of the West 西王母. His introduction to pre-T’ang history is overall little
more than a statistical survey of the number of temples established and the number of Taoist Masters ordained following each occasion of state patronage. But once Tu turns his attention to the T’ang, his focus is firmly fixed on the role of T’ai-shang Lao-chün 太上老君 (Lord Lao, the Most High) as the ancestral guardian of the T’ang. From his very first providential appearance before the founder of the empire, it is understood that the fate of the ruling house of Li rested in his hands. In the reiteration of this theme, Tu predictably devotes a significant portion of his account to the legends surrounding T’ang Hsüan-tsung’s encounters with the apotheosized Lao-tzu.

Only with his closing discussions does Tu actually lead into material of more profound historiographic interest. Fully one-fifth of the text centers on the years 880–884, the turbulent age of the Huang Ch’ao 黃巢 uprising. Here, as earlier, the timely epiphanies of Lord Lao are the unifying feature of his annals. For example, it was only by his divine intervention, according to Tu, that the domain of the T’ai-ch’ing Kung 太清宮 in Po-chou 宿啣 (Anhui) remained secure from rebel forces. T’ang Hsi-tsung 唐僖宗 (r. 874–888), even as he took refuge in Ch’eng-tu, was assured repeatedly, moreover, that Lord Lao would continue to stand guard over the empire. That covenant was confirmed time and again by the appearance of prophetic tokens. By far the most remarkable sign of divine beneficence was the tile brick that came crashing down during a chiao- fête at the Hsüan-chung Abbey 司中觀 in the Blue Goat Marketplace 青羊肆 of Ch’eng-tu, the site where, according to legend, Yin Hsi awaited the return of Lao-tzu. Inscribed on that brick, Tu reports, were the words “[Lord Lao,] the Most High will pacify the upheaval of the Chung-ho 中和 reign (881–885)” 太上平中和 (16a). Verification of the prophecy came in less than a year’s time, whereby T’ang Hsi-tsung magnanimously rewarded the Taoist Master who had been in charge of the chiao-fête and authorized an expansion of the Abbey, with the command that thenceforward it be known as the Ch’ing-yang Kung 青羊宮 (Palace of the Blue Goat). As Tu observes in closing, the occasion was celebrated in an inscription composed upon imperial decree by the Han-lin academician Le P’eng-kuei 樂朋夔. The stele was erected at the Ch’ing-yang Kung on the eighth day of the ninth lunar month of 884, just nine weeks after Huang Ch’ao was captured and beheaded. 317 Tu presented his chronicle to Hsi-tsung on the fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month, two weeks following the
emperor's declaration of intent to reclaim the capital of Ch’ang-an at the start of the new year.318

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

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

The history of Tu Kuang-t’ing was followed some two centuries later by the 6-ch. HY 773 *Yu-lung chuan* [Like unto a Dragon]. The compiler of this text, a Taoist Master named Chia Shan-hsiang (fl. 1086), traces the appearance of Lao-tzu from his cosmogonic origins to the reign of Sung Chen-tsung (r. 998–1022). The title of the text is derived from Confucius’s putative characterization of Lao-tzu, as recorded in Ssu-ma Ch’ien’s *Shih chi* (145–86 B.C.E.) 63. There it is said that Confucius reported to his disciples after an encounter with Lao-tzu: “The Lao-tzu I saw today is indeed like unto a dragon” 321. Confucius thus confesses that he found Lao-tzu unfathomable, just as he admits not being able to comprehend how dragons ascended heavenward via the wind and the clouds. This episode in the biography of Lao-tzu in the *Shih chi* is the first text cited in the preface to the *Yu-lung chuan*. The lengthy introduction provided in the preface serves more or less as an abstract of the entire work.

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

By the T'ang, when Lao-tzu as Li Erh was put forward as the cosmic ancestor of the ruling house, epiphanies of the deity were witnessed on a much wider scale. Regular festival days were set aside in anticipation of his descent. The most notable celebration was held on the fifteenth day of the second lunar month, the reputed birth date of Li Erh. The general outline of Chia's chronicle on state patronage of Lao-tzu during the T'ang proves to be taken directly from Tu Kuang-t'ing's account. What sets his work apart is its emphasis on the history of the T'ai-ch'ing Kung established in Po-chou at the birthplace of the "histori-
Chia seems to speak from a sense of personal loyalty to the shrine and indeed is reported to have lectured there on the *Tu-jen ching*. But while he has much to say about the iconographic and ritual traditions associated with the worship of the apotheosized Lao-tzu down through the T'ang, Chia is remarkably silent about the practices of his own age. The single entry he includes regarding the Sung is a copy of the decree of 1014 in which Sung Chen-tsung authorized the canonization of Lord Lao, the Most High.

3. The Chronicles of Hsieh Shou-hao

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

The first chapter is devoted to a concise chronicle of Lord Lao's manifestations from legendary times to Sung Hui-tsung's era (1101–1125). This inaugural essay serves as an abstract of what follows, for the remaining eight chapters cover the same period but in much greater depth. Hsieh amplifies his account with an impressive selection of supporting materials. He draws his citations from a wide range of sources, including the standard histories, local gazetteers, stone inscriptions, and encyclopedic compilations such as the 10th-century *T'ai-p'ing
kuang-chi 太平廣記. Hsieh also elicits parallels to Buddhist cosmographic and historical traditions, areas in which he was clearly well versed. Of inestimable value in his work are passages quoted from texts that are otherwise no longer extant. Hsieh, for example, frequently calls on the *Hsüan-yüan huang-ti sheng-chi* 玄元皇帝聖紀, a lost chronicle compiled by Yin Wen-ts'ao 尹文操 (d. 688). According to his introduction, the edition he had at hand comprised 820 chang 章, or stanzas.326 The text, which was originally presented to T'ang Kao-tsung 唐高宗 (r. 650–683), is cited throughout as the *T'ang-chi* 唐紀 [T'ang Annals].

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

Two other chronicles ascribed to Hsieh appear to be earlier drafts. The shorter and presumably the first redaction, HY 770 *T'ai-shang Lao-
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chün nien-p’u yao-lüeh 太上老君年譜要略 [A Concise Summary of the Annals of Lord Lao, the Most High], is a more succinct version of the first chapter of the Hun-yüan sheng-chi. The name of the editor is given simply as Hsieh Shou-hao of Yung-chia 永嘉謝守操編集. Also cited is a collator by the name of Li Chih-tao of Yin Shan 隘山李致道校正. Nearly all of the sources mentioned in the interlinear commentary match those given in chapter 1 of the Hun-yüan sheng-chi. One exception is the Chu-ch’ü chih 弧曲志, a gazetteer of the Mao Shan region compiled by Chang K’an 張侃 (fl. 1205–1207). Assuming that the collator Li Chih-tao was responsible for the citation from this text, it would appear that his contribution dates at least one generation after Hsieh Shou-hao.

The third reference printed under Hsieh’s name is the 3-ch. HY 772 T’ai-shang hun-yüan Lao-tzu shih-lüeh 太上混元老子史略 [A Historical Summary on Lao-tzu from the Primordiality of Chaos of the Most High]. The editor of this text is identified as Hsieh Shou-hao, Taoist Master of the Ch’ing-hsu An (Retreat of the Clarified Void) of Lu Shan 库山清虚苑道士謝守操. Although no mention of relocation at Lu Shan is made in Hsieh’s biography, it appears that he may have settled there prior to 1186, the year that he was invited to be in charge of the shrine to Hsü Sun, the Yü-lung wan-shou Kung 玉隆萬壽宮 at Hsi Shan. At the beginning of the Shao-hsi 紹熙 reign (1190–1194), Sung Kuang-tsung granted Hsieh the title Kuan-fu ta-shih 觀復大師 (Great Master Who Contemplates Restoration), and this is the title by which Hsieh refers to himself in the Hun-yüan sheng-chi.

Chapters 2 and 3 of this intermediary chronicle correspond to chapters 2 and 3 of the Hun-yüan sheng-chi, starting with a brief summary on the cosmogonic Lao-tzu and ending with an abridged version of the inscription by Le P’eng-kuei carved on stone and erected at the Ch’ing-yang Kung of Ch’eng-tu in 884. The first chapter repeats the same concise chronology found in the other two works. In each case, Hsieh closes with the caveat that he terminates his survey with the episode of 1112 regarding Liang Kuang-ying because, to his mind, later accounts of portentous incidents did not in truth attest to the actual descent of Lord Lao in a “transformed incarnation” (hua-shen 萬身). The fact that all three of Hsieh’s chronicles have been preserved in the Canon, in spite of their redundancy, seems to suggest not only that his work was widely used but also that it was highly regarded. As mentioned earlier, the
hagiographer Chao Tao-i 趙道一 (fl. 1297–1307) found Hsieh’s work indispensable for establishing dates in his own encyclopedic compilation.
A wide variety of verse and prose writings are to be found both in the Canon and in subsidiary collections such as the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*. These compositions reveal a great deal about the strata of society from which they arose. The subject matter is diverse and yet distinctly religious in tone. Discourses range from the purely theoretical to the plainly homiletic. Each writer seeks to communicate something about his or her choice of pursuits, be they pharmaceutical or alchemical experiments, exorcistic rites, ascetic contemplative exercises, or any number of related activities. The language he or she uses can be highly symbolic, so abstruse in its nuances that only the initiated could begin to comprehend. It can also be as straightforward as a letter sent from one brother to another, marking the occasion of a liturgical function.

Many of the texts examined below were compiled expressly upon the initiative of a devotee. All too often, it was the disciple alone who saw the need and had the means to make his master’s teachings available for posterity. While one so motivated may have had his own ambitions at heart, many no doubt considered their editorial endeavors to be an act of faith. Whatever the underlying impetus for such compilations, they do in the end reveal much about the ties established between master and disciple. These anthologies, moreover, commonly hold a reservoir of information on the interactions among individual practitioners as well as among monastic communities. They are also at times the only sources extant to reflect the vast exchange of letters and salutatory verse between the clergy and their peers. This network of communications clearly helped to reinforce the social bonds between one mentor and another and to aid in the spread of missions throughout the continent. Those who participated in such exchanges were inevitably members of an elite, well-educated class of society. Their anthologies were thus presumably compiled for an audience of peers rather than for the community at large.
to whom they offered their services. Although the readership for whom these works were intended may not have been universally engaged in like pursuits, it was certainly understood that they were sympathetic to the activities described.

With the surge of enthusiasm for written records among adepts of the post-T'ang era, a number of literary forms were revitalized. Many from both north and south, for example, frequently gave rein to their imagination through tz’u\[411] meters. This lyrical mode, retrieved, as it were, from the threat of stifling convention, came to meet new demands as the favored vehicle of sacred poetry. Old tunes were revised and new ones created, thanks to the experimentation of those who rendered their sermon in verse. Sometimes entire sequences were composed to be chanted as a contemplative aid for the adept. Tz’u verses were also popular as liturgical recitations. In many cases, tz’u lyrics, of both the occasional and meditative strain, outnumber all other metrical verse forms in an anthology. A few writers even chose to write exclusively in this prosodic genre.

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

1. Writings Associated with Lü Yen

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

Another, longer, treatise drawn from this master-disciple tradition is printed in chapters 39–41 of the HY 1011 *Tao shu* under the title *Ch'uan-tao p'ien 傳道篇* [A Folio on the Transmission of the Tao]. A variant redaction is found in chapters 14-16 of the 13th-century encyclopedic anthology HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu 續成十書* [Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection]. There the work is entitled *Chung Lü ch'uan-tao chi 鍾呂傳道集* [An Anthology on the Transmission of the Tao from Chung(-li) to Lü]. A T'ang poet, Shih Chien-wu 施肩吾 (fl. 820), is named as the one responsible for transmitting this particular version. According to hagiographic legend, Shih Chien-wu, once he had established residence at Hsi Shan 西山 (Kiangsi), claimed to
Fig. 15. A portrait of the Perfected Lord Lù Ch’ün-yang with talisman. Sketch based on HY 1473 Lù Tsu chih, 1.1b. The inscriptions to the left and right of the talisman record Lù’s date of birth as the fourteenth of the fourth lunar month and the date of his ascent as the twentieth of the fifth lunar month, traditional festival days according to the Ch’üan-chen calendar.

have been the benefactor of the teachings of both Hsû Sun and Lù Tung-pin on laboratory and physiological alchemy (wai-tan and nei-tan). The Ming bibliophile Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (fl. 1590), however, suggests that the text is a forgery, dating no earlier than the Sung. The discussion between disciple and master centers on macrobiotics. The dialogue is organized under seventeen headings that cover various facets of both the theory and the practice of cultivating the chin-tan 金丹 (Golden Elixir or Metallous Enchymoma). The closing statement attributed to Chung-li has him recommending a treatise entitled Ling-pao pi-fa 端寶 築法 [The Conclusive Rites of Ling-pao], a text that is printed immediately after the Ch’üan-tao p’ien of HY 1011 Tao shu.
Both the *One Hundred Questions* and the *Transmission of the Tao* appear to be relatively early formulations on the *nei-tan* tradition associated with what came to be labeled Nan-tsung. Apparently this legacy of meditative practice served as the cornerstone for the textual codification of Ch’üan-chen. It is difficult to say how early it arose, for the master-disciple relation upon which the two treatises are based may have been celebrated in the oral storytelling tradition centuries before it figured in any literary works. As Hu Ying-lin points out, there is no allusion to Lü’s discipleship under Chung-li in any of the texts cited in the 10th-century *T’ai-p’ing kuang-chi*. By the Yuan, both Chung-li and Lü seem to have taken top billing in a number of plays. The role of preceptor in the theatrical repertoire appears to have been given more often to Lü Tung-pin than to Chung-li. David Hawkes has suggested that the plays in which they are featured be called “Ch’üan-chen” plays. Central to all of what have traditionally been labeled “Taoist” plays of this sort is the theme of conversion. The early dialogic treatises are perhaps best viewed as a somewhat more sophisticated form of proselytism.

Aside from his distinction as an interlocutor, Lü Tung-pin also acquired the reputation of being a skilled poet. A substantial collection of verse written under his name eventually appeared in late anthologies of T’ang poetry, most notably the *Ch’üan T’ang shih* 《全唐詩》, but the provenance of many of these lyrics appears to be no earlier than the thirteenth century. Some can be traced back to the 2-ch. HY 1048 *Ch’un-yang chen-jen hun-ch’eng chi* 純陽真人渾成集 [An Anthology of the Perfected Ch’un-yang on Arising from Turbulence] of Ho Chih-yuan 何志淔, a disciple of Sung Te-fang 宋德方 (1183–1247). Ho reportedly took refuge in a Ch’üan-chen community to avoid serving in the Mongol government. Sung Te-fang put him in charge of collecting materials from the T’ai-yuan 太原 (Shansi) area for incorporation into a new Taoist Canon, the *Hsüan-tu pao-tsang* 《玄都寶藏》 [The Precious Canon of the Arcane Metropolis] of 1244. Ho apparently came across miscellaneous writings attributed to Lü Yen in the course of pursuing this assignment. According to his preface of 1251, he gathered together over 200 verses from the archives at hand. Ho titled his compilation *Hun-ch’eng chi* because, as he explains it, the heavens were not something mankind was capable of creating but rather arose out of turbulence. To him, in other words, the writings of Lü Yen were to be regarded as the product of divine inspiration. He claims that an unnamed abbot in
charge of the Ch’un-yang Kung (Palace of Ch’un-yang) in Yung-le (Shansi) encouraged him to have the work published. The Ch’un-yang Kung marks the putative birthplace of Lü Tung-pin and is the predecessor to the Yung-le Kung (Palace of Everlasting Joy) of Jui-ch’eng (Shansi). It is one of the few Ch’uan-chen temple compounds of north China to be preserved and is valued both for its architecture and for its murals.

Given the history of the Hun-ch’eng chi, it is no surprise to find that it reflects an era other than the T’ang. Internal evidence suggests that the verses were composed well after the Ch’uan-chen tradition had gained a foothold in the northern plains. Both the subject matter and manner of expression are remarkably similar to what has been recorded of the legacy of the founder Wang Che. The heptasyllabic lu-shih is the preferred meter, but both the chueh-chu and longer prosodic forms are also well represented. Although no tz’u are included in this corpus, Lü is reputed to have composed an exemplary lyric to the tune of “Ch’in-yuan ch’un” [Spring in the Ch’in Gardens]. This epigrammatic verse on nei-tan has invited a number of exegeses. One commentary, entitled “Chieh-chu Lü Kung Ch’in-yuan ch’un” [Annotations to “Spring in the Ch’in Gardens” of Master Lü], is printed in chapter 13 of the HY 263 Hsiu-chen shih-shu anthology. It is the work of a second-generation disciple of Pai Yu-ch’an named Hsiao T’ing-chih (fl. 1260). Another commentary appears separately in the Canon under the title HY 136 Lü Ch’un-yang chen-jen Ch’in-yuan ch’un tan-tz’u chu-chieh [An Exegesis on the “Elixir” Tz’u Lyric to the Tune of “Spring in the Ch’in Gardens” by the Perfected Lü Ch’un-yang]. It is signed by “Ch’uan-yang-tzu” (1258-1314). This single tz’u lyric became a fundamental component of the literary heritage of both Nan-tsung and Ch’uan-chen. Many were so inspired by it that they composed their own lyrics to “Ch’in-yuan ch’un” in response.

The most comprehensive anthology in the Tao-tsang dedicated to Lü Yen is the 6-ch. HY 1473 Lü Tsu chih [A Treatise on Patriarch Lü]. This anonymous work seems to have been compiled sometime in the late sixteenth century, just prior to the printing of the Hsu Tao-tsang. It opens with woodcut portraits of both Lü and Chung-li Ch’üan, labeled according to the titles decreed under the Ch’uan-chen re-
gency in 1269. The text is organized under two headings, "Shih-chi chih" [Accomplishments] and "I-wen chih" [Literary Writings]. According to the opening hagiographic account under the first heading, Lü Yen was born in Yung-le on the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month of 798; this date is even in the present century the major festival day for shrines honoring Patriarch Lü. The initial summary of Lü's life is further expanded with a collection of narrative accounts. Included is a summary of the ten trials said to have been administered by Chung-li Ch’üan in testing the character of his disciple. The transcript of ten questions and answers that follows appears to be an abstract of the Ch’uan-tao chi. Two episodes recorded thereafter reputedly date from the T’ang, but the bulk of the "Shih-chi chih" is turned over to eight sequences of narratives that generally date from the Shaohsing reign (1131–1162) of the Southern Sung to the Chia-ching reign (1522–1566) of the Ming. This series of nearly ninety stories bears comparison with the 14th-century HY 305 Ch’un-yang ti-chün shen-hua miao-t’ung chi 純陽帝君神奇妙通紀, mentioned earlier. A few of the entries in this section include verses reportedly inscribed by Lü Yen on the walls of temples and at various other sites, thus serving as a sort of prelude to the “I-wen chih.” Under this second heading, the editor attempts to record all of Lü’s communications, many of which were presumably conveyed through fu-chi 扶乩 or so-called spirit-writing. No prosodic genre was regarded beyond his capacity, although the preferred medium, once again, is the heptasyllabic lu-shih. Lü’s repertoire of tz’u is also considerably enlarged. In addition to the celebrated “Ch’in-yüan ch’un” lyric, he is credited with composing three additional verses to this tune as well as thirty verses to the tunes “Yü-fu tz’u” 漁父 詞 [Fisherman’s Lyrics] and “Meng Chiang-nan” 梦江南 [Dreaming of Chiang-nan]. The master of lu-shih and tz’u becomes in this text, moreover, a master of ch’ü曲 arias as well. Although the authenticity of this literary corpus is dubious, the Lü Tsu chih is nonetheless an invaluable document on the multifarious personae granted Lü Tung-pin from the Sung to the Ming.

2. Wang Che, Founder of Ch’üan-chen

The founder of Ch’üan-chen could hardly be regarded as less accomplished than Lü Yen in literary arts. Thus, it is no surprise to find an impressive assortment of texts identified with Wang Che 王.
(1112–1170). The most extensive collection of writings ascribed to Wang is the 13-ch. HY 1145 Ch’ung-yang ch’üan-chen chi 重陽全真集 [The Ch’üan-chen Anthology of Ch’ung-yang]. Attached to this work is a preface dating to 1188 by Fan I, Superintendent of Schools in Ning-hai 寧海 (Shantung). Wang established himself in Ning-hai following his alleged encounter with divine transcendents in Kan-ho 甘河鎮 (Shensi).³⁴⁹ Many of his first disciples were natives of the Shantung peninsula area. The significance of the two regions of Kan-ho and Ning-hai in the history of Ch’üan-chen is not lost on Fan I. According to him, “The winds of Ch’üan-chen arose in the West and flourished in the East” 重陽之風起於西興於東. This large anthology is dedicated to the legacy of Wang’s teachings along the eastern seaboard. Fan claims that Wang’s writings at one time filled more than a thousand folios. It appears that one of the Seven Perfected, Liu Ch’u-hsüan 劉處玄 (1147–1203), may have been responsible for the compilation of this text, for Fan reports that Liu ordered several of his disciples, including Ts’ao T’ien 曹填 (d. 1207) and Liu Chen-i 劉真一 (d. 1206), to convey the invitation that led to his contribution of a preface.

The edition printed in the Canon, while somewhat disorganized, is generally arranged according to categories of verse, with chapters 1, 2, and 10 exclusively devoted to shih; chapters 3–8 and 11–13 to tz’u; and with a mixture of ko-歌 songs, tz’u, and shih in chapter 9. The titles of the shih reveal Wang’s role as preceptor to a number of visitors who came seeking instruction (ch’iu-wen 求問). Some of the more provocative titles include “Master Sun Inquires about the Three Teachings” 孫公問三教 (1.8a), “What Are Ch’an and Tao, You Ask?” 問禪道君何 (1.10a), and “An Old Monk Inquires about Life and Death” 老僧問生死 (1.11b). Other verses evidently were evoked upon the utterance of a single word, such as the series of compositions on “Drink” 酒, “Sex” 色, “Money” 財, and “Anger” 氣, which, according to Wang’s way of thinking, were the four major deterrents to self-cultivation (1.18a–19a).³⁵⁰ Wang often turns to the imagery of fire to explain the sensation of enlightenment, as is exemplified in the statement “Overall, cultivation of the Tao is fundamentally like being set on fire” (2.1a) or in the advice given to his disciples Ma Yu and T’an Ch’u-tuan, “To holler out one’s awareness is just like being set on fire” 呼聞已亦如然 (2.26a). The experience of mental self-incineration apparently encouraged those not similarly awak-
ened to view Wang and his crowd as lunatics. Wang early on even took to referring to himself as “Hai-feng” (Wild and Crazy) or “Feng-tzu” (Crazy Man), names that his disciple Ma Yü also came to favor. If this anthology is any measure, the madman of Ning-hai found the tz'u repertory most accommodating to his demands. These lyrics, numbering in the hundreds, range from the purely personal, autobiographical statement to the eloquent expose on the intricacies of chin-tan meditation. The extent of Wang's influence is perhaps best revealed by the titles given his verses, for they often name the intended recipient of his communication.

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

Both anthologies are composed largely of the verses Wang addressed to Ma Yü and those Ma composed in response. Each compilation includes a mixture of shih and tz'u. The exchange of poems, according to Ma Ta-pien, started when Wang locked himself up for one hundred days on the estate of Ma Yü and his wife, Sun Pu-erh, and offered no communication other than a sequence of verses. Legend has it that each poem was submitted with an accompanying gift of food, often a section of pear. Ma is reported thereafter to have dreamed of journeying to the heavens and the netherworld. These hallucinatory experiences led in the end to his enlightenment on the principles of ethical
causality, or so Ma Ta-pien implies. The disciples who compiled the anthologies would have us believe that Ma Yü had an extraordinary talent for matching verses with Wang. Many of their exchanges were written in the form called *ch'ai-tzu ts'ang-t'ou* (opening concealed in a dissected word). Thus, Ma not only had to accommodate the prescribed metrical pattern and rhyme scheme, but also had to evoke the opening word from a component of the last word in the verse. Among other innovations are a number of alternative tune titles. "Pu suan-tzu" [Casting Lots], for example, is rendered as "Huang-ho tung-chung hsien" [Transcendent within the Yellow Crane Cavern], "Jui che-ku" [Auspicious Partridge] becomes "Pao shih en" [In Expression of Gratitude toward the Master], and "Ch'ing-yu an" [Green Jade Cup] becomes "Ch'ing-lien ch'ih-shang k'o" [Stranger on the Blue Lotus Lake]. Since these unconventional titles are traditionally attributed to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, it is difficult to determine whether they are in fact original with Wang. The titles, if not the verses themselves, may very well be the work of a later generation. But even if the verses are idealized, there is no better record of the development of communication between a master and a disciple, not to mention that of the disciple's changing perceptions of his wife. Wang apparently encouraged the pair to seek independent paths. In one of the few verses addressed directly to Sun, he suggests that she would be nothing but an old woman were she simply to stay at home, but promised her everlasting recognition as a transcendent should she devote herself to cultivating self-perfection. Sun Pu-erh's replies have not been recorded.

Further impressions of the pedagogical approach associated with Wang can be derived from three anonymous compilations. Like the two texts discussed above, HY 1149 *Ch'ung-yang shou Tan-yang erh-shih-ssu chüeh* [Twenty-four Lessons Conveyed by Ch'ung-yang to Tan-yang], was clearly designed to perpetuate the memory of Ma Yü's discipleship. Internal inconsistencies make this putative dialogic exchange a difficult text. It opens with Ma asking Wang to explain a list of terms. After a definition is given for the first term, separate questions are posed for each successive term. The work is made troublesome by the contradiction between the initial list and the actual series of individual questions that follows. The inventory given at the outset turns out to be both incomplete and unrepresentative of the order of items presented in the ensuing question-answer sequence. That se-
quence, moreover, includes a number of redundancies. For example, twice Wang is asked to define *ch'u-chia* 出家 (lit., “to leave home”; i.e., “to become a devotee”). The first response recorded is that one must disentangle oneself from the myriad phenomena before one's numinous qualities can be realized. The second time around, the answer given is that those who have left home are engaged in meritorious acts and the cultivation of perfection (*kung-hsing hsiu-chen* 功行修正). As explained in a subsequent passage, the devotee is expected to speak very little, to control his or her emotions, and to minimize anxiety and cravings. Some of these lessons are reiterated in a concluding summary of citations drawn from sources representative of the San-chiao or Three Teachings, including the *Meng-tzu*, and the *Vajracchedika-sūtra*, as well as the sayings of both Wang Che and Ma Yü. Hsü Shen-weng 徐神翁 (i.e., Hsü Shou-hsin 徐守信, 1033–1108), moreover, is reputed to have said that a devotee of the Three Teachings is one who abandons all concern for fame and financial gain and concentrates instead on suppressing both emotions and cravings so that his own spirit may be purified.357

A longer, more technical dialogic treatise is found in HY 1148 *Ch'ung-yang chen-jen chin-kuan yü-so chueh* 重陽真人金關玉鎖詩 [Lessons of the Perfected Ch'ung-yang on the Jade Lock of the Golden Gateway]. Unlike the preceding text, the name of the questioner is not given. This remarkably eclectic compilation opens instead with a recitation on the two major principles to be observed in the cultivation of perfection: (1) do away with nameless vexations, and (2) desist from greed, yearnings, drink, sex, money, and anger. Here the Three Teachings, referred to as the *San-sheng* 三乘 (Three Vehicles), are all said to have been derived from Lord Lao. The consequences of putting the teachings into action are said to be threefold: (1) the ability of divine transcendents to embrace unity, (2) the prosperity of the state and tranquillity of its inhabitants, (3) the strengthening of armed forces and victory in battles. The latter two points are discussed only briefly, for the emphasis throughout is on the therapeutic aspects of macrobiotics. The title, in fact, is drawn from a sexual technique for the circulation and retention of the *chin-ching* 金精, or golden essence.358 Occasionally the respondent to the questions refers to “my master” 我師 or “Old Lü” 吕翁 (i.e., Lü Tung-pin). More specific clues to the inspiration of this text are found not only in the technical terminology but also in quotations drawn
from texts such as the _Ta-mo ching_ 達磨經 and the _Chiu-hsien ching_ 九 仙經 [Scripture of the Nine Transcendents]. Among the latest sources cited are Ch’en T’uan 陳燾 (d. 989), the putative founder of Nan-tsung, and the _Ch’uan-tao chi_ associated with Lü Tung-pin. While the intended audience of these instructions remains somewhat vague, it would appear that they were designed to serve both male and female adepts, whether Buddhist or Taoist in persuasion. The compiler of _Lessons_ advises in the end that the text be transmitted very selectively. Implicit in the admonition is the understanding that all recipients were to avail themselves of a qualified master. Not to do so is called _tao-hsüeh_ 盗學, or “study by theft.”

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

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

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

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

庚子八月二十四日長安祈雨

Barefoot Crazy Ma prays for rain,
With the incense registering my intent,
wafting upward to be delivered before
the Transcendent Headquarters.
How long will we have to wait before the
moisture is sufficient to plough?
Five times five, not beyond the twenty-fifth.
(1.12b)

Similarly, Ma sometimes addressed Taoist communities on the occasion of a Huang-lu chiao-fête, as is the case with a verse written to the tz’u tune “Shih pao-en” [Ten Expressions of Gratitude] at Wen-teng (Shantung).365 Not unlike Master Wang, his disciple seems to have found the tz’u repertory to be most accommodating to his literary demands. This genre dominates chapter 7 through 10, fully forty percent of the anthology. Ma even used a tz’u tune entitled “Ch’ing-hsin ching” [Mirror to the Clarified Heart] to exhort Buddhist monks and Taoist Masters to quit slandering one another and come together in accord.366 Perhaps most memorable are the lyrics he composed to the tune “Man-t’ing fang” [Fragrance Filling the Courtyard], upon the demise of Master Wang. According to the commentary of one entitled “Tsan Ch’ung-yang chen-jen hsien-i” [A Eulogy on the Phenomenality Displayed by the Perfected Ch’ung-yang], Ma claims to have come across his master one evening at the southern capital before he realized that earlier in the day Wang had ascended on high. Two other verses printed under the subtitle “Tsan Ch’ung-yang chen-jen ch’u-hsien” [A Eulogy
on the Emergence of the Perfected Ch’ung-yang] testify to later manifestations. On one occasion Wang reportedly appeared seated upon a lotus on the back of a white tortoise, a vision Ma Yü says local artists vied to reproduce.367

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

The second anthology of tz’u is entitled HY 1142 Tan-yang shen-
kuang ts’an [On the Luster of the Hallowed Radiance of
Tan-yang]. It is a collection of one hundred lyrics written to the tune of
“Man-t’ing fang” 满庭芳 [Fragrance Filling the Courtyard]. A devotee
by the name of Ning Shih-ch’ang 寧師常 explains the significance of
the title in a preface dating to 1175. Although most of the verses have
their own subtitles, Ning refers to them simply as the one hundred
poems on “Shen-kuang ts’an” 神光燭 [Luster of Hallowed Radiance].

This expression, according to Ning, conveys something of the manner in
which Ma induced enlightenment. The sensation he describes brings to
mind a phrase favored by Wang, that is, ju-jan 焦煈, “like being
set on fire.” Ning says that once the lantern of one’s heart is lit, the
refulgence spreads throughout the body and heats up the cortex, impart­
ing thus a state of cleansing purification. He goes on to equate this
with what he calls the gangaprajna 恒沙般若, or “limitless wisdom,”
which arises from the reflection of the Bodhi Tree and results in rescue
from the Sea of Bitterness (k’u-hai 苦海). Ma himself does not appear
to have used this analogy, at least not in this sequence of verse. Aside
from frequently evoking the “luster of hallowed radiance,” he often re­
peats some of the basic precepts of Ch’uan-chen. Essential to all who
pursue the kind of enlightenment Ma counsels is the fourfold abnegation
of drink, sex, anger, and money. Another well-known admonition upon
which Ma frequently calls is the need to bring under control one’s “i-ma
hsin-yuan 駭馬心猿, or “horse of the will and monkey of the
mind.” His lyrics are also rich in nei-tan terminology. In one in­
stance, Ma advises that those who pursue such practices—in other
words, those who have faith in the Tao—will have no interest in mar­
rriage of the mundane kind. These homiletic pieces almost invariably
are directed toward one of his many male and female acquaintances.
Two of Ma’s poems in this anthology are accompanied by an explanatory
preface concerning a prophetic dream. One preface refers to a specific
episode of divine healing in 1174, upon the appearance of Master Ho
Te-chin 和德瑾 (d. 1170), a story that also found its way into the hagi­
ographic corpus of Ch’in Chih-an 齊志安 (1188-1244).

The fourth collection of verse commonly ascribed to Ma Yü is HY
1136 Tzu-jan chi 自然集 [An Anthology of Spontaneity]. The subtitle
reads “Tao-tz’u” 道詞 [Lyrics of the Tao]. This work is conspicuously
absent from the hagiographic inventories of Ma's compilations. It comprises a sequence of 42 verses that have been variously identified as *shih*, *tz’u*, or *san-ch’ü* (short song-poems). Closer examination reveals the text to be a series of five *t’ao-shu* (short songs), or suites of arias, such as make up a *tsa-chü* script. The sequence of modes in which these suites presumably were intended to be sung is *Hsien-lü*, *Nan-lü*, *Shuang-tiao*, and *Cheng-kung* (2). *Hsien-lü* and *Nan-lü* typically are chosen as the modes for acts 1 and 2 of a *tsa-chü*. But the *Cheng-kung* and *Shuang-tiao* modes are usually found in the reverse order, that is *Cheng-kung* for the third act and *Shuang-tiao* for the fourth act. In spite of the unconventional sequence of modes, the *Tzu-jan chi* appears to be the text of the librettos for a five-act play. A number of the songs are unquestionably cast in the first person narrative voice and imply a certain amount of action. While much of the *chin-tan* terminology is reminiscent of Ma’s other writings, it is doubtful that the song cycle was composed until at least a century later. Internal evidence reveals it to be the work of someone who was not only acquainted with Ma’s teachings, but who was also well versed in the legacy of the Seven Perfected of Ch’üan-chen as a whole. In fact, the last complete *t’ao-shu* is recorded in an early 14th-century anthology under the name of Teng Hsiieh-k’o (fl. 1317), apparently a colleague of Chang Yü (1283–1356+?). Finally, there are two collateral works in the Canon that purport to be records of Ma’s teachings in his later years as a proselytizer of Ch’üan-chen. The shorter of the two texts, entitled HY 1224 *Tan-yang chen-jen chih-yen* – *The Forthright Discourse of the Perfected Tan-yang*, is a three-page transcription of the sermon Ma gave at Lung-men Shan (Shensi) before the Ch’ung-yang Hui, an assembly named after his mentor. Ma is known to have settled at the Yu-te Kuan (Abbey in Attendance to Virtue) of Lung-chou (Shensi) for a short time late in 1179. This sermon was apparently delivered sometime during that stay. Ma demands absolute trust from the disciples gathered about him and assures them that they are among the privileged few to receive his instruction. He lectures on the importance of pursuing a disciplined program of meditative practice. By this Ma means that one must cultivate a state of purification every minute of each day. In so doing, he advises, one may anticipate the experience of enlightenment a myriad times over. The key, according to Ma, is to con-
centrate one's mind fully on the Tao for the entire day, without any thought of satisfying hunger or thirst. He concludes his message with a litany of allegorical terms from nei-tan. After nine years of persistent practice, Ma concludes, one can expect to have achieved eternal transubstantiation as a divine spirit. The lesson, therefore, is not on how to attain longevity, but rather on how to attain a formless state. It is Ma's view that transcendence of one's physical being is the only means by which one becomes indestructible. This sermon seems to have been his most memorable. Aside from this edition, a partial transcript is included in a collection of Ch'uan-chen teachings compiled no earlier than the late thirteenth century.

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

Ma also preached on the unity of the San-chiao, or Three Teachings, but he was adamant about the superiority of the way of ch'ing-ching 清靜 (pure quiescence) and wu-wei 無為 (limited activity). The sources from which he derives inspiration include the Tao-te ching, Lun-yü, and the patriarchs Chung-li Ch'uan, Lü Yen, and Liu Ts'ao (fl. 1031). Of special note are the lessons he draws by recalling his experiences as a
disciple of Wang Che, including the hardship of beatings. Ma himself, according to Wang I-chung, was capable of quietly disarming any detractors. In one incident reported, Ma had been invited to address several monks when he found himself facing continual challenges from a querulous novice. The disputations were put to an end after Ma calmly observed that the monk clearly had no awareness of anything but his own person.

4. Sun Pu-erh, Ch’üan-chen Matriarch

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

Not one of the hagiographic accounts devoted to Sun in the Canon mentions any compilation of her collected writings, and yet they suggest that the matriarch indeed made skillful use of both shih and tz’u in conveying instruction. The lyric to the tune of “Pu suan-tzu” 此 賦 意子 [Casting Lots] cited in two biographies is among a number of Sun’s tz’u recorded in the HY 1092 Ming-ho yü-yin 呕鶴餘音 [Lingering Overtones of the Calling Crane], a mid-14th-century anthology. Separate collections of teachings ascribed to her did not appear before the Ch’ing. The two titles printed under her name in the Tao-tsang chi-yao are of considerable interest although their authenticity is admittedly in question. The Sun Pu-erh yuan-chun ch’üan-shu tan-tao pi-shu 孫不二元妃 傳述丹道秘書 [The Secret Writings on the Tao of the Elixir Recorded by the Primordial Goddess Sun Pu-erh] in three ch’üan proves to be a set of four scriptural texts recorded separately in the Canon. Two series of
pentasyllabic lü-shih and heptasyllabic chüeh-chü are also attributed to Sun, under the title Sun Pu-erh yüan-chün fa-yü [The Exemplary Sayings of the Primordial Goddess Sun Pu-erh]. The sub-heading given the first fourteen lü-shih reads: “K’un-tao kung-fu tz’u-ti” [A Sequence on the Pursuits of the Feminine Way], and the second set of seven chüeh-chü is simply labeled: “Nü-kung nei-tan” [The Physiological Alchemy of Feminine Excellence]. The selections all pertain to various aspects of the contemplative practices of women. While undeniably conventional, the subjects introduced here, such as t’ai-hsi (embryonic respiration), lien-shen (refinement of the spirit), and pi-ku (avoidance of grains), suggest that women of the Tao may have strived for purification through amenorrhoea or anorexia rather than with the aid of drugs or steroids as Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen have postulated.
5. Ch’iu Ch’u-chi, Ch’üan-chen Patriarch

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

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

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

By 1219 Ch‘iu’s reputation was such that competing political forces began to vie for his allegiance. Not long after Sung Ning-tsung 宋寧宗 (r. 1195–1224) requested his presence at court in Hangchow, Chinggis Khan, while in the midst of an expedition through Central Asia, dispatched a summons through his personal envoy Liu Wen 劉溫. Ch‘iu determined that his mission rested with the Khan, and early in 1220 he set out across the northern plains under Mongol escort on a journey that in the end occupied over a year and a half. As noted earlier, Li Chih-ch‘ang (1193–1256), who was in the party of nineteen disci-
ples chosen to accompany the 74-year-old master, compiled the 2-ch. HY 1418 *Hsi-yu chi* as a record of their travels to and from the Samarkand frontier. Ch’iu had his first audience with the Khan shortly after he arrived at the Mongol outpost in the Hindu Kush mountains at the close of 1222. A transcript of the instructions he delivered before the Khan is recorded in HY 176 *Hsüan-feng ch’ing-hui lu* [A Record of a Felicitous Convocation on the Sublime Spirit of the Tao]. The preface of 1232 is unsigned, but the text itself is ascribed to Yeh-lü Ch’u-ts’ai (1190–1244), a powerful secretary to the Khan. Although initially he appears to have endorsed Ch’iu, Yeh-lü is thought later to have regarded him as a threat to the political and economic stability of the new regime. He was reportedly very critical of the special privileges granted the Ch’uan-chen brotherhood upon Ch’iu’s successful tenure in the capital at Yenching, a tenure of increasing concern to Buddhist communities in the area.

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

Although the sermon transcribed in the *Hsüan-feng ch’ing-hui lu* is presented as if delivered in toto on the eve of the sixteenth day of the tenth lunar month, the range of topics discussed suggests that this text may be a summary of more than one session. Several points recall passages in Li Chih-ch’ang’s *Hsi-yu chi*. Both works indicate that the Khan’s prime motive in securing the presence of Ch’iu was to gain instruction on the means by which he might prolong his life, and Li states explicitly that the Mongol chieftain was interested in obtaining some sort of elixir. Whereas the *Hsi-yu chi* includes little exposition of the
master’s teachings beyond an occasional lesson on the importance of filiality and of curtailing the hunt, the central focus of the *Hsüan-feng ch’ing-hui lu* is on the advisability of maintaining continence. The theme of abstinence from sex is repeated throughout, with lessons drawn from the *Tao-te ching* and Ch’iu’s own experience in converting Chin Shih-tsung. The master in the end urges the Khan to abandon his harem, with the reminder that the ancients claimed it was far better to sleep alone for one night than to take pharmaceuticals for a thousand days. As Li reported, Ch’iu had, at the very start of his journey, refused to travel in the same company as the concubines destined for the Khan’s camp. The master was equally outspoken on matters of state, especially as they concerned the welfare of his home territory. In order to restore the prosperity of the Shantung and Hopeh area, a region crucial to the realization of a Mongol mandate, Ch’iu proposed that the citizens there be granted a tax exemption for three years. Such an exemption for Ch’iu’s disciples was indeed discussed, according to Li, during his farewell audience with the Khan. No further record of Ch’iu’s teachings other than a text on *chin-tan*, the 2-ch. HY 244 *Ta-tan chih-chih* 大丹直指 [Straightforward Notes on the Great Elixir], is found in the Canon. But, since the author of this work is identified according to the honorary title bestowed on Ch’iu in 1269, it may actually be more representative of the thinking of later devotees of Ch’üan-chen than of the master’s own teachings.  

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

When in 1167 T’an Ch’u-tuan 譚處端 (1123–1185) learned of Wang Che’s arrival in the Ning-hai area, he abandoned his wife to join the ranks of the master’s early disciples. Seven years later, T’an was among those who relocated in the central plains after the burial of Master Wang at Chung-nan Shan. For almost ten years he served in various communities east and west of Loyang along the Yellow River. Wherever he preached, T’an was said invariably to have attracted a large following. At one time there were said to have been more than one hundred folios of T’an’s teachings, including prosodic collections and dialogic treatises. Now the only record extant is the 3-ch. HY 1152 *T’an Hsien-sheng/shui-yün chi* 譚先生水雲集 [The Water-Cloud Anthology of Master T’an], and even this is but a fragment of the original compilation. The first printing was prepared by Wang Liu-hui 王琉璃 of the Ch’üan-chen Re-
treat 全真 in Chün-chou 潍州 (Honan). After the woodblocks of this edition were lost in a flood at Chün-chou in 1186, Liu Ch’u-hsüan 劉處玄 (1147–1203) brought together what texts could be recovered so that a new edition could be printed. He sent several of his disciples to request a preface for the work from Fan I. Fan’s introduction, dated 1187, is considerably more personal than those he inscribed for other collections, for he and T’an Ch’u-tuan, both the offspring of well-to-do families in the Ning-hai area, had grown up together. From reminiscences of their childhood days and journeys together, Fan turns to a review of T’an’s affiliation with Wang, his mission in Loyang, and the legacy he left behind. Even less of the work survives in the Canon than the sum of the edition put together by Liu Ch’u-hsüan. Two postfaces trace the history of the text down through the late thirteenth century. The first was composed by Fan I’s son, following a reengraving of the anthology in Shan-yang 山陽 (Shensi). Another postface accompanied a 1289 reissue of the text, based on a copy saved from the book burning of 1281.

Fortunately, with the three chapters that remain, something of T’an’s versatility as a poet can still be appreciated. No prosodic form seems to have been beyond his reach. The opening heptasyllabic lü-shih is a tribute to the Ch’ao-yüan Kung 朝元宮 (Palace in Homage to Primordiality), T’an’s home base in Loyang. Somewhat more information about his circuit can be retrieved from the scant number of regulated verses recorded. No doubt there was once a far larger collection of commemorative verse than the sampling here. Of note among the last entries in chapter 1 are the songs entitled “K’u-lou” 骨髏 and “Lo-p’o” 魂, both of which Fan I claims are capable of provoking enlightenment. On one occasion, T’an composed a heptasyllabic chüeh-chü in response to what he said were the daily inquiries of the multitudes at Ch’i-men Commandery 淇門鎭 (Honan) for pharmaceuticals. Those in the know, he advises, are skilled in playing dumb, devoting themselves all the while to their contemplative pursuits. With other verses, including a sequence of pentasyllabic chüeh-chü, he seeks to exhort the masses to uphold the principles of Ch’üan-chén, including the relinquishment of drink, sex, money, and anger. These lessons are repeated in a number of the tz’u that follow in chapters 2 and 3. Among the tunes favored for these didactic compositions are those that came to be identified with the Ch’üan-chén mission, such as “Man-t’ing fang,” “Ch’in-yüan ch’un,” and “Shen-kuang ts’an” 神光燦. One lyric con-
spicuously absent from this edition is that to the tune of "Hsing hsiang-tzu" 行香子 , which T’an reportedly composed as a farewell message to his disciples, just prior to his demise.\(^{412}\)

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

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

The literary legacy Liu left behind has apparently suffered as much loss over the centuries as that of T’an Ch’u-tuan. Hagiographic accounts attribute five separate anthologies to Liu’s name, as well as commentaries to the *Tao-te ching*, the *Yin-fu ching* 陰符經, and the *Huang-t’ing ching* 黃庭經.\(^{413}\) Only one of the anthologies is extant, namely, the 5-ch. HY 1133 *Hsien-le chi* 仙樂集 [Anthology of Transcendent Joy]. The history of its transmission cannot be traced, for neither prefaces nor colophons have survived.\(^{414}\) The work includes very little commemorative or epistolary verse in corroboration of the hagiographic data available. But this anthology does offer a wealth of didactic compositions, written in a variety of metric forms. Liu does not seem to have had as much use for the heptasyllabic *lü-shih* as his mentors had. He appears to have favored instead the conciseness of verses with lines of a mere three to five syllables in length. In chapters 2 and 5 combined, there are over three hundred pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü*, all untitled aphorisms on the basic principles and practices of Ch’üan-chen. Lengthier expositions on these matters are found in the *tz’u* of chapter 4. Here, too, are recorded
a few dated pieces that give some idea of Liu's teachings in his later years. One lyric to the tune of "Shui-lung yin" 水龍吟 [Incantation of the Water Dragon], for example, was written in commemoration of an auspicious rainfall in 1201, on the eve of hsiya-yuan 下元, the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month. Liu takes the opportunity in this verse to preach that faith in the Tao keeps one safe from disaster.

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

8. Wang Ch'u-i, Ch'uan-chen Patriarch

The two remaining disciples to be ordained within the ranks of the Seven Perfected were also of the younger generation, only a few years senior to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi and Liu Ch'u-hsüan. Wang Ch'u-i 王處一 (1142-1217) and Hao Ta-t'ung 郝大宗 (1140-1212), like Liu Ch'u-hsüan, were regarded as paragons of filial piety. Wang lost his father when but a child and thereafter was said to have looked after his mother with the utmost care. According to hagiographic legend, Wang once stopped breathing suddenly at the age of seven and fell to the ground as if dead. He soon recovered, and from then on was thought to be particularly prescient concerning matters of life and death. His later encounters with transcendents appeared to confirm his destiny, leading Wang eventually to sing and dance about wildly, oblivious to the winter cold although barefoot and scantily clad. Early in 1168 he learned of Wang
Che's arrival in Ning-hai and went to his retreat seeking instruction. In the end, Master Wang received both Wang Ch'u-i and his mother as disciples. Then he commanded Ch'u-i to go into seclusion within the Yun-kuang Cavern (雲光洞) of T'ieh-ch'a Shan 鐵查山. It was in these caves, just outside Wen-teng (文登) on the eastern tip of the Shantung peninsula, that Master Wang himself claimed to have experienced enlightenment. After nine years, Wang Ch'u-i emerged and began to offer his services to communities from the coast inland. As was mentioned earlier, the hagiographic account HY 594 T'i-hsüan ch'en-jen hsien-i lu 提聖仙真傳記 provides an extraordinary record of the therapeutic demands of his ministry. Once word of his reputation reached the ears of Chin Shih-tsung (r. 1161-1189), Wang was summoned to Yenching. He served in the capital intermittently between 1188 and 1209, but preferred to devote most of his time to the parishes of his homeland.

Substantial background on Wang's mission can be retrieved not only from the Hsien-i lu, but also from the 4-ch. HY 1144 Yün-kuang chi 雲光集 [An Anthology of Yün-kuang]. This compilation, titled for his subterranean sanctuary, is the only one of two such anthologies associated with Wang to survive. Wang drew on all manner of prosodic forms to give an accounting of his experiences in both contemplative and ritual practices. Many of his commemorative and epistolary lyrics are dated by title or by an explanatory preface. Both heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic meters are well represented in the first three chapters of this work, with the last entirely comprised of tz'u. Among the more memorable verses is one Wang addressed to his mother, whom he cared for until her death at age 93 in 1201. A number of other verses were composed on special requests for instruction, in some cases by disciples of Ch'an or by people seeking cures for various ailments. Many verses are directed toward new devotees who had made the decision to abandon their homes in order to strike out on their own. Several lyrics, moreover, reveal how actively Wang promoted the purchase and restoration of temple grounds. One heptasyllabic lu-shih, for example, is entitled "Mai Ch'a Shan Shang-ch'ing Kuan" 買查山上清觀 [On the Purchase of the Shang-ch'ing Abbey of Ch'a Shan]. Others call for temple renovation or pay tribute to the completion of such projects. Those verses Wang composed for purely didactic purposes range from the straightforward homiletic to the decidedly eclectic. An example of the latter is entitled "Ching San-chiao" 敬三教 [Respect the Three Teachings]:
Upon the simultaneous uplifting of the Three Teachings rests the destiny of the masses. Within the void of perfection there are no words, the sound of laughter is continual. Opening up the dharma-eye brings to completion the principles of profundity; Lotus petals, layer upon layer, form the vessel of salvation.

