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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

DAOISM IN THE TANG (618-907)

LIVIA KOHN AND RUSSELL KIRKLAND

DESCRIPTION

The Tang dynasty has often been called the "Golden Age" of Chinese history. At that time, the country was once again united under a Chinese ruling house, it was respected and often copied by neighboring cultures and its society was not afflicted by rigid social controls. There was relative harmony among the country's major value systems, and new creeds, such as Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, Tantrism, Islam and Judaism, were received openly in the culturally diverse capital of Chang'an. In part this openness may be accredited to the emperors themselves, as the Tang ruling house, with roots in the Turkic peoples, adopted a universalistic ethos to their government. Then again, there was economic prosperity and relative peace, which made it easier to be open intellectually.

Just as a number of new Buddhist schools that had emerged in the late Six Dynasties—Chan 禪, Huayan 華嚴, Tiantai 天台 and Sanlun 三論—consolidated themselves (see Weinstein 1987), so the Daoist religion developed an integration and synthesis of its teachings and organizations. There were no new revelations or foundings of new movements (see Seidel 1990, 36; 1997, 56), but practices and beliefs were variously refined and expanded, and the social role of Daoists increased in importance. On the political plane, Daoism was more dominant than in any other period of Chinese history, mainly because it helped to legitimate the ruling house, whose surname Li 李 linked it with Laozi (Li Er 李耳) as ancestor and whose ascent to power was aided by Daoist millenarian prophecies (see Bokenkamp 1994; Hendrischke 1993). More generally, the Tang can be called the most significant period in the history of Daoism, because it was then that the religion showed that it could satisfy the spiritual, cultural and political needs of the entire society.

To be a Daoist meant, in Tang times, that one could become a priest, serve at court or live in seclusion writing poetry, history or stories about the immortals. There is little evidence that any Tang Daoist regarded any of those paths as invalid or unworthy of respect. While Chinese of all periods

have honored scholars, poets and court officials, in Tang times the clerical life was equally respected, and many accomplished and talented men, and women as well, entered "the church" instead of pursuing secular goals and were honored and respected for doing so (see Duyvendak 1949).

Tang Daoism is fairly well studied today, although its full appreciation requires a different view from the Confucian-centered perspective of other ages, since Daoism had penetrated the Tang elite and pervaded their worldview, activities and writings. On the other hand, because the sources were largely written by and for literati and thus focus on the activities of the elite, the study of the common people and ordinary Daoist practice is still in its infancy. There were thousands of ordained monks and nuns at the time, yet they mostly went unnoticed and do not appear except in some Dunhuang manuscripts. Their everyday lives remain shrouded in mystery (see Barrett 1996; Kirkland 1996; 1997b).

While Daoism was officially supported throughout the dynasty, its religious development can be divided into three phases. First, the early Tang, from the founding through the seventh century, was an age of integration, when Mahâyâna Buddhist thought merged once again into Daoism. This is manifested in a number of new scriptures as well as in a tendency of thought known as Chongxuan 重玄 (Twofold Mystery). This phase also saw the production of encyclopedias and integrative summaries of the religion, most notably the works of Wang Xuanhe 王懸河, and was a time of standardization of monastic rules and the ordination hierarchy.

Second, the high Tang, the reign of Xuanzong (713-756), saw the rise of Daoism as official state cult and the emergence of leading spiritual leaders and poets, such as Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 and Wu Yun 吳筠. Their worldview can be described as mystical, and they developed an integrated outline of Daoist practice, from nourishing life to the attainment of oneness with the Dao. The third phase was the late Tang, from the rebellion of An Lushan 安錄山 in 755 to the end of the dynasty. It saw a continued imperial support for Daoism, the emergence of a several new texts associated with ideas of "purity and tranquility" (*qingjing* 清靜) and the beginnings of inner alchemy. The organized schools declined as imperial infrastructure failed, yet the ritualist-official Du Guangting 杜光庭 created an enormous Daoist synthesis and the foundation was laid for new developments to come.

History

THE SEVENTH CENTURY. The **founding** of the Tang dynasty was accompanied by millenarian prophecies that a sage-king bearing the surname Li would soon appear (Seidel 1969; 1984; Benn 1977, 24-35;

Bokenkamp 1994). Li Yuan 李淵, the later Gaozu (r. 618-627), was identified as such, and also as a descendant of Li Er, the earthly manifestation of Lord Lao, who sent auspicious signs and predictions.

One such prediction had earlier come from **Wang Yuanzhi** 王遠知 (528-635; biog. *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 192.5125-26, *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 204.5803-4, *Yunji qiqian* 5.11a-13a, *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 [CT 304] 22.1a-11a), a scion of the southern elite who studied the Dao under a disciple of Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536) on Maoshan. He was summoned to the court of Sui Yangdi (r. 605-617), but the emperor disregarded Wang's advice against moving the capital to the south. Later Wang predicted the rise of the Tang by informing Li Yuan that he would become the next emperor, and "secretly transmitted to him [Daoist] sacred registers and the [Heavenly] mandate" (Benn 1977, 31-43; Wechsler 1985, 69-73; Kirkland 2000). In 621, Wang further recognized the next Tang emperor Taizong and lauded him as "the Son of Heaven of Great Peace" (Taiping Tianzi 太平天子). Taizong reportedly offered him a government position, which Wang declined. In 635, the emperor issued a rescript expressing gratitude for Wang's attentions, and in 680 his successor Gaozong canonized him. Within the Daoist community, Wang was later stylized as tenth Shangqing patriarch, after Tao Hongjing; whether Daoists of the seventh century actually had a formal lineage, like that of Chan Buddhists, remains unclear (see Barrett 1996, 28; Benn 1977, 31-43; Kirkland 1986a, 43-44; Wechsler 1985, 69-73; Yoshikawa 1990).

Other purported signs of Daoist **legitimation** at the Tang founding included the miraculous appearance of Lord Lao in 617 and 618, when he first sent the god of Mount Huo 霍山, then the commoner Ji Shanxing 吉善行 of Mount Yangjiao 羊角山, to convey a prophecy to Li Yuan that he would win the empire. The god also made a withered cypress break into new bloom, choosing his birthplace at Bozhou 亳州 (near Luyi 鹿邑 in Henan) for the occasion. In response to this, the emperor in 620 honored the god formally as "Sage Ancestor" (*shengzu* 聖祖) of the dynasty and so renamed the center at Louguan 樓觀, which eagerly supported him (see "The Northern Celestial Masters;" Kohn 1998c). Mount Yangjiao (Ramhorn) was later renamed Longjiao 龍角 (Dragonhorn) in honor of the events and a state abbey established there, the Qingtang guan 慶唐觀 (Abbey of Tang Blessings).

These events are recorded in inscriptions at the relevant places. The first of them is the *Zongsheng guan ji* 宗聖觀記 (Record of the Monastery of the Ancestral Sage), which was set up at Louguan in 625 and is today contained in the *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集 (Collection of Abundant Blessings of the Purple Clouds at the Old Lookout-Tower, CT 957, 1.1a-4b; repr. Chen et al. 1988, 46-47). The second inscription is the *Qingtang guan ji shengming* 慶唐觀紀聖銘 (Sage Inscription and Record of the

Abbey of Tang Blessings; Chen et al. 1988, 111-13), engraved on Mount Longjiao in 729. It recounts the mysterious events surrounding the founding of the dynasty and includes a supplementary inscription, dated to 823 (Chen et al. 1988, 113-14). A Yuan-dynasty collection of these and other documents is found in the *Longjiao shan zhi* 龍角山志 (Gazetteer of Mount Longjiao, CT 968).

The two emperors who followed, **Taizong** (r. 627-650) and **Gaozong** (r. 650-684), further established Daoism as the nation's premier cultural tradition (Barrett 1996, 29-45). Edicts of 625 and 637 gave Daoists precedence over Buddhists, which led to hefty protests on the Buddhist side and a number of court debates in which Daoist thinkers were prominent. These emperors also set up imperially sponsored abbeys, most importantly at Louguan, Maoshan and Bozhou. In so doing they followed the model of the Sui rulers who had coopted the cult to the five sacred mountains and certain Buddhist sanctuaries for political purposes (see Forte 1992). In 666, Gaozong expanded this system to establish state abbeys in each of the over 300 prefectures. In addition, the seventh-century rulers placed the Daoist clerical community (alongside the Buddhists) under government auspices and created formal law codes for its regulation (see Ch'en 1973, 95-102), indicating that they found the religion politically significant. Used carefully, Daoism could be counted upon to benefit the state.

Both emperors also summoned leading Daoists and thaumaturges to court, notably Pan Shizheng and Ye Fashan. **Pan Shizheng** 潘師正 (585-682; biog. *Jiu Tangshu* 192.5126, *Xin Tangshu* 196.5605, *Zhenxian tongjian* 真仙通鑑 [CT 296] 25.4b-7b, *Maoshan zhi* 11.1a-2a) was the eleventh Shangqing patriarch and leading disciple of Wang Yuanzhi. Living on Mount Gaosong 高嵩山 (Henan), he received several visits from Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu between 676 and 683. The former reportedly requested talismans and texts from him in 676, which Pan refused to provide. However, certain sources claim that he joined the emperor in an extensive discussion of the Dao, a record of which allegedly (and probably spuriously) appears in the *Daomen jingfa* 道門經法 (Scriptures and Methods for Daoist Followers, CT 1128). This text contains questions and answers about the Dao, a summary of basic Daoist beliefs and practices and a glossary of Daoist terms. After his death, Pan was canonized as the Master Who Embodies the Mystery (Tixuan xiansheng 體玄先生; see Barrett 1996, 38-39; Kroll 1986, 148; Kirkland 1986a, 44; Benn 1977, 49-50).

Ye Fashan 葉法善 (631-720; biog. *Jiu Tangshu* 192.5107-8, *Xin Tangshu* 204.5805, *Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 [CT 590] 14.8a-9a, *Taiping guangji* 216.170-74, *Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 唐葉真人傳 [CT 779] by Zhang Daotong 張道通 [13th c.]) was descended from a family well versed in the arcane arts. His father and grandfather received imperial honors in 713 and 717, while Ye himself—proficient in fortune-telling and the performance of

rituals—was courted by five rulers, beginning with Gaozong in the 650s. A court thaumaturge, he was lauded in 739 epitaph as an immortal who protected the country and, according to Jiang Fang's 蔣防 *Huanxi zhi* 還希志 (Record of Returning to Subtlety, ed. *Tangdai congshu* 唐代叢書 32.6a-9a, dat. 9th c.), received a revelation that identified him as an immortal in exile. He was especially involved in communications with the otherworld, such as the famous rite of "tossing the dragons" (*toulong* 投龍), in which a golden image of a dragon was ritually thrown into a waterway to take messages to the gods (see Chavannes 1919; Benn 1977, 78-84; Kamitsuka 1992b; inscriptions in Chen et al. 1988, 79-80, 93, 123). Soon after his death in 720, Ye Fashan became a legendary figure and model of Tang thaumaturges (see Barrett 1996, 33; Cadonna 1984; Kirkland 1986a, 126-46; 1992b; 2000).

In addition to surrounding himself with eminent Daoists, Gaozong in 666 gave a new title to the divinized Laozi (Xuanyuan huangdi 玄元皇帝, "Sovereign Emperor of Mystery and Primordiality") and rejected a newly found manuscript of the *Sanhuang wen* 三皇文 (Texts of the Three Sovereigns) as a forgery, instead elevating the *Daode jing* to higher sacral status. In 675, he moreover issued the first imperial order for the compilation of a Daoist canon and, in 678, made the *Daode jing* a compulsory text for the official examinations. In 670, Empress Wu's only daughter, the Taiping Princess 太平公主, was nominally ordained as a Daoist priestess, and although that ordination was apparently a ruse, "no less than twelve other princesses are recorded as having followed her precedent and entered Daoist communities during the next two centuries" (Barrett 1996, 35-36; see Benn 1991, 10-11).

