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## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

### DAOISM IN THE QING (1644-1911)

MONICA ESPOSITO

#### DESCRIPTION

Daoism in the Qing dynasty displays three characteristics: a strong state control, an increase in lay activities and a tendency toward unification and standardization among the Daoist schools. Following their Ming predecessors, Qing rulers strove to establish tight **state control** over all religious organizations. To this end, they imposed legal limits on the size of the clergy, restricted the number of sanctioned monasteries and temples, and controlled the scope of all religious activities. Thus "abbots, priest and nuns were always subject to indirect state supervision and remained at the beck and call of the emperor and his agents" (Smith 1990, 293). As under the Ming, religious administration was a function of the Board of Rites (*libu* 禮部), one of the six boards of the central administration. Within it, Daoism was specifically governed by the Daolu si 道錄司 (Central Daoist Registry), "a central government agency responsible for certifying and disciplining Daoist religious practitioners throughout the empire" (Hucker 1985, 489). It controlled appropriate boards and officers on the provincial, departmental, prefectural and county levels (*Daqing huidian* 248.16a). These official committees tended to be more concerned with upholding laws and rules than with the spiritual guidance or religious activities of the people (Yang 1961).

The Qing rulers personally venerated Tibetan Buddhism, and under emperor Qianlong the Gelugpa school became the state religion. As official doctrine they adopted the **Neo-Confucianism** of the Cheng-Zhu school, using it both for imperially endorsed rituals and as the basis of the examination system (Liu 1993, 298). Daoists were progressively marginalized by their lack of moral authority and decreasing numbers, and priests lived in isolated monasteries and came in contact with secular society only during the performance of religious services for individuals or groups. Even in these, however, they were often replaced by trade guilds, local elites or other groups. Like Buddhists, they had local associations, but they lacked

a strong religious structure, had inadequate financial support and, incapable of controlling resources, did not participate in charitable works.

As a result, Daoists were not prominent in the society and suffered from the generally low status of the clergy which, exonerated from taxes, was considered unproductive and a burden to state coffers. This low status "deterred many intellectuals from taking the vow, depriving institutional religion of a supply of educated leadership" (Yang 1961). It also weakened the structural position of clerical religions and promoted the organization of a laity outside of religious channels. Many functions once filled by clerics were now taken over by local magistrates in cooperation with the gentry and merchants—as described especially in local gazetteers (see Taylor 1995). Large numbers of people who felt the need for a religious life became secular devotees or joined new forms of sectarian groups (Yang 1961).

This leads us to the second characteristic of Qing Daoism: **the growth of lay organizations and practices**. Apart from the low status of the clergy, this growth was also encouraged by imperial Confucianism, established by the Qing emperors on the model of their Ming predecessors, which was accompanied by bringing certain sections of the clergy into the civil service (Berling 1980, 47-48). It is interesting to note that one of the most celebrated laymen of the Manchu dynasty was Emperor Yongzheng who showed how one could combine the official functions associated with Confucian doctrine with a personal belief in Buddhism and Daoism. His support of the unity of the three teachings (*sanyiao heyi* 三教合一) encouraged increased lay practice, and promoted a lay religious life. Overall, during the Qing, then, the increase in the number of laymen was conversely proportional to the decline of religious specialists (see Bardol 1992).

At the same time, this increased lay activity encouraged new forms of popular and lay Daoism. They found expression in morality books, the revelation of precious scrolls and spirit-writing cults—all predominantly lay-centered, oriented toward popular religion and strongly inspired by Daoist beliefs and practices. There were local Daoist schools, spirit-writing groups and sectarian associations following Daoist teachings that were outside the range of imperial control and beyond the reach of the official arm of the clergy. They paved the way for the form Daoist popular practice still takes in China today.

Nonetheless, the Manchu emperors did create a state-controlled and well indoctrinated clergy, and this provided a certain uniformity and countered plurality and spontaneity among Daoist schools. This **movement toward unity** is the third characteristic of Qing Daoism. It was of capital importance for the formation of modern official Daoism, distinguished by a "standardization of schools." According to official sources, the Qing, as had the Ming, recognized only two schools, Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) and Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection; see *Daqing huadian*

248.16a). The latter, particularly under its Longmen 龍門 branch, standardized the northern and southern schools of inner alchemy and integrated so many aspects of Zhengyi doctrine that it became difficult to tell them apart (see Esposito 1993). However, in order to understand the specific character of Chinese religion, it is necessary to take into account the difference between the official version of events and what really happened. Under what can be called a trend of "Longmen standardization," a variety of Daoist schools continued to exist at the local level, but in order to survive they were sometimes obliged to claim descent from the Longmen lineage. This also applied to certain minor schools of inner alchemy, such as the Wu-Liu 伍柳 School, an eclectic group under the umbrella of Longmen that mixed inner alchemy with Huayan Buddhism, and the Jingming 淨明 (Pure Brightness) school which was linked to the immortal Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and incorporated certain aspects of Confucian doctrine.