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

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

These diagrams, together with the commentary, fill two chapters in the only extant collection of Hao’s writings, the 4-ch. HY 1153 T’ai-ku chi 太古集 [Anthology of Grand Antiquity]. Preliminary to these graphic conceptualizations is the Chou-i ts’an-t’ung ch’i chien-yao shih-i 周易參同契簡要釋義 [A Concise Exegesis on the Chou-i ts’an-t’ung ch’i]. A sequence of thirty “Chin-tan shih” 金丹詩 [Verses on the Metallous Enchymoma] in the fourth chapter completes the anthology. Hao indicates in his preface of 1178 that the T’ai-ku chi was once a far more comprehensive collection of his writings, totaling fifteen chapters of
Fig. 17. An overhead view of the three-tiered altar. Sketch based on HY 1153 T'ai-ku chi, 3.12b. According to Hao Ta-t'ung, the lower base marked by the twelve ti-chih 地支 represents the terrestrial realm, whereas the central octagonal tier marked by the pa-kua 八卦 and wu-hsing 五行 represents mankind, and the third circular tier marked by the ten t'ien-kan 天干 represents the celestial realm.

catechisms together with a variety of prosodic compositions. Three other prefaces confirm the extent of his original literary corpus. All are dated 1236, marking the year that Fan Yuan-hsi 范原羲 (1178–1249) prepared what was to be a definitive reedition of his master's teachings. As the chief beneficiary of Hao's instruction, Fan contributed an intro-
duction and then invited additional prefaces from Feng Pi (1162–1240) and Liu Ch'i (1203–1250), two prominent literati familiar with Hao Ta-t'ung's legacy. The anthology in the Canon is regrettably only a fraction of Fan's newly restored edition.

10. Later Ch'üan-chen Disciples

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

Yin Chih-p'ing. Among the more prominent of the succeeding generation of Ch'üan-chen patriarchs is Yin Chih-p'ing (1169–1251) of Lai-chou (Shantung). He was the hand-picked successor to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, chosen over seventeen other disciples closely associated with the master. Early in his youth Yin had brief encounters with both Ma Yü and Liu Ch'u-hsüan, and afterward he set up a retreat at Fu-shan (Shantung). When in 1190 he became aware of Ch'iu's return to Ch'i-hsia, Yin made the short journey southwest to introduce himself. He immediately devoted himself in service to Ch'iu, and was rewarded with extensive instruction from the master. Thereafter Yin pursued his mission throughout the northeast, and wherever he went he was said to have drawn large crowds and inspired the construction of many new temples. Eventually Ch'iu summoned Yin to preside with him in Yenching. Upon his master's demise, Yin became the highest-ranking ecclesiastic in the Mongol empire, with authority over all other Ch'üan-chen masters. He kept this position for a mere ten years until 1238, when, pleading the vicissitudes of old age, he designat-
ed Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193–1256) as his successor. Shortly after, Li helped to make available an edition of Yin Chih-p'ing's teachings.

Sometime around 1237, several of Yin's disciples had decided to bring together all of their notes so that a permanent record could be made of their master's instruction. At their behest, Li Chih-ch'ang added a preface in 1240 to the resulting compilation, the 4-ch. HY 1299 Ch'ing-ho chen-jen pei-yu yu-ju [A Dialogic Treatise on the Northern Journeys of the Perfected Ch'ing-ho]. Although neither Li nor the authors of two other prefaces dating to the autumn of 1237 identify any of the disciples in charge, the name Tuan Chih-chien 桐志堅 is cited as editor on the opening pages of each chapter. Tuan apparently took the major responsibility for reconstructing the content of Yin's sermons to monastic communities on visits from Yenching north in the autumn and winter of 1233. Included in the treatise are extemporaneous remarks as well as Yin's responses to the queries posed by various disciples. In his expositions, Yin frequently alludes to the teachings of past Ch'üan-chen masters and, moreover, seems to enjoy illustrating his points by narrating choice episodes in exemplification of their mission. A question of concern to many in his audience was the distinction between Ch'üan-chen and Buddhism. Yin's inevitable response was that although there were many differences, the two traditions were in principle the same. Of note in chapter 3 is a long exegesis on two passages from the Tao-te ching, which had been inspired by the interpretation Yin elicited from a disciple named Kuo Chih-ch'üan. Yin's exchange with Kuo is further memorialized in two tz'u lyrics preserved in the 3-ch. HY 1138 Pao-kuang chi 蒼光集 [Anthology of Concealed Radiance]. Tuan Chih-chien also compiled this collection in honor of his master in 1239. The title is derived from a line in the “Ch'i-wu lun” chapter of Chuang-tzu, in a discussion on the apprehension of the limitations of one's knowledge. Both works, the anthology and the dialogic treatise, were printed under the sponsorship of Tu Te-k'ang 杜德慶, the governor of Ch'în-chou 忻州 (Shansi). In 1233, when Ch'in-chou was suffering from a prolonged drought, Tu summoned Yin Chih-p'ing to administer a propitiatory chiao-fête. After the success of Yin's rain-making rites, Tu ordered the building of a Shen-hsiao Kung 神霄宮 (Palace of the Divine Empyrean) on his behalf. This shrine is prominent among those to which Yin pays tribute in his verses. A large number of his commemorative pieces are cast in the hep-
tasyllabic *chueh-chü* meter, such as a verse entitled “Tao-jen Liu Chih-hsi hsien tiao-mu Ch’i-chen hsiao-hsien” [The Taoist Liu Chih-hsi Presents Small Images of the Seven Perfected Carved in Wood]. Among the few *liu-shih* recorded is one that Yin addressed to a Ch’an Master by the name of Wang who had been suffering from an unusual ailment. Overall, it is the *tz’u* meter that Yin appears to favor, for they occupy fully two-thirds of this anthology. Many are epistolary compositions, including exhortations following several *chiao*-fêtes. On one occasion, Yin reveals that his lyric to the tune of “Chiang-ch’eng tzu” was inspired by the circumstances surrounding a *chiao*-fête for lost souls held on *ch’ung-yang*, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. Before the scheduled fête, Yin observes, a strong wind blew from the north, darkening the skies and bringing light snow. But on the eighth day, after the initial communications were dispatched on high, the skies cleared for the duration of the ritual. All the wandering and orphaned souls, Yin claims in his verse, were clearly destined to obtain salvation through the merit of the fête, allowing them to exit from the gateway of the shades.

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

*Yu Tao-hsien.* Most noteworthy among those disciples affiliated with Liu Ch’u-hsüan is *Yu Tao-hsien* (1168–1232) of Wen-teng (Shantung). The only substantial source of information on his life appears to be a tomb inscription composed by Yuan Hao-wen (1190–1257) in response to a request from *Yu’s* following. *Yu* reportedly studied under Liu Ch’u-hsüan while in his teens, perhaps sometime
after 1181, when the master returned to Tung-lai from Loyang. To compensate for his lack of literacy, Yü, it is said, at first merely learned to recite texts such as the *Lao-tzu* and the *Chuang-tzu*. After a few years he apparently began to compose his own songs. Legend has it that Yü simply picked up a brush and applied it to paper, as if he were totally unaware of what he was doing. Once he completed a training program of enforced austerities, Yü eventually settled in the Loyang region at the Ch'ang-sheng Kuan-長生觀 [Abbey of Long Life], which had been established at the site of his master's former retreat. Most of the entries in the single extant collection of his writings, the 2-ch. HY 1254 *Li-feng lao-jen chi*離峰老人集 [An Anthology of the Old Man Li-feng], appear to date from his tenure in Loyang.

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

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

*Wang Chih-chin.* Wang Chih-chin 王志瑾 (1178–1263), perhaps the most renowned of the second generation of Ch'üan-chen masters, was a student of Hao Ta-t'ung. The son of wealthy landowners in Tung-ming 東明 (Honan), Wang enjoyed a far more privileged childhood than did Yü Tao-hsien. Rather than submit to an arranged marriage, he left home and headed east into Shantung. After hearing Master Hao preach
in Ning-hai, Wang settled there as his disciple. Several years later, in 1221, the governor of Chi-chou (Hopeh), Hsu Kung-i 許公議, invited Wang to take up residence at the sacred mountain of P’an Shan 盤山. Upon his arrival, a number of scholars in the region were said to have come seeking instruction. Ch’iu Ch’u-chi appeared in 1226, in answer to a request that he perform a chiao-fête at the site. Following Ch’iu’s visit, a new temple was built in Wang’s honor and designated the Ch’i-yün Kuan (Abbey Nestled in the Clouds), in accordance with Wang’s nickname, Ch’i-yün-tzu 楊雲子. Not long thereafter, it seems that some high-ranking officials in Yenching began lobbying for Wang to take over as supervisor of the T’ien-ch’ang Kuan 天長觀 when the position became vacant at Ch’iu’s death. Instead, in the autumn of 1227, Wang began leading large congregations southward in a massive evangelistic mission. Countless new temples were built to accommodate the thousands of converts, and one of Wang’s disciples was put in charge of each parish. This undertaking was apparently the first extensive effort to proselytize in new territories on behalf of Ch’üan-chen.

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

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

The Yün-shan chi reveals a man of letters with the heart of an archivist. Rarely is there found such a detailed accounting of the Ch’üan-ch’en mission in one work. A large number of the prosodic compositions, including the fu 賦, or rhapsody, are didactic exercises designed to elucidate the basic principles of contemplative practice. No metric form appears to have been beyond his reach, but the large quantity of heptasyllabic lü-shih and both pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic chüeh-chü attest to Chi’s special fondness for these genres. Two full chapters, moreover, display his competence in writing lyrics to tz’u meters. Perhaps the most remarkable parts of this anthology, however, are the two closing chapters, containing inscriptions on stelae and commemorative essays.
that give lengthy accounts of the ritual activities of Wang Chih-chin and his peers from P'an Shan south.\textsuperscript{438} Overall, this anthology is an invaluable repository of data on many important Ch'üan-chen temple compounds and the practices associated with them during the thirteenth century.

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

Precisely when the term \textit{Nan-tsung} (Southern Lineage) came into use is uncertain, but by the thirteenth century five patriarchs of a textual tradition by this name had been identified: Liu Ts'ao (fl. 1031), Chang Po-tuan (d. 1082?), Shih T'ai (d. 1158), Hsüeh Tzu-hsien (d. 1191), and Ch'en Nan (d. 1213). The formulation of the “Nan-tsung wu-tsu,” or Five Patriarchs of the Southern Lineage, appears to have been inspired by the legacy of the Five Patriarchs and the Seven Perfected of Ch'üan-chen. The writings of all but Liu Ts'ao are given a prominent place in the 60-ch. HY 263 \textit{Hsiu-chen shih-shu} (Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection), an anonymous anthology of the late thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{439} No writings of the first so-called patriarch of Nan-tsung other than fragmentary citations survive in the Canon.\textsuperscript{440} A short piece entitled \textit{Chih-chen ko} (Song of Ultimate Perfection) is ascribed to Liu in the \textit{Tao-tsang chi-yao}, but the fact that his name is cited according to an honorific title bestowed in 1310 suggests that this edition, if not the composition itself, dates no earlier than the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{441} The hagiographic data on Liu Ts'ao are also scant. His name rarely even comes up for mention in any of the accounts on the life of his putative beneficiary, Chang Po-tuan.\textsuperscript{442} What biographical material exists is found only in Ch'üan-chen compilations, for, as noted above, Liu was claimed as a patriarch of that textual tradition as well. The earliest account appears to be that in HY 173 \textit{Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi}, compiled in 1241, where it is recorded that Liu was a native of Yen-shan (Hopeh) who gained enlightenment upon an encounter with the transcendent Chung-li Ch'üan.\textsuperscript{443} By the early fourteenth century, a number of texts came to assert that it was Liu who conveyed the teachings of the venerable Chung-li Ch'üan and Lü Yen to Wang Che in the north and to Chang Po-tuan in the south.\textsuperscript{444} A claim such as this was no doubt extremely useful to textual codifiers who sought to find a common origin for syncretic traditions of diverse provenance.
The equation of Chang Po-tuan’s role with that of Wang Che is no accident, for Chang is the most commonly named founder of Nan-tsung. Much has been written about this native of T’ien-t’ai (Chekiang) on whose shoulders the burden of the Nan-tsung heritage fell. To Chang is attributed an assortment of writings that for years have simply been identified as treatises on \textit{wai-tan}, or laboratory alchemy. Contemporary research reveals that these works actually fall more into the mainstream of \textit{nei-tan}, or physiological alchemy. The problems in authenticating Chang’s writings and, moreover, determining his dates, have been summarized in Wong Shiu-hon’s discussion of an edition of the \textit{Wu-chen p’ien} [Folios on the Apprehension of Perfection].\textsuperscript{445} For centuries this text has been regarded as the magnum opus of Chang Po-tuan. It circulates in several editions, of which those issued by the commentator Weng Pao-kuang (fl. 1173) are among the most well known.\textsuperscript{446} Weng seems to have established himself as the supreme guardian of the textual legacy associated with Chang. In HY 143 \textit{Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p’ien chih-chih hsiang-shuo san-sheng pi-yao} [A Forthright Exegesis on the Secret Essentials of the Three Vehicles of the Folios on Apprehending Perfection of the Perfected Tzu-yang], he offers his own synopsis of the underlying theoretical foundations of the \textit{Wu-chen p’ien} according to a tripartite division of the text.\textsuperscript{447} At the core of Chang’s work are three series of verses, all of which articulate some aspect in the pursuit of \textit{chin-tan} (metallous enchymoma): (1) sixteen heptasyllabic \textit{lu-shih}, (2) 64 heptasyllabic \textit{chüeh-chü}, and (3) twelve lyrics to the \textit{ts’u} tune of “Hsi-chiang yüeh” [Moon over West River].\textsuperscript{448} The \textit{Wu-chen p’ien} was promoted so zealously that Chang was thought by many to be the originator of the \textit{nei-tan} tradition. But, in fact, the writings attributed to him represent more or less a watershed in Taoist contemplative literature. The textual history of \textit{nei-tan} can be traced back at least one century prior to the putative date of Chang’s works. Among the more valuable compilations on this subject is the HY 925 \textit{Ta huan-tan chao-chien} [A Mirror in Reflection of the Great Regenerative Enchymoma], dating to 962. Included in this anthology are texts such as T’ao Chih’s \textit{Nei-tan fu} [Rhapsody on Physiological Alchemy] that, although printed separately in the Canon, would otherwise be difficult to date.\textsuperscript{449}
Those identified as Chang’s successors in the Nan-tsung patriarchy are credited with the composition of similar prosodic selections. The metaphorical language of chin-tan to which the Wu-chen p’ien was heir is also found in the writings associated with Shih T’ai 石泰 (d. 1158), the putative recipient of Chang’s instruction. The only independent work to survive under Shih’s name is the HY 1083 Huan-yuan p’ien 遮源篇 [Folios on a Return to the Wellsprings], a series of 81 pentasyllabic chüeh-chü. Comparably formulaic verse is part of the literary output identified with Hsüeh Tzu-hsien 蕭紫賢 (d. 1191) as well. According to hagiographic tradition, Hsüeh, once a Ch’an master of Shu¬ 蜀, became the disciple of Shih T’ai after journeying to Feng-hsiang 凤翔 (Shensi) in 1106. To Hsüeh is attributed a commentary on Chang Po-tuan’s Wu-chen p’ien, the authenticity of which is dubious. The only other text to his name is an anthology of verse, HY 1080 Huan-tan fu-ming p’ien 進丹復命篇 [Folios on the Restoration of Life by Means of the Regenerative Enchymoma]. It comprises a sequence of verse imitative of the Wu-chen p’ien: sixteen pentasyllabic lii-shih, 31 heptasyllabic chüeh-chü, nine lyrics to the tune “Hsi-chiang yueh,” and 34 verses under the title “Tan-sui ko”丹髓歌 [Songs on the Marrow of Cinnabar].

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

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

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

Several compilations complement Ch’en Shou-mo’s work, but perhaps the most timely is HY 1297 Hai-ch’iung wen-tao chi 海瓊問道 集 [An Anthology of Hai-ch’iung’s Inquiries into the Tao], another work motivated by the desire of a disciple to preserve his master’s teachings on chin-tan. One of Ch’en’s peers, Liu Yuan-ch’ang, gathered together the texts that make up this anthology after receiving instruction
from Pai in 1217. He preserves what may be among the few legitimate prosodic compositions of his master, namely two fu (rhapsodies), one ko (song), and one shih (verse), all of which are discourses on the various facets of chin-tan. Also recorded are three miscellaneous essays that are said either to have been personally delivered to Liu or to have been copied out by him.

Both the contemplative and the ritual activities of Pai Yu-ch'an and his circle of followers are treated at length in the 4-ch. HY 1296 Hai-ch'iung Pai Chen-jen yu-lu [A Dialogic Treatise of the Perfected Pai Hai-ch'iung]. This work offers a far more diverse selection of texts than the title suggests. It is actually a collage of firsthand accounts attesting to Pai's mission, compiled at different times.
by a number of disciples, including Liu Yüan-ch’ang. P’eng Ssu 彭耜 (fl. 1229–1251), who is commonly regarded as Pai’s most preeminent disciple, put the anthology into its final form with the addition of some of his own materials. The text in the Canon closes with a colophon dated 1362, by the artist and Shang-ch’ing Master Fang Ts’ung-i 方從義. It follows P’eng’s colophon of 1251, which Fang copied out from an early edition of the T’ien-ch’ing Kuan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Felicities) of Foochow, a temple where Pai Yü-ch’an’s reputation as a Thunder Master was well established. Recorded in this text are a number of sermons Pai delivered in the early thirteenth century, including that in commemoration of the date of Lü Yen’s birth. Among the dialogic exchanges is a lengthy opening transcription of a session in which Liu Yuan-ch’ang and P’eng Ssu were invited to address questions to the master. The subjects they discussed on the eve of the Mid-Autumn festival ranged from the evolution of variant scriptural traditions and disciplinary codes to the rites of sorcerers (wu-fa 巫法) and competing therapeutic practices. The syncretic foundation of Pai’s legacy is perhaps best illustrated in one of the few verses in this compilation, a piece entitled “Wan-fa kuei-i ko” 萬法歸一歌 [Song on the Unity to Which All Creeds Revert]. By far the largest collection of Pai’s teachings is recorded in the 13th-century HY 263 Hsiu-chen shih-shu 修真十書, the basic resource on Nan-tsung. This collection preserves, in addition to a variety of scattered citations concerning chin-tan dating from 1216 to 1218, three major anthologies attributed to “Pai Yü-ch’an of Hainan” 海南白玉蟾. The first in the series is the Yu-lung chi 玉隆集 [Anthology of Yu-lung], in tribute to Pai’s abiding interest in the local religious traditions of Kiangsi. As mentioned earlier, the writings here deal primarily with Hsü Sun 許逊 (239–292/374?), the messianic cult figure who inspired the nationalistic Ching-ming tradition. Aside from the definitive hagiographic account of the semi-legendary Hsü, this work includes historical accounts on the monuments and ritual celebrations pertinent to his veneration, as well as supplementary hagiographies of those perpetuating his cult. The Yu-lung chi is succeeded by the Shang-ch’ing chi 上清集 [An Anthology of Shang-ch’ing], a collection of miscellaneous writings attesting to Pai’s mastery of both chin-tan procedures and apotropaic rites. It opens with a selection of biographic accounts, drawn from Pai’s experiences in the Wu-i Shan 武夷山 region of Fukien in the years 1215
and 1216. Although a few ko, or songs, are recorded, including again the “Song of Joy,” Pai’s skill in composing both shih and tz’u is more amply represented. The majority of tz’u offer instruction on contemplative practices, but others commemorate special occasions, such as an auspicious rainfall in Wu-chiang (Kiangsu) in the autumn of 1216. The third and final collection of Pai’s writings in HY 263 Hsiu-ch’en shih-shu, entitled Wu-i chi [An Anthology from Wu-i], is devoted largely to the Thunder Ritual Master’s mission in Fukien. A set of ritual communications Pai issued from the Ch’ung-yu Kuan (Abbey of Infusive Protection) at Wu-i Shan during 1215 and 1216 is of considerable interest, as is an especially detailed exposition on diverse traditions of Thunder Rites that clarifies many of the codifications in the HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yuan ritual corpus. A series of elegies dedicated by Pai to the Celestial Master lineage at Lung-hu Shan, the last of which honors the 32nd patriarch, Chang Shou-chen (d. 1176), is equally noteworthy. Also preserved is the earliest known collection of Pai’s epistolary lü-shih and chüeh-chü. The compilation closes with a statement concerning the search Pai and a disciple named Yeh Ku-hsi made for an anthology of Ch’en Nan entitled Ts’ui-hsu miao-wu ch’uan-chi [A Comprehensive Anthology of Ts’ui-hsu on Wondrous Enlightenment].

13. Li Tao-ch’un and His Disciples

The perpetuity of Pai Yü-ch’an’s legacy is reflected not only in the literary anthologies and the Thunder Ritual texts associated with him, but also in the writings of those who lay claim to his teachings. One of his better known heirs is the syncretist Li Tao-ch’un (fl. 1288–1290) of I-chen (Kiangsu). Li is traditionally identified as a disciple of a Wang Chin-ch’an, who was said to have been introduced to chin-tan practices by Master Pai himself. Altogether nine titles reflecting Li’s literary output are extant in the Canon. The exegetic works alone attest to his thorough awareness of the classical, Taoist, and Prajñāpāramitā textual traditions. The sort of synthesis Li attempted appears to have much in common with that promoted by Ch’üan-chen masters. With the unification of the Mongol empire, it seems that the syncretic approach so popular in the north began, for the first time, to be pursued with equal enthusiasm in the south.
Li’s pedagogical methods are conveyed most fully in the 6-ch. HY 1053 *Ch’ing-an Ying-ch’an-tzu yu-lu* [A Dialogic Treatise of (Li) Ch’ing-an, Ying-ch’an-tzu]. A total of six disciples are credited in this compilation with contributing personal records of their master’s sermons and dialogic exchanges. Ch’ai Yüan-kao 柴元阜, whose preface dates to 1288, drew together all the available material in commemoration of his first meeting with Li Tao-ch’un at Mao Shan 茅山. His name appears as editor at the head of the first chapter, which offers a series of dialogues concerning in part the teachings of the Ch’an masters Ta-tien 太顒 or Pao-t’ung 寶通 (748–834) and Chia-shan 夾山.

Fig. 19. An illustrated cyclical verse on generating an enchymoma. Sketch based on HY 1053 *Ch’ing-an Ying-ch’an-tzu yu-lu*, 5.6a. The figure of the enchymoma is literally embraced by the words of the tetrasyllabic verse of Li Tao-ch’un, written out on the left.
(805–881). Another chapter was edited by Miao Shan-shih (fl. 1324), the compiler of the hagiographic chronicle on the life of Lu Yen.⁴⁷¹ Among the occasions highlighted in his account is an assembly held by Li in honor of the birth date of Lord Lao, the Most High 太上老君.⁴⁷² The disciple Chang Ying-t'an 張應坦 transcribes an extensive series of Li’s verse for this work, two sequences of which were composed as commentaries to diagrams illustrating lien-shen 煉神 (refinement of the spirit) and huan-tan 邊丹 (regenerative enchymoma).⁴⁷³ Chapter 4 is based on Teng Te-ch'eng's 鄧德成 notes taken during a session held at Yangchow during which Li challenged his audience to supply the closing line for a series of incomplete heptasyllabic chuêh-chü. Two of his disciples, Ch'ai Yuan-kao and Chao Tao-k'o 趙道可, were judged successful enough to warrant advanced ranking. Chao was responsible for the contents of chapter 2, entitled “Tao-te hsin-yao” 道德心要 [Core Principles of the Tao-te ching], the record of a lively exchange that took place between Master Li and his disciples on the entire 81 units of the Tao-te ching. According to Chao, the discussion evolved after Li had presented him with a copy of his own exegesis, the Tao-te hui-yüan 道德會元 [A Corpus on the Tao-te ching].⁴⁷⁴ Some of the most challenging discourse on chin-tan is reserved for chapter 6 of this dialogic treatise, edited by Ts'ai Chih-i 蔡志堅. The general focus in this final segment is on the unifying principles of the Three Teachings, culminating in an annotated recitation of key phrases drawn from each tradition that Li Tao-ch'un once conferred to Ch'eng An-tao 程安道.⁴⁷⁵

A lengthy conversation between Li Tao-ch'un and Chao Tao-k'o, which opens Ts'ai Chih-i's share of the dialogic treatise, also figures in Ts'ai's own compilation of his master's teachings. Ts'ai completed the 6-ch. HY 249 Chung-ho chi 中和集, [An Anthology on Focused Harmony] in honor of Li sometime around 1306, the year he invited the prominent exegete Tu Tao-chien 杜道堅 (1237–1318) to favor him with a preface. Chao's interlocution on meditative practice is recorded in chapter 3, along with a discussion between Li and Ch'eng An-tao on “San-chiao i-kuan” 三教一貫 (The Single Thread of the Three Teachings). The first two chapters are devoted to a number of discourses on chin-tan practice and the Three Teachings, the major points of which are depicted in symbolic diagrams accompanying the text. The initial essay explains the fundamental unity inherent in the Taoist concept of chin-tan, the Buddhist concept of yüan-chüeh (full awakening), and the
Neo-Ju concept of *t'ai-chi* 太極 (grand ultimate). Li, moreover, seeks to define the *san-sheng* 三乘, or three vehicles, of *chin-tan* according to the goals of *an-le* 安樂 (contentment), *yang-ming* 要命 (sustaining the mandate of years allotted), and *yen-sheng* 延生 (prolonging life). The third and highest stage of attainment he terms the “*Wu-shang chih-chen chih miao*” 難上至尊之妙 (Unsurpassed Wonder of Ultimate Perfection), a verification of *hsien-tao* 仙道, or the Path to Transcendence. The terminology introduced in this section of the anthology dominates the prose and verse of the remaining chapters. Even Li's epistolary *lù-shih* and *tz'u* almost invariably take the form of rather tedious didactic exercises.

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

Miao’s synthesis of diverse textual traditions is no mere intellectual exercise. It demonstrates, rather, the dominant trend in religious formulations of the fourteenth century. As an undated preface by K’o Tao-
ch'ung 柯道冲 of Chin-ling explicitly states, the legacies of the Five Patriarchs of Nan-tsung and the Seven Perfected of Ch'üan-chen ultimately were regarded as regional variants of the same tradition.\textsuperscript{481} Wang Chih-tao, moreover, explains the impetus behind the ecumenical efforts of Li Tao-ch'un and Miao Shan-shih. According to his preface of 1324, the best weapon for combating hsieh-tsung 邪宗, or perverse, heretical traditions, was a synthesis of the Three Teachings. Once again, those who deemed themselves proponents of the cheng-tao 正道, or correct teachings, appear to have viewed their primary mission to be the eradication of unacceptable folk religious traditions. Thus, the unity of intellectual and religious traditions Miao sought to achieve presumably served in part as a guideline to "legitimate" beliefs and practices.

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

Not unlike the \textit{Chung-ho chi} of Li Tao-ch'un, Wang's anthology opens with a series of conceptual diagrams entitled "Chin-tan miao-
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On the Significance of the Wonder of the Metallous Enchymoma. The commentaries and subsequent discussions instruct on the means by which one envisions the generation of the enchymoma within the alchemical reaction-vessel of the corporeal chambers. Chapter 2 is devoted to a selection of discourses and songs on the huan-tan, or regenerative enchymoma, and closes with a set of five lyrics to the tune of “Pu-hsu” [Pacing the Void] that herald the goals of prolonged life and ascent to the halls of transcendentals. Thirty-six heptasyllabic lü-shih open the final chapter, under the title “Shu chin-tan kung-fu” [On the Pursuit of the Metallous Enchymoma]. The epistolary verses that follow generally expand on this didactic message. Wang’s chüeh-chü and tz’u at the close of the text serve overall the same function, although the latter also appear to have been his medium of choice for expounding on the principles in common to the Three Teachings.

14. Ch’ên Chih-hsü, Disciple of Chao Yu-ch’în

Central Kiangsi was also home to another, more prominent syncretist known as Shang-yang-tzu or Ch’ên Chih-hsü 陳致虛 (fl. 1329–1336). A native of Lu-ling (Kiangsi), Ch’ên made a considerable reputation for himself on the basis of his erudite commentaries, to such classics as the Tu-jen ching, the Ts’an-t’ung ch’i, and the Wu-chen p’ien. The theoretical foundations of his exegetic work are given a full accounting in one of the most remarkable compilations of his age, the 16-ch. HY 1059 Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao 上陽子金丹大要 [The Great Principles of the Metallous Enchymoma According to Shang-yang-tzu]. With this text Ch’ên provides a comprehensive survey of the chin-tan textual tradition according to his assimilation and critical analysis of centuries of writing on the subject. Two prefaces dated 1335, contributed by his disciples Ming Su-ch’ân 明素蟾 and Ou-yang T’ien-shou 欧陽天壽, pay tribute to the Nan-tsung tradition as exemplified in the works of Chang Po-tuan and Pai Yü-ch’ân. Ch’ên likewise, in the lengthy introductory essay of chapter 1, acknowledges his obligations to the heritage of Chang Po-tuan, but he then identifies himself most emphatically as the direct heir of the Ch’üan-chen tradition conveyed by Master Chao Yu-ch’în 趙友欽 (fl. 1329). He even prescribes the recitation of the Chin-tan ta-yao before the images of the trinity of Lû Yen, Wang Che, and Ma Yû. While the influence of K’un-tzu’s teachings is also
duly noted, Ch’en’s focus overall falls on the natural affinity between the meditative practices of chin-tan and Ch’an. More specifically, he attempts to equate the chin-tan experience with the phenomenon of “chien-hsing ch’eng Fo’ 見性成佛, or the intuitive recognition of one’s Buddha-nature, that is buddhata. In presenting his case through the media of both prose and verse, Ch’en draws extensively on Buddhist sources, from the Ch’uan-teng lu 傳燈録 [A Record on the Transmission of the Lantern] to Lin-chi tracts. But the foremost stimuli to his interpretations, Ch’en admits, are the writings of his Master Chao, a practitioner of Ch’an meditation in his own right. It is only through Ch’en’s synthesis that something of his master’s legacy is retained, for Chao’s Chin-tan nan-wen 金丹難問 [Difficult Questions Concerning the Metal-lous Enchymoma] and Hsien Fo t’ung-yüan 山佛同源 [The Common Origin of Buddhahood and Taoist Transcendence] are no longer extant. The central thesis of this heritage, as Ch’en reiterates throughout his anthology, is that the Three Teachings are of one family (san-chiao i-chia 三教一家), for there can never be more than one Tao (T’ien-hsia wu erh Tao 天下無二道). One unusual vehicle for conveying this message is a Ch’an-inspired sequence of verse entitled “Tao-te ching chuan-yü” 道德經轉語 [The Tao-te ching Reworded], whereby each of the 81 passages of the Tao-te ching is cast as an epigram in the form of a heptasyllabic chüeh-chü. But serving Ch’en best are his prose essays, a number of which are addressed to his peers in the Lu Shan 屯 Shan area, including his disciples Ming and Ou-yang. From such accounts Ch’en’s circuit, the length of the Kan River 賴江 corridor, can easily be reconstructed. Even more important, his corpus offers a rare view of the milieu that inspired a number of syncretic formulations from the Southern Sung on.

Ch’en’s magnum opus is amplified with three successive supplements in the Canon: (1) HY 1060 Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao t’u 圖, (2) HY 1061 Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao lieh-hsien chih 列仙誌, and (3) HY 1062 Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao hsien-p’ai 仙派. The first is a series of conceptual diagrams with commentary in illustration of chin-tan practices. The second is a hagiographic account of the Ch’uan-chen hierarchy from the original patriarchs down to the four generations preceding Ch’en: (1) Sung Te-fang 宋德方 (1183–1247) of Mien-yang 淮陽 (Hupeh), disciple of both Ma Yü and Ch’iu Ch’u-chi, and the editor-in-chief of the 1244 Canon; (2) Li Chüeh 李珏 of
Ch’ung-ch’ing 崇慶 (Szechwan); (3) Chang Mo 張謙 of Jao-chou 錦州 (Kiangsi); and (4) Chao Yu-ch’in 趙友欽, who instructed Ch’en at Heng-yang 衡陽 (Hunan) in 1329. The last supplement is a transcription of the ritual performed in commemoration of the birth dates of the patriarchs Chung-li Ch’üan and Lü Yen. According to the scenario Ch’en records, companies of the Ch’üan-chen and Nan-tsung perfected are evoked, led forth by Lord Lao, the Most High, and a host of venerable worthies. The final unit of celebrants whose presence is requested comprises the four generations from Sung Te-fang to Chao Yu-ch’in together with another, perhaps fifth-generation, ordination master (tu-shih 度師) named Liu Ku-yün 劉谷雲. The ritual performance apparently continued for two days, as the birthdays of Lü Yen and Chung-li Ch’üan fall on consecutive days, the fourteenth and the fifteenth of the fourth lunar month, respectively. The ceremony documented in a variant edition of this text in the Tao-tsang chi-yao is remarkably more elaborate, requiring a much larger congregation of divine forces. Of note among those added to the retinue of Lao-tzu is not only the Buddha, by names of both Gautama 瞿昙古佛 and Sakyamuni 釋迦文佛, but also Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉 and the Ch’an patriarch Bodhidharma 初祖達摩 (fl. 520). Ch’en Shang-yang himself, moreover, is the last figure called forth, after Chao Yu-ch’in and Liu Ku-yün.493

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

Only occasionally is there found in the writings of one individual a blend of materials on chin-tan and on Thunder Rites such as characterizes the legacy of Pai Yü-ch’an. Wang Wei-i 王惟一 (fl. 1264–1304) of Sung-chiang 松江 (Kiangsu), for one, reflects a comparable breadth of practice. It is doubtful whether anything would be known about Wang had two of his works not been incorporated into the Canon. A brief biographical sketch is included in the author’s own preface to the later of the two compilations, HY 273 Ming-tao p’ien 明道篇 [Folios on Illuminating the Tao]. Wang reveals that he had been educated since his youth according to the traditional classical curriculum. It was not until some years later, he admits, that he came across the writings of Lao-tzu. The discovery of Lao-tzu’s works prompted inquiries into matters concerning life and death and ultimately led Wang to seek the means by which to attain longevity and transcendence. In an effort to achieve these goals, Wang embarked on an extensive journey in search of the
teachings of chin-tan, which he terms the "Shang-sheng chih Tao" (Way of the Supreme Vehicle). No text of the Three Teachings, from the invocations for activating thunder to medicine, divination, astrology, and numerology, escaped his attention. After an exhaustive pursuit of masters both foolish and wise, Wang reports that he finally encountered a chih-jen, or exemplar, who personally conveyed to him the "Wu-shang chih-chen miao-tao" (Unsurpassed and Wondrous Way of Ultimate Perfection). Although he does not name his mentor in the preface, this term suggests that Wang was introduced to the teachings associated with Li Tao-ch'un. Once enlightened, he was determined not to keep the newly acquired learning to himself and sought instead to educate others of like mind by compiling the Ming-tao p'ien.

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

Wang is more explicit about the sources of his inspiration in HY 1243 Tao-fa hsin-chuan [Core Teachings on the Rites of the Tao]. According to his preface of 1294, his search for an exemplar occupied over thirty years. Wang identifies himself in his closing signature as a Lei-t'ing san-li, or Assisting Deputy of the Thunderclap. Thunder Rites, as he explains, are the outward manifestation and chin-tan is the internal generation of his training. He cites as his authorities the 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien (1092–1126) and his putative disciple Sa Chien (fl. 1141–1178?). In the text proper,
Wang also repeatedly draws on the teachings of Chang Po-tuan and Li Shao-wei 李少微, a T'ang patriarch of the Ch'ing-wei tradition. Finally, in one of the later essays in this work, Wang reveals that he is the disciple of Mo Ch'i-yen 黃起炎 (1226-1293), the founder of what is called the Lei-t'ing 雷霆, or Thunderclap, Rites.496

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

16. The Ming-ho yü-yin Anthology

One excellent source from which the appeal of the writings of Mo Ch'i-yen and his contemporaries can be measured is the 9-ch. HY 1092 Ming-ho yu-yin 鳴鶴餘音 [Lingerering Overtones of the Calling Crane]. A Taoist Master from Hsien-yu Shan 仙游山 (Fukien) by the name of P'eng Chih-chung 彭致中 completed this literary collection sometime around 1347. The eminent scholar Yu Chi 尹查看更多 traces the
history of the *Ming-ho yü-yin* in an undated preface, giving special attention to his own contributions and to those of a Reverend Master Feng 任師 of K'uai-chi 會稽 (Chekiang). Feng once composed a series of twenty lyrics to the tune of “Su-wu man” 蘇武慢, and, according to Yü, the only singer who did them justice was someone named Fei Wu-yin 費無隱, also of K'uai-chi. When Fei invited Yü to compose additional lyrics, he admits to producing only two and a half in two years. But in 1343, while stranded on a boat during a winter storm, he reports that he composed seven and a half more, each of which immediately became part of the repertoire of the singer Fei. A year later, on board again, Yü says he finished another verse as well as two lyrics to the tune of “Wu su-nien” 無俗念 [Lacking Thoughts of Vulgarity]. Three more years passed before the Taoist Master P'eng Chih-chung apparently solicited the compositions of Feng and Yü, while gathering together songs of divine inspiration for publication.

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

The emphasis on Ch'üan-chen is highlighted in the title of a later edition of this anthology found in at least two rare book collections. The
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title of a Ming block print in the National Central Library of Taipei that proves to be an expanded version of the Ming-ho yü-yin reads Ch‘üan-chen tsung-yen fang-wai hsüan-yen [Profound Sayings from the Venerable Eye of Ch‘üan-chen and Beyond]. Following Yu’s preface in this redaction are lists of the Five Patriarchs and the Seven Perfected of Ch‘üan-chen according to the titles granted in 1310, together with the dates of birth and ascension. Also recorded are the names of 23 later generations of Ch‘üan-chen worthies, from Yin Chih-p‘ing (1169–1251) to Chang Chih-hsien (d. 1294) and Ch‘ang Chih-ch‘ing. The first of the two chüan in this edition opens with the Tan-yang chen-jen shih-chieh [Ten Admonitions of the Perfected Tan-yang]. The contents thereafter generally match the Tao-tsang edition of the Ming-ho yü-yin, although the texts have in some cases been rearranged and supplemented by additional entries. Copies of P‘eng’s anthology, whatever the edition, were apparently fairly popular, for it is known that the compiler of the Hsi-yu chi [Journey to the West], for one, adapted selections from it for his own narrative purposes.

17. The Guidelines of Chao I-chen

One of the few great syncretic thinkers of the late fourteenth century whose writings are preserved in the Canon is a descendant of the Sung imperial house named Chao I-chen (d. 1382). As mentioned earlier, Chao played a critical role in codifying the ritual texts of the Ch‘ing-wei tradition and may even have had a hand in the compilation of the vast ritual corpus of HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan. He devoted himself to ascetic pursuits, according to hagiographic lore, only after experiencing divine revelations during a period of ill health. Chao, like many of his peers, found himself struck down with an affliction so devastating that he could not complete the civil service examinations. It was at this time of great uncertainty in his life that he reportedly dreamed of an encounter with a divine force who claimed him as a kindred spirit and questioned his goal of striving for the riches of the mortal realm. It is said that thereafter Chao began seeking out all Taoist Masters of repute located within the periphery of his home at Chi-an (Kiangsi). Among those from whom he received training was Chang Kuang-chi (d. 1336), a former disciple of the chin-tan authority Chin Chih-yang (d. 1336). Later Chao studied under Li Hsuan-i (d. 1336).
of Nan-ch’ang 南昌 (Kiangsi), who was himself a second generation disciple of Chin. Since Chang was said to have perpetuated the teachings of Ch’iu Ch’u-chi and Li to have perpetuated the teachings of Pai Yu-ch’an, Chao I-chen is thought to have achieved a synthesis of northern and southern traditions of chin-tan. He settled temporarily at Pai-ho Shan 白鶴山 (Chekiang), where he was reported to have attracted disciples from miles away. During the White Lotus uprising of 1352, Chao led his followers west to Shu, but eventually he headed back to his home territory, stopping en route at Wu-tang Shan. After a brief audience with the 42nd Celestial Master, Chang Cheng-ch’ang 張正常 (1335–1377), he settled at the Tzu-yang Kuan 紫陽觀 (Abbey of Purple Sunlight) at Yü-tu 雲都, south of Lung-hu Shan.

Two literary works are printed under Chao’s name in the Canon. His pedagogical approach is perhaps most fully conveyed in the 2-ch. HY 1063 Yüan-yang-tzu fa-yü [The Exemplary Sayings of Yuan-yang-tzu], compiled by Chao’s most eminent disciple, Liu Yuan-jan 劉淵然 (1351–1432). The opening piece is a song on the regenerative enchymoma, preceded by a lengthy introductory discourse. Whether one chooses to aim for transcendence, Buddhahood, or sagehood, Chao recommends devoting oneself wholeheartedly to the pursuit. He reminds his readers that Pai Yu-ch’an suffered years of hardship before he achieved transcendence and concludes that only with the utmost determination can this goal be reached. Chao preaches, moreover, that all teachings are in origin one (wan-fa kuei-i 萬法歸一). In one summary of the various paths of Shang-ch’ing, he draws not only on the experiences and writings of Taoist adepts such as T’ao Hung-ching and Huan K’ai, but also on the hagiographies of Ch’an masters and on the teachings of Shao Yung 邵雍 (1011–1077) and Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200). A number of his verses are printed under the label chi 偈, or gatha. Chao addressed three such verses on Taoist rites to a Master of Transmutation named Pai 白錫師 and composed another sequence of sixteen verses under the title “Ching-hsueh” 警學 [Beware Your Studies]. Among the practices against which Chao repeatedly caution in the latter compositions are the arts of the bed chamber (fang-chung shu 房中術), which he regards as the teachings of perverse masters (hsieh-shih 邪師). Also of interest in this anthology is Chao’s “Jih-chi t’i-tz’u” 日記題辭 [Introductory Remarks to a Daily Journal]. Here Chao reveals that when he first went to study with Master Li, he
was given a journal and advised to write down his thoughts every day. He was told, moreover, that if he found they could not be articulated on paper, they did not exist. Another introductory note suggests that his faith in the written word led him to actively encourage publishing ventures. Apparently during his visit to the mountainous sanctuary of the Dark Warrior in Hupeh, Chao promoted the printing of both the *Tao-te ching* and the *Wen-shih ching* ascribed to Yin Hsi. These two works, according to his preface, were to be given priority over all other texts in the Taoist Canon that had been lost, owing to the ravages of warfare.

A somewhat more esoteric side of Chao’s teachings is reflected in the HY 568 *Ling-pao kuei-k’ung chueh* [The Instructions of Ling-pao on Surrendering to Emptiness]. The inspiration behind this text, according to Chao’s postface, was a text on *kuei-k’ung* traditionally thought to be the work of the first Ch’an patriarch, Bodhidharma (fl. 520). But, as he observes, such attributions often arose when compilers attempted to legitimate their own work by linking it to an acknowledged authority. With an old edition at hand, Chao created an abridged version consisting of fourteen heptasyllabic quatrains, which he subtitled “Ko-kua” [Singing about the All-inclusive]. In the commentaries added to each verse, he addresses a range of issues, from the physiological terminology associated with meditative practice to instruction on recognizing various spectral manifestations. The latter discussion appears in the context of advice on how to prepare for death. The cessation of breathing, according to Chao, is like experiencing the fall of an ax, but rather than capitulate to fright, he counsels total surrender so that stillness of mind might be achieved. Another verse in this series elicits a definition of four classes of exalted beings (*ssu-pei kao-jen* 高人), i.e., men and women who leave home in pursuit of the Tao and lay men and women who remain at home. Their counterparts, as Chao explains, are the *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣunī*, *upāsaka* and *upāsikā*, all of whom dedicate themselves to subduing the six robbers (*liu-tsei* 六賊) or six sources of pleasure (*liu-yū* 六欲) and the three corpses (*san-shih* 三屍) or three vermin (*san-ch’ung* 三蟲). To do so, he adds, relieves them from the *k’u-lun* 車輪, or wheel of suffering. His assertion of the uniformity of their endeavors suggests that Chao intended this didactic exercise to serve as a handbook for Taoist and Buddhist devotees alike.
18. Compilations of the Celestial Master Chang Yū-ch’u

The legacy of Chao I-chen figures prominently in the 12-ch. HY 1300 Hsien-ch’uan chi [An Anthology of Alpine Spring], one of the largest and most diverse literary anthologies in the Canon. This work is the compilation of the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yū-ch’u 張宇初 (1361—1410), whose retirement retreat was known as Hsien-ch’uan, or Alpine Spring. It is the only comprehensive collection of belles-lettres to come from the hierocracy of Lung-hu Shan. Three prefaces attest to the high regard Chang’s contemporaries had for his literary accomplishments. The text was apparently expanded after Wang Shen 王绅 (1360—1400) of Chin-hua 金华 (Chekiang) contributed his undated remarks, for the latest internal date appears to be 1404. The other two prefaces are dated 1407. One remains anonymous, and the other is signed by a Ch’eng T’ung 程通 of Hsin-an 新安 (Hopeh?). The unsigned preface, according to the Ssu-k’u edition of this work, is the work of the Prince of Liao 濃王, that is Chu Chih 楚昭 (d. 1424). This son of the royal house is reported in the genealogy of the Celestial Masters to have specially commended the anthology and arranged for its publication.

Chapter 1, given the subheading “Tsa-chu” [Miscellaneous Writings], is devoted largely to lengthy discourses on a range of subjects, from nei-tan practice to the origins of the “Ho-t’u” chart [River Chart]. The second chapter is reserved for the prefaces Chang wrote for a variety of works, including editions of the Lung-hu Shan chih 龍虎山志, the Han T’ien-shih shih-chia 漢天師世家, and Wang Chieh’s 王玠 (fl. 1310?) Huan-chen chi 還真集. Of special interest are the prefaces to texts that are no longer extant, such as a hagiography of Lao-tzu entitled T’ai-shang hun-yuan shih-lu 太上混元實錄 and the local gazetteers Wu-i Shan chih 武夷山志 and Pai-ho Kuan chih 白鶴觀志. The chi 記 (records) of chapter 3 are especially valuable, for they concern the temples in and around Lung-hu Shan and reveal the extent to which Chang sanctioned local cults. Chapter 4 comprises shuo 說 (discourses), chuan 論 (biographies), and shu 書 (letters). Of particular note are the three hagiographic accounts for Wei Hua-ts’un 魏華存 (251—334), conveyor of Shang-ch’ing revelations; Chin Chih-yang 金志陽 (d. 1336); and Chao I-chen 趙宜真 (d. 1382). A selection of Chang’s ming 銘 (inscriptions), chen 賢 (admonitions), and tsan 譴 (encomia) is found in chapter 5. The encomia reveal much about iconogra-
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phy, for the majority were inscribed on images of various perfected individuals, including the founder of Ch’üan-chen, Wang Che, and the Thunder Ritual specialists Wang Wen-ch’ing (1093–1153), Huang Shun-shen (1224–ca. 1286), and Mo Ch’i-yen (1226–1294). In chapter 6 is a rare selection of Chang’s ch’ing-tz’u (Blue-paper Prayers) and chai-i (statements of intent for retreats), issued during the ritual ceremonies over which the patriarch presided. Also of considerable interest are copies of the inscriptions taken from the crossbeams of the San-ch’ing Tien (Pavilion of Three Clarities), the Tsu-shih Tien (Pavilion of the Ancestral Master), and the Triple Gateway of the temple compound at Lung-hu Shan. Chapter 7 is dominated by three p’u-shuo (proclamations) on the history of scriptural traditions. In the first essay, Chang traces the revelations of Lord Lao to his ancestor Chang Tao-ling, and, in the second, he summarizes the rites of salvation through transmutation (lien-tu) of Ling-pao. The third discourse offers a fuller survey of ritual traditions, with an emphasis on variant Thunder Rites from Shen-hsiao to Ch’ing-wei. The remaining chapters in this anthology exhibit Chang’s skill in accommodating the metrical demands of several different verse forms, including fu rhapsodies, regulated verse, and tz’u lyrics. The heptasyllabic lü-shih in particular, some of which are dated, allow a broad view of the temples and personalities under Chang’s influence.

Chang Yü-ch’u also edited a memorial collection of writings associated with one of his most renowned ancestors, the 30th patriarch Chang Chi-hsien (1092–1126). The 7-ch. anthology he compiled, HY 1239 San-shih tai T’ien-shih Hsü-ching chen-chün yü-lu [A Verbatim Account of the Thirtieth Generation Celestial Master, the Perfected Lord Hsü-ching], consists of one chüan of prose texts and six of verse. The 43rd patriarch states in his preface of 1395 that when he discovered an earlier compilation had been all but lost, he made an effort to recover what he could from various mountain sanctuaries. The authenticity of the texts in this new publication is difficult to determine. Chang Chi-hsien’s short and illustrious career under Sung Hui-tsung seems to have been amplified to almost legendary proportions in both hagiographic and narrative works. Thus, many of the literary and ritual texts linked to him may ultimately prove to be later fabrications.
Noteworthy within the brief selection of prose in chapter 1 are letters Chang reportedly addressed to the prefects of Ch’ih-chou (Anhui) and Chen-ting fu (Hopeh), as well as a response to a communication from the influential Lin Ling-su (1076–1120).\textsuperscript{533} If this anthology is any measure, Chang would appear to have favored the heptasyllabic \textit{lii-shih} and \textit{tz’u} meters over any other verse form. Many of the latter were dedicated to fellow adepts. Outstanding among the regulated verse of chapter 5, the longest chapter in the work, is a sequence of 48 “Chin-tan shih” [Poems on the Metallous Enchy-moma].\textsuperscript{534} This series in particular invites comparison with the only independent title printed under Chang Chi-hsien’s name in the Canon, HY 977 \textit{Ming-chen p’o-wang chang-sung} [Statutory Lauds on Exposing Falsehoods and Revealing Truths]. The sequence of 43 heptasyllabic quatrains in this text covers a range of issues regarding \textit{nei-tan} and its outward manifestation in Thunder Rites. Among the more provocative lines is the closing rhetorical question of one stanza: “How can you distinguish Cheng-i from Ch’ing-wei?” which suggests that all ritual traditions are to be regarded as one and the same.\textsuperscript{535} A variant redaction of the \textit{Ming-chen p’o-wang chang-sung} is found in chapter 71 of the ritual corpus HY 1210 \textit{Tao-fa hui-yiian}, where an additional verse is inserted, with the title “San-chiao i-li” [The Single Principle of the Three Teachings].\textsuperscript{536} Both verses, as well as a number of others in this work, appear to speak more for the generation of Chang Yü-ch’u than for that of Chang Chi-hsien.