Doctrinally Daoism developed through new philosophical writings and Mahâyâna-style scriptures as well as synthesizing encyclopedias. Four seventh-century Daoist thinkers stand out, partly because they were selected to represent Daoism in the imperial debates. One was **Liu Jinxi** 劉進喜 (fl. 560-640), whose life is scarcely known. He lived for a time in an abbey in Chang'an and wrote a *Daode jing* commentary, of which eight citations survive, an anti-Buddhist text and possibly sections of the *Benji jing* 本際經 (Scripture of the Genesis Point, see below; Robinet 1977, 102-3; Sharf 1991, 36-37). Also obscure was **Cai Huang** 蔡晃, who participated in a debate of 638, authored a *Daode jing* commentary and worked on a Sanskrit translation of that classic which the Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘 supposedly took to India. He was also steeped in Buddhist thought and wrote: "I have studied the principles in the *Vimalakîrti nirdeśa* and the [Mâdhyamika] *Three Treatises* to the point at which their essential instructions flow spontaneously from me ... Although the texts of the Daoists differ from those of the Buddhists, the tenets are essentially the same" (Robinet 1977, 105; Sharf 1991, 37; Fujiwara 1980a).

Somewhat more famous are two men with comparable interests, Li Rong and Cheng Xuanying. **Li Rong** 李榮 (fl. 685-683, *zi* Renzhenzi 任真子 or "Master Who Follows Perfection," from Sichuan), received his Daoist training on Mount Fule 富樂山 (Sichuan), then moved to the capital where he engaged actively in court debates with the Buddhists (Robinet 1977, 105-6; Kohn 1991, 196-200). He was also a poet of some renown, a respected member of the literati, and a friend of the famous poets Lu Zhaolin 盧照鄰 and Luo Binwang 駱賓王 who both wrote poems about him (Kohn 1991, 196-99). In addition, Li Rong authored commentaries on the *Daode jing* and the *Xisheng jing* 西昇經 (Scripture of Western Ascension, CT 726; see Fujiwara 1979; 1983; 1985; Kohn 1991; 2000a).

Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (fl. 632-650, *zi* Zishi 子實, *hao* Xihua 西華, from Luzhou 陸州 in Guangdong), was abbot of the capital's Xihua Abbey, where Daoist texts were copied for dissemination throughout the empire (Barrett 1996, 26). He led the winning debate of 636 and, in 647, took part in the Sanskrit translation project. He also wrote commentaries on the *Daode jing*, *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes) and *Duren jing* 度人經 (Scripture of Universal Salvation; see Fujiwara 1980b), as well as a well-received subcommentary on Guo Xiang's 郭象 *Zhuangzi* commentary (see Robinet 1977, 104; Fujiwara 1980b; 1980d; Sunayama 1980b; 1983).

Based on a list of *Daode jing* exegetes by Du Guangting, Li and Cheng have been described as representatives of a philosophical tendency called Chongxuan or "Twofold Mystery" (Kohn 1991, 189; Robinet 1997, 194), which some scholars have seen as a formal school or sect (Fujiwara 1961; 1980c; Sunayama 1980a; 1990), but which is really much less than that (Sharf 1991, 34-44). Dominating Daoist thought in the seventh century, Chongxuan is a way of interpreting the Dao through the four propositions of the Mâdhyamika, using a heavy dose of Buddhism in the Daoist vision. In this way it is similar to the ideas described in the new scriptures of the time, such as the *Benji jing* and in the great encyclopedias, notably the *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞 (see below).

In a different line of development, the seventh century also saw a greater integration of Daoist and Chinese medical practices in the realm of longevity techniques. This was represented foremost by the great Daoist physician and alchemist **Sun Simiao** 孫思邈 (601-693; see Sivin 1968; Engelhardt 1989) who was well versed in a variety of practices and authored a number of important texts. His life and work are discussed in detail in this volume's chapter on "Longevity Techniques." Similarly, the areas of Daoist ritual and communal organization saw a completely new level of formalization and standardization. Several important new documents emerged, and the great ritualist **Zhang Wanfu** 長萬福 (fl. 700) wrote his extensive corpus. For details on this aspect of early Tang Daoism, see the chapter "Ordination and *Zhai* Rituals."

Empress Wu (r. 684-705) reduced government sponsorship of Daoism partly because of the purported Daoist ancestry of the Li clan. However, in 684 she was blessed with a Lord Lao miracle, during which the god descended to appear to Wu Yuanchong 鄔元崇 in the Longtai guan 龍台觀 (Dragon Terrace Abbey) in Haozhou 郝州, surrounded by immortals and riding in a cloudy chariot (*Lidai chongdao ji* 歷代崇道記 6a). In response, the Empress changed the abbey's name to Fengxian gong 奉仙宮 (Temple of Worship for the Immortals) and relaxed her negative attitude toward Daoism (see Kohn 1998c). She was also the recipient of Daoist artifacts, unearthed at the tomb of the Shangqing saint Wei Huacun 魏華存 (251-334) at Linchuan 臨川 (Jiangxi) at the initiative of one of the few known women Daoists of the period, Huang Lingwei.

Huang Lingwei 黃靈微 (ab. 640-721; biog. by Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-784) in *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 340.1a-3b, 17a-22b; by Du Guangting in *Yunji qiqian* 115.9b-12a) came from the Linchuan area. She received Daoist ordination at age twelve and lived a quiet life for several decades. In her fifties, she began searching for the tomb of Wei Huacun which she discovered and restored in 693 with the help of the theurgist Hu Huichao, causing various miracles. She then restored another shrine close by and performed rituals there for nearly thirty years. In 721, she announced her impending ascent to the immortals and instructed her disciples to cover her coffin only with a thin layer of gauze. Soon after her "transformation" her corpse vanished (see Schafer 1977, 124-37; Kirkland 1991a; 1993a, 156-60; Cahill 1990, 33-34).

Following the reign of Empress Wu, emperors **Zhongzong and Ruizong** restored Daoist sponsorship (Barrett 1996, 46-52), the latter even having two of his daughters ordained as Daoist priestesses of the Cavern-Mystery level (Schafer 1985b; Benn 1991). This shows that the teachings and practices of Daoism were well-known and respected among the members of the imperial family, setting a positive example for the veneration of the religion in the society at large.

THE HIGH TANG. The reign of emperor **Xuanzong** (713-756) marks the heyday of Daoist influence and splendor. A dedicated student of Daoist texts, he initiated various collections and wrote a commentary to the *Daode jing*. Politically, he expanded all earlier pro-Daoist measures as part of a shrewd legitimatory program, having statues of both Lord Lao and himself placed side by side in state-sponsored Daoist temples throughout the empire, dedicating the Tang ancestral temples in Chang'an and Luoyang (Taiqing gong 太清宮 and Taiwei gong 太微宮) to Daoist worship (see Ding 1979; 1980), and revising the official liturgy along Daoist lines (see Benn 1977; 1987; Schafer 1987; Xiong 1996). Xuanzong instituted regulations on Daoist abbeys, required official registration for all clerics and re-

stricted their movements. Also, Daoists at state abbeys had to perform ritual services as designated by the emperor (Lagerwey 1987, 310-11; Benn 1977).

Around 733, he further established the office of "Commissioner of Daoist Ritual" (*daomen weiyi shi* 道門威儀使), which remained active throughout the dynasty (Barrett 1996, 56-57). In 738, he nationalized the religion by putting one temple and abbey in every district under direct imperial control and instituting a system of imperial liturgies (Benn 1977, 97-106). In 741, he established a "College of Daoist Studies" (*chongxuan xue* 崇玄學) in each prefecture and set up a new system of government examinations, the *daoju* 道舉, to promote scholars proficient in Daoist texts (Benn 1977, 255-317). Daoist institutions flourished accordingly and in 739 there were some 1,687 Daoist establishments, of which 550 were for women.

In addition, the emperor was the recipient of a series of **Daoist miracles**, mostly manifested in finds of numinous or wondrous objects that signified his divine inspiration and protection. First, in 723, people found a halfmoon-shaped piece of jade that showed a picture of a musician immortal; when struck it made a marvelous sound. The emperor named it "Halfmoon Lithophone" and had it hung in the garden of the imperial ancestral temple. Next, on the grounds of an ancient monastery another sounding jade appeared, and was hung up in the same garden. Then there was a metal fish from a distant province, found when the foundations for a new Daoist monastery were dug. It was three feet long and of purple and bluegreen coloring. "It looked like nothing ever done by man" and made a spectacular sound when struck. The emperor named it "Auspicious Fish Lithophone" and put it in Luoyang's Taiwei gong to be sounded during rituals. In 741, finally, a momentous find of a celestial talisman occured, known as the "Heavenly Treasure" (*tianbao* 天寶). Announced by Lord Lao himself in a vision to a court official, it consisted of a stone container with a golden box and several jade plates that were inscribed with red characters in a mysterious old seal script. In response to this sign, the emperor changed his reign title to "Heavenly Treasure." Following this series of good omens, he also created a set of new liturgical dances, among them the famous "Dance of the Purple Culmen," which was first performed in 742, creating a realm of Great Peace on earth (see Schafer 1987; Kohn 1998c).

The emperor also surrounded himself with illustrious Daoists whom he called to court at regular intervals. The most important among them was the twelfth Shangqing patriarch **Sima Chengzhen** 司馬承禎 (647-735, *zi* Ziwei 子微, *hao* Zhenyi xiansheng 真一先生 or "Master of Perfect Unity; biog. Chen et al. 1988, 109-10, 120-22; *Jiu Tangshu* 192.5127-29, *Xin Tangshu* 196.5605, *Yunji qiqian* 5.14b-16a). A descendant of the ruling clan of the Jin dynasty, Sima received the education of a future official but turned to the Dao and, at age 21, became a disciple of Pan Shizheng on Mount Gaosong. He wandered about famous mountains, then was summoned by

Empress Wu and Emperor Ruizong. His first appearance at Xuanzong's court was in 721, when he bestowed lay ordination on the emperor (Benn 1977, 89-92; Kirkland 1997a, 120-21) and possibly illuminated him with secret oral instructions (Kirkland 1986a, 59, 69-71). In response, the emperor had the *Daode jing* inscribed in stone using three styles of Sima's calligraphy. Between 725 and 730, Sima presented him with a numinous sword and mirror together with a text on their meaning (see Fukunaga 1973; Schafer 1979a). Xuanzong then set up Sima in an abbey on Mount Wangwu 王屋山 near the capital, where he reedited Tao Hongjing's *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 (Secret Instructions on the Ascent to the Perfected, CT 421), and supplemented it with the *Xiuzhen bizhi* 修真秘旨 (Secret Directions for Cultivating Perfection; lost). In this center he also gave instruction to aspiring Daoists, presenting the Dao in a series of stages which were later edited in his *Zuo-wang lun* 坐忘論, first recorded in an inscription, dated 829 (see below). Sima Chengzhen was a key figure in shaping Daoist thought and practice in this period, and his fifteen works on cosmology, medicine, longevity and mystical realization of the Dao present an integrated system of Daoist attainment that focuses on the gradual transformation from an ordinary into a transcendent life (see Kroll 1978; Kirkland 1986a, 43-71, 220-97; 1997a; Kohn 1987a; 1987b; 1993a, 19-24; Engelhardt 1987).

After Sima's ascension, which he predicted and prepared for ritually, Xuanzong extended his favors to his successor as Shangqing patriarch, the reclusive **Li Hanguang** 李含光 (683-769; biog. inscription by Liu Shi, dat. 772; by Yan Zhenqing, dat. 777). Li was related to the ancient Daoist Wang 王 clan of Langye 琅琊 (Shandong) through his mother and came from a long line of officials. In his father and grandfather he found models of active Daoist practitioners. Ordained in 705, he received an arcane transmission from Sima Chengzhen in 729 and was duly invited to court by the emperor. However, he preferred a quiet life and spent most of his time on Maoshan, being one of the few Shangqing patriarchs of the Tang to make his home there. He actively corresponded with the emperor by letter (preserved in the *Quan Tangwen*), but refused to appear in the capital in person (Kirkland 1986c, 46). He made one exception to this rule when he came to grant Xuanzong a ritual transmission in 748. Li was a prolific writer and authored commentaries to various Daoist classics as well as works of his own, but none of these are extant today. He, too, predicted the time of his transformation and underwent ascension amidst numinous clouds (see Schafer 1989, 82-84; Barrett 1996, 69-70; Kirkland 1986a, 72-95, 298-323; 1986c).