In the following, I first present an outline of the history and major figures of some important Daoist schools of the Qing, then discuss new forms of doctrine and the impact of state control under the heading "Worldview," to turn to inner alchemy and spirit-writing under the heading "Practice."

**HISTORY. THE ZHENGYI SCHOOL.** The Zhengyi school of the Celestial Masters was the most officially recognized among Qing Daoist schools. It continued to exert significant religious influence on the Daolu si through its leader, the Celestial Master with headquarters on Mount Longhu 龍虎山 in Jiangxi. To perform his government function, he was given a staff of twenty-seven priests by the Board of Rites (see *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 115.3331).

In 1651, during the **Shunzhi era**, the 52nd Celestial Master Zhang Yingjing 張應京 was officially ordered to manage the Daoist religion. He was appointed specifically to prevent heretic religious influences. He was given the formal title "Great Perfected of the Hereditary Lineage of Orthodox Unity" (Zhengyi sijiao da zhenren 正一嗣教大真人) and equipped with a seal of the first rank (*Qingshi gao* 115.3331; *Bu tianshi shijia* 補天師世家, in Koyanagi 1934, 349). In 1655, the 53rd Celestial Master Zhang Hongren 張洪仁 (1624-1667) was invited to court and lived at the Lingyou gong 靈右宮 (Numinous Palace to the Right) in Beijing together with the highest officials (*Bu tianshi shijia*, in Koyanagi 1934, 350).

Emperor Shengzu of the **Kangxi era** (1662-1722) showed an even more positive attitude toward Daoism. In 1675 he invited the 54th Celestial Master Zhang Jizong 張繼宗 (1666-1715) to court and gave him a plaque with his Daoist name Bicheng 碧城 written in the emperor's own hand. Zhang was frequently asked to perform rain-making and flood-control rites, and in 1703 received the prestigious title "Grand Master of Splendid Happiness" (Guanglu dafu 光祿大夫). In 1713, he obtained imperial funds for the reconstruction of the halls on Mount Longhu (*Bu tianshi shijia*, in Koya-

nagi 1934, 350-51). After his death, he was succeeded by Zhang Xilin 張錫麟, *hao* Longhu zhuren 龍虎主人.

Emperor Shizong of the **Yongzheng era** (1723-1735) proposed the unity of the three teachings and, in the literary inquisition of 1772-1788, purged the country of all heterodox ideas. He was a firm believer in exorcism and the efficacy of rituals, and showed particular respect to the Celestial Masters while also offering lands to other religious groups. He gave Zhang Xilin the title "Grand Master of Splendid Happiness" and, in 1731, furnished funds for the reconstruction of the Shangqing gong 上清宮 (Great Clarity Palace) on Mount Longhu (*Bu tianshi shijia*, in Koyanagi 1934, 351).

This construction project occurred under the leadership of **Lou Jinyuan** 婁近垣 (1689-1776, *zi* Sanchen 三臣, *hao* Langzhai 朗齋, Shangqing waishi 上清外史 or "Inofficial Historian of Highest Clarity," from Lou 婁 district near modern Shanghai). Born into a family of Daoist priests, he joined the religion on Mount Longhu, where he studied with Zhou Dajing 周大經 and received both thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法) and talismans. In 1727, Lou joined Zhang Xilin on his journey to the capital and after the latter's death in Hangzhou complied with his last wishes that he serve the emperor with loyalty (*Bu tianshi shijia*, Koyanagi 1934, 351; *Chongxiu longhu shanzhi* 6.42a). In 1730, he successfully cured the emperor and obtained his favor, becoming abbot of the Qin'an dian 欽安殿 in the imperial palace and chief administrator of Mount Longhu with the nominal rank 4A. As Grand Minister (Dachen 大臣), he was put in charge of the reconstruction of the mountain sanctuaries (*Chongxiu longhu shanzhi* 1.6b-7a, 6.42b).

Later Lou was accepted into an elect circle of disciples to whom the emperor taught Buddhist sūtras (see Chen 1993). In 1733, he was formally installed in the Da guangming dian 大光明殿 (Palace of the Great Light; *Daqing huadian* 248.16b), a Daoist imperial office, and received the title "Perfected of Mysterious Orthodoxy" (Miaozheng zhenren 妙正真人; *Qingshi gao* 115.3332). Lou retained a high position at court even after the emperor's death and, in 1736, received the title "Grand Master of Thorough Counsel" (Tongyi dafu 通議大夫). He also became supervisor of the Daoist registry and abbot of Beijing's Dongyue miao 東嶽廟 (Temple of the Eastern Peak; see Chen 1993).

