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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

RITUAL MOVEMENTS, DEITY CULTS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF DAOISM IN SONG AND YUAN TIMES

LOWELL SKAR

DESCRIPTION

Over half of the Ming Daoist canon consists of texts deriving from local deity cults and ritual movements compiled between the mid-twelfth century and its 1445 printing (Loon 1984, 44, 61). These texts reflect religious traditions that emerged between late Tang (618-907) and early Ming (1368-1644) times, mainly in rapidly-developing urban and rural areas south of the Yangzi River. These traditions embodied a range of relationships with earlier Daoist traditions and their contemporary Daoist, Buddhist and popular religious couterparts. They indicate an expansion of the earliest "social mission of Daoism" (Bokenkamp 1997, 15) to more segments of Chinese society and an "improved access to the sacred realm" (Kleeman 1993, 63-65) only partly encompassed by Daoist spiritual priorities. The dissolution of the Tang Daoist liturgical system and the demise of communities organized by Daoist rules, ordinations and practices gave rise to a wider class of literate practitioners seeking support for their more inclusive practices and pantheons from emerging gentry communities and noncorporate groups in the south. The long ritual and contemplative apprenticeship and knowledge of local traditions of these itinerant ritual specialists helped them compete and collaborate with those of other traditions also seeking local sponsorship.

Scholars often highlight changes in these texts by stressing their similarity to those used by Daoist priests today, and their dissimilarity from Tang traditions (Lagerwey 1987; Dean 1993; Nickerson 1994; 1996; Maruyama 1995; Barrett 1996; "Daoist Ordination and *Zhai* Rituals;" "Daoist Ritual Today"). Considerable evidence suggests that Daoism in the Song (960-1276) and Yuan (1260-1368) eras gradually shed its narrow communal and aristocratic focus and became part of a richer religious environment rooted in local communities and different groups. However, the precise extent, timing and causes of this transition are poorly understood. Furthermore,

those practicing and transmitting the traditions discussed here were part of a complex social and religious environment that scholars have only begun to explore (Davis 1985; 1994; Kleeman 1993, 1994; Hymes 1996; 1997). These ritual specialists provided an evolving medieval society with richer forms of spiritual action and more flexible forms of religious organization that existed alongside those of other spiritual traditions. They mediated the local cults and traditions of China's emerging vernacular cultures and remade the sacred order of the cosmic Way imagined by earlier Daoist traditions. They helped immigrants, local communities and regional associations, as well as the imperial household and its institutions to establish and maintain visions of divine order within a dynamic and often unstable world. The following interim report of Song-Yuan cults and movements that Daoism claimed by early Ming times is based upon ongoing research by many scholars and awaits the fuller picture that will emerge as their findings are published.

History

New deity cults and revelatory traditions in Song-Yuan times enriched and reshaped the hierarchical, communal and aristocratic Daoist system that had coalesced in early Tang courts from four centuries of regional Daoist movements. The more inclusive pantheon, wider array of ritual forms for embodying the cosmic Way, and more diverse class of practitioners for gentry society made Daoist traditions full participants in the formation of the more encompassing sacred realm characteristic of post-Tang religion. The changes in the sacred realm, rites and ritualists were integral to the demographic diffusion, economic integration and cultural reassessment that transformed Chinese civilization between the ninth and fifteenth centuries (Hartwell 1982). While often positioning themselves against established Daoist and Buddhist legacies and the imperial court, these new traditions also became more tightly aligned to local communities, offering them opportunities for greater solidarity and reminders of their cosmic significance. The prominence of their texts in the Ming Daoist canon suggests their import to the establishment of Daoism in late imperial China, and their formative influence on Daoism today. The transformation of the traditions discussed here reflects three areas of change: (1) creative encounters between native cults and classical immigrant traditions in southern urban and rural areas; (2) more flexible and encompassing religious services and deity structures; and (3) literati reassessments and supplements of earlier forms of spirituality. These three areas of change helped realign the emerging southern gentry with the perennial workings of the sacred Way in the world.

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW. From mid-Tang to mid-Song times the center of Chinese civilization shifted from the Central Plains along the Yellow River valley to rich but risky lands south of the **Yangzi River**, consolidating in the south between the Southern Song and early Ming. New southern immigrant reactions to unfamiliar diseases and local traditions ranged from efforts to ritually rearm themselves against cults they viewed as "vulgar" (*su* 俗) or "mediumistic" (*wu* 巫), to resigned attempts to absorb local cults or acquiesce to their intractable presence (Boltz 1993; Kleeman 1994; Katz 1995). Some local cults or peoples seeking supralocal identities, meanwhile, aligned themselves with larger organizational structures of meaning available to the state and family, or Daoist and Buddhist liturgies (Strickmann 1982; Schipper 1985b; Kleeman 1994). The web of southern cults and religious movements produced both tensions and accommodations among those immersed in classical traditions, including classical Daoist lineages (Davis 1994).

Some literati turned from the more comprehensive codifications of Daoist liturgies, or the new forms of Buddhist Tantric ritual that were part of court culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and integrated them into southern vernacular cultures over the next three centuries when the state was less able to employ them (Schipper 1985c). Scholarly Daoist priests commissioned by early Ming emperors interwove selected contemporary ritual texts with a broad selection of earlier writings on the Way in the world. The results, printed in 1445 as a state-sanctioned canon, were delivered to major Daoist temples in the newly reunified empire (Boltz 1987, 6-7).

Three interrelated processes of **social and religious transformation** underlay these changes: social diversification, economic integration and cultural reassessment. First, China's growing population moved south, pushed by northern political and social turmoil and pulled by a flourishing agriculture and commercial life, where they encountered new diseases, peoples, customs and gods. Ritual movements and deity cults that emerged from these encounters from the tenth century. By the mid-thirteenth century they had remade the Tang Daoist system and its Northern Song amplifications, admitting a fuller range of rituals and gods, and becoming more tightly bound to local community life (Boltz 1993; Davis 1994).

Second, trade integrated areas on the southeast coast and along major inland water routes into networks of regional exchange and pilgrimage, centered on culturally diversified urban areas showcasing celebratory festivals for temple gods. In Daoism this trend was reflected in several ways. First, larger pantheons of multivalent deities found their way into Daoist ritual programs advocated by the state and practiced in urban areas. In addition, a Zhang family of Celestial Masters based on Longhu shan 龍虎山 (Jiangxi) became the authorizing center of many of the new cults

and movements, at first unofficially and then through official decrees (by early Yuan and Ming emperors; see Matsumoto 1982; Schipper 1981-1982a; Barrett 1994). Finally, literati reassessed all major areas of Chinese culture between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, both reinventing and creating traditions, so as to ground their lives and hopes on more stable foundations. In Daoism, these cultural reassessments involved popular, Daoist, Buddhist and classical traditions, and produced the vernacular Daoist traditions whose written forms centered on the priorities of local gentry society. Various efforts to revive classical traditions or circulate the new revelatory ones over the next four centuries culminated in the creation, by Southern Song times, of more open and flexible initiatory ranks, ritual codes, scriptural canons and ritual programs than during the early Tang (Schipper 1985c; Kleeman 1994).

FIVE DYNASTIES' DIVERSIFICATIONS. Daoist initiation grades (*jie* 階) formulated in Tang courts linked registers of gods (*lu* 籙) to scriptures (*jing* 經) revealed and codified during the previous four centuries (Schipper 1974; 1985a). The synthesis is most evident in the works for the Tang court by Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 (fl. 700-742). They present a comprehensive liturgy encompassing the memorial-presentation rituals of Rectifying or Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi 正一) priests and the Offerings and Rites of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao 靈寶) priests (see "Ordination and *Zhai* Rituals;" Maruyama 1986). A Tang canon of Daoist writings embodied these codified structures, practices, rules of initiation and accompanying scriptures. It rose from the communal and therapeutic priorities of the Celestial Masters' (Tianshi 天師) Zhengyi traditions, through the work toward universal salvation in the Lingbao traditions and culminating in the focus on self-perfection at the heart of Highest Purity or Clarity (Shangqing 上清) traditions (Barrett 1996).

As the religious environment opened up after the An Lushan rebellion, unaffiliated religious practitioners, often with local warlord patrons, increasingly emphasized gods, rites and initiation ranks not found in the early Tang Daoist consolidation to counter the perceived threats of popular religion and Buddhism. This produced a confusing blend of existing traditions and newly revealed material, that generally "joined hands with state power in its rivalry with Buddhism and endeavored to encompass all types of material" (Miyakawa 1983, 389). Some sought to promote new revelatory traditions, and others to conscientiously restore the genuine version of earlier revelations of the Way in the world.

Several **new regional centers** for Daoist priests, rituals and writings were added to the two imperial capitals and mountain temples for the three main traditions (Schafer 1954; Verellen 1989; Barrett 1994; 1996). These local forms of Daoism were always important to priests, but it was only after the central court declined that they began registering in the diverse field of

contemporary religious experience and expression with no strong institutional center (Dudbridge 1995). A key Daoist figure here was the priest and scholar-official **Du Guangting** 杜光庭 (850-933), whose writings elucidate both the older court-based forms of classical Daoism and the new incarnations of the Way that would eventually alter them. Both contemporaries and successors saw him as pivotal. Du's writings consolidated the main Lingbao liturgies to bolster state authority, but also include rare early accounts of cults and movements that emerged in Song and Yuan times to reshape the Daoist landscape His writings show that by his time new offering (*jiao* 醮) rituals had absorbed key parts of Zhengyi memorial-presentation rites, and become more comprehensive by encompassing more gods and occasions. Not only could these rites stand alone, they could conclude any ceremony for the gods.

No less important are Du's detailed treatments of the Yellow Register Rite (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋), the high point of medieval Daoism's ritual for the dead, which became the model for all subsequent *zhai* rites (Verellen 1989; Maruyama 1995). Du also discusses a rite of Universal Salvation (*pudu* 普度) for releasing all dead souls and raising them to Heaven, modeling it on an audience with the Way. Conservative Daoist priests in later centuries sought to reestablish the prolix rituals on the classical liturgical foundations laid by forebears like Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406-477), Zhang Wanfu and Du. Scholars today look to Du for early accounts of movements that would later transform Daoist ritual practice (Verellen 1989; Barrett 1994; 1996). Du's writings evidence both a concern with retaining classical ritual purity and the growing pressure to address local cults and ritual traditions. In exhibiting both tension and accommodation, they suggest the emergence of more diverse and flexible approaches to local gods and practices. These approaches often competed with each other as much as with local cults or Buddhist traditions, even as they employed powerful esoteric traditions and reformed the powers of local gods. They made new uses of chthonic, foreign, or primeval deities, and also of ancient ritual weapons—notably talismans, spells and hand gestures, together with elements from popular religion and Tantric Buddhism.

Du also mentions ordinations by a Zhang 張 family of Celestial Masters at Longhu shan 龍虎山 (Jiangxi), showing that this family was already well-known at what became their center of operations no later than the tenth century (Schipper 1982-1983, 33-135; Verellen 1989, 25-26; Barrett 1994, 1996, 96-97). Following their reputed ancestor, Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the first Celestial Master and his successors in Sichuan, this family maintained the therapeutic ritual of their forebears. Du also discusses a local tradition called the Way of Loyalty and Filialty (Zhongxiao zhi dao 忠孝之道) or Pure Brightness (Jingming 淨明) that grew from a cult to Xu Xun 許遜

(292-374?) in the nearby Western Hills (Xishan 西山, Jiangxi; see Barrett 1996, 96-97).

A decade after Du's death, just before the Song, the Hunanese Shangqing priest **Sun Yizhong** 孫夷中 (fl. 943) presents Daoism much as it was in the Tang, with traces of the new elements that would reshape it over the next three centuries. He refers to belief among Sichuan and Jiangsu people that the therapeutic teachings of the Zhang family of Celestial Masters were based on Longhu shan descended from Zhang Daoling (*Sandong xiudao yi* 三洞修道儀, CT 1237, 2a). He also notes the extracanonical status of the exorcistic rites of Tianpeng 天蓬, the Thunder Duke (Leigong 雷公), and soul-summoning, which central to the Song transformation of Tang Daoism. Popular magicians outside of established traditions but armed with the "Rites of Thunder" (*leifa* 雷法) or other techniques revealed from gods helped provide a tumultuous world with a sense of divine justice (Matsumoto 1979).

Neither Du nor Sun refer to the anonymous contemporaneous ***Jinsuo liuzhu [jing] yin*** 金鎖流珠[經]引 (Guide to the [Scripture] of the Golden Lock and Flowing Pearls, CT 1015, 29 j.). Among the interpolated commentaries ascribed to Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602-670) are references to city-gods (Chenghuang shen 城隍神), Thunder Rites and cults to Xu Xun and Li Jing 李靚 (571-649). This ritual compendium holds much material from Zhengyi traditions on Pacing the Mainstays (*bugang* 步罡) for exorcism and therapies, as well as from early Shangqing traditions. We also find descriptions of the "rite for inspecting [demons] and summoning [spirits]" (*kaozhao fa* 考召法; 28.5b-6b, 7.2b-4b, 4.5a-8a; see Barrett 1990; Andersen 1991, 73-77).

This latter rite became central to the influential Rectifying Rites of the **Heart of Heaven** (Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法) that entered the human world through Tan Zixiao 譚紫霄, a magician and priest whom Wang Chang 王昶 (r. 935-939), fourth king of the Min 閔 kingdom at Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian), called the Master of Rectifying Unity. Tan received a set of incomprehensible talismans written on bamboo slips from his colleague, the medium-turned-Celestial Master Chen Shouyuan 陳守元, who had found them buried in a bronze bowl. After unraveling their meanings, Tan claimed to have inherited "Zhang Daoling's Rectifying Rites of the Heart of Heaven." Chen had found three talismans (fu 符) able to control three ancient demon-slaying deities linked to the north—the Black Killer (Heisha 黑煞), Dark Warrior (Xuanwu 玄武) and Tianpeng. These were fierce agents of the Emperor of the North (Beidi 北帝)—who was in charge of the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院). These figures gave this influential exorcistic tradition its divine authority, but later adepts of the Heart of Heaven tradition claimed Tan as their earthly founder (*Nan Tang shu* 南唐書 17.388-89, by Lu You 陸游). When the Min state collapsed in

944, Tan went northwest to Lushan 廬山 (Jiangxi), where he reportedly taught his ritual practice to more than a hundred students (*Wudai shiji* 五代事記 68.7b, *Nan Tang shu* 24.162-163 by Ma Ling 馬令). Heirs to this new exorcistic lineage stressed its links to the older therapeutic Celestial Masters tradition, as the latter authorized its activities. These reciprocating relations between new movements and established Daoist traditions became a model for many others in Song and Yuan times, who found mutual benefit in coordinating their efforts (Andersen 1991, 81-131; 1996).

NORTHERN SONG TENSIONS. Like their Tang predecessors, Song courts continued to turn to Daoism for state legitimization, cosmic theology and self-cultivation. Over time, emperors increasingly turned to Daoism to bolster their imperiled dynasty. Early Song emperors needed protection from well-armed northern tribes and gradually expanded the range of sources to which they looked for legitimation. The search for the sacredness for the state through ritual exegesis and scriptural compilation gave way to new and increasingly exalted spiritual and ritual means. One important development in Daoist ritual was the **imperial sponsorship** of a structure of universal Offerings, including those for Whole Heavens (*zhoutian* 周天) and Networked Heavens (*luotian* 羅天), a development perhaps related to the elaborate Feng and Shan 封禪 rituals performed by Zhenzong (r. 998-1022). These ceremonies were not only opened to all deities, but they could be used for almost any occasion. The state-run translation bureau for Tantric scriptures that operated between 982 and 1082 likewise enriched the stock of esoteric material available to ritual practitioners. These developments culminated in the late Northern Song in the remarkable establishment of a short-lived theocratic regime under Huizong (r. 1101-1125).