In addition to maintaining a close relationship with the leading Daoist patriarchs of his time, Xuanzong also established the Jixian Academy and brought **erudites of the Daoist classics** to lecture and research there.

One was Chen Xilie 陳希烈 (d. 757), a *jinshi* 進士 who eventually rose to the office of Chief Minister (Benn 1977, 115-17). Others included a priest named Yin Yin 尹愔 (fl. 737), who was named to the post of Counselor-Censor, the scholar-recluse Wang Xiyi 王希夷 (see Kirkland 1993a, 153-55) and the poet-official He Zhizhang 賀知章 (659-744) who took Daoist ordination late in life (see Kirkland 1989; 1991b; 2000). In addition, there was the illustrious poet **Wu Yun** 吳筠 (d. 778, biog. by Quan Deyu 權德輿 [759-815] in *Quan Tangwen* 489 and 508, *Jiu Tangshu* 192, *Wu zunshi zhuan* 吳尊師傳 [CT 1053], *Nantong dajun neidan jiuzhang jing* 南統大君內丹九章經 [CT 1054], pref.). Born around 700 in Huayin 華陰 (Shaanxi), Wu Yun allegedly failed the *jinshi* examination and opted to pursue the Dao, studying on Mount Yidi 夷棣山 (Henan) and receiving ordination in the 720s on Mount Gaosong from a disciple of Pan Shizheng. In the 730s, Wu Yun spent some time on Maoshan, then moved on to Mount Tiantai (Zhejiang), settling for a time in Shan township (near Shaoxing 紹興). There he organized a group of poets into a kind of "drink-and-sing" association, also joined by the illustrious poet Li Bo 李白 (701-762). Around 742, Wu was summoned to the capital and met Xuanzong with whom he exchanged tidbits of Daoist wisdom. He was then appointed an official in the Hanlin academy and presented his major work *Xuangang lun* 玄綱論 (The Mysterious Network, CT 1052) to the emperor. Wu was known mainly for his ecstatic poetry ("Pacing the Void," "The Capeline Cantos" [CT 1051]), but also authored several essays on the attainment of immortality. Wu lived most of his life as a poet-recluse (on Maoshan, Lushan 廬山, Tiantai shan and Tianzhu shan 天柱山), and was lauded highly after his death (see Kroll 1986, 147; Benn 1977, 116-20; Barrett 1996, 71-72; Kirkland 1986a, 96-111, 324-42; Kamitsuka 1979; Schafer 1981; 1983; Kohn 1998b; De Meyer 1999).

THE LATE TANG. Xuanzong's reign came to an end with the **An Lushan rebellion** of 755, after which Tang authority was attenuated and regionalized and the political centrality of Daoism began to wane. Imperial patronage diminished, fewer Daoists were summoned to court, fewer abbeys received subsidies and fewer texts circulated among the elite. Nonetheless, Daoism still flourished. At court Daoist examinations continued, even under emperors more inclined toward Buddhism (e.g., Daizong, r. 762-779), and the Commissioner of Daoist Ritual was filled through the ninth century. One such commissioner, Shen Fu 申甫 (fl. 772-78), received permission to promote the performance of Daoist rituals, and collected Daoist writings from around the country to restore the losses caused by the An Lushan rebellion (Barrett 1996, 76). Shen's concern to restore the material heritage of Daoism was shared by the early ninth-century emperor Xianzong (r. 806-20), who reconstructed a temple in the capital and donated to it nine cartloads of images and texts from the palace collection

(Barrett 1996, 78). Later rebellions, however, wreaked further havoc on such perishable materials, and a key theme of Daoist activity in the late Tang was the restoration and preservation of the precious remnants of earlier times.

Because of the vast political and economic changes, the late Tang was also a period when certain great Daoist traditions suffered disruptions, although these were often concealed by Daoists of later ages eager to claim an unbroken **lineage** from Tang times. An example is the great Daoist center at Maoshan. Although it apparently remained occupied and honored throughout Tang times, there are noticeable gaps between the lives of the Maoshan patriarchs of the late Tang (Schafer 1989, 84-87). Such is more clearly the case in regard to the supposed Zhengyi lineage of Celestial Masters of the Zhang clan. In Tang times, the term Celestial Master was freely applied to any Daoist master who achieved great public regard, from Sima Chengzhen and Du Guangting to court poets such as Wu Yun (Kirkland 1984). There were few such masters of the Zhang surname, and the intervals between them strongly suggest that there was in fact no continuous "Tianshi lineage" during Tang times. Later claims to the contrary by the masters of Mount Longhu 龍虎山 must be considered questionable (see Barrett 1994; Kirkland 1986, 479-81).

Another effect of the political changes during the late Tang was the tendency of religious centers on the **periphery** of the empire to become more prominent. The most important among them was the Qingyang gong 青羊宮 (Black Sheep Temple) in Chengdu 成都 (Sichuan), where Laozi allegedly met Yin Xi 尹喜 before their joint travels to the western countries. A major miracle here put the temple on the imperial scene. It began in October 883 with a *jiao* 醮 offering held at the temple, then known as the Zhongxuan guan 中玄觀 (Abbey of Central Mystery). Suddenly a red glow illuminated the area, culminating in a purple hue near a plum tree. Bowing, the officiating priest advanced and had the indicated spot excavated to uncover a solid square brick. It bore six characters in ancient seal script that read: "The Highest Lord brings peace to the upheaval of [the reign period] Central Harmony 中和." Not only was this wondrous text written in a seal script unpracticed for a millennium, but the brick itself was like an ancient lithophone, making marvelous sounds when struck and looking luminous like jade when examined closely. The find led to an exchange of several memorials and formal orders between the local Daoists and the imperial court, all of which were recorded in the *Xichuan qingyang gong beiming* 西川青羊宮碑銘 (Inscription at the Black Sheep Temple in Sichuan, DZ 964; Chen et al. 1988, 186-92) by the scholar-official Yue Penggui 樂朋龜. The temple was not only recognized formally and renamed, but also expanded and showered with gifts (see Verellen 1994, 145-48; Yûsa 1986; Kohn 1998c).

Yet another characteristic of Daoism in the late Tang was the greater attention of the sources to **popular practices**, such as miracles (Verellen 1992; Sunayama 1987), Tantric-inspired ways of securing good fortune when building a house (Yûsa 1981; Masuo 1994) and newly arising popular deities, especially the Ten Worthies Who Rescue from Suffering (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊; see Yûsa 1981). Ordinary people are saved by the deities, statues in provincial temples take flight when threatened or act in retaliation, nasty demons are slain and good forces are harnessed to the greater prosperity not only of aristocrats or recluses but also of the common people and the wider populace.

Doctrinally Daoism developed a new direction in texts associated with "purity and tranquility" and in new dimensions of scholastic integration and synthesis. The latter is particularly represented by the court Daoist and ritual master **Du Guangting** 杜光庭 (850-933; biog. see Verellen 1989), a native of the environs of Chang'an who trained on Mount Tiantai under Ying Yijie 應夷節 (810-894). First called to court under Emperor Xizong in 875, Du became a palace resident and editor of imperial memoranda, serving as counsellor and participating in controversies with the Buddhists and eventually rising to Commissioner of Daoist Ritual. After the capital was sacked by rebels in 881, he withdrew to Sichuan, where he edited and compiled Daoist texts and liturgies. Following the court, he returned to Chang'an in 885 and with it fled back to Xingyuan 興元 in Sichuan a year later. In 901, the Tang exile government was overthrown by a local king, and Du joined the new ruler as royal tutor. He continued to be promoted by the Sichuan king until he retired from official service to Mount Qingcheng 青城山, where he compiled, edited and composed Daoist texts until his death in 933.

Du wrote a large number of works, including mirabilia, saints' biographies, liturgies, inscriptions, editions and commentaries, memoranda and official writings, poetry and miscellanea (Verellen 1989, 206). His work tended to be highly scholastic, providing a detailed and systematic record, giving lists and analyses of facts and ideas and citing ancient works and masters extensively. He was vibrantly aware of the changing times and power patterns that threatened the Daoist tradition. Against this background he compiled and systematized the practices as they were still undertaken in his time, creating a comprehensive corpus of hitherto unknown proportions (see Verellen 1989; Cahill 1986a; Schafer 1986; Bell 1987; Barrett 1996, 94-98; Kohn 1998a).

TEXTS

The Tang dynasty was a time of flourishing Daoist culture that also saw a proliferation of Daoist texts in many areas and of diverse kinds. A number of these are discussed in other contributions to this volume and so will not be described here (for a list, see Table 1).

TABLE 1
Tang Daoist Texts Discussed in Other Contributions

Contribution	Texts
Immortality	*Xu xianzhuan* 續仙傳
Longevity Techniques	*Zhenzhong ji* 枕中記
	Fuqi jingyi lun 服氣精義論
	Zhiyan zong 至言總
	Yangsheng jue 養生訣
	Ishimpō 醫心方
	works of Sun Simiao 孫思邈
Lingbao	*Yinyuan jing* 因緣經
	Duren jing commentaries 度人經注
Northern Celestial Masters	*Huahu jing* 化胡經
	Hunyuan zhenlu 混元真錄
	works of Yin Wencao 尹文操
Alchemy	*Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契
	Lingjianzi 靈劍子
	Taixi jing zhu 胎息經注
	works of Wang Bing 王丙
Ordination and *Zhai* Rituals	*Fengdao kejie* 奉道科戒
	Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao 要修科儀戒律鈔
	works of Zhang Wanfu 張萬福
Women	*Yongcheng jixian lu* 墉城集仙錄
Inner Alchemy	*Ruyao jing* 入藥鏡
	Yinfu jing 隱符經
	Zhouyi cantong qi zhu 周易參同契注
	Huangting jing zhu 黃庭經注

Aside from their large number, the most outstanding characteristic of Tang Daoist materials is the increased availability of original sources, INSCRIPTIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS that actually date from the period. Heightened imperial sponsorship led to an increase not only in Daoist rituals and honors for Daoist masters, but also to larger numbers of

stelae being erected and inscriptions engraved. Thus the miraculous events surrounding the founding of the dynasty and the wondrous finds made at various Daoist centers were immortalized in stone. On many occasions the rite of "tossing the dragons" was formally described in inscriptions, and many leading masters' epitaphs and encomia have survived in authentic form. Several important texts exist in early versions as inscribed by actual living Daoists of the period. The collection of Daoist inscriptions from the Tang includes a total of 180 items, a substantial increase over previous periods that brings the religion to life in an unprecendented form (Chen et al. 1988, 46-208).

An even greater boon than the inscriptions are the materials recovered from **Dunhuang** 敦煌, a small desert town in the far west of China near modern Lanzhou 蘭州. Dunhuang was a major Buddhist center along the silk road that consisted of hundreds of caves in a steep cliff, richly ornamented and full of sacred statues and holy books. The caves were under threat from Muslim invaders in the late middle ages and were closed and abandoned in the early eleventh century to be hidden by floating sands over the centuries. They were uncovered only in the early twentieth century by Western explorers (see Franck and Brownstone 1986; Hopkins 1980). Among invaluable art treasures and scrolls of mostly Buddhist manuscripts there were also many Daoist texts, arranged according to their main finders as "P." for Paul Pelliot or "S." for Sir Aurel Stein. Today they are mostly stored in the museums of Paris or London, and they have been studied especially by Japanese scholars who arranged (Yoshioka 1969), reprinted (Ôfuchi 1979) and examined them. These tasks were undertaken both in concerted research efforts (Tonkô kôza 1983; Kanaoka et al. 1983) and by individuals focusing on specific texts (Yoshioka1961a; 1961b) and comparing them with extant *Daozang* editions (Maeda 1994). Western and Chinese scholars, too, make regular use of the manuscripts, but there are only a few studies focusing specifically on Dunhuang materials. They include a critical edition and reprint of the *Benji jing* (Wu 1960), a reprint of seventh-century philosophical works (Yan 1983), a translation and analysis of a seventh-century *Huahu jing* (Seidel 1984) and a study of eighth-century ordination materials (Schipper 1985).