19. Two Anthologies of the Hung-en Legacy

Two late anthologies in the 1607 supplement to the Canon attest to the vitality of the Hung-en cult from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{537} The earlier work in tribute to the two brothers Hsü Chih-cheng (fl. 937–946) of southern Min, the 14-ch. HY 1456 \textit{Hsü-hsien han-tiao} [Literary Masterpieces of the Hsü Transcendents], was compiled in 1305 by a devotee named Ch’en Meng-ken. His is the only extensive record available of Sung and Yüan writings associated with the two guardians of Fukien. Virtually every major genre of prose and verse is represented in Ch’en’s work. Chapters 1 and 2 are devoted to records of regional temples, the latest account of which is dated 1299.\textsuperscript{538} The author of the opening report, “Ling-chi tsu-miao chi” [A Record of the Ancestral
Shrine of Divine Relief], identifies himself as a descendant of the Hsu lineage. According to his detailed survey of the history of the cult, a shrine was not established at the site of the brothers’ transcendence on Mt. Ao-feng (Fukien) until nearly forty years thereafter in 983. In the spring of that year, during a drought, a deep pool of water was reportedly discovered by a diviner outside the Hsù ancestral hall. A succession of further auspicious signs, including a lifesaving rain, led to the construction of a miaofu, or shrine. It acquired the name of Ling-chi Rung (Palace of Divine Relief) by imperial decree in 1238, just two years after Sung Li-tsung (r. 1225–1264) bestowed honorary titles on the two Hsù brothers, giving them the status of national guardians. This account was evidently meant to be inscribed on stone, for the author reveals in closing that he composed it after he found the old stele at the shrine had been destroyed. Subsequent entries in these first chapters document the extent of this temple compound and its sister institutions. Also included are the records of many religious sites in the Fukien region external to the Hung-en cult. The last account in chapter 2, for example, provides a history of the Ch’an monastery of Hsi-lin 林 in Foochow, founded during the Kuang-ming reign of the T’ang (880–881).

A diverse selection of fu rhapsodies, sung lauds, hsü Sequence prefaces, and tsan encomia are found in chapter 3 to 6. Among the more informative compositions on folk beliefs in spectral forces are a series of dispatches issued in order to purge the threat of malarial afflictions as well as drought. The verses and memorials of chapter 7 are also revealing with regard to the soteriological mission of the cult. One chapter of largely epistolary tz’u lyrics follows, succeeded by three chapters of additional memorials and other divine communications, many of which offer instruction on upholding fundamental cultural values such as filiality. A number of texts in chapter 11 were occasioned by the rites of salvation conducted at shrines to the Hsù brothers, including an Avalambana assembly. More details on the establishment and restoration of these temples and the breadth of ritual programmes associated with the cult are found in the shu (statements), shu (letters), and chi (communications) of chapters 12 and 13. Recorded in chapter 14 are the inscriptions that once graced the rafters and lanterns of the Palace of Divine Relief. As the compiler Ch’en indicates in his colophon, the majority of the texts in this work were thought
to be communications of the Hsü brothers. The pair was understood, in other words, to have continued to speak through the writing brushes of countless generations of devotees. The cult of Vast Mercy, like many such local traditions, was thus apparently foremost a cult of spirit-writing, or *fu-ch'i*.

An anonymous collection of writings concerning the history of veneration for the Hsü brothers is printed immediately after Ch'en's work in the Canon. The 4-ch. HY 1457 *Tsan-ling chi* [An Anthology in Commendation of the Divine], completed presumably sometime during the mid-fifteenth century, serves as a valuable supplement to the earlier compilation. Among the texts recorded in the first chapter is an account marking the restoration of the Palace of Divine Relief in 1293 and an inscription by the eminent Fukien literatus Wang Pao (fl. 1380–1411) that once accompanied a painting at the site made by Kao T'ing-li of Ch'ang-le (Fukien) in 1411. Chapter 2 includes a series of memorials despatched to the Perfected Lords of Divine Relief, many of which express appreciation for their ability as rainmakers. This theme is repeated in several entries of chapter 3, such as the report on the restoration of the Palace of Divine Relief following rescue from a drought in 1410. Also of note are the prefaces of texts on the ritual protocols and vows linked with the cult, as well as two undated colophons to the *Hsu-hsien han-tsao*. A series of verses in the fourth, and final, chapter completes this work. Most are encomia, written in commemoration of the therapeutic powers of the Perfected Lords as witnessed at various sites throughout Fukien and Chekiang. The latest contribution is dated 1432, shortly after which this anthology must have been compiled.

20. Ching-ming Dialogues

Two dialogic exchanges pertinent to the evolution of the Ching-ming Tao are preserved in the 6-ch. HY 1102 *Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu* [A Comprehensive Compilation on the Ching-ming Tradition of Loyalty and Filiality]. An introduction to the subject matter of both dialogues is found in the citations within chapter 2 ascribed to Hsü Sun (239–292?) and his putative followers Kuo P'u (276–324) and Hu Hui-ch'ao (d. 703). As mentioned earlier, the major codifier of the Ching-ming scriptural tradition, Liu Yü (1257–1308), was said to have regarded Hu as his authority on ri-
tual codes. Three chapters are dedicated to Liu's teachings in this text, under the collective title Yu-chen hsien-sheng yu-lu 從真先生語録 [Dialogic Treatise of Master Yu-chen]. Although the interlocutor remains anonymous, the source of inspiration behind this series is no doubt Liu's disciple Huang Yuan-chi 黃元吉 (1270–1324), the original compiler of the anthology. The sequence of questions invites a full exposition on the fundamental tenets of the Way of Ching-ming. Thus, the rudimentary inquiry that opens this treatise, concerning the significance of referring to Liu's teachings as Ching-ming chung-hsiao 淨明忠孝, leads eventually into a discussion of the metaphorical implications of the terms chung 忠 (loyalty) and hsiao 孝 (filiality). Initially, Liu emphasizes the need to pray for the longevity of the state and to repay parental benevolence, in echo of the earlier essays of chapter 2 attributed to his predecessors. Although he later preaches on the importance of distinguishing between authentic codes of instruction and later fabrications, it is clear that Liu and his disciples engaged in a creative reconstruction of the sayings of their past masters. Liu refers throughout to the Way of Ching-ming as a much more concise alternative to prevailing contemplative and ritual traditions. Overall, he appears to advise his disciples to forsake the more abstruse pursuits of nei-tan practitioners in order to concentrate totally on cultivating a life based on the observance of absolute ethical standards. Liu's exhortations to purge all desires and rectify the mind recall the syncretic approach of Ch'uan-chen. In acknowledging the compatibility of the Three Teachings, Liu is actually thought by some to have established his own instruction foremost on the foundation of Ju principles. Such is suggested, for example, in the prefaces of literati such as Chao Shih-yen 趙世延 (1260–1336), Yù Chi 廣集 (1272–1348), and P'eng Yeh 彭埜 (fl. 1323). Finally, the Chung-ming chung-hsiao ch'un-shu closes with the Chung-huang hsien-sheng wen-ta 中黃先生問答 [Questions and Answers of Master Chung-huang], a sample of the pedagogy of Huang Yuan-chi. The unidentified interlocutor in this single-chapter dialogue may well have been Huang's disciple Hsu Hui 徐慧 (1291–1352), whose name is given as the collator of the entire anthology. When asked initially if those who uphold the Tao by observing various purificatory regulations are in fact "purified," Huang reportedly responded that purification was a matter of cleansing one's mind of all desires and perverse thoughts. The ultimate goal, according to him, was to achieve a kung-
hsin 公心，or public spirit, something he claimed adepts engaged in contemplative exercises were unable to attain. As did his mentor Liu, Huang thus emphasized one’s responsibilities toward family and state. Students of the Way of Ching-ming, he teaches, literally have the words chung and hsiao imprinted on their foreheads, thereby ensuring that they fully devote themselves to a lifetime of upright behavior and manifest utmost faith in whatever they pursue. The theme of ethical causality is raised repeatedly throughout Huang’s discourse. In supporting his assertion that good conduct brings its own reward and that disreputable actions lead to injury, he draws equally on Buddhist, Taoist, and classical textual traditions. Gone from the dialogues of both Liu and Huang is the perception of Hsu Sun as the quintessential dragon-slayer. The vision of the guardian figure in the eyes of the proponents of Ching-ming Tao has been thoroughly sanitized, for to them he appears gowned as a paragon of filiality loyal to the state, with no demonifuge sword in sight.

21. The Writings of Wu Shou-yang

One writer who stands out among syncretists of the late Ming is Wu Shou-yang 伍守陽 (1552-1641) of Nan-ch’ang 南昌 (Kiangsi), also known as Ch’ung-hsü-tzu 中虛子. Several works in Wu’s name are found in both the Tao-tsang chi-yao and the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu, accompanied by hagiographic accounts. According to the biography by Shen Chao-ting 中兆定 (fl. 1764), Wu lost his father as a young boy and devoted himself to caring for his mother. It was not until after her death at ninety-odd years, when Wu himself was seventy, that he was said to have taken up the life of a recluse and achieved transcendence. As Shen acknowledges, Wu thought of himself as a disciple of the Lung-men 龍門 branch traditionally thought to have been founded by the Ch’üan-chen patriarch Ch’iu Ch’u-chi (1148-1227). A self-ascribed Lung-men affiliate by the name of Chang Ching-hsu 張静虛 (fl. 1563-1566) is identified as the mentor of Li Chen-yüan 李真元 (hao, Hsü-an 虛庵, 1525-1579), who, in turn, instructed Wu’s teacher, Ts’ao Ch’ang-hua 曹常化 (hao, Huan-yang 遠陽, 1562-1622). Another hagiographic account by Min T’iao-fu 閔若虚 (1758-1836) omits the theme of filiality altogether and states instead that Wu became the disciple of Ts’ao several decades earlier. By the age of twenty, he is said to have become well versed in the Buddhist contemplative practice of
**samādhi** as well as in the more conventional textual legacy of the classicists. When recommended repeatedly for positions at court, Wu fled to Lu Shan 山 at the northern border of Kiangsi, and it is there that he reportedly received instruction on *nei-tan* from Ts'ao Ch'ang-hua and Li Ni-wan 孫 李. Li is also said to have trained Wu in the codes of the Five Thunder Rites 五雷法 in the mountains of Chin-k'ai 親 嘉山 (Chekiang). After serving for some time as a tutor of the Prince of Chi 吉王, i.e., Chu Yu-lien 朱由棣 (d. 1635), Wu chose to take refuge from the political turmoil of his age and settled at T'ien-t'ai Shan 天台山 (Chekiang). There a fellow adept named Chao Chen-sung 趙真嵩 (hao, Fu-yang 復陽) convinced him to seek instruction from Wang Ch'ang-yüeh 王常月 (hao, K'un-yang 欽陽, 1522?–1658) at the Ch'ing-hsù caverns 清虛洞天 of Wang-wu Shan 王屋山 (Shansi). Wu reportedly achieved divine transformation at this northern retreat after perfecting the technique of *huan-tan* 還丹, or the regenerative enchymoma.553

It is doubtful that any of Wu's teachings would have survived had his disciples not made the effort to preserve them. The disciple Chao Chih-hsin 趙執信 is, for example, named as the recipient of the *Chintan yao-chüeh* [Essential Instruction on the Metallous Enchymoma]. Wu introduces the principles of *chin-tan* in this undated text through a series of prose essays together with a small selection of verse, to which some commentary, presumably by Chao, has been added.554 Two other texts ascribed to Wu appear in annotated editions prepared by his younger brother Wu Shou-hsi 胡守虞 (hao, Chen-yang-tzu 聞陽子), a figure for whom biographical data are lacking. The *T'ien-hsien cheng-li chih-lun* 天仙正理直論 [A Forthright Discourse on the Authentic Principles of Celestial Transcendents] bears a preface by Wu Shou-yang himself, dated 1639.555 This set of nine essays on *chin-tan*, Wu reveals, is based on the teachings of Master Ts'ao. As he explains it, Ts'ao taught that the *hsien-tao* 道, or path to transcendence, rested within one's own *shen* 神, spirit, and *ch'i* 氣, or vital force. The preservation of one's *ch'i* leads to longevity, according to him, and the fixation of one's *shen*, to communication with the spirit realm. In explaining the procedures essential to these pursuits, Wu draws extensively on the vocabulary of laboratory alchemy as well as that of the technique of *t'ai-hsi* 胎息, or embryonic respiration. A year after the *T'ien-hsien cheng-li chih-lun* was completed, Wu compiled another sequence of nine essays, which appeared under the title *Wu Chen-jen tan-tao chiu-p'ien* 伍真人
While no text corresponding to the title cited above is extant, the most ambitious compilation to appear under Wu's name is a 6-ch. work entitled *Hsien Fo ho-tsung yu-lu* 仙佛合宗語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise on the Compatible Heritages of Buddhahood and Taoist Transcendence]. Neither prefaces nor colophons are found with this text, but Wu Shou-hsü is cited as responsible for providing the critical commentary to his brother's writings. The text is divided into a series of question-answer passages associated with various interlocutors. While some remain anonymous, the majority are identified as disciples of Wu. Aside from his brother Wu Shou-hsü, they include a nephew by the name of Wu T'ai-i 伍太一, Li Hsi-jen 李義人 (fl. 1636), and Ku Yu-t'ao 龜與茂. The range of subject matter covered is remarkably broad, but if there is any thesis central to this work, it is that the pursuit of transcendence is analogous to the attainment of Buddhahood. This theme cannot be said to be original with Wu for, as mentioned earlier, it was undoubtedly the focus, for example, of an earlier text of similar title, the *Hsien Fo t'ung-yüan* 仙佛同源 [The Common Origin of Buddhahood and Taoist Transcendence] of Chao Yu-ch'in 趙友欽 (fl. 1329). Although Chao's compilation is lost, some understanding of his teachings can be retrieved from the writings of his disciple Ch'en Chih-hsü 陳致虛 (fl. 1329–1336). Wu, like Ch'en, draws on a wide variety of readings, from Nan-tsung and Ch'uan-chen literature to the *Hua-yen ching* 华嚴經 [Avatamsaka-sūtra]. So marked was the influence of Wu's synthesis that his name later came to be linked to Liu Hua-yang 劉華陽 (ca. 1736), a Ch'an monk whose publications gained an appreciative audience in the late eighteenth century. By 1897, an editor by the name of Teng Hui-chi 鄧
brought together the compositions of Wu and Liu and printed them under the title *Wu Liu hsien-tsung* [The Transcendent Heritage of Wu and Liu]. Modern editions of this text are periodically reissued, thus attesting to the sustained popularity of what is now commonly referred to as the Wu-Liu school.
Exegeses and Encyclopedic Compilations

Exegeses

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

1. Editions of Ch’en Ching-yüan

A Taoist Master highly esteemed by Sung Shen-tsung 宋神宗 (r. 1068-1085), Ch’en Ching-yüan 陳景元 (1025-1094) of Nan-ch’eng南
produced some of the more enduring critical editions of the Northern Sung. Ch'en essentially established his career on the basis of restoring lost commentaries, traveling widely from one shrine to the next in search of rare exemplars. He also prepared his own variorum editions, such as the noteworthy 14-ch. HY 736 Nan-hua chen-ching chang-chü yin-i [Phonetic and Semantic Glosses on Stanzas of the Nan-hua chen-ching]. Ch'en completed this work in 1084, following his detailed analysis of nine variant editions of the Chuang-tzu. Also acclaimed was his 10-ch. HY 714 Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei p'ien [A Folio of Subtleties Collected from the Archives on the Tao-te ching]. The edition of this work in the Canon includes a preface by Yang Chung-k'eng dated 1258. According to Yang, Ch'en received instruction on the Lao-tzu from Chang Wu-meng (fl. 985-1065) of T'ien-t'ai Shan (Chekiang). Hagiographers identify Chang as a disciple of Ch'en T'uan (d. 989) and Liu Ts'ao (fl. 1031), both of whom are traditionally regarded as the founders of the Nan-tsung tradition. Ch'en's teachings inspired Hsüeh Chih-hsüan (d. 1271) to compile a supplementary exegesis on the Lao-tzu, which has been incorporated into the Canon as the 5-ch. HY 715 Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei k'ai-t'i k'o-wen shu [Topical Discussions, Assessments, and Amplifications on the Folio of Subtleties Collected from the Archives on the Tao-te ching]. Hsüeh also drew selectively from Ch'en's commentary in preparing a stroph by stroph analysis which is recorded in the 2-ch. HY 716 Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei shou-ch'ao [A Hand-copied Manuscript Based on the Subtleties Collected from the Archives on the Tao-te ching]. The variant readings in the second and only chapter to survive invite comparison with the corresponding chapters 6-10 of Ch'en's original text.

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

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

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

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

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

A similarly syncretic approach is found in the 3-ch. HY 88 *Yu'an-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching chu* [A Commentary on the Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Primordial Commencement]. This exegetic work evolved from a combination of the efforts of three obscure figures dating perhaps to the late thirteenth century. According to an undated preface by a “Ch’ing-ho lao-jen” (Old Man of Ch’ing-ho), the original commentary can be traced to a “Ch’ing-yüan chen-jen” (Old Man from Tung-hai). The “Old Man” himself contributed a summary of each passage in the form of a heptasyllabic *sung* quatrain. Supplementary notes were added to the text by a collator named Kuo Kang-feng, a self-ascribed protégé of Ching-ming. Kuo reveals a superb bibliographic command of Taoist, Buddhist, and classical writings alike.
Fig. 20. A view of the microcosmic landscape within which an enchymoma is created. Sketch based on HY 90 *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p’in miao-ching nei-i*. Introduction, 8a–b. According to Hsiao Ying-sou, the process of transmutation by which this divine sanctuary is engendered within the body corresponds to the Yin-Yang cycle manifested within the celestial and terrestrial realms.

Most conspicuous in his analyses are citations from the so-called patriarchs of the Nan-tsung tradition of *nei-tan*, such as Chang Po-tuan, Ch’en Nan, and Pai Yü-ch’an. Among the more diverse writings upon which Kuo draws are those of the Lin-chi Ch’anan Master Hsi-yun (d. 850) and the pedant Ch’ao Chiung (951–1034). Interpo-
lated at the end of the text are five distinct narrative accounts, all of which are set in central Szechwan during the years 1190 to 1204. Each offers a lesson on the benefits inherent in the recitation or copying of the *Tu-jen ching*. To engage in these activities, the reader is assured, will render one impervious to illness and immune to disaster. Such stories appear to come from the same oral tradition that gave rise to the HY 1159 *T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien* [Folios on the Divine Response of the Most High], an especially popular treatise on retribution compiled during the Sung and expanded for centuries thereafter.573

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

Ch’en also preaches that transcendence is not defined by internal transmutation alone. An adept, he asserts, must apply his skills on behalf of humanity as well, just as the Celestial Master of the Han distinguished man from specter, Ko Hsüan directed the salvation of lost souls, and the Perfected Lord Hsū [Sun] beheaded serpentine aberrations.

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

Three years later, in 1308, Hsiueh writes that the Thunder Ritual Master Lei Shih-chung (雷時中, Mo-an 默庵, 1221–1295) of Wu-ch’ang appeared before him in a dream and presented him with a copy of his Hsü-hsüan p’ien [Folio on the Subtlety of the Void], which he ordered Hsiueh to print with his exegesis of the Tu-jen ching. The short text recorded here counsels the importance of becoming well versed in the Three Teachings. It is followed by two additional accounts that reinforce this ecumenical understanding of the
Tu-jen ching. Both are exhortations to recite in addition to the scripture a Pao-kao, or "Precious Declaration," of the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Commencement (Yüan-shih t'ien-tsün 元始天尊 ), the text of which is included in full.584 Central to the recitation is the assertion that the Celestial Worthy, the original conveyor of the Ling-pao corpus, is ultimately the patriarch of the myriad teachings (wan-tao chih tsung 道之宗).585 The syncretic positions expressed in the Hsu-hsüan p'ien and the declaration do not appear to have figured in Hsüeh's commentary itself. As he states in his introduction, Hsüeh sought to make the scripture accessible to a wider audience. In so doing, he generally attempted to render each passage in a more readable prose style and to give a fuller context for some of the more problematic terminology, but made little recourse to the observations of his predecessors.586

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

Appended to Chang's edition is Hsiao Ying-sou's explanation of a diagram of t'ai-chi that Lei Shih-chung is said to have acquired.590 The two colophonic entries that follow are regarded as the personal word of the Celestial Lord Hsin 辛天君 himself, as recorded via the brush of Lei Shih-chung and a disciple named Ch'en Yu-an-heng 陳元亨. In the
second entry, dated to the fifth day of the fifth lunar month of keng-yin 産 (1410?), Hsin identifies himself as a Lei-t'ing li 雷霆吏, or Deputy of Thunderclap, a station within the Thunder Bureau (Lei-ssu 雷司) he says he assumed after having achieved the supreme Tao in high antiquity. Part of the message Hsin conveyed through Ch'en recalls the discussion Chang cites concerning the uniform reverence with which students of the Three Teachings alike regard the Tu-jen ching. Chang Yü-ch’u, Lei Shih-chung, and Ch’en Yüan-heng were by no means the only ones favored with the vision of this particular Thunder Ritual deity. Variant manuals on the apotropaic rites to be performed in the name of Celestial Lord Hsin are recorded in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan, including one set of instructions conveyed by a P’an Sung-nien 潘松年 of Kua-ts’ang 括蒼 (Chekiang).591

3. Commentaries to the Sheng-shen ching

Another scripture of the Ling-pao corpus in which there appears to have been a sustained level of interest throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the Sheng-shen ching 生神經 [Scripture on Generating Spirits].592 Recitation of this sacred text, like the Tu-jen ching, was traditionally thought to effect the salvation of all.593 Among the more comprehensive commentaries to the work is the 4-ch. HY 396 Tung-hsüan ling-pao tzu-juan chiu-t’ien sheng-shen chang-ching chieh-i 洞玄靈賢自然九天生神章經解義 [An Explication of the Tung-hsüan Ling-pao Scripture in Stanzas on the Spontaneous Generation of the Spirits within the Nine Celestial Realms]. Tung Ssu-ching 章思靖 (fl. 1246–1260), a Taoist Master at the T’ien-ch’ing Kuan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Felicities) of Ch’ing-yüan 清源 (Shansi), completed this work in 1252, just six years after he compiled the highly acclaimed 4-ch. HY 705 Tao-te chen-ching chi-chieh 道德真經集解 [Cumulative Notes on the Tao-te ching].594 Tung apparently had access to a superb library at his abbey, for his commentary is based on a collation of several different redactions of the Sheng-shen ching, including texts from Shu 蜀 and Che-tung 浙東.595 He draws extensive citations from a large number of supporting materials, the most prominent being Shang-ch’ing instructions on the generation and identification of bodily spirits. According to the author’s postface, the Sheng-shen ching should be regarded foremost as a lesson on how to cultivate a sheng-t’ai 聖胎, or sagely embryo. In Tung’s view, the ultimate goals of this endeavor, corpse li-
beration (shih-chieh 明解) and ascent to the cosmic void, are not unlike the pursuit of freedom from rebirth (wu-sheng 無生) and nirvana (chimieh 聲) of Buddhist patriarchs such as Bodhidharma. Once one realizes the innate correspondence between the spirit realm embodied within and that of the celestial and terrestrial domains, he concludes, physical union with the Tao will have been achieved (yǔ Tao t'ung-t'ī 道同體). It is Tung’s firm conviction that the first steps on the pathway toward union with the Tao are revealed in the Sheng-shen ching.

Among the exegetic works of which Tung made frequent use is the compilation of Wang Hsi-ch’ao 王希澡, a Taoist Master at the Ch’ung-hsū Kuan 中虛觀 (Abbey of the Abyssal Void) in Mien-chou 民州 (Szechwan). Wang completed his 3-ch. HY 397 Tung-hsiian ling-pao izu-jian chiu-t’ien sheng-shen yu-chang ching-chieh 王章經解 [An Explication of the Tung-hsiian Ling-pao Scripture in Jade Stanzas on the Spontaneous Generation of the Spirits within the Nine Celestial Realms] nearly five decades earlier. According to his preface of 1205, the four major points in the Sheng-shen ching are (1) show affection toward your corporeal form (ai-hsing 愛形), home to the ranks of the divine, (2) preserve your spirit (pao-shen 保神), (3) value your vital force (kuei-ch’i 貴氣), and (4) secure your roots (ku-ken 固根). Wang’s discussion of this terminology is drawn largely from the Chuang-tzu. The only commentary to the scripture he mentions in his preface is one by a Yu-ch’an-tzu 玉蟾子 or Master Chao 趙先生, the brevity of which, Wang admits, convinced him there was a need for something more comprehensive. He proves to have availed himself of an even broader selection of literature than did Tung Ssu-ching. In addition to early texts of the Shang-ch’ing and Ling-pao traditions, Wang also calls upon sources as diverse as the Ch’un-ch’iu Tso-shih chuan 春秋左氏傳 [The Tso Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals], Tu Kuang-t’ing’s (850–933) HY 782 Yung-ch’eng chi-hsien lu 壘城集仙錄 [A Record of the Transcendents Assembled at Yung-ch’eng], and Su Shih’s 蘇軾 (1036–1101) “Hsing-ying shih” 形影詩 [A Verse on Form and Shadow]. Like Tung, Wang is attentive to the variant readings found in different editions of the Sheng-shen ching. Similarly, it is Wang’s conclusion that the whole range of teachings on how to achieve shih-chieh 明解, or corpse liberation, including the chin-tan tradition, have their foundation in this scripture.
A third commentary to the *Sheng-shen ching* preserved in the Taoist Canon, the 3-ch. HY 398 *Tung-hsüan ling-pao tzu-jan chiu-t’ien sheng-shen chang-ching chu* 注，is ascribed to a Hua Yang-fu 畫陽復. Chang Shou-ch'ing 張守清, a Taoist Master at the T'ai Ch'ing-wei miao-hua Kung 太清微妙化身 (Grand Palace of the Wondrous Transformation of Ch'ing-wei) of Wu-tang Shan 武當山 (Hupeh), contributed a preface to this compilation in 1332. According to the hagiography in the Ming gazetteer on Wu-tang Shan, Chang had a traditional classical upbringing as a child in I-tu 宜都 (Hupeh) and eventually entered the civil service. But at the age of 31, he abandoned his official career and went to Wu-tang Shan in order to pursue the *Chin-tan ta-tao 金丹大道*, or Great Teachings of the Metallous Enchymoma. He was said to have studied under Yeh Hsi-chen 葉希真 (1251-1286), Liu Tao-ming 劉道明 (fl. 1291), and Chang Tao-kuei 張道貴, three disciples of the Ch'ing-wei patriarch Huang Shun-shen 黃舜申 (1224-ca. 1286). After a successful career as a rainmaker, Chang reportedly retired to the Ch'ing-wei miao-hua yen 清微妙化身 (Grotto of the Wondrous Transformations of Ch'ing-wei), at which time he apparently wrote the preface to this work.601

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

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

In the year 735 a commentary to the *Tao-te ching* appeared in the name of T'ang Hsüan-tsung. Sung Hui-tsung, who held similar views about the theocratic nature of his regime, was said to have issued his own commentary nearly four centuries later, in the year 1118. This text was engraved in stone and became a part of the Taoist Canon compiled under imperial sponsorship. The 4-ch. HY 680 *Sung Hui-tsung yü-chieh* *Tao-te chen-ching* [An Imperial Explication of the *Tao-te ching* Authorized by Sung Hui-tsung] is printed in the Ming *Tao-tsang* following the annotated editions of Ming T'ai-tsu and T'ang Hsüan-tsung. Although such commentaries are often the product of team efforts, they tend to reveal much about the positions on statecraft, especially in regard to military matters, held by imperial policy makers, if not by the emperor himself. The range of texts cited in this commentary is generally limited to the early writings of Chuang-tzu, K'ung-tzu, and Meng-tzu, as well as Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.E.-18 C.E.), with the citations from Chuang-tzu by far the most numerous. Among the notes that appear to be of a more personal nature is that submitted in explanation of the line “Pu-chien k'o-yü shih hsin pu-luan” (By not viewing the desirable, the mind will not be disturbed). The commentary here closes with lines from both K'ung-tzu and Meng-tzu on the peace of mind to be achieved at the age of forty. Hui-tsung was 37 at the time this commentary was printed.

The Hui-tsung commentary is reproduced in a number of other exegetical compilations, serving, it seems, primarily as a sort of exemplar for later commentators. Among those presenting their own expanded editions to the emperor was a Chang An, who is identified simply according to the low-ranking prestige title of *Teng-shih lang*. His work, the 10-ch. HY 681 *Sung Hui-tsung* *Tao-te chen-ching chieh-i* [An Explication of the *Tao-te ching* of Sung Hui-tsung], is printed in the Canon immediately after the imperial commentary of 1118. Chang expresses the hope in an undated preface that his text will alert thousands of generations to the peaceful reign of
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his sovereign. The emperor's role in maintaining order within his domain is an issue Chang raises repeatedly in his own supplementary notes, often by drawing lessons from past history. The sources he cites, although few, attest to an education in the classics. The small number of citations may be a reflection of his youth or of his deference toward the imperial commentary. A comparable work, the 14-ch. HY 694 Tao-te chen-ching shu-i 疏義 [An Amplified Commentary to the Tao-te ching], was compiled by a T'ai hsüeh-sheng 太學生, or student at the National University, by the name of Chiang Ch'eng 江激. In his undated presentation statement, Chiang emphasizes the importance of embracing the concept of simplicity in governing the people. He alludes in closing to Tu Kuang-t'ing's (850–933) enlargement upon what he refers to as the superficial commentary of T'ang Hsuan-tsung, but he is quick to acclaim the profundity of the imperial annotations he attempts to supplement. 609 The text of the Tao-te ching itself Chiang characterizes as concise but with far-reaching purport. The same, regrettably, cannot be said for his own verbose contribution.

More comprehensive editions based on the 1118 commentary that take into account a wider range of exegeses did not appear until the late twelfth century. 610 One such work in which Hui-tsung's annotations retain a position of prominence is the 12-ch. HY 718 Tao-te chen-ching ch'ü-shan chi 諸善集 [An Anthology of Selective Exemplars on the Tao-te ching]. This text was apparently completed during the Northern Sung but was not put into print until the Jurchen had taken over the central plains. The compiler Li Lin 李霖 of Jao-yang 饒陽 (Hopeh) remarks in an undated preface that he had recited the Tao-te ching since his youth but did not begin collating the highlights of various commentaries until his later years. In a second preface, dated to the jen-ch'en 甲辰 year of the Ta-ting 大定 reign (1172), Liu Yün-sheng 劉允升 of Hochen 河間 (Hopeh) claims that the exhaustive exegesis actually represents a lifetime's work. Liu identifies an old friend of Li's, by the name of Wang Pin-nai 王賓逝, as the one who arranged for the publication of a six-chüan edition. To say that Li was widely read would be an understatement. He clearly had a superb library at hand, replete with exegeses dating from Wang Pi 王弼 (226–249) to Su Ch'e 蘇軾 (1039–1112) and Sung Hui-tsung. The latter's Yü-chu 御註 [Imperial Commentary] opens Li's text and leads off many of the selections of notes that follow. Of special interest are the passages Li cites from the
texts that are now no longer extant, works such as Chung Hui's *Lao-tzu chu* [Notes to the *Lao-tzu*], Fu I's *Lao-tzu yin-i* [Phonetic Glosses on the *Tao-te ching*], Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen's *San-t'i Tao-te ching* [Three Embodiments], and Lin Ling-su's *Lao-tzu chu* [Notes on the *Lao-tzu*].

Li's own commentary consists primarily of a summary of each of the 81 traditional subdivisions of the *Tao-te ching*. His text ends with an essay entitled "Tao-te i-ho lun" [A Discourse on the Comprehensive Unity of Tao and Te] and a brief explanation of the origins of the title of the *Tao-te ching* by Ssu-ma Kuang.

Another exegetic text that appeared in print at approximately the same time is the 10-ch. HY 684 *Tao-te chen-ching ssu-tzu ku-tao chieh* [A Collective Explication of the Ancient Teachings of Four Scholars on the *Tao-te ching*]. This edition is the work of K'ou Ts'ai-chih, who, according to the opening words of his own preface dated 1179, was but an unknown rustic from the countryside. K'ou admits to having enjoyed quiet pleasures in his youth, during which time he studied *nei-tan* classics and divinatory techniques. Only in his later years, he says, did he begin reading the texts of antiquity and their various commentaries. K'ou recalls that in his past visits to the central capital, he often heard lecturers of exalted teachings holding forth in public forums. But never did he find anyone who could explain the first thing about the Tao, for, he claims, all they talked about was the concept of *k'ung-hsing* (perverse theories) such as *sūnyatā*. In attempting to remedy what he considered to be a failing on their part, K'ou prepared his own annotated edition of the *Tao-te ching* based on citations from four fundamental pre-Han sources: the *Nan-hua ching* of Chuang-tzu, the *Ch'ung-hsü ching* of Lieh-tzu, the *T'ung-hsuan ching* of Wen-tzu, and the *Tung-ling ching* of Keng Sang-ch'u. Liu O of Fan-chih, the author of a colophon dated 1180, finds himself in complete agreement with K'ou's reactionary approach. According to his own count, more than one hundred distorted interpretations and more than eight hundred false redactions of the *Tao-te ching* were in circulation. The excesses of past commentators, Liu asserts, had led everyone to embrace *hsieh-shuo* (perverse theories) such as *sūnyatā*. Liu
commends K'ou Ts'ai-chih's commentary as an effort to restore a true understanding of the foundation behind the principles of Tao and Te. Too little, unfortunately, is known about the religious teachings in the north after the downfall of the Sung to identify the precise source of their discontent. Liu, since he is writing of conditions in 1180, could perhaps be referring to early disciples of Ch'uan-chen. But K'ou makes it clear that his disenchantment with the Yenching lecturers began long before the Ch'uan-chen patriarchy was established. Thus, it is more likely that he, like Chu Hsi, viewed spokesmen on behalf of the Madhyamika tradition as his adversaries.

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

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

Tu organizes his own historical survey under twelve headings. The first six essays take into account the cosmological origins of the Tao and its historical manifestations down through the Chou. Following these summaries are hagiographic entries on Lao-tzu, covering his epiphany, his disciples, and his journey west. Discussions on the history of the Tao-te ching together with a substantial glossary of terms complete the work. Tu’s commentary on the writings of Lao-tzu’s putative disciple Wen-tzu 文子, moreover, serves as an additional supplement to his study of the Tao-te ching. His 12-ch. HY 748 T'ung-hsüan chen-ching
tsuan-i 通玄真經贊義  [Successive Interpretations of the Perfected Scripture of Pervading Sublimity] is regarded by the Ssu-k’u bibliographers as the most reliable redaction of Wen-tzu’s work. As both Master Huang Shih-weng and the eminent Wu Ch’uan-chieh (1269–1346) point out in their 1310 prefaces, Tu proved himself to be the rightful heir to Wen-tzu’s literary legacy by virtue of his discovery of a complete copy of the scripture at the T’ung-hsuan Kuan 通玄觀 (Abbey of Pervading Sublimity) of Chi-ch’ou Shan 計纂山 (Chekiang). This temple stood at the site where Wen-tzu, according to hagiographic lore, was said to have taken refuge and eventually to have set forth his teachings in writing.

Among the more innovative exegeses on the Tao-te ching recorded in the Canon is the 4-ch. HY 687 Tao-te ching san-chieh 道徳真經三解 [A Threefold Explication of the Tao-te ching] of Teng Ch’i 鄧. In a preface dating to 1298, Teng explains how he devised this work to accommodate three types of commentaries to the Ho-shang Kung edition. His notes to each of the 81 passages of the text are organized under the following three headings: (1) Ching 經, a rephrasing of the original text in a more comprehensible language, achieved by the addition or deletion of hsü-tzu 虚字, or “empty words”; (2) Tao 道, glosses on individual words and phrases according to numerological and cosmogonic theories; and (3) Te 德, a reinterpretation according to chin-tan procedures. Teng’s approach is further clarified by his selection of introductory materials. Included after his preface are a pentasyllabic verse entitled “Ch’en-ch’ang san-pai tsu” 三篇三百字 [Three Hundred Words on the Perpetuity of Perfection], a biography of Lao-tzu, and an essay on “Ta Tao li-shu” 大道歷數 [A Chronicle of the Great Tao] by a Perfected of Ch’ing-ch’eng 青城真人. Most significant of all is an essay entitled “Ta Tao cheng-t’ung” 大道正統 [The True Succession of the Great Tao], composed by Hsiao T’ing-chih 蕭廷芝 in 1260. Hsiao is traditionally identified as the recipient of the Nan-tsung teachings inherited by P’eng Ssu 彭耜 (fl. 1229–1251). Opening Hsiao’s account is a genealogical chart tracing the history of the transmission of the Tao from its origin as a cosmic manifestation of Lao-tzu. The list of names continues sequentially down to the patriarch Liu Ts’ao (fl. 1031), after which two lines branch off under Wang Che and Chang Po-tuan, the recognized founders of Ch’uan-chen and Nan-tsung, respectively. Whereas the Ch’uan-chen branch terminates after a citation of the Seven Perfected,
the Nan-tsung branch is carried one generation beyond the so-called Five Patriarchs to P'eng Ssu, Hsiao's immediate benefactor. Although he does not directly identify himself as a disciple of Hsiao, Teng appears to have regarded himself as a direct heir to the Nan-tsung legacy. Chang Po-tuan is in fact the only source cited with any frequency in his commentary. The only known work of Teng Ch'i, this text is substantial enough to warrant comparison with the writings of contemporaries holding similar views, such as Miao Shan-shih (fl. 1288–1324).

Seven decades prior to the appearance of Teng's commentary, P'eng Ssu compiled the 18-ch. HY 707 Tao-te chen-ching chi-chu [Collective Annotations on the Tao-te ching], the most extensive work of its kind in the Canon. According to a preface written in 1229 for a twelve-chuan edition of this work, P'eng envisioned his text as a continuation of the exemplary work of Ch'en Ching-yuan (1025–1094). But whereas Ch'en drew upon early commentaries in the preparation of his 10-ch. HY 714 Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih ts'uan-wei p'ien [A Folio of Subtleties Collected from the Archives on the Tao-te ching], P'eng chose to concentrate on those dating from the Sung. His monumental treatise opens with annotated copies of the Shih chi biography for Lao-tzu and Ssu-ma Ch'i'en's editorial summary of the biography of Yüeh I, a putative disciple of Ho-shang Kung. Following these accounts are extracts from various historical sources on imperial decrees and other pronouncements dating from 972 to 1178, most of which point out the importance of the Lao-tzu as a code of government. P'eng closes his introductory section with a list of the twenty commentators that figure in his edition. The citations from the following twelve commentators whose texts are no longer extant make his work invaluable: (1) Wang An-shih (1021–1086), (2) Lu T'ien (1042–1102), (3) Liu Kai (fl. 1071), (4) Liu Ching (fl. 1085), (5) Ts'ao Tao-ch'ung or Ts'ao Hsien-ku (fl. 1085), (6) Ta-chen-tzu (fl. 1229), (7) Li Wen-ho (fl. 1229), (8) Yeh Meng-te (fl. 1077–1148), (9) Liu Chi (fl. 1134), (10) Huang Mao-ts'ai (fl. 1174), (11) Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (fl. 1123–1195), and (12) Lin Tung (fl. 1101), (7) Chu Hsi (fl. 1130–1200), and (8) Shao Jo-yü
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Porng (fl. 1159). This selection attests to P'eng's overall interest, as observed in the preface, in establishing the common heritage of Lao-tzu and Confucius. The Hui-tsung commentary of 1118 given the place of honor in this compilation serves as the base text for the first of two supplements, the HY 708 Tao-te chen-ching chi-chu shih-wen 譯文 [Glosses to Collective Annotations on the Tao-te ching]. In addition to citing the textual variants found in the other nineteen editions, P'eng also includes phonetic glosses based on Lu Te-ming's 陸德明 (556–627) Ching-tien shih-wen 經典釋文 [Glosses to the Classical Canon] together with the readings given in the editions of Li Wen-ho and Lin Tung. The second supplement, the 2-ch. HY 709 Tao-te chen-ching chi-chu tsao-shuo 雜說 [Miscellaneous Narratives Related to Collective Annotations on the Tao-te ching], is devoted to anecdotal accounts pertaining to the history of veneration for Lao-tzu and his teachings from the Han to the Sung. Among the sources cited are the standard histories, hagiographies, as well as a wide range of literary anthologies, such as Li Te-yti's 李文質 (787–849) Li Wen-jao wen-chi 李文質文集 and Li Chao-ch'i's 李昭玘 (d. 1126) Le-ching chi 李 predicting. In compiling these three works, P'eng has provided an invaluable synthesis of the diverse writings inspired by the Tao-te ching up to his time.

An even more ambitious composite edition of Tao-te ching commentaries was attempted about the time Teng Ch'i produced his text. The editor of the project was Liu Wei-yung 劉惟永, abbot of the Hsüan-miao Kuan 故妙觀 (Abbey of Sublime Wonder) at Ch'ang-te 常德 (Hunan). Unfortunately, the 17-ch. HY 724 Tao-te chen-ching chi-i collective exegeses on the Tao-te ching 釋文 [Collective Exegeses on the Tao-te ching] incorporated into the Canon represents but a fraction of Liu's intended corpus. The history of the text can be traced from a series of four colophons at the end of an introductory supplement, the 3-ch. HY 723 Tao-te chen-ching chi-i ta-chih t'u-hsu 大旨圖序 [Illustrations, Prefaces, and the Major Points of Collective Exegeses on the Tao-te ching]. The earliest colophon, dating to 1296, was contributed by the classicist Yang K'o 陽格 to an edition simply entitled Tao-te ching chieh 解 [An Explication of the Tao-te ching]. According to his own colophon of 1299, Liu devoted more than ten years to compiling 31 chüan, an enterprise that, he claims, occupied his mind even as he ate and slept. After collating the writings of one hundred commentators, Liu reports that he combined his efforts with the notes Ting I-tung 丁易東 (fl. 1285) of Wu-ling 武陵 (Hunan) had taken...
Fig. 21. The anatomical correspondence of the 28 lunar mansions. Sketch based on HY 723 Tao-te chen-ching chi-i ta-chih [t'u-hsiü], 1.16a. The instructions on the internal visualization of the 28 hsiu, or nakṣatra, are ascribed by Liu Wei-yung to a Perfected named Wang 王真人.

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

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

The Taoist Canon includes only one commentary to the Tao-te
ching linked to the Celestial Master hierarchy. The 39th patriarch,
Chang Ssu-ch'eng 張嗣成 (d. 1343), son of Chang Yü-ts'ai, is credited
with the compilation of the slight 2-ch. HY 698 Tao-te chen-ching
chang-chü hsün-sung 章句訓公頌 [Preceptorial Hymns to the Stanzas of
the Tao-te ching]. In a preface dated 1322, Master Chang echoes the
displeasure voiced by Li Tao-ch'un over three decades earlier. It is his
conclusion that those who think of themselves as disciples of Lao-tzu
have in fact no understanding of his teachings. Such ignorance, he
claims, is comparable to satiating oneself all day long without being able
to recognize the five grains, or to holding a candle all night long without
being aware of the flame. In an effort to educate his contemporaries,
Master Chang composed an interpretive sung 公頌 hymn for each of the
81 passages of the Tao-te ching. Recitation of the text, he observes ini­
tially, is the means by which one cultivates one's person, attains equili­
brium in a family, pacifies the people, and establishes peace within the
empire. The verses themselves, some of which are amplified with inter­
linear commentary, expand upon this set of themes. But overall the cen­
tral message of the commentary appears to be drawn from Chang's part­
ing advice in the preface, namely, that true enlightenment is to be gained solely through the practice of chin-tan.\textsuperscript{628} Unlike many of his predeces-
sors, Chang only rarely draws parallels with the terminology of classical and Buddhist traditions.\textsuperscript{629} Equally remarkable is Chang's lack of reference to any earlier writings on the Tao-te ching, a feature which gives his own commentary the illusion of being all the more original.

As mentioned earlier, the commentary to the Tao-te ching composed by Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋 (1328–1398), the founder of the Ming, appears in the Canon ahead of the exegeses ascribed to T'ang Hsuan-tsung and Sung Hui-tsung. This third imperial edition, the 2-ch. HY 676 [Ta Ming T'ai-tsu kao huang-ti yü-chu] Tao-te chen-ching [太祖高皇帝御詣] [The Tao-te ching Annotated by the Authority of His Highness, the Sovereign T'ai-tsu of the Great Ming], was completed late in 1374, just six years after Chu took the throne. Ming T'ai-tsu, like many of his predecessors, viewed the Tao-te ching as an inimitable authority on the art of governance. It was, in the words of his preface of 1374, the supreme master of sovereigns and the ultimate treasure of the ministers of state as well as the people themselves. The emperor also takes a forceful stance against the prevalent tendency to re-
gard the Tao-te ching as a manual on the techniques of chin-tan. Inherent in his outspokenness is the condemnation of a number of earlier exegeses. The only commentary on which Ming T'ai-tsu himself draws with any regularity is, fittingly, that of the conservative classicist Wu Ch'eng 吳澄 (1249–1333) of Lin-ch'uan (Kiangsi).\textsuperscript{630} He even adapts Wu's idiosyncratic division of the text into 68 units rather than the conventional 81. The only point at which he differs is in the omis-
son of the 65th (no. 78 of 81) passage, thus coming up with a total of 67 units. The missing passage concerns the means by which rulers establish authority, as symbolized, for example, by the rituals of offering sacrifices to the she-chi 社稷, or gods of soil and grain. An untimely rainstorm early in his reign in fact hindered Ming T'ai-tsu in submitting the prescribed offerings. After suffering through one downpour, the emperor suggested a change in the construction of the altars and eventually managed to reschedule the sacrifices in conjunction with others, thus reducing their significance to his mandate. It appears, therefore, that the passage specifying the obligations of the she-chi offerings may have been deleted in order to eliminate the grounds for challenging a revised pro-
gram of imperial ritual.\textsuperscript{631}
In his refusal to view the *Tao-te ching* as anything more than a handbook on good government, Ming T'ai-tsu clearly set himself apart from the majority of his contemporaries. Most generally seem to have had no need to promote one interpretation to the exclusion of another. The same text, it was felt, could just as well serve as a resource on contemplative pursuits as a guide to statecraft. This was the position taken, for instance, by Wei Ta-yu 危大有 of Nan-ch'eng 南城 (Kiangsi). Wei makes a strong case for the compatibility of these viewpoints in a 1387 preface to a two-*chüan* edition of what came to be known as the 10-ch. HY 712 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-i* 集義 [Collective Interpretations of the *Tao-te ching*]. Another preface dated 1393 by the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'ü 張字初 (1361–1410) reinforces Wei's stand. Whereas Master Chang speaks of the many ways in which the teachings of the *Tao-te ching* may be applied internally and externally, Wei states more succinctly that the *Wu-ch'ien wen 五千文*, or *Five Thousand Words*, of Lao-tzu offers the essentials for cultivating one's person and regulating the state (*hsiu-shen chih-kuo chih yao 修身治國之要*). The text, according to him, moreover, is to be regarded as the ancestor of all Taoist scriptures as well as the ultimate source of all writings associated with the Three Teachings. While acknowledging imperial patronage of the faith and the required recitation of the scripture by candidates for ordination, Wei observes that during his time the populace in general was unacquainted with Lao-tzu's teachings.

Thus, in an effort to introduce a broader audience to the *Tao-te ching*, Wei began collating Ho-shang Kung's commentary together with texts dating from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. A list of eleven commentaries in addition to that of Ho-shang Kung is appended to his preface. Those whose works are still extant include Su Ch'e 蘇軾 (1039–1112), Lin Hsi-i 林希逸 (chin-shih, 1235), Wu Ch'eng 吳澄 (1249–1333), Tung Ssu-ch'ing (fl. 1246–1260), and Li Tao-ch'un (fl. 1288–1290). The six commentators whose works have otherwise been lost are Ch'ao Chiung 暴通 (951–1034), Lu Chih-ch'ang 劉知常 (fl. 1188), Liu Shih-li 劉師立 (fl. 1194), Ni Ssu 倪思 (1147–1220), Ch'ài Yuan-kao 戴元宰 (fl. 1288), and Ho Hsin-shan 何心山 (fl. 1387). An examination of the text itself reveals that Wei consulted other sources as well. He cites, for example, passages from a Mr. Wang 王氏 and a Mr. Lu 陸氏, which prove to be the glosses of Wang Pi 王弼 (226–249) and Lu Te-ming 陸德明 (556–627). Wei also draws on the *Hsü*
Tzu-chih t'ung-chien [ch'ang-pien] of Li Tao-t'ai (1115–1184), and the writings of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–1072) and Ch'in Kuan (1049–1100). Of the commentaries in his core list, he relies most heavily on the later ones dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Lu Chih-ch'ang is the only Sung writer cited at any length. Those whom he favors closer to his own generation are Lin Hsi-i, Wu Ch'eng, Li Tao-ch'un, and Ho Hsin-shan. The commentators less frequently mentioned, such as Liu Shih-li, Ni Su, and Ch'ái Yuan-kao, generally express sympathy with the teachings of Chu Hsi. While Wei himself had no apparent conflict with their approach, he did find it necessary to point out the obvious influence of Chu Hsi on at least one commentator, namely Wu Ch'eng. As his commentary suggests, he seems to have been concerned with identifying the common legacy of the Three Teachings. Even so, Wei includes few passages that reflect the heritage of Buddhist teachings.