Official Daoist **conservatism** finds expression in the compilation of Daoist writings known as the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Slips from the Bookbag in the Clouds, CT 1032, 120 j., compiled in the late 1020s). While continuing the basic contours of Tang Daoism, it placed greater emphasis on therapeutic uses of Daoist rituals for the dead (Schipper 1981-1982a; 1981-1982b; Davis 1994, 328-31). From 1012 Song emperors identified their regime not just with Laozi (whom the Tang regarded as their ancestor) but with their newly discovered ultimate ancestor, the Yellow Lord (Huangdi 黃帝). Reverence for texts related to both figures—believed responsible for teaching humanity how to govern self and state—is evidenced by dozens of Song editions and commentaries ascribed to them. Imperial patronage of Daoist patriarchies like the Shangqing patriarch Zhu Ziying 朱自英 (976-1029) likewisereflects a continuation of earlier patterns. State support extended also to the exegetical work in the Daoist classics by Nancheng 南城 (Jiangxi) native Chen Jingyuan 陳景元 (1025-1094). He based his interpretations of classics like the *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi* and *Liezi*, and

scriptures like the *Dadong jing* and *Duren jing* (Boltz 1987, 203-5), on the many earlier commentaries he recovered (Boltz 1987, 203-7).

The Song state also looked to powerful deities for **spiritual protection**. Most were fierce demon-slaying protector deities, often linked to the north and particular mountains, but more immediately grounded in recently revealed exorcistic rites circulated among southern mediums and Ritual Masters (Cahill 1980; Sun 1965, 71-93; Davis 1994, 30-50). Thus the Song's special protector, the Perfected Lord who Supports the Sage and Protects [His] Virtue (Yisheng baode zhenjun 翌聖保德真君) had roots in the Black Killer, whose cult center was on Zhongnan shan. The ancient Dark Warrior deity, charged with protecting the north but based on Wudang shan while on earth, became a state guardian with a temple in the capital, a new name—the Perfected Warrior (Zhenwu 真武)—and his first official title (Lagerwey 1992, 293-95). Likewise, the fierce Tianpeng deity, with a major center in Sichuan, often paired with his frequent demon-slaying partner, Tianyou 天猷, was charged with keeping Song state enemies at bay. This quartet—worshiped together by Song emperors as the Four Saints (Sisheng 四聖)—is often ritually linked with exalted protector deities of the north like the Northern Emperor and the Purple Tenuity (Ziwei 紫微). Most of these martial deities were integral to the earlier Heart of Heaven tradition, and they were also key agents in many later ritual dispensations. Finally, imperial honors linked a Zhang family of Celestial Masters to Mount Longhu, confirmed it as the authorizing source for new therapeutic rituals in the south. This family, located on a mountain at the crossroads of itinerant traders and Ritual Masters (*fashi* 法師), gradually superseded the other two major Daoist centers in the southeast—Maoshan (Jiangsu) and Gezao shan (Jiangxi), headquarters for the Shangqing and Lingbao traditions, respectively (Schipper 1982-1983). Song emperors made these centers responsible for issuing certificates of ordination to Daoist priests. While the ordinations given and basic practices taught at these three centers likely varied little, they stamped their ordinations with the authority of three different spiritual lineages, a phenomenon that became widespread in China from the late Tang (Strickmann 1979).

Each aspect considered in the last paragraphs—the Tantric rites, northern protector deities, and the Longhu Celestial Masters in the Northern Song court—reflects, in concentrated form, the larger religious transformation in south China between the ninth and fifteenth centuries. While visible in Song court records, this change is clearest within the Ming Daoist canon (Sun 1965; Jin 1976; Strickmann 1979; Boltz 1985, 1987; Davis 1994). These sources show most innovative activities taking place outside of official centers, even as a few find places in the records of the central court.

Important here is the **Heart of Heaven** tradition (Andersen 1991, 81-131; 1996). Soon after the Song consolidation, a retired official Rao Dong-

tian 鋭洞天 (fl. 994) on Huagai shan 華蓋山 (Jiangxi) claimed Tan Zixiao as his teacher and asserted that the Rectifying Rites of the Heart of Heaven had originated in his local area (CT 566, pref. 2a). Besides enriching his spiritual powers with spirit-soldiers from the Lord of the Eastern Peak, Rao based his teachings in the sacred precincts of a trio of prominent local transcendents, Fu Qiulang 浮丘良 and his two disciples Wang Daoxiang 王道想 and Guo Daoyi 郭道意 (all said to have lived in the fourth century; see Hymes, forthcoming). By implicitly linking his teachings with local cults while modeling it on a initiatory ranking system similar to the state civil service, Rao positioned the Heart of Heaven ritual system for literati in both local and national society. More than a century later, the priest Deng Yougong 鄧有功 (fl. 1110-1150), claiming to be Rao's fifth-generation descendent, edited five distinct Jiangxi and Anhui versions of Rao's codes for the conduct of demons, spirits and initiates, together with his lists of ritual titles and his documentary templates, into a comprehensive ritual manual. The tradition of this manual, based on revelations to a predynastic order, consists of the twelve basic talismans of the tradition and exorcistic rituals to give the practitioner power over agents in the Department of Exorcism.

Deng's life apparently spanned the reign of **Huizong** (r. 1101-1125), a watershed in the histories of both China and Daoism, when the historical shift in the center for Daoist practice from court to local areas was symbolically confirmed. Like earlier emperors, Huizong invited Daoist priests from the main ordination centers to court, including the 25th Shangqing Patriarch Liu Hunkang 劉混康 (1035-1108) and the 30th Celestial Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092-1126). In 1108 Huizong honored the first Celestial Master Zhang Daoling with a new title and ordered major reconstruction of Celestial Master buildings on Longhu shan, and there was a national distribution of comprehensive ritual paradigms for the Golden Register Rites (*jinlu zhai* 金錄齋; Davis 1994, 67-80). These rituals were originally meant to protect emperor and state, but in their local adaptation between Southern Song and Ming times they became rituals for ensuring the covenant between local temple gods and their communities (Maruyama 1995, 91-94). In 1111 Huizong banned the Buddhicized cult of generic nature spirits (*shanxiao* 山魈 or *shanjing* 山精) called Wutong 五通, as a local Wutong cult in Wuyuan 婺源 (Jiangxi) began a meteoric rise to prominence (Ce'dzich 1995, 168-9).

This began a longer process of state enrichments of tutelary gods through granting of official titles in return for supporting the state; thus the 1112 honoring of the Jiangxi cult figure Xu Xun in order to defend the realm against the Jurchens (Hanson 1991; von Glahn 1993; Boltz 1987, 72-3). Huizong's call for the compilation of a new Daoist canon in 1114 drew ritual practitioners from around the realm to Kaifeng, and part of its ra-

tionale was to establish the Song regime's spiritual superiority over barbarian competitors. One itinerant practitioner, Yuan miaozong 元妙宗 (fl. 1086-1116), left Nanyang 南陽 (Henan) to help edit the new canon. Noticing the lack of the talismanic forms of healing tradition that he had mastered, he submitted to the emperor on March 1, 1116, the most comprehensive extant treatise in the Huagai Heart of Heaven legacy. Acknowledging both new spiritual realities and recent imperial responses to it, Yuan traced the movement's origins back to Zhang Daoling himself.

We also see new trends. Universal rituals for the dead begin to show such **Tantric buddhist influences** as the use of mudras and mantras (Mitamura 1996). While both Buddhist and Daoist priests sought to produce funerary liturgy for the general populace, Daoists specialized in rites of Salvation through Refinement (*liandu* 煉度), effected through dramatic outer stagings and subtle inner meditations (Boltz 1983; 1996). These merit-making rites have become the indispensable core of Daoists' ritual repertoire. The continued development of the Yellow Register rites for the salvation of ancestors became the paradigm of all Lingbao ritual, delivered to all Daoist temples (Loon 1984, 39; Matusmoto 1983). In 1106 Huizong also began a decade-long search for Exalted Elite (*gaoshi* 高士) from various quarters—Method Masters (*fangshi* 方士) and Recluses (*yinshi* 隱士)—to bring to court.

One answering the call was a knowledgeable priest from the trading port Wenzhou 溫州 (Zhejiang) named Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1076-1120). He confidently entered the capital in 1116 touting a tradition that may have only been four years old. He offered the emperor something more profound, expanding the sacred instruction he obtained from the supreme **Divine Empyrean** (Shenxiao 神霄) heaven to include spiritual defenses against attack by human enemies of the state. This so enticed Huizong that by early 1117 he had come to see himself as an incarnation of the "Great Thearch of Long Life" (Changsheng dadi 長生大帝) or the Imperial Lord of the Supreme Empyrean (Taixiao dijun 太霄帝君), in effect establishing a new theocratic order (Strickmann 1978; Boltz 1983). Since the Song emperor-thearch was charged with ensuring the eternal salvation of the Song realm, he effectively legitimated his empire on the basis of revelations from the Divine Empyrean heaven. Perhaps due to Lin's abrupt fall from power in 1119, this liberal consumption of new ritual programs was apparently not refelected in the Daoist canon printed in 1120. It continued earlier conservative priorities and included little from the new revelatory movements (Loon 1984).

Lin's efforts continued through a Jiangxi native, Wang Wenqing 王文卿(1093-1153), the court preceptor in the Divine Empyrean teachings. While Wang and other itinerant practitioners failed to prevent the Song court from falling to the Jurchens in 1126-1127, in the south they continued

to circulate this flexible ritual system, which became very popular in local communities.

Several influential local dispensations also emerged in Huizong's reign. Near Mao shan a rice merchant's son from Yizhen 儀真 (Jiangsu), Yang Xizhen 楊希真(1101-1124), was divinely chosen to receive the Aggrandizing Rites of **Youthful Incipience** (*Tongchu dafa* 童初大法). Yang feigned madness in 1120 and entered the Huayang cavern 華陽洞, returning the next year to instruct humanity in the ritual system he had mastered in the nether regions (*Maoshan zhi* 茅山志, CT 304, 16.4b-5a; Boltz 1987, 30-33). Prominent in the extant ritual codes that include therapeutic and mortuary rituals are references to the Fire-Bell Talisman (*Huoling fu* 火鈴符) and the Tianpeng incantation (*Tianpeng zhou* 天蓬咒) from Shangqing sources. They gave living adepts access to ritual materials normally reserved for the dead. Further, the Four Sages of the Heart of Heaven system were joined to the Celestial Master Patriarch Zhang and elevated to places of authority within the Immaculate Bureau of the Five Primordials (Wuyuan sufu 五元素府). This pentad played prominent roles in later cognate ritual systems.

Another widely-discussed and controversial ritual system claims to have emerged at this time. A priest named Tian Ziji 田紫機 (b. 1074) received revelations that were later codified by his disciple Ning Benli 寧本立(1101-1181), a native to the Northern Song capital who fled south. Based at Tiantai shan 天台山 (Zhejiang), he became known in south China for his elaborate rituals for the dead, a fact confirmed by the extant legacy of the Aggrandizing Rites of the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao dafa 靈寶大法) others claimed he founded.

Finally, there is evidence from this time of developments in the worship and ritual embodiment of the powers of thunder. In the last two decades of the Northern Song, the Celestial Masters began adopting the **Thunder Rites**. Also emerging here are elaborate schemes for articulating the powers of thunder in theory, scripture, meditation and ritual that developed more fully from Southern Song times (Matsumoto 1979). This broad class of exorcistic ritual appeared under such names as the Five Thunders (*wulei* 五雷) and Thunderclap (*leiting* 雷霆). Scriptures and deities that become integrated into these elaborate blends of local, Tantric and Daoist elements seem to date from this time. A Tantricized version of the tenth-century *Tiantong huming jing* 天童護命經(Scripture of the Celestial Lad who Protects Destiny) called the *Taishang taiqing Huang-Lao dijun yunlei Tiantong yinfan xianjing* 太上泰清皇老帝君運雷天童隱梵仙經(Transcendent Celestial Lad Scripture of Secret Brahmanic [Language] for Circulating Thunder, of the Most High and Supremely Pure August Lord Lao, CT 633) is full of pseudo-Sanskrit phrases and deity names. Dating from the eleventh century, later ritual manuals called it the *Leijing* or "Thunder Scripture." Later accounts say the main deity of the Thunder Ministry (Leibu 雷部), the

Heavenly Honored One of Universal Transformation (Puhua tianzun 普化天尊), was honored in his incarnation as the Great Upright and Brilliant Saint of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian zhenming dasheng 九天貞明大聖) during this period. This deity later becomes integral to the union with the cosmic Way achieved by the chief officient before the official beginning of the main Offering ceremonies to thank the gods.

While many of these religious traditions have roots in the early twelfth century, most of their textual remains are codifications and developments produced in south China from the mid-twelfth to early fifteenth centuries.

SOUTHERN SONG CONSOLIDATIONS. Itinerant practitioners of the **Divine Empyrean** legacy continued their work and by the late thirteenth century produced ritual codes for its cognate traditions. This helped consolidate a larger, more complex spiritual order by the end of the Song (Strickmann 1975; Loon 1979; Boltz 1985; Cedzich 1995, 183, 186). Wang Wenqing, Zheng Zhiwei 鄭知微, Lu Ye 盧燁 and Liu Yu 劉玉 (first called Liu Shi 世, fl. 1258) practiced these traditions in Zhejiang, Fujian and Jiangxi, admitting some of the gods and rites they encountered. Others made Du Guangting's ritual program for the dead the framework for their practice, supplementing it with new ritual sequences. Among the supplementary rites was that for Deliverance (*kaidu* 開度), which typically centered on theatrical trips to the underworld by the presiding Daoist priest or his agents.

Thunder rituals also proliferated in Southern Song times, and some masters attempted to order them (Skar 1996-1997). Ritual practitioners made greater use of corporeal forms of alchemical self-cultivation such as the Golden Elixir tradition to embody the cosmic Way to make their rituals efficacious (see "Inner Alchemy"). Initiates into these exorcistic traditions often linked themselves to the Celestial Master tradition on Longhu shan and developed ritual codes along the lines of the Heart of Heaven and Divine Empyrean traditions. The Celestial Masters, meanwhile, absorbed aspects of both the Heart of Heaven and Thunder Ritual traditions, making them fundamental prerequisites of initiations for all local Daoist priests (*Daofa huiyuan*, CT 1220, 249, 13b). Emperor Lizong (r. 1224-1264) made the 35th Celestial Master head of the three main classical Daoist lineages of Zhengyi, Lingbao and Shangqing by giving him control over the Talismanic Registers of the Three Mountains (CT 296 19.16b).

Lu Shizhong 路時中 (fl. 1100-1158), a Chenzhou 陳州 (Henan) native, codified the **Yutang dafa** after a revelation that lasted from 1107 to 1120. His manuals blend Salvation through Refinement rites with therapeutics of the Heart of Heaven tradition, energizing them with a new interpretation of a Shangqing practice for spiritual flight. He and his early Southern Song

disciples circulated this popular and influential ritual tradition in many areas south of the Yangzi (Boltz 1987, 36-37).