Daoist texts found at Dunhuang and reprinted by Ôfuchi can be classified according to six groups:

1. scriptures of Lingbao provenance, including materials from the ancient corpus (as well as an early list) together with later related works, such as the *Shengxuan jing* 昇玄經 (Scripture of Ascension to the Mystery; also repr. Yamada 1992), the *Yinyuan jing* and the *Benji jing*;
2. Shangqing texts, classics listed in the ancient catalog and works on ecstatic excursions;
3. *Daode jing* and commentaries, many only found here;

4. miscellaneous texts, including the *Shenzhou jing* 神咒經 (see "Southern Celestial Masters"), versions of the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (see "Northern Celestial Masters"), and new texts, such as the *Haikong zhizang jing* 海空智藏經 (see below);

5. encyclopedias, including sections from the *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 (see "Northern Celestial Masters"), *Daojiao yishu* and *Daodian lun* 道典論 (see below);

6. unidentified fragments, divided into three categories: scriptural, ritual and others (Ôfuchi 1979).

Together with the inscriptions, the manuscripts open a window directly into Tang Daoism, providing a rich source of original materials and enriching our understanding of the religion.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS. ***Sandong zhunang*** 三洞珠囊 (A Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns, CT 1139, orig. 30 j., extant 10 j.), by Wang Xuanhe 王懸河, fl. 683 (see Ren and Zhong 1991, 892-95; Reiter 1990; Kohn 1993b). Basically a collection of passages from earlier sources, this creates a comprehensive summary of the personal and social dimensions of Daoist practice, including meditation, ritual and physiological disciplines (Bokenkamp 1986, 150). In content, it begins in the first three j. with biographical citations. The first, called "Help and Guidance," presents the lives of generally successful practitioners. J. 2, with sections on "Poverty and Renunciation" and "The Summons of the Court," describes the necessary prerequisites for Daoist practice; it also speaks of the relation Daoists had to the imperial court and gives a number of famous examples from the past. J. 3 presents successful practitioners under the heading "Food and Diet," this time focusing on people who reached the Dao by eating special herbs or minerals.

The tone of the work then changes to include more practical instructions: j. 4 deals with avoiding grain, pharmacology and basic alchemy; j. 5 concentrates on forms of meditation, while j. 6 summarizes disciplinary rules and describes the performance of rituals. The next three scrolls deal with Daoist cosmology; j. 7 consists of sixteen distinct sections, all concerned with the various numbers and categories of the administration in heaven, earth and the underworld; j. 8 describes the wondrous signs of divinity and the nature of the mythic age and the gods; j. 9 focuses on early kalpa revolutions, the transformations of Laozi and the conversion of the barbarians; and j. 10 provides yet another section on practice in its discussion of "Clapping Teeth and Swallowing Saliva."

Shangqing daolei shixiang 上清道類事相 (Realities and Categories of Highest Clarity, CT 1132, 4 j.), also by Wang Xuanhe (see Ren and Zhong 1991, 881-82; Reiter 1992; Baldrian-Hussein 1994). This work is more specialized than the *Sandong zhunang*, and draws mainly upon the corpus of Shangqing Daoism while also providing a framework for under-

standing the holistic dimensions of religious practice. It is "basically a collection of quotations on Daoist personalities, practices and scriptures linked to sacred sites within the microcosm, the macrocosm, subterranean worlds and celestial spheres" (Baldrian-Hussein 1994, 531; see also Bokenkamp 1986, 150). It helps to explain to uninitiated literati what Daoism was about. It contains six sections that all focus on the locations and architecture of aspiring Daoists, describing the layout of abbeys, their buildings, training facilities and scriptoria, as well as the types of caverns and residences best suited for Daoist progress.

Daojiao jishu 道教義樞 (The Pivotal Meaning of the Daoist Teaching, CT 1129, 10 j., j. 6 lost; index Nakajima 1984), by Meng Anpai 孟安排, 7th c. (see Yoshioka 1959, 309-350; Kamata 1966, 202; Sunayama 1980a, 43; Bokenkamp 1986, 141; Ren and Zhong 1991, 878-79; Sharf 1991, 56-60; Kohn 1992, 149-54; Robinet 1997, 191-92). This text is written to demonstrate the depth and sophistication of Daoist thought in the face of Buddhist criticism and adopts and transforms many Buddhist concepts, integrating them successfully into a Daoist worldview. For example, it speaks of "the three vehicles" (*sansheng* 三乘), but rather than using the term to designate distinct traditions of Daoism, it applies it as a generic device for acknowledging the mutual validity of different Daoist goals or sensibilities. Similarly it adopts the term "body of the law" (*fashen* 法身; *dharmakāya*), which in Buddhism refers to the spiritual or true body of the Buddha, and uses it to denote the cosmic nature of the human body.

The ten *juan* of the text divide into thirty-seven sections, five of which are lost (see Table 2). Within each section the material is first presented according to "Meaning" (*yi* 義) and "Explanation" (*shi* 釋), and then supplemented with further references and interpretations.

The text cites numerous scriptures both of the Six Dynasties and early Tang, and has a strongly philosophical focus. It draws a comprehensive picture of the Daoist teaching, beginning with the cosmology of the Dao and a vision of its attainment, moving on to Daoist scriptures and their classifications, focusing on basic precepts and practices, and eventually outlining the ultimate stages of the Daoist path. It makes use of Buddhist terms and systems of classification throughout.

Daodian lun 道典論 (Discussions of Daoist Classics; CT 1130, S. 3547, P. 3920, 4 j.) is an encyclopedia of the seventh century by an unknown author (see Ren and Zhong 1991, 879-80). Its text is divided into fifty-four items that summarize instructions and wisdom from the scriptures. These can be generally classified into six major groups: the titles of deities; the appellations and classes of Daoists; the paths towards immortality (including deliverance from the corpse); the retribution of sins (including filial

TABLE 2
Sections in the *Daojiao yishu*

1. The Dao and the Virtue (*daode yi* 道德義)
2. The Body of the Law (*fashen yi* 法身義)
3. The Three Treasures (*sanbao yi* 三寶義)
4. Positions and Results (*weiye yi* 位業)
5. The Three Caverns (*sandong yi* 三洞義)
6. The Seven Sections (*qibu yi* 七部義)
7. The Twelve Classes (*shier bu yi* 十二部義)
8. The Two Halves (*liangban yi* 兩半義)
9. Intention for the Dao (*daoyi yi* 道意義)
10. The Ten Good Attitudes (*shishan yi* 十善義)
11. Cause and Effect (*yinguo yi* 因果義)
12. The Five Covers (*wuyin yi* 五陰義)
13. The Six Feelings (*liuqing yi* 六情義)
14. The Three Conditions (*sanye yi* 三業義)
15. The Ten Evil Deeds (*shiwu yi* 十惡義)
16. The Three Ones (*sanyi yi* 三一義)
17. The Two Observations (*erguan yi* 二觀義)
18. The Three Vehicles (*sansheng yi* 三乘義; lost)
19. The Six Supernatural Powers (*liutong yi* 六通義; lost)
20. The Four Necessities (*sida yi* 四達義; lost)
21. The Six Ferries (*liudu yi* 六渡義; lost)
22. The Four Virtues (*sideng yi* 四登義; lost)
23. The Three Worlds (*sanshi yi* 三世義)
24. The Five Destinies (*wudao yi* 五道義)
25. Primodial Chaos (*hunyuan yi* 混元義)
26. Principle and Teaching (*lijiao yi* 理教義)
27. Mental States and Wisdom (*jingzhi yi* 境智義)
28. Nature (*ziran yi* 自然義)
29. Tao-Nature (*daoxing yi* 道性義)
30. Fields of Blessedness (*futian yi* 福添義)
31. The Pure Lands (*jingtu yi* 淨土義)
32. The Three Periods (*sanshi yi* 三時義)
33. The Five Deteriorations (*wuzhuo yi* 五濁義)
34. Movement and Serenity (*dongji yi* 動寂義)
35. Impulse and Response (*ganying yi* 感應義)
36. Being and Nonbeing (*youwu yi* 有無義)
37. Illusion and Reality (*jiashi yi* 假實義)

disobedience, slander, killing); omens indicative of good and bad fortune; and methods of cultivation (including breathing, diets, energy circulation and alchemy). The many texts cited tend to be of Shangqing provenance.

MAHÂYÂNA-STYLE SCRIPTURES. ***Benji jing*** 本際經 (Scripture of the Genesis Point, CT 329 and 1111, Dunhuang mss., 10 j.), by Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 and Li Zhongqing 李中卿, early 7th c. (see Wu 1960; Kaltenmark 1979; Sunayama 1983, 80-91; 1990; Ren and Zhong 1991, 246, 859-60). This text presents itself in a Mahâyâna format, claiming to document the sermons of a variety of celestial beings, including traditional Daoist sages, such as Zhengyi zhenren 正一真人 (Perfected of Orthodox Unity) and Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人 (Sovereign of Heavenly Perfection) together with bodhisattva types, such as Pude miaoxing 普德妙行 (Universal Virtue, Wondrous Practice; Ôfuchi 1979, 296, 302, 292). The title phrase *benji* originates in Buddhist literature, where it occurs in the Chinese title of the *Samyuktâgama sûtra* (T. 99, 2.240b) and refers to the state before universal creation. The expression evokes an image found in an ancient Indian origin myth, according to which being develops from nonbeing through the formation of a cosmic egg that splits into heaven and earth (j. 4).

The *Benji jing*, like other texts of the era, focuses on the notion that all sentient beings have a "Dao-nature" (*daoxing* 道性), which is our true reality, "embodied in all conscious beings and even all animals, plants, trees and rocks" (*Daojiao yishu* 8.6b; Kamata 1969, 11-80). The goal of Daoist practice is the full realization of this Dao-nature through a variety of practices, including nonaction and various meditations, as well as by gaining full comprehension of the world according to this vision. Much of the argument of the *Benji jing* follows Buddhist models, making use of Mâdhyamika dialectics.

The text was widely known in the Tang, as is documented by its survival in eighty-one Dunhuang manuscripts and its frequent citation in other Daoist works. In 741, Xuanzong had it copied in temples throughout the land so that it could be recited and lectured on during purification rites. He credited a subsequent abundant harvest to those activities (Benn 1977, 248-49; Sharf 1991, 39).

Haikong zhizang jing 灝空智藏經 (Scripture of Master Haikong zhizang, CT 9, Dunhuang mss., 10 j.), by Li Yuanxing 黎元興, 7th c. (see Sunayama 1990; Kamata 1966, 113-20; 1969, 83-96; 1986, 30-130; Lagerwey 1987, 311; Kohn 1992). According to the Buddhist polemic *Zhenzheng lun* 甄正論 (On Examining Truth; T. 52, 569c), this text was produced in the early Tang by the two Daoists Li Yuanxing and Fang Chang 方長. The text itself begins by describing Master Haikong zhizang as a perfected retainer of Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Heavenly Worthy of

Primordial Beginning) since before the separation of heaven and earth. Although he is over 2,000 years old, he looks young and strong. He is an accomplished sage who spends his time dissipating doubts and helping humanity. His name indicates his high status: "His body is like an ocean (*hai*), his mind is like the open sky (*kong*), his inner principle embraces all beyond beings, he is a storehouse of wisdom" (1.2b). His leading disciple is called Dahui 大慧 (Great Wisdom), an adaptation of Mahâvâti from the *Lankâvatâra sûtra*; he elicits answers from the sage.