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

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

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

The Chuang-tzu i is reputed to be the culmination of Chiao's close reading of 48 texts. The 1607 imprimaturs of the 50th Celestial Master Chang Kuo-hsiang 張國祥 (d. 1611), which authorized the emendation and printing of the text in the Canon, appear at the close of chapters 5 and 8. Whereas the original text includes commentaries dating from Kuo Hsiang 郭象 (d. 312) to Fang Yang 方揚 (fl. 1581), the redaction Master Chang approved cites little more than the annotations of Kuo and Chiao himself. According to the Ssu-k'u editors, the full version of the Chuang-tzu i calls most frequently on the writings of Kuo Hsiang, Lü Hui-ch'ing 劉惠卿 (1031-1100), Ch'u Po-hsiu 趙伯秀 (ca. 1230-after 1287), Lo Mien-tao 魯勉道 (d. 1367), and Lu Hsi-hsing 魯性 (fl. 1578). The 1-ch. Supplement following chapter 8, which is reproduced intact in the Canon, includes seven texts: (1) the Shih chi biography of Chuang-tzu, (2) Juan Chi's (210-263) "[Ta]-Chuang lun" [A Discourse on Summing Up the Chuang-tzu], (3) Wang An-shih's (1021-1086) "Chuang-tzu lun" [A Discourse on the Chuang-tzu], (4) Su Shih's (1077-1125) "Chuang-tzu tz'u-t'ang chi" [An Account of the Ancestral Hall of Chuang-tzu], dated 1078,
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Encyclopedic Compilations

The 20-ch. HY 1010 Chen-kao 真詁 [Declarations of the Perfect-ed] compiled by T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (456–536) in 499 is among the earliest encyclopedic collectanea of literature in the Canon. T'ao's anthology of the Shang-ch’ing revelations bestowed upon Yang Hsi 楊羲 (b. 330) and the Hsü 許 lineage of Chien-k’ang 建康 (Kiangsu) has been succeeded by a number of categorically organized works. A recluse named Wang Hsüan-ho 王軒和 (fl. 683) compiled two such compendia, the 4-ch. HY 1124 Shang-ch’ing tao-lei shih-hsiang 上清遺類事相 [A Categorical Survey of the Tao of Shang-ch’ing] and the 10-ch. HY 1131 San-tung chu-nang 三洞珠囊 [A Satchel of Pearls from the Three Caverns]. The second, larger, work is a record of citations distributed under 34 headings covering various contemplative practices and behavioral codes. The Shang-ch’ing tao-lei shih-hsiang is a more specialized work, based on a selection of writings concerning six types of sacred chambers. Both texts appear to have been compiled as handbooks for fellow adepts. By far the largest encyclopedic anthology attempted in pre-Sung times is the 100-ch. HY 1130 Wu-shang pi-yao 無上祕要 [The Essentials of Unsurpassed Arcana]. The editors of this work remain anonymous, but it is known to have been compiled at the order of Chou Wu-ti 周武帝 (r. 561–578), apparently as part of an effort to signal the eventual political and ideological reunification of the empire. While only approximately two-thirds of the text survives, the table of contents reveals that it originally encompassed 288 headings, from cosmology to the protocols for transmitting divine revelations. It is an invaluable reposi-
tory of Shang-ch’ing and Ling-pao writings in particular but preserves very little of the Cheng-i literature circulating in the sixth century. Just how much this work may have influenced later compilations is difficult to say, but certainly it supplied a model for others to emulate.

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

1. The Yiin-chi ch’i-ch’ien of Chang Chun-fang

The largest collectaneum printed in the Tao-tsang is the 122-ch. HY 1026 Yiin-chi ch’i-ch’ien [Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds] compiled by Chang Chun-fang (fl. 1008–1029), supervisor of the printing of the 1019 Canon.647 The work was apparently intended to serve as a personal reference work for Sung Chen-tsung (r. 993–1022), under whose command the preparation of a new Tao-tsang was achieved. Chang summarizes his own work on the project in an undated preface to the Yiin-chi ch’i-ch’ien, but internal evidence suggests that he did not complete the anthology itself until 1028 or 1029, and, thus, could only present it in the end to Sung Jen-tsung (r. 1023–1063).648 There is some question regarding the extent to which the work has been altered since the writing of the preface. Chang speaks, first of all, of a compilation totaling 120 instead of 122 ch’ian. There appears to be an even more significant discrepancy between the original organization of the text and its present format. The ch’i-ch’ien, or “seven lots,” are said by Chang to reflect the seven-part division of the Canon,
but in fact the arrangement of the work as it is preserved in the Canon and elsewhere does not correspond to this traditional bibliographic categorization of scriptural traditions. Chang's allusion to the Manichaean writings in the Fukien archives, moreover, has led to the expectation that such texts are to be found in the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*. None, however, has been identified. Early fragments of the text printed in fascicles of the 1244 edition of the Canon which are preserved in the National Library of Peking and the Palace Museum collection of Taipei reveal chapter divisions consistent with those of the redaction in the 1444-45 *Tao-tsang*. Thus, if Chang's encyclopedic anthology was radically altered, the changes seem most likely to have taken place sometime between 1114, the date a recompilation of the Canon was begun during Sung Hui-tsung's reign, and 1244.

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

Regardless of the degree to which the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* parallels the Canon of Sung Chen-tsung's reign, the fact remains that the majority of texts Chang includes evoke an earlier epoch, for his sources largely date to the Six Dynasties and the T'ang. Among the exceptions are a few *nei-tan* works dating to the Five Dynasties as well as three prefaces by Sung Chen-tsung and Wang Ch'in-jo's account of the state guardi-
Among the more remarkable contributions of Chang’s anthology is his collection of protochemical writings together with various instructions on ancillary macrobiotic techniques, including the pursuit of chin-tan, or the metallous enchymoma. The Yun-chi ch’i-ch’ien is also an indispensable repository of works associated with the formative years of early revelatory traditions. Incorporated within the opening essays on cosmogony and scriptural transmissions (ch. 1–9), for example, are copies of 5th-century prefaces to the earliest catalogues of both Shang-ch’ing and Ling-pao literature. In the selection of scriptures that follows (ch. 10–20) are recorded similarly rare redactions of manuals on contemplative practices critical to the development of both traditions. Chang also explores in depth the foundations of these and cognate scriptural legacies, citing an extensive library of texts, both paraphrastically and in extenso, under a series of topical headings. Among the subjects covered are cosmology (ch. 21–22), astral meditation (ch. 23–25), topography of sacred space (ch. 26–28), birth and destiny (ch. 29–31), hygiene, diet, and physical therapy (ch. 32–36), codes of behavior (ch. 37–40), ritual purification (ch. 41), techniques of visualization (ch. 42–44), additional instructions on the cultivation of perfection and miscellaneous applications (ch. 45–53), control of the vital forces of the body (ch. 54–55), embryonic respiration (ch. 56–62), chin-tan/nei-tan (ch. 63–73), prescriptive pharmaceuticals (ch. 74–78), talismans and diagrams (ch. 79–80), keng-shen 康申 lore, (ch. 81–83), shih-chieh 許祥, or corpse liberation (ch. 84–86), theoretical issues, such as whether divine transcendence can be learned (ch. 87–95), selections of verse (ch. 96–99), chronicles (ch. 100–102), and hagiography (ch. 103–122). Never in the literary history of Taoism has anyone synthesized under one title such a breadth of material. There is no other source comparable to the Yun-chi ch’i-ch’ien in the Canon.

2. The Tao shu of Tseng Ts’ao

Two remarkable collectanea specializing in nei-tan writings appeared during the Southern Sung. The earlier one, the 42-ch. HY 1011 Tao shu 道樞 [Pivot of the Tao], was compiled by the bibliophile Tseng Ts’ao 曾慥 (fl. 1131–1155) of Chin-chiang 晉江 (Fukien). Tseng enjoyed a conventional career as a government servant, first as a Shang-shu lang 尚書郎, or Secretary to the Prime Minister, and later as the magistrate of Ch’ien-chou 虔州 (Kiangsi), Ching-nan 萊南 (Hupeh), and Lu-
Fig. 22. Animals symbolic of the four directions. Sketch based on HY 1026 Yun-chi ch'i-ch'ien, 72.3a-4b. The depictions of the Blue-Green Dragon of the East, the White Tiger of the West, the Vermilion Bird of the South, and the Black Warrior (symbolized by the tortoise and snake) of the North, are included in a nei-tan text entitled Ta huan-tan ch'i pi-t'u 大還丹契祕圖 [Secret Illustrations of the Documents on the Great Regenerative Enchy-moma]. Although no indication of authorship is given, van der Loon (1984: 162) notes that Sung bibliographies ascribe the text to a Ts’ao-i-tzu or a Tung-chen-tzu, the name that appears with the citation immediately following in the Yun-chi ch'i-ch'ien.
chou (Anhui). Best known among his literary accomplishments is the 60-ch. *Lei-shuo* [Classified Sayings], an anthology of quotations drawn from over two hundred works dating from the Han to the Sung. The *Tao shu* similarly demonstrates Tseng’s bibliographic expertise and his critical capacity as an editor. Included in the work is a wide selection of writings from the Han to the early twelfth century under 108 headings, each of which is summarized by a rhyming quatrain. Tseng’s own comments and essays based on his extensive reading are interspersed throughout under the nom de plume Chih-yu-tzu (Ultimate Wanderer). Particularly noteworthy is the text he prints under the title *Ts’an-t’ung ch’i*, a version strikingly different from the standard edition of this resource on *nei-tan* procedures. Those linked to the Nan-tsung legacy whose writings were inspired by this work, such as Ch’en T’uan, Liu Ts’ao, and Chang Po-tuan, are well represented in the *Tao shu*, as are a number of lesser known formulators of *nei-tan* theory from an earlier generation, including Li Kuang-hsuan, Yeh Fa-shan, Liu Chih-ku, and Shih Chien-wu. Of note among later contributions is the set of twelve verses extracted from a series of one hundred *lii-shih* that Chang Wu-meng composed under the title “Huan-yüan shih” [Verses on Reverting to Primordiality]. Chang, as mentioned earlier, was the putative disciple of Liu Ts’ao. His discourse on *chin-tan* practice in these verses invites comparison with the writings of his most eminent protégé, the exegete Ch’en Ching-yuan. Tseng also devotes a considerable portion of his anthology to the writings ascribed to the semi-legendary Chung-li Ch’uan and Lu Yen, with a special emphasis on the dialogic tradition associated with them. In addition to including the *Pai-wen p’ien* [A Folio of One Hundred Questions] and the *Ch’uan-tao p’ien* [A Folio on the Transmission of the Tao] cited above, he records the entire text of the *Ling-pao p’ien* [A Folio on Ling-pao] in the last chapter of the *Tao shu*. A variant redaction of this work is separately printed in the Canon as the 3-ch. *Pi-ch’uan Cheng-yang chen-jen ling-pao pi-fa* [A Secret Transmission of the Conclusive Rites of Ling-pao According to the Perfected Cheng-yang].
Tseng’s own views about the diverse teachings falling under the rubric of neit-an vary markedly. Certain aspects of this contemplative pursuit he praised and others he condemned. Most well known perhaps are his criticisms of the sexual rites outlined in Ts’ui Hsi-fan’s 蔡希范 (fl. 940) Ju-yao ching 入藥鏡 [A Mirror on the Induction of Pharmaceuticals]. A copy of this text and Tseng’s summary are found in chuan 37. Elsewhere, within an earlier discussion in the Tao shu, Tseng expresses his disdain for Ts’ui’s instruction on yu-nü chih chan 楊女之戰, or the “battle” of copulation with women. Such practices, the so-called Huang-ch’ih chih Tao 黃赤之道, or Teachings of the Yellow and Red, Tseng claims, had been abandoned long before his time. There is in fact no trace of such passages in the Ju-yao ching he reproduces in chuan 37. Thus, while Tseng apparently had access to an unexpurgated version of the text, he, as did many of his counterparts, declined to make it available to his readers.

3. The Hsiu-chen shih-shu

Two variant editions of the Ju-yao ching as well as additional writings of Tseng Ts’ao are among the texts incorporated into a collectaneum dating a century later, the 60-ch. HY 263 Hsiu-chen shih-shu 修真十書 [Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection]. One version of Ts’ui Hsi-fan’s text is printed under the title T’ien-yüan ju-yao ching 天元入藥鏡 [A Mirror of Celestial Primordiality on the Induction of Pharmaceuticals], with a preface of the author dated 940. It is succeeded, somewhat ironically, by a series of verses entitled “Ch’uan Tao ko” 勸道歌 [Songs in Exhortation of the Tao] that were exchanged by Tseng and an instructor in K’uei-chou 桂州 (Szechwan) named Wang Ch’eng-hsü 王承弩. In their advice to avoid fermented beverages and to curb avarice and passion, these didactic communications offer more background on the foundation of Tseng’s conservatism. Such instructions, together with an emphasis on the innate kinship of the Three Teachings, moreover, recall the precepts of Ch’uan-chen patriarchs.

The anonymous compiler of the Hsiu-chen shih-shu appears to have been particularly interested in pointing out the common ground between Ch’an instruction and the legacy of Chang Po-tuan. As mentioned earlier, this anthology is foremost a repository of writings associated with the Nan-tsung patriarchy. The most outstanding collection of materials in the entire text by far is found in chapter 30. This chapter, which
Fig. 23. The bellow and tuyère of the metallous enchymoma. Sketch based on HY 263 Hsiu-ch'en shih-shu. 9.7a. This symbolic representation of the creation of the enchymoma within the body is recorded in the Chin-tan ta-ch'eng of Hsiao T'ing-chih (fl. 1260). For a discussion of the diagram and the accompanying “Song of the Bellows and Tuyère,” see Needham and Lu 1983: 120–121.

is intended to serve as a résumé of the Wu-chen p'ien of Chang Po-tuan (ch. 26–29), is exclusively devoted to Ch'an. The teachings of Chang's corpus, according to an unsigned introductory statement, are threefold: first, to induce the cultivation of transmutation by means of the techniques ordained by divine transcendent (先以神仙命術誘其修鍊); next, to expand upon communication with the divine by means of the wondrous applications of the several Buddhas (次以諸佛妙用廣其神通); and, in the end, to banish illusion by means of an absolute awakening, thereby resulting in a return to the primal wellsprings of ultimate immateriality (終以真如覺性盡其幻妄而歸於究竟寂寂之本源矣). Outside of an essay on the San-hsüeh 三學, or Three
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Studies, entitled “Chieh ting hui chieh” [An Explication of śīla, samadhi, and prajñā], the texts that follow are all verses, ranging from heptasyllabic quatrains to lengthy ko songs. Included is a tribute to the Ch’ān Master Hsueh-tou ‘雪竇禪師’, i.e., Ch’ung-hsien 重顒 (980–1052), composed after reading an anthology of his writings. Those with any insight, the unnamed author of a postface concludes, will find after examining the Wu-chen p’ien that Chang was a beneficiary of the highest level of instruction, namely, that of the six patriarchs of Ch’ān from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng 慧能 (638–713). With that remarkable declaration, the subdivision of the Hsiu-chen shih-shu labeled Wu-chen p’ien ends.

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

While Hsiao, as noted earlier, compiled a joint roster of Nan-tsong and Ch’ūan-ch’en patriarchs, there is no apparent evidence that he drew inspiration from the latter.673 It is of some significance, however, to find that one text linked to the Ch’ūan-ch’en legacy is included in the Hsiu-chen shih-shu, that is, the P’an Shan yu-lu 盤山語錄 [Dialogic Treatise of P’an Shan].674 This record of Wang Chih-chin’s 王志瑾 (1178–1263) teachings, discussed above, is printed separately in the Canon, with a preface dated 1247 by a disciple named Lun Chih-huan 論志煬.675 No clue concerning the provenance of the abridged version is given in the Hsiu-chen shih-shu. It immediately precedes the final corpus of texts to be preserved in the collectaneum, a full seven chapters centered around the venerable Huang-t’īng ching 黃庭經 [Yellow Court Scripture].676 The fact that editions of this early scripture, so prominent
in the Shang-ch’ing revelatory tradition, appear here attests to its importance as a resource to the codification of *nei-tan* terminology. Clearly, the compilers of this eclectic anthology disclose an extraordinarily broad perception of the textual history of *nei-tan*. Further research into the origins of this work will no doubt unveil some of the mystery not only behind the admission of Ch’üan-chen and Nan-tsung teachings under the same title, but also behind the forthright presentation of Ch’an writings, a synthesis apparently without precedent in the Canon.677

4. Ming Reference Works

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

Chu’s preface to the *T’ien-huang chih-tao t’ai-ch’ing yü-ts’e* is dated the ninth day of the first lunar month of 1444. Had it been completed earlier, his text would presumably have been included in the new edition of the Canon begun initially under the auspices of his older brother, Ming Ch’eng-tsu (r. 1403–1424). It is preserved instead in the *Hsu Tao-tsang* Supplement of 1607. According to Chu’s introductory statement, this anthology is to be viewed as the product of several decades of mature reflection. He recalls vividly the day when at the age of eleven he was approached by an old woman dressed in blue who cautioned him never to forget the past. Only after some sixty years, Chu confides, did he find himself ready, literally, to open his mouth. With this text, he seeks to convey a sense of the history of what he calls the *T’ien-huang chih ta Tao* (Great Tao of the Celestial Sovereign) or,
more simply, the *T'ien Tao* 天道 (Way of Heaven). While he acknowledges the contributions of both Lao-tzu and Confucius in articulating the principles behind the *T'ien Tao*, Chu traces the origins of these teachings ultimately back to Huang-ti 黃帝, the Yellow Emperor, whom he calls *Tao-tsu* 道祖, or Ancestor of the Tao. Above all else, he stresses the Chinese origins of the *T'ien Tao* and its vast superiority over any of the lesser teachings associated with non-Chinese peoples. Although the Jurchens are the only ones singled out for direct criticism in the opening essay, Chu was clearly responding to more immediate constraints of his age. His closing comments reveal, for example, that he sought to counter those who advocated the wholesale destruction of the teachings of the Ju heritage. Chu reminds his readership that it was Lao-tzu who taught that rivalry was characteristic of inferior, not superior, gentlemen. Further research on the author and his text will doubtless uncover the various factions that provoked this admonition.

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

Chapter 2 follows up with an inventory of sacred texts and ordination registers, supplemented by accounts of the infamous book burnings during the Mongol regime. Chu also inserts repeated reminders that the people of China must revere the teachings of China. The five headings of chapter 3 offer instruction on the various patterns for pacing constella-
tions, the ritual protocols of chiao-fêtes, an enumeration of ritual traditions and the ranks of office, as well as regulations governing the activities of fa-kuan (Ritual Officers). The party of functionaries at a chiao-fête and the hierarchy of members in Taoist communities are spelled out in chapter 4, as are various behavioral codes, including, for example, the rules on offering the seat of honor to Buddhist monks who visit Taoist temples and, in turn, to Taoist Masters who visit Buddhist temples. Chu reiterates that rivalry should be forbidden and also counsels that the people of China should uphold the teachings of China and not turn their backs on the country in which they were born to follow alien teachings. The terminology for various temple structures is introduced in chapter 5. Also recorded are the proper terms of reference for divine powers as well as details on ritual music and accoutrements, and the placement of images, pennants, lanterns, and various offerings. Most remarkable of all in this chapter is a set of instructions on a Ch’uan-chen meditation rite called tso-po (Seated within the Almsbowl). The regulations governing this contemplative exercise, scheduled for three ninety-day periods of the year, invite comparison with the practice of tso-Ch’an.

Chapter 6 opens with explanations on items of ritual garb and utensils. Subsequent essays cover a wide selection of topics, including the controversial hua-hu theory and the religious traditions of non-Chinese communities, such as the shamanistic practices of Korea. Also recorded here is a list of sixteen rules on conduct, including, for example, the prohibition of sexual intercourse for Taoist Masters seeking transcendence, one violation of which is said to negate the strength of an entire year’s pharmaceutical intake. An unusually comprehensive calendar of holy days dominates chapter 7, with notations on the days of birth and ascent for numerous deities and cult figures as well as the dates on which their epiphany is anticipated. A large portion of chapter 8 is devoted to numerical terminology, from i-li (one principle) to shih-erh fu-ti (72 prosperous regions). At the close of this lexicon is a tabulation of the appropriate offerings for chiao-fêtes, including various dried meats and tou-fu as well as fermented beverages and teas. Throughout the text, Chu draws widely on a diverse assortment of readings, from the Chen-kao and Shen-hsien chuan [Biographies of Divine Transcendents] to imperial decrees and the collected writings of Wu Ch’eng (1249–1333). The copy printed in
Fig. 24. Ritual implements of the Ming. Sketch based on HY 1472 *T'ien-huang chih-tao t'ai-ch'ing yü-ts'e*, 5.19b–23a. The silken pennants, fan, and lantern are among the standards carried by acolytes in ritual processions, according to Chu Ch'üan. As indicated by the labels, the phoenix-drawn chaise served as a censer, whereas the dragon-drawn chariot was designed to hold an icon.
Exegeses and Encyclopedic Compilations

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

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

In the opening essay, Chang identifies Cheng-i, Ching-ming, Ling-pao, and Shang-ch’ing simply as different names for the teachings conveyed by Lord Lao, the Most High. He follows up this account with a survey of the contents of the San-tung 三洞, or Three Caverns, and distinguishes two types of scriptural writings, those applied in personal cultivation and those that offer salvation to the masses.683 The third essay summarizes various aspects of meditative practice, particularly as pursued by Ch’üan-chen adepts. But in counseling against the confrontational approach of Ch’an, Chang provides a reading list on wai-tan and nei-tan that reflects the predominant influence of writings associated with the Nan-tsung legacy.684 The fourth and fifth essays address various liturgical matters, including the diverse ritual codes on the performance of chai 退出 retreats and chiao-fêtes as well as the history of Thunder Rites such as Ch’ing-wei and Shen-hsiao. In the subsequent two discussions, Chang offers advice on the qualities required of an abbot and the implications underlying the abandonment of one’s home for study of the Tao.
Finally, Chang devotes the closing three essays to the role of the state vis-à-vis the maintenance of temple grounds. Among the issues covered are the official authorization of monastic estates, the rate of taxation, and the need for carefully timed programmes of restoration. Whether or not Chang’s guidelines influenced the formulation of imperial policy is difficult to determine. There is no question, however, that his influence as the first editor-in-chief of the Ming Canon was far-reaching. Although he was unable to see the enterprise through to its completion, Chang’s *Tao-men shih-kuei* gives some indication of the understanding he had of the diversity of Taoist ritual practices prevailing in his era. The state of the 1444–45 Canon can be regarded in part as a reflection of the degree to which this Cheng-i patriarch was able to bring order out of disorder.
Epilogue

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

As mentioned earlier, Sakai and Noguchi Tetsurō prepared a survey of Japanese scholarship on Taoism for Facets of Taoism, edited by Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (1979) and its counterpart, the Dókyō no sógōteki kenkyū 道教の総合的硏究, edited by Sakai Tadao (1977). These two volumes were derived largely from the proceedings of the Second International Conference on Taoist Studies held in Tateshina in September 1972. A selection of the papers from the first conference in September 1968 is printed in History of Religions (Nov. 1969–Feb. 1970), together with a review of the sessions by Holmes H. Welch entitled "The Bellagio Conference on Taoist Studies." Contributions to a third conference held at Unterägeri in September 1979 are summarized in Nathan Sivin, "A Report on the Third International Conference on
Taoist Studies” (1979). Three of the papers abstracted there have been published as larger monographs, namely, John Lagerwey’s *Wu-shang pi-yao* (1981), Barbara Kandel’s *Taiping Jing* (1979), and Ch’en Kuo-fu’s *Tao-tsang yüan-liu hsü-k’ao* (1983). Others have appeared in print as separate articles, such as Erik Zürcher’s “Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Evidence” (1980). Most recently, on 11–15 December 1985, the Chinese University of Hong Kong hosted an International Symposium on Studies of Taoist Rituals and Music of Today, the proceedings of which Ts’ao Pen-yeh and John Minford are editing for publication.

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

Among additional forthcoming publications is the final volume of the three-volume *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, edited by Michel Strickmann, in which, among other contributions, Schipper’s revised version of “Taoist Ritual and Local Cults of the T’ang Dynasty,” centering on the Hsü Sun cult, will appear. Strickmann is also editing a volume of papers, including studies on Taoist traditions, presented at a conference on ritual and theory at Berlin in June 1984, under the title *Classical Asian Rituals and the Theory of Ritual*. Another volume of papers that promises several contributions on Taoist studies is under preparation as a Festschrift for Professor Hans Steininger, under the title *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien*. Several articles on Taoist topics are also planned for *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade et al. Anna Seidel, moreover, has undertaken the completion of a survey of the field begun by Soymie that is based on recent Western publications and that will appear as “Chronicle of Taoist Stu-
dies in the West” in Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie. A future issue of this new publication of the Kyoto section of the École Française d’Extrême-Orient will also be devoted to the theme of temples and the sites of cults in East Asia.

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

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

Many of the manuscripts in the collections of Saso, Schipper, and Ofuchi correspond to texts in the Tao-tsang. One scripture in honor of the goddess of seafarers, T’ien-fei 天妃, alias Ma-tsu 媽祖, which is preserved in Schipper’s archives, for example, proves to be cognate to HY 649 T’ai-shang Lao-chün shuo T’ien-fei chiu-k’u ling-yen ching 太上老君說天妃救苦靈驗經 [Scripture of Lord Lao, the Most High, Speaking on the Numinous Efficacy of the Celestial Consort in Relieving Distress]. Internal evidence indicates that the Tao-tsang text was composed sometime between 1409 and 1412, whereas the manuscript appears to date to the seventeenth century. Among the more striking
differences revealed in the latter devotional recitative is the vision of the
eminent Fukien goddess as an avatar of Kuan-yin. Her assimilation to
the all-compassionate bodhisattva appears to reflect the same oral tradi-
tion that inspired popular narratives on the life of T'ien-fei compiled
during the late Ming.\textsuperscript{687} Further studies on manuscripts in contemporary
archives should reveal more about both the continuity and the adaptabil-
ity of the Taoist textual heritage. The complex relation between Taoist
literary traditions and folk beliefs and practices is but one of many areas
inviting research for decades to come.

Addendum

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

Professor Schipper also reports that the tentative title for the culminat-
ing publication of the \textit{Tao-tsang} Project is \textit{A Handbook of the Taoist Canon},
now expected to be in print by 1989/90.
Appendix A

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

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

CT 1-752 = HY 1-752

CT 753 *Pei-tou ch'i-yuan chin-hsuan yu-chang* 北斗七星金玄翊章, 9 pp.; follows the 3-ch. HY 752 *T'ai-shang hsuan-ling pei-tou pen-ming yensheng chen-ching chu* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經注, annotated by Fu Tung-chen 傅桐軒. Fu concludes in an undated preface that the *Pei-tou ching* is the work of either Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850-933) or Chang Tao-ling 張道陵 (fl. 142). Instructions for recitation of the scripture in CT 753, 7b-8b, refer to incantations in HY 752 that Fu traces ultimately to the Correct Rites of T'ien-hsin 天心正法, a revelatory tradition especially popular during the Sung.

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

CT 960 *Yu-chih Chen-wu Miao pei* 御製齊武廟碑 (dated 1415), 3 pp.; follows HY 958/CT 959 *Ta Ming Hsuan-t'ien shang-ti jui-ying tu-lu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄, compiled after 1418.

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

CT 998 *Tu lung-hu ching* 諏龍虎經, 2 pp.; notes on reading HY 995/CT 997 *Ku-wen lung-hu shang-ching chu* 古文龍虎上經注; see also HY 994/CT 996 *Ku-wen lung-hu ching chu-shu* 注疏, compiled by Wang Tao 王道 in 1185, and the discussion in *SKCS* 3056.
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CT 999-1099 = HY 996-1006 [+3]

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

CT 1011 = HY 1007 [+4]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CT 1189 Yin-tan nei-p’ien 隱丹內篇, 3 pp.; follows HY 1180/CT 1188 T’o-yüeh-izu 極意子, apparently dating to the thirteenth century.

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

CT 1211 Cheng-i fa-wen ch’uan tu-kung pan-i 正一法文傳都功篇儀, 5 pp.; follows HY 1201/CT 1210 Cheng-i fa-wen shih-lu chao-i 正一法文十號召儀. Note the separate listings for two similar titles in Sung shih
Appendix A

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

CT 1212–1303 = HY 1202–1293 [+10]

CT 1304 Kan-chou Sheng-chi Miao ling-chi li 赣州聖濟廟聖記, 6 pp.; a stone inscription by Sung Lien 宋聰 (1310–1381), dated 1371, tracing the history of the divine manifestations of Shih Ku 史固 (fl. 210 B.C.E.), for whom the Sheng-chi Miao of Kan-chou (Kiangsi) was built. Sung’s encomium precedes a series of oracular verse associated with Shih Ku, the HY 1294/CT 1305 Hu-kuo chi-cha Chiang-tung Wang ling-ch’ien 萬國嘉靖車章東王聖籤, apparently the sequence that, according to Sung, was revealed to Fu Yeh 傅穀 during the Pao-ch’ing 宝慶 reign (1225–1227). Compare with Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi, 5.1a–3b.


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

CT 1432–1433 = HY 1422–1423 [+10]

CT 1434 Sheng-mu k’ung-ch’üeh ming-wang tsun-ching ch’i-pai i 善母孔准明王尊經啟儀, 23 pp.; the title of ch. 2 of HY 1423/CT 1433 T’ai-shang yüan-shih t’ien-tsun shuo Pao yueh-kuang hung-hou sheng-mu t’ien-tsun k’ung-ch’üeh ming-wang ching 太上元始天尊說寶月皇后聖母尊聖經, which closes with the 1607 imprimatur of the 50th Celestial Master, Chang Kuo-hsiang. According to an anonymous note preceding the imprimatur, the text was printed from the 3-ch. Tao-men k’ung-ch’üeh ching 道門孔尊經 discovered in a cavern at Wu-tang Shan by a certain Superintendent Li of the T’ai-ho tzu-hsiao Kung 太和顯聖孝宮. The Ta-yüeh T’ai-ho Shan chih of 1431 states that Li Hsuan-yü 李玄玉 was appointed Superintendent of the Tzu-hsiao Kung in 1412 (8.8a) so it would seem that this text may very well have appeared in print during the Yung-le reign (1403–1424). It is cognate to the Mahamayurj [vidyārajñī], translated by Amoghavajra 不空 (d. 774?) as the 3-ch. Fo-mu ta k’ung-ch’üeh ming-wang ching 佛母大聖准明王經 (T. 982). An illustrated version of HY 1423, printed with an imperial seal and a preface of Ming Shen-tsung 明神宗, (r. 1573–1619) dated 1616 is available in the British Library (Or. 15103.aa.8).
CT 1436–1472 = HY 1424–1460 [+12]

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

CT 1474 = HY 1463 [+11]

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

CT 1476–1479 = HY 1466–1469 [+10]

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

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

Appendix B

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1. On rare sets of the *Tao-tsang* in Paris, see Chavannes 1911, 1912, and Pelliot 1912.
5. For a brief survey on the current operation of this seminary and its publications, see Jan Yün-hua 1984: 50–51, 55.
6. A copy of this account is recorded in the prefatory material attached to the *Tao-tsang mu-lu hsiang-chu* in volume 1 of the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu* edited by Ting Fu-pao (1922).
8. For the layout of the Pai-yun Kuan, see Yoshioka 1979:250–252. The most comprehensive study of the temple compound available is Oyanagi 1934.
10. See van der Loon 1984: 59. On the Shanghai copy of the Canon, see Kubo Noritada 1943 and Ch’en Kuo-fu 1963:177, 188. Ch’en reports that he was denied access to this set in 1946–48. On 12 June 1983, I found that the Pai-yun Kuan of Shanghai had been converted into the local Research Headquarters for the Authentification of Friendship Store Curios.
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found in Kubo Noritada 1948:126–145, Gauchet 1948, Liu Ts’un-yan 1973, Needham, Ho, and Lu 1976:113–117, Boltz 1986a and 1986e. Note that Boltz 1986a should be corrected to read that the manuscripts, not the blocks, of the T’ang Canon were lost.

12. On the ambiguity of the term ch’iian, see van der Loon 1984:35.

13. Chang is traditionally credited with not only the collation but also the classification of the manuscripts toward the compilation of the first Sung Canon, largely on the basis of his own claims in a preface to the Yün-ch’i ch’i-ch’ien (see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations). for a reassessment of Chang’s actual role and the significance of Wang’s catalogue, see van der Loon 1984:29–36.


18. SKCS 3058. T’ui-keng T’ang was the name of the studio of President Hsu Shih-ch’ang.


24. Needham’s Science and Civilisation in China cites texts in the Canon according to Wieger numbers. Fortunately, each volume includes a concordance to the Wieger and “Ong” numbers, i.e., those assigned in Weng Tu-chien 1935 (see below).

25. As Weng Tu-chien (1966:vi) explains, the code words are the names of the 28 hsiu, or lunar mansions, that mark the 28 divisions into which the Tao-tsang chi-yao is organized.

26. Among smaller collections of Taoist literature are the Tao-tsang chü-yao 道藏纂要, including approximately 175 titles selected from the Canon by the editors of Commercial Press; Tao-tsang hsü-pien 道藏續編, with 20 titles; and Tao-tsang ching-hua lu 道藏精華錄, including 100 titles. An index to the rare Tao-tsang chi-yao edition printed circa 1796–1819 by Chiang Yuan-t’ing 蔣元庭 (1755–1819) is included in Ting Fu-pao 1922, vol. 2.

27. Strickmann 1977b.

28. On the compilation of HY 263, see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations.
30. The address of Schipper's headquarters is Projet Tao-tsang, Centre de documentation et d'étude du taoisme, 22 av. du President Wilson, 75116 Paris, France.
31. This summary is based on a personal communication from Professor Schipper dated 18 October 1984 and two circulars describing the project (C.N.R.S.–RCP 625) dated October 1982 and 26 April 1984. For a preliminary description of the data bank, see Schipper 1983b. It should be noted that although the data bank and the Index to the Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien (see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations) use the Pinyin romanization system, it has been decided that Wade-Giles romanization will be used in the catalogue of the Tao-tsang Project.
33. On these publication ventures, see Jan Yün-hua 1984: 63–64. I have not been able to verify the compilation of a Tao-chiao shih, and it may be that Jan is referring to Ch’ing Hsi-t’ai’s Chung-kuo Tao-chiao ssu-hsiang shih-kang 中國道教思想史簡圖, two volumes of which are now in print (1980, 1985). On the epigraphic project, see Ch’en Yuan 1982: 380–382 and Ch’en Chih-ch’ao 1984.
34. Schipper reports that the catalogue of the Tao-tsang Project will not be ready before 1986 (personal communication, 18 October 1984). Jan Yün-hua (1984: 63) states that the first draft of the Tao-tsang t’i-yao has been completed, with publication anticipated sometime in 1984, but the Tao-chiao yen-chiu shih reports that, at the very earliest, the work will appear in print sometime in late 1986 or early 1987 (personal communication, 27 August 1985). Professor Chan Hok-lam has informed me that Liu Ts’un-yan of Canberra is also preparing an analytic catalogue entitled Tao-tsang mu-lu 道藏目錄, to be published in Hong Kong (personal communication, 20 August 1982), but I know nothing about the current status of this project.
35. Van der Loon 1984: 61, n43.
36. Ibid.: 63.
37. The cosmic order of the Shen-hsiao tradition of the Sung dynasty (see Chapter 1) and the problems of establishing its celestial hierarchy are discussed in Boltz 1983.
38. The value of such inventories has been pointed out in Strickmann 1977a and 1978a for the Shang-ch’ing and Shen-hsiao traditions, respectively.
40. Such is the case for a number of local ritual traditions discussed in Chapter 1, particularly those documented in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan.
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41. Strickmann 1979b. See also the general surveys of Sung Taoist traditions based largely on historical texts in Sun K’o-k’uan 1965 and Chin Chung-shu 1966, 1967.

42. Two outstanding examples are HY 1009 Chin-so liu-chu yin 金頭流珠引, annotated by Li Ch’un-feng 李淳風 (fl. 632) and traced ultimately to Chang Tao-ling; and HY 389 T’ai-shang tung-hsuan ling-pao su-ling chen-fu 太上洞玄靈寶度罪真符, a composite work attributed to Lu Hsiu-ching (406–477) and received by Tu Kuang-t’ing 杜光庭 (850–933) in 906. The former compilation, however, may not actually date before the Sung.

43. The history of the classification fa-shih merits a full study, particularly as it relates to the role of the hoat-su 釵師 in Taiwanese society. For a brief survey of the hoat-su legacy, see Tung Fang-yuan 1975:148–168. The role of the fa-shih as exorcist during the 12th to 14th centuries is examined in Boltz 1985. See also Schipper 1985b: 37.

44. Maspero 1971/1981, Robinet 1976 and 1979, and Schipper 1982 include detailed discussions on various meditation techniques employed by adepts in the realization of a divine microcosm within their bodies.

45. The parallels to the Tantric tradition are obvious. According to Beyer 1977:72ff., for example, the Tantric practitioner generates himself into a deity, envisioning the entire retinue of the mantra about him. In the end, he exchanges his ego for that of the deity, much as the Taoist Ritual Master was taught.

46. For the term “actualization,” see Schafer 1978. On the metamorphic transformation central to a Shen-hsiao meditation technique, see Boltz 1983.

47. On the dates of Lin Ling-su, see Miyakawa Hisayuki 1975b. The earliest biographical account for Lin appears to have been compiled by the Han-lin academician Keng Yen-hsi 彭延僖 sometime after the fall of the Northern Sung. Keng’s account serves as the foundation for the discussion in Chao Yu-shih 趙崎嶽 (1175–1231), Pin-t’ui lu 見退錄 (TSCC ed.), 1.4–6, as well as for Buddhist chronicles and Taoist hagiographies such as HY 296 Li-shih chen-hsien t’i-tao t’ung-chien, 53.1a–16a (see Chapter 2, Chao Tao-i’s Masterpiece). Lin’s name also comes up repeatedly in Hung Mai’s 洪邁 (1123–1202) I-chien chih 我堅志 (ed. Ho Cho 何卓, pp. 7, 177, 494, 518, 1369, 1747). See also the citations concerning Lin from works of the Sung to the Ch’ing in Ting Ch’uan-ching 1981:1129–1136. Note, further, that Lin Ling-su is prominently mentioned in the sermon Ch’iu Ch’u-chi (1148–1227) delivered before Chinggis Khan in 1222, as recorded in HY 176 Hsüan-feng ch’ing-hui lu, 6a (see Chapter 4).
48. As pointed out in Boltz 1983:497n15, the array of the nine empyreans follows the pattern of the magic square.
49. See Ibid.: 504ff.
50. On the eschatology of the Shang-ch'ing tradition, see Strickmann 1971, 1979a, 1981. The significance of the jen-ch'en year in both Shang-ch'ing and Shen-hsiao legacies is discussed in Strickmann 1978a:337.
51. Also cited in the Formulary are Hui-tsung's commentaries to the Tao-te ching and Nan-hua ching (i.e., Chuang-tzu 荀子). Mentioned in the supplementary notes as well are ritual sequences, the composition of which also apparently fell within the domain of the theocrat's responsibilities. Examples are preserved in the 3-ch. HY 310 Chin-lu chai san-tung tsan-yung 金録齋三洞讚詠儀, compiled by Chang Shang-ying 張善英 (1043–1121) and the 3-ch. HY 607 Yü-yin fa-shih 王音法事. For further background, see Schipper 1975b. Comments on the nature of the neumatic notation found in the Yü-yin fa-shih are found in Lu Ch'in-li 1948:327–330 and L.E.R. Picken 1969:90. See also Boltz 1986f.
52. This is the argument of Strickmann 1978a. Piet van der Loon (1984:44ff.), on the other hand, finds little evidence in the extant Canon of the scriptural traditions new to Hui-tsung's reign. While Strickmann stands by his position, he now suggests that perhaps it may have been the primacy of the Ch'ing-wei tradition (see section 4) that commended the Shen-hsiao works to the attention of the 15th-century compilers of the Canon.
54. The principal difference between Thunder Rites (Lei-fa 雷法) and other therapeutic procedures is that the practitioner does not simply rely on his ability to call down divine forces at times of need, but must also have stored within him the cosmic power of thunder. In order always to have immediate access to this demonifuge agent, the practitioner must thus be prepared to meditate at times when thunder is imminent. The instruction on the absorption of the power of thunder in HY 1209, 1.9b, bears comparison with that in the Shang-ch'ing yü-fu wu-lei ta-fa yü-shu ling-wen 上清五府五雷大法玉枢靈文 [Numinous Script of the Jade Pivot, from the Great Rites of the Five Thunders in the Jade Bureau of Shang-ch'ing], in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 56 (see section 6), with a preface by Wang Wen-ch'ing. On Thunder Rites, see also Strickmann 1975 and Boltz 1985. Further background on Hui-tsung's theocracy can be found in Yang Chung-liang (d. 1271), [Huang Sung] T'ung-chien ch'ang-pien chi-shih pen-mo 楊仲良通鑑長編紀事本末, ch. 127, and Miyakawa Hisayuki 1975a. See also Yang Hua-jung 1985.
55. Translated with annotation in Boltz 1983. The conceptual framework of this scripture is shared by a number of diverse cultural traditions, as R.A. Stein points out in three studies of the microcosmic ideal (1942, 1957a, 1957b).

56. For an introduction to Cheng Ssu-hsiao's literary corpus, see Yang Li-kuei 1977.

57. HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan is discussed in more detail below (section 6). An invaluable survey of the corpus is found in van der Loon 1979.

58. The ritual emphasis on fire is reminiscent of the Homa ritual complex, the central divinity of which is the fearsome Fudo myōō 動明王, or Acalavidiyārāja. Indeed, the acclimatization of Tantric rites in East Asia appears to have succeeded in part because of the prevalence of cognate Taoist ritual practice. Research in this area is just beginning, as Strickmann points out in 1983b and 1985a.

59. The colophon is recorded in HY 1210, 198.25b–27a. Liu Yü, or Liu Shih 劉世, as he was originally known, is not to be confused with another, later, Liu Yü (1257–1308) of Kiangsi. Piet van der Loon has kindly pointed out the distinction of the two Taoist Masters named Liu Yü active in the 13th century (personal communication, 3 June 1984). The codifier of Shen-hsiao ritual appears also to be the one who transmitted records on the guardian figure Wen Ch'iuung (see Chapter 2, section 12). Liu Yü, whose account of Wen Ch'iuung is included in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 253, wrote in 1258 under the title "Wu-lei ching-lu huo-ling hsien-kuan" 五雷經錄火錚仙官 (Transcendent Officer of the Flaming Tocsin, Recipient of the Scriptures and Registers of the Five Thunders). According to a biographical account (253.10a-12a) composed by a disciple named Huang Kung-chin 黃公瑾 (fl. 1274), the Master Liu Yü was actually Liu Shih, also known as Liu Ch'ing-ch'ing 劉清卿. "Yü" 玉 was his fa-hui 法諡, i.e., ritual taboo name. He was the grandson of the famous martyr Liu Chieh 劉億 who died trying to defend T'an-chou 潭州 (Hunan) against the Jurchen (Sung shih 452). In obeying Chieh's request to be buried in Lin-ch'uan 臨川 (Kiangsi), Liu Yü's father resettled his family in nearby Feng-ch'eng. What makes the history of the Shen-hsiao text confusing here is that the author of the colophon is identified as Liu Yü, "Yü-chen ti-tzu huo-ling hsien-kuan" 玉真子火錚仙官. The latter half of the title matches that by which the author of the Wen Ch'iuung text is known. But "Yü-chen ti-tzu," or "Disciple of Jade Perfection," happens to be the name by which the later Liu Yü (1257–1308), tzu, I-chen 尹, is known. This Liu Yü was a key figure in the perpetuation of the legacy of Ching-ming Tao (see Chapter 2, section 6, and Chapter 4, section 20). Like those of the Liu family who settled in Feng-ch'eng, Liu I-chen's ancestors were emigrants from the north who eventually took up residence in Kiangsi. They reestablished their home a little further north at Chien-ch'ang 晉昌 in...
Nan-k'ang 南康 prefecture (see the biography in HY 1102 Ch'ing-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu, 1.18b–25a). Lu Yeh (tzu, Po-shan 伯善), known as “Liu-yin tung-wei hsien-ch'ing” 六陰洞微仙卿, is not among the mentors cited for this later generation Liu Yü. He is mentioned in the biography of Liu Shih (alias Liu Yü). Since the title “Yü-ch'en ti-tzu” is not attested for the earlier Liu Yü, we can only assume that an editor of the Shen-hsiao code confused the two masters and added it unknowingly.

60. HY 304, 16.4b–5a, an account taken from a biography compiled by a disciple named Shen Yü 沈育. HY 304 Mao Shan chih, a 14th-century gazetteer, is discussed in Chapter 3 under Topography.

61. Chin Yün-chung also compiled a critical compendium of ritual entitled HY 1213 Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa, a discussion of which follows in section 5.

62. For a translation and discussion of this apotropaic incantation in the Shang-ch'ing tradition, see Michel Strickmann 1980:228 and 1977c, concerning HY 335 T'ai-shang tung-yüan shen-chou ching 太上洞真神咒经 and HY 53 T'ai-shang tung-yüan pei-ti t'ien-p'eng hu-ming hsiao-tsai shen-chou miao-ching 太上洞真北帝天蓬護命消災神咒妙經. The efficacy of reciting the T'ien-p'eng incantation is the subject of three accounts in Tu Kuang-t'ing’s HY 590 Tao-chiao ling-yen chi 道敎真验記 10.6b–8a, 11.11a–b, 12.6b–7b. Similar stories are found in Hung Mai’s I-chien chih, pp. 40, 369(2), 625, entries which are discussed in Sawada Mizuho 1980.

63. I-sheng pao-te chen-chün and Chen-wu are the subjects of individual encomia discussed in Chapter 2. Images of the four spirits, as well as their shrines, are mentioned in Hung Mai’s I-chien chih, pp. 329, 799, 837.

64. See Chapter 2.

65. Teng Yu-kung’s prefaces are undated, but I identify him with the Teng Yu-kung (1210–1279) of Nan-feng 南豐 (Kiangsi) cited in Ch’ang Pi-te 昌彼得 et al., 1974–76:3730. In the preface to HY 566, Teng traces his heritage back five generations: Jao Tung-t’ien, Chu Chung-su 朱仲素, Yu Tao-shou 楊道首, Tsou Pen 謝巖, and Fu T’ien-hsin 符天信, Teng’s own master. This is the number of disciples one would expect from the time of Jao’s putative discovery to the time of Teng Yu-kung. On 18 November 1983, Dr. Robert P. Hymes of Columbia University wrote, questioning the authenticity of this identification of Teng. Hymes takes the position that the compiler Teng is not the Teng Yu-kung documented in the index to Sung biographies of Ch’ang Pi-te et. al 1974–76 but rather another person of the same name who lived during the 12th century. Teng, like Yuan Miao-tsung, addressed his preface to the emperor. But external and internal evidence seems to suggest he was more likely to have been writing during the reign of Sung Li-tsung 宋理宗 (r. 1225–1264) than of Hui-tsung. If Teng were in fact Yuan Miao-tsung’s
near contemporary, I find it strange that Chin Yün-chung (fl. 1224–1225) would not mention him in his discussion of other compilers of T’ien-hsin ritual. Chin seems to be familiar only with Yuan and Lu Chen-kuan 路真官 (i.e., Lu Shih-chung). The latter he identifies as responsible for the recitation of T’ien-hsin rites (HY 1213 Shang-ch’ing ling-pao ta-fa 43.16b ff.; on this text see Chapter 1, section 5). Moreover, a close investigation of the texts ascribed to Teng Yu-kung in the Canon suggests that they are works of the 13th, not the 12th, century. For example, Teng identifies Hei-sha 黑煞 (Black Killer) with the spirit Hsuan-wu 玄武 (HY 566, 3.6b), whereas the two cosmic forces were regarded as distinct in texts as late as the ritual corpus compiled by Lu Yuan-su 吕元素 (fl. 1188–1201) and a disciple in 1201 (HY 1216 Taomen t’ung-chiao pi-yung chi 7.6a; on this text see Chapter 1, section 7). Further comments bearing on this issue are found in notes 66 and 217.

66. The inventory of van der Loon 1984:75 makes note of a 3-ch. Shang-ch’ing t’ien-hsin cheng-fa cited in Cheng Ch’iao’s 鄭樵, (1104–1162) T’ung-chih 通志. The editors of “Tao-tsang t’i-yao hsuan-k’an” suggest that this citation refers to the text edited by Teng, whom they therefore date to the end of the Northern Sung (STY 1984.2: 13).

67. Substantial background on the astral meditation techniques of Shang-ch’ing is found in Robinet 1976. The significance of the San-kuang is discussed in Robinet 1979:281ff.

68. I-chien chih, pp. 232, 237, 403, 479, 684, 1362, 1594. See also Tseng Min-hsing 曾敏行 (1118–1175), Tu-hsing isa-chih獨醒雜志 (TSCC ed.), 10.77. The fame of Lu Shih-chung, as documented in the I-chien chih, was first pointed out in Strickmann 1977d. For a survey of the bibliographic history of the I-chien chih, see Chang Fu-jui’s entry on the text in Balazs and Hervouet 1978: 344–345. A concise survey of the text is found in Chang Fu-jui 1964, and a fuller study on its significance as a source for Sung history is found in Chang Fu-jui 1968.


70. Chapter 7 of HY 1217 includes what appears to be some of the earliest instruction on exorcizing possessing spirits. More detailed manuals, such as those preserved in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan (see Chapter 1, section 6), occasionally call for the use of a t’ung-tzu 童子, or spirit medium, to stand in for the afflicted, a practice that is documented in many episodes of the I-chien chih. For a fuller account of T’ien-hsin rituals
designed to relieve mental disorders, see Boltz 1985.

71. For a definition and analysis of the “demon-story” type, see Hanan 1981:44ff.

72. The influence of Taoist traditions on the *Shui-hu chuan* is examined in Boltz 1981. See also Miyazaki Ichisada 1972:184ff. The significance of the astral identification of the 108-member brotherhood of Liang-shan po is noted in Hou Ching-lang 1979:226.


75. On Hsüan-wu and Wu-tang Shan, see Chapter 2, section 10 and Chapter 3. Topography.

76. HY 171 *Ch’ing-wei hsien-p’u* is discussed in Chapter 2.

77. Among related texts, see the 25-ch. HY 223 *Ch’ing-wei yüan-chiang ta-fa* 清微元降大法 and the 2-ch. HY 224 *Ch’ing-wei chai-fa* 清微齋法.

78. Cosmic script is amply illustrated in HY 223. The text lists Ch’ing-wei, Shang-ch’ing, Ling-pao, Tao-te, and Cheng-i worthies, closing with eleven generations of synthesizers, from Tsu Shu to Huang Shun-shen (25.8b–12b). Variant lists are found in 1.1a–5b; HY 171, 1a–11a; HY 222, 1.1a–3b; and HY 224, 1.1a–13b.

79. Note, for example, the four *tsu-shih* cited in HY 222, 1.3a. On Wei Hua-ts’un, see Schafer 1977a.

80. See, for example, the transmutation rites of ch. 15–16 *Yu-ch’en lien-tu fü-fa* 銀鍊煉度符法 and ch. 32 *Lung-t’ien t’ung-ming lien-tu fü-fa* 龍天通明鍊度符法, and the Thunder Rites of ch. 36 *Ch’ing-wei Ma Chao Wen Kuan ssu-shuai ta-fa* 清微馬趙溫關四帥大法, a composite text based on the cults of Ma Sheng馬勝, Chao Kung-ming 趙公...
Wen Ch'iung and Kuan Yü. Variant rituals associated with each are separately recorded in ch. 222–226, 232–240, 253–256, and 259–260, respectively.