In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, several **Lingbao dafa** codifications appeared. Many noted the import of Ning Benli's codifications. His successor, and major compiler of his teachings, Wang Qizhen 王契真(fl. 1154-1181), emphasized *liandu* rites in his practice (Boltz 1987, 43-45). Another leading codifier, Liu Yongguang 劉用光 (1134-1206), based at the Celestial Masters' headquarters on Longhu shan, learned the rituals of the Rectified Unity and Five Thunders traditions. The major editor of his teachings on Lingbao mortuary ritual, the Yellow Register, was a Wenzhou disciple, Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔輿 (1156-1217; see Boltz 1987, 41-43). Like other contemporary priests, he asserts his authority by including chunks of rituals codified by the earlier ritualists Lu Xiujing, Zhang Wanfu and Du Guangting, while adding several chapters on the liandu rites.

In contrast to those favoring **flexibility and openness** in ritual practice, practitioners like Lü Yuansu 呂元素(fl. 1188-1201) of Chengdu (Sichuan) and Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1223-1225), an heir to the Youthful Incipience tradition, tried to restore ritual to its classical purity. Jin asserts that only the rites he had inherited were the genuine form of treating disorders; he frequently complains of excesses, errors and inaccuracies in the Tiantai variety of Lingbao dafa codified by Ning Benli. He believed that the Tianxin tradition was the center of the Zhengyi tradition (CT 1222, 10.9a-9b), and that it had also unified the rites of the Five Thunder deities and other common practices (Boltz 1987, 45-46; Maruyama 1994). As a corrective, he advocates a return to the simple fundamentals of ritual promoted by Lu Xiujing and Du Guangting. Less explicit on his competitors, Lü nonetheless pulls on localist strings by claiming to restore the ritual purity in Du Guangting, who resided for a time in Sichuan (Boltz 1987, 49-51).

Ritual proliferation was hard to stop, however, and in the early thirteenth century, Celestial Lord Xin (Xin tianjun 辛天君) instructed the Guangdong master Chen Nan 陳楠 (d. 1213) in the Thunder Rites as a ritual supplement to his Golden Elixir teachings. After teaching these (and the Golden Elixir teachings) to several disciples, including the renowned Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-1227?), Chen died. Bai taught inner alchemy and rituals to famous literati from Guangdong to Jiangsu, and added to his ritual expertise with traditions he learned along the way. Surviving material shows that he considered himself an heir to the Shenxiao legacy, working on Fujian and Jiangxi most intensively (Strickmann 1975; Berling 1994; Yokote 1995; Skar 1996-1997). Between 1215 and 1225 he aligned himself with and bolstered traditions and cults on Wuyi shan, Xishan and Longhu shan. After a revelation from the Heavenly Honored One of Universal Transformation in Fuzhou in 1218, Bai declared himself a Divine Empyrean master

and initiated nine gentry disciples who set up branch retreats for these teachings and aided him in major rituals (Skar 2000). A key witness to the wealth of religious traditions in southeast China at this time, Bai aided the Celestial Master lineage during a succession crisis, compiled the fullest account of the Xu Xun cult until 1158, promoted the religious culture of northwestern Fujian and converted a Buddhist priest. Two generations of disciples continued Bai's work, codifying his teachings in the Golden Elixir heritage and the Thunder Rituals that had become part of the Divine Empyrean system.

Late in the thirteenth century, a comprehensive ritual system emerged in Bai's home territory, integrating four classical traditions—Shangqing, Lingbao, Daode and Zhengyi—with a Tantricized form of Thunderclap ritual reflected in newly revealed talismans. There are many parallels between Bai's understanding of the Lingbao, Shenxiao, Thunder Ritual and Golden Elixir traditions, and those codified by the Fujianese official Huang Shunshen 黃舜申 (1224-ca. 1286). The latter system, learned from Huang's onetime healer, Nan Bidao 南畢道 (b. 1196), were teachings of the exalted **Pure Tenuity** (Qingwei 清微) celestial realm. Before he died, Huang reworked, amplified and distributed this elaborated version of Divine Empyrean rites, replete with Tantric elements and allusions to the Shangqing legacy, from Guangxi to Wudang shan. By Ming times, authoritative priests saw this system, along with the more popular Divine Empyrean system, as the two most renowned Daoist ritual programs (Schipper 1987; Boltz 1987, 38-41, 68-70).

Figures such as Liu Yongguang and Bai Yuchan, who cultivated contacts the Zhang family of Celestial Masters on Longhu shan, suggest that during Southern Song times the Zhangs were an important source of ritual authority and legitimacy for newer ritual traditions. Leaders in this movement often asserted that the new therapeutic movements were incarnations of the Way first divulged to Zhang Daoling, only recently made available by uncovering materials he had hidden in the ground.

Also important in Southern Song times were local gods who revealed themselves as charged with overseeing cosmic order of the Dao in scriptural or ritual texts at spirit-writing sessions. One of the first in the unsettled early Southern Song was Jiangxi cult figure **Xu Xun**. Responding in 1131 to a 1129 plea by his cult leader He Zhengong 何真公, Xu sent the "secret rites of the Numinous Treasure and Pure and Bright [traditions]" (*Lingbao jingming mifa* 靈寶淨明秘法) and the "teachings of loyalty, filialty, humility and self-restraint." Armed with these outer talismanic rituals and inner instructions on self-cultivation, he hoped to protect those faithful to Xu from invading evils and to strengthen their spiritual resolve (Akizuki 1978, 31-33).

Similarly, the Daoist-inspired revelations between 1168 and 1194 conferred a Daoist identity on a local Sichuanese god of Zitong, who became

known as **Wenchang** 文昌, the God of Literature. His Daoist links are clear in his overseeing Daoist ceremonies and in shrines to him placed next to Daoist establishments. In the thirteenth century this Daoicized deity become known throughout the Yangzi basin, and a new revelation in 1267 centered on growing instabilities of the Song state (Kleeman 1994, 72-73). Later versions of Xu Xun's Song exploits also bear the imprint of Wenchang's multiple reincarnations revealed by spirit-writing (Boltz 1987, 73-75; Kleeman 1994, 66). Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a local Zhejiang plague deity, often called **Commandant Wen** 瘟元師 was one of several competing deities in coastal Zhejiang, especially in Hangzhou and Wenzhou. Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾(fl. 1247-1274), a disciple of renowned Divine Empyrean and Five Thunder master Liu Yu, recast Marshal Wen as an eradicator of illicit popular cults and gods, apparently with little lasting success (Katz 1995, 120-127; 80-88). Another deity was Ma Sheng 馬勝 (the Chinese translation of Asvajit, the Buddha's disciple who taught Sariputra), whose cultic center was likely in Jiangxi. In Yuan Miaozong's Heart of Heaven synthesis he was a stellar deity of the Southern Dipper who used the fire with which he was charged to cleanse the world of demons. Iconographically linked to Tantrism, his main duty in later ritual manuals was to destroy *shanxiao* and Wutong demons. By the mid-thirteenth century he was effectively a purified Wutong spirit emanating from the fiery Southern Dipper in the sky (Cedzich 1995, 184-190). These are but a few of the gods who became central to local cults in southeast China.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE YUAN. By remaining aloof and subtly adapting itself to new circumstances after the Song fall to the Mongols, Chinese civilization escaped destruction, even as Yuan leaders sought ways to acquire cultural legitimacy. Daoism aided them; early khans, beginning with Chingghis in the 1220s, showered patronage on the **Quanzhen** 全真 (Complete Perfection) movement of self-cultivation that had turned to deity worship and classical Daoist ritual programs to enrich its legacy and win Mongolian patronage (see "Complete Perfection").

After capturing Lin'an, the Mongols turned to the Celestial Masters for support, but this benefited the Mongols more than the Celestial Masters, who already had de facto spiritual authority over the new ritual traditions in south China. Qubilai Khan made the 36th Celestial Master, Zhang Zongyan 張宗演(1244-1291) and his successors leaders of Daoist teachings in south China (*Yuanshi* 元史 202.8). Zhang set a precedent for the regime by delegating administration of in the Yuan capital Yanjing (Beijing) to literati surrogates, whom the Mongols called patriarchs of the Teachings of the Mysteries (Xuanjiao 玄教; see Sun 1981). These included eminent Jiangxi literati like Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248-1322; served 1278-1322) and his disciple Wu Quanjie 吳全節 (1269-1346; served 1322-1346), followed by

Wu's disciple, Xia Wenyong 夏文庸 (1277-1349; served 1346-1349) and the little-known Zhang Delong 張德隆 (served 1349-). After rebels destroyed the Lingbao mountain headquarters on Gezao shan in 1352, it never regained its glory. This was no doubt partly due to the greater authority laid upon Celestial Masters on nearby Longhu shan (Chen 1963, 272-74).

Outside of these developments at court, ritual traditions and deity cults continued to develop, circulating and interacting throughout local areas in the south. Soon after the Mongols unified China, incarnations formed of several ritual traditions that had been known since the twelfth century, the largest by a Wenzhou heir to Ning Benli's legacy of the Aggrandizing Rites of the Numinous Treasure, Lin Weifu 林偉夫 (1239-1303). Lin's own disciple, Lin Tianren 林天任, confirmed his master's place in a long biography written just after his death (Boltz 1987, 45-47; Lü and Lagerway 1992).

The **cult to Xu Xun** continued its earlier legacy, but underwent a revival at the end of the thirteenth century. Liu Yu 劉玉 (1257-1308) synthesized an ethicized version of the Xu Xun cult in northern Jiangxi, codifying the Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality using a scriptural legacy based on decades of revelations. His efforts were captured though pious efforts of Liu's main disciple, Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (1270-1324), whose own teachings were compiled by a loyal disciple, Xu Hui 徐慧 (1291-1352). In this phase of the Xu Xun cult, Xu was no longer chiefly known as a master-exorcist and dragon-queller. He moreover was skeptical of abstruse forms of corporeal contemplation, preferring to rectify the mind by following strict ethical standards. He also absorbed simpler forms of exorcism and Thunder Ritual centered on the Department of the Celestial Pivot (Tianshu yuan 天樞院) in the Southern Dipper, a clear counterpart to the Tianxin zhengfa. All of these traditions attracted support from influential Jiangxi literati of the early fourteenth century (Akizuki 1978; Boltz 1987, 75-78, 198-99).

Mo Qiyan 莫起炎 (1223-1291), a Huzhou 湖州 (Zhejiang) native well-known in Nanfeng 南豐 (Jiangxi) continued Bai Yuchan's dual interest in contemplative and ritual teachings. His disciple Wang Weiyi 王惟一 (1264-1304), elaborated on Mo's broad interests and claimed that Mo founded the Thunderclap variety of the Thunder Rites to counteract traditions such as the Heart of Heaven, centered on the use of talismans. This despite the fact that Wang mentioned that Sa [Shou]jian's 薩[守]堅 (fl. 1141-1178?) master, the 30th Celestial Master Zhang Jixian, first circulated them. A native of Wuchang 武場 (Hubei), Lei Shizhong 雷時中 (1221-1295), also continued practicing both Thunder Rituals and corporeal contemplation in the Middle Yangzi region (Boltz 1987, 186-188).

After reinstituting the civil service examinations in 1315, the Mongol regime further ennobled the multivalent god Wenchang by embedding parts of his cult in official schools. This tied him to the examinations and the literati without fully replacing either his popular roots or Daoist overlays. A century later he was worshipped at state schools throughout the empire (Kleeman 1994, 73-79). Also in Yuan times, the fire-deity Ma Sheng became part of a web of divine identity that also went under the names and appearances of Wutong, Five Manifestations (*wuxian* 五顯), or Huaguang 華光 (Padmabrabha) (Cedzich 1995, 186-189).

The **Ming Dynasty** saw a continuation of Yuan practices. as well as fuller state support for some cults, such as that for the Perfect Warrior, that had made Daoist liturgical and scriptural forms central to their activities. Some of this support waned after the Ming capital was moved from Nanjing to Beijing in 1421. In 1368, the first Ming emperor put the 42nd Celestial Master Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (1335-1377) in charge of all matters related to Daoism. Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真, trained in both Complete Perfection and Golden Elixir legacies, became the main codifier of the Qingwei teachings. The court, moreover, supported various popular deities, such as the Perfect Warrior, the Xu Brothers and Mazu. For more details, see "Daoism in the Ming."

TEXTS

Most of what we know of the Song-Yuan traditions comes from the surviving Ming Daoist canon. Compiled by those who shaped and passed on these traditions, these texts reflect their hopes of restoring the world to the order of the cosmic Way and their need to make a way in the world. They vary in scope and depth, degree of the codification and systemization, number of innovative and conservative elements, and also in the extent of their circulation. Manuscripts meant for initiates had a narrower distribution than those printed and dispersed among lay audiences. The text's language is complex, with both classical literary foms and vernacular and local strata (Lien 1995). Many texts include diagrams, depictions and charts to aid ritual practitioners. Initiates and devout laymen routinely memorized their texts, using written versions to backup their memory.

Whatever their ties to classical Daoist orders or recent ritual traditions, many of these texts are part of large ritual compendia with variable degrees of internal organization. Compilations with lesser degrees of organization tend to contain ritual traditions that are new or devoted to single deities; those with higher degrees are most representative of the classical Daoist orders or liturgical structures. Many new systems appear in massive, poorly

organized compendia with dozens of ritual systems, while compendia of classical rituals are usually large and systematic.

GENERAL OVERVIEWS AND COMPILATIONS. Like their predecessors in the early Tang, many priests involved with early Ming emperors sought to assess and arrange scriptural and ritual materials that had emerged during the previous four centuries. They organized the plethora of rites, gods and traditions through systematic essays, encyclopedias, or ritual compilations to demarcate the legitimate boundaries of Daoist thought and practice. These efforts did not keep priests from promoting specific ritual traditions or deity cults as was common in Song and Yuan times. Nor did it divert the focus of Tang and early Song priests, who often organized their material around scriptures or specific ritual programs. Examples of each will be considered here. An important instance of a scriptural-based compilation is the large anonymous ***Jinsuo liuzhu yin*** 金鎖流珠引 (Guide to the Golden Lock and Flowing Pearls [Scripture], CT 1015, 29 j.). While claiming Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602-670) as its compiler and commentator, this work gives a comprehensive (though often abridged) treatment of the Pacing the Mainstays practice once central to its lost eponymous scripture (Andersen 1991; Barrett 1986). Scattered references to elements prominent in the Heart of Heaven legacy and the Thunder Rites suggest the work took shape in the ninth or early tenth centuries, probably in Celelstial Master circles. At about this time Du Guangting wrote a major work, later amplified by unknown editors, called the ***Taishang huanglu zhai yi*** 太上黃籙齋儀 (Protocols for Yellow Register Rites of the Most High, CT 508, 58 j.). This work and others compiled by Du established the Yellow Register Rite as the paradigm of all Lingbao ritual.