The text then outlines the teaching of Haikong zhizang, which resembles that of other texts of the time. In addition, it includes the concept of "subtle thinking" (*siwei* 思微), which indicates the purity of the unmoving mind that is basic to humankind from birth, and pervades all existence, but can and should be cultivated through the practice of absorptions; it is close to the idea of Dao-nature. Next the text identifies nonaction as the basic pillar of Daoist practice and describes five stages of Daoist attainment as the so-called Dao-fruits (*daoguo* 道果): earth immortal, flying immortal, self-dependent, free from afflictions and perfected in nonaction. Among these, all higher stages are borrowed from Buddhism, so that, for example, stage three, "self-dependent" (*zizai* 自在), translates *iśvâra*, the state of complete freedom from obstruction, the mind as free from delusion. Stage four, *wulou* 無漏, refers to the complete absence of all *âsrava* or "outflows," that is, all afflictions and vexations. The Buddhist dimension of the text is also documented in its quotations, which include the *Avatamsaka sûtra*, *Sukhavâtivyûha-sûtra*, *Prajñâpâramita śâstra* and *Vimalakîrti nideśa* (see Kamata 1969, 91-97).

Shengxuan jing 昇玄經 (Scripture of Ascension to the Mystery, CT 1122, Dunhuang mss., 10 j.; ed. Yamada 1992) was compiled in the sixth century, and expanded under the Sui and Tang (see Sunayama 1990, 227-29; Ren and Zhong 1991, 867-68). The work is an off-shoot of the Lingbao scriptures, and like them follows Mahâyâna and Mâdhyamika patterns in its exposition. The *Shengxuan jing* presents the Daoist teaching in a dialogue between Lord Lao and the first Celestial Master Zhang Daoling 張道陵. It sets out three ranks of attainment: higher, medium and lower. Those reaching a higher level are spirit immortals; they ascend to heaven in broad daylight, are served by jade maidens and pure lads and transform physically into diamond bodies and radiant beings. Medium-level practitioners are finders of nirvâna; they attain residence in the heavenly halls and serve as celestial officers. Those on the lower level are practitioners of longevity; they follow diets and practice gymnastics to extend their years and eventually become officers of the earth who sit in judgment over the souls of the dead. To reach each level, one must follow a specific set of practices and code of behavior, obeying instructions and observing moral rules.

PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. ***Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu*** 道德經

開題序訣義疏 (Supplementary Commentary and Topical Introduction to the *Daode jing*, P. 2353 [Ôfuchi 1979, 461-66; Yan 1983, 239-652], 6 j.), by Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (see Robinet 1977; Fujiwara 1980d; Sunayama 1980b). This explication of the *Daode jing* begins with a scholastic and historical discussion of the Laozi myth, analyzing the events in the deity's life from his initial personification of the Dao through his name, date and place of birth to his transformations, western exploits and supernatural powers. The commentary then proceeds to focus on the philosophical contents of the text according to five topics: Dao and virtue; the meaning of "scripture;" schools of interpretation; numbers of characters in the text; and its division into various subsections. Using an overall Mâdhyamika-inspired framework, the work sees the *Daode jing* as one among the celestial scriptures in which the great universal mystery has taken concrete shape. It further proposes five modes of interpretation: focusing on words, on ideas, on the interdependence of Dao and virtue, on their subtle significance (as being and nonbeing) and on their character as infinite. The discussion clarifies the basic principles of Twofold Mystery, tracing its thinking to earlier forerunners and describing it in terms of the twofold forgetfulness in approaching the Dao.

Xisheng jingzhu 西昇經注 (Commentary to the *Xisheng jing*, CT 726, 6 j.; see Fujiwara 1983; 1985).), and ***Daode zhenjing zhu*** 道德真經注 (Commentary to the *Daode jing*, Dunhuang mss. [ed. Ôfuchi 1979, 476-87; Yan 1983, 729-970]), by Li Rong 李榮, 7th c. (see Kohn1991, 200-11). Using the commentary format for his presentation, Li Rong gives a comprehensive outline of the Daoist path, from ordinary life to the attainment of the Dao. He subscribes to the philosophy of Twofold Mystery, emphasizing that one needs to undergo a process of double forgetting to realize and overcome the two levels of truth, ordinary and emptiness. One begins by forgetting constructed and illusory mental states, thus attaining a sense of overall emptiness; one then forgets this in turn to attain an oneness with the Dao.

Li Rong also incorporates social realities and virtues as well as bodily cultivation and breathing exercises into his understanding of Daoist attainment. He redefines notions of knowledge, wisdom and enlightenment, the being based on mere hearing and learning, the second resulting from reflection and conscious evaluation and the third culminating in unknowing and omniscience. The person who reaches the highest stage is called a sage; he represents complete goodness, is at one with the soundless and formless and goes beyond ordinary thinking and morality. His main role is to serve as an inspiring example for all people, making the world a purer place.

Miaomen youqi 妙門由起 (Entrance to the Gate of All Wonders, CT 1123, 33 pp.), by Shi Chong 史崇 et al. upon imperial order, dat. 713 (see

Ren and Zhong 1991, 868-70; Barrett 1996, 50-52; Benn 1991, 18). This text originally served as the introduction to the *Yiqie daojing yinyi* 一切道經音義 (Sound and Meaning of All Daoist Scriptures, 140 j.; lost), which would have given scholars great insights into high-Tang Daoism. As it stands, the *Miaomen youqi* consists of six sections and cites a total of seventy-seven texts, many of which are otherwise lost. The sections begin with a discussion of the transformations of the Dao, including the meaning of the term, that is largely reflective of the *Daode jing*. It then goes on to describe the various Heavenly Worthies and other high gods, the larger cosmos (ten worlds) of the Dao, the locations of immortals (Three Clarities, four Brahma heavens, ten continents, grotto heavens), and the ways to salvation through the scriptures and the practice of the Dao. It discusses the revelations of the teaching as they took place through the various kalpas, and in Laozi's transmission of the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi, and as manifested in the Three Caverns and their various subdivisions.

Daoti lun 導體論 (On the Embodiment of the Dao, CT 1035, 32 pp.), 8th. c., is by an anonymous author, possibly Zhang Guo 張果 (see Kohn 1993, 19-24). The text is divided into three sections: a discussion of the *Daode jing*, questions on the Dao, and a treatise on the Dao's embodiment. It is a highly speculative analysis of the nature of the Dao and its role in the world, first defining it as beyond all, neither being nor nonbeing, neither formless nor formed, neither right nor wrong. The text then uses Mâdhyamika logic to affirm the double and yet nondual nature of the Dao, contrasting it with virtue and offering various similar pairs, including Dao and beings, principle and affairs, emptiness and being, and names and reality. In all cases the two are two yet not-two, the same yet different, born yet unborn, nameless yet named. Both are part of the same ultimate mystery, and so appear in different ways under different conditions. To realize them, one must practice twofold forgetfulness and sit in oblivion to reach the state of naturalness or so-being (*ziran* 自然) in the totality of the Dao.

Xinmu lun 心目論 (Of Mind and Eyes, CT 1038; 1051, 2.16b-19b, 4 pp.), by Wu Yun 吳筠 (d. 778; see Kohn 1998b). This short and highly poetic essay contains a fictional dialogue between the mind and the eyes on whose actions are more detrimental to or supportive in the attainment of tranquility and perfection. It begins with the mind accusing the eyes of keeping it in a state of dissatisfaction, which the latter counter by pointing out that they are the vassals of the mind and only serve to do its bidding. The mind then recognizes its power and resolves to do away with all thinking and doing, plunging the senses into darkness. This, however, does not satisfy the eyes who find this to be an act of running away rather than a true attainment. Pushing the mind into the direction of solid inner tranquility yet openness to the working of the Dao, the eyes help it—and thereby the entire person—in the attainment of true perfection. The essay shows the

need for all aspects of the personality to work together if the Dao is to be realized.

MANUALS ON OBSERVATION AND ATTAINING THE DAO. ***Neiguan jing*** 內觀經 (Scripture on Inner Observation, DZ 641, *Yunji qiqian* 17.1a-6b, 6 pp.), 8th c. (see Kohn 1989a). *Neiguan* refers to the Daoist way of insight meditation, a Buddhist technique of making the world and one's place in it the object of spiritual cultivation, in which the mind is calm and empty and observes all sensory data in complete impartiality. In Daoism, this practice is described in the eighth century as *guan* 觀 or "observation," a key step toward attainment of the Dao. Not only the outside world and sensory data are observed, however, but also the various energies and divinities in the body, so that the practice of observation creates a highly spiritualized being. The *Neiguan jing* details this practice in thirteen sections, all placed in the words of Lord Lao; it describes the growth of the human embryo as a spiritual entity and admonishes people to reduce desires and cultivate emptiness and tranquility.

Zuowang lun 坐忘論 (On Sitting in Oblivion, CT 1036, *Yunji qiqian* 94, *Quan Tangwen* 924, 18 pp.), by Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (see Kamitsuka 1979; Wu 1981; Kohn 1987a). This is a more detailed and concrete manual on the practice of observation, and first appeared in an inscription engraved in 829 on Mount Wangwu, Sima's main residence. It is possibly based on lectures of the master, and provides a general guide for engaging in gradual progression toward union with Dao and attaining "spirit immortality." The path is outlined in seven steps: 1. Respect and Faith; 2. Interception of Karma; 3. Taming the Mind; 4. Detachment from Affairs; 5. True Observation; 6. Intense Concentration; 7. Realizing the Dao.

It begins by emphasizing the need for a strong faith in the Dao and complete freedom from all doubts of the divine venture. Next it states that one must physically leave the world, give up all involvements and avoid the creation of new karma. Third, the first steps of meditation, in a secluded mountain setting, are undertaken, with an effort to concentrate the mind, gather one's thoughts and find inner emptiness. Next, one detaches oneself fully from the world and ceases to worry about its affairs. Step five is called "true observation" and picks up the notion of insight meditation: adepts view their life as a manifestation of Dao energy and give up all attachments and conscious evaluations. This leads next to "intense concentration," when the mind is completely submerged in the Dao in a state of trance and loss of ego-identity. Finally, the Dao is attained in an ecstatic going-beyond of all and ascent into heaven.

Dingguan jing 定觀經 (Scripture on Concentration and Observation, DZ 400, *Yunji qiqian* 17.6b-13a, 10 pp., 49 stanzas), early 8th c. (see Kohn 1987a, 125-44). This text is also found as an appendix to the *Zuowang lun* (DZ 1036, 15b-18a), and contains an overview of the mental transition from

an ordinary perspective, characterized by impurity, cravings, vexations, emotions, and desires, to a state of full concentration, peace, and tranquility. Once the latter is reached, the mind will be habituated to observing all things in complete dispassion, which in turn will help the attainment of oneness with the Dao and immortality.

The text also contains a description of the five phases of the mind and seven stages of the body. These appear first in the ***Cunshen lianqi ming*** 存神鍊氣銘 (Inscription on Visualization of Spirit and Refinement of Energy, DZ 834, *Yunji qiqian* 33.12a-15a, 3 pp.), by Sun Simiao 孫思邈, 7th c. (see Kohn 1987a, 177-80). According to this text, the attainment of the Dao consists of the perfection of *qi*-energy, and of a complete reorganization of the conscious mind in five phases that lead from the ordinary mind, which is distracted and confused, to the perfected mind of complete tranquility and inner peace. Once this is reached, the seven stages of the body are entered. First, one diminishes "the diseases inherited from former lives" by bringing the mind, spirit, and *qi* energy into tranquility. One passes through the stages of immortal, perfected, spirit being, and ultimate being, until one reaches the final goal of "the source of the Dao," coming to reside next to the Jade Emperor in the heavens above.