81. See HY 1210, 9.10b, for Huang's colophon and 5.39a, 7.8b, 14.3b, for Chao's imprimatur. Further discussion of Chao's training and literary legacy is found in Chapter 4, section 17. Note that the summary of the Ch'ing-wei tradition in Saso 1978a does not take into account the textual filiation of various sources in the Canon. The sort of Ch'ing-wei ritual transmission sanctioned by the Celestial Master heritage of Saso's informants is documented in Saso 1978b; see especially the "Lung-hu Shan shih-ch'uan Ch'ing-wei ch'uan-tu k'o-fan i-tsung", pp. 7a–31a.

82. The implications of an earlier, juridical approach to disease, as exemplified by the Shang-ch'ing legacy, are discussed in Strickmann 1982c. A survey of major oracle sequences in the Taoist Canon, as well as cognate transmissions, that deal specifically with the prognosis of various afflictions is found in Strickmann 1983. Additional material is to be recovered from the prognosticative oracle tradition associated with the Wong Tai Sin temple complex in Kowloon, as recorded in the Huang Ta-hsien liang-fang (N.p., n.d.). The significance of the healing mission as articulated in the early literature classified as "Tao-chia" is considered briefly in Giradot 1983:42ff. For further discussion on Taoist therapeutic rites and their Buddhist analogues, see Strickmann 1982b, 1985b, and 1986b.

83. HY 547, 23.4a, 26.6a.

84. See, for example, Boltz 1983:498, n18, concerning the comparison of one feature in a series of illustrations in common to HY 466, 290.12b; HY 547, 27.5a; HY 508, 41.15a; HY 1211, 43.19a; and HY 1213, 33.4a–b.

85. HY 547, 1.11a.

86. For a monograph on T'ien-t'ai Shan, see Chapter 3.

87. HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 244.1a. Here the taboo name (hui 諱) of T'ien is given as Ssu-chen 恩真 and his tsu字 as Ch'ing-fu 清夫.

88. I-chien chih, p. 1750. Note also that a reference to Ling-pao ta-fa is found in another episode on p. 1759.

89. I am grateful to Dr. John Lagerwey for his discussion of the problems involved in working out the textual filiation of these large ritual compendia (personal communication, 16 October 1984) and for providing me with a copy of his draft for the entry on HY 547 to be included in the catalogue of the Projet Tao-tsang. Lagerwey points out that twice in Ning's corpus the practices of a T'ien Chu-shih 田居實 active at Lung-hu Shan are mentioned (HY 1211, 32.4a, 7a). T'ien Chu-shih (tzu, Jhoshu 若虛) is known to have been an instructor of Chiang Shu-yü (HY 508, 57.5a) and to have left behind an incomplete collection of ritual
manuals that Liu Yung-kuang encouraged Chiang to finish up (HY 508, 57.3b). It is tempting to suggest that this was the inspiration behind the HY 547 Ling-pao yi-chien, but T’ien Tzu-chi, not T’ien Chü-shih, is the only patriarch to whom the anonymous compiler of this work pays tribute. Given the difference in the tzu recorded for T’ien Chu-shih and T’ien Tzu-chi and what little biographical data are available, it seems unlikely that they were one and the same. Thus, pending the discovery of information to the contrary, all that can be said is that Chiang and Ning were both apparently recipients of T’ien Chu-shih’s instruction but that their individual contributions are overall more indebted to the influence of Liu Yung-kuang and T’ien Tzu-chi, respectively.

90. For comments on the Hsiian-hsueh appointments, made primarily among the southern elite during the Yuan, see Sun K’o-k’uan 1981 and Yuan Chi 1973 and 1974.

91. Note that the table of contents supplied does not precisely match the received text, indicating that the compilers of the Canon perhaps had at least two editions or a composite text at hand but did not attempt to reconcile internal contradictions. References to “Ta Ming-kuo” (Great State of Ming) attest to the contributions of the compilers of the Ming Canon.

92. A translation and discussion of the texts associated with rites of reimbursement in HY 466 is included in Hou Ching-lang 1975:61–66. On the p’u-tu (universal salvation) rites of HY 466 and related codes, see Pang 1977. A cognate work of similar title, the 40-ch. Shang-ch’ing ling-pao chi-tu ta-ch’eng chin-shu, was compiled in 1432 by a disciple of the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yu-ch’u named Chou Ssu-te (1359–1451). The compilation was apparently never sanctioned for printing in the Canon, but copies of it are found in the rare book collections of the National Central Library of Taipei and the Harvard-Yenching Library. According to the preface of 1432, recorded in the Chou Chen-jen chi, Chou traced his heritage directly back to Masters T’ien, Ning, and Lin.

93. On the T’ung-ch’u rites, see Chapter 1, section 2.

94. Note that Boltz 1986b:156 should be corrected in regard to Chin Yün-chung’s priorities. I am grateful to Piet van der Loon for encouraging me to reconsider Chin’s position (personal communication, 3 June 1984), and I have revised my discussion here accordingly.

95. On the “metallous enchymoma,” see Lu Gwei-Djen 1973. Chin-tan instruction is common to both the Ch’üan-chen and Nan-tsung (Southern Lineage) traditions, as discussed in Chapter 4. Michel Strickmann advises that a “Mo-ch’ao T’ien-ti” (Mo-ch’ao T’ien-ti) procedure figures in the posthumous legacy of T’ao Hung-ching (456–536), revealing themes common to the Sung: “1) silence, simplicity, one-pointedness…2) transcending the Taoist pantheon” (personal communication).
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cation, 10 April 1982). Strickmann 1984 points out that the "madman" Huan K'ai, a late disciple of T'ao Hung-ch'ing, reportedly learned the technique of "Mo-ch'ao Shang-ti" from Li Huan of W. Shu (see HY 301 Huan Chen-jen sheng-hsien chi 恒真人昇仙記, 7b). According to Tu Kuang-t'ing's Shen-hsien kan-yü chuan 神仙感遇傳 (cited in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 15.59), Huan when questioned by T'ao, referred to his training as "Mo-ch'ao chih Tao" 默朝之道, or the Way of Silent Homage. This phrase also appears in Tu Kuang-t'ing, HY 782 Yung-ch'eng chi-hsien lu 嚴城集仙錄, 6.4a, in reference to the practices pursued by Chang Tao-ling's wife, Ms. Sun. Note also that HY 508, 27.19a–b, includes instruction in "Mo-sung Shang-ti pi-hui" 默誦上帝祕諱 [Silently Reciting the Secret Names of the Supreme Sovereign].

96. HY 1213, 33.6a–b.

97. This evaluation comes in his closing comments on ordination ritual, the last category listed in the table of contents but actually printed as the penultimate chapter (HY 1213, 43.18a). The passage concerning Yüan Miao-tsung and Lu Shih-chung is cited above (n. 65).

98. HY 1210, 210.29b. There is much dispute over Chang Yu's dates. Yen I-p'ing, in a preface to his (1974) edition of Chang Yu's HY 780 Hsüan-p'in lu 玄品錄 (see Chapter 2), settles on the dates 1277–1350. Chang Kuang-pin (1977) proposes the dates 1283–1350, based on a study of both epigraphic and literary sources. But if there is any validity in the 1356 colophon preserved in the Tao-fa hui-yüan, the data deserve to be reexamined.

99. Van der Loon (1984:63n50) suggests: "In view of the prominent position which the Ch'ing-wei school occupies in the Tao-fa hui-yüan, it is very likely that he was responsible for the whole collection."

100. See, for example, HY 1210, 56.1a, 61.1a, 67.21a, 70.1a, 76.3a, 83.1a, 90.1a, 91.2a, 95.7b, 124.1a–b, 212.1a.

101. See, for example, HY 1210, 1.12a, 70.1a, 76.3a, 77.5b, 82.29b, 104.1b.

102. HY 1210, 104.1a ff. Other writings attributed to Pai Yü-ch'an and Ch'en Nan are discussed in Chapter 4, sections 11 and 12.

103. HY 1210, 154–155; see also Chapter 5, Exegeses.

104. HY 1210, 77.6b, 95.8a. Additional texts ascribed to Mo Ch'i-yen are discussed in Chapter 4.

105. HY 1210, 67.11a.

106. The Sa Chen-jen te Tao chou-tsa chi 稽真人道呪纂記 of Teng Chih-mo 聖師謨 (fl. 1596–1603) is discussed in Ono 1982. This text is available on microfilm from Naikaku Bunko. An anonymous play, the Sa Chen-jen yeh tsuan pi-t'ao hu 腊真人煉丹碧桃花, traditionally dated to the Yuan, is available in several late editions.

107. See note 80.

109. The activities of both Lū Yūan-su and Lū T'ai-ku are documented in Wei Liao-weng 萬旅翁 (1178–1237), Ho-shan ta ch'iu-chen 鶴山大全集 (SPTK ed.), 42.3b–6a. Note that only Lū Yūan-su is indexed in the Sung biographical index of Ch'ang Pi-te, Wang Te-i, et al., 1974–76. In a conversation late in March of 1981 at the Harvard-Yenching Library, Wang Te-i acknowledged that lacunae such as this could be amended easily once the resources of the Tao-tsang are taken into account.

110. For a systematic presentation on the rituals of ordination following one's decision to “ch'u-chia” 出家 (lit., “to leave home,” i.e., to become a devotee), see the HY 1226 T'ai-shang ch'u-chia ch'uan-tu i 太上出家儀 of Chia Shan-hsiang 賈善翔 (fl. 1086). See also Ozaki Masaharu 1982.

111. Note that these accounts are not indexed in the Harvard-Yenching Index concordance to the hagiographies.

112. The Kao-tao chuan is among those hagiographies reconstructed in Yen I-p'ing 1974. See also Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:241.

113. A separate collection of Chang Shang-ying's encomia is found in HY 310 (see note 51).

114. HY 1214, 3.1a–3a. Wang's text concerns the Lo-t'ien chiao 天醮. For discussions on the various types of chiao-fêtes, see Li Hsien-chang 1968 and Liu Chih-wan 1974. Wang Ch'in-jo's role in promoting the veneration of a guardian spirit to the Sung court is discussed in Chapter 2.

115. HY 1214, 10.4a. In a study of the legacy of Taoist ritual music, Ch'en Kuo-fu (1981) offers a collation of the incantation sequences found in HY 1214 Tao-men ting-chih, HY 1216 Tao-men t'ung-chiao pi-yung chi. HY 508 Wu-shang huang-lu ta-chai li-ch'eng i, and HY 607 Yu-yin fa-shih (see note 51). A variant edition of the Tao-men ting-chih in the British Library (Or. 15111.a.13,14) actually includes the set of incantations, together with neumatic notation, as recorded in HY 607 Yu-yin fa-shih. Also of significance is the attribution of a 1201 compiler's note to a disciple T'ai-huan 太煥 rather than to Lū Yūan-su (HY 1214, 6.15b). On this edition, see Boltz 1986f. See also SKCS 3075.

116. Note also the undated preface to the Wu-shang hun-tun i-ch'i t'ien-shu 無上混沌一氣天書 in HY 1158, 41.1a–2a, composed by Li T'ieh-ming 李鐵銘 of the sacred Celestial Master site, Ch'ing-ch'eng Shan 青城山 (west of Ch'eng-tu).

117. For the entire preface, see HY 1158, 45.1a–7a.
118. See the *Tzu-t'ing chui-fa pu-tuan ta-fa* in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yuan* 217–218 and the reference to the *Tzu-t'ing chui-lao fa* as one of 39 ritual traditions in the HY 1472 *T'ien-huang chi-hao t'ai-ch'ing yu-ts'e* of Chu Ch'uan (1378–1448), 3.27a (see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations).

119. *Ta Ming hui-tien*, comp. Li Tung-yang 李東陽; ed. Shen Ming-hsing 申明行, 93.2a.

120. HY 1458, 1.34a–38b, corresponds to HY 317; 2.76a–86b to HY 1291 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chun ch'i-hsieh she-chiao k'o*; and 2.86a–95b to HY 1292 *Ling-chi chen-chun Chu-sheng T'ang ling-ch'ien*. Further discussion of HY 1458 is included in Chapter 2.

121. HY 1458, 3.10b.

122. See, for example, HY 1458, 2.6a–16a, corresponding to HY 473 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chun chi-hsieh she-chiao k'o*; 2.16a–45b to HY 474 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chun li-yuan wen*; and 2.45b–60a to HY 475 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chun ch'i-cheng hsing-teng i*. Additional resources on this cult are discussed below in Chapters 2 and 4.

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124. The motives of traditional historiography are examined in Twitchett 1961.

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

126. This discussion is a revised version of an entry on this text submitted to *The Indiana Companion.*

128. According to Wu’s preface on p. 2a, the seals vanished in a flash of lightning during a thunderstorm two years after Chang’s disciples had established a shrine in his honor and had been granted an official tablet by the Yuan court. Chao is reported thereafter to have split open a jujube tree by means of thunder and carved new seals from it. The assumption is that Chao was among the disciples in residence at Wu-tang Shan.

129. This may refer to the Yü-ssu Shan east of Lake Tung-t‘ing (Hunan), which is quite a distance from Wu-tang Shan in the northwest corner of Hupeh. Yü-ssu is also an alternative name given Wan-wei Shan 花委山 of Chekiang, which is located not far from Fou-yün Shan, where Chao apparently finished his hagiography. I am more inclined to think it is the latter. Wan-wei Shan stands east of K‘uai-ch‘i會稽, and Fou-yün Shan is located a short distance southwest of Ch‘ang-hsing長興. On the former, see Ku Tsu-yü, Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao 諸史方輿考, 89, 3732, and on the latter Shen I-chi, ed., Che-chiang t‘ung-chih 浙江通志, p. 434a. Chao Tao-i’s retirement site may also have been Yü-ssu Shan of central Kiangsi, long famed for its network of caverns and well known as a refuge for many transcendents.

130. See the discussion of HY 769 in Chapter 3 under Historiography.

131. This colophon is printed after the table of contents for the HY 298 Hou-chi but does not in fact refer to anything other than the initial T‘ung-chien anthology. A separately issued edition of the entire corpus printed in Shanghai (Ai-li Yüan Wen-hai Ko 愛麗宮文海閣, 1936), moves the colophon to the end of the Hou-chi supplement. This is the edition, minus some of the supporting calligraphic materials, that is reprinted in the Tao-tsang ching-hua 道藏精華, series 10, no. 1, with a preface added by Hsiao T‘ien-shih 蕭天石. I am grateful to Michel Strickmann for confirming the filiation of these editions (personal communication, 4 June 1982).

132. See note 47 on the source of Lin Ling-su’s biography.

133. HY 1026, 100.2b–32a; this work is discussed in Chapter 5. A Hsüan-yüan Huang-t‘i chuan 斬韓黃帝傳 is also printed in Sun Hsing-yen 孫惺尹 (1753–1818), P‘ing-chin kuan ts‘ung-shu 平津館叢書. Liu Shih-p’ei (1936) devotes a large part of his commentary on Chao Tao-i’s hagiography to a collation of the textual variants found in Sun’s edition. This edition might also be compared with the two copies of the text in the Palace Museum Library of Taipei. One is a manuscript version that came from the Yang-hsin Tien 養心殿 Imperial Library and the other is a Ming Wan-li (1573–1619) printing from the Chao-jen Tien 昭仁殿 Imperial Library. The commentary in these redactions is far more extensive than that of the Tao-tsang edition. See note 230.
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134. Hagiographies specializing in the Ch’üan-chen tradition are discussed in Chapter 2, section 4.

135. HY 297, 5.11b.

136. In the National Central Library of Taipei there is a very interesting Ming woodblock edition of the Li-shih hsien t’i-tao t’ung-chien in 36 chüan. This redaction opens with the colophon that precedes the Hou-chi in the Tao-tsang. A portion of the biographies of divine women from the Hou-chi is incorporated in ch. 1–4, and the contents of the Hsi-chi are found in ch. 35–36. An additional three biographies complete ch. 36, including that of Chao I-chen. The only clues to the origins of the edition are found on the opening pages of ch. 15, 29, and 30. Three times the collator is identified as the eminent Li Chih (1527–1602), on whom, see Hok-lam Chan 1980.

137. The two texts that Ch’en Pao-kuang presumably had in mind were Chi K’ang’s Sheng-hsien kao-shih chuan 聖賢高士傳 (a reconstructed edition is included in Mao Kuo-han’s Yu-han shan-fang chi i-shu 玉函山房(gcf%) and Wu Yün’s Shen-hsien k’o-hsüeh lun 神仙可學論 (see van der Loon 1984:129).

138. SKCS 2955.

139. See van der Loon 1984:102 on the variant classifications of the Chiang Huai i-jen lu.

140. The remaining two episodes concern those active during the closing years of the T’ang (618–907).


142. SKCS 3080.


144. On Lo Mao-teng, see Dudbridge 1978: 59–62. I am grateful to Piet van der Loon for calling this discussion to my attention.

145. Illustrations are available in a Ming woodblock edition of this text entitled Hsin-k’o ch’u-hsiang tseng-pu 搜神大全. This edition is cited in the Naikaku bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku 内閣文庫漢籍分類目録, p. 285, where it is erroneously attributed to Kan Pao.

146. Li Hsien-chang (1956) concludes that this text contains material dating to the Yuan, primarily on the basis of the heading “Sheng-ch’ao” 飛朝 that precedes honorary titles bestowed by the Mongol court. But the ci-
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tation of an entry from the *Kuo-ch’ao hui-yao* (HY 1466, 2.11b) concerning a title granted in 1017 suggests that the earliest redaction may have appeared during the Sung. Li’s essay takes into account the relation between this text and the 7-ch. *San-chiao yuán-liu sou-shen ta-ch’üan***

, edited and published by Yeh Te-hui 葉德輝 (1864–1927) in 1909 at Ch’ang-sha, and proposes that the two were ultimately derived from a common source. There are significant differences in the organization and content of the works, but a collation of like passages reveals the derivative nature of Yeh’s edition. See also the discussion in Sakai Tadao 1960:251–257. The text Yeh reprinted was supplied by Miao Ch’üan-sun (1844–1919), with the understanding that it was a Ming reprint of the Yuan woodblock entitled *Hua-hsiang sou-shen kuang-chi***

 that Mao Chin 毛信 (1598–1659) had cited in his *Chi-ku Ko Sung Yüan pi-pen shu-mu***

 According to van der Loon, the edition Yeh actually published was one that had been printed in Chien-yang 建陽 (Fukien) at the beginning of the 17th century (personal communication, 3 June 1984). Yeh’s edition has recently been reprinted as an independent volume (Taipei, 1980) and as vol. 12 of the *Tao-chiao wen-hsien***

 . I am grateful to Ursula Cedzich of the University of Würzburg for supplying me with the data on this edition. An even more comprehensive hagiography covering classical, Buddhist, and Taoist traditions is the *Li-tai shen-hsien tung-chien***

 compiled by Hsu Tao 胡道 (1667–1715) and reedited in 1700 by the 54th Celestial Master, Chang Chi-tsung 張繼宗 (1667–1715) and Huang Chang-lun 黃常倫.

147. The dates given in this text figure prominently in calendars of holy days that are printed in two contemporary sources, the HY 1470 *Chu-shen sheng-tan jih yü-hsia chi teng-chi***

 and the HY 1472 *T’ien-huang chih-tao t’ai-ch’ing yu-ts’e***

 . See also HY 482 *Chu-shih sheng-tan ch’ung-chü cho-hsien i***

 .

148. See van der Loon 1984:155 on the *Han T’ien-shih nei-chuan***

 and *Han T’ien-shih wai-chuan***

 cited in the bibliography of the *T’ung-chih***

 (1161).

149. Note that the postface dated 1607, 4.18a, emphatically asserts that the lineage has been in residence at Lung-hu Shan since the end of the Han. This issue was the subject of a recent seminar offered by Schipper, summarized in his “Les Maitres Celestes à l’époque Song” (1982–83).

150. HY 1451, 2.2b; see also HY 296, 18.3a. According to Schipper (1982–83:135), this genealogy is based on a text that is no longer extant
but which has been incorporated more fully in Chao Tao-i’s work.

151. HY 1451, 2.10a. Chang Lu promoted the site as one in harmony with the cosmos, where many secret texts had been hidden. He is said to have urged his son to make the move so that their teachings could be spread more widely. It is of interest that the patriarchy was initially and throughout most of its history based on primogeniture, but that Chang Sheng was the third son of Chang Lu. This may have encouraged other branches of the family to assert competing patriarchies. Such a possibility would perhaps explain the discrepancy in the name that Tu Kuang-t’ing, writing in W. Shu, gives for the 18th patriarch and that given in the genealogy and Chao Tao-i. This discrepancy is pointed out in Schipper 1982–83:134.

152. HY 296, 19.3b.

153. HY 296, 19.5b-6a. Compare HY 1451, 2.13a, which says nothing about an assembly of disciples and simply refers to his retirement from the Sui court with the ambiguous phrase huan shan (he returned to the mountains). While Lung-hu Shan may be inferred, the context suggests that Sung Shan may be the intended point of reference.

154. Compare HY 590 Tao-chiao ling-yen chi, 11.5b, of Tu Kuang-t’ing with the text in HY 296, 19.9a. While Schipper (1982–83:134) takes these citations into account, he concludes on the basis of other passages in HY 590 that the Celestial Masters become more or less permanently associated with Lung-hu Shan circa 770, shortly after the An Lu-shan rebellion. Note that the earliest stone inscription recorded at the site in the Lung-hu Shan chih compiled in 1314 dates to 950 and concerns the restoration of the founder’s shrine (see n. 157).

155. Writings ascribed to Chang Chi-hsien are discussed in Chapter 4, section 18. On Chang’s successors during the Southern Sung, see Matsumoto Koichi 1982.

156. HY 1451, 3.1b–6b; compare with the shorter entry in HY 296, 19.11a–13a.

157. See the Lung-hu Shan chih, compiled in 1314 by Yuan Ming-shan (1269–1322) and enlarged after 1445 by Chou Chao. Yuan contributes accounts for the first 37 patriarchs, and Chou adds biographies for the 38th to 45th patriarchs. Lou Chin-yuan compiled the Ch’ung-hsiu Lung-hu Shan chih in 1740 on the basis of what remained of a 10-ch. topography by the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yu-ch’u (1361–1410). A copy of this edition is available in the P’u-pan Collection of the Asia Library at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. The last patriarch documented in it is the 55th, Chang Hsi-lin (d. 1727). A reedition of this text with a colophon by Shu Yün-pen dated 1833 includes accounts for four additional patriarchs (rpt. Tao-chiao wen-hsien, vols. 2–3).
158. The 62nd patriarch’s text is included in Oyanagi Shigeta 1934:347–356. Selections from the 64th patriarch’s compilation appear in the 1978 issues of *Tao-chiao wen-hua* 道教文化 [Journal of Taoist Culture], printed in Taipei. The early accounts appear to be drawn both from HY 296 and HY 1451. See also the biographies included in the catechism compiled by Li Shu-huan (1971: 144–155).

159. For a concise survey of Ch’üan-chen influence, see Demiéville 1957. This article was an important stimulus to a comparative study of representations of the Ch‘u‘an-chen patriarchs in drama and hagiography by David Hawkes (1981). Monographic studies of Ch‘u‘an-chen include Ch‘en Yüan 1941 (rpt., 1962), Kubo Noritada 1967b, and Yao Tao-chung 1980b. I am grateful to Chan Hok-lam for the latter reference. Ch‘en Yüan’s work is particularly noteworthy for the epigraphic data included. A number of Ch‘u‘an-chen monuments are also transcribed in Ts’ai Mei-piao 1955; critically reviewed in Iriya Yoshitaka 1956.

160. As Hawkes (1981: 166) states, the term *chin-lien* has its origin in the Golden Lotus Hall 金蓮堂 that a patron named Chou Po-t‘ung 仇伯通 had set up for the founder Wang Che and his followers in Ning-hai 宁海 (Shantung) in 1169; see HY 297, 1.5b. The origin of the name Ch‘u‘an-chen, according to hagiographic legend, dates to 1167 when Wang Che first arrived at Ning-hai. Before his first disciple, Ma Yu 马钰 (known initially as Ma I-fu 马宜甫), even met Wang, he is said to have dreamed that a crane burst out of the ground at a spot in his southern garden. When the master arrived and they began to select a site for his retreat, Wang reportedly pointed to the very same piece of ground that had figured in Ma’s dream and he immediately gave it the name Ch‘u‘an-chen (Complete Perfection); see HY 297, 1.4a.

161. See Oyanagi 1934: 91–101 for the variant schools associated with these early Ch‘u‘an-chen disciples. The dates given for Wang Che and the seven disciples are those traditionally recorded; but in four instances, the precise dates given by month and day fall at the very end of the lunar year, thus requiring an adjustment in the date given according to the solar calendar: (1) Wang Che’s date of birth, the 22nd of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to 11 January 1113; (2) Ma Yu’s date of death, the 22nd of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to 5 February 1184; (3) Sun Pu-erh’s date of death, the 29th of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to 12 February 1184; and (4) Hao Ta-t‘ung’s date of death, the 30th of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to 23 January 1213.

162. The preface is signed by a “Ch‘ang-ch‘un hu-t‘ien” 长春壇天 of P’ing-shui 平水 (Shansi), whom the editors of the “Tao-tsang t‘i-yao hsüan-k‘an” (1984.2: 2) identify as Mao Shou-ta 毛秀大.

163. These texts are listed in the memorial inscription composed for Ch’in by Yuan Hao-wen 元好问 (1190–1257), the full text of which is preserved
in his I-shan wen-chi 邁山文集 (SPTK ed.), 31.12a–14b. The passage concerning the five texts is missing in an abbreviated version of the inscription printed in HY 971 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu 甘水仙源錄, 7.24a–26b, on which see Chapter 3, section 2. As Schipper (1981–82:116) points out, these same texts are among the last cited in the catalogue of lost Tao-tsang texts, CT 1430 (HY 1419) Tao-tsang ch’üeh-ching mu-lu 道藏闕經目録. See also “Tao-tsang t’i-yao hsuan-k’an” 1984.3:98.

164. The first biography opens with a report on Wang Hsiian-fu’s 王玄甫 (alias Tung-hua) instruction under Pai-yin shang-chen (Supreme Perfected of the White Clouds). The preface of 1241 simply states that the heritage of Ch’üan-chen originated with Tung-hua but, as the “Tao-tsang t’i-yao hsuan-k’an” (1984.2:3) notes, the text itself ultimately traces the legacy back to Lord Lao, the Most High. Although no biography for Lord Lao is included, the tsan (encomium) accompanying Tung-hua’s biography traces his teachings from Chin-mu 金母 (Golden Matriarch) to Tung-hua’s tutor, Pai-yin shang-chen (HY 173, 1.2a).


166. The Pai-yin Kuan in Peking was established as the headquarters of the Chung-kuo Tao-chiao hsieh-hui 中國道教協會 (Chinese Taoist Association) in 1957. This affiliation has only recently been reestablished. I am grateful to the current Secretary-General of the Association, Wang Wei-yeh 王偉業, and the research associate Ms. Wang I-o 王宜娥 for allowing my husband and me to visit the shrine on 13 June 1983, while it was still under restoration. The iconography of the modern-day Pai-yin Kuan, some of which is pictured in a recent publication of the Association, the [Pei-ching] Pai-yin Kuan [北平]白雲觀 (Peking, 1983), bears comparison with that documented in Oyanagi 1934 and Tokiwa Daijō 1941, supp. vol. 12, plates 37–41. It is notable that whereas Ch’iu is the central image in this shrine, it is Lü Yen who holds that position in another temple dedicated to the Lung-men branch, that is, the Ching Chung Koon 青松觀 of the New Territories, Kowloon.
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167. See P'u Chiang-ch'ing 1936 and Richard F. S. Yang 1958. As Hawkes (1981:169) also points out, the "pa-hsien" invoked in the early tsa-chù scripts never matched what has come to be regarded as the conventional ensemble: Chung-li Ch'uan 鍾離權, Lü Tung-pin 蘭洞賓, Li T'ieh-kuai 李鐵拐, Ts'ao Kuo-ch'iu 曹國舅, Ho Hsien-ku 赫仙姑, Han Hsiang-tzu 潘湘子, Chang Kuo-lao 張果老, and Lan Ts'ai-ho 潘采和. This particular group was not actually specified in any literary work until Wu Yuan-t'ai's 吳元泰 Pa-hsien ch'ü-ch'u tung-yu chi 八仙出處 東遊記, which appeared in the latter half of the 16th century.

168. Compare the account in HY 305, 7.8b–9a, with that in HY 297, 1.2b–3a. It appears that, prior to his reported encounter with Lü, Wang experienced a sort of mid-life crisis and began behaving in a way that encouraged the locals of Kuan-chung 關中 (Shensi) to label him "hai-feng" 海風 (wild and crazy). The pose of madness influenced not only the writings of Wang and his disciple Ma Yü but also the plays about them, on which see Hawkes 1981:155ff. As mentioned earlier, the recipient of the T'ung-ch'u revelations, Yang Hsi-chen, also adopted this posture, one many religious figures in Chinese history favored. An earlier example is an acolyte of T'ao Hung-ch'ing named Huan K'ai, the subject of Strickmann 1984 (see note 95).

169. See note 344.

170. On the Mongol proscription of Taoist texts, see Chavannes 1904, Kubo Noritada 1968, and Thiel 1961. As Chavannes notes, wall paintings illustrating the Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua-t'u are known to have been popular in temples of the 13th century (see also Waley 1931:17). Such paintings could evidently also be found in the 18th century, judging from the account on the Yuan-t'ung Kuan 元通觀 in the T'ai-yüan fu-chih 太原府志, compiled in 1783 by T'an Shang-chung 譚尚忠 (48.10b–11a).

171. On the history of the text, see Kenneth K. S. Ch'en 1945. As Ch'en notes, a Chin-ch'üeh hsüan-yüan T'ai-shang Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua-t'u shuo 金闕玄元太上老君八十一化圖說, dating to 1598, was reported to be in the Museum für Volkerkunde of Berlin (see Mueller 1911:409–411). Fukui Kojun (1957:307ff.) describes two editions in his own library, which are the subject of further study in Yoshioka Yoshi-toyo 1959:172ff. See also Kubo Noritada 1972. Lu Kung (1982) describes a recently discovered edition printed in Liaoning in 1532.

172. Of considerable interest are the popular novels based on the Seven Perfected, editions of which correspond rather faithfully to the chronology established by Li Tao-ch'ien. Werner Eichhorn (1979) summarizes the contents of an edition entitled Pei-p'ai ch'i-chen hsiu-tao shih-chuan 北派七真修道史傳 in Tao-tsang ching-hua 道藏精華, series 8, no. 10 (Taipei: Tzu-yu 自由, 1965). According to the editor of the series, Hsiao T'ien-shih 蕭天石, this edition dates to 1893. It was compiled by Huang Yung-liang 黃永亮 and is also known by the title Ch'i-chen...
yin-kuo 七真因果. The *Chin-lien ch'i-chen chuan-i* 金蓮七真傳義, edited by Ho Chi-sheng 何維生 (Taipei: Shanghai Printing Co., Ltd., 1979), is also said to be based on the work of Huang Yung-liang. Starting in 1979, this edition was published serially in *Tao-chiao wen-hua* 道教文化, the publication offices of which were originally located at the Chueh-hsiu Kung 聖峰宮 of Taipei. Curiously, a less colloquial, perhaps even earlier, edition entitled *Ch'i-chen yin-kuo chuan* 七真因果傳, appeared serially in the *Cheng-yen tsa-chih yüeh-k'an* 正言雜誌月刊 (1981–83), which became the new publication of the Chueh-hsiu Kung after it came under the leadership of Ch'en Tzu-ts'ung 陳子從. This is the same edition that has been published as the *Ch'i-chen shih-chuan* 七真史傳 (Taipei: Wu-chou 五洲出版社, 1977). Endres 1985 translates the illustrated *Ch'i-chen chuan* of Huang Yung-liang reprinted in 1969 and reissued in 1974 from the archives of the Ching Chung Koon 慶松觀 of Hong Kong. Texts with which this edition is collated include the versions printed in Taipei in 1965 and 1977. Among other sources noted by Endres is a Ming dynasty manuscript in the Taiwan National University Library, the *Ch'i-chen hsien-chuan* 七真仙傳 compiled during the Chin (1115–1234) by Chang Pang-chih 張邦直, enlarged by a disciple of Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193–1256) named Wang Sui 王梓 (d. 1243), and reedited by the Ch'üan-chen Master Li Ting 李鼎 (fl. 1241–1242). Unlike the novel, this text presents separate biographical accounts for Wang Che and the six male disciples. See note 387 regarding an 1821 *pao-chuan* version of the narrative text translated by Endres.

173. Li Tao-ch'ien's contributions are discussed further in Chapter 3 under Epigraphy.

174. Yang Hsi and Chang Tao-ling are well known as recipients of the Shang-ch'ing and Cheng-i scriptural traditions, respectively. On Cheng Ssu-yuan's role in the transmission of the Ling-pao legacy associated with Ko Hsüan 郭象, see Ōfuchi Ninji 1974 and Bokenkamp 1983:439, 450. Yin Hsi, the putative disciple of Lao-tzu, inspired a cult of his own at least as early as the T'ang. Generations of those heir to his teachings are traced in a compilation by Chu Hsiang-hsien (fl. 1279–1308), discussed in Chapter 3 under Epigraphy.

175. See Chapter 1, section 4.

176. The name of this deity is given as Chu Sui 車遂. As the one who immediately precedes, Tsu Shu in the history of the transmission of Ch'ing-wei, Ling-kuang sheng-mu is cited as the penultimate entry in the initial pantheon of HY 171, 5a–b. Note that the place name Kuei-yang ch'un was authorized from 1133 until the beginning of the Yuan (Ku Tsu-yü 1973:80.3451), although this episode is traditionally dated to T'ang Chao-tsung's 唐昭宗 reign (889–904). The incongruity suggests that the Tsu Shu legend may be a complete fabrication, the source of which
Notes to Chapter 2

177. The Primordial Goddess Wen Yung 文運元君 is the only divine being other than Tsu cited in the registers of all four scriptural traditions—always immediately preceding the entry for Tsu (HY 171, 8a, 8b, 10b, 11b).

178. For variant tabulations of the hierarchies associated with the Ch'ing-wei synthesis, see note 78. Filiation of the sources is considerably aided by a careful collation of various datable interpolations, such as modifications in honorific titles and amplification of the line of transmission.

179. Akizuki has written several articles on this topic, culminating in a monograph entitled Chūgoku kinsei Dokyo no keisei: Jomeido no kisoteki kenkyū (1978). See also further clarifications in Akizuki 1981 and 1982. For a concise summary of Akizuki 1966, see Paul Demiéville's entry in Revue bibliographique de Sinologie 1966–67 (Paris, 1980), no. 924. A study of an edition of the Kung-kuo ko 功過格 associated with the Ch'ing-ming Tao is found in Yoshioka 1970b:287ff. The earlier Hsiao-tao tradition is the subject of Schipper 1981, a revised version of which is forthcoming in Tantric and Taoist Studies, vol. 3, edited by Michel Strickmann. On the early history of the cult, see also Liu Ts’un-yan 1984a and 1985b. That Hsü's fame was established from Szechwan to Kiangsi seems to reflect the successful transmission of storytelling traditions from one waterway to the next. This phenomenon has been observed by many folklorists, including Wolfram Eberhard. For a summary of the literature bearing on Hsü Sun, see Eberhard 1968:399ff. The theme of ritual combat is one of the more pervasive if not definitive features in the development of Taoist ritual traditions. It is a subject that bears scrutiny in light of Joseph Fontenrose's 1959 study of the combat theme in Hellenic traditions.

180. Akizuki (1978:23–26) and Schipper (1981:103) suggest that this text preserves the essence of a lost work entitled [Hsi Shan] Shih-eh ch'un chuan 西山十翼君傳 by Hu Hui-ch'ao 胡惠超 (d. 703), who is credited with a revival of the cult (see below). See also the summary on HY 449 in "Tao-tsang t‘i-yao hsüan-k‘an," 1984.2:10–11. Compare one of the earliest citations of this text in HY 596 Hsien-yüan pien-chu 仙苑編珠, 3.20b, compiled by Wang Sung-nien 王松年 sometime after 921. For the bibliographic history of Hu Hui-ch’ao’s text during the Sung, see van der Loon 1984:127. Note also that a 2-ch. Shih-ebh ch'en-ch'an chuan ascribed to Yu Pien 余全 is listed in the bibliographic monograph of the Sung shih 東史 (ibid., p. 73). As Schipper (1981:107n18) points out, the hagiographies give various dates for Hsü’s ascent. HY 449 dates it to 292, but the accounts compiled after 1220 consistently place the event in 374, thus making Hsü 136 years old at the time. Schipper suggests that the date of Yüan-k‘ang 元康 2 (292) of HY 449 should be read Hsien-k‘ang 咸康 2 (336) but acknowledges that
the 374 date is still the one most commonly cited.

181. As Schipper (1981:103) notes, Wu Meng is one of the exemplars highlighted in the ever-popular Erh-shih-ssu hsiao tableaux.

182. This tale is clearly an archetypal “demon story” (see note 71).


184. An anonymous Ming tsa-chü takes up this legend, under the fitting title of Hsu Chen-jen pa-chai fei-sheng 許真人抜宅飛昇 [The Perfected Hsü Snatches Up His Household and Soars Upward], in the Ku-pen hsüch’ü ts’ung-k’an ssü-chi 古本戯曲叢刊第四集 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1958). Another work that was also clearly inspired by the hagiographic tradition is a 15-ch. novel entitled Hsü Chiung-yang te-tao ch’in-chiao 許旌陽得道擒蛟鐵記. The earliest extant edition of this work, by Teng Chih-mo 鄭志謙, dates to 1603. Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) adapted this text as a short story for two different anthologies. The most accessible is the Ching-shih t’ung-yen 鑄世通言, annotated by Yen Tun-i嚴敦義 (Peking: Jen-min renmin chubanshe, c1956; rpt., 1980), pp. 593-647. Another redaction is found in Feng’s San-chiao ou-nien 三教偏佔, the only extant copy of which is in the Toyo bunka kenkyujo 東洋文化研究所 of Tokyo University. See the discussions in Hanan 1973:24, 75 and 1981:103. According to Li T’ien-i (1957), the content of the two received versions of Feng’s story is identical, but the headings differ. The organization of the material is just the reverse of that found in HY 449, with the theme of filiality taking precedence over Hsü’s demonifuge exploits. See also Ono 1982.

185. The entire Yii-lung chi 卭陵志 occupies ch. 31-36 in HY 263. The sections under discussion here are ch. 33 Ching-yang Hsü Chen-chün chuan 旌陽許真君傳 and ch. 34 Hsü Chen-chün chuan 許真君傳 on the history of the cult, and ch. 35-36 Hsiao-yao Shan ch’ün-hsien chuan 逍遥山神仙傳, the supplementary biographies. For further discussion of HY 263, see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations. Pai Yu-ch’an’s literary legacy is discussed further in Chapter 4, section 12.

186. HY 263, 34.1a. Note that the first entry in the Yii-lung chi (HY 263, 31.1a) is an account of the Yii-lung Kung 宮 (Palace of Jade Beneficence), as the, Yii-lung Kuan was relabeled by decree in 1116. See also the entry entitled “Hsü Chen-chün” 許真君 in the I-chien chih, p. 759, concerning the active worship of Hsü at the Yii-lung Kung.

187. As Akizuki (1978:50-61) points out, Ching-yang is historically unattested as a place name in Szechwan. He suggests that it may be an error for Te-yang 陵陽 district in Han-chou 漢州 (Szechwan) or that it may refer to the Ching-yang district of Ching-chou 靖州 (Hupeh), which fell
under the jurisdiction of the Shu Han 蜀漢 kingdom (221–263).

188. Sung shih 20.385. As Akizuki (1978:30–31) suggests, Hui-tsung's homage to Hsü Sun may have been encouraged by Wang Tzu-hsi 王仔耆, a prognosticator and healer who claimed to be the recipient of Hsü's personal instruction on ritual. Hui-tsung summoned him several times to court, and a year after he had canonized Hsü, he gave Wang the title of "T'ung-miao hsien-sheng" 通妙先生. When Lin Ling-su gained favor at court, Wang was accused of wrongdoing and was sent to prison, where he died (Sung shih 462:13528).

189. See, for example, HY 562 Ling-pao ching-ming hsin-hsiu chiu-lao shen-yin fu-mo pi-fa 禪定明新修九老神印伏魔秘法, dated 1131, and the discussion in Akizuki 1978:31–33.

190. See note 180. Note that, according to this late biography, Hu is also credited with ending what he construed to be "perverse sacrifices" (yin-ssu 恶祀) at Yu-chang. It is reported that when he found the people propitiating a malign one-legged spirit before a camphor tree, Hu condemned it with a talisman, chopped it into firewood, and burned the remains, after which he established a legitimate temple on the site (HY 263, 36.8b). Taoist communities have long been known to exercise whatever control they could over the "perverse" sacrificial rites indigenous to their region. The early history of these efforts at reform is discussed in Stein 1979 and Miyakawa 1979. The threat of human sacrifices, the power of shrines to wayward spirits, and the destruction of those shrines are popular subjects of the I-chien chih anthology, e.g., pp. 405–406, 1235–1236, 1238–1239, and 1497–1498. Often the state and local Taoist officials saw eye to eye on the need to curtail practices perceived to pose a threat to social and political order. Even after a Taoist parish had lost its vitality, the temple walls that remained could still serve as a mouthpiece for the state in defining acceptable and unacceptable religious practices. For example, on 20 May 1982, at the Ch'ing-yang Kung 青羊宮 in Ch'eng-tu, the administrative office of the Wen-hua kung-yuan 文化公園, the site of the temple, posted a sign citing regulations to take effect upon the restoration of this famous shrine, curtailing the "superstitious activities" of lawless sorcerers and any others attempting to turn a profit at the site by peddling "tools of superstition," such as incense, candles, and paper money (photographed on site, 26 June 1983). Anna Seidel (1978:430) cites Clarence B. Day's report of a similar interdiction issued by the Kuomintang in 1928, effective throughout Kwangsi Province.

191. The Yu-lung chi 自稱 itself was apparently compiled sometime after 1220, the date given for the second composition in the work (HY 263, 31.3b).

192. Schipper (1981:108n23) suggests the text may have been the result of a fu-chi 扶乩, or spirit-writing session. It is of interest in this regard that a set of 120 oracular verses (sheng-ch'ien 神籤) attributed to Hsü were
said to have been used at the shrine set up by Hsü’s nephew after his uncle’s ascension (HY 263, 34.1a; HY 448, 2.13a–b). Note also that a *Shih-erh chen-chün ch’ien-p’u* is listed in 12th-century bibliographies (van der Loon 1984:73).


194. Note that the date 1224 cited in the opening episode of the colophon, concerning Hsü Sun’s epiphany in Chin-ling, is not to be misconstrued as the date of its composition.

195. The twelve perfected lords in the title refer to Hsü and his eleven disciples. As noted earlier, this is the title by which a composition of Hu Hui-ch’ao was known to have circulated (see note 180), but it is unlikely that this was the text Sung had at hand if the reedition of HY 448 is at all representative of that particular manuscript.


197. HY 448, 3.23a: “” was the sort of response he claimed to have gotten in his attempt to collect subscriptions over the previous five to seven years.

198. The epithet “Wan-shou” was added in 1116, when the shrine was relabeled a *kung* (HY 263, 34.3a). See Akizuki 1978: 39–43 on the location of Hsiao-yao Shan vis-à-vis Hsi Shan. The former is popularly said to be on the sunward side of the latter, and it seems to have become the place name of preference with regard to Hsü’s shrine by the 13th century, if not earlier. For the physical layout of the Yü-lung Kung from the Sung to 1871, see *Hsiao-yao Shan Wan-shou Kung chihs*, compiled by Chin Kuei-hsin and Ch’i Feng-yuan (1878), 1.20b–37a. This monograph, discussed in Akizuki 1978: 63–86, is an invaluable collection of hagiographic and literary sources related to the Hsü Sun cult.

199. The text was still apparently passed off as the work of Hsü’s disciple, for Sun refers to it as “the verse of the Perfected Shih of Hsi Shan” (HY 448, 3.23b).

200. As suggested above, internal evidence seems to support the date 1247, also accepted by Akizuki (1978: 14). Sun Yüan-ming’s opening statement in the postscript, however, proves puzzling. He states that he is writing over one thousand years after Hsü Sun’s ascension. Thus, one would expect his postscript to date sometime after either 1292 or 1374, depending on whether Sun places Hsü’s apotheosis in the year 292 or 374. The text with which he was presented dates the event to 374. If Sun supported that date, he would presumably have been writing in the ting-wei year of 1427, but if he believed Hsü’s ascent to have taken place in 292 instead of 374, then a postscript written over one thousand years later in the year ting-wei would presumably date to 1307. Given his position at the Yü-lung Kung, it is not likely that Sun would speak casually about the date of an event he was in the midst of celebrating. Nonethe-
less, it also seems unlikely that a contemporary of the compiler alias Shih Ch’en (fl. 1224–1250) would have appeared at Sun’s doorstep in 1307, much less in 1427. There is always the possibility, of course, that Sun’s account is fictive, and, although he may have thought himself to have received Chia Shou-ch’eng as a visitor, it may very well have been his avatar whom Sun actually invoked during his preparations for the rites of commemoration. No doubt his own prestige was enhanced considerably by the announcement of the prophetic gift to the temple, regardless of the true origins of the text. The resolution of this contradiction, in short, awaits the discovery of further data on Sun Yuan-ming and the history of this text.

201. Closely cognate to this text is an illustrated biography of Hsū Sun entitled Chen-hsien shih-chi 真仙事蹟, presented to the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, by Mrs. P. Yakovleva. The text was compiled by Wang Kung-kuei of I- yang 江 (Kiangsi) in 1546, and the series of album-leaf illustrations were provided by the landscape and portrait painter Hsieh Shih-ch’ en 謝時臣 (1487–1567+). This set, which is not listed in any of the available inventories of Hsieh’s works, appears to have been prepared as a gift for Ming Shih-tsung 明世宗 (r. 1522–1566), whose patronage of Taoist ritual commemorations is well known (Liu Ts’un-yan 1971:35, 42, 55ff.). I am grateful to Mrs. Winnie Louis for kindly supplying me with copies of the original text and her working translation, done while she was on the staff of the Museum of Anthropology. A full collation of this text with the corpus of hagiographic materials on Hsū is under way. For a discussion of two later paintings based on the myth of Hsū’s ascension, see Andrews 1984. Apparently the earliest known painting on this theme is the Hsū Chen-ch’iin pa-chai ch’eng-hsien t’u 許真君拔宅成仙圖 by Huang Ch’üan黃 (fl. 919–960) of Ch’eng-tu, cited in the catalogue of Hui-tsung’s collection of paintings, the Hsüan-ho hua- p’u 宣和畫譜, 16.257, classified under the category of “hua-niao” 花鳥 (flowers and birds).

202. Chapter 1 is devoted to biographies; chapter 2 includes texts attributed to Hsū Sun, Hu Hui-ch’ ao, and Kuo P’ u; and chapters 3 through 6 are dialogic treatises. The latter are discussed below in Chapter 4, section 20. Note that a 1452 edition of the Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch’u-an-shu, collated by Shao I-cheng, is listed in the Naikaku bunko Kan-seki bunrui mokuroku 內閣文庫漢籍分類目錄, p. 321. Wang Chung-min (1983:412) also makes note of another late corpus of literature on the Ching-ming cult, the 15-ch. Hsū Chen-ch’iin Ching-ming tsung-chiao lu 許真君淨明宗教錄, with a 1-ch. supplement entitled Ching-ming kuei-i nei-ching 淨明歸一心經 and a preface by Yang Ehr-tseng 楊爾曾, dated 1603.
203. Akizuki 1978:141–155. For the distinction between two individuals with the name Liu Yü, see note 59.


205. The stories here on human sacrifice and fox spirits bring to mind many similar tales in the I-chien chih (see note 190).

206. HY 1102, 1.23b: “ching-t’ien ch’ung-tao, chi-sheng tu-ssu.”

207. I have been unable to identify Lan the Perfected. Ch’ang-ch’un Kung may refer to the original residence of Ch’iu Ch’u-chi at the Pai-yün Kuan. The title Ta Ch’ang-ch’un Kung 大長春宮 was bestowed in 1215 on the hall in which Ch’iu settled, according to an inscription dated 1295 (Oyanagi 1934:15–16).

208. Note that the names of some of Hsu Hui’s disciples are revealed in the titles of the verses recorded. As Akizuki (1978:155–161) observes, the biographies of Liu Yü, Huang Yuan-chi, and Hsu Hui in the Hsiao-yao Shan Wan-shou Kung chih, ch. 5, are followed by those of Chao I-chên 趙宜真 (d. 1382) and his disciple Liu Yuan-jan 劉淵然, (1351–1432). Although Chao, according to this 19th-century text (5.32a), was revered as the heir to the Ching-ming legacy, there is no mention of any contact with Hsu Hui. A disciple of Liu Yuan-jan by the name of Shao I-cheng 祝以正 compiled a later collection of Ching-ming materials (see note 202). On both Chao and Liu, see Chapter 4, section 17.

209. See, for example, HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 125, 219.

210. Three are listed in Ch’ou Te-tsai 1980:80–82.

211. Cited in Jen Chi-yü 1981:46, reviewed in Liu Ts’un-yan 1983. I am indebted to Professor Chiang Ying-hao 蔣英豪 of the Chinese University of Hong Kong for reference to Liu’s review. An entry on the Wan-shou Kung is also found in the Chung-kuo ming-sheng tzu-tien 中國名勝詞典 (1981:525). One of the latest accounts of religious activity in the region is found in the Hsing-an hui-lan 刑案匯覽, a corpus of legal cases compiled ca. 1866; see Bodde and Morris 1973:272–273.

212. Note the entries of Yuéh Shih 太平寰宇記 (930–1007), T’ai-p’ing huan-yü chi 太平寰野記, 110.6b; and Wang Hsiang-chih 王象之 (fl. 1196–1221), Yu-ti chi-sheng 奧地紀勝, 29.5b, on Pao-kai Shan 灰山 (alternate name for Hua-kai Shan), regarding the shrine of Fou-ch’iu from which Wang and Kuo were said to have made their ascent. Lord Fou-ch’iu is traditionally dated to the reign of Chou Ling-wang 蘇令王 (ca. 550 B.C.E.). The precise identities of the two disciples vary from one account to the next.