Many early Ming writings focus less on indidivual scriptures or rites than on presenting comprehensive overviews of Daoist traditions as a whole, especially their development in the four previous centuries. We see this in the ***Daofa huiyuan*** 道法會元 (Collected Sources on Daoist Ritual, CT 1220, 268 j.), the largest work in the Daoist canon. It assembles a range of ritual manuals and related writings from various Daoist traditions that flourished in south China in Song and Yuan times. Its provenance is unknown, but an internal date of 1356 and references to a deified Zhao Yizhen (d. 1382) suggests an early Ming compilation in south China, perhaps by an heir to the Pure Tenuity tradition (Loon 1979; Schipper 1982; Boltz 1987, 47-49).

Many component texts deal with variant Thunder Rite traditions that often used spirit-mediums (*tongzi* 童子) as ritual standins for the afflicted. The texts often tie their exorcistic practice, centered on Ritual Masters who composed and used talismans, to the therapeutic priorities of the Celestial Masters. Qingwei materials fill the first fifth of the text (j. 1-55) while the

next fifth (j. 56-101) contains compilations linked to Fire-Master Wang (Wang Huoshi 王火師), and reflects the Thunderclap rites and Shenxiao traditions. The remaining three fifths have a range of texts, including Shenxiao traditions on hell-rituals (j. 264-68), *liandu* rites (j. 198-206) and ways to quell tutelary deities (j. 253-56) ascribed to the Song master-disciple chain of Lu Ye, Liu Yu (fl. 1258) and Huang Gongjin (fl. 1284). It also contains Shenxiao-based traditions (j. 104-108 and j. 147-153) of the Jade Pivot legacy, derived from Celestial Lord Xin's revelation to Chen Nan, and his transmission to Bai Yuchan, Peng Si and their Yuan followers.

Texts related to the revitalized Shangqing tradition known as Youthful Incipience fill another large section and show special appreciation of rites to the Tianpeng spirit (j. 158-187). Some texts continue Numinous Treasure (j. 244-45) and Heart of Heaven (j. 246-47) traditions, or Thunder Rites of a Song guardian spirit known as the Grand Monad and Grand Unity (Taiyi 太一/乙; j. 133-45; j. 188-94). Of similar provenance is a section (j. 195-96) on the Five Thunder Rites of the Eight Trigrams. One section (j. 111-13) on the Five Thunder Rites is ascribed to the 36th Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan (1244-1291), and another has a postface by Zhang Jixian. We find also the tradition (j. 122-23) on the Thunder Rites of Shaoyang, inspired by Xu Xun.

A smaller, but similarly broad work is the anonymously-compiled ***Fahai yizhu*** 法海遺珠 (Bequeathed Pearls from the Sea of Ritual, CT 1166, 46 j.). Its many ritual manuals represent a wide range of therapeutic traditions from the Yangzi valley and south, including Thunder ritual traditions of the Divine Empyrean (1, 10), Taiyi (3-6), Five Thunders (j. 21, 22, 24, 25, 37) and Thunderclap (j. 16) legacies, as well as those centered around spirit-generals Deng 鄧 (23), Liu 劉 (31), Zhao 趙 (36), Xin 辛 (38), Guan 關 (39, 43), Yin 殷 (44), the Jupiter Spirit (Taisui 太歲, j. 30-31, 35) and the Four Saints of the Northern Emperor (j. 32-33). One chapter (j. 27) claims to be a secret family tradition of Thunder Rites. The last section, containing the Mysterious Writs of the Purple Throne (*Zichen xuanshu* 紫宸玄書, j. 45-46), has a preface dated 1344 by Zhang Shunlie 張舜烈, suggesting the manual is from late fourteenth century south China (Boltz 1987, 51).

One work that comprehensively embodies key aspects of the Song-Yuan Daoist transformation—notably the primacy of the Zhengyi tradition of the Celestial Masters in coordinating new ritual traditions and deity cults within older Daoist liturgical structures—is not in the Daoist canon. The encyclopedic ***Daozang miyao/zhi*** 道藏秘要/旨 (Secret Essentials of the Daoist Canon), mostly reflects the Celestial Master's new role in Daoism of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, andis still a fundamental text for Daoist priests in Taiwan (Maruyama 1992). Besides necessary theoretical and historical background to Daoist traditions, the work deals with indis-

pensible liturgical forms, contemplative and ritual activities, and initiation ranks for Daoist priests.

SPECIFIC RITUAL TRADITIONS. People in Song times generally regarded texts of the HEART OF HEAVEN tradition as part of the Zhengyi Celestial Masters legacy, although early codifers also revered Shangqing traditions. Compilers viewed their tradition as embodying the whole Tang Daoist system, reshaped to suit a Song audience. New elements include the Subduing Demons (*fumo* 伏魔) tradition linked to the Northern Emperor, Zhengyi techniques of Pacing the Mainstays, practices of gathering and expelling, and others influenced by Tantrism such as deity-transformation (*bianshen* 變神) and mudra-rubrics (*juemu* 訣目). Some compilers explicitly tried to establish initiation ranks according to the Song administration. Rao Dongtian (d. 994), a minor official who retired to Huagai shan, followed a nighttime vision of lights streaming from the Big Dipper (i.e., the Heart of Heaven) to the earth and dug in his mountain to find the secret [ritual] templates of the Heart of Heaven. Later Tan Zixiao taught him to use the Mudras and Jade Models (*yuge* 玉格), and told him to learn more from the Emperor of the Eastern Mountain Taishan, who later gave him spirit-soldiers (*yinbing* 陰兵).

Rao's tale's is told by a fifth generation follower named Deng Yougong 鄧有功 (fl. 1110-1150; CT 566, pref. 1a-1b). He showed his reverence for Rao in two works, one a new edition of Rao's teachings called the ***Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü*** 上清骨髓靈文鬼律 (Demon-Code of the Numinous Writ of Bone-Marrow in the Supreme Purity Tradition, CT 461, 4 pp. + 3 j.). Here Deng calls Rao the ancestral transcendent who codifed the Tianxin tradition after discovering a secret writing on Huagai shan and elaborating a code based on the statutes and laws of the Song administration (pref. 2b; cf. CT 1223 43.17a). This corresponds to chapter 6 of Yuan Miaozong's work (CT 1227; Boltz 1994, 17). Rao's tradition was well-known in northern Jiangxi in the twelfth century, since Deng based his texts on five texts of the Shangqing "Demon-Code" that he found in abbeys in Hongzhou, Nankang, Lushan and Shuzhou (CT 461, pref. 3a). He verified his text's accuracy by sending it to the gate to heaven, from where it was sent for checking to the Department of Exorcism and other celestial bureaux. A heavenly reply assured Deng the text was correct (pref. 3b), and priests could use it to support imperial rule by widely distributing and practicing these rites to keep away the evils from distant lands (pref. 4a). The text's core is a penal code for spirits involved in exorcistic rituals based on nine talismans called the Numinous Writ of Bone-Marrow, unique to the Heart of Heaven tradition. To distinguish his tradition from others that used written demon codes but which were not in tune with the will of Heaven (2a), Deng added two sections: Jade Models (rules for initiations

based on Song administrative ranks) and Ritual Templates (ritual titles [3.6a-7b] and templates for ritual documents [3.8a-19b]).

Supplementing this work was Deng's ***Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*** 上清天心正法 (Rectifying Rites of the Heart of Heaven, in the Shangqing Tradition, CT 566, 3 pp. + 7 j.), which summarized the Tianxin zhengfa tradition (abbreviated as *Zhengfa*). Deng claimed the text held secret essentials and talismanic writs of the four initiatory ranks of scriptures and registers (pref. 3a), and embodied essentials of the four early Daoist traditions coordinated into ritual categories and initiation ranks in the Tang. He credits the Shangqing medium Yang Xi with introducing this talismanic tradition (pref. 2a-2b), but claims it came to the Song on the sacret grounds of a Huagai shan cult figure Fu Qiuliang 浮丘良 and his disciples Wang Daoxiang and Guo Daoyi. It is undoubtedly related to a three-*juan* work of the same title listed in the *Tongzhi lue* of 1161 (Loon 1984, 75) and the first two chapters of Yuan Miaozong's *Mifa* of 1116 (CT 1227, see below). A reference to talismans attributed to Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092-1127; see 3.9b-20a) and inclusion of Shenxiao material (5.8a-9a) suggest a mid-twelfth century date. The work was meant for Tianxin zhengfa initiates, who practice the canonical precious registers and secret respositories of the four degrees of the Three Caverns (2b-3a), but includes three chapters on a popular and extra-canonical talisman tradition called the talismanic writs of the Northern Emperor (j. 4-6), well known in Jiangxi and a possible source for the Tianxin tradition.

The text focuses on the three main Tianxin talismans, described as Talismans of the Three Luminaries, the Black Killer and the Celestial Mainstay (3.1a-9a; cf. CT 567 1a, 6a-13a; CT 1227 2.10a-17a). It also discusses nine subsidiary talismans, called the Numinous Writ of Bone Marrow (*Gusui lingwen* 骨髓靈文), here said to have been transmitted separately by Zhang Daoling (3.9b-21a; cf. CT 1227, j. 4-6). The main deity empowering the talismans is the Northern Emperor, also called the Ancestral Master (Zushi 祖師), the Great Emperor of the Northern Culmen (Beiji dadi 北極大帝), or the Great Emperor of Highest Purity (Shangqing dadi 上清大帝). He oversees the Department of Exorcism where *Tianxin zhengfa* initiates are assigned (cf. CT 461 pref. 1b). Besides commanding Great Generals, this deity is protected by 36 generals headed by Great Commandant Tianpeng (2.3a-b, 3.1a, 8b; cf. CT 1227). Another agent of the Northern Emperor is the Black Killer, the talismanic envoy of the Dark Warrior (Xuanwu fushi 玄武符使) and bearer of the Northern Emperor's decrees (CT 3.5a-7a; cf. CT 220 8.13a-16a, 27.6b-9b).

The largest survey of the Tianxin zhengfa is the ***Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen miyao*** 太上助國救民總真秘要 (Secret Essentials of the Totality of the Perfected for Assisting the State and Saving the People, in the Most High Tradition, CT 1227, 10 j.). Signed by Yuan Miaozong on

1 March, 1116, this was his response to the dearth of detailed talismanic methods for exorcism and curing in the Daoist material gathered in the capital after an imperial decree of 1115 ordered preparation of a new Daoist canon (pref. 1b). Its focus on oral instructions for secret rites for [writing] talismans is based on his gradual synthesis, over thirty years, of a complete ritual repertoire from teachings of many masters in the realm.

The first two chapters, called the *Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa* 上清北極天心正法 (also the title of CT 567), open with the fundamentals of the tradition, followed by a discussion of basic talismans and seals. Claiming to derive from both the Central Dipper in the Northern Pole (i.e., Heart of Heaven) and the Celestial Masters, Yuan says the Tianxin zhengfa became a separate tradition through the efforts of Tan Zixiao and Rao Dongtian (1.1a). The programs for elaborate exorcistic ceremonies (1.2a-8b) incorporate less complex rites described later in the manual, and can be used to cure illnesses, save ancestors, obtain heirs or destroy illicit shrines. As agents of the Department of Exorcism, all initiates in the ritual system are heirs to their patriarch Zhang Daoling and subject to the Northern Emperor, called the Ancestral Master. The latter oversees a host of fierce generals and lieutenants and their less exalted spirit-soldiers. The second chapter contains basic rules for writing talismans, and describes the three main celestial talismans of the two main seals. These seals, the Seal of the Northern Pole's Department of Exorcism 北極驅邪印 and the Seal of the Omnicelestial Ruler of the Aggrandizing Laws 都天大法主印, gave authority to deal, respectively, with rites for the living and for the dead.

The third chapter has talismanic procedures for treating illnesses, followed by rites centered on Tianpeng. Chapters 4 to 6 contain a separate tradition of the *Shangqing yinshu gusui lingwen* 上清隱書骨髓靈文, claiming it passed from Zhang Daoling through the Tang master Ye Fashan 葉法善 (616-720). Chapter 4 holds the nine old Bone-marrow Numinous Writ talismans (also in CT 566 3.9b-21a), and chapter 5 adds additional talismans separately received by Yuan (4.1a) that focus on the rites of the Five Prisons (*wuyu fa* 五獄法 5.1a-6a) for capturing demons, and on submitting a petition through meditative ascent (*fuzhang* 伏章, 5.76b-10b). Chapter 6 ends with a Demon Code based on an older version (nearly identical with CT 461, attr. to Deng Yougong). The next two chapters deal with basic Rectifying Unity practices for inspecting [demons] and summoning [spirits] (ch. 7) and for Pacing the Mainstays (ch. 8). The last two chapters contain documentary templates for ritual work and descriptions of lesser Tianxin rites.

Finally, there are two later anonymous works in this tradition. The ***Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa*** 上清北極天心正法 (Rectifying Rites of the Heart of Heaven of the Northern Pole, in the Shangqing Tradition, CT 567, 37 pp.) gives a condensed version of the *Tianxin zhengfa*, centering

on its three central talismans (6a-13a). It says they were once the substance of the Tianxin tradition. The last two-thirds presents the inner practices required for successful talisman-writing, stressing its dependance upon the gathering of *qi* from the Three Luminaries (Sun, Moon and Big Dipper; 13a; cf. CT 1223, 6.11a-11b). The detailed descriptions at the end of the book on inhaling and circulating qi borrow from earlier traditions such as Shangqing (13b-19b), and secret divinatory traditions (20b-29b) concerning the optimal times and places to gather qi. A concluding general essay treats the details of the talismans in this system (29b-35a).

The ***Tianxin zhengfa xiuzhen daochang shejiao yi*** 天心正法修真道場設醮儀 (Protocols for Laying out the Offerings in the Area of the Way for Cultivating Perfection according to the Rectifying Rituals of the Heart of Heaven Tradition, CT 807, 12 pp.) is part of a well-established Tianxin zhengfa tradition dating from the thirteenth century or later, perhaps from Jiangxi. It distinguishes the deities in the Department of Exorcism of the Northern Culmen from those in the Department of the Celestial Pivot, which are central to the Southern Song-Yuan Xu Xun tradition.

A cognate tradition that may have been a source of the *Tianxin zhengfa* is found in Ouyang Wen's 歐陽文 ***Beidi fumo jing*** 北帝伏魔經 (Northern Emperor's Scripture for Subduing Demons, CT 1412, 10 j.). This synthesis of early Shangqing and Zhengyi therapeutics and later Lingbao ritual contains a range of exorcistic procedures (and also funeral liturgy, j. 6) to avoid evil influences of troublesome spirits in Fengdu shan 酆都山. Most come from the Northern Emperor, also called the Patriarch for Subduing Demons (Fumo zushi 伏魔祖師), who was sent by the Heavenly Honored One to deal with this unruly realm beneath the northern sky.