Tianyinzi 天隱子 (Book of the Master of Heavenly Seclusion; CT 1026, 4 pp.), is attributed to Sima Chengzhen (see Kohn 1987; 1987b). This is another practical manual on observation and attainment, and outlines the path in "five progressive gateways:" 1. "fasting and abstention," essentially meaning a balanced diet and moderation of physical activity; 2. "seclusion," or maintaining a reclusive residence in balance "with the harmonious rhythms of yin and yang;" 3. "visualization and imagination," or visualizing oneself as a spiritual rather than a physical being; 4. "sitting in forgetfulness," i.e., forgetting the distinctions between "self" and "other;" 5. attainment of "spiritual transcendence" or immorality, characterized both as "entering into suchness" (a concept borrowed from Buddhism) and as "returning to nonaction," evoking Daoist thought. The *Tianyinzi* presents a model of Daoist practice easily accessibly to a "general audience" of Chinese literati, and has remained popular through the ages and is still used by Qigong practitioners today.

Shenxian kexue lun 神仙可學論 (Immortality Can Be Learned, CT 1051, 2.9b-16a) and ***Xingshen kegu lun*** 形身可固論 (The Body Can Be Made to Last, CT 1051, 2.20a-26b), are both by Wu Yun 吳筠 (d. 778; see Ren and Zhong 1991, 798). These two essays discuss the possibility of attaining immortality without any special inborn factors or acts of divine grace, by mere practice. The first focuses on the cultivation of *qi*-energy, which should begin with making the mind pure and free from desires and the attainment of moral virtues (including filiality, loyalty, sincerity and humility). It then requires training of the various energies: preserving es-

sence, nourishing the *qi* and harmonizing the spirit. Eventually one will attain not only exceptional longevity but also a state beyond death so that one may physically die but will not perish.

The second essay follows the same basic premise and gives a few more concrete details. It is divided into five sections. First, "Guarding the Dao" encourages practitioners to follow a lifestyle based on yin and yang and the preservation of essence, in all cases keeping their body strong and healthy. "Ingesting *qi*" describes the practice of the five sprouts (energies of the five directions), breathing exercises and the abstention from grains. "Nourishing the Body" focuses on the abstention from sexual activity and the need to rid oneself of all physical desires; instead, prayers and purifications should be undertaken, fortifying the body against leakages of energy and attacks from demons. "Guarding the Spirit" describes the harmonization of the forces within the body, achieved through the reversal of seminal essence from the lower abdomen into the brain. "The Golden Elixir," finally, discusses the creation of the great medicine in the body, the realization of the pure pearl of immortality within. Both texts emphasize the need to be free from desires and the attainment of a stable mind and strong inner body, anticipating notions of purity and tranquility.

PURITY AND TRANQUILITY. Closely related to eighth-century observation culture, a slightly different group of texts emerged which presented the same basic ideas in stylized patterns and verse format. They are often extremely short, and have in common that they combine the practice and worldview of observation with the ideas of the *Daode jing* and the structure of Buddhist mantra-texts, such as the "Heart Sûtra" (T.250-57; see Fukui 1987, 286), and express their highest goal as the attainment of purity and tranquility.

The most important among these is the ***Qingjing xinjing*** 清靜心經 (Heart Scripture of Purity and Tranquility, CT 1169, 2 pp.), 8th c. (see Ren and Zhong 1991, 925; Li 1991, 1825). In short mantra-like verses (four characters), the text emphasizes the need to eliminate ordinary perception in favor of purity and tranquility, the "perfect wisdom" of the Dao. It begins by describing the nature of the Dao as divided into yin and yang, turbid and pure, tranquil and moving, then goes on to stress the importance of the mind in the creation of desires and worldly entanglements. The practice of observation is recommended to counteract this: the observation of other beings, the self, and the mind results in the realization that none of these really exist. Completing these, practitioners attain the observation of emptiness which brings them into a state of complete purity and tranquility or oneness with the Dao. The rest of the work reverses direction and outlines the decline from pure spirit to falling into hell. Spirit develops consciousness or mind, mind recognizes a body or self, the self sees the myriad beings and develops greed and attachment toward them. Greed then leads to involve-

ment, illusory imaginings and erroneous ways, which tie people to the chain of rebirth and, as they sink deeper into the quagmire of desire, makes them fall into hell.

Qingjing jing 清靜經 (Scripture of Purity and Tranquility, CT 620, 1.5 pp.), probably 9th c. (trl. Kohn 1993, 24-29; Wong 1992; see Ren and Zhong 1991, 447; Li 1991, 1816; Kamata 1986, 280; Ishida 1987; Mitamura 1994). This is a shorter, slightly later and more popular version of the *Qingjing xinjing*. It has a first commentary by Du Guangting and rose to great prominence in the Song, when it was read allegorically and alchemically by masters of the Southern School. Later it became a central scripture of Complete Perfection, whose followers still recite it in their daily services.

Wuchu jing 五廚經 (Scripture on the Five Pantries, CT 763, 20 lines, five-character verse), with commentary by Yin An 尹暗, dat. 8th c. (see Ren and Zhong 1991, 547-48; Li 1991, 1876; Kohn 1998c). The title emphasizes the need to replenish the energy in the five inner organs as one would food in a pantry. The work begins with the traditional notion that the "one original energy [divides and] joins to form Great Harmony." It then emphasizes that attaining this harmony in oneself will lead to longevity within and a peaceful life without, which, in turn, helps adepts to find oneness of inner nature with "the Mystery." The text then moves on to contrast illusory imaginings and true wisdom, and recommends the utter emptying of the mind to the point where it is "a clear mirror, on which no dust will collect." Adepts should maintain a balance, neither getting involved with entanglements nor pushing hard to cut them off, working on cultivation but not overdoing it. The conclusion is the triumphant return to the "original energy," the attainment of mystical union with the Dao.

Liaoxin jing 了心經 (Scripture on Perfecting the Mind, CT 642, 1 p.), 8th c., revealed by Lord Lao (see Li 1991, 1819; Kohn 1998c). This work describes the central role of the mind as the origin of both good and evil, salvation and sin. It encourages practitioners to begin their career in the Dao by observing it carefully and working for its purification.

Xuwu benqi jing 虛無本起經 (Scripture on the Origins and Deeds of Emptiness and Nonbeing, CT 1438, *Yunji qiqian* 10, 15 pp.), 9th c., revealed by Lord Lao (see Ren and Zhong 1991, 1137; Li 1991, 1825). This describes first the three energies (original, primordial and beginning) and their creation of the world, then focuses on their spiritual parallel in the states of emptiness, nonbeing and serenity, which can be attained through the perfection of physical essence, vital energy and spontaneous nature.

Xuanzhu xinjing zhu 玄珠心鏡注 (Annotated Mysterious Pearly Mirror of the Mind, CT 574, 575, 2 poems), revealed by Qiao Shaoxuan 樵少玄, commentaries by Hengyue zhenzi 衡嶽真子 and Wang Sunzhi 王損之, dat. 817 (see Kohn 1989b; 1993, 215-19). These poems on "guarding the One" and attaining the Dao (14 lines of four characters; 10

lines of six characters) present the process of salvation, ascension into heaven and attainment of the Dao in a philosophical diction inspired by Mahâyâna Buddhism. As the mind enters tranquility, spirit comes to rest and the practitioner merges with the primordial Dao. Echoes of these ideas reverberate in some works by Li Ao 李翺 (772-836; see Barrett 1992), which were grounded in classical Confucian texts yet also reflect the Daoist thought of the period.

POETRY. Daoism flourished both at court and among the educated elite, and there is a great deal of overlap between Daoist and literati culture which finds special expression in poetry. Famous poets made heavy use of Daoist imagery (see Bokenkamp 1993) and Daoists expressed their ecstatic visions in verse. Prime resources for relevant materials are the *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Complete Tang Poetry) and the *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose; see Kroll 1986b). The most famous poet to use Daoist notions was Li Bo 李白 (701-762), who wrote numerous songs and verses inspired by Daoist visions (see Waley 1950; Kroll 1986a), and even gave a poetic rendering of his pilgrimage ascent to the Tiantai mountains (Shi 1993). Other Daoist poets of the time were Cao Tang 曹鄴 (see Schafer 1985a) and Gu Kuang 顧況 (735-814; see Russell 1989).

Daoist poetry can be divided into **three major categories**: works describing ecstatic excursions and the wonders of the heavenly halls; those on the beauteous visions of gods and goddesses; and stanzas singing the joys and losses of passionate encounters with divine partners. Among the first are various poetic descriptions of the Shangqing heavens (see Kroll 1985) and of trips to the stars (Schafer 1976). Most prominent among them are the works of Wu Yun, notably his cycle of poems written to the tune "Pacing the Void" (Schafer 1981) and the poem "Saunters in Sylphdom" (Schafer 1983).

The second group of Daoist poems focuses on gods and goddesses, often describing their main sanctuaries, their looks, their wondrous manifestations and the boons they granted the poet. Especially famous among these are the goddesses of the main rivers of south China, such as those of the Xiang 湘河 (see Schafer 1978a), and goddesses of famous spiritual mountain centers (Schafer 1982). The most prominent among all goddesses was Xiwangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West), whose praises were sung in numerous Tang poems by Daoists and literati alike (see Cahill 1993a; 1986a; 1986b).

The third group of poems sings the woes of passionate encounters with gods or, more commonly, goddesses. They continue an ancient literary tradition of encounterns with the supernatural (see Hawkes 1967) by describing the beauty and wonder of the divine partner, the ecstatic bliss of the encounter and the desolation felt after the divinity has left this earth and

the seeker returns to his former lonely self (see Schafer 1978b; 1979b; Cahill 1985; 1993b).

WORKS BY DU GUANGTING. ***Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*** 道德真經廣聖義 (Wide and Holy Meaning of the Perfect Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue, CT 725, 50 j.), pref. 30 Oct. 901 (see Verellen 1989, 137-38; Kohn 1998c). This work is a masterpiece of scholastic systematization and integrative interpretation. It contains Du's own commentary and summary of commentaries to the *Daode jing*. The first two scrolls also outline the life and activities of the divinized Laozi, for the first time systematizing them into the categories and lists that came to serve as the basis for the great Laozi hagiographies of the Song (see Boltz 1987, 131-36; Kohn 1998c).

Lidai chongdao ji 歷代崇道記 (Record of Reverence for the Dao over Successive Generations, CT 593, *Quan Tangwen* 933, 20 pp.), dat. 885 (see Boltz 1987, 129-31; Verellen 1989, 97-100; 1994; Barrett 1996, 94-95). This is a chronicle of Daoist dynastic signs in Chinese history, written specifically to encourage and legitimate the Tang restoration under Emperor Xizong. It focuses largely on the political miracles and manifestations of Lord Lao, recording how rulers patronized and honored the Daoist religion. Eighty-five percent of the text concern Tang events, and a full twenty percent concern Xizong's reign. It is argued that Lord Lao repeatedly intervened to protect the imperium during the rebellion of Huang Chao (880-884).

Daojiao lingyan ji 道教靈驗記 (Record of Daoist Miracles, CT 590, *Yunji qiqian* 117-22, 15 j.), dat. 901 (see Kirkland 1986, 203, 462-63; 1992b, 69-73; Verellen 1989, 139-40, 206-7; 1992). This is a general account of wondrous events or miracles associated with Daoist gods and institutions. Du's preface lauds "excellence" (*shan* 善; see Kirkland 2000) and explains that the collection exalts this excellence by describing the activities of individuals who exemplified it. The collection was influenced by Buddhist apologetic traditions, and consists of some 200 anecdotes in which wondrous events demonstrate the validity of Daoism.

Shenxian ganyu zhuan 神仙感遇傳 (Accounts of Encounters with Spirit Immortals, CT 592, 5j.), dat. 902 (see Bokenkamp 1986, 145). Here Du records tales of mostly unknown people who met transcendents or immortals, either by virtue of character or because of their achievement in Daoist practice. Many motifs found here became a mainstay of Chinese folktales, short stories, novels and films and are still current today.