213. Although the temple they visited is unnamed, the most prominent site appears to have been the Ch’iao-hsien Kuan 榮仙觀, which in 1075 was renamed Ch’ung-hsien Kuan 神仙觀. The decree marking this name change is recorded in full, and this site also figures in the subse-
quent decrees of 1117 and 1137 (HY 777, 2.11b–15b).

214. See note 217 below on the Hsuan-miao Kuan.

215. The current title appears to have been devised upon the incorporation of the work in the Canon. It is not known what title was attached to the edition put out by Liu and Wang in 1261. The reference Chang Yen makes to the text in his preface uses the abbreviation Shih-shih [A Case History]. For accounts of Chang Yu-chu’s pilgrimages and ritual activities in the Hua-kai Shan region, see HY 1300 Hsien-ch’uan chi 見聞集, 3.21a–b, 3.33a–34b, 4.3a, 6.6b–7a, and 9.17a–b. This anthology is discussed in Chapter 4.

216. Liu and Wang indicate in their preface that accounts verifying the divine efficacy of the local guardians were in the Huang manuscript that they printed. Only two stories appear to be later interpolations, namely, those that cite the later Southern Sung reign titles of Ching-ting 景定 (1260–1264) and Hsien-ch’un 咸淳 (1265–1274). I am grateful to Robert Hymes for pointing out the Pao-yu 祆 (1253–1258) date in one of the entries (for both, see HY 777, 6.13a–14b), giving me cause to reevaluate the history of the text. For an introduction to the state’s relations with the elite of the Hua-kai region, see his dissertation, “Elite, State, and Locality in Sung China: A Study of Fu-ch’ou, Chiang-hsi” (University of Pennsylvania, 1979).

217. Only once, earlier in the text, is there any further mention of those connected with the T’ien-hsin legacy. In explanation of the origins of ritual texts, the interlinear commentary to Shen T’ing-jui’s (d. 985) Erh chen-ch’iu states: “The ritual texts encased in stone that Jao Tung-ch’i 饒洞氣 [sic] obtained at Hua-kai Shan and that Teng Yu-kung of this day and age promotes are precisely those [cited] here” (HY 777, 2.7b). The author of this commentary is unfortunately not identified. He appears at any rate to have been a contemporary of Teng Yu-kung. If we accept Teng’s dates as 1210–1279 (see note 65), that would date the commentator to the generation of Liu Hsiang and Wang K’o-ming. We do not know if Huang Mi-chien was of their generation, for they give no details about how they happened to acquire his work. Internal dates only tell us that the interlinear commentary must have been compiled sometime between 1138 and 1293. The terminus ad quem is determined by the citation of Kuang-ch’ang district 廣昌縣, which was not established until 1138 (cited 2.3a). The terminus ad quem is inferred from the citation of a Fu-ch’ou 撫州 temple by its current name of T’ien-ch’ing Kuan 天慶觀 (2.2b). This temple is among those the editors of Chang Yuan-shu’s 1185 text list as duplicate entries of Shen’s text (3.14b; see editor’s note, 3.15b). But in this citation the current name of the temple is given as Hsuan-miao Kuan 蕭妙觀, the temple that is known to have been under the supervision of K’ung Te-jung in 1391. According to the Chiang-hsi t’ung-chih 江西通志 (1881), 123.44a, the
Hsüan-miao Kuan of Fu-ch’ou was given its name during the Yuan. Another temple, situated just southwest of Fu-ch’ou, in Chi-an, was, according to the same source, known as T’ien-ch’ing Kuan from 1018 until 1293, when it was dubbed the Hsüan-miao Kuan. The chronology of name change at the temple of like name in Fu-ch’ou is in all likelihood identical.

218. HY 1466 *Sou-shen chi* (discussed in section 2 above), 4.18b, describes the unending stream of devotees who paid homage to the three guardians. Lord Fou-ch’iu is evoked in one of the Ch’ing-wei ritual texts in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yuan* 22.9a, and the three Perfected Lords of Hua-kai figure in a ritual honoring Tou-mu, avatar of Marici, as recorded in HY 1440 *Hsien-t’ien tou-mu tsou-kao hsüan-k’o* 天斗母 泰吉玄科, 3a. Note that the edition of HY 777 printed in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* is preceded by a scriptural recitation entitled *T’ai Hua-kai san-hsien chien-chun chieh-yuan mieh-tsui tu-jen hsin-ching* 太華蓋三仙 真君禱戒減罪度人心經. The three Perfected Lords are, moreover, regarded as the central patriarchs of the Tzu-t’ing chui-fa pu-tuan ta-fa 某庭追伐補闕大法 in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yuan* 217–218. This is apparently the only ritual manual associated with the cult to survive.

219. On the community at Lu Shan during Hui-yüan’s time, see Zürcher 1959:208–231. See also T. 2095 *Lu Shan chi* 鹿山記 of Ch’en Shun-yü 陳舜俞 (d. 1074) on both Buddhist and Taoist establishments at the site, including the T’ai-p’ing Kuan. This text is the subject of Reiter 1978 and 1980 and a variorum edition of it is found in Wu Tsung-tz’u, ed., *Lu Shan chih* 鹿山志, supp. vol. 11.

220. The shrine was first labeled kuan (abbey). In 1124 it was renamed kung 符 (palace); see HY 1276, 2.7a–b.

221. For chronicles of Lao-tzu based on this format, see Chapter 3, Historiography.

222. On the Envoy of the Nine Celestial Realms during Hsüan-tsung’s reign, see also Benn 1977:85ff.


224. HY 1276, 2.7b–8a.

225. For background on Chang Liu-sun and a translation of the stone inscription erected in honor of him at the Tung-yüeh Miao 東嶽廟 of Peking, see Ten Broeck and Yiu Tung 1950.

226. Note that, according to Albert H. Stone and J. Hammond Reed (1921:86–87), only the foundations of the drum and bell towers of this temple were found standing in the early part of this century.

227. Note, for example, the story attributed to the *I-chien chih* (HY 1276, 7.13a), which is apparently not in the current edition of the work.
Among the stories of the *I-chien chih* that do survive in the modern edition are two concerning Yeh I-wen’s (*tzu* Shen-yan) ability to frighten away baleful specters.

228. On Wang Ch’in-jo’s role in the manifestation of the ominous Celestial Script (*T’ien-shu*) of 1008, see Sun K’o-k’uan 1965:71ff., and Schmidt-Glintzer 1981. Discussions on this subject and the *I-sheng pao-te chuan* were led by Michel Soymie in a recent series of seminars, reports of which are found in Soymie 1974–75, 1975–76, and 1976–77.

229. The text found in *chüan* 103 of HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* merits collation with this 12th-century recension. Note that the title given there is *I-sheng pao-te ch’i-chun chuan* 翰聖保德真君傳, whereas Wang Ch’in-jo’s presentation statement (HY 1026, 103.29b; HY 1275, 3.10a) proposes the title *I-sheng pao-te chen-chün shih-chi* 事跡. The title according to the preface of 1285 reads: *I-sheng ying-kan ch’u-ch’ing pao-te chuan* 翰聖應感保德傳.

230. See van der Loon 1984: 137. This edition of Ch’ao’s bibliography was compiled by his pupil Yao Ying-chi 姚應績 and reprinted in 1249 by the prefect of Ch’u-chou (Chekiang). Wang also compiled the *Hsien-t’ien chi* 先天紀 upon imperial command. As van der Loon (1984: 100) notes, this chronicle of the ruling house’s putative ancestor Huang-ti corresponds to the *Hsüan-yüan pen-chi* 軒轅本紀 in HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* 100, to which Chen-tsung’s preface is attached. See note 133 concerning the relation of this text to the chronicle in HY 296.

231. This Chang Shou-chen is not to be confused with the 32nd Celestial Master of the same name (d. 1176).

232. Lou Kuan is the name of a shrine established in the Chung-nan Shan mountains in honor of the putative disciple of Lao-tzu named Yin Hsi 尹喜. For the history of this shrine, see the discussion on HY 956 in Chapter 3, Epigraphy, section 2.

233. See Ch’ou Te-tsai 1980:283–312. On the cult in North China, see Grootaers 1952. The cult of Chen-wu was the subject of a seminar summarized in Soymie 1973–74.


235. HY 957, 1.5a. See the discussion on HY 960 *Wu-tang fu-ti tsung-chen chi* in Chapter 3, Topography, section 6.

236. HY 753, 1.4b–5a; see also 6.27a–b. The year 1197 is mentioned in 5.13a. For another copy of the scripture without commentary, see HY 774 *T’ai-shang shuo Hsüan-t’ien ta-sheng chen-wu pen-chuan shen-chou miao-ching*. I am grateful to Professor van der Loon for encouraging me to reexamine the various texts on the Hsüan-wu cult.

237. Whereas the author of the panegyric is not identified here, Sung Jen-tsung’s name appears with the copy of this text preserved in HY 959, 3.15a, a discussion of which follows.

239. Wu Ch’üan-ch’ieh was an influential disciple of Chang Liu-sun (1248–1321). For a survey of Wu and his circle, see Ten Broeck and Yiu Tung 1950 and Sun K’o-k’uan 1968:156–232, partially summarized in Sun K’o-k’uan 1981.


241. Note the similarity in the headings given various wall paintings, according to Grootaers 1952:167–181.

242. Compare the dates of Hsüan-wu’s epiphanies here with those given as the days on which he can be expected to descend in HY 1471 Hsüan-t’ien shang-ti pai-tzu sheng-hao 玄上帝百字聖號, printed with the 1607 imprimatur of the 50th Celestial Master Chang Kuo-hsiang. Note also that a list of some of the texts related to the Hsüan-wu cult is cited in Liu Ts’un-yan 1971:36n17. HY 979 Ta Ming yü-chih Hsüan-chiao yüeh-chang 大明御製玄教樂章 includes a sequence of ritual incantations with kung-ch’ih pitch notation under the title “Hsüan-t’ien shang-ti yüeh-chang” 玄上帝樂章 (5a–7b) and a set of “Hsüan-t’ien shang-ti tz’u-ch’ü” 詞曲 (9a–10b) without musical notation. The illustrations of HY 958 bear comparison with the figure depicted in HY 1203 T’ai-shang hsiüan-t’ien chen-wu wu-shang chiang-chün lu 太上玄天真武無上將軍錄, 1b, one of a number of registers apparently issued under the auspices of the 44th Celestial Master Chang Yu-ch’ing. For documentation of veneration for Hsüan-wu down to 1495, see the Ta-yüeh T’ai-ho Shan chih 大壇太和山志, compiled by Jen Tzu-yuan 任自垣 in 1431. See also Chou Shao-liang 1985 on a rare anthology of precepts putatively revealed by Hsüan-wu.

243. For a concise summary of this novel, see Grootaers 1952:147–163. Liu Ts’un-yan (1967a:202–204) reports on a unique illustrated edition of this work printed in 1602, entitled Ch’üan-hsiang pei-yu chi Hsüan-ti ch’u-shen chuan 天上帝出身志傳. This work, also known as the Pei-fang Chen-wu tsu-shih hsiüan-t’ien shang-ti ch’u-shen chih-chuan 北方真武祖師玄上帝出身志傳, no doubt circulated for some time before Yü got around to printing it himself. As Liu suggests, Yü’s publication firm in Fukien had a history extending back to the Sung, so it is not unlikely that he simply recycled a number of out-of-print works under his own name. The illustrated edition in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books of the British Library that Liu describes includes a supplement on the ritual protocols for paying homage to Hsüan-wu, thus presenting a remarkable blend of fictive and sacred materials. This unusual liturgical manual bears collation with comparable ritual texts in the Canon. Seaman 1986 suggests the origins of the novel
can be traced to spirit-writing.

244. The closing memorial is not included in the copy of this text printed in HY 1458, 1.21a–26a, but a variant version is found in HY 1457 Tsan-ling chi 2.7b–8b.

245. As mentioned in note 120, the scriptural revelation of HY 317 is included here.

246. Note that Li Pien’s name is given erroneously here as Li Sheng 李昇. For biographies of Hsu Wen and Li Pien, see Hsin T'ang shu 61.760–762, 62.765–769. On the political chaos in the closing years of the Min, see also Schafer 1954:46–62.

247. See note 120 for the corresponding texts. Note that the sequence for the Ling-chi Kung comprises 64 verses, whereas only 53 are found in the version printed as HY 1291. A brief introduction to these texts is found in Strickmann 1983c.

248. The text in question is HY 474, the corresponding passages of which are cited in note 122. Note that some of the texts cited in the table of contents of HY 1458 are missing. The yüeh-chang 榮章 listed for chapter 3 are not recorded here, but a series of eight verses entitled “Hun-en ling-chi chen-chün yüeh-chang” 洪恩靈濟真君榮章 may be found in HY 979 Ta Ming yu-chih Hsüan-chiao yüeh-chang, pp. 7b–8b.

249. On the Mongol book burning, see the Introduction, and note 170. The Hsien-kung chuan that had been lost is identified here as a work of Lü Hsien-sheng 呂先生 (Lü Yen 呂Rendering here ?). Piet van der Loon (1984:92) notes that a T'ai-chi tso hsien-kung shen-hsien pen-ch'i nei-chuan 太極左仙公神仙本起內傳 cited in the Sung shih bibliographic monograph is attributed to Sun Ch'üan 張權 (182–252), patron of Ko, but that the bibliographic monographs of both the Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書 and the Hsin T'ang shu 新唐書 cite a work by Lü Hsien-sheng. Whereas the Hsin T'ang shu, 59.1519, implies Lü was the author of a T'ai-chi tso hsien-kung Ko-chün nei-chuan 太極左仙公葛君內傳, the Chiu T'ang shu, 46.2004, names him as commentator. The same title, without indication of author or commentator, is also cited in the Sui shu 隋書, 33.979. The editors of the “Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an” suggest that Kung recovered the Hsien-kung chuan at Ko-tsao Shan before the temples at that site were destroyed on the battlefront of 1352 (1984.2:11). Thus, it is their conclusion that the date ting-ssu given in Chu’s preface corresponds to the year 1317. The preface states that the text Kung acquired was recorded, not stored, at Ko-tsao Shan. Moreover, van der Loon notes that Chu Ch’o was among those recommended for office at the beginning of the Ming, according to the Chi-jung hsien-chih 句容縣志 (1750; rpt., 1900), 8.22b (personal communication, 9 August 1985). The citation reads: “Chu Ch’o yu Ju-shih jen P'ing-yin chu-p’u” 朱靜由儒士任平陰主簿. That Chu was appointed Registrar of P'ing-yin 平陰 (Shantung) tallies with his own admission
in the preface that he left his post in Shantung to fulfill his mourning obligations on behalf of one of his parents. Although Chu’s appointment is undated in the gazetteer, this citation appears between entries with the dates of Hung-wu (1368–1398) and Yung-le (1403–1424). There is, however, one apparent contradiction in Chu’s preface, similar to the one found in HY 448 (see note 120). Chu refers to Ko Hsuan’s ascension as an event of approximately 1200 years past, which in itself suggests that ting-ssu corresponds to the year 1437. Were that the case, this text would be the latest work to be included in the 1444–1445 Canon, but it appears that either “1200 years” 千二百 or Chu simply had a less than accurate recollection of the date of Ko’s ascension.

250. Note that, according to van der Loon 1984:53, a Hsü Shen-weng yü-lu is cited in the catalogue of Yu Mao’s 尤袤 (1124–1193) library.

251. Later, more elaborate, biographical accounts suggest Hsu turned into something of a madman following the death of a leprous Taoist Master named Hsü Yuan-chi whom he alone had attended (HY 296, 52.3a–4b; HY 780, 5.20b–21b). Note that Chang Yü-ch’u’s 1395 preface to HY 1239 San-shih tai T’ien-shih Hsü-ching chen-chun yii-lu (see Chapter 4, section 18) speaks of Hsü Shen-weng together with the Shen-hsiao codifiers Lin Ling-su and Wang Wen-ch’ing. See also the four accounts concerning Hsü cited from the works of the Sung to the Ch’ing in Ting Ch’uan-ching 1981:706, 1 133, 1 137.

252. The full title of the text given on page la incorporates the official titles of enfeoffment granted Yen in 713 and the epithets of 1120: T’ang Hung-lu ch’ing Yüeh-kuo kung Ling-hsü chien-su chen-jen chuan. Note that a Yeh Fa-shan chuan 葉法善傳 is cited in the Ch’ung-wen tsung-mu 紳宗緯目 and the Hsin T’ang shu, according to van der Loon 1984:150, with Liu Ku-shen 刘谷神 identified as the author in the latter.

253. Eleven episodes in the T’ai-p’ing kuang-chi alone feature Yeh Fa-shan. The fullest appears in ch. 26 and is based on the Chi-i chi 集異記 of Hsueh Yung-jo 許用弱 (fl. 823–827) and the Hsien-chuan shih-i 仙傳拾遺 of Tu Kuang-t’ing. The opening of this episode is collated with that of HY 778 and the biographical entry on Yeh in HY 296, ch. 39, in Yusa Noboru 1983. The primary source behind this study, as well as behind Ogawa Yoichi 1983, is the pien-wen 文 text entitled “Yeh Ching-neng shih” 葉靜能詩 (S. 6836). Yeh Ching-neng 葉靜能, cited in the genealogy of HY 778, is the grand-uncle of Fa-shan. The tales that evolved around each are clearly derived from a common body of folklore. For a copy of the pien-wen text, which apparently dates to the mid-9th century, see Wang Chung-min 1957:216–229. A translation, entitled “The Wizard Yeh Ching-neng,” is found in Waley
Notes to Chapter 2


254. The phrase here, “Ch'i yu k'uang-hsieh yin-ssu wei tsai-hai che” (HY 778, p. 5b), spells out more explicitly than most texts the inherent malevolence of what came to be designated as “perverse shrines.” The yin-tz'u differ from legitimate shrines in that the spirit housed within the former essentially blackmails its constituency. The contrast rests between those spirits whose propitiation is regarded as a form of appeasement and those whose propitiation is thought to stimulate auspicious response. Whereas the latter category of authorized spirits are also approached with pleas to ward off disaster, they are not themselves deemed to be the ultimate source of the malevolence at hand. The “perverse” spirits, on the other hand, were thought generally to be innately hostile and therefore capable of a wide range of malign activity. Their shrines were erected out of fear more than anything else. The supporters of these shrines constantly had to placate the spirits with offerings. It is precisely because they were perceived of as ill-boding spirits who could only threaten and not comfort their following that Taoist Masters such as Yeh Fa-shan sought to banish them. The demands they placed on local resources, including blood sacrifices, made them, in short, spiritus non grati. How often campaigns against such shrines led to something on the order of a witch hunt is a subject that deserves further study. Certainly it is possible that yin-tz'u were initiated so that people could profit from the gullibility of their neighbors. Thus, the attacks on perverse sacrifices are perhaps best viewed as confrontations between supernatural forces and between their mundane representatives. The outcome of these multifaceted encounters no doubt was affected by the socioeconomic or sociopolitical statuses of the different spokesmen for the spirit realm. The disparity of social rank might also explain many of the otherwise inexplicable denouements given stories of such spirit confrontations in the I-chien chih.

255. The text of nine talismans is the Shang-ch'ing yin-shu ku-sui ling-wen 上 清陰書骨髓靈文. It is preserved in the T'ien-hsin corpus of HY 1217 T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao, 4.1a–7b. A variant version is found in HY 566 Shang-ch'ing t'ien-hsin cheng-fa, 3.9b–20a, where the set of talismans is traced from Chang Tao-ling to the 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien (1092–1126), with no mention of Yeh Fa-shan.

256. See Soymié 1962: 308–314 for variant accounts of this event, including that of a popular novel entitled T'ang Ming-huang yu yüeh-kung 明 月 明
257. Piet van der Loon (1979: 404) points out the clear relation between the colophon of 1274 and HY 780. As mentioned earlier (note 59), Liu Yu of Feng-ch'eng was instrumental in codifying the ritual tradition associated with Wen Ch'iung. The sequence of ritual codes centering on Wen in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yuan 253–256 is given an introduction by Liu Yu, dated 1258.

258. No date of birth is given in the hagiography here which, after all, is no doubt a fictive work. The year 702 is cited in Ping-yang hsien-chih 平陽縣志, 47.1b.

259. The Ti-ch'i Wen Yuan-shuai ta-fa 地祇溫元帥大法 of HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yuan 255–256 is identified expressly with Chang Chi-hsien, but the Tung-yüeh Wen T'ai-pao k'ao-chao pi-fa 東嶽溫太保考召秘法 of the preceding chapter, 254, is in fact traced to Yeh Fa-shan.


Notes to Chapter 3

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

262. The decrees of 1316 to which Chao refers are reproduced in HY 304, 4.19a–21a.
263. The 1150 “Shan chi” 山記 Liu mentions is one compiled by Tseng Hsün 曾恂 (tzu, Fu-chung 子仲) and Fu Hsiao 傅相 (tzu, Tzu-ang 子昂). On Fu Hsiao, see Strickmann 1981:46–47. Another work that may have contributed to Liu’s compilation is the San Mao Shan chi 萬山新記 of Chang Yin-lung 張隱龍, cited in the bibliographic monograph of the Sung shih (van der Loon 1984:75). Note also that a Mao Shan hsin hsiao-chi 萬山新小記 that was originally cited in the Ch’ung-wen tsung-mu of 1042 was lost by the year 1144, when the inventory was reconstructed (ibid.:124).

264. Additional decrees of the 12th and 13th centuries concerning the three Mao brothers are reproduced in HY 172 San Mao chen-ch’iu chia-feng shih-tien 萬真君加封事典, compiled in 1267 by Chang Ta-ch’uán 張大淳.

265. Strickmann (1979a:146n72) notes that the text here is a longer version of the historical narrative preserved in the HY 1026 Yin-chi ch’i-ch’ien 104.10b–20a, the origins of which appear to be the lost Mao-chin chuan [Life of Lord Mao]. Van der Loon (1984:124) notes that a Mao san-chin nei chuan 萬三君內傳 is recorded in three Sung bibliographies and that the name of the author, Li Tsun 吕尊, is miswritten as Li Tao 李士 in the redaction printed in HY 1026.

266. The ancestor to this section on topographical features is the “Chi-shen shu” 祠神組 section of T’ao Hung-ching’s HY 1010 Chen-kao 真诰, ch. 11–14, especially ch. 11. I am beholden to Michel Strickmann for bringing this point to my attention.

267. Note that all those ranked as Shang-ch’ing dignitaries are labeled as such in the biographical index of the Harvard-Yenching Index no. 25. A good part of this succession, like that in the Celestial Master patriarchy, was no doubt established retroactively. Generally the title Tsung-shih 宗師 was passed down from master to disciple.

268. “Chin-hsieh” is an abbreviation of “Chin-ts’o” 金雞 (Golden Inlay) and “Tao-hsieh” 倒薤 (Inverted Shallots), two distinctive types of calligraphy favored by literati.

269. See also the study of Schafer (1980), based largely on the view of T’ang poets. Michel Strickmann has called my attention to the 1 July 1985 issue of the Asahi shim bun 朝日新聞, which includes articles on Mao Shan as a site of pilgrimage since autumn of 1982, under the heading “Yomigaeru Dokyo (Chügo-ku)” ようびがえる道行 (中國). or “Taoism Revived in China.” The head master Chu I-ching 朱易經 is said to preside over fourteen other Tao-shih 道士 and 28 assistants. Thousands are reported to have made the ascent to burn offerings of paper money.

270. The five sacred peaks are traditionally identified as (1) Tung-yueh 東嶽 (Eastern Peak), T’ai Shan 泰山 in Shantung; (2) Hsi-yueh 西嶽 (Western Peak), Hua Shan 华山 in Shensi; (3) Nan-yueh 南嶽 (Southern Peak), Heng Shan 衡山 (also known as Huo Shan 霍山) in
Hunan; (4) Pei-yueh 北嶽 (Northern Peak), Heng Shan 恒山 in Shansi; and (5) Chung-yueh 中嶽 (Central Peak), Sung Shan 嵩山 in Honan. T'ai Shan was very early on also known as Tai-tsung 太宗 or Tai-yueh 太嶽. A brief summary of the Tai shih is found in STY 1984.3:99-100.

271. Note that Ming Shen-tsung, whom T'an addresses, offered a prayer to T'ai Shan upon his ascension to the throne in 1573 (HY1460, 7.27a–b). The text is also reproduced and translated in Chavannes 1910:302. A brief discussion on Ming rites at T'ai Shan is included in Taylor 1981. Taoist Masters, as Taylor points out, have long assumed dominion over the shrines at the five sacred peaks. They prevail yet at the Chung-yueh Miao 中嶽廟, a temple under restoration that is clearly the scene of cultic veneration for T’ien-chung Wang 天中王 and T’ien-ling Fei 天靈妃, putative daughter of Yu-huang ta-ti 玉皇大帝. Local artisans continue to make clay images for an assemblage in the shrine honoring these deities (photographed on site, 21 June 1983). See also the brief summary in Sung Shan ti ch’uan-shuo 萬山的傳說 (1982), pp. 1–3.

272. Compare this statement of the first day of the eleventh lunar month of 1586 (10 December) with one Cha wrote two weeks earlier (HY 1460, 7.46b-48a) on the fourteenth day of the tenth lunar month (24 November).

273. Of note among the transcendents are Lü Yen (b. 798?) and the eminent Ch’uan-chen Master Ch’iu Ch’u-chi (1148–1227).

274. The table of contents included in the prefatory materials indicates that ch. 9 originally included accounts on Buddhist temples as well as Taoist temples, but the table of contents attached to ch. 9 and the text proper both omit any mention of Buddhist structures. The order of entries in this chapter also differs slightly from the sequence given in the accompanying table of contents.

275. Note that the third member of this trio of Sung scholiasts, namely, Hu Yüan 胡瑗 (993–1059), is not mentioned here, although his name does come up in later chapters. On all three, see Chavannes 1910:122–123.

276. According to the introductory statement, this state tax was in effect only at T’ai Shan and T’ai-ho Shan (Wu-tang Shan). There is no indication of how long such a revenue system was in effect. The only internal date given is the 37th year of the Chia-ching 祐靖 reign (1558).

277. The date given for the last episode here (HY 1460, 14.6a) is the eighteenth day of the tenth lunar month, which is four days after the date appearing on Cha’s statement in ch. 7, pp. 27a–b (see note 272). Although he could very well have updated his account between the time he composed the earlier statement and the time he composed the one entered into the prefatory material, which is dated the first day of the eleventh lunar month, the context of the passage in ch. 14 suggests a scribal error was made. The episode concerns the trampling to death of
61 devotees as they made their way up to the Pi-hsia Kung, a shrine dedicated to the preeminent goddess of T'ai Shan, Pi-hsia yüan-chün 碧霞元君. One would expect, on the basis of her hagiography, which appears earlier in this text (HY 1460, 9.33a–34a), that such crowds would have been more likely to converge upon her shrine on the goddess’s putative date of birth, the eighteenth day of the fourth, not the tenth, lunar month. On the tradition of pilgrimages at this time, see Ishii Masako 1983:169. See also the very detailed map of the various landmarks on T'ai Shan inserted between pages 164 and 165. For an early account of the goddess and the shrine, see Chavannes 1910:29–43, 70–72. The shrine still stands on T'ai Shan and reportedly draws worshippers as well as tourists.

278. The year 1554 was apparently the cutoff date of the collection of materials that T'an handed over to Cha. The title of each entry is set off in ch. 15–16, but not in ch. 17. Overall, this edition appears to have been printed from at least three different sets of blocks. According to the editorial note at the head of ch. 16, all names of temples in these writings were changed to accommodate the readings current after 1554. It may be that the earlier records did not go beyond that date because of a crisis of confidence in T'ai Shan around that time. Although one imperial prayer addressed to T'ai Shan in 1554 acknowledges divine assistance in bringing the Yellow River under control after disastrous floods the year before, another prayer two months later laments the nationwide distress caused by invading troops. The next prayer recorded is dated 1569 and pleas again for relief from flooding waters. For these and other decrees in the intervening years, see Chavannes 1910:293–302.

279. Hua-yüeh chi 畫嶽志 (n.p., 1883), reprinted from the blocks of the 1831 edition that was once preserved at the Yu-ch'üan Yuan 玉泉院 of Hua Shan. The biography of the Ch'üan-chen patriarch Wang Ch'ü-i (1142–1198), which was taken from an earlier topography, is a brief account based on standard hagiographic lore, with an interpolation of the claim that he called himself “Lien-feng-tzu” and was the compiler of the Hua Shan chi (2.32a). None of the six hagiographic accounts on the Ch'üan-chen patriarch in the Canon gives this nickname nor is there any indication that he ever settled in the Hua Shan region.

280. The preface transcribed here is part of a longer stone inscription printed in full in the Ch'üan T'ang wen 全唐文, 41.6b–8a, under the title “Hsi-yüeh T'ai-hua Shan pei-hsü” 西嶽太華山碑序. This inscription is among those indexed in “Ch'üan T'ang wen tsung-chiao lei p'ien-mu fen-lei so-yin” 全唐文宗教類篇目分類索引, STY 1981.4:128–158. Note that a Hua Shan chi is listed in three Sung bibliographies, none of which gives any indication of authorship (van der Loon 1984:143).
HY 307, p. 12a: “Fu-ch’ang”, a reign title established by Liu Yü in 1131. See his biography in Sung shih 475 and Chin shih 77. The latest internal date in HY 307 appears to be 1156, Shao-hsing ping-tzu 菩提子 (p. 9b). Note that the date of Liu Ta-yung’s preface is given according to the Jurchen reign title Ta-ting 大定. It is of some interest to find a few of the landmarks cited in this 12th-century text also mentioned in a recent guidebook published in Hong Kong, entitled simply Hua Shan 华山. The only two temple compounds noted in this text and the Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz'u-tien (1981:1033–1035) are the Tung-ytieh Miao 東嶽廟 and the Yu-ch’üan Yuan 玉泉院. The latter is said to have been built by Ch’en T’uan 陳抟 (d. 989) and now apparently houses a tourist bureau. Why Wang Ch’u-i’s text mentions Ch’en T’uan’s name but does not mention the Yu-ch’üan Yuan is a puzzle. It would seem that either the edition in the Canon is incomplete (and Liu Ta-yung did say it totaled over seventy p’ien) or it was compiled by someone with little direct knowledge of Hua Shan. Whoever was responsible for this text may actually have been located in the area of Liu Yü’s short-lived kingdom. In fact, it is in the Shantung peninsula region that the Ch’uan-chen patriarch Wang Ch’u-i made his career (see Chapter 2, section 4, and Chapter 4, section 8). Since he served Jurchen rulers in the capital at Yenching off and on for some twenty years, it hardly appears likely that his name would be associated with a text that refers, if only indirectly, to an anti-Jurchen movement. It is possible, however, that someone wanted to implicate his approval of such activity.

In the Taisho edition, Ch’en’s preface is preceded by one dated a year later, which is signed by a “Cho-sou” 樋叟, perhaps his brother. He identifies Ch’en Keng-sou as a “Tao-jen” 道人 of Lang-chung 朗中 (Szechwan) who established his hermitage beneath the Tzu-kai Feng 紫薇 (Purple-Canopy Peak) of Heng Shan and traveled about in the region for over thirty years. He may have been a member of the Lang-chung Ch’en lineage with which Ch’en Sheng-hua 陳省華 (939–1006) is associated (Sung shih 284). The passages corresponding to those in the Tao-tsang edition are all found in ch. 2 of T. 2097. A number of other passages pertinent to Taoist traditions at Heng Shan are to be found in ch. 1 and 3 as well. Note that a preface by the Ch’ing bibliophile Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍 (1753–1818), dating to 1818, and a colophon by his colleague T’ang Chung-mien 唐仲冕 (1753–1827) are included in the Taisho edition, which is reprinted from a copy preserved in the Naikaku Bunko. See also the Sung edition reproduced in the Liliou ts’ung-shu of Yeh Te-hui.

The Ch’ien-tao reign is mentioned in HY 606, p. 24b, and T. 2097, 1078b, under the respective entries on the Yu-ch’ing Kuan 玉清觀.

Of the 28 sanctuaries, fifteen are kuan 觀 (abbey), seven are kung 宮 (palaces), four are yuan 院 (halls), one is a ko 宮 (pavilion), and
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another is a *yen* (grotto). Some of these terms are discussed in Reiter 1983.

285. For a survey of literature on Heng Shan, see Sun Hsing-yen’s preface in T. 2097. As he points out, Li Ch’ung-chao’s text was incorporated into the Ssu-k’u imperial library (*SKCS* 1506). Note that three Sung bibliographies cite a *Nan-yiēh tsung-sheng chi* in 3 *chüan* but give no indication of authorship (van der Loon 1984:121).

286. See T. 2096, based on the *Ku-i ts’ung-shu* facsimile reproduction of a manuscript in Kyoto.

287. See the account of Hsia Sung, dated 1010, in HY 603, 13b–15a, concerning the submission of the temple archives in 985 to the editorial offices set up in Hangchow for the recompilation of the Canon, discussed further in van der Loon 1984:34.

288. It would be tempting to suggest that the Mu Hsuan-hsu of T’ang is an error for the Mu Hsuan-hsü (fl. 290) to whom the “Hai fu” ([Rhapsody on the Sea]) is attributed in the *Wen hsüan*, 12, but the verses refer to individuals dating as late as the Liu-Sung (420–479) and Liang (502–557).

289. Note that Ho Chih-chang’s commentary dates Liu to the Hou Han (25–220 C.E.) but that the late 13th-century hagiography of Chao Tao-i, HY 296, 31.5b, places him in the Chin (265–420). According to the biography in HY 782 *Yung-ch’eng chi-hsien lu*, 6.17a–18a, Liu’s wife was the more accomplished in the exercise of divine power and even achieved a superior mode of ascent. See also the derivative accounts in Wang Sung-nien’s HY 596 *Hsien-yüan pien-chu*, 3.1b, and HY 298, 4.6a–7a.

290. Wang Ch’in-jo was among those instrumental in promoting this myth. See note 230 and Soymie 1976–77.

291. Ch’ih-sung-tzu is traditionally identified as the *Yü-shih*, or Rain Master, of the legendary ruler Shen-nung. See the biography in HY 296, 3.1a, based on the opening account of Liu Hsiang’s HY 294 *Lieh-hsien chuan*. A translation of the latter is found in Kaltenmark 1953:35–42. Note also that Huang Ch’u-p’ing was sometimes called Ch’ih-sung-tzu, according to HY 601, 2a.

292. The 41st Shang-ch’ing patriarch was actually Wang Chih-hsin (d. 1273), according to HY 304 *Mao Shan chih* 12.11a–b, where quite a different story is told. It seems that Chu Chih-ch’ang was regarded as a usurper of authority. When he took the seal and sword of office back to Ch’ih-sung Kung, Wang reported this malfeasance to the emperor and was told to retrieve the symbols of office and bring them back to Mao Shan. This he did, much to the gratitude of those at Mao Shan, or so it is said.

293. With prefaces by Shen, Wu, and Chang, the *Ta-ti tung-t’ien chi* examined by the Ssu-k’u editors (*SKCS* 1632) would appear to have been the
same from which HY 781 was printed. The edition of the Tung-hsiao t'u-chih accepted into the Ssu-k'u library (SKCS 1514) includes two additional colophons, one written by Teng’s peer Yeh Lin 耶林 (1248–1306) and another by Li Wei-sun 李渭孫 (1243–1329). The TSCC edition of this text, printed from the 6-ch. redaction in the Chih pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu 知不足齋叢書 records only Yeh’s colophon. Note that the TSCC and SKCS editions include an additional heading of “Jen-wu” 人物 (Biographies), inserted between the last two headings given in HY 781. The biographies of Teng and Yeh, printed as a “Hsupien” 續編 (Supplement), and a list of Taoist functionaries at Ta-ti Shan appended to this section appear to be the work of later disciples, as the Ssu-k'u editors suggest. See also the discussion in “Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsuan-k'an” 1984.2:17–18. I am grateful to Piet van der Loon for bringing my attention to the complex textual history of these works (personal communication, 3 June 1984). It is worth noting that the supplementary materials in the Tung-hsiao t'u-chih all date to the Yuan, for the term “Kuo-ch'ao” 國朝 consistently refers to the Mongol regime. Also of interest is an editorial note added to the final heading of chapter 6 in the TSCC edition: “The original lacks 33 lines, each of which totals twenty words” 原缺三行每行三十字. Although this note is not included in the Tao-tsang edition (3.1a), it must apply because the opening entry is identical to that of the TSCC edition. In spite of what the titles suggest, neither edition retains any maps.

294. See, for example, the preface Chu Wen-tsao 朱文藻 (1736–1807) composed for his Chin-ku tung-chih 金甌洞志. Note that Sun K'o-k'üan 孫可ון (1981:225, 230) emphasizes Wu Ch'üan-chieh's role in overseeing the reconstruction of the Tung-hsiao Kung but erroneously identifies Wu as the compiler of a Tung-hsiao Kung t'u-chih 稲谷開山圖志.

295. A biography of Liu Tao-ming is included in Jen Tzu-yüan's 任自垣 1431 topography of Wu-tang Shan, the Ta-yüeh T'ai-ho Shan chih 太嶽太和山志 (rpt., Tao-chiao wen-hsien, vol. 5), p. 426. For background on the milieu in which Jen's compilation took shape, see Mano Senryū 門脇常雄 1963. The editors of the “Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsuan-k'an” (1984.2:26) identify Liu Tao-ming as a Ch'üan-chen Tao-shih 便真道士 but offer no documentation to support this claim.

296. See Chapter 2, section 10.

297. Iconographic information is found throughout the text. Note, for example, the reference to a bronze image of Dark Warrior (HY 960, 2.1a–b). The interlinear commentary added after 1295 quotes an inscription composed by Liu Ch'en-weng 劉辰翁 (1232–1297), the author of a preface to Chao Tao-i's hagiography, HY 296. Images of Chen-wu figure in several stories of the I-chien chih, pp. 325, 367, 426, 465, 471, 551, 905, 989, 1231, 1538, and 1690.
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298. Lü says he acquired a copy of the text when two visitors from Wu-tang, named Wang and Mi, arrived at Lu Shan. Something of the circumstances surrounding their visit appears to be revealed in the interlinear commentary added to a discussion of a bronze image of the Dark Warrior (2.1a–b). It is said that in the year 1295 two Fang-shih named Wang Tao-i and Mi Tao-hsing went out seeking subscriptions for the image, which was then cast at Lu-ling. Thus, it may be that Lü Shih-shun himself authored the commentary.

299. An enlarged edition of this topography is reprinted in the Tao-chiao wen-hsien, vols. 4–5. It also includes a collection of verse on Wu-tang Shan in ch. 14–15. Conspicuously absent are the lyrics of Lo T’ing-chen, the author of an anthology entitled HY 961 Wu-tang chi-sheng chi. Lo’s work, composed primarily of heptasyllabic quatrains, appears to date to sometime after the Mongol conquest.

300. T’ang works include HY 962 Hsi-ch’uan Ch’ing-yang Kung pei-ming of Le P’eng-kuei, dating to 884: HY 968 T’ang Wang-wu Shan Chung-yen T’ai Cheng-i hsien-sheng Miao chieh, in tribute to Ssu-ma Ch’eng-chen (647–735); and HY 969 T’ang Sung-kao Shan Ch’i-mu Miao pei-ming of Ts’ui Jung (652–705).

301. As Schafer (1977:45–47) notes, T’ai-i (which he translates as Grand Monad) is traditionally identified as the star of the Great Dipper called Kochab.

302. See his 4-ch. HY 686 Tao-te chen-ching chuan. While Sung bibliographies make note of Lü’s commentaries to the Lao-tzu and the Chuang-tzu (van der Loon 1984: 104, 138), the latter was considered lost until its discovery in 1909. For the history of that text, see L. N. Menshikoff’s entry in Balazs and Hervouet 1978: 365–366.

303. See Chapter 2, section 10. The inscription is assigned a separate number in the Concordance du Tao-tsang (CT 960). See Appendix A below.

304. Yang’s index takes into account 137 different collections of epigraphy, a fair portion of which are reprinted in the Shih-k’o shih-liao ts’ung-shu, edited by Yen Keng-wang. See also the Shih-k’o shih-liao ti-erh chi. On Yuan inscriptions, see Ts’ai Mei-piao 1955.

305. Yin Wen-ts’ao is traditionally identified as a member of the T’ien-shui Yin lineage, that is, the putative lineage of Yin Hsi. Note that Sung bibliographies list variant titles of a Lou Kuan nei-chuan which they ascribe to Yin Kuei and Wei Chieh, or simply to Yin Wen-ts’ao. Wei Chieh is also credited with the compilation of a Lao-tzu hsi-sheng ching (van der Loon 1984: 103, 157). Tseng Chao-nan 1985 suggests that Taoist Masters at the Tiered Abbey
identified an alchemist of Western Chin named Yin Kuei as the cousin of Yin Hsi, primarily to enhance the reputation of their patriarch. Tseng also concludes that references to Shang-ch’ing writings in citations from the *Lou Kuan hsien-shih chuan* preserved in the *Hsien-yuan pien-chu* (HY 596) indicate that the hagiography attributed to Yin Kuei was compiled no earlier than the end of the Eastern Chin. I am grateful to Professor van der Loon for calling my attention to this study and would add that the emphasis on the Shang-ch’ing heritage in the early hagiographic literature on Yin Hsi’s cult may help explain Chu Hsiang-hsien’s interest in the shrine. On the history of another hagiography based on the Yin Hsi legend and related *hua-hu* literature, see Yamada Toshiaki 1982.

306. Note that in Chu’s second compilation, the 3-ch. HY 956 discussed below, an inscription by Chia Yu 賈禹 , in commemoration of Yin Chih-p’ing 尹志平 (1169–1251), mentions two Superintendents named Nieh Chih-chen 劉志真 and Chao Chih-hsüan 長志玄 (2.3b)—no doubt the same Nieh and Chao to whom Chu Hsiang-hsien refers here.


308. On the legacy of Yin Chih-p’ing, see Chapter 4, section 10. Unlike Yin Wen-ts’ao, he was apparently not regarded as a descendant of Yin Hsi. His ancestors reportedly lived for many generations in Ts’ang-chou 沧州 (Hopeh) and during the Sung moved to Lai-chou 濟州 (Shantung).

309. This is the third line in the encomium following the biography of Yin Chih-p’ing (HY 955, 18a).

310. See the inscription dating to 1263 on the restoration of the Tsung-sheng Kuan in HY 956, 1.13a–18b; especially 16a–b.


312. According to the *Chung-kuo ming-sheng ts’u-tien* (1981:1049), a grotto shrine called Wang-mu Kung shih-k’u 王母宮石窟 was carved out at this location in 510 C.E. Over a hundred images are said to survive, dominated by the Royal Matriarch herself. No mention is made of T’ao Ku’s inscription, but another stele dating to 1025 and a bronze bell cast in 1211 attest to the continued patronage of the shrine. The editors of the “Tao-tsang t’i-yao hsuan-k’an” (1984.2:26) point out that the Tao-tsang mu-lu hsiang-chu of Pai Yün-chi mistakenly attributes the entire text of HY 970 to T’ao Ku.

313. The T’ai Huang-hou 太皇后 to which this text refers is the mother of Chin Chang-tsung 金章宗 (r. 1190–1208), née T’u-tan 徐巖 (1147–1191), who in fact passed away less than a year after the chiao-fête (*Chin shih* 64.1524–1526).
314. Artifacts of Yen Te-yuan's tomb are discussed in an article ascribed to the Ta-t'ung Municipal Museum 大同市博物館, “Ta-t'ung Chin-tai Yen Te-yuan mu fa-chueh chien-pao” 大同金代關德源墓發掘簡報, Wen-wu 文物 1978.4:1-13. The tomb of Feng Tao-chen 鳳道真 (1189-1265) was excavated over a decade earlier, as reported in an article printed under the auspices of the Ta-t'ung Exhibition Hall of Cultural Relics and the Shansi Office of the Cultural Relics of Yun-kang 大同市文物陳列館, 山西省文物管理所, “Shan-hsi sheng Ta-t'ung shih Yuan-tai Feng Tao-chen, Wang Ch'ing mu ch'ing-li chien-pao” 山西省大同市元代範道真人青墓清理簡報, Wen-wu 1962.10:34-44. The author identified at the end of both articles is Hsieh T'ing-ch'i 解庭琦. The 1978 article also refers to the excavation of a tomb for a female Tao-shih 女道士 named Li Miao-i 李妙宜, but I have not found a published report on that discovery. On 18 May 1983 I wrote to Mr. Hsieh, care of the Ta-t'ung Municipal Museum, inquiring about all three tombs, with the special request for permission to view the Taoist garments, the talismanic burial cloths, and the seals discovered in them. On 17 June 1983 a Ta-t'ung CITS guide named Li Fang-ming 李方明 made inquiries on my behalf and reported that Mr. Hsieh was on an expedition at the time and was unavailable for consultation. Further inquiries I made on the same day at the Ta-t'ung Municipal Museum headquarters housed in the Lower Hua-yen Ssu 下華嚴寺 were also to no avail, although I did find that a few small items in porcelain and wood from the tomb of Yen Te-yuan were on display in showcases of the gallery at the southeast corner of the so-called Bhaghavat Storage Hall 潘伽婆塔藏殿.

315. For a summary of the approaches taken by traditional and Buddhist historians, see Franke 1961 and Jan Yün-hua 1964.

316. Van der Loon 1984:159. Note that this is one of nine texts attributed to Tu Kuang-t'ing in the Sung shih 宋史 205.5190. Many more works, particularly ritual collections, are recorded in the Canon under Tu's name. Another historical work by Tu—which evidently chronicled the transmission of various Taoist scriptural traditions—the Tao-ching chiang-tai ch'uan-shou nien-tsai chi 道經陣代傳授年載記, does not survive (van der Loon 1984:151).

317. On the capture of Huang Ch'ao, see Chiu T'ang shu 19B.719. Le P'eng-kuei's inscription is separately printed as HY 962 (see note 300). The legend associated with the Ch'ing-yang Kung is examined in Kusuyama 1978. As noted earlier, the Ch'ing-yang Kung was under restoration on 26 June 1983 (note 190). Although the temple was closed to visitors at the time, a foreman named T'ang Ch'ao-ming 唐朝明 explained that over one hundred people were working on the project. T'ang, who came himself from the Wen-shu Yuan 文殊院 (Mahāvīra Hall) in north Ch'eng-tu, also reported that an 85-year-old scholar by the name of Liu
Tzu-hua 劉子華 served as an adviser on the intricate design of the Pa-kua T’ing 八卦亭 of the Ch’ing-yang temple grounds. See the description in Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz’u-tien 1981:892 and in Chin-ch’eng Ch’eng-tu 金城成都 1981:49-51.

318. The fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month corresponds to 4 January 885. On Hsi-tung’s announcement of his intentions to return to Ch’ang-an, issued on the first day of the twelfth lunar month (21 December 884), see Chiu T’ang shu 19B.720. **

319. For a translation and analysis of the Tun-huang manuscript, which apparently originates from the Ch’eng-tu region, see Seidel 1969. On the Buddhist response to the hua-hu literature, see Zürcher 1972:297–320.

320. A graphic depiction of Lao-tzu’s sequential incarnations as tutor to legendary emperors is found in a handscroll entitled Lao-chün pien-hua shih-shih 老君變化事實 . The painting is ascribed to Wang Li-yung 王利用 (fl. 1120–1145), and the accompanying text is said to be the work of Sung Kao-tsung 宋高宗 (r. 1127–1162). In discussing this handscroll, Laurence Sickman (1980:30–33) compares its tabulation of emperors and tutors with that in the briefest of Hsieh Shou-hao’s chronicles, HY 770, discussed below. The Yu-lung chuan 序論 sequence is virtually identical to that given in Hsieh Shou-hao’s works. Thus, the origin of the variant text in this scroll remains a mystery. I am grateful to Ms. Barbara Sands for bringing this handscroll to my attention by loaning me her set of slides from the Nelson Gallery.

321. Many studies have been made of the 119-ch. T’ai-p’ing ching, an incomplete reaction of which survives in the Canon, HY 1093. For a definitive edition, see Wang Ming 1960. Among recent studies of the text, see Kandel 1979, Yang Tseng-wen 1980, Wei Ch’i-p’ing 1981, and Wang Ming 1982. See also STY 1984.3:86–89.

322. According to the Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz’u-tien 1981:692), three buildings of the T’ai-ch’ing Kung dating to the Ch’ing survive. The temple is located in modern-day Lu-i 鹿邑 (Honan). Lao-tzu’s “historical” birthplace is traditionally identified as K’u-hsien 谷陽 . When the T’ai-ch’ing Kung was established there in 586 (HY 970, 14a), the district was known as Ku-yang 谷陽 and was incorporated as part of Po-chou. By Chia Shan-hsiang’s time, the district was named Wei-ch’ên 順義 and was still considered part of Po-chou. During the Yüan this district was incorporated into Lu-i. Lu-i itself was considered part of Po-chou until the early Ming, when it was incorporated into Kuei-te fu 楊德 (Honan). On the history of these place names, see Ku Tsu-yü 50.2151. See also the photographic plates of the T’ai-ch’ing Kung and its image of Lao-tzu in Kaltenmark 1965:8, 10.

323. According to HY 296, 51.15b–16a, an elderly blind woman regained her sight after listening to Chia lecture on the Tu-jen ching at the T’ai-ch’ing Kung. Chia also apparently presided over chia-to-fêtes at the shrine, for it
is said that once before the opening of ceremonies he dreamed that
divine guardians appeared before him and, upon the mandate of [Lord
Lao,] the Most High, bestowed feathered garments on him and appoint-
ed him abbot of the T'ai-ch'ing Kung. A few days thereafter Chia re-
portedly attained perfection. Chang Shang-ying (1043–1121) is credited
with compiling a *Chen-yu chi* 靄遊記 in testimony to Chia's career.

324. Wang Chung-min (1983:411) suggests that the epithet of 1014 was origi-
nally part of the title of Chia's work, as it is in a Ming manuscript ver-
sion entitled *T'ai-shang hun-yüan shang-te huang-ti yu-lung chuian* 金元上德皇帝猶龍傳. Several of the themes raised in the summary
here are further discussed in Boltz 1986d. For a detailed study of Lao-
tzu's reputation as an adviser to the imperial house, see Seidel 1978a
and 1978b.