The DIVINE EMPYREAN tradition burst on the scene in the early twelfth century and became one of the most popular in succeeding centuries, due largely to its flexible ritual structures and deity hierarchies and its links to the Song court. The diverse texts in this legacy deliberately borrow from both Lingbao and Shangqing traditions, and enthusiastically absorb elements from many others. Perhaps the earliest datable text in the tradition is the ***Gaoshang shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi*** 高上神霄宗師受經式 (Exemplar on the Scriptures Received by the Lineal Master of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean Tradition, CT 1282, 7 pp.), most likely composed a few years after Huizong's reign. An account of the divine revelation, similar to that of the *Duren jing*, leads into a discussion of the origins of Shenxiao scriptures from an Ancestral Master or Heavenly Honored One, who uttered the Central Lingbao Salvation Scripture of Shenxiao (*Lingbao duren shenxiao zhongjing* 靈寶度人神霄中經). This scripture passed to the Lineal Master Taishang daojun 太上道君 in the Shangqing realm, who ordered its perfected residents to divide it into sixty *juan*. The divided scripture then went to the Perfect Master (Zhenshi 真師) or Perfected Sovereign

Lord of the Jade Clarity of the Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao yuqing zhen wangjun 神霄玉清真王君). He was to send it to earth only when the Song empire had reached a zenith of peace and prosperity, preparing the way by entering the world as Song Huizong. The above divine triad are the three masters of the Great Way of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean 高上神霄大道 a term from the main Shangqing scripture, the *Dadong zhenjing* 大洞真經. Also from the Shangqing tradition comes the use of the renchen cyclical year (# 29 in the sexagesimal cycle) to mark the start of this new dispensation. In that year (i.e. 1112), the Imperial Lord of Virid Florescence (Qinghua dijun 青華帝君), that is, Lin Lingsu, would divulge the divine mandate for a theocratic age, preparing for the release of the main scripture.

The chapter headings for a 61-*juan Duren jing* listed in this text correspond to those in the first work of the Daoist canons of the Ming (printed 1445) and Yuan (printed 1244), but apparently not to that printed in 1119. This work, the ***Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing*** 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 (Marvellous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of the Numinous Treasure Tradition, CT 1, 61 j.) opens with the basic *Duren jing* and then presents sixty ritual reworkings of it, reflecting both Lingbao and Shangqing traditions (Strickmann 1978). The Northern Song formulary notes that this revealed scripture was not only an extension of the Lingbao canon but also the culmination of the Shangqing legacy. Yet it was only a fraction of a canon of secret texts that totaled 1,200 *juan* by the time its revelations stopped in 1120. Thereafter, its dispensation was aided by Lin Lingsu and his successors, one of whom was Wang Wenqing (1093-1153). Wang, or one of his disciples, also may have had a hand in compiling a supplement of sacred diagrams to the seminal Duren jing, called the *Duren shangpin miaojing futu* 度人上品妙經符圖 (Talismans and Diagrams of the *Duren jing*, CT 147, 3 j.). These texts on chanting the scripture and turning it into talismans prepared the way for further developments in the Southern Song.

The Shenxiao tradition produced a comprehensive initiatory code (*Daofa huiyuan*, j. 249-250), dating from the early thirteenth century, called the ***Taishang tiantan yuge*** 太上天壇玉格 (Jade Code of the Most High [Lord Lao's] Celestial Altar). This code presents a range of older traditions as parallel, but inferior, to Shenxiao priorities (Loon 1979; Cedzich 1995, 183, 186). Most of the other extant Shenxiao textual materials date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For instance, the *Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 高上神霄玉清真王紫書大法 (Comprehensive Rites in Purple Script from the Perfected Jade Purity King of Most Exalted Divine Empyrean, CT 1219, 12 j.), is a compendium of Shenxiao rites. Included in its title is the name of Huizong's divine double and scattered references to his reign. But the work as a whole likely dates from after his demise,

judging from the pervasiveness of the Five Thunder and liandu rites (Ren and Zhong 1991, 960-61; Boltz 1987, 27). Another late Shenxiao compilation is the seven-chapter unit of the *Daofa huiyuan* (CT 1220, j. 198-205) entitled the ***Shenxiao jinhuo tianding dafa*** 神霄金火天丁大法 (Comprehensive Rites of the Golden Flame's Celestial Stalwart in the Divine Empyrean). A preface is signed by Chen Daoyi 陳道一 and a colphon by Liu Yu, both latter-day Shenxiao heirs from Jiangxi, and this suggests why this late redaction treats so prominently a verse purporting to be by Lin Lingsu on the cosmic sphere controlled by the fire-wielding universal warrior (Boltz 1987, 30).

The LINGBAO DAFA (Aggrandizing Rites of the Numinous Treasure Tradition) is also concerned with saving the dead. Like the Shenxiao legacy, with which it shared many overlaps and connections, it was based on the Lingbao tradition *Duren jing*. The special characteristics of the tradition derive from secret readings of the scripture. These are elaborated mainly by Ning Benli based on his synthesis of Tian Ziji's 田紫極 (b. 1074) Kaifeng teachings on canonical Daoist liturgies of salvation and alchemical self-cultivation. After the fall of the Northern Song, Tian fled south and learned from Shi Zixian 仕子仙 the talismans, writs, seals and mudras of the Jade Fascicles from the Five Bureaux (i.e., the Tongchu legacy). After settling in Tiantai he taught many disciples and his rites found expression in numerous legacies in Southern Song and Yuan times. The tradition makes heavy use of *liandu* rituals and the Shenxiao pantheon. It also borrowed from innovations of the Tianxin legacy, although writers often distinguish their Lingbao rites of salvation from the Tianxin exorcisms. At the heart of the Aggrandizing Rites are incantations, talismans and rites (CT 219, 36.1a) that derive from a secret reading of the *Duren jing* (CT, j. 3.13b-9.7b) given in a later section (CT 219, j. 5-7). Each four-character phrase of the scripture forms talismans capable of protecting people and healing diseases.

Another work suggesting tight links between the Shenxiao and Lingbao dafa traditions is the ***Lingbao dalian neizhi xingzhi jigao*** 靈寶大煉內旨行持機要 (Essentials on Maintaining and Practicing the Esoteric Directives of the Great Transmutation of the Nminous Treasure Tradition, CT 407). This contains internal procedures demanded of a priest on a quest to save souls (Boltz 1983; Boltz 1987, 28-30). The meditation ritual also fills a separate chapter (j. 57) of the earliest synthesis of Ning's tradition, dating from the early thirteenth century. The anonymously compiled ***Duren shangpin miaojing dafa*** 度人上品妙經大法 (Aggrandizing Rites of the Supreme Ranked Scripture on Salvation, CT 219, 1 + 72 j.) was compiled in the Southern Song and amplified in early Ming times (Boltz 1994, 10). It proffers a detailed and complete description of the Lingbao dafa tradition, which it describes as the Way to save souls from hell (53.1a).

This text or a close ancestor is the likely source for two antipathical works titled ***Shangqing lingbao dafa*** 上清靈寶大法, one by Jin Yunzhong (CT 1222-1223) and a later one by Wang Qizhen (CT 1221). The work contains ninety sections, and includes commentaries from its divine preceptor, a certain Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人, and the Mystery Master (Xuanshi 玄師). The preface, ascribed to Tianzhen huangren (also in CT 1221, pref. 3b-6b), speaks of his role in transcribing huge celestial characters for this scripture into ones legible to humans, and assigning correct sounds to them (2.1b; cf. CT 97, 3.1b-2a). He also explained the basic Lingbao talismans to the Yellow Emperor (2.1b, 72.8b, from CT 388, 3.17a-23b). The preface describes Daoist ritual practice in the alchemical language. Contrasts between the talismans in this text and those of Liu Yongguang (1134-1206) suggest that it was completed around 1200 by a disciple of Ning Benli.

Other internal evidence suggests it is earlier than the compliation of Wang Qizhen (CT 1221), who seems to have based it upon this one or a close cognate. It first discusses its cosmic underpinnings, stressing priestly ritual practice in terms of alchemy and making the Yellow Register Rite the model Lingbao rite for both the living and dead (1.1a-2.2b). The compiler then focuses on the main practices of the Lingbao dafa tradition. They allow initiates to seek to save all souls from hell by spiritually ascending to heaven for further purifications, eventually to receive precepts for the Comprehensive Rites of Salvation from Yuanshi tianzun. This initiation allows priests to perform rites of confession and petition before the Three Pure Ones and absorb the energies of the holy scriptures, which gives him command over all gods and the ability to communicate with the supernatural powers (2.2b-26).

The rest of the manual details ritual responsibilities of Daoist priests in this tradition. After learning to confess his errors and mastering the spiritual hierarchies of both heavens and earth of which he is now part, he is able to master the ritual rubrics. The first ritual section (j. 30-45) has him act as an exorcist, while the last (j. 47-71) focuses on general salvation for the dead. A concluding chapter (j. 72) contains documents for the ritual of transmission and the seals of authority. It synthesized elements from both classical Lingbao and Shangqing traditions, while new elements from the Tongchu, Shenxiao, Yutang and Jingming traditions stress expelling the pure (demonic) yin [*qi*] from the body and infuse it with pure (transcendent) yang [*qi*] (9.8a, 8b). While clearly aware of aspects of the Tianxin tradition or its cognates, the author does not mention them directly.

In the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔輿 (1162-1223) edited the teachings of his master, Liu Yongguang (1134-1206), into the ***Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*** 無上黃錄大齋立成儀

(Protocols for Establishing the Great Unsurpassed Yellow Register Rite, CT 508, 57 j.). In this text Yellow Register is synonymous with rites done on behalf of the dead. The text has a biography of the compiler by two of his sons, Jiang Xi 蔣悉 and Jiang Yan 蔣焱 (fl. 1223), and another written by Gao Wenhu 高文虎 (fl. 1160) at the famous Lushan abbey Taiping xingguo gong 太平興國宮 (Boltz 1987, 41-43). Several sections are attributed to other sources: j. 16 on the Nocturnal Prayer to Lu Xiujing, Zhang Wanfu and Jiang Shuyu; j. 19-20 to Du Guangting; j. 25-31 on the Comprehensive Rites, and 41-43 with talismans to Jiang alone. All except j. 51-56, which are unsigned, are all said to have been transmitted by Liu and written by Jiang Shuyu.

Liu studied Zhengyi ritual and the Rites of the [Tongchu] Jade Bureau tradition, and the Five Thunder tradition (*Yufu wulei fa* 玉府五雷法) with a teacher named Cai Yuanjiu 蔡元久 on Longhu shan. He became the head Daoist in the capital in 1203. Jiang began work on comparative ritual about this time and compiled a series of works on Lingbao ritual before he died. The resulting edition by his two pious sons is a remarkably well-organized survey of the three-day Yellow Register Rite, complete with explanatory texts and diagrams. Like many, Jiang is interested in maintaining the authentic rites of Lingbao programs, especially as presented by Lu Xiujing, and secondarily of Zhang Wanfu and Du Guangting. Yet he relies on the Zhengyi tradition of submitting petitions to heaven as the foundation for the genuine Lingbao practice he hopes to establish. Throughout the text Jiang criticizes those who have abandoned the Old Rites (*gufa* 古法) in favor of new talismans, contracts, mudras and rituals that have appeared since the revelation of the Comprehensive Rites of Lingbao. He gives wide latitude to those he admires, including the Tianxin, Shenxiao and Zhongxiao traditions, whose celestial realms he condones, as well as the Tongchu, and Lingbao dafa traditions. He refers to the Yutang system of Lu Shizhong without criticizm.

Also derived from Ning's teachings, most likely a version of the above text, is a later (post 1250) compilation, the ***Shangqing lingbao dafa*** 上清靈寶大法 (Aggrandizing Rites of the Shangqing Numinous Treasure Tradition, CT 1221, 66 j.). edited by Wang Qizhen, but amplified in the early Ming (Boltz 1994, 27). Many abbreviated passages, criticized in an identically-titled work by Jin Yunzhong (CT 1222-1223), suggest the author was intimately familiar with Ning's teachings, most likely through the above or a related text. Wang's text, by contrast, in omitting precise geographical and human sources for his teachings, and its several citations of Jin without attribution, seems to be a response to Jin's highbrowed criticisms of the local Tiantai tradition. The text contains many parallels with Liu Yunguang's blend of Zhengyi, Five Thunder and Lingbao ritual.

Another text in this tradition, of uncertain provenance but likely compiled around the mid-thirteenth century, was the ***Lingbao yujian*** 靈寶玉鑑 (Jade Mirror of Numinous Jewel Tradition, CT 546-547, 1 + 43 j.). Among its unique features is its designation of Tian Ziji as the Ancestral Master, with no mention of Ning Benli, and its use of a register of Transcendence from the Golden Register rather than the Yellow Register Rites, a feature Jiang Shuyu relates to its Yutang origins (CT 508 41.16a). It contains many parallel passages to other texts in this tradition, some of which seem to be older, but it clearly relies on the Tianxin and Yutang traditions

The massive ***Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*** 靈寶領教濟度金書 (Golden Writings for Universal Salvation by the Sect Leader of the Numinous Treasure Tradition, CT 465-466, 1 + 1 + 320 j.) shows that Ning's Lingbao dafa tradition underwent a revival in the early fourteenth century and was re-edited in the early Ming (Boltz 1994, 17). It likely originally included the *Taishang jidu zhangshe* 太上濟度章赦 (Most High's Memorial Pardon for Universal Salvation, CT 316, 3 j.). In claiming that Ning Benli was the transmitter of this compilation, its chief editor, the Wenzhou priest Lin Weifu 林偉夫 (1239-1303), and his disciple Lin Tianren 林天任 (fl. 1303), who did the final editing, hoped to reassert their authority over Ning's legacy. After the Song, Lin abandoned hopes for government service and studied with several Wenzhou masters, becoming an heir to the teachings of Donghua (i.e. Shenxiao rituals). He devoted his remaining years to editing rituals he had found and coordinating them with the Zhengyi system (CT 466, Record 8b), and presented his Writings on Universal Salvation to the reigning Celestial Master. The Record of Lin Weifu's life ends with a detailed table of contents for dozens of ritual programs. They are classed under nineteen rubrics divided between those for Universal Salvation (j. 42-135) and those for Prayer and Exorcism (j. 136-259). An earlier section (j. 12-41) contains ritual texts usable for both types of ritual program.

Finally, two late chapters in the *Daofa huiyuan* (CT 1220, j. 244-245) called the *Yuqing lingbao wuliang duren shangdao* 玉清靈寶無量度人上道 (Supreme Way of the Immeasureable Salvation, of the Supreme Purity Numinous Treasure Tradition) list as their recipients not only Ning Benli and Lin Weifu, but also Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (d. 1343), the 39th Celestial Master. This suggests the great popularity of these rites into Ming times.

The YUTANG DAFA 玉堂大法 (Aggrandizing Rites of the Jade Hall) represents a synthesis of the Tianxin tradition's exorcistic rites and initiatory structures and the Lingbao dafa and Shenxiao legacies of funerary ritual. According to their chief codifier, the Chenzhou native Lu Shizhong 路時中 (fl. 1100-1158), they took shape between 1107 and 1119, when Lu and his disciple, the noted painter and calligrapher Zhai Ruwen 翟汝文 (1076-1141), received a series of planchette revelations from a Celestial Lord. In

1120, Zhao Sheng, a disciple of Zhang Daoling, told Lu to look for some secret writings on Maoshan. Lu discovered these while serving in nearby Jinling 金陵 (Nanjing), arranged them into twenty-four parts, and presented them in 1126 while he served in Piling (Jiangsu).

In 1158 Lu recopied the entire ritual corpus. Based on the teachings of the Nine Elders residing in the Jade Hall on the primordial Jade Capital Mountain (1.2b), the ***Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*** 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 (Aggrandizing Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Unsurpassed Mysterious Primordial, CT 220, 30 j.) are the fullest expression of Lu's teachings (Boltz 1994, 10-11). Lu claims the Yutang dafa are a fundamental oath between Mysterious Primordial [Most High Lord Lao] and the Sagely Master (1.7b), and therefore are the essential rites of Zhang Daoling. Because they are also the inner secrets of the Tianxin zhengfa (26.1a), which are their ancestral teaching (2.6a) they are more fundamental.