Du also edited and wrote commentaries to a number of Daoist scriptures, including the *Shenzhou jing*, *Duren jing* and *Suling jing* (Verellen 1989, 217-19). One important lost work, reassembled from citations, is the *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺 (Restoration of Omissions in Immortals' Lives; see Kirkland 1992b, 69). In content and outlook, this is similar to other ninth-

century works such as Jiang Fang's 蔣防 *Huanxi zhi* 幻戲志 (Records of Magic), a collection of wonder-tales (see Kirkland 1992b, 60-68) and a text by the Daoist Pei Xing 裴鉶 (825-880; see Barrett 1996, 97), who is credited with inventing the term *chuanqi* 傳奇, the standard Chinese term for literary tales (Nienhauser 1986, 356).

GAZETTEERS of Daoist sacred centers with historical significance include Xu Lingfu's 徐靈府 *Tiantai shanji* 天台山記 (Gazetteer of Mount Tiantai), dat. 9th century; Li Chongzhao's 李沖昭 *Nanyue xiaolu* 南嶽小錄 (Lesser Record of the Southern Marchmount, CT 453, 15 pp.), dated 902; and Du Guangting's *Tiandan Wangwu shan shengji ji* 天丹王屋山聖跡記 (Record of Sagely Traces on Mounts Tiandan and Wangwu). In addition, Sima Chengzhen is credited with a record of the seventy-two auspicious places of Daoism, found in his *Shangqing tiandi gongfu tujing* 上清天地宮府圖經 (Illustrated Scripture of the Palaces and Prefectures of Heaven and Earth, According to Highest Clarity, *Yunji qiqian* 27, 16 pp.). Du Guangting has a *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 (Record of Grotto-Heavens, Blessed Spots, Marchmounts, Rivers and Famous Mountains, CT 599, 15 pp.), which details the interlocking subterranean network of transcendent sites and related sacred spaces (see Bokenkamp 1986, 146; Schafer 1986, 822; also Miura 1983).

WORLDVIEW

Tang Daoist worldview is complex and sophisticated and cannot be fully described in a few pages. We will therefore limit ourselves to introducing some representative visions in order to highlight the key notions of the era.

In the seventh century, Daoist thinking was strongly influenced by Buddhism, and a foremost example of this influence is the concepts of TWOFOLD MYSTERY, which continues Mâdhyamika logic in a Daoist environment. The expression "twofold mystery" goes back to the line "mysterious and again mysterious" (*xuan er you xuan* 玄而又玄) in the *Daode jing* (ch. 1). During the early Tang, the line is reinterpreted to indicate the mystical goal of profundity, silence, and freedom from all obstructions; *xuan* 玄 is used as a verb, meaning "to make mysterious," the line thus becoming parallel to "decrease and again decrease" (ch. 48). Daoist attainment is thus understood as a process of mysterious/decrease and again mysterious/decrease, also described as the realization of twofold forgetfulness (*jianwang* 兼忘). First, practitioners should do away with ordinary thinking and desires, then proceed to discard this level of attainment and even become free of no-desires. Reorganizing consciousness into nonconsciousness, they move to an ultimate stage of neither consciousness nor nonconsciousness (see Kohn 1991, 190-91).

This structure is closely patterned on the Buddhist school of Mâdhyamika, the Middle Path (*zhongdao* 中道), also known as the Three Treatise School (Sanlun 三論) after its three major texts. Founded by Nagârjuna in the second century, it developed in China in the sixth and was then formulated mainly by Jizang 吉藏 (549-623) in his *Erdi zhang* 二諦章 (On the Two Levels of Truth) and *Sanlun xuanyi* 三論玄義 (Mysterious Meaning of the Three Treatises; see Robinson 1967; Kamata 1966; Chan 1963, 357).

According to Jizang, there are two levels of truth, the worldly and the absolute, which are both overcome by two further stages of both worldly and absolute and neither worldly nor absolute, reflecting the four propositions of the Mâdhyamika:

> affirmation of being;
> affirmation of non-being;
> affirmation of both, being and non-being;
> negation of both, being and non-being
> (Robinson 1967, 57; Robinet 1977, 117).

In practical application, these stages guide adepts from the worldly assumption that everything exists to the enlightened vision that all is empty. Next they realize that emptiness too is a way of looking at the world and go beyond it, discarding even nonbeing to realize that all is simultaneously both being and nonbeing. From there they attain the highest state and realize that things ultimately neither exist nor not exist.

In the eighth century, too, the focus of Daoist worldview was the attainment and realization of the Dao, and Buddhist influence continued, but on a more practical level. Writers such as Sima Chengzhen, Sun Simiao and Wu Yun presented an integrated outline of the practices associated with OBSERVATION (*guan* 觀), an adaptation of the Buddhist practice of insight meditation, showing the progress toward transcendence and describing subsequent transformations of body, emotions, and conscious thinking (see Kohn 1990). They tend to begin with an emphasis on the body's health, the need to be cured from all diseases and to attain harmony of all physical actions. Practitioners are to stop eating normal food and instead substitute a diet of pure substances and drugs to achieve a higher degree of subtlety in alignment with the cosmos. Normal nourishment, so the theory goes, causes people to decay and die, whereas drugs distilled from pure plants and minerals help them to live.

Next the muscular system is made supple with the help of gymnastics, and awareness of the inner self is attained through breathing exercises (see Maspero 1981, 443; Despeux 1989). The different energies of the body are harmonized, digestion and blood circulation are stimulated and breathing is made conscious and deep. Eventually this leads to a state of glowing health and suppleness in which the body is no longer dependent on food

and drink but can live on the absorption of *qi*, that is, the ingestion of the five energies of the five directions (see Engelhardt 1987, 91). Then the inner *qi*, the pure seed of immortality within, develops and the adepts' physical constitution is reorganized from a profane to a sacred level.

A similar process also applies to the transformation of the emotions, commonly described as passions and desires. This begins with the stabilization and concentration of the mind, which eventually reaches a state of complete tranquility. "Whether involved in affairs or at leisure, there is no agitation at all" (*Cunshen lianqi ming* 2a; Kohn 1987, 121). This stability of mind is then employed toward a critical examination of the practitioner's own psychological constitution. Adepts are led to understand that their conscious mind is originally made of spirit (*shen* 神). This spirit works through the mind and governs life perfectly, but—due to delusion—is wasted on engagements with the senses and the resulting passions and desires. To control this involvement and recover the purity of spirit, adepts—in an adaptation of Buddhist worldview—are guided to realize the impermanent nature of all and the nonidentity (no-self) of themselves. Upon reaching this understanding they are free from passions and desires.

The adepts' next step is to develop a vision of the Dao within. They come to see themselves as a storehouse of inner nature, a habitation of the spirit, the vehicle and the host of the Dao. They learn to let "spirit radiate through human action," like a light shining everywhere (*Neiguan jing* 5b; Kohn 1989a, 217), and they increasingly identify with the Dao that governs their body, loosening all remaining attachments to physical and personal selves. The result is a new and wider identity as part of the universe at large, a state in which adepts see themselves as beings of spirit and the death of their bodies as a translation into transcendence (see *Zuowanglun*, sect. 5; Kohn 1987, 102).

Continuing the training, eventually adepts reach the full attainment of the Dao which takes place in two phases. First, there is oblivion, a trancelike and enstatic state of complete immersion in the Dao characterized by a loss of personal consciousness and physical immobility: "The body is like rotten wood; the mind is like dead ashes. There are no more impulses, there is no more search: one has reached perfect serenity" (*Zuowanglun*, sect. 6; Kohn 1987, 104). Second, there is the utter pervasion of all, a state of movement, openness, joy, light and ecstasy, the attainment of heavenly splendor. "Going beyond all beings in one's body, one whirls out of normal relations and comes to reside next to the Jade Emperor of the Great Dao in the numinous realm (*Cunshen lianqi ming* 3a; Kohn 1987, 123). The ecstatic joys of utter oneness are described in the lyrics of the period, notably in the various poems of Wu Yun.

The ninth century saw not only the continuation of "observation" culture, abbreviated in texts of formulaic verse such as the *Qingjing jing*, and in

Daoist poetry such as the *Xuanzhu xinjing zhu*, but also a new level of analytic subtlety and SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT. Most notably Du Guangting, the encyclopedic writer of the late ninth century, brought a strong analytical mind to Daoist worldview and presented integrated visions in various ritual, hagiographic, geographic and philosophical venues (see Kohn 1998a). To give one example, his treatment of the hagiography of Lord Lao in the second chapter of his *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* (CT 725), a monumental fifty-scroll collection of commentaries on the *Daode jing*, is not only the most complete but also one of the most sophisticated.

Du analyzes the deity's deeds in a total of thirty items, plus seventeen specifically on his birth, beginning with the god's identity with the Dao as part of the creative process, describing his creation of the world, his establishment of the immortal hierarchy, his descents as the teacher of dynasties, and his revelation of the holy Daoist scriptures. His birth in human form is not only described in great and systematic detail, but is also analyzed in terms of overall purpose (making people see the perfect Dao) and symbolic meaning. The god strides on rays of the sun because he embodies perfect yang; he remains in the womb for eighty-one years and is bathed by nine dragons for the same reason. His name Laozi or "Old Child/Master" has highly sophisticated implications, meaning he was born old and moved on to become young, that he was born an infant yet with the white hair of an old man, that he was both the seed of the universe and its master (see Kohn 1998c).

Practice

Daoist practice under the Tang, too, is manifold and complex and cannot be easily described in brief. As a general survey, three aspects will be discussed: the ritual activities at the imperial court, the organized establishment of monasteries and the rise of popular practices and miracles.

With the recognition of Laozi as the dynasty's ancestor, Daoist worship became part of imperial culture and, especially under Emperor Xuanzong, COURT RITUAL was reorganized along Daoist lines. In 741, the emperor decreed that in both capitals as well as in all prefectures a temple to Laozi, then called Xuanyuan huangdi 玄元皇帝, was to be erected, often linked with Daoist academies that trained degree candidates in Daoist subjects (Xiong 1996, 263). The finding of the "Heavenly Treasure" soon thereafter increased the intensity and dedication of the emperor's worship. In 742, yet another major sanctuary was erected to Laozi in the Daning fang 大寧坊, the southwestern quarter of Chang'an, where the deity was honored together with groups of immortals in a divinely beautiful setting

(Xiong 1996, 267). Its main hall was huge and contained a statue of Laozi in dragon-design imperial garb, flanked, among others, by a statue of Emperor Xuanzong himself (see also Benn 1987). The deity was then given highest priority in court ritual and received numerous sacrificial offerings to the accompaniment of *gao* 告 ritual music. This indicated that the rite was a form of imperial report to the deity, such as those practiced mainly to Heaven in earlier dynasties. It required the most formal of ritual garbs and paraphenalia (*gunmian* 衮冕) and was supervised by the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (Taichang si 太常寺; see Xiong 1996, 269-70).

In 743, further significant changes occurred. First, all Daoists, who had been under the administration of a special Daoist bureau, were now entered under the supervision of the Court of the Imperial Clan (Zongzheng si 宗正寺). They thus became official relatives of the emperor and his family. Daoist temples were accordingly renamed from *guan* 觀 (abbey) to *gong* 宮 (palace), a nomenclature that still survives in various locations. Also, the formal state rituals offered at the major Laozi sanctuaries, which had been patterned on traditional state-rites, were now reorganized to include more Daoist forms. The ritual garb was changed to less formal court dress, the prayer board was replaced by paper and various Daoist forms of music and dance became part of the official ceremonies (Xiong 1996, 270; Schafer 1987). On a different front, Daoist worship was further expanded within state ritual through the adoption of the sacrifice to the gods of the Nine Palaces (Jiugong 九宮), a group of celestial constellations that was also closely linked with the ancient *Luoshu* 洛書 (Chart of the Luo River), a major cosmological and astrological device (see Kalinowski 1985). In 744, the emperor followed the advice of the magician Su Jiaqing 蘇嘉慶 and had an altar erected to these deities. Sacrifices were then established to be held in the first month of each season, with the emperor personally conducting the rite (Xiong 1996, 278-79). This again shows how, especially in the high Tang, Daoism inspired numerous ritual changes in official sacrifices and ceremonies.