325. Wang Chung-min (1983:411) suggests that the original title was actually
recorded as *T'ai-shang Lao-chün hun-yüan shang-te huang-ti shih-hu* 太
上老君混元上德皇帝聖記, in keeping with the title given for a
6-ch. Ming manuscript which includes a 1190 colophon of Hsieh O 謝
(1121–1194), a fellow clansman.

326. Sung bibliographies cite a work in ten chiian and, as van der Loon
(1984:97) points out, HY 1026 *Yün-ch'i ch'i-ch'ien* 云氣千 cites an abridged
chronicle. The title given there, however, registers the epithet bestowed
in 1014: *Hun-yüan huang-ti sheng-chi* 混元皇帝聖記. The title
*Hun-yüan* replaces *Hsitan-yüan*, the title decreed in 666.

327. For Wang's statement, see HY 769, 9.33b. As van der Loon
(1984:30n3) points out, Hsieh also includes here the full text of Sung
Chen-tsung's preface to Wang's catalogue. Hsieh's discussion of the
hua-hu legacy is found in 3.7a, 4.5b ff. A brief summary of the contents
of HY 769 is found in "Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsian-k'an" 1984.2: 16–17.

328. The decrees are cited in HY 769, 9.49a–b, and discussed in Ch'en Kuo-

329. Sung Chen-tsung's preface and the narrative are found in HY 769,
9.39b–40a, 45b–46a. See also a variant account in the last entry of
1.40b–41a. HY 1026 *Yün-ch'i ch'i-ch'ien* 云氣千 includes Sung
Chen-tsung's preface and a narrative on the effectiveness of this incanta-
tion in 892. Liang Wu-chen 梁悟真 of Mao Shan is the name given
the recipient of the HY 632 *T'ai-shang t'ai-ch'ing t'ien-t'ung hu-ming
miao-ching* 太上清天童護命妙經. An introduction dated 1144
and ascribed to Fu Hsiao 傅霄 includes a summary of Liang's divine
encounter that bears comparison with the account in HY 769. A longer
version of the scripture is found in HY 633 *T'ai-shang t'ai-ch'ing huang-
lao ti-ch'un yün-lei t'ien-t'ung yin-fan hsien-ching* 太上清天童護命妙經
運雷天童陰梵仙經 and a shorter one in HY 761 *T'ai-shang t'ai-
ch'ing t'ien-t'ung hu-ming miao-ching chu* 太上清天童護命妙經
注, with commentary by Hou Shan-yüan 倪善渊 (fl. 1192). See also
the version in the I-chien chih, pp. 1784–1785.

330. Note that Ch'en Kuo-fu (1963:271) refers to this edition as an abridgment of HY 769 but suggests that HY 772, discussed below, was an earlier draft of HY 769.

331. Yin Shan is another name for T'ien-ch'ih Shan 天池山 in the Soochow area. It is also the name of a mountain in Kuei-lin 桂林 prefecture, Kwangsi.

332. Li Chih-tao, at any rate, cannot be identified as the calligrapher Li Shih-min 李時敏 (tzu, Chih-tao 致道), whose work, together with that of his older brother Li Shih-yung 李時雍 (fl. 1101–1106), was included in Sung Hui-tsung's archives, according to the Hsuan-ho hua-p'u 皇和畫譜 12.202–203, 20.311.

333. Hsieh Shou-hao's biography is recorded in HY 297, 5.6b–9a.

334. HY 769, 1.14b–15a; HY 770, 13b; and HY 772, 1.15a–b.

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335. The Nan-tsung legacy is discussed in section 11 below.

336. The HY 1011 Tao shu and HY 263 Hsiu-ch'en shih-shu mentioned here are discussed in chapter 5 under Encyclopedic Compilations. A translation of the Pai-wen p'i'en that should be consulted with caution is found in Homann 1976.

337. For a brief introduction to nei-tan, see Lu Gwei-Djen 1973. A more detailed presentation is found in Needham and Lu 1983.

338. Hu Ying-lin's evaluation is recorded in the Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao 1975:887. Needham and Lu (1983:88, 223), on the other hand, regard the work as a legitimate T'ang compilation. Anyone who intends to pursue the history of the dialogic treatise in the Canon will want to take the following texts into account: (1) the 3-ch. HY 1120 Tao-men ching-fa hsiang-ch'eng tz'u-hsi 劍門經法相承次序, reputed to be the record of a conversation between T'ang Kao-tsung and the Taoist Master P'an Shih-cheng 潘師正 (585–682); (2) HY 1029 Tao-t'i lun 道體論, recorded by a T'ung-hsuan hsien-sheng 通玄先生, whom various indices have identified as either Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen (647–735) or the semi-legendary Chang Kuo 張果, but who may actually be Chang Chien-ming 張謙明 (fl. 940–941), summoned to court by Kao-tsu 高祖 (r. 936–942) of the Later Chin 後晉 to explain the Tao-te ching; (3) HY 926 T'ai-ch'ing yu pei-tzu 太清玉碑子, a putative conversation between Ko Hung 高洪 and Cheng Ssu-yüan 鄭思遠; and (4) HY 1240 Ch'ung-hsü t'ung-miao shih-ch' en Wang Hsien-sheng chia-hua 沖虛通妙侍宸王先生家話, a dialogue between Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093–1153) and a disciple named Yuan T'ing-chih 劉庭植, Van der Loon (1984:77) also notes that the Sung shih lists a Ta-i chih-t'u ts'an-t'ung ching 太易詵圖 參同經, which is reportedly the transcript of a conversation T'ang
Hsiian-tsung held with Yeh Ching-neng 落静能 (see note 253) and the Buddhist monk I-hsing 行 (683–727).


340. The text appears in ch. 42 of the HY 1011 Tao shu under the title Ling-pao p’ien 寿寶篇. A 3-ch. edition is also printed separately in the Canon as HY 1182, cited in Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations, section 2.


342. Hawkes 1981:158, 168. Hawkes also suggests that Ma Yü (see section 3 below) may have been the one to promote Chung-li Ch’üan to an equal status with Lü Yen as a patriarch of Ch’uan-chen (p. 162). For a study of the “conversion” plays, see Chūbachi Masakazu 1976.

343. See van der Loon 1984:52.

344. For a chronological history of the Yung-le Ch’un-yang wan-shou Kung 永樂純陽萬壽宮, see Su Pai 1962. Unique wall paintings are preserved in the Ch’un-yang Tien 純陽殿 and the Ch’ung-yang Tien 重陽殿, in narration of episodes of the lives of Lü Yen and Wang Che, respectively. The murals within the San-ch’ing Tien 三清殿, portraying a pantheon that owes much to the demonifuge ritual traditions of the Sung, are also of inestimable value. These murals were reproduced for a special exhibition in Tokyo in 1963, an event that stimulated the publication of several background articles in Wen-wu (1963.8) and an illustrated volume prepared by the Shansi Archaeological Society, Yung-le Kung 永樂宮 (1964). An earlier set of black and white reproductions, Yung-le Kung pi-hua hsüan-chi 永樂宮壁畫選集 (1958), was published just prior to the construction of the San-men-hsia 三門峽 dam in the Yung-le chen 永樂鎮 region. Since that area was to be flooded over, the entire temple compound was moved northeast to Jui-ch’eng in 1959–1960. The most recent publication to appear on the murals is the Yung-le Kung pi-hua 永樂宮壁畫, prepared jointly by the China Foreign Languages Publishing Company 中國外文出版社 and the Bi no Bi 地出版 House of Kyoto in 1983. For a study of comparable murals from Shansi now in the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto, see W. C. White 1940. Strickmann has also called my attention to an unpublished paper on the same subject, apparently from a presentation in 1983 by Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt of Bryn Mawr College and the University of Pennsylvania, entitled “Zhu Haogu Reconsidered: A New Date for the ROM Painting and the Southern Shanxi Buddhist-Daoist Style.” A series of entries on temples within the Yung-le
Kung compound is included in the *Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz’u-tien* (1981:195–196), and Ch’ai Tse-chun (1981) indicates that the site is once again being promoted as a tourist attraction.

345. On the literary corpus of Hsiao T’ien-chih, see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations, section 3. Yu Yen was a renowned scholar of the Classics who late in life turned his attention toward alchemical treatises (Sun K’o-k’uan 1981:246–247). See also the “Chieh Ch’un-yang chen-jen Ch’in-yuan ch’un” 青松翠柏真人的圖卷 of Li Chien-i 李顯易, with a preface of 1266, included in HY 245 *Yü-ch’i-tzu tan-ching chih-yao* 玉氣之流香翼, 3.11b–16b. Fu Chin-ch’uan (1825) also published a commentary on the “Ch’in-yuan ch’un.” See also Hsiao T’ien-shih 1981:184–190.

346. Extensive celebrations were held in May of 1983 at the Ching Chung Koon (Ch’ing-sung Kuan) 青松觀 of the New Territories, Kowloon, marking the 1185th anniversary of Lü Yen’s birth on this date. A booklet on the teachings and activities of the Ching Chung Koon, the *Ch’ing-sung Kuan ch’ing-chu Ch’un-yang Lü Tsu-shih tan-sheng i-i-pa-wu chou-nien chi-nien t’ie-k’an* 青松觀慶祝純陽呂祖師誕生一一八五週年紀念特刊 (Kowloon: Ching Chung Koon, 1963) was published in commemoration of the occasion.

347. Compare these verses with those included in the *Ch’üan T’ang shih*, han 12, ts’e 6, Lü Yen 4.7a–9a (4976–4977) and *han* 12, ts’e 10, Tz’u 12.1a–3b (5176–5177). Anna Seidel kindly brings to my attention Far-zeen Baldrian’s study “On Lü Tung-pin in Northern Sung Literature,” forthcoming in *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 2 (1986).

348. For hagiographic traditions concerning Lü Yen, see Ono Shihei 1968 and Lin Lan 1929. Two of the largest collections of writings ascribed to Lü Yen are *Lü Ti wen-chi* 呂帝文集 and *Lü Ti shih-chi* 呂帝詩集 in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 12.5443–13.5622. Among individual publications of note is the *Lü Tsu chih* 呂祖志 in 3 chüan, edited by Kuo Lun 郭倫 and Chang Ch’i-ming 張敬明, a 1606 edition of which is in the National Central Library of Taipei. The filiation of this edition with the *Lü Tsu chih* of the Canon has not been determined. Later anthologies include the *Lü Tsu ch’üan-shu* 呂祖全書 compiled by Liu T’i-shu 劉惕恕 in 1742 and enlarged by Shao Chih-lin 邵志琳 in 1775. Also of interest is the *Lü Tsu shan-ting ch’üan-shu* 呂祖測定全書 (n.d.) in the P’u-pan Collection of the Asia Library, University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Perhaps the best-known treatise linked to Lü Yen in these anthologies is the Ming-Ch’ing compilation known as the [T’ai-i] Chin-hua tsung-chih [太一金華宗旨], the subject of Wilhelm and Jung 1962. A translation and discussion of the work is found in Yuasa Yasuo and Sadakata Akio 1980. See also the discussion in Needham and Lu 1983:243–257.

350. Hawkes (1981:160) points out that the reference to these four evils is one of the few features of the "conversion" tsa-chü that can be traced directly to Ch'uan-chen teachings.

351. Hawkes (1981:155–156) discusses the significance of this persona in both Ch'uan-chen literature and the tsa-chü repertory. See also note 168.

352. The three works, originally said to have totaled over 300 folios, are referred to as [Chiao-hua] hsia-shou ch'i'ih 下手歌, Fen-li shih-hua 分離十八 , and Hao li-hsiang 表離揚. Although there is no trace of the latter, a postface to HY 1146 gives some indications of the contents of this work. The postface was composed by Wang Tzu 王滋 (tzu, Te-wu 德雄), at the invitation of Wei Hsieh 衛纘 (hao, Ling-yuan 羅元), a disciple of Chu Pao-i.

353. This technique can be applied to shih or to tz'u. Each line of the verse is one word short of the prescribed length. The recipient is expected to derive the first word of each line from a component of the last word in the preceding line, e.g., 可 or 奇 from 歌. The more skilled responses make use of an opening word that differs from that of the verse presented. See Nakata Yujiro 1955. Note that the tz'u of Wang and his followers are recorded in the Ch'uan Chin Yuan tuz'u.

354. See, for example, Wu Ou-t'ing 1966:70, 118, 131, and the discussion in Wong Shiu-hon 1981.

355. As Hawkes (1981:159) suggests, the term fen-li 分離 in the title of HY 1147 is a pun on fen-li 分離, "to separate," i.e., to divorce.

356. The level of Sun Pu-erh's literacy is open to question. Wang is not the only one to have dedicated verses to her, and, as discussed below, later anthologists and hagiographers quite clearly viewed her as sufficiently educated to compose her own poems. The poem paraphrased here is found in HY 1147, 2.6a.

357. On Hsu Shou-hsin, see Chapter 2, section 12.

358. The passage in explication of the term chin-kuan yü-so reads as follows: “The teeth have become the Dark Gateway. Shut off your Cinnabar Field and it becomes the Lower Dark Gateway. When you draw forward your Golden Essence to the Upper Dark [Gateway] (i.e., your teeth), they become the Golden Gateway. Snap your teeth tightly together to make a jade lock” 出是為玄關中 丹田者為下玄關提 純上玄者為金關緊叩 口者為玉鎖 (HY 1148, 11b). See also the citation in Maspero 1981:494n109.

359. These titles are cited in HY 1148, pp. 15b and 20b, respectively, and seem to refer to T. 618 Ta-mo-to-lo ch’an-ching 逢摩尼羅禪經 [Yogacarabhumi?] of Buddhahadra 佛陀跋陀羅 (359–429) and HY
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227 *Chen lung-hu chiu-hsien ching* 真龍虎九仙經, although Hachiya Kunio (1972:95, 135) finds no equivalent passages. The latter text is supposed to be of high antiquity. The *Tao-tsang* edition includes commentaries of Yeh Fa-shan 葉法善 (616–720/722?) and Lo Kung-yuan 羅公遠 (655–758?). According to van der Loon (1984:84), Sung bibliographers differ on whether Yeh composed or annotated the text. I- hsing 行 (683–727) is also identified as either the author or the commentator.

360. Three categories of persons are specified as undesirable recipients: the unfilial, the unfaithful, and those bad people to whom the precepts have not been transmitted. Outside of these categories, according to the text, one need not distinguish between men and women or between Buddhist and Taoist functionaries (HY 1148, 22b: [okin三者 第一不孝之 人第二不對信之人第三不傳戒 不善之人莫詎此 許 除此等人外不分男女1會道官人 ...]).


362. The full title bestowed on Ma Yü in 1269 reads “Tan-yang pao-i wu-wei chen-jen” 丹陽抱一無為真人 (HY 174, 6b). The author is cited in HY 1141, 1a, as “K’un-yü Wu-wei ch’ing-ching tan-yang Ma Chen-jen” 葛嶽無為清靜丹陽馬真人. The epithet Ch’ing-ching is not attested for Ma, but it is, as mentioned earlier, the name by which his wife, Sun Pu-erh, was known.

363. According to the verse recorded in HY 1141, 1.23a, Ma was invited to take up residence at a Chin-yü An on the third day of the sixth lunar month of 1183. He passed away on the 22nd day of the twelfth lunar month (5 February 1184); see HY 175, 12a–b, and n161 above. See also the verse on the Chin-yü Retreat written to the tune of “Man-t’ing fang” 滿庭芳 (HY 1141, 10.17a). The symbolic associations of gold and jade are explored in another lyric to “Man-t’ing fang” entitled “Lun chin-yü” 論金玉 (HY 1141, 10.13b). Note also the alternate tz’u title “Chin-lien ch’u yü-hua” 金蓮出玉華 [Jade Blossoms Emerging from the Golden Lotus], proposed for the abbreviated “Mu-lan hua” 满字木蘭花 title (HY 1141, 10.1a). *Chin-lien* (Golden Lotus) and *Yü-hua* (Jade Blossom) were the names given the first two of five assemblies convened by Wang Che (HY 173, 2.5a).
364. Ma’s original name was Ts’ung-i (tzu, I-fu 宜甫). On the name change, see HY 297, 1.4b.

365. HY 1141, 7.6a: “Wen-teng hsien Huang-lu chiao tseng Tao-chung” 魏登縣黃露輝贈道眾. The title “Shih pao-en” is an alternate for the tune conventionally known as “Jui che-ku” 瑤鵲曲, and corresponds to Wang Che’s “Pao shih en” 保罗恩 (see section 2 above).

366. HY 1141, 8.23b: “Ch’uan Seng Tao ho-t’ung” 传僧道和同. The verse opens:

Taoists are slandering the samgha,  
The samgha are slandering the Taoists.
I respectfully exhort both the samgha and the Taoists  
To desist and reverse your ways.

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

367. HY 1141, 10.15b–16a, 23a–24a.

368. See, for example, HY 1134, 1.20b, where the second of three verses addressed to “Master Ch’uan of Ling-k’ou” 賦蓉口先生 reads as follows:

朝清清，暮清清，清清清閑清清清，清清清更清，
抱靈靈，固靈靈，靈顔靈明靈顔靈，靈顔靈更靈。

369. HY 1134, 1.2a.

370. HY 1134, 1.20b, “Tseng chung nü-ku” 聖公女姑, written to the tune of “Ch’ang-ssu hsien,” opens 女姑聽，女姑聽，諸取麻姑至淨清，依他妙善行.

371. HY 1134, 1.2b, “Che ssu ch’ih-chiao hsia pu-yin shui tung pu-hsiang huo” 蹤死赤腳夏不飲水冬不向火, written to the tune of “Pu suan-tzu.” On the view of man’s body as the furnace from which the enchymoma arises, see Needham and Lu 1983:211–212, 219–220.

372. HY 1134, 1.10a, “Shih-fu yin Ma Yu shang-chiez ch’iu-ch’i” 師父引馬義上街求乞, written to the tune of “T’a-yün hsing” 踏雲行 [Treading upon the Clouds]. Liu Ts’un-yan (1985a) points out that Ma’s tz’u lyrics are among those adapted for use in the Hsi-yu chi.

373. HY 1134, 2.1a, “Yu chieh chiu jou ch’a kuo chiu i...” 玉戒酒勸茶果久矣, written to the tune of “Nan-k’o tz’u” 南柯子.

374. According to Wu Ou-t’ing (1966:94), “Shen-kuang ts’an” is the title Ch’iu Ch’u-chi gave to the tz’u “Sheng-sheng man” 勝勝慢.

375. The transfer of heat from the heart to the brain is a component of nei-tan exercises, the ultimate goal of which is to produce an enchymoma or
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“inner macrobiogen," on which see Needham and Lu 1983: 71ff.

376. Ma does speak of escaping the Sea of Bitterness and the *huo-yüan* 火院, or burning hall (HY 1142, 4b), on analogy with the *huo-chai* 火宅, or burning house, parable of the Lotus Sūtra, on which see Hawkes 1981: 160.

377. Note that “Shen-kuang ts'an” is the title of a verse ascribed to Wang Che, which Ma matched with his own composition (HY 1155, 7a–b).

378. See, for example, HY 1142, 1a. On the history of these terms in Buddhist texts and their use in narrative works, see Dudbridge 1970: 167–176. See also Hawkes 1981: 162–163.

379. HY 1142, 14b: "...誰信道並不Undo众俗夫婦姻。

380. The preface appears in HY 1142, 13a–b, and a variant version of the story is found in HY 173, 2.11b–12a. On the latter text, see Chapter 2, section 4.

381. In the biography of Ma Yu in HY 173, 3.13b, seven anthologies were said to have been in print: (1) *Fen-li shih-hua* 般裂十化, (2) *Chien-wu* 清悟, (3) *Ching-wei* 精微, (4) *Chai-wei* 摘微, (5) *San-pao* 三寳, (6) *Hsing-hua* 行化, and (7) *Chin-yü* 金玉. Six titles are cited in a corresponding list of HY 297, 1.23a. The first and third titles given above are omitted, but *Yüan-ch'eng* 圓成 is added.


383. The song “Tai-ku jou” 翱舞柔 (HY 1136, 10b–11a) lists all seven of the Ch'üan-ch'en Perfected: Hao郝, Wang [Ch'u-i] 王, Sun孫, T'an譚, Ma馬, Ch'iu邱, and Liu劉. As Chubachi Masakazu (1976) and Hawkes (1981) point out, there are two plays extant in which Ma Tangyang has a major role. None of the songs in the *Tzu-jan chi* figures in these plays. On Ma Chih-yuan's play (ca. 1260–1325) p'ay about the conversion of “Crazy Jen,” *Ma Tan-yang san-tu Jen Feng-tzu* 馬丹陽三度任風子, see also Miyazawa Masayori 1984b.

384. Tao-chung Yao (1980a) notes that six of the songs in the *Tzu-jan chi* (actually seven plus coda, that is, the last complete *t'ao-shu*) appear under Teng Hsueh-k'o's name in Yang Ch'ao-ying's (ca. 1326) *Ch'ao-yeh hsin-sheng t'ai-p'ing yueh-fu* 朝野新聲太平歌曲, vol. 6, pp. 21–23. The set ascribed to Teng as well as the complete cycle from the *Tzu-jan chi* are recorded separately in the Ch'üan Yuan san-ch'u 仙源三處, pp. 696–698, 1651–1658. Following the last *t'ao-shu* of the *Tzu-jan chi* cycle are two songs written in the Cheng-kung mode. These songs are printed as one unit under the heading “Cheng-kung" in the *Tao-tsang* edition.

385. See HY 1246 *Chen-hsien chih-chih yü-lu* 真仙直指語錄, 1.1a–2a, compiled by a Hai-t'ien ch'i-yueh Tao-jen Hsüan-ch'üan-tzu 海天秋月道人玄全子. The latest author represented in this anthology is Yin Chih-p'ing 尹志平 (1169–1251). Note also that a *Ma Tan-yang chen-jen chih-yen* 馬丹陽真人直言 printed in HY 1247 *Ch'üan-hsien yao-yü* 真仙玄際語錄 is also included.
tsuan-chi 錦仙要語纂集, 2.15a–16a, is a different text altogether. This anthology was edited by Tung Chin-ch’un 董湛醇, who was given the name Huan-ch’u’ 潤初道人.

386. According to HY 174, 41b, Sun headed west in the year 1175, and, after paying her respects at the Tsu-t’ang 祖堂 (Hall of the Ancestor), the shrine set up at the burial site of Wang Che, she took up residence in a cave at Loyang. The account in HY 173, 5.9a–11b, dates her arrival at the shrine to 1172, after which Sun reportedly studied under her husband Ma Yù 來與 the understanding that they would ultimately pursue independent paths toward perfection. Seven years later, in 1179, she is reported to have settled in Loyang, where she converted large numbers of people.

387. According to the Chin-lien ch’i-chen chuan-i 11.118, Sun spattered oil on her face in order to convince Wang that she was worthy of going on her own to Loyang. According to the Ch’i-chen shih-chuan 10.54 (see note 172), she merely rubbed coals on her face. The Ch’i-chen t’ien-hsien pao-chuan 七真天仙聖像, p. 43a–b, is in accord with the former version. A reissue of this pao-chuan 賢卷 dating to 1908 is in the David Crockett Graham collection of the East Asian Library at the University of California, Berkeley. A preface dating to 1821 is signed by a “Yü-ch’ing san-jen” 亦清散人 of “Hsi-nan hsiang” 南鄉 (southwestern village). According to the title page, this text was revealed by planchette through the two patriarchs Chung-li Ch’üan and Lü Yen. The blocks of this text, like those of many of the rare editions collected by Graham, were once stored at Hsu-chou 效州 in Szechwan. I am grateful to Michel Strickmann for calling my attention to this work.

388. See HY 174, 41a–b.

389. Compare HY 173, 5.10a–b, and HY 174, 42b, with HY 1092, 5.7a. In the latter, see also the lyrics recorded in 6.13a–17a.

390. This title is found in vol. 15, pp. 6828–6832 of the 1977 reprint of the Ch’ung-k’an Tao-tsang chi-yao and in vol. 10 of the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu. The four texts included are variant redactions of HY 63 Yü-ch’ing t’ai-yüan nei-yang chen-ching 玉清胎元內養真經 and HY 64 Yü-ch’ing wu-shang nei-ching chen-ching 玉清無上內景真經, and abbreivated versions of the annotated editions of the Hsuan-chu hsing-ching chu 玄珠心經註 (HY 574, 575). Needham and Lu (1983: 304, note b) cites a lost Tan-tao pi-shu 丹道秘書 in an unidentified catalogue of the Tao-tsang. It is not among those texts listed in the HY 1419 Tao-tsang ch’üeh-ching mu-lu 道藏關經目錄. Note, however, that three works are attributed to Sun Pu-erh in the table of contents for a Nü-tan ho-pien 女丹合編 (preface 1905) cited in the Ch’ung-k’an Tao-tsang chi-yao 1.245: K’un-yüan ching 坤元經, K’un-chüeh 坤訣, and Nü-hsiu ch’eng-t’u 女修程途.
391. This title is recorded in vol. 15, pp. 6826–6827 of the 1977 reprint of the Ch'ung-k'an Tao-tsang chi-yao and vol. 9 of the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu.


393. HY 173, 4.12a, and HY 174, 35b, credit Ch’iu with a Ming-tao chi 道集, as well as the P’an-hsi chi.

394. HY 1151, 2.12a–14a.

395. HY 1151, 6.11a, 18a–b. Nakata Yūjirō (1955) conveys a high regard for Ch’iu Ch’u-chi’s tz’u. Arthur Waley (1931: ix–x), on the other hand, is less than complimentary about the quality of the verses, both shih and tz’u, that are included in HY 1418 Hsi-yu chi. He terms the selection there “no more than tolerably executed vers d’occasion.” Ch’iu, Waley concludes, “has no reputation as a poet and judging from the specimens in the Hsi Yu Chi, he deserves none.” Waley’s harsh evaluation, in my opinion, is not fully justified. At the very least, Li Chih-ch’ang’s compilation should be appreciated for preserving a substantial quantity of Ch’iu Ch’u-chi’s verse that has not otherwise survived.

396. The tributes to Chin Shih-tsung are found in HY 1151, 2.7a, 3.6a–7a, and Ch’iu’s inscriptions on fans are recorded in 2.2a–3a.

397. The “Hsiu Tao” sequence is found in HY 1151, 4.13a–15a, and the “Ch’ing-t’ien ko” in 3.1a–b.

398. A brief summary of this text is found in Waley 1931:21–25.

399. On Yeh-lü Ch’u-ts’ai, see de Rachewiltz 1962a.

400. According to HY 1418, 2.5a–b, the Khan early on commanded that the master’s words be recorded in Chinese.

401. On the discrepancies between the two texts, see Pelliot 1929:175 and de Rachewiltz 1962b:69–72, n 168.

402. As the editors of the “Tao-tsang t’i-yao hsuan-k’an” (1984.2:5) observe, there is a close correspondence between the account on Ch’iu in the Yuan shih 元史 202: “Shih-lao chuan” and the Hsuan-feng ch’ing-hui lu.

403. HY 1418, 1.29a.

404. On filiality and the preservation of animal life, see HY 1418, 2.6a, 7a.

405. This citation (HY 176, 5b) is actually an adaptation of a passage from the Shen-hsien chuan 神仙傳, ascribed to Ko Hung, in which P’eng-ts’u 彭祖, the legendary expert in the arts of the bed chamber, is quoted as saying that it is better to sleep alone than to ingest a hundred pharmaceuticals (Tao-tsang ching-hua lu, vol. 11, 1.4a).

406. HY 1418, 1.4a.

407. HY 1418, 2.8a.

408. As the “Tao-tsang t’i-yao hsuan-k’an” (1984.2:3–4) points out, the absence of Chen-chiin (Perfected Lord) in the honorary title suggests this text was compiled sometime between 1269 and 1310. The discussions on nei-tan include a number of citations from Shih Chien-wu 施肩吾
(chin-shih, 820) and appear to be cognate to the instructions found in the *Chung Lü ch’uan-tao chi* (included in HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*; see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations) and HY 246 *Hsi Shan ch’in-hsien hui-chen chi*. On the latter text, see also the discussion in “Tao-tsang t’i-yao hsuan-k’an” 1984:2:4.

409. The verses are found in HY 1152, 1.18b–19b.

410. HY 1152, 1.11a.

411. According to Wu Ou-t’ing (1966: 94), the latter tune title, an alternate for “Sheng-sheng man” 聲聲慢, originated with Ch’iu Ch’u-chi.

412. This verse is recorded in HY 174, 28b–29a, and HY 297, 2.4b–5a.

413. HY 174, 31b; HY 297, 2.9b–10a.

414. Liu’s name as it appears at the head of each chapter does not include the epithets of 1269 and 1310.

415. HY 1144, 1.11a.

416. HY 1144, 1.1b, 1.3a, 2.22b–23a.

417. HY 1144, 1.8a, 1.13b.

418. HY 1144, 1.15b. See also 2.33b, 3.13a, on the purchase of temple tablets of insignia.

419. HY 1144, 1.13b, 1.16b.

420. HY 1144, 1.30a.

421. Of the nineteen who had accompanied Ch’iu Ch’u-chi on his journey west for an audience with the Khan, one by the name of Chao Chiu-ku 趙九古 died enroute (see HY 1418 *Hsi-yu chi*, 1.22b).

422. The other two prefaces are signed by Li Ku-t’ao 李古陶 and Chang T’ien-tso 張天祚.

423. HY 1299, 3.1a ff.

424. HY 1138, 3.20b.

425. Note that A. C. Graham (1981: 57) prefers to read “pao-kuang” as “yao-kuang” 燕光, or Benetnash Star.

426. See the prefaces of Li and Chang in HY 1299, 1b, 2b, and Tuan’s preface, p. 4a.

427. HY 1138, 1.32a.

428. HY 1138, 1.35b: “王禪師病以詩贈之.”

429. HY 1138, 3.2b–3a.

430. HY 1246, 2.13a–b.

431. See note 385 regarding a partial transcript of Ma Yü’s sermon in HY 1246. Brief extracts in chapter 1 of HY 1246 include (1) “Ch’ang-ch’en T’an Hsien-sheng shih men-jen yü-lu” 長真譚先生示門人語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise Revealed by Master T’an Ch’ang-chen to His Disciples], 1.9b–10b; (2) “Ch’ang-sheng Liu Chen-jen yu-lu” 劉真入語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise of the Perfected Liu Ch’ang-sheng], 1.10b–12a; (3) “Ch’ang-ch’un Ch’iu Chen-jen chi Hsi-chou Tao-yu shu” 長真入真人寄西州遺友書 [Letters Sent by the Perfected Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un to Friends of the Tao in Hsi-chou], 1.12a–19a; and

432. HY 971 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu 4.3a–5b: “Li-feng-tzu Yü Kung mu-ming” [Li Feng-tzu’s Tomb Inscription].

433. HY 1254, 1.24b.

434. An abridged version of this work under the title P’an Shan yü-lu [山語録] is found in a 13th-century anthology, HY 263 Hsiu-chen shih-shu [修真十書], ch. 53. For a discussion of this text, see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations.

435. HY 1052, 39a.

436. Chi’s name is also recorded as I Chih-chen. His tomb inscription is found in HY 971, 8.22b–24a.

437. The preface is signed by a P’ei Hsien 責憲 (tzu, Tzu-fa 子法) of Ch’ang-an. P’ei reports that Lun Po-yü 論伯瑜 delivered the Chih-ch’ang hsien-sheng wen-chi [持真聖文記] to him. A verse that Chi sent to Lun is included in this anthology, HY 1132, 1.9b–10a. I have not been able to determine whether there is any relation between Lun Po-yü and the Lun Chih-huan whose preface is attached to the dialogic treatise of Wang Chih-chin.

438. Note that Wang O composed the tomb inscription for Wang Chih-chin, recorded in HY 971, 4.19b–24b. Note also that in Boltz 1986b I erroneously suggest that the extent of Wang’s evangelistic mission included Nanking, when in fact it is the southern capital of the Jurchens, i.e., Pien-liang, to which Nan-ching 南京 refers.

439. A further discussion of the contents of HY 263 is found in Chapter 5, under Encyclopedic Compilations.

440. See, for example, HY 111 Huang-ti yin-fu ching chi-chieh 黃帝陰符經 稱解. The commentary of this edition is purportedly drawn from ten different sources, many of which are clearly late fabrications.

441. Tao-tsang chi-yao 14.6025–6026. The author is identified as Hai-ch’an 智玄帝君. The honorific Ti-chun 帝君 (Sovereign Lord) was granted to Chung-li Ch’üan, Lu Yen, and Wang Che, as well as to Liu Ts’ao. For the decree of 1310, see HY 174, 3b–5a. As van der Loon (1984: 163) points out, both the Hsin T’ang shu and the Sung shih ascribe a Huan-chin p’ien 返金篇 to Hai-ch’an-tzu Hsuan-ying 海蟾子 玄英, i.e., Liu Ts’ao.

442. There are many, presumably apocryphal, stories on the sources of Chang’s inspiration. In the prefaces of the works attributed to him, Chang remains uninformative. Many of the hagiographic accounts attached to his works are equally vague. The entry for Chang Po-tuan in HY 296 Li-shih chen-hsien t’i-tao t’ung-chien 49.7bff. includes a statement to the effect that Liu Ts’ao conveyed formularies on chin-tan to Chang during his visit to the region of Shu in 1069. In later texts, Chang’s benefactor almost invariably remains anonymous.
443. HY 173, 1.9a–11b.

444. See the discussion on HY 1057 *Hsuan-chiao ta kung-an* 玄教大公案 in section 13 under Miao Shan-shih. Note also the charts outlining the transmission of sacred literature from Lord Lao to Ch’iu Ch’u-chi, which take into account both Ch’üan-chen and Nan-tsung patriarchs, in HY 247 *Yü-ch’i-tzu tan-ching chih-yao* 玉谿子丹經指要, 1.1a–4b. This synthesis, based largely on the Nan-tsung heritage, was compiled by Li Chien-i 李簡易 (preface, 1264) and includes a colophon of 1354 by Wang Kuei 王珪. Compare the chart of Hsiao T’ing-chih 蕭庭芝 dated 1260 in HY 687 *Tao-te chen-ching san-chieh* 道德真經三解 (see Chapter 5, Exegeses).


446. The 8-ch. HY 141 *Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p’ien chü-shu* 紫陽真人悟真篇註疏 includes a preface by Weng dated 1173, another by Ch’en Ta-ling 陳鶴陵 dated 1174, and one by Tai Ch’i-tsung 戴起宗, who reedited the work in 1335. The 3-ch. HY 145 *Wu-chen p’ien chü-shih* 悟真篇註釋 is printed with an undated preface by Weng. Further bibliographic data on the former is found in SKCS 3056; on the latter, see Liu Shih-p’ei 1936:6a–7b. The two editions of Weng Pao-kuang’s commentary offer variant readings that are of considerable interest. The filiation of these redactions vis-à-vis other commentaries to the *Wu-chen p’ien* merits further study.

447. This text is supplemented with hagiographic accounts for both Chang Po-tuan and Hsueh Tzu-hsien, compiled in 1337 by the editor Tai Ch’i-tsung. In his closing discourse, Tai discusses the history of various commentaries to the *Wu-chen p’ien* and suggests that Weng Pao-kuang’s commentary has often been mistakenly attributed to Hsueh Tzu-hsien, a conclusion also reached by Liu Ts’un-yan (1977a).

448. Additional verses are also incorporated in different editions of the *Wu-chen p’ien*, as is an essay entitled “Tu Chou-i ts’an-t’ung ch’i” 論周易參同契. The latter constitutes the third division of Weng’s edition. Note also that “Hsi-chiang yüeh” is an alternate title for the lyric “Puhü tz’u” 步虛詞.

449. This text is often incorrectly dated to the Sung. See Liu Shih-p’ei 1936:13b for a discussion of HY 259 [T’ao Chen-jen] Nei-tan fu [陶真人] 內丹賦, and a comparable text printed under the title HY 261 *Chin-tan fu* 金丹賦. Van der Loon (1984:78) notes that two Sung bibliographies cite a *Ta huan-tan chao-ching teng-hsien chi* 大運丹照 鏡登仙集 (the *Sung shih* reads chao-chien 照鑑).

450. Another redaction of this work is printed in HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, ch. 2.
451. See note 447.
453. This last sequence is also found in HY 263 *Hsiu-chêng shih-shu*, 7.4b–10b, and closes with a colophon of Shih T'ai that is not recorded in HY 1080.
454. Quite a different text is printed under this title in HY 263 *Hsiu-chêng shih-shu*, ch. 17.
455. On the lore of Lo-fou Shan, see Soymie 1956; in Appendix 1 note the genealogy of *chin-tan* entitled *Chin-tan shih-hsi chi* in *Chien wen yeh* (1410) of Ch'en Lien 陈理.
456. Pai's true name and dates are a matter of some dispute. HY 296, 49.16b, gives only the name Pai Yu-ch'an, but an entry in Ch'en Chensun's *Chen-ch'eng-shih chu-lu* (ca. 1190–1249 +) *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* 秉齋書録解題 identifies Pai as a member of the Ko 窮 lineage of Min-ch'ing (van der Loon 1984:149). Ko Ch'ang-kung 考長庚 is the full name most often recorded for Pai in late hagiographies, but a biography in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yuan* 147.1a–4a, compiled by a disciple named Hsueh Shih-ch'un 習師淳, identifies his master as a native of Hai-ch'ung海琉 (Hainan) and gives his original name as Chu-ko Meng 華可. Miyakawa Hisayuki (1978) concludes that the correct dates for Pai are 1194–1229, and Yang Heng 鄭衡, a Taoist Master who was in charge of the Hsuan-miao Kuan 玄妙觀 of Hangchow in 1818, also dates Pai's birth to 1194 in his *Yuan-miao Kuan chih* 元妙觀志, 2.3b. Other hagiographies suggest that Pai lived to be nearly one hundred years of age. See also Ch'en Ping 1985:37–38.
457. See note 102. Note also that recorded in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yuan* 108.15b–16b is a "Ts'ui-hsü Ch'en Chen-jen te-fa chi" 窮虚陳真人事記, ascribed to Pai Yu-ch'an and dated 1212.
458. The latest edition is the *Sung Pai Chen-jen Yü-ch'an ch'uan-chi* 宋白雲真人全集 (1976), compiled by a committee organized expressly for the purpose of reprinting Pai's collected writings. Included within the introductory materials is a series of prefaces and colophons to various editions of Pai's works, the earliest of which dates to 1234. The last preface was contributed by Hsiau T'ien-shih 蕭天石 in 1969. For an earlier version of this anthology, see *Ch'iuang-kuan Pai Chen-jen chi huan kuan* 會真篇人集 in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 14.6195–6366, with a preface and colophon dating to 1594. Both preface and colophon are also recorded in the 1976 edition. According to a chronology included in the *fu-lu* 附録 (supplement), pp. 48–55, of the 1976 edition, Pai was born in 1134 and died in 1229. See also Hsiao T'ien-shih 1981:577–580. On HY 1297 *Hai-ch'iuang wen-tao chi* discussed below, see *STY* 1984.3:97.
459. A different disciple is listed as responsible for each of the first three chapters: (1) Hsieh Hsien-tao 謝顯道, (2) Lin Po-ch'ien 林伯誠, and
(3) Yeh Ku-hsi, et al., including Chao Shou-fu 趙秀夫 (3.15a). P'eng Ssu was a son of an eminent lineage of San-shan 三山 (Fukien). Other than annotated editions of the Tao-te ching (see Chapter 5, Exegeses), the only work to which P'eng's name is attached in the Canon is the 2-ch. HY 913 Chin-hua ch'ung-pi tan-ching pi-chih 金華會碧丹經秘旨. According to Meng Hsü 孟煦, who compiled this text in 1225, the first chapter is based on a text of Pai Yü-ch'æn's writings that P'eng Ssu reportedly passed on to him. The tz'u 叔 verses cited here merit collation with those preserved in the anthologies of Pai's writings printed in HY 263 Hsiu-chen shih-shu (see below).

461. HY 1296, 4.6b–9a.
463. The Shang-ch'æng chi is in HY 263, ch. 37–44.
464. HY 263, 39.4b–8a. Another song under the same title is also recorded in 39.8b–9b.
465. HY 263, 41.8a–b, to the tune of "Shui-tiao ko-t'ou" 水調歌頭.
466. The Wu-i chi is in HY 263, ch. 45–52.
467. HY 263, 47.10a–16b, dated 1216.
468. HY 263, 46.1a–5b.
469. HY 263, 51.6b–7a: "Wei jen yu Yen-hu kiao-shih ch'iu Ts'ui-hsü miao-wu ch'uan-chi shu i-fu".為人與煙霞高士求夢虛妙悟全集書一冊.
470. As noted below, the text included in the Canon is the edition Wang Chieh arranged to have printed.
471. See Chapter 2, section 4, for a discussion of HY 305 Ch'un-yang ti-chün 滋潤華藻-成.
472. HY 1053, 3.7a–11a.
473. HY 1053, 5.5b–14a.
474. The 6-ch. HY 699 Tao-te hui-yuan 謂儒釋道三教總誄程書 is discussed in Chapter 5, Exegeses.
475. HY 1053, 6.21a–27b: "Yung Ju Shih Tao san-chiao tsung tseng Ch'eng Chieh-an" 聞儒釋道三教總誄程書.
476. Further discussions on these three concepts is found in the HY 250 San-t'ien i-sui 三天易體 of Li Tao-ch'un, summarized in the "Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsuan-k'an" 1984.2: 5.
477. HY 249, 2.11b–17a.
478. On the Chung-ho chi, see also SKCS 3078. Liu and Berling 1982 includes a brief discussion of Li Tao-ch'un, designating him as a "Ch'uan-chen priest." The entry on HY 1053 in STY 1984.3: 84 also identifies Li as the earliest Ch'uan-chen disciple of Chiang-nan. Such labels can be confusing. Certainly Li does now and then attempt to explain what is meant by Ch'uan-chen chih Tao 全真別道 (HY 249, 3.8b, 5.8a–b), and he did author a text under the title HY 251 Ch'uan-chen chi-hsüan pi-yao 全真集玄秘要. HY 251, however, is actually an exegesis on the
Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i, which also falls within the mainstream of the Nan-tsung literary heritage. Li himself, unfortunately, does not reveal with any precision his indebtedness to any particular tradition. Prominent among those whom he does cite are Chang Po-tuan and Pai Yü-ch' an. A tsu-shih is occasionally invoked, but it is not clear if this refers to Wang Chin-ch' an, Pai Yü-ch' an, or a master of a preceding generation, such as Chang Po-tuan. At any rate, it appears that by the time Li was writing, the phrase Chin-tan chih Tao had become nearly synonymous with Ch'üan-ch'en chih Tao.

479. Miao also added a preface in 1324 to a scripture on the origin of the San-kuan, HY 651 T'ai-shang tung-shen san-yuan miao-pen fushou chen-ching, p. 9a.

480. On the pearl as a vehicle of salvation according to the Tu-jen ching, see Boltz 1983: 504–507. Note that, as the source behind HY 1057, Miao is identified at the head of each chapter as a Chin-lien Tao-shih (Taoist Master of the Golden Lotus).

481. According to K' o, the teachings of Liu Ts'ao were passed southward to Chang Po-tuan and northward to Wang Che. HY 1057 also includes two additional undated prefaces, signed by T'ang Tao-lin of Ch'inling and by an imperial scribe named Wang Ts'ung-i (fl. 1327).

482. Note that in his postface to HY 1053, Wang only refers to Teng Tch'eng's accounts, without any mention of the contributions made by other disciples of Li Tao-ch' un.

483. See note 476.

484. See, for example, the three lyrics to the tune of “Pai-tzu ling” in HY 1066, 3.40a–41b.

485. See Chapter 5, Exegeses.

486. HY 1059, 1.12b. Note that the trinity honored at the Ching Chung Koon of Castle Peak and at its sister branch in San Francisco is Lu Yen, Wang Che, and Ch'iu Ch'u-chi.


488. HY 1059, 1.2a, 13.19b. The two texts are also cited in Ch'en's biography of Chao, HY 1062, 9a.

489. HY 1059, 14.3b–7a.

490. HY 1059, 10.1a–13a.

491. HY 1059, 12.1a–10b.

492. According to Ch'en's preface, the original edition of the Chin-tan ta-yao comprised ten chapters, the eighth of which included diagrams. It is this edition that the Ssu-k'u bibliographers evidently reviewed (SKCS 3078). The Tao-tsang chi-yao edition of the Chin-tan ta-yao (16.6975–7086) fills three chiian, including supplements. The diagrams found in the last chapter offer interesting variants to those recorded in the Canon.

493. Tao-tsang chi-yao 16.7066–7071. Note that the biographical supplement follows rather than precedes the ritual text in this edition. The first five
accounts on the Ch’üan-chen patriarchs are accompanied by full-sized woodcut portraits together with talismans.

494. HY 273, 10a: 吟光遠客見空球.
495. HY 273, 8a.
496. HY 1243, 19a–20b.

497. The most extensive biography of Mo is found in Sung Lien’s 宋濤 (1310–1381) Luan-p’o chi 響坡集, 1.4b–6a, included in the Sung hsieh-shih wen-chi 宋學士文集. Sung’s account warrants comparison with the hagiographic records in the Canon. As mentioned earlier (note 104), the HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan includes texts associated with the Thunderclap Ritual Tradition of Mo Ch’i-yen.

498. See, for example, HY 1248, 10a. Note also the closing izzu lyric, 32b–33a. Such admonitions contrast sharply with the ritual instructions attributed to Mo Ch’i-yen in HY 1210, 77.6b–8a, “Shu-fu k’ou-chueh” 書符訣 [Oral Codes on the Inscription of Talismans] and the elaborate avian talisman printed under Mo’s name in 95.8a.

499. See, for example, HY 1243, 9a.

500. HY 1243, 4b, 5b.

501. HY 1243, 32b–33a. Note that a variant redaction of this lyric, to the tune of “Man-chiang hung” 溧江紅, is attributed to Mo Ch’i-yen in the anthology HY 1092 Ming-ho yü-yin (discussed in section 16).

502. See, for example, the TSCC edition of the Ming-ho yü-yin, based on the printing of the Han-hai 滬海 collectaneum. This version opens with thirteen lyrics of Yu Chi to the tune of “Su-wu man,” compared to twelve in HY 1092, 2.9a–13b, and closes with a supplement of the twenty lyrics of Feng. Note also that an old copy of the Ming-ho yü-yin in eight chüan was reviewed by the Ssu-k’u bibliographers (SKCS 4479). They identify P’eng Chih-chung as the compiler but were unable to date him, apparently because Yu Chi’s preface was not known to them. The Tao-tsang chi-yao edition is printed in one chüan (19.8309–8372) and also lacks the preface of Yu Chi.

503. See note 389.

504. HY 1092, 1.6a–7b.

505. HY 1092, 1.12a–13a, 16a–17b; 2.16b–17a.


507. The Naikaku bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku 1956:321 also lists a work of the same title, the second chüan of which is entitled Hsin-k’an ch’ün-hsien wu-tao wu-wai ming-yin wen-chi 新刊群仙悟道物外鳴音文集.

508. In contrast to the Tao-tsang edition, Yu Chi’s preface here is specifically labeled as a contribution to a reissue of the Ming-ho yü-yin: 重刊鳴鶴餘音録.

509. Note that both chüan in this edition are given the subheading Hsüan-men tsung-chih 玄門宗旨.

511. See Chapter 1, section 6 and note 99.

512. See the accounts in HY 1300 Hsien-ch’uan chi 4.11a–12b (discussed below) and in the Hsiao-yao Shan Wan-shou Kung chih 5.31a–32a, Tao-chiao wen-hsien, vol. 6. The account added to the National Central Library edition of the Li-shih chen-hsien t’i-tao t’ung-chien 36.37a–39a appears to be derived from the former. Note also the brief summary in Akizuki 1978:155–159.

513. The 11-ch. HY 1157 Hsien-ch’uan wai-k’o pi-fang 仙傳外科秘方, an illustrated medical guide on the diagnosis and treatment of skin conditions and various other disorders, was also compiled by Chao I-chen and is a remarkable testimony to the career of a Taoist Master cum physician. Chao’s preface to the work dates to 1378, but the final redaction apparently was prepared by his disciples shortly after his death four years later. Note also that Chao authored a closing note to a scripture identified with the Dark Warrior, HY 663 Hsuan-t’ien shang-ti shuo pao fu-mu en-chung ching 上天上帝說報父母恩重經, 2a–3a.

514. HY 1063, 1.8a.
515. HY 1063, 1.11a.
516. HY 1063, 2.5b–9b.
517. HY 1063, 2.2a. See also Schipper 1982:197, 307n55.
518. HY 1063, 2.4a–b.
519. HY 1063, 2.9b–10b: “Shuai Hu Kuang Wu-tang Kung hsüeh-che k’an Tao-te ching Wen-shih ching t’i-tz’u” 杜虎匡武當宮學者列道德編文始經題辭.
520. HY 568, 4a–5a
521. HY 568, 5b–6b. On the three vermin that cause infirmities of body and mind, see Maspero 1981:331–338. The six indriyas (liu-ken 六根), or sense organs, deemed essential to control are the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind (眼耳鼻舌身意). Similarly, codifiers of the Ling-pao scriptural tradition specified the need to obstruct the liu-ch’ing 六情, or six senses, which according to HY 177 T’ai-shang tung-chen chih-hui shang-p’in ta-chieh 太上洞真智慧上品大誠, 6a, are identified as the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, and mind (目耳鼻口手心).
522. HY 568, 8b.
523. See the brief biographical note on Chang Yü-ch’u by Lienche Tu Fang in Goodrich and Fang 1976:107–108. A much less sympathetic account of Chang’s father, Chang Cheng-ch’ang, is found on pp. 44–45. Note also the entry on a 4-ch. edition of the Hsien-ch’üan chi in SKCS 3606, reprinted in the chen-pen series. According to the Ssu-k’u bibliographers, Chang Yü-ch’u at one time studied ritual under Chao I-chen’s disciple Liu Yüan-jan 劉顯然, but later the two were at odds and reportedly slandered one another. According to the Ming shih 299, Shao I-cheng
who succeeded Chang in the editorship of the 1444–1445 Canon, was also a disciple of Liu.

524. HY 1300, 6.5a. The date chia-shen 查神 appears at the head of a Blue-paper Prayer issued at the close of a chiao-fête of universal salvation.