Lou's main work focused on the restoration of temples on Mount Longhu, about which he compiled the *Chongxiu longhu shanzhi* 重修龍虎山志 (Gazetteer on the Reconstruction of Mount Longhu, 16 j.). He also wrote a commentary to the *Zhuangzi* called *Nanhua jingzhu* 南華經注 and the *Tuxuan miaozheng zhenren yulu* 御選妙正真人語錄 (Imperially Selected Recorded Sayings of the Perfected of Mysterious Orthodoxy, in *Chongxiu longhu shanzhi* 11). In it Lou emphasizes the importance of the three teachings, into which he integrates Buddhist materials that he studied with

Emperor Shizong. Finally, he compiled an important collection of Daoist rituals entitled *Huang lu keyi* 黃錄科儀 (Yellow Register Liturgies, 12 j.).

Emperor Gaozong of the **Qianlong era** (1736-1795) supported Neo-Confucianism, encouraged the production of great encyclopedic literary works and sponsored the compilation of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Books in the Four Repositories). He promoted neither Buddhism nor Daoism but proclaimed the Gelugpa teaching as the state religion. His lack of Daoist interest is reflected in the *Siku quanshu*, which contains only 430 scrolls of Daoist works (Liu 1993, 301).

The two practitioners of inner alchemy that had been established previously at court, Zhang Taixu 張大虛 and Wang Dingqian 王定乾, were banished (Liu 1993, 301), and the Celestial Masters were no longer allowed to come to audience. Moreover, in 1752, as "Perfected of Orthodox Unity," they were demoted to nominal Rank 5 from Rank 3 and were forbidden to ask for titles (*Qingshi gao* 115.3332). The Celestial Masters thereafter had authority only over Mount Longhu; they no longer served as general administrators of Daoism and lost their supreme authority in Jiangnan. Furthermore, in 1742, the emperor stopped appointing Daoists to the position of Music Master (*taichang yueyuan* 太常樂員) at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang si* 太常寺, see Hucker 1985, 476) and instead gave it to Confucian officials (*Qingshi gao* 114.3285).

Under the **succeeding emperors**, however, Celestial Masters such as Zhang Qilong 張起隆 and Zhang Yu 張鈺 (58th and 59th), were allowed back at court and again received prestigious titles (*Bu tianshi shijia*, in Koyanagi 1934, 352-53). Nevertheless, the influence of Daoism continued to decline until, in the Daoguang period (1821-1850), the title "Perfected of Orthodox Unity" disappeared altogether and the relationship between the court and the Celestial Masters came to an end (Liu 1993, 302).

**THE QUANZHEN SCHOOL.** During the Qing dynasty the Quanzhen school enjoyed a renaissance, albeit one that would sputter out with the fall of the dynasty. The first upsurge began right at the end of Ming, when many Confucians and literati joined Quanzhen to show their loyalty to the Ming and their disappointment with the Manchu conquest. Although the Qing rulers gave all formal ritual and talismanic privileges to the Zhengyi school, they liked Quanzhen because of the strong discipline and moral rules that were the basis of its official doctrine. As its followers lived in monasteries and followed an ascetic and well-regulated conduct, the school conformed to government rules and thus regained some of the official and literati prestige it had once had under the Jin and Yuan. Its Longmen branch emerged as the leading group (Chen 1988).

The **Longmen branch** traces itself to a place called Longmen in Shaanxi, where Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1148-1227) retired to practice Daoism for seven more years. According to the *Jin'gai xindeng* (see below), although traditionally linked with Qiu, the Longmen school appeared much later, probably during the Ming (see Esposito 1993). It represents a late school of inner alchemy that cannot be traced back to northern Quanzhen alone. Rather, it combines the traditions of several local Daoist movements in south China. Although the purported historical origin and lineage of the school are full of contradictions (Esposito 1993; Mori 1994), it is nonetheless important because it was the most influential vehicle in the handing down of theories of inner alchemy. Even today, most Daoist temples in both north and south China claim to belong to this branch.

The established lineage of Longmen goes back to Wang Changyue, abbot of the **Baiyun guan** 白雲觀 (White Cloud Abbey) in Beijing in 1656. Even under the Ming the Baiyun guan was often visited by emperors in celebration of Qiu Chuji's birth, while the common people came to worship at his grave (see Hu Ying's Stele of 1444, in Koyanagi 1934, 124-28). In the Qing, the Baiyun guan had a