MONASTICISM, as noted earlier in this volume (see "The Northern Celestial Masters"), developed gradually in the fifth and sixth centuries. By the Tang it was solidly in place as a key form of organized and state-sponsored Daoist practice. Daoist monasteries were classified along with Buddhist monastic organizations and were tightly regulated by the state. This can be seen from two sets of sources, one a special code on the clergy known as the *Daoseng ke* 道僧科 (Rules for Daoists and Buddhists) of the year 637, and the other several Tang legal codes, such as the *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (Six Departments of the Tang) and the *Tanglü shuyi* 唐律疏義 (Supplementary Intepretations of Tang Laws). The former, unfortunately, is lost but can be recovered partially from its Japanese counterpart, the *Shōmi ryō*

僧尼律 (Regulations for Monks and Nuns), written also in the seventh century (Ch'en 1973, 95).

As Kenneth Ch'en describes in his analysis of these sources, if recluses partook of improper foods or liquor they could be condemned to hard labor; if they wore clothes of silk or aristocratic colors, they could be defrocked or sent to hard labor; and if they stole or desecrated sacred objects, they could be punished by imprisonment, hard labor, or exile. Again, monks or nuns engaged in fortune telling and faith healing on penalty of reversion to lay status. If they still continued their charlatanery, they might suffer strangulation. In general they were to be handed over to the secular authorities for all serious crimes, especially robbery and murder (Ch'en 1973, 96-102). Ordained recluses were not supposed to ride horses, possess military books, form cliques, solicit guests, stay for more than three days among lay families, participate in musical or other entertainments or behave in any way rudely or abusively to elders or those of higher rank (Ch'en 1973, 102-3).

Monasteries of the two religions came in all shapes and sizes, from the tiny mountain huts through local temples that housed a few recluses to large-scale institutions that were also landowners. These larger monasteries had important economic functions and were, by necessity, sponsored by the state or the aristocracy. We have two major sources on their layout: the *Fengdao kejie* 奉道科戒 (Rules and Precepts on Worshiping the Dao, CT 1125, Dunhuang mss., 6 j.; see "Ordination and *Zhai* Rituals") and the *Shangqing daolei shixiang* (see above), both of the seventh century. They describe monasteries constructed on a central north-south axis, in due accordance with standard Chinese architectural principles, and consisting of three levels of buildings. At their very heart, aligned to the central axis and directly inside the main gate was an open space for the erection of an altar platform (used at ordinations and major ceremonies), a sanctuary of the Heavenly Worthies, a patriarchs' hall, a scriptural lecture hall, a bell pavilion and a scripture tower. Surrounding these, immediately on the left and right (west and east), were buildings of practical necessity dedicated specifically to the recluses. They included dormitories, meditation facilities, kitchens, refectory, bathhouse, and scriptorium.

Beyond these, in a second level of monastic organization, there were more practical buildings which not only housed and catered to the recluses but also involved various numbers of lay supporters and outside visitors. Here we find servants' quarters, carriage houses, stables, visitors' residences, and workshops of various sorts (woodworking, statuary, paper making) as well as a number of secondary practice facilities such as pavilions for solitary meditation, oratories and visualization chambers. Here too are found an Ascension Building (*shengxia yuan* 昇霞院) for the dying and an Incense Building (*shaoxiang yuan* 燒香院) for funerals and memorial services (*Fengdao*

kejie 1.17b). A third level beyond these was even more mundane and included an herb garden, orchard and vegetable plots, as well as agricultural estates and water mills, the so-called fixed assets (*changzhu* 常住) of the institution (see Gernet 1995, 67). The texts specify that all fruits and flowers to be presented in offerings, as well as all vegetables used in meals, should be grown locally within the sacred compound (1.18b-19a). They also insist that monasteries earn regular income from their various fixed assets, pieces of land and machinery that belonged fully to the institution, complete with serfs and official contracts (see Gernet 1995, 149).

Inside the monastery, rules of celibacy, poverty, obedience and general self-control applied. The formalities to be followed, be it the observation of personal poverty and self-discipline in all daily activies (including highly ritualized meals), or the polite rules in contact with the teacher, other recluses and outsiders, are all described in a number of Tang documents, including again the *Fengdao kejie* mentioned earlier. Another important work is the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Notes on Essential Rules, Observances, Precepts, and Statutes, CT 463, 16 j.), a major ritual compendium of the eighth century written by Zhu Junxu 朱君绪, *zi* Faman 法滿, of the Yuqing guan 玉清觀 (Jade Clarity Abbey). This is described in this volume's chapter on "Ordination and *Zhai* Rituals."

Another work is the *Xuanmen shishi weiyi* 玄門十事威儀 (Ten Items of Dignified Observances of the Gate to the Mystery, CT 792, 17 pp.), of the mid-seventh century. This contains formal instructions in ten sections and 144 entries, discussing concrete activities, such as prostrations and obeisances (for contemporaneous Buddhist practices, see Reinders 1997), sitting and rising, washing the hands and rinsing the mouth, handling food and dishes and having audiences with the masters (see Kohn 2000). Another text, slightly earlier, is the *Qianzhen ke* 千真科 (Rules of the Thousand Perfected, CT 1410; see Ren and Zhong 1991, 1119-20), which has 109 rules that cover the interaction between recluses and outsiders, precepts against intoxication, sexual misconduct, and material greed, the mental attitudes to be cultivated in day-to-day life, formal obeisances and greetings and formalities regarding food and food offerings.

The picture that emerges from these sources is of a thoroughly organized and disciplined monastic community, which followed the rules laid down by the state and observed highly ritualized forms of behavior on a day-to-day basis. They served the Dao and sought its realization through both ritual and self-cultivation. Monasteries seem to have been largely segregated under the Tang, unlike earlier centers which were double houses for both men and women and which even allowed the presence of family members. The recluses rose through a sophisticated hierarchy of ordination, reaching different ranks of ritual competence and celestial status (see Benn 1991). These ranks may or may not have included administrative

responsibilities and specific tasks within the monastic community, roles like those of abbot, prior, cellarer, infirmarian and so on. Tang texts remain entirely silent about interior administration, and Daoist monastic hierarchies do not appear in the sources until the texts of Complete Perfection in the Yuan.

POPULAR PRACTICES. Outside the state and organized religious structures, Daoist practice also occured on the popular level. Not much can be said about this, since sources are scarcer here than on other topics. However, two sets of facts do appear. First, there are increasing numbers of Daoist works and deities dedicated to the needs of ordinary people and to providing support and talismans for several ordinary activies. Second, miracles involving Daoist sites and deities are recorded with greater frequency, and they involve not only high-ranking officials and priests but also perfectly ordinary people. Also, they occur not only in major religious centers and the environments of the two capitals, but also in many different parts of the country, reflecting the growing importance of the periphery for the religion's development.

Daoist support for ordinary activities is found in a new group of dieties that grows significantly in popular worship under the Tang, the Ten Worthies Who Save From Suffering (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊). Belief in this group developed through the adaptation of the Buddhist concept of the buddhas of the ten directions, which appears in Mahâyâna scriptures from an early time, and the idea of savior bodhisattvas, such as Guanyin 觀音, Dizang 地藏, and Wenzhu 文珠(Yûsa 1989, 19). In Daoism, they appear first in the *Yinyuan jing* 因緣經 (Scripture of Karmic Retribution, CT 336) of the Sui dynasty, where their names are still rather Buddhist in nature, including titles such as "Great Compassion," "Universal Rescue," and "Wisdom Transformation" (6.4ab). Later, they are listed in their more Daoist and later standard version in the *Fengdao kejie* (6.1ab), reflecting the development and increased Daoization of their cult in the early Tang. A third list, only found after the Tang, links the Ten Worthies with the ten kings of hell and includes their worship in memorial services for the salvation of the dead (see Teiser 1994, 226-27, after CT 215; Yôsa 1989). It is clear from Du Guangting's *Daojiao lingyan ji* that the belief in the ten gods played an important part in Daoist popular practice under the Tang.

In addition to providing more popular deities, Daoism of the period also furnished sets of spells and talismans and other means of practical help for the common people. One set of spells concerns particularly the building of houses and other facilities, and is found in the *Anzhai bayang jing* 安宅八陽經 (Scripture on Building a Safe Home [without Offending] the Eight Yang Energies, CT 634, 2 pp.) and the *Buxie bayang jing* 補謝八陽經 (Scripture on Compensating the Eight Yang Energies, CT 635, 2 pp.). They are matched by apocryphal Buddhist texts of similar titles (T. 1394 and 2897), which go

back at least to the early Tang; one of them appears among Dunhuang manuscripts (S. 5373) and is listed in a Japanese bibliography of the year 761 (see Masuo 1994; 1998; Kohn 1998c).

The texts begin by warning practitioners that whatever building they may erect, "an eastern corridor, a western hallway, a southern chamber, or a northern hall "(T. 1394), or even a well, a carriage house, or a stable for one's livestock (CT 634, 1a), they are bound to offend the gods of earth and sky. In order to protect themselves against the gods' revenge, they must recite the scripture with its powerful spells to offer apologies to the spirits and make the demons "hide in darkness, scatter into far corners of the four directions, and never dare to do any harm" (CT 634, 1b; T. 2897; Masuo 1994, 395; Kohn 1998c). Not only will one's estate, including even granaries, cattle pens, chicken coops, stables, and gardens be freed from harm (CT 634, 1b), they will be blessed with good fortune, yin and yang will rise in harmony and the dragon deities of the earth will be well contented (2a). This state, in turn, will afford blessings for one's descendents, community, and the country at large (CT 635, 1b). A similar text is the *Zhenzhai lingfu* 鎮宅靈符 (Numinous Talisman for the Protection of Residences), which deals with geomantic ways of building and securing houses and has been found at Dunhuang (S. 6094; see Yûsa 1981). The works show not only a continued close interaction of Daoism and Buddhism on all levels of doctrine and practice, but also an increasing documentation of Daoist concern for popular needs and activities.

The other aspect of popular Daoist practice described in the sources are miracles worked at Daoist sites and/or through Daoist deities. Notable here is Du Guangting's *Daojiao lingyan ji* (CT 590), whose description of wonders associated with Lord Lao (j. 6-7) reports on events in various different locations, including Sichuan, Du Guangting's own place of residence, the capital Chang'an and its environments, Zhejiang and the Great Lake area (Kohn 1998c). They describe wondrous events in connection with a statue or painting, appearances of the god in emergencies, prophecies granted and rewards for meticulous worship. All of these cases involve commoners or petty officials rather than bureaucrats or clergy.

To give a few examples, the image of Lord Lao in the Lingji guan 靈集觀 (Abbey of the Numinous Assembly) in Changming 昌明 (Sichuan) defended itself successfully against theft. While the images of its two attendants were snatched by a father-son team and melted down for personal gain, the Lord's image managed to abscond in time and take itself to the neighboring Anqi guan 安期觀 (Abbey of Master Anqi) about five miles away. Here the resident monks discovered it sitting in front of the main gate. They installed it properly and in due course learned of its original whereabouts (6.6b). Another case involved Jia Xiang 賈湘, a commoner living in Chang'an, who, together with his family, was rescued from certain

death at the hand of Huang Chao 黃巢 and his rebels because he never tired of worshipping the image of Lord Lao.(7.1a; Verellen 1989, 78-79). Then again there was Gou Daorong 句道榮, a poor sculptor who wished nothing more than to fashion a gold image of Lord Lao but lacked the means. Lo and behold, while praying to the god, a wind arose and drifted some wondrous pollen on the ground before him, which changed into the precious metal (7.9a).

Together with the various sources on talismans and the flourishing worship of the Ten Worthies, these cases document the active Daoist worship undertaken by ordinary people and the helpful presence of key Daoist deities while they faced their daily plights.

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