525. According to HY 1451, 3.27b, the Hsien-ch’uan chi published by Chu totaled twenty ch’ian. While it is tempting to suggest that the Ch’eng T’ung named here is the militarist Ch’eng T’ung (d. 1402) of Chi-ch’i (Anhui), who held an honorary post under the Prince of Liao, the preface date of 1407 does not support this identification. Sun K’o-k’uan (1977:320) claims that the Ssu-k’u edition cites Ch’eng Hsun-tao 賽傅 as the author of the second 1407 preface, but the reprint of the text in the Ssu-k’u ch’uan-shu chen-pen 四庫全書珍本, series 5, records the same name as the Tao-tsang edition, i.e., Ch’eng T’ung. Note that Ch’eng’s remarks in the chen-pen reprint are found at the close of the text. The Ssu-k’u edition includes a more comprehensive collection of Chang’s prose writings but less poetry. For a collation of the contents of the two editions, see Sun 1977:318–319.

526. Note that the Ssu-k’u bibliographers (SKCS 3606) emphasize the traditional Ju orientation of Chang’s writings in this section.

527. HY 1300, 2.1a–3b, 19a–23a. Note that the Canon includes a work of similar title, the HY 953 T’ai-shang hun-yuan chen-lu 上混元真錄.

528. See, for example, the entries concerning the cult of the Three Perfected Lords of Hua-kai Shan (HY 1300, 3.21a–22b, 33a–34b), discussed in Chapter 2, section 7.

529. HY 1300, 4.7b–12b.

530. HY 1300, 5.7a–8b.


532. HY 1300, 6.9a–16a.

533. HY 1239, 1.4a–b, 5a–6a.

534. HY 1239, 5.8b–18b.

535. HY 977, 6b.

536. HY 1210, 71.7b. The entire sequence here is entitled “Hsu-ching t’ien-shih p’o-wang chang” 虚靖天師破妄章.

537. On the Hung-en cult, see Chapter 1, section 8, and Chapter 2, section 11.

538. Note that only four of the accounts are dated. The author of the “Ling-chi Kung chi” 靈渓宮記 (HY 1456, 1.5a–9b) states that over four hundred years had passed since the founding of the shrine, which, if we take him at his word, suggests that he was writing ca. 1350. If so, this piece would be an interpolation to Ch’en’s original compilation.

539. Note that HY 1458 Hsū-hsien chen-lu 虚靖仙真人 1.5b dates the bestowal of the temple title to 1237 rather than 1238.
540. HY 1456, 4.7b–13a. Note that two of the dispatches are dated 975.
541. HY 1456, 11.26a–27a.
542. HY 1457, 1.14a–15b.
543. HY 1457, 3.3a–4a.
544. HY 1457, 3.1a–2b, 4a–5b.
545. HY 1457, 4.5a. Notable by their absence are the titles authorized by Ming Hsien-tsung (r. 1465–1487) in 1485, raising Hsu Chih-cheng and Hsu Chih-o to the unprecedented rank of Shang-ti (Supreme Sovereign), according to HY 1458, 3.12a. See also SKCS 3080.

546. On the Ching-ming cult and HY 1102, see Chapter 2, section 6.
547. On the metaphoric interpretations of chung and hsiao, see Chapter 2, section 6.
548. See also the discussion in Hsü Hsi-hua 1983. There are altogether seven prefaces printed at the head of HY 1102. Those of Chao Shih-yen, T’eng Pin, and Tseng Sun are undated. P’eng Yeh’s preface is dated 1323 and that of Yü Chi is dated 1324. Chang Kuei (d. 1327) apparently wrote his sometime between 1324 and 1327, after he was enfeoffed as Ts’ai-kuo Kung (Yuan shih 175.4083). The last preface by Hsü Hui is dated 1327.
549. HY 1102, 6.12a–b.
550. According to Yoshioka 1970a: 254 and Liu Ts’un-yan 1967b: 118, the dates of Wu are 1563–1632. Liu Ts’un-yan (1984: 185) more cautiously concludes that Wu was born at the latest in 1563. The “Wu Ch’ung-hsü lu-shih chuan” included with a collection of Wu’s writings in volume 10 of the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu dates his death to 1644. The dates I cite above are taken from a little-known biographical supplement to Wu’s Hsien Fo hsieh-tsung yu-lu (see below), entitled “Wu Chen-jen hsiu-hsien ko” (see also, Wu Chen-jen hsiu-hsien ko). According to a commentary apparently by Wu’s younger brother Wu Shou-hsiu, Wu Shou-yang was born on the first day of the sixth lunar month (22 June) of 1552 and ascended on the twentieth of the eleventh month of keng-ch’en, corresponding to 1 January 1641 (Tao-tsang chi-yao 17.7533). Note that the latest preface composed by Wu is that included with the Wu Chen-jen tan-tao chiu-p’ien (see below), dated to the spring of 1640.
551. For Shen’s account, see Tao-tsang chi-yao 17.7542. As Liu Ts’un-yan (1984: 186) points out, brief biographical notes on Chang, Li, and Ts’ai are found in the commentary to the Hsien Fo hsieh-tsung yu-lu (Tao-tsang chi-yao 17.7445). The birth date cited for Chang, Hsuan-te jen-tzu (1432), appears to be an error, for he reportedly refused a summons from Ming Hsiang-tsung (r. 1522–1566).
552. Liu Ts’un-yan (1984: 208) identifies the Prince of Chi as Chu Ch’ang-ch’un, but according to the genealogical records of the Ming
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shih 104.2922, this royal descendant died in 1618 without inheriting the title. His son Chu Yu-lien 楚玉霖 is said to have been enfeoffed as the Prince of Chi in 1621. Note that Wu, in his preface to the Wu Chen-jen tan-tao chiu-p'ien speaks of offering instruction to the Prince of Chi between the years 1615 and 1632 (Tao-tsang chi-yao 17.7630).

553. Min T’iao-fu’s account is recorded after that of Shen Chao-ting in volume 10 of the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu. It also appears in his Chin-kai hsin-teng 金塞心燈, 2.1a–2b. A reprint of the 1876 edition of this text is found in volumes 10–11 of the Tao-chiao wen-hsien. The text is an indispensable resource on Lung-men patriarchs and other worthies of the Chin-kai Shan region. The legacy of Nan-tsung and Ch’üan-chen, as well as that of Lung-men, is traced ultimately to Lü Tung-pin, according to the list of patriarchs and matriarchs that opens this work. Biographies for Chao Chen-sung and Wang Ch’ang-yueh are found in 1.11a–12b. 15a–17b. Note that Min’s chronology closely parallels that in the biographical supplement to the Hsien Fo ho-tsong yi-lu (note 550), which documents the early years of Wu’s life and also highlights his filial conduct. For a derivative version of Min’s biography, see Ch’en Wen-shu’s 陳文述 (1771–1843) Hsi-ling hsien-yung 西泠仙詠 2.21b–22a.

554. Tao-tsang chi-yao 17.7621–7630.

555. See the 1764 summary by Shen Chao-ting on the history of this publication (Tao-tsang chi-yao 17.7541). According to Shen, the text itself was completed in 1622 and the commentary in 1639. Note that the Tao-tsang chi-yao prints the text in two components, chih-lun 直論 and ch’ien-shuo 演説, whereas both are printed in reverse order as one unit in the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu.

556. This text is found in the Tao-tsang chi-yao 17.7403–7540 but not in the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu.

557. See, for example, the Wu Liu hsien-tsung ch’üan-chi 伍柳仙宗全集 published in 1962 and reissued in 1971 with the preface of Ch’en Chih-pin 陳志濱.

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558. See HY 108–127, 676–725, 734–744, and 996–1005, respectively. On the Yin-fu ching, see Miyakawa Hisayuki 1984, and on the Chou-i ts’an-t’ung ch’i, see Fukui Kojun 1974. Among the commentaries to the latter text included in the Taoist Canon is the 3-ch. HY 998 Chou-i ts’an-t’ung ch’i chu 詮 of Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200). Students of Chu Hsi’s legacy should note that the Tao-tsang also includes editions of the following works: (1) 12-ch. HY 1034 Huang-chi ching-shih 黃帝經世 of Shao Yung 邵雍 (1011–1077), (2) 20-ch. HY 1036 I-ch’uan chi-jang chi 伊川擊壤集 of Shao Yung, (3) 56-ch. HY 1452 Hung-tao lu 弘道錄 of
Shao Ching-pang (chin-shih, 1521), and (4) 8-ch. HY 1459
Ju-men ch'ung-li che-chung k'an-yü wan-hsiao lu 儒門常理折衷箋義

559. Unlike Michael Saso (1983: 155), who states that "it must be pointed out
that the study of religious Taoism is new enough in the world of sinology
not to be burdened with the wealth of detailed commentaries so much a
part of the Confucian and Buddhist scholarly traditions," I would argue
that exegetic traditions preserved in the Tao-tsang are both substantial
and deserving of study.

560. The dates I cite for Ch'en are those given in the biography recorded in
HY 715 Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei k'ai-t'i k'o-wen shu
1.2b–9b (see below), an account that differs from that in HY 296,
49.4a–5a. An important episode in Ch'en's life omitted from his biogra­
phy is summarized in van der Loon 1984:10–11. It concerns Wang
Ch'in-jo's recommendation that Ch'en be put in charge of collating the
texts in the Canon, a proposal that was rejected out of hand by a very
prejudiced Fan Tsu-yu (1041–1098).

561. The nine editions are listed in a supplementary work by Ch'en, the 1-ch.
HY 737 Nan-hua chen-ching chang-chu yu-shih 餘事, 12a–b. As Wong
Shiu-hon points out in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:364–365, the 1-ch.
Chuang-tzu chueh-wu 莊子諷譏 was extracted from HY 736. Accord­
ing to Ch'en (HY 736, preface la–b), the archaic title "Nan-hua" was
officially authorized by T'ang Hsüan-tsung during the T'ien-pao ^
reign (742–756).

562. Also included in the prefatory materials of HY 714 is a "Lao-tzü lun"
老子論 of Ko Pi (ca. 1131–1196). See the biography of Chang Wu-meng in HY 296, 48.5a–7a. For a chart
of the Nan-tsung patriarchs, see Needham 1976:202. On the legends
surrounding Ch'en T'uan, see Knaul 1981.

563. Three prefaces are attached to this text. The first, by Li T'ing 李庭
of Fou-yang (Hopeh), is undated, but presumably the same Li T'ing
is known to have contributed introductory remarks in 1249 to an
inscription engraved in 1251 (Ts'ai Mei-piao 1955:117). The second pref­
ace, by Kuo Shih-chung 郭時中 (1195–1255), is dated to the chi-yu
year of the Great Mongol State of Antiquity 大蒙古國古之年．The date chi­
yu is also given for the preface of Feng Fu 靜虛．Although Yen Ling­
feng (1965:129) dates the prefaces to the year 1309, the correct
correspondence for the date chi-yu is the year 1249. Note also that the
date given for Hsüeh Chih-hsuan's demise in the epitaph cited by Yen,
the seventh year of the chi-huan 章元 reign, corresponds to 1271, not
1341. According to Kuo Shih-chung, the printing of Hsüeh's exegesis
was undertaken by three Taoist Masters: Pai Hsien-tao 白顔道 (hao,
Ch'ung-su 聲素) of Mei-t'ien 美田 [sic], Liu Po-ying 劉伯英 (hao,
Pao-kuang 徐光) of Ch'ang-an, and a Chang Ta-shih 張宰師 of Feng-
hsiang (Shensi). Li T'ing cites the same trio in his preface but gives the provenance of Master Pai as Mei-yüan (Shensi). The place name Mei-t'ien is unattested, but the district of Mei-yüan was administered throughout the Jurchen regime and abolished sometime during the Yuan (Ku Tsu-yü, *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* 53.2356).

565. The title “Ch’ung-hsü” was bestowed on Lieh-tzu by imperial decree at the beginning of the T’ien-pao reign (742–756), after which the Lieh-tzu text was retitled *Ch’ung-hsü chen-ching*. In the year 1007, the honorific “Chih-te” was added (HY 733, 1.1a).

566. For a study of the textual history of the *Ta-tung ching*, see Robinet 1983. Ch’en’s edition, according to Robinet (1983: 401), was compiled on the basis of a text very close to that which is printed in the Canon with the preface of Chu Tzu-ying, HY 6 *Shang-ch’ing ta-tung chen-ching*. Among the activities of note in Chu’s career was the ordination ceremony he administered at Mao Shan in 1024 on behalf of the Empress Dowager Liu, shortly after the completion of a mourning period for Sung Chen-tsung (r. 998–1022). An account of this ritual is recorded in HY 776 *Ch’ang-hsien ming-su huang-hou shou Shang-ch’ing pi-fa hi chi* 章獻明肅皇后受上清法錄記, a text that is repeated in HY 304 *Mao Shan chih* 25.2a–5a.


568. For biographies of Yen Tung and Hsüeh Yu-ch’i, see HY 296, 28.14b and 39.10b, respectively. Li Shao-wei is among the patriarchs cited in the Ch’ing-wei roster of HY 171, 14a. Sunayama Minoru (1984) concludes that Li Shao-wei predates Ch’eng Hsuan-ying.

569. For further background to Ch’en’s compilations, see his HY 241 *Pi-hsü-tzu ch’in-ch’uan chih-chih* 碧霞子親傳直指, an exposition on chin-tan practice prefaced by a short biographical note.

570. See the discussion on Shen-hsiao in Chapter 1.

571. Two works ascribed to Li Kuang-hsiian, also known as Li Hsuan-kuang 李玄光, are extant in the Canon: HY 266 *Chin-i huan-tan pai-wen chuëh* 金液還丹百問訣 and HY 1039 *Hai-k’o lun* 海客論, actually a shorter, variant edition of the former. Although, as van der Loon (1984: 163) notes, Li’s dates are uncertain, his writings are cited in the HY 925 *Ta huan-tan chao-chien* 大還丹照鑑, compiled in 962, as well as in Tseng Ts’ao’s *Ch’eng* (fl. 1131–1155) encyclopedic anthology, HY 1011 *Tao shu* 道樞, 22.6b. On the former work, see the discussion on the Nan-tsung legacy in Chapter 4, section 11, and on the latter, see below. A biographical note on P’eng Hsiao is found in HY 1238 *San-tung ch’un-hsien lu*, 12.21b. The compilations of P’eng preserved in the Canon include the 3-ch. HY 999 *Chou-i ts’an-t’ung ch’i fen-chang t’ung-
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chen i 周易参同契分章通真義 and HY 1000 Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i ting-ch'í ko ming-ching t'u 易器歌明鏡圖. Note also that HY 1026 Yün-ch'i ch'i-ch'ien 70 (see below) records his Huan-tan nei-hsiang chin yao-shih 逍遙內象金鑰匙.

572. The place names Tung-hai and Ch'ing-ho appear to offer some clue concerning the provenance of the text. Both, according to Ku Tsu-yü's Tushih fang-yü chi-yao 22.1032, 1042, were districts incorporated in Huai-an fu 淮安府 (Kiangsu). Tung-hai has a long history but, apparently in 1286, upon the establishment of the Mongol empire, it was merged with Ch'ü-shan 昌山 district. The district of Ch'ing-ho was established at the end of the Hsien-ch'un 咸淳 reign (1265–1274). Thus, HY 88 may have been compiled sometime between 1274 and 1285. The terminology on which the Perfected of Ch'ing-yuan is said to have focused, lihsing 理性 and ming-ken 命根, moreover, suggests his contribution dates to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Note also that the collator of Shao Jo-yü's 邵若愚 (fl. 1159) HY 688 Tao-te chen-ching chih-chieh 道德真經解, Chang Chih-hsin 張知新, is known as Ch'ing-ho chu-shih 青柯居士.


574. Ch'en's commentary appears together with those of Hsueh Tzu-hsien 蕭知業 (d. 1191) and Lu Shu陸守 in the 5-ch. HY 142 Wu-chen p'ien san-chu 武經三注.

575. Needham, Ho, and Lu 1976:54. To these authors, Ch'en is "the greatest Taoist writer of the Yuan" (p. 206). His interpretation of the Ts'an-t'ung ch'i, although it demonstrates a working knowledge of the laboratory tradition of wai-tan, is firmly rooted in the nei-tan tradition. Ch'en's edition, the 3-ch. Ts'an-t'ung ch'i fen-chang chu 參同契分章註, is not included in the Tao-tsang but is found in the Tao-tsang chi-yao 11,4539–4581 and the Ssu-k'u Imperial Library (SKCS 3048).

576. See Chapter 4, section 14 for a discussion of HY 1059.

577. Note that HY 1272 Kao-shang shen-hsiao tsung-shih shou-ching shih, 3b (see Chapter 1, section 1) cites a Ling-pao tu-jen ching-i 聖寶度人經義 by Li Yü-te 李玉德, to which Sung Hui-tsung as the incarnation of
the Perfected Sovereign Lord of Shen-hsiao was said to have contributed a preface. The text is no longer extant.

578. See HY 91, 1.42a for a citation from his master, Chao Yu-ch’ín.

579. See HY 91, 2.41a, 3.1a.

580. See HY 91, 1.29a–b.

581. Note that the date given is ambiguous. Whereas the seventh year of Ta-te 太德 corresponds to 1303, the cyclical designation chia-ch’én 甲辰 refers to the year 1304.

582. Wang Yuan-shuai 王元帥 or Wang Ling-kuan 王靈官 is traditionally stationed at the entrance of Taoist temple grounds as a guardian figure. See, for example, the photograph of the image in the Ling-kuan Tien 灵官殿, at the White Cloud Abbey in Peking printed in [Pei-ching] Pai-yún Kuan (1983). Rituals associated with the cult devoted to Wang Ling-kuan are recorded in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 241–243. A cognate scriptural codification is found in HY 1431 T’ai-shang yuán-yang shang-ti wu-shih t’ien-tsun shuo Huo-ch’ê Wang Ling-kuan chen-ch’ing 太上元陽上帝無始天尊誦火神靈官真經. For a variant redaction of this text, see the Ling-tsu p’o-tan tsun-ching chen-pen 灵祖破膽尊經真本 in the David Crockett Graham collection of the East Asiatic Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

583. HY 92, 3.20b–21a. As mentioned earlier, Lei Shih-chung was heir to a Thunder Ritual tradition known as Hun-yuan 混元, instructions on which are recorded in HY 1210 Tao-fa hui-yüan 154–155 (see Chapter 1, section 6).

584. According to Hsüeh, the “Precious Declaration” was first revealed to Ma Yung 章永 upon the establishment of the Eastern Chin empire at Chien-k’ang 建康 (Kiangsu). Ma is said to have dreamed that a spirit led him into the celestial realm and commanded him to face a pao-t’ai 萬台, or precious pavilion, suspended in the void, whereupon the “Yüan-shih pao-kao” 元始寶誥, or “Precious Declaration of Primordial Commencement,” appeared before him inscribed in gold on a jade plaque. By reciting these sacred words, Ma was promised the deliverance of his ancestors. A later account cited by Hsüeh reports on the manifestation of this nine-storied pavilion in the year 1113 during a chiao-fête. Among those privy to the vision were the 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien, Lin Ling-su, Wang Wen-ch’ing, and Hsu Chih-ch’ang. Master Wang was said to have had compassion for the masses, to whom the apparition remained invisible, and to have told them to uphold faithfully the “Precious Declaration” so that their prayers for rain and clear weather would be answered and so that the state would be well protected and families pacified, leading to good fortune and longevity and the curtailment of all disaster. Hsüeh’s initial account is dated 1316. The second is undated.
585. HY 92, 3.23a.
586. For citations from Hsueh Yu-ch’i (fl. 740–754), see HY 92, 2.30b, 40a.
587. Compare HY 89, 1a and 4.26b–27a, with HY 90, preface 6b–9b.
588. HY 89, 1.15a. Compare the statement of Li Tao-ch’un cited above in Chapter 4, section 13.
589. HY 89, 1.23b.
590. Compare HY 89, 4.27a–28a, with HY 90, preface, 7a–8a.
591. Note that, in contrast to the weaponry commonly associated with such Thunder deities, Hsin is envisioned, according to HY 1210, 81.1a, bearing a Thunder roster (lei-pu’ 雷簿) in his left hand and a Thunder brush (lei-pi 雷筆) in his right. A variant therapeutic code based on the cult devoted to Hsin, recorded in HY 1210, 81.10af., is identified as the transmission of Lei Shih-chung. According to the hagiographic account in HY 297, 5.11b–14a, Lord Hsin appeared before Lei and bestowed upon him the teachings of the Lei-t’ing 雷霆 (Thunderclap) tradition in order that he might oversee the universal salvation of the masses.
592. On the Sheng-shen ch’ing, see Gauchet 1949. For the unannotated version of this Ling-pao scripture, see HY 318 Tung-hsiau ling-pao tzu-jan chiu-t’ien sheng-shen yu-chang ching 唐玄真人自然九天生神五章 經, also reprinted in ch. 16 of the encyclopedic anthology HY 1026 Yun-chi ch’i-ch’ien (see below).
593. Note the narrative account on the efficacy of reciting the Sheng-shen ch’ing recorded as a supplement to HY 318. Additional stories attesting to the divine powers of the scripture are found in the HY 590 Tao-chiao ling-yen chi 道教靈驗記 of Tu Kuang-t’ing (850–933) and in Hung Mai’s I-chien chih, pp. 188, 450, 1331. Van der Loon (1984:30) notes, moreover, that this text was among twelve such scriptures recommended for printing by Wang Ch’in-jo (962–1025), as sources of general benefit to the people.
594. See the colophons of Hsieh Shih 謝PrivateKey, a nephew of the empress of Sung Li-tsung, and of the classicist Huang Pi-ch’ang 黃必昌. The former is dated to the ting-ch’ou 丁丑 year of the Pao-yu reign, apparently an error for either kuei-ch’ou 桶丑 (1253) or ting-ssu 丁已 (1257). The latter is more likely because the ting-ssu year of Pao-yu is the date given to Huang’s colophon.
595. See, for example, the discussion in HY 396, 3.2a.
596. HY 396, postface, 5b.
597. Tung refers to this work as the Shu chu 論注 [Commentary of Shu]. Note also the similarity in comments on the concept of nirvana in HY 396, preface, 4a–b, and HY 397, preface, 4a.
598. See HY 397, 1.5a, for the citation “Yu-ch’an-tzu Chao Hsien-sheng” 玉蟾仙生. I have not been able to identify this Master Chao. Yu-ch’an is, of course, the name of the eminent Thunder Ritual Master Pai Yu-ch’an, and Yu-ch’an-tzu is also the nickname of Ho Te-chin 和德瑾.
599. Note that Tung, in HY 397, 1.5b, also refers to a *Shu-pen*.  

600. HY 397, 1.21a. Note that, as pointed out in van der Loon 1984:71, Wang’s commentary is one of the sixteen Taoist works cited in Chao Hsi-pien’s *赵氏本* 1249 supplement to Ch’ao Kung-wu’s *荆公武 (d. 1171+)* Chin-chai tu-shu chih 齐撰讀書志. The text in Chao’s library was also printed in three *chüan* but, unlike the *Tao-tsang* edition, includes a preface by Ch’eng Kung-hsü 草公訥 (*chin-shih*, 1211), Assistant Deputee of Yü-chü, and a colophon by Chao Jih-hsiu 趙日休. Since Ch’eng was appointed to the Yü-chü Abbey 于局院 in 1241 (*Sung shih* 415.12456), his preface was apparently composed sometime between 1241 and 1249.  

601. Note that the closing lines of the preface are missing in the I-wen reprint of the *Tao-tsang*. For the full text, see the Commercial Press edition or the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, vol. 4, p. 1535. For Chang Shou-ch’ing’s biography, see the Ta-yueh T’ai-ho Shan chih (1413), in *Tao-chiao wen-hsien*, vol. 5, pp. 432–433. The biographies of his teachers Yeh, Liu, and Chang are recorded in vol. 5, pp. 425–428. An account of the Ch‘ing-wei Palace, formerly known as the Ch‘ing-wei miao-hua yen, is found in vol. 5, pp. 489–491.  

602. Chang also says that he has heard of but never seen the commentaries of Hsieh Yu-ch’i, Li Shao-wei, and Ch’eng Hsuan-ying, but it appears that he is confusing commentaries to the *Sheng-shen ching* with commentaries to the *Tu-jen ching*.  

603. See, for example, the citations in HY 398, 3.1b, 6a, 9a, 25a. A *Tung-ch'en t'ai-shang chin-shu pi-tzu* 慕巢太上金書秘字 is cited in the index to lost works, HY 1419 *Tao-tsang chu'e-ching mu-lu* 1.1a. Note that a *Hsi-yüeh Tou Chen-jen hsieh-chen chih-nan* 靖岳寶真人修真指南 is recorded in the encyclopedic anthology HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, 21.1a–6b (see below).  


605. As van der Loon (1984:105) points out, the *T‘ung-chih* of Cheng Ch’iao (1104–1162) states that Hui-tsung’s commentary was issued during the Cheng-ho 政和 reign (1111–1117). But the *Sung shih* 21.400 and the *Sung-shih chi-shih pen-mo* 笙史紀事本末 51.515 of Ch’en Pang-chan 陳邦昌 (*chin-shih*, 1598) date the event to the eleventh day of the eighth lunar month of the first year of the Chung-ho 重和 reign (1118).  

607. HY 680, 1.6a. The corresponding passages, “Ssu-shih erh pu-huo” 四十而不惑 nine, and “Wo ssu-shih pu-tung hsin” 我四十不動心 others, are found in the Lun-yü 論語, 2: Wei-cheng 為政, and the Meng-tzu 孟子, 2: Kung-sun Ch'ou chang-chü 公孫章甫, respectively.

608. For this title, see Kracke 1978:28.

609. Tu Kuang-t'ing’s monumental commentary, the 50-ch. HY 725 Tao-te chen-ching kuan-sheng i 道德真經廣聖義, was completed in 901.


611. See Yen Ling-feng 1965 for an inventory of both extant and lost commentaries to the Tao-te ching.

612. Note that the chu-tzu 附者 of HY 684, pref., 1a: 6, is, according to Wang Chung-min (1927:277), read chu-tzu 附者.

613. See Chapter 4, section 13, for a discussion of HY 1053 Ch'ing-an Ying-ch' an-tzu yii-lu.

614. I have not been able to identify the disciple, named by the hao of Chi-an 池苑, but this name does appear in HY 1053, 4.3b. An edition of Pai's commentary, the 2-ch. T'ai-shang tao-te pao-chang i 太上道徳曹章義, enlarged with the commentary of Ch'eng I-ning 程以寧 (fl. 1510) is recorded in the Tao-tsang chi-yao 5.1765–1826.

615. For a brief summary of Tu's role as a representative of the Mongol regime to southern religious communities, see Sun K'o-k'uan 1981:240ff.

616. The prefaces of Master Chang and Li are dated 1305. Those of Hsü and Wang are undated. The date given Mou’s is chia-wu 十午 (1294?), which is perhaps an error for ping-wu 丙午 (1306).

617. Jen's colophon is dated 1306. Huang's is undated, but note that he also contributed a preface dated 1307 to Chao Meng-fu's 趙孟 順(1254–1322) illustrated hagiography, HY 163 Hsüan-yüan shih-tzu t'u 玄元聖子圖, as well as a preface dated 1310 to Tu Tao-chien's edition of the T'ung-hsiian ching (see below).

618. See Chapter 3, Historiography, for a discussion of Hsieh Shou-hao's work.

619. SKCS 3044. See also Kandel 1974.

620. Chang Yu 張雨 (1283–1356+) notes in HY 780 Hsüan-p'in lu 5.6a that Ch'ing-ch'eng chen-jen was a name by which Chang Yün 張雲
(653–745) was known during his time. Neither the hagiographic account on Chang in the Kao-tao chuan 高道傳 cited in HY 1238 San-tung ch’iin-hsien lu 7.15b–16a nor that in HY 296, 41.9a–14b, mentions this name. Chang Yun, according to HY 1102 Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch’iian-shu compiled by Huang Yuan-chi (1270–1324) and collated by Hsü Hui (1291–1352), was a Ching-ming patriarch known also by the name Ch’ing-ch’eng hsien-po 请城仙伯.

621. See the discussion on Nan-tsung in Chapter 4 and the comments on Hsiao T’ing-chih in section 3 under Encyclopedic Compilations.

622. Compare the charts in HY 245 Yü-ch’i-tzu tan-ching chih-yao (see note 444).

623. In addition to Chang, who is cited over a dozen times, Teng also quotes from the patriarchs Lü Yen and Chung-li Ch’uan (HY 687, 2.17b, 26b; 3.10b). Only once does Teng apparently evoke a later generation of Nan-tsung patriarchs, namely Hsueh Tao-kuang 道光 (HY 687, 3.36a). I have been unable to identify the source of a quote from a hsien-shih 先師, or “prior master” (HY 687, 3.13a). Also of note are citations from Master K’ang-ch’ieh 康節先生, i.e., Shao Yung (HY 687, 3.21a–b), which may be compared with the opening quotation in Feng Fu’s 1249 preface to HY 715.

624. P’eng’s preface is not included in the I-wen reprint of the Tao-tsang but is found in the Commercial Press edition and with the copy of the text recorded in the Tao-tsang chi-yao, vol. 5, p. 1845. It is also reprinted in Wang Chung-min 1927: 246–248.

625. As van der Loon (1984: 5n15) points out, P’eng cites here from the monograph on Taoism and Buddhism that the editors of the Sung shih suppressed (HY 707, pref., 5a-b).

626. For further notes on these commentators, see Wang Chung-min 1927 and Yen Ling-feng 1965.

627. As van der Loon (1984: 56n22) points out, Yu dates the infamous burning of all Taoist texts save the Tao-te ching to the year 1282 instead of the conventionally accepted date of 1281. Note also that Yu’s 1285 exegesis is among the works consulted by Liu in the preparation of HY 724, the preface of which is printed in full (HY 723, 1.28a–30a).

628. Note that the copy of the preface in Wang Chung-min 1927: 322 omits the critical words pu-tsai t’a ch’iu 不枉地求 (HY 698, pref., 2b4).

629. See, for example, HY 698, 2.20b.

630. Wu Ch’eng compiled the 4-ch. HY 704 Tao-te chen-ching chu 註. A 4-ch. edition of this text was also copied into the Ssu-k’u Imperial Library (SKCS 3034).

631. On the controversy regarding the she-chi sacrifices during Ming T’ai-tsu’s reign, see Taylor 1981.

632. The commentaries of Li Tao-ch’un, Tung Ssu-ching, and Wu Ch’eng are noted above. The Canon also includes the 4-ch. HY 691 Tao-te chen-
ching chu 注 of Su Ch’e and the 4-ch. HY 701 Tao-te chen-ching k’ou-i 甲義 of Lin Hsi-i.

633. Compare HY 712, 5.1b, with Wang Pi’s commentary HY 690 Tao-te chen-ching chu 注, 2.7b, and compare HY 712, 1.19a, with the citation from Lu Te-ming’s Shih-wen in the commentary of P’eng Su, HY 708, 2a. Note also that the “Wang Pi pen” 王弼本 is cited in HY 712, 9.12b.

634. See the citations in HY 712, 1.7b, 5.5a, 6.2b. On Li Tao’s work, see the discussion of Yoshinobu Shiba in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:72–75. Wei Ta-yu’s citation of Huai-hai Ch’in shih 淮海集 was apparently drawn from Ch’iu Kuan’s Huai-hai chi 淮海集, on which see the discussion of J. R. Hightower in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:403–404. Wei does not identify the source of the passage from Ou-yang Hsiu.

635. See Wang Chung-min 1927 and Yen Ling-feng 1965.

636. HY 712, 7.2a–b.

637. One example is the passage cited from Lin Hsi-i in HY 712, 1.25b.

638. Chiao’s prefaces to the Lao-tzu i and the Chuang-tzu i are included in other editions such as the Chin-ling ts’ung-shu 金陵叢書. Both texts were also incorporated into the Ssu-k’u library (SKCS 3034, 3042). A copy of the 1588 edition of the Chuang-tzu i, printed with the 1588 prefaces of Chiao and Wang Yuan-chen 王元貞, is in the Rare Book Room of the East Asia Library of the University of Washington, Seattle, and is also available in a 1978 reprint. According to Tu Lien-che’s biographic account in Hummel 1943:145–146, Chiao’s library reportedly filled five rooms, and each volume was said to have included his own annotations.

639. The Kumārajiva commentary is cited in the list of sources recorded in the Chin-ling ts’ung-shu edition of the Lao-tzu i. Wang Chung-min (1927:102) notes that a 2-ch. commentary to the Lao-tzu is attributed to Kumārajiva in the Chiu T’ang shu and the Hsin T’ang shu.

640. See the citation, for example, in HY 1475, 1.22b. According to Wang Chung-min (1927:387), Shao Pien’s commentary is cited in Huang Yu-chi’s 黃虞穎 (1629–1691) Ch’ien-ch’ing T’ang shu mu 千頌堂書目. Wang errs in dating Shao to the Ming.

641. SKCS 3042. Ch’u Po-hsiu’s 106-ch. HY 734 Nan-hua chen-ching i-hai tsuan-wei 義海纂微 is the largest commentary on the Chuang-tzu in the Canon. On this text and the commentary of Lü Hui-ch’ing (not included in the Canon), see Wong Shiu-hon’s discussions in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:365–366, 368–369. Note that the Ssu-k’u editors give Lo Mien-tao’s name as Lo Mien-hsüeh 羅勉學 Lo’s 30-ch. HY 742 Nan-hua chen-ching hsün-pen 續本 was collated by a disciple named P’eng Hsiang 彭祥. On the 8-ch. Nan-hua ching fu-mo 劉墨 of Lu Hsi-hsing 陸西星, or Lu Ch’ang-keng 陸長庚, see Yen Ling-feng 1965: vol. 2, p. 103.
642. Li's dates are unknown. As van der Loon (1984:137) points out, a *Chuang-tzu shih-lun* is cited in the bibliographic monograph of the *Sung shih* and in Ch'en Chen-sun's *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i*. Note that Yen Ling-feng (1965: vol. 2, p. 91) errs in dating Li to 1367. As Wong Shiu-hon notes in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:369, Li's work is cited in Ch'u Po-hsiu's commentary to the *Chuang-tzu* (HY 734). The extract in Chiao, HY 1476, *fu-lu* 22a–39b, corresponds to HY 1253, 1a–18b. The tenth and final account of HY 1253, the "Sung Hua-tzu ping-wang lun" of *Lieh-tzu*, is omitted. Li's name is given as Li Yuan-chu in HY 1253, where he is identified as a *T'ai-hsiieh chiao-shou* (Professor of the National University).

643. HY 1476, *fu-lu* 15a–22a corresponds to HY 744, 1b–8b. Chiao omits the opening discussion on "T'ai-miao chih hsi". Note that the subheading "Tsa-shuo" is given in HY 744, 2b.


645. Yoshioka 1955:377–393 provides a tabulation of the texts cited in the two compilations of Wang Hsüan-ho, each title of which is indexed in an alphabetical list at the end of the work. On the *Shang-ch'ing tao-lei shih-hsiang*, see STY 1984:3:92–93. Note also that large quantities of *Shang-ch'ing* writings are recorded in the 3-ch. HY 1220 *T'ai-p'ing yulan* 太平御覽, an extract of ch. 674–676 from the "Tao pu" (ch. 659–679) of the collectaneum compiled ca. 977–983 under the editorship of Li Fang 李昉 (925–996). The subjects covered in the *Tao-tsang* selection include sacred space, ritual garments and accoutrements, and various means of transcendence, architecture, and scriptural transmissions. As Strickmann (1981: 30) points out, text and title do not always match, no doubt a reflection of the complex editorial history of the *T'ai-p'ing yulan*.

646. See Yoshioka 1955:361–376 for a list of the titles in the *Wu-shang pi-yao*. For a comprehensive study of the work, see Lagerwey 1981.

647. There is, surprisingly, no biography of Chang Ch'un-fang in the Canon. According to the entry on this text by the Ssu-k'u editors (SKCS 3055), Chang achieved the status of *chin-shih* during the Ching-te reign (1004–1008). Ch'en Wen-shu 陳文述 (1771–1843), *Hsi-ling hsien-yung* 西冷仙雋, 3.24a, reports that Chang lived to be over eighty years old.

648. Van der Loon (1984: 33n18) dates Chang's preface to 1028 or 1029 on the basis of the internal reference to Ch'en Yao-tso 鍾堯佐 as "the present Han-lin Academician," a post Ch'en held for a little over a year until early in 1029. See van der Loon 1984: 29–36 on the evidence against Chang's claims regarding his role in the compilation of the Canon.
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650. For a list of three sources in which photo reproductions of pages from the *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* fascicles in the National Library of Peking and the Palace Museum of Taipei can be found, see van der Loon 1984:53n11. See also the brief discussion in the *Ku-kung wen-wu yüeh-k’an* 故宮文物月刊 1983:4:140–141. The National Palace Museum Library of Taipei also has a copy of the *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* edited by Chang Hsüan 張萱 (1558–1641) and published by him at the Chi’eng-ch’en Kuan 清真館 in 1609. This copy was formerly in the I-ho Hsüan 顧和軒 Imperial Library. Chang Hsüan added a table of contents to the work. Copyist errors are common in his edition, but a number of corrections to earlier redactions have also been introduced. Both the Ssu-k’u Imperial Library and the first printing of the *Ssu-pu ts’ung-k’an* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai, 1919–22) reproduce the edition of Chang Hsüan. The second printing of the *Ssu-pu ts’ung-k’an* in 1929 reproduces the *Tao-tsang* edition. A table of contents for the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* edition, 19.8403–20.8970, is found in vol. 1, pp. 150–169. Sun K’o-k’uan (1965:126–143) also includes a table of contents of the work, which is unfortunately marred by lacunae and misprints. The *Tao-tsang* edition is also reprinted in the *Tao-tsang ching-hua* 道藏精華, series 7, no. 1, edited by Hsiao T’ien-shih 蕭天石 (Taipei, 1962).

651. SKCS 3055. See also Yoshioka 1955:149 on the *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* as a *Tao-tsang* in miniature and van der Loon 1984:145.


654. Chang refers to the text in his preface as the emperor’s “i-yeh chih lan” 晚夜之覽, i.e., his reading material for the second watch (9:00–11:00 P.M.).

655. See Chapter 2, section 9. The three prefaces of Chen-tsung are found in HY 1026, 103.1a–2a, 117.1a–b, and 120.16a–b.


657. HY 1026, 4.1a–6a.

658. John Lagerwey (“Le Yun-ji qi-qian: structure et sources,” in Schipper 1981–82: xix–xxix), identifies 27 major divisions in the *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* and suggests that the organization of the text was inspired by both the Wu-shang pi-yao and the standard histories. Yoshioka (1955:422–481) provides an index to 1403 titles cited in the text. Schipper (1981–82b) offers a concordance to it, based on collaborative efforts over several years. The history of the kōshin 神申 cult, including its origins in the writings on keng-shen, is the subject of Kubo Noritada 1956. Keng-shen is based on the belief that three corpses (san-shih 三人) or three vermin (san-ch'ung 三虫) keep watch over various parts of the body and on the 57th day of the sixty-day cycle—the keng-shen day—six times a year, they report on high the various transgres-
sions observed within their individual domains. A summary of these beliefs and related practices is found in Maspero 1981:331–338. On embryonic respiration, one of the techniques designed to rid one’s body of the three vermin, see ibid., 338–345, 459–505. The term *shih-chieh*, or corpse liberation, refers to the belief that the corpse of a transcendent vanishes at death, on which see ibid., 320–321.

659. Note that an account in Hung Mai’s *I-chien chih* (1981:253) places Tseng as the magistrate of Ch’ien-chou in the year 1147.

660. There is some disagreement on the date of Tseng’s death. Katsumura Tetsuya, in an entry on the *Lei-shuo* in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:317–318, dates his death to the year 1163. Ch’ang Pi-te and Wang Te-i (1974–76:2809) give the date as 1155. The *Lei-shuo* was completed in 1136 (*SKCS* 2581). As van der Loon (1984:144) points out, a 12-ch. *Chi-hsien chi* 信仰記 was also compiled by Tseng. This lost text, according to Ch’en Chen-sun 陳振孫 (ca. 1190–1249), included biographies of 162 transcendents.

661. Whereas there are a total of 108 titles in the *Tao shu*, some are printed in two or three segments, thus resulting in a sum of 118 *p’ien 片 . Note that the edition reviewed by the bibliographer Ch’en Chen-sun contained 122 *p’ien* (van der Loon 1984:154). As Miyakawa Masayori (1984:28) points out, the term “Tao shu” can be traced back to the *Chi’iu-wu hui 資物論* of the *Chuang-tzu*.


663. HY 1011, 13.6b–9b; see also 35.9a–11a.

664. A study of this text is found in Baldrian-Hussein 1984. Based on a 1979 dissertation (see above, note 341). The *Pai-wen p’ien* and the *Ch’hui-tao p’ien* are discussed above, in Chapter 4, section 1, as part of the literary legacy associated with Lü Yen. As van der Loon (1984:164) points out, Cheng Ch’iao’s 鄭樵 (1104–1162) *T’ung-chih* 通志 cites a *Chung-lishou Lü Kung Ling-pao pi-fa 鍾離授呪靈寶法* in ten ch’uan, whereas the 3-ch. HY 1182 is presented in ten *p’ien*. Note that both the *Ch’hui-tao chi* and the *Ling-pao pi-fa* are included in an undated Korean manuscript, the *Samch’iong chin’gyöl 清真訣*, of the Asami Library (Fang Chao-ying 1969:225).

665. Miyakawa Masayori (1984) suggests that Tseng expresses contrasting views with regard to the teachings on embryonic respiration associated with Bodhidharma, but I do not find his argument convincing, in part because I have been unable to locate the third passage he attributes to Tseng in HY 1011, ch. 42, the *Ling-pao p’ien* dialogic treatise.

666. Tseng’s critique of Ts’ui’s work is found in HY 1011, 3.4b–7b. On Tseng’s censorship of the *Ju-yao ching*, see van Gulik 1961:224–225, Maspero 1981:541, and Needham and Lu 1983:196. As van der Loon (1984:154) points out, Ch’en Chen-sun comments on Tseng’s personal campaign against sexual rites on the grounds that they were physically damaging and a threat to the Tao.
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667. HY 263, 21.6b–9b.

668. The exchange between Tseng and Wang is found in HY 263, ch. 22. See also the verse of Tseng to the tune of “Lin-chiang hsien” in HY 263, 23.1a–2a, dated 1151, and the “Chih-yu chū-shih tsu-yo ming” in 25.5b–6a. The latter inscription, supposedly engraved on Tseng’s chair, counsels the necessity to restrain one’s feelings of resentment and passion in the cultivation of perfection.

669. On the ex post facto Nan-tsung heritage, see Chapter 4, section 11.

670. Pai Yu-ch’an’s writings are discussed in Chapter 4, section 12. Hsiao’s writings are found in HY 263, ch. 9–13.

671. Note that the diagrams are missing from the edition of this text in the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu, vol. 10.

672. HY 263, ch. 13. On the tz’u lyric linked to Lu Yen, see Chapter 4, section 1. Note that Hsiao’s annotated edition of the Ju-yao ching is omitted from the Chin-tan ta-ch’eng recorded in the Tao-tsang chi-yao, vol. 16, pp. 7087–7108. But this version of the text is printed separately in the Tao-tsang chi-yao, vol. 11, pp. 4612–4633, together with copious annotations by Wang Tao-yüan 王道渊, Li P’an-lung 李攀龍 (1514–1570), and P’eng Hao-ku 彭好古. The edition closes with three verses to the tune of “Pai-tzu ling” 百字令, entitled “Ming san-chiao chih li” [In Elucidation of the Principles of the Three Teachings].

673. Hsiao’s roster serves as an introduction to Teng Chi’s commentary to the Tao-te ching, discussed above under Exegeses, section 4.

674. HY 263, ch. 53.

675. See the discussion on Wang Chih-chin in Chapter 4, section 10.

676. Recorded in ch. 54 of HY 263 is the Huang-t’ing nei-ching wu-tsang liu-fu t’u 黃庭內景五藏六府圖 compiled by Hu Yin 胡愔 in 848. The illustrations missing in this version are found in a variant redaction of the text printed as HY 432 Huang-t’ing nei-ching wu-tsang liu-fu pu-hsieh t’u 五臟六腑補瀋圖. Chapters 55–60 of HY 263 include the Huang-t’ing nei-ching yü-ching chu 黃庭內景玉經註 and Huang-t’ing wai-ching yü-ching chu 黃庭外景玉經註 of Liang-ch’iu-tzu 梁丘子 (fl. 729). For variant redactions of Liang-ch’iu-tzu’s edition of the nei-ching text, see HY 402 Huang-t’ing nei-ching yü-ching chu and the Shang-ch’ing huang-t’ing nei-ching chu 上清黃庭內景註 in HY 1026 Yin-ch’i-ch’ien 尹氏一十二等. Schipper 1975c provides an introduction to the nei-ching and wai-ching, with a concordance to both. See also Robinet 1979: 85–149 and 1984.

677. Note also the calendar marking various holy days in HY 263, 25.2b–5b, including the dates on which the martial lord Chen-wu could be expected to descend. Among the birthdays to be celebrated are those of Hsuan-yüan Tao-chün 玄元道君, i.e., Lao-tzu incarnate (fifteenth day
of the second lunar month) and the Buddha, i.e., Sakyamuni (eighth day of the fourth lunar month). Also noted is the day on which the Buddha is said to have achieved the Tao 成道 (eighth day of the twelfth lunar month). The date on which Confucius's birthday is traditionally celebrated, the 27th of the eighth lunar month, is labeled instead as the feast day on which all buddhas assemble in commemoration of the transmission of sutras to Tung-hai 東海, i.e., the eastern seaboard area of Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu. This calendar is recorded in a section of HY 263 given the subheading Tsa-chu chieh-ching 杂著提綱. The term chieh-ching, or shortcuts, seems to refer to the use of diagrams in the pursuit of chin-tan, at least as used by Liao Cheng 廖 in his "Hsiu-chen lun" 修真論 [A Discourse on Cultivating Perfection], dated 1244, apparently the latest internal date in the Hsiu-chen shih-shu (HY 263, 1.8b–10a). While not all the subheadings are clearly marked, the Shih-shu, or Ten Compilations, to which the title refers seem to correspond to the following divisions: (1) Tsa-chu chih-hsüan p'ien 雜著指玄篇 (ch. 1–8), dominated by the writings of Nan-tsung patriarchs; (2) Chin-tan ta-ch'eng chi (ch. 9–13) of Hsiao T'ing-chih; (3) Chung Lü ch'uan-tao chi (ch. 14–16) of Shih Chien-wu (fl. 820); (4) Tsa-chu chieh-ching (ch. 17–25); (5) Wu-chen p'ien (ch. 26–30); (6) Yü-lung chi (ch. 31–36) of Pai Yü-ch'an; (7) Shang-ch'ing chi (ch. 37–44) of Pai; (8) Wu-i chi (ch. 45–52) of Pai; (9) P'an Shan yü-lu (ch. 53); and (10) Huang-t'ing ching (ch. 54–60).

678. Note that the table of contents lists the nineteen chang under two, rather than eight, chüan, with nine in the first chüan and ten in the second.

679. For discussions from cognate texts on this method of meditation according to the timing of a (sinking-) bowl clepsydra, see Needham and Lu 1983:213–215, HY 1219 Ch'üan-ch'en tso-po chieh-fa 合真坐鉢提法 and HY 1225 Ch'üan-ch'en ch'ing-kuei 合真清規.

680. Note that the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, the date on which Sakyamuni's birthday is traditionally celebrated, as marked in HY 263, 25.3b, is, according to Chu, the day on which Lord Lao, the Most High, headed west to convert the barbarians (HY 1472, 7.6b).

681. HY 1472, 3.26a.

682. Chang speaks here of receiving the commission in the summer of 1406, whereas the date given in his preface of HY 777 is the summer of 1407. Note that a decree dated the nineteenth of the eleventh lunar month of 1406, recorded in HY 1450 Huang Ming en-ming shih-lu 皇明恩命世錄, 3.4a–b, refers to Ming Ch'eng-tsu's past assignment of Chang as editor of Taoist writings. The latter text provides an invaluable record of imperial decrees dating from 1365 to 1605 in testimony to the complex issues concerning the relation between state and religion during the Ming.
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683. Schipper (1983a) suggests that the placement of the 61-ch. Tu-jen ching at the head of the Canon reflects Chang Yû-ch’u’s understanding that the Tung-chen pu 洞真部, as a record of the revelations of the Yuan-shih t’ien-ts'un 元始天尊, should open with the most important text he was thought to have revealed.

684. The texts Chang cites in HY 1222, 8b, are (1) Shih-pi chi 石壁記, i.e., HY 880 T'ai-ch'ing shih-pi chi 太清石壁記, edited by Master Ch'u-tse 楚澤先生; (2) Lung-hu ching 龍虎經; see HY 995 Ku-wen lung-hu shang-ching chu 古文龍虎上經注 and HY 994 Ku-wen lung-hu shang-ching chu-shu 注疏 by Wang Tao 王道 (fl. 1185); (3) Ts'an-t'ung chi; (4) Wu-chen p'ien of Chang Po-tuan; (5) Ts'ui-hsü p'ien of Ch'en Nan (d. 1213); (6) Huan-yuan p'ien of Shih T'ai (d. 1181); (7) Chih-hsuan p'ien 指玄篇; among lost texts cited in HY 1419, 2.15b, is a Ch'i-shen-tzu Chih-hsuan p'ien 構神子指玄篇 (see also van der Loon 1984: 122); (8) Ta Tao ko 大道歌; van der Loon (1984: 78) cites a Ta Tao chin-tan ko 大道金丹歌 ascribed to a Kao Hsien 軍 (tzu, Hsiang-hsien 詢, Kao Hsien 先) that apparently corresponds to HY 1071 Chen-jen Kao Hsiang-hsien chin-tan ko 真人高象先金丹歌; (9) Ju-yao ching of Ts'ui Hsi-fan; (10) Chin-tan ssu-pai tzu 金丹四百字 of Chang Po-tuan; see HY 1073 Chin-tan ssu-pai tzu chu 註 of Huang Tzu-ju 黃自如 (fl. 1241), also recorded in HY 263, ch. 5 and discussed in STY 1984.3: 85. Chang also includes in his list of required readings the dialogic treatises of various transcendent but cites no titles.

Notes to the Epilogue


687. See Boltz 1986c for a study of the T'ien-fei texts. See also Franke 1972 and 1977 on 15th-century manuscripts of the San-kuan ching 三官經 and the Tou-mu'ching 於母經 that were found inside a wooden Buddhist figure recovered outside Hamburg after the Elbe River had flooded its banks. Cognate versions of the San-kuan ching are preserved in the Tao-tsang as well as in Schipper’s archives, and a number of texts related to the Tou-mu, or Marici, cult are recorded in both the Taoist and the Buddhist Canon.
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