The secrets that distinguish the Yutang dafa derived from the Celestial Lord's oral instructions, and aim to clarify the Tianxin zhengfa by grounding it more deeply in meditation (1.6a). In presenting the inner and meditative aspects of the more outwardly-oriented exorcistic Tianxin zhengfa teachings, the Jade Hall system adopts the Heart of Heaven's initiation ranks (2.6a, 26.1b-2a), which serve as the foundation for all practitioners in both the Yutang and Tianxin systems. It concentrates on the three fundamental talismans of the Tianxin tradition, and many of its exorcistic rites resemble Tianxin rites. Its most noteworthy differences are that large sections in Lu's writings that deal with funeral liturgies (j. 14-18, largely deriving from the *Lingbao dafa* tradition, with additions) and that it emphasizes on individual meditational practice. The central practice here is the Way of Soaring on High (*gaoben zhi dao* 皋奔之道) based on rising aloft and absorbing the energies of the sun and moon (and sometimes the Big Dipper; 4-5, 27.1a-3a, and CT 221), and linked to stanza 26 of the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (cited at 4.1b). Liangqiuzi 梁邱子 (fl. 722) describes the method of the *Huangting jing* as found in CT 639 (see CT 263, 57.1a-1b), similar to the Yutang methods described here and not part of the early Shangqing material. It appears to be a unique addition of the Yutang dafa movement (cf. CT 435). Lu's book claims that meditation methods in the Yutang dafa tradition, based on collecting fire from the sun and water from the moon, are superior to the liandu rites of Lingbao.

The ***Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu*** 無上三天玉堂正宗皋奔內景玉書 (Text for Soaring on High through the Inner Phosphors, of the Jade Hall Orthodox Tradition of the Unsurpassed Three Heavens, CT 221, 2 j.) is a late amplification of Lu Shizhong's legacy. Its main texts were revealed in the 1120s (Boltz 1994, 11). The emphasis on soaring on high is described in two places in the cognate ritual treatise

(CT 220 4-5 and 27.1a-3a), and there is a reference to a more complete *Gaoben yujing* 皋奔玉經 (Jade Scripture of Soaring on High; 26.1b). This work includes the contemplative practices for the Way of Soaring on High in the Yutang tradition, centered on the meditational ascent to and internalization of the energies of the sun, moon and Big Dipper. It provides the transcendence needed to perform public rituals in the Yutang tradition.

The first chapter deals with the Way of Soaring on High to the Sun and Moon and is related to the transcendents of the sun and moon, Yuyi and Jielin, as well as the 26th stanza of the *Huangting neijing jing* (1.1b). These are reworkings of flying traditions from the Shangqing tradition (cf. CT 639; CT 1376, 2.1a-8b). Chapter two deals with the Big Dipper by giving a pastiche of quotations from Shangqing texts (esp. CT 1351, 4b-8b; CT 879, 5a-7a; CT 1377, 4b-11a) and suggesting access to the *Yunji qiqian*. Another text in Lu's tradition, the ***Taishang yuchen yuyi jielin ben riyue tu*** 太上玉晨鬱儀结璘奔日月圖 (Diagram of Soaring to the Sun and Moon of Yuyi and Jielin, of the Most High's Jade Aurora, CT 435, 1 j.), describes the method of flying to the sun and moon that Shangqing texts ascribed to Perfected Taisu 太素真人, the transcendent Pei Xuanren 裴玄仁 (see CT 1032, j. 105; CT 639; CT 1376, j. 2). After giving deference to the Shangqing patriarchs and sources, this work quotes from the *Yutang zongzhi* 玉堂中旨 (Ancestral Purport of the Jade Hall), none other than CT 221 and CT 639. This suggests a Southern Song date for the work.

Also from the late Northern Song is the TONGCHU DAFA 童初大法 (Aggrandizing Rites of Youthful Incipience) tradition that extended throughout Southern Song times and was heavily influenced by the Tianxin zhengfa legacy. What little survives of this tradition fills a large section of the *Daofa huiyuan* (CT 1220, 156-68, 169-70, 171-78, 179-87). The first collection (j. 156-68), called the ***Shangqing tianpeng fumo dafa*** 上清天蓬伏魔大法 (Great Rites for Quelling Demons by Tianpeng Spirit, according to the Shangqing Tradition) deals with rites of the Tianpeng spirit compiled by Tongchu founder Yang Xizhen (1101-1124). A related collection, the *Shangqing Sisheng fumo dafa* (Great Rites for Quelling Demons by the Four Saints; j.169-70) concerns a larger ensemble of demonifuges formulated in Northern Song times. The core of the revealed tradition, however, is the third collection (j.171-78), entitled ***Shangqing tongchu wuyuan sufu yuce*** 上清童初五元素府玉冊 (Jade Fascicles from the Five Primordials' Immaculate Bureaux, in the Shangqing Youthful Incipience Tradition). It comes with a postface dated 1225 by a ritual purist of the Southern Song named Jin Yunzhong (fl. 1223-1225). A final collection (j. 179-87) is called ***Shangqing wuyuan jiuling feibu zhangzou mifa*** 上清五元九靈飛步章奏秘法 (Secret Rites for Submitting Petitions through the Soaring Pace to the Five Primordials' Nine Numina, in the Supreme Purity Tradition). It continues the Five Primordials Shangqing tradition but

centers on their method of presenting petitions, borrowed from the Zhengyi tradition. While placing greatest emphasis on the Zhengyi legacy of the Celestial Masters, the codes themselves are said to come from the Shenxiao master Wang Wenqing (1093-1153; see Boltz 1987, 30-33).

Although not strictly part of the Tongchu movement, the traditions represented in the ***Shangqing lingbao dafa*** 上清靈寶大法 (Aggrandizing Rites of the Numinous Treasure Tradition from the Supreme Purity Heaven, CT 1222-1223, 1 + 44 j.), were compiled by its major Southern Song codifier, Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1223-1225). This work grew out of twenty years of practice but may have been edited by a disciple around the mid-thirteenth century. It displays detailed knowledge of many major traditions of the time, and excoriates them by name. Jin based this text on the unbroken transmission of written teachings given to him by Gao Jingxiu 高景修 (fl. 1120-1131). The latter moved from Bianliang to Anhui, claiming to perpetuate a version of the Lingbao dafa grounded in the *Duren jing* and the *zhai* rites of Du Guangting (17.22b-23a). He also became familiar with the Tongchu legacy through a teacher from Chuzhou 初州 (Zhejiang) named Tang Keshou 唐克壽, a master of the Rites of the Jade Bureau (*yufu zhi fa* 玉府之法).

Throughout this work, apparently based on a close version of the anonymous Lingbao dafa compendium of the early thirteenth-century (CT 219), Jin criticizes it as an inferior alternative to the ritual legacy that he promoted. It is also based on the *Lingbao jing* from the Shangqing Heaven, but Jin criticizes the vulgar origins of its rites and its ties to the popular Shenxiao tradition that many practitioners of the Tiantai Lingbao dafa rites followed. Soon after Jin completed his work, promoters of that tradition wrote another with the same title to promote their teachings, frequently borrowing from Jin (see CT 1221). Jin wanted to make sure that the genuine tradition of his teacher, based on the old books of the Central Plain, survived (12.5b). He added new material based on its fit with old rituals rather than through celestial revelation (pref. 9a). To this he contrasted the techniques for the last days (4.4b), and fabricators who stole fame (21.16a) by cutting away and altering old books and suppressing traditional methods, claiming they are incomplete... some even sold their secrets for money to their disciples (pref. 10a). He was referring especially to the Tiantai revelations (pref. 3a-b, 8b; 14.12a; 43.18a) but also the customs of Zhe (Zhexi: 10.17a, 37.47b; Zhedong: 13.24a, 20.8a, 21.9b, 22.7b). They were a danger both to the outward form and inward spirit of classical Daoist traditions. Besides adding new seals, grades and rites (preface, 4b-5b, 6b-7a; 10.6a), and using techniques of popular exorcists or mediums with the authority of the *Duren jing* (6.13a-14b, 11.14a), their obscure explanations of Daoist rites and rites for petitioning to heaven rely too much on an innner, subjective form of practice (pref. 4a, 4.4b, 11a; 7.8a, 11a, 8.3a). He mentions

individuals who have so erred: Lin Lingsu, Wang Sheng = [Wen]qing, Lu Shizhong and Jiang Shuyu, all main codifiers of his three main rivals, Shenxiao, Yutang dafa and Tiantai Lingbao dafa.

To present the correct way he admires tradtions that reflect the Three Caverns of antiquity (Zhengyi, Lingbao and Shangqing), claiming that only priests with Zhengyi and Lingbao registers have the right to submit petitions to heaven. His view of the Lingbao dafa extended back unbroken to the revelations to Ge Xuan and Xu Xun (43.18a). While the Way of Lingbao is a part of the Dongxuan canon, it is also a synthesis of all that is essential in the Three Canons, and includes the mysteries of all sacred writings (42.1a). This wonderful synthesis was codified by Lu Xiujing, Zhang Wanfu and Du Guangting (19.3a), but only Du holds ultimate authority since he used two Daoist canons when compiling his Huanglu zhai (40.25a-26a; see 39.1a-2b & CT 507). Later canons, whether kept at Tongbo guan 桐柏觀 on Mount Tiantai (24.11a), compiled by Wang Qinruo (40.25a), or in Huizong's reign (40.26a) are incomplete and filled with extra-canonical works.

Decades before Jin Yunzhong began criticizing ritual excesses of his day in promoting his vision of ritual order, similar efforts took place in western Sichuan. Such normative impulses, and claims to present the orthodox rites for the Sichuanese Daoist community, continued through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A first compilation in 1188 by the Chongqing 重慶 (Sichuan) master Lü Yuansu 呂元素 (fl. 1188-1207), later collated by Hu Xianglong 胡湘龍, was the ***Daomen dingzhi*** 道門定制 (Prescribed [Ritual] Paradigms for the Daoist Community, CT 1224, 1 pp. + 10 j.). The original five-*juan* text offered simpler and more fundamental ritual guidelines, especially the Yellow Register rites advocated by the great Sichuan liturgist Du Guangting. The first five chapters deal with the writing of petitions, close to the tradition discussed by Jiang Shuyu; announcements (*suqi* 宿啓) and invitations for canonical deities to the Offering ceremony; a few legitimate talismans; and memorials (*shu* 疏). In 1201 Lü Taihuan 呂太煥 added more material, and other internal evidence suggests it was further augmented in Yuan times (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 3: 3075). The latter collection filled gaps by adding to the types of *zhai* rites and prayers, ritual petitions, talismans and incantations and invitation documents. It ends with initiation rituals.

The work aimed to make available printed versions of standardized Daoist rituals that would be simpler than those of recent generations, and to eliminate the errors typical of privately transmitted liturgical manuscripts. Despite its concern for ritual purity, among its invited pantheon are local gods and those of the Shangqing and Tianxin legacies, and documents designed for use in the Ming dynasty (Boltz 1994, 27). A second work in this legacy is the ***Daomen tongjiao biyong ji*** 道門通教必用集 (Collection of

the Essentials on the Comprehensive Teachings for the Daoist Community, CT 1226, 3 pp. + 5 pp + 9 j.). An opening preface by Lü Yuansu, dated 1201, emphasizes the lack of appropriate ritual guidelines for contemporary priests, even though Sichuan had been home to the first Daoist communities and residence of Du Guangting. After Lü had assembled over a hundred *juan* of texts on the Yellow Register Rite, he had his disciple Lü Taigu edit them into a coherent, complete text so as to continue the tradition of Du's Yellow Register Rite. He apparently completed this in 1209 and saw to its printing as a standard for Daoist ritual.

A second preface by Han Huncheng 韓混成, dated 1295, reveals that the work is a synthesis, by Chengdu Daoist master Ma Daoyi 馬道遺, of the essentials of Lü's compilation called the *Tongjiao ji*, and some material added from the *Lianjiao ji* 煉教集 (Anthology on Transmutative Instruction) by Mr. He 何氏 of Mount Yuntai 雲臺山 (Sichuan). The text follows the herarchical order of initiation ranks and responsibilities for Daoist priests. It is mainly ritual materials from various sources, but also includes hagiographical and other material whose aim is to demonstrate that Sichuan still possesses the genuine approach to the Way, even while acknowledging the Tianxin zhengfa legacy (Boltz 1987, 49-50). A final work in this tradition is the large mid-fifteenth century ritual compendium called ***Daomen kefan daquan ji*** 道門科範大全集 (Comprehensive Collection of Ritual Standards for the Daoist Community, CT 1225, 87 j.). Possibly edited by a Zhong Lixiu 仲勖修, this work aims to establish standard ritual programs for the Ming dynasty based on Du Guangting's precedents.

One class of exorcistic practice based on absorbing the powers of thunder is called the THUNDER RITES. Most textual material on these in the Daoist canon dates from Southern Song and Yuan times. Circulating mainly in southeast China, one of the earliest and most enduring varieties dealt with the Five Thunder (gods) and was linked to the Jiangxi Celestial Masters (see CT 1220, 56-64; 101-3; 188-97). Liu Yongguang (1134-1206) also made it part of his legacy.

A later variety was known as the Thunderclap legacy. It was first linked with popular Shenxiao traditions in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangxi from the late Southern Song. But it also became embedded in the more exalted Qingwei legacy that was centered in Fujian and moved to Jiangxi and Hubei. It is mostly about forms of exorcistic ritual practice, but there are a few notable scriptures as well. The scriptural legacy of the Thunder Rites seems derived from the ***Dongyuan shenzhou jing*** 洞淵神咒經 (Divine Incantation Scripture of the Cavernous Abyss, CT 335, 20 j.), but reworked by heavy Tantric overlays, with a more comprehensive religious vision. This is seen in the early Sanskritized version of the incantatory *Tiantong jing* (CT 633) discussed above, a work later called the "Thunder Scripture." More properly regarded as part of the

Thunder Ritual scriptural tradition is the ***Leiting yujing*** 雷霆玉經 (Jade Scripture of the Thunderclap, CT 15), which may have existed in the twelfth century but definitely circulated in printed forms from the early 1200s.

More important is the later and more refined ***Yushu jing*** 玉樞經 (Jade Pivot Scripture, CT 16, CT 99, 2 j.), with annotations ascribed to Zhang Daoling and Bai Yuchan and a preface by Zhang Sicheng [d. 1343], dated 1333 (cf. CT 195, 196). This scripture and its chief deity, the Heavenly Honored One of Universal Transformation (Puhua tianzun 普化天尊) not only became an integral part of Daoist ritual ceremonies, but were at the center of reading and meditation sects in Ming times.

A cognate text was the ***Chaotian xielei zhenjing*** 朝天謝雷真經 (Authentic Scripture for Approaching Heaven and Thanking Thunder, CT 17), with a planchette writing from Xin Zhongyi 辛忠義 (Boltz 1994, 7). One group that linked all of these Thunder Books was formed around Chen Nan, Bai Yuchan and their disciples. This tradition influenced the formation of the Qingwei legacy and its variety of thunder rituals. A late compendium of some 780 Thunder Ritual spells, mainly of the Thunderclap variety, but dealing also with exorcism and the salvation of ancestors, is the ***Taishang sandong zhoujing*** 太上三洞咒經 (Incantational Scriptures in the Most High [Lord Lao's] Three Caverns' Tradition, CT 78, 12 j.; see Ren and Zhong 1991, 59). Just as the Thunder Rites seem to continue the *Shenzhou jing* scriptural tradition, so do they carry on that tradition's therpeutic priorities, catering especially to the problems faced by rural communities.

As discussed above, the first two-fifths of the ***Daofa huiyuan*** (CT 1220 j. 1-101) deal most completely with the Qingwei (j. 1-55) and Shenxiao (j. 56-101) Thunder Ritual practices. Many of those in the Shenxiao legacy of Thunder Rituals here revere the Fire Master (Huoshi 火士) Wang Zihua 汪子華, and call upon the powers of the Celestial Lords Deng, Xin and Zhang. Among their recipients were such figures as Wang Wenqing (1093-1153), Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (fl. 1141-1178?) and Mo Qiyan (1226-1294). Other prominent varieties were divulged to Hubei master Lei Shizhong 雷時中 (1221-1295) as the Chaotic Primodiality (*hunyuan* 混元) Thunder Rites (CT 1220, j. 154-155). The ***Fahai zhuyi*** (CT 1162) also contains Thunder Ritual traditions, including the Yuan Jiangxi variety known as the Purple Throne (*zichen* 紫宸; see *Fahai yizhu* 45-46). A student of Mo Qiyan named Wang Weiyi (fl. 1264-1304) wrote highly theoretical treatises on both the rites of the Thunderclap (*Daofa xinzhuan* 道法心傳, CT 1253, 1 j.) and their identity with the Golden Elixir tradition of corporeal contemplation (*Mingdao pian* 明道篇, CT 273, 1 j.).

Paired around Wang's ritual text are two other compilations of Thunder Ritual texts, one compiled by Bai Yuchan's disciples (*Jingyu xuanwen*

靜餘玄問, CT 1252), and four theoretical essays on the Thunder Rites assembled in 1248 as ***Leifa yixuan pian*** 雷法儀玄篇 (CT 1254, 1 j.) by Wan Zongshi 萬宗師. Including also a meteorological treatise on the Thunder rites (*Yuyang qihou qinji* 雨陽氣候親機, CT 1275, 1 j.), there are heavily illustrated Yuan dynasty texts in the Thunderclap tradition by Deng Nan 鄧楠 and Zhang Xixian 張希先 (*Daofa zongzhi yanyi* 道法宗旨衍義 CT 1277, 2 j.). Then again, the Xu Xun cult in northern Jiangxi developed its own form of Thunder Rites centered on the Celestial Pivot in the southern sky. Finally, the Thunderclap rites were systematically embedded into the liturgical structures in Lin Weifu's massive Lingbao dafa compendium (CT 466).

Another major synthetic textual tradition grounded in the Thunder Rites was that of the PURE TENUITY (Qingwei). It claimed to originate in Guangxi during Tang times, but its first codifications came from Fujian in the mid-thirteenth century. By century's end its teachings had spread to many areas in south China, with major centers on Wudang shan and Jiangxi. Claiming to be the synthesis of all schools, including the Shangqing, Lingbao, Daode (i.e., Laozi) and Zhengyi traditions of Daoism, its rituals actually blend the Thunderclap rites used by the Shenxiao and Lingbao dafa legacies and the mandala heritage of Tantric Buddhism (Schipper 1987, 11-12; Boltz 1987, 38-41). Pure Tenuity wholly absorbed the Shenxiao pantheon and was quickly promoted by the Celestial Masters. Besides considering itself the summa of all traditions, it regarded the ongoing transformations of the cosmos as identical with those in our bodies (*Daofa huiyuan*, 1.8a-9a) and began with a new revelation of distictively drawn texts used as talismans (see CT 223).

In addition to the first fifty-five chapters of the *Daofa huiyuan* already discussed, six other texts belong to this legacy. The most comprehensive treatment of the Qingwei ritual system, focusing on rites for saving dead ancestors, is the anonymous *Qingwei yuanjiang dafa* 清微元降大法 (Great Rites Based on the Primordial Revelations of Pure Tenuity, CT 223, 25 j.), most likely compiled in the fourteenth century. At its foundation are a new set of revelations used as talismans for their practitioners. Next, the anonymous fourteenth-century *Qingwei zhaifa* 清微齋法 (Rituals for the Pure Tenuity Rite, CT 224, 2 j.) shows how the Qingwei sect adapted the Lingbao rite into their ritual system. Finally, the fourteenth-century ***Qingwei danjue*** 清微丹訣 (Elixir Instructions for the Pure Tenuity Tradition CT 278, 1 j.) contains four petitions and four guidelines on the contemplative traditions for the Qingwei tradition, plus two diagrams and seven talismans. It emphasizes the complementary work done by the Golden Elixir contemplative tradition and the Qingwei ritual tradition. Both are closely related to the traditions of Bai Yuchan and his disciples. Chen Cai's 陳采 ***Qingwei xianpu*** 清微仙譜 (Roster of Transcendents in the Pure Tenuity Tradition,

CT 171), compiled in 1293, may derive from his master Huang Shunshen's 黃舜申 (1224-ca.1286) writings. It claims that the legendary ancestress Zu Shu (fl. 889-904) blended together Thunderclap and Tantric Buddhist mandalas to found this comprehensive tradition.

A group of Qingwei texts in the Daoist canon include a manual on submitting petitions, the ***Qingwei xuanshu zougao yi*** 清微玄樞奏告儀 (Protocols for Submitting and Declaring to the Mysterious Pivot, in the Pure Tenuity Tradition, CT 218). It is by Yang Xizhen 陽希真 (1251-1285), a disciple of Huang Shunshen from Wudang shan. A late Yuan anonymous work, called ***Qingwei shenlie mifa*** 清微神烈秘法 (Secret Rites of the Divine Candescence of the Pure Tenuity Tradition, CT 222, 2 j.), contains mandala-like diagrams that can conquer demons and are part of the distinctive Qingwei Thunder Rites (elaborated in the text). We also learn that the Pure Tenuity tradition is the ancestor of the myriad ritual systems, with reference to its illustrious predecessors such as Zhang Daoling and Wei Huacun (251-334). It is also claimed that the tradition from which it borrowed much of its thunder ritual, scriptural and pantheon, the Shenxiao tradition, is synonymous with it, even though it used Qingwei to name the highest central celestial realm. Just as the primordial qi condensed to form both the Shenxiao and Lingbao scriptures, so too did it become the scriptures and thunder talismans of Qingwei.

TEXTS OF SPECIFIC CULTS. In addition to texts deriving from revelatory and ritual movements, much new material centered around specific deity cults. Among them, one of the most substantial bodies of material in the Daoist canon cult deals with traditions related to **Xu Xun** (239-374?) at Xishan (Jiangxi). He was known initially as a dragon-slayer and demon-killer, and his cult had disciples from varied backgrounds. By Tang times this image began to change, when Hu Huichao 胡惠超 (d. 703) revived the cult and called it the Filial Way (Xiaodao 孝道). By late Tang times it saw itself as part of the Lingbao legacy (Schipper 1985, 826-828). While another major revelation between 1129 and 1131 revived the cult again, most of the extant material derives from the revival orchestrated by Liu Yu. Between 1282 and 1287, after mourning the deaths of his parents (and, most assuredly, the foreign conquest of China), Liu received visions of earlier cult figures, permitting him to found a syncretic tradition known as the Way of Pure Brightness. There are over two dozen texts related to this tradition, from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries. Two versions of a late Tang scripture link it to Lingbao liturgies: the *Yuanshi dongzhen cishan bao'en chengdao jing* 元始洞真慈善報恩成道經 (CT 66) and the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao Baxian wangjiao jiejing* 太上洞玄靈寶八仙王教戒經 (CT 1112; see Schipper 1985, 826).

In early Southern Song times more revelations made the Department of the **Celestial Pivot** the southern celestial headquarters of this cult's ritual

practice. They also may have had a hand in spreading the rites of Salvation through Refinement. There are seventeen consecutive titles, totaling twenty-six *juan*, in the ritual section of the Daoist canon (CT 549-65), and eight titles of anthologies in nine *juan* (CT 1103-10). In addition to four accounts of cult figures found in the hagiography section (CT 440, 447-49), there is a large compilation of cult material in the *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (Anthology of Jade Beneficence [Abbey], ed. *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 [CT 263] j. 31-36), fashioned by Bai Yuchan around 1218. Several texts from this corpus are considered here.

First, the ***Shangqing tianshu yuan huiche bidao zhengfa*** 上清天樞院回車畢道正法 (Rectifying Rites for Completing the Way [of Transcendence] by Returning the Chariot [to the Mountains], in the Shangqing Department of the Celestial Pivot Tradition, CT 549, 3 j.). Although its title suggests a collection of Shangqing methods of immortality for aging priests, it is a collection of exorcistic methods from the late thirteenth century that can be described as a simplified version of Tianxin zhengfa rites that seem to go back to the Xu Xun cult. The Department of the Celestial Pivot here is related to the celestial South Pole and Southern Dipper, and is a counterpart to the Department of Exorcism at the North Pole, central to Tianxin zhengfa.

Next, the ***Guandou zhongxiao wulei wuhou mifa*** 貫斗忠孝五雷武侯秘法 (The Martial Prince [Zhuge Liang's] Secret Rites of the Loyal and Filial Five Thunders that Thread through the Dipper, CT 585, 2 pp. + 13 pp.) was compiled by the northern Jiangxi native Wu Sheng 吳昇 (fl. 1360-1369). He claims the book derives from Zhuge Liang's interpretations of strange inscriptions found in the late thirteenth century by Zhang Huizhai 張暉齋 of Hubei as sacred seals for Loyal and Filial Thunder-Soldiers. After studying, the Tianxin zhengfa on Wudang shan, Zhang became well known, but two years after his death the inscriptions were destroyed. The hagiographer Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 recreated them on wooden slabs and transmitted them to Huang Guyang 黃谷陽 (d. 1369) who, in 1351, retired to Xishan and taught Wu Sheng. The book describes a variety of the Five Thunder Rites which seek to treat illness, expel perversity, preserve individuals and bring peace to one's house (12b). This focuses on the symbolic associations of the west (most likely deriving from West Mountain), and discusses how a thunder seal can summon Zhuge Liang and his white-robed spiritual soldiers to come to the altar from the west. It reflects the cult for Xu Xun and its Yuan and Ming expansions.

The largest collection of Pure Brightness, based at the Yulong Abbey honoring Xu Xun, is the ***Jingming zhongxiao quanshu*** 淨明忠孝全書 (Complete Writings of the Pure and Bright [Way] of Loyalty and Filiality, CT 1110, 6 j.). It contains hagiographies and transcriptions of the revealed and oral teachings linked to the group, compiled by Huang Yuanji (1271-

1326), who succeeded the tradition's founder, Liu Yu (1257-1308). While Liu is credited with the first five *juan*, the final one is ascribed to a disciple named Chen Tianhe. Huang's preeminent disciple Xu Hui or Xu Yi (1291-1350) of Luling (Jiangxi) collated all six chapters, but since his biography is at the end of chapter one, someone else had a hand in the compilation. Seven prefaces by various well-known literati, dating from 1324 to 1327, open the text. This shows that Yuan and Ming gentlemen regarded the Jingming tradition as endorsing the moral codes identified with Confucius and his readers.

By publishing the anthology, the author intended to provide scholars of like mind with guidance on cultivating loyalty and filiality in both public and private affairs so that all might live in harmony and peace. The work proper begins with accounts of seven figures central to the Jingming formulation: (1) Xu Xun, (2) Zhang Yun (653-745), (3) Hu Huichao (?-703), (4) Guo Pu (276-324), (5) Liu Yu, (6) Huang Yuanji and (7) Xu Hui. Chapter two contains five recorded revelations to Liu Yu by Xu Xun, Hu Huichao, and Guo Pu. The next three chapters contain transcriptions of Liu Yu's teachings, largely in response to anonymously posed questions. The heading *Yuzhen xiansheng yu* 玉真先生語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Master of Jade Perfection) is amplified by the designations "Internal Anthology," "External Anthology" and "Separate Anthology" for chapters three, four and five. The last chapter, including Huang Yuanji's sayings, is entitled *Zhonghuang xiansheng wenda* 中黃先生問答 (Responses to Inquiries of the Master of Centered Yellow). The biographies document the diverse ritual practices of the Jingming patriarchs in their roles as rainmakers and exorcists on call, but the essential lesson that both Liu and Huang give their following is to forsake solitary contemplative pursuits in favor of devoted attention to the welfare of family and state.

Equally important was the ancient god of the northern celestial quadrant known for his importance to national security during the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties. The Dark or **Perfect Warrior** had his cult center on Wudang shan. He revealed a long scriptural spell to Zhang Mingdao 張明道 by spirit-writing, which Dong Suhuang 董素皇 recorded and prefaced in 1184 (Boltz 1987, 87-88). Within two decades Chen Zhong 陳仝 annotated and edited the work as the ***Taishang shuo xuantian dasheng zhenwu benzhuan shenzhou miaojing*** 太上說玄天大聖真武本傳神咒妙經 (Marvelously Divine Incantatory Scripture, Spoken by the Most High on the Fundamental Account of the Perfected Warrior, Great Saint of the Mysterious Celestial Realm, CT 754, 6 j.). Six titles in the topography section of the Daoist canon (CT 958-63), contain much about his exploits, both at his cult center and in his role as national protector deity. These roles are most fully accounted for in the *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啓聖

錄 (Records of Revelations Conveyed to the Sage by the Supreme Sovereign of the Mysterious Celestial Realm, CT 958, 9 j.). It was compiled in the fourteenth century but largely based on Song material. Witnessing the value of the god to the Mongol regime is the ***Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu*** 玄天上帝啓聖靈異錄 (Records of the Miracles Revealed to the Sage by the Supreme Sovereign of the Mysterious Celestial Realm, CT 961, 1 j.), with material by famous Yuan literati dated between 1270 and 1325. The ***Daming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*** 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 (Illustrated Record of the Supreme Sovereign of the Mysterious Celestial Realm's Auspicious Responses, CT 959, 1 j.) reflects both the cult's importance to early Ming emperors and the role of the Celestial Masters in promoting it.

Also reflecting local and national priorities is the rich corpus of material related to the two **Xu brothers**: Xu Zhicheng 徐知誠 (fl. 937-946) and Xu Zhi'e 徐知諤 (fl. 937-946). This material shows how they became elevated from their original role as Putian (Fujian) protector and fertility gods in Song times to guardians of the reunified Ming state. Thus they were honored as the Perfected Lords of Vast Mercy (Hong'en zhenjun 洪恩真君). Part of their legacy is the *Lingbao tianzun shuo hong'en lingji zhenjun miaojing* 靈寶天尊說洪恩靈濟真君妙經 (Marvelous Scripture of the Lingbao Heavenly Honored One Speaking on the Perfected Lords of Vast Mercy and Numinous Relief, CT 317, 1 j.). Following a 1420 preface, the scripture relates the celestial command given the Xus to enter the world to relieve it from turmoil. There are also three later compilations: the *Xuxian hanzao* 徐仙翰藻 (Literary Masterworks of the Xu Transcendents, CT 1468, 14 j.), compiled in 1305 by Chen Menggen 陳夢根; the fifteenth-century *Zanling ji* 贊靈集 (Anthology of Promoting Numina, CT 1469, 4 j.) and the *Xuxian zhenlu* 徐仙真錄 (Genuine Record of the Xu Transcendents, CT 1470, 5 j.). They attest to the growth of this cult in later times (Davis 1985; Boltz 1987, 53, 91-93, 195-97).

Another cult that became central to national integration along cultural rather than military grounds was that for the God of Literature, **Wenchang** 文昌. During the twelfth century this ancient star-spirit became the new spiritualized identity of an earlier viper cult figure known as the god of Zitong (Sichuan). A work dealing with his gradual deification is the *Zitong dijun huashu* 梓潼帝君化書 (Writings on the Lord of Zitong's Transformations, CT 170, 4 j.), dates from 1316. It is a revision to the culminating work of an earlier revelatory burst between 1168 and 1181 to Chengdu literati through spirit-writing sessions (Kleeman 1994, 75-76). The most extensive revelations appeared to Liu Ansheng 劉安勝 (fl. 1168-1181; see Kleemen 1994, 18-19). In 1168 the god put forth a new recension of the *Dadong jing*, the main Shangqing text which stressed group recitation. It was followed in 1174 by his *Qinghe neizhuan* 清河內傳 (Esoteric Biography of Qinghe, CT

169, 1 j.). The most remarkable revelations came in 1181. One text, known as the *Gaoshang dadong wenchang silu ziyang baolu* 高上大洞文昌司錄紫陽寶錄 (Precious Register of Wenchang's Purple Radiance, the Director of Emoluments of the Most Exalted Great Grotto, CT 1214, 3 j.), lists the names and forms of gods related to the god of Zitong, often relating them to office-holding. The other revelation dealt with the god of Zitong's self-transformation into a god of the scholar-official elite (Kleeman 1995, 23), a feature that was first significant in the Yuan, but became prominent only in Ming times.

Worldview

NEW ORDER. The diverse post-Tang ritual movements and deity cults found in the texts of the Daoist canon present readers with a multiplicity of worldviews and various attempts to enhance, unify or coordinate them. Overall, these multiple worldviews reflect the gradual and uneven formation, in Song and Yuan times, of a more diffuse place for Daoism in gentry society, encompassed in a more diverse, flexible and overarching vision of a sacred order. This emerging order reflected the contingent place of the various Daoist traditions in south China's gentry communities and noncorporate groups. Secretly circulating manuals, such as the ritual codes of the Heart of Heaven tradition, reveal the punishments in store for a whole sub-bureaucratic spiritual order—including demons, spirit-troops and Ritual Masters—who improperly interact with nature and tutelary spirits or misuse this ritual system. Various secret Thunder Ritual texts likewise present a comprehensive vision of justice based on keeping various unruly ranks of spirits in line (Matsumoto 1981; Skar 1995). The broader cosmic and moral dimensions of the more general worldview assumed by the Daoist manuals is exemplified by the openly circulating Northern Song *Ganying pian* 感應篇 (Booklet on Retribution, CT 1167). This work treats the cosmic ebb and flow of good and evil across lifetimes, and blends classical moral ideas on right and wrong into the mix of Daoist and Buddhist ethics. While Daoist traditions played key roles in codifying and transmitting this work, they did not control its vision of a moral cosmos.

The aim of all social embodiments of the Way is to return the wayward parts of the world to the sacred order of the Way by establishing a cosmic model of its order in the world. The different movements and cults grew from and addressed themselves to a new social and spiritual environment. Here self-consciously organized religious communities bound by rules, regulations and a hierarchy of leaders played little role. Instead of the sacred order of communal or monastic religion that typified early forms of Daoism, the cosmology and morality of these movements and cults arose in

specific social strata and local populations, which often looked to them for signs of both order and identity. The more diverse itinerant Ritual Masters and Daoist priests were less likely to be the personal patrons of the imperial household and aristocracy, and more commonly hired ritual specialists for local communities who competed with those of other traditions for cermonial services on behalf of individuals, households or communities. Besides generally being outsiders, the ritual specialists of the traditions discussed here often prided themselves on long periods of moral and contemplative preparation overseen by their particular deities who were subject to the order of the Way that all individuals and groups took as fundamental.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES. Beyond the common aim of returning the world to the Way, the approaches of the traditions varied in their cosmic vision and cultural depth. Some stressed that they were grounded in hierarchical and bureaucratic relations to the divine as embodied in earlier cultural visions of the Way. Others valued their ability to directly and personally relate to divinity through local gods and divine practices. Mediating these extremes were the variable approaches of itinerant Ritual Masters whose visions of divine order for a differentiated human world incorporated both specific elements of local religion and grander aspects of the sacred cosmos integral to Daoist traditions. Their emphasis depended on the particular ritual audience and the circumstances of the ritual. All the diverse approaches reflected a distinct attempt to combine cosmic and local resources for use byof practitioners in a spiritually competitive environment to reassert a vision divine order for some segment of the changing Song-Yuan society.

When seen together, this spectrum of worldviews signals a reworking of the "social mission of Daoism" (Bokenkamp 1997, 15) and a transition toward the "improved access to the sacred realm" (Kleeman 1994, 63). The disintegration of the aristocratic and court-centered Tang spiritual consensus and the failure of Song-Yuan literati to create a similarly broad, lasting and uncontested vision for the growing numbers of educated men unable to serve the state encouraged the formation of more open, diverse and flexible arrangements for the new southern gentry to directly identify themselves with local exemplars of divine order. New revelatory movements and deity cults interacted with various Daoist revivals in local areas in the Song-Yuan era to produce, by early Ming times, more open, flexible and comprehensive visions of the sacred Way for China's gentry society. The varied traditions that produced these changes embody a spectrum of negotiated relationships between revivals of classical Daoist legacies and strong local spiritual traditions. On one side of this spectrum were the bureaucratic, impersonal and hierarchical relationships central to communications with the abstract hypostases of the cosmic Way typical of the first Daoist movements (Schipper 1985; Lagerway 1987; Dean 1993). On the other side were

relationships based on unmediated interactions with powerful local deities parallel to patterns of personal patronage that characterized the new southern vernacular cultures (Katz 1995; Hymes 1996; 1997). Important go-betweens in these negotiations were the itinerant Ritual Masters, whose livelihood depended on their ability to mediate the priorities of classical Daoism and local religion (Boltz 1993; Davis 1994, 90-139). The diverse worldviews implicit in this spectrum of relationships stemmed from the demographic change, economic development, political turmoil and cultural reassessment that transformed medieval Chinese civilization.

DAO AND *QI*. Whatever their differences, all the religious traditions considered in this essay assumed that a singular cosmic process called the Way or Dao underlay and made possible all modes of existence and experience. They similarly adopted the general view that all perceptible phenomena—from stones, stars and trees to people, deities and demons—were condensations of psycho-physical stuff called *qi*, ranked hierarchically according to their purity. Since Tang times many writers referred to the purest original state of *qi* as primordial *yuanqi* 元氣. Once embodied as a perceptible thing, the configured *qi* of each thing passed through a regular cycle of development and decay, whose length differed both by nature and by human interference. The ultimate and most comprehensive cycle of *qi* was the Way, the all-encompassing cosmic process itself. All traditions also took for granted that besides various anomalous or unusual events in nature, only humans—especially deceased humans—and nature spirits regularly deviated from the workings of the Way. Therefore much of their concern centered on finding the best way for humans to realign deviant configurations of *qi* with the workings of the Way.

Yet the two polar extremes differed on the best procedures for dealing with disorder and reasserting order. Daoist practitioners sought to install a sacred vision of the Way in Chinese society. They relied on spiritual resources validated by their place in a cosmic order coordinated by various hypostases of the Dao itself. The gentry leaders of local traditions, by contrast, favored sponsoring the particular gods and practices of their home areas as optimal ways to create identities for themselves outside of state priorities. Whatever their differences, those favoring both approaches gained access to the Way's order through particular practices, objects, or figures. Among the best examples of this approach were the gods who encouraged personal and direct relationships. It also found expression in their textual revelations of the Way—special scriptures, writs and talismans—or the particular epiphanies of the Way in the human realm—especially patriarchs, transcendents and perfected. All of these objects and figures—and many more besides—arose from and had homes in local circumstances, while reflecting some larger vision of order. They encouraged individuals to fashion direct and personal relations with the inherent powers of a supernatural realm that was still in flux (Kleeman 1994; Hymes

of a supernatural realm that was still in flux (Kleeman 1994; Hymes 1996). This, in turn, helped them solidify their distinctive local identities outside of imperial priorities, and contributed to the shaping of distinctive vernacular gentry cultures (Hymes 1997).

THE RITUAL MASTER. Within this newly emerging worldview, what is the place of the Ritual Master presiding over a Daoist ceremony? This new place appears in variant forms in the texts, whether they focus on exoricizing demons of the living or on the salvation of ancestors through filling the treasury or initiating them into the ranks of the transcendents. The exorcistic Heart of Heaven tradition claims that the Daoist Ritual Master "performs the transformations on behalf of Heaven" (CT 1227, j. 1.8b). This role was likely later transformed into the role of the Ritual Master as one who saves souls by "performing the transformations in lieu of the [Heavenly Honored One of] Primordial Commencement" (CT 219, j. 66.5b). As in both earlier and later times, the Daoist priest was able to work on behalf of both the living and the dead. While not always equally stressed, many practitioners also saw their external and internal activities as complementary. This can be seen by their description in a transmission document for nine disciples in the Shenxiao system: "inwardly refining a Dose of the Elixir and outwardly accruing Meritorious Action [will enable you initiates to] embody Heaven and perform its transformations, as well as assist the State and save its people" (CT 1307, j. 1.17a). While more explicit than in many ritual texts, this passage articulates well the aims of the priest's inner and outer actions.

Practices

The MULTIPLICITY of worldviews articulated in the Song-Yuan matched the diversity of their corresponding practices. The overarching vision of the multiple worldviews—returning the wayward parts of the world to the singular process of the Authentic Way (*zhengdao* 正道)—likewise underlay the goals of their diverse accompanying practices. While often aligning themselves with various visions of cosmic order, salvation and justice, these visions were more open, flexible and attuned to the local circumstances of their patrons than the communal or aristocratic priorities of earlier Daoist movements. Relying on practices as established by earlier Daoists, they yet added new aspects—both piecemeal and structual—to their repertoire to appeal to their customers. Many rituals openly show the incorporation of local cults and religious practices, using the correct forms of the Way to either preserve and enhance the spiritual order or to destroy the perverted activities of those who are not of the Way.

Traditions discussed here sought to institute the Way in the world, often by organizing themselves around *fa* 法 (methods, laws, rites or a system of varying scope, depth and focus) that centered on the use of special talismans, spells, seals and mudras, usually for therapeutic and exorcistic purposes. While today historians note that these rites combined elements from popular mediumistic religion, Tantric Buddhism and the classical Daoist legacies, contemporaries believed that these rites derived from and embodied the mandates of various deities sent forth by the Way. Many such deities had martial qualities—indicated by their fierce physical appearances and by their place in the military bureaucracy of the gods—and left behind traces of their interaction with the human world. Initiates in the ritual traditions revealed by these gods, acting as Ritual Masters or Ritual Officials, performed their rites to summon and dispatch various spirit-generals and spirit-troops to do their bidding, using commands authorized by the Way itself. Their spiritual work also frequently made use of acolytes who served as spirit-mediums to dramatically represent the local circumstances of their ritual actions (Davis 1994, 140-78). All of this reflects some accomodations with local religious traditions.

Despite these accomodating tendencies, many of the practices include basic practices or elements from the classical Daoist traditions of Orthodox Unity, Numinous Treasure and Highest Clarity. Among the most important are the various forms of writing and meditation needed to complete the ritual. Like earlier cults and movements, the traditions responsible for the manuals turned oral and foreign rites into classical or vernacular texts to guide their ritual performance (Schipper 1984; Bell 1990; Lien 1995). This process of textualization took place in a milieu of fluid and ongoing interactions between deity cults and Daoist revelatory movements. The texts gave pride of place to many forms of writing, ranging from strict bureaucratic forms to talismans. They also incorporate practices from various Buddhist and popular traditions into hierarchical arrangements, which suggest their value in conveying ritual as a bureaucratic process. Finally, these manuals emphasize recreating the embryonic cosmos via inner contemplation, using the tools of understanding and analysis provided by the Chinese sciences as a means of linking the first and last things and of producing salvation. This range of practices appear in various combination to recreate spiritual environments that were still similar to mundane legal proceedings, audiences at court, and luxurious banquets.

The RITUAL METHODS varied according to the scope of the cosmic, national, regional, local, familial, or individual order they aimed to restore. In general, those seeking to restore order in the world of the living relied on their convergence with the original and ongoing aims of Zhengyi ritual therapies, while those charged with greater salvific responsibilities depended on the all-encompassing Yellow Register ceremony that became the tem-

plate of all Lingbao liturgy from the eleventh century. This division of ritual labor finds reflection in the two main overlapping approaches to restoring order, correcting demons and saving ancestors. Rites to reform demons, whether through administrative or penal action, stressed exorcistic techniques and and talismanic practices. They were strongly allied to the Celestial Masters and often called Rectifying Rites. Rites to redeem deceased relatives often used ritual practices centered on special applications of the *Duren jing* and the Lingbao dafa. Aiding them were a range of corporeal manipulations such as deity-transformation or, inner refinement and cultivating perfection, which combined talismans and spells with meditation. Because of the exchanges among traditions in the southeast from the twelfth century onward, rites for saving ancestors came to be seen as basically exorcisms and that rites for the dead often conclude therapeutic rites (Davis 1994, 263-334).

Nonetheless, ritual specialists partial to the ritual of classical Daoist traditions claimed that their superiority derived from the simplicity and antiquity of the component rites they chose to practice. Especially important between the ninth and thirteenth centuries was the use of Lingbao liturgical canons and their rites for the dead to structure local cults and the use of Zhengyi therapeutic priorities for the living to authorize new revelatory movements (Schipper 1985; Andersen 1991; Kleeman 1994). These rites aimed to maintain or restore order to the interconnected realms of human beings, demons and deities.

The texts of the Heart of Heaven were so simple that they were easier to practice than those of older traditions. They were based on three talismans and two seals which embodied and summoned the powers of the sun, moon and stars, the Dark Warrior and the Black Killer, and involved intricate practices of writing and using the talismans together with their accompanying spells. Most practices served to exorcise demons and cure diseases. A key ritual method was the Investigation and Examinination, which matched both the theater and juridical process of Song times (Boltz 1985; Davis 1994).

New ritual sequences were further added to this framework, such as the Rite of Deliverance, which often centered on trips to the underworld. While perhaps derived from necromantic séances of medieval spirit-mediums and the ancient pratcice of the ancestral impersonator, these rites came to play a different role in religious ceremonies (Davis 1994, 263-334). After first freeing the souls of the dead by destroying the earth-prisons where they were held, practitioners of these rites transported them into the ritual area, where they would become ancestors or divinities through the Rite of Salvation by Refinement (see Boltz 1983). By the end of the Song these rituals had become indistinguishable from Buddhist rites for the dead called Land and Water Rites, perhaps because of their common dependence on an

appearance made by the deceased in specific ritual arenas. This may be seen most easily in the incorporation of possession episodes in Daoist ritual programs for the dead (Davis 1994, 310-16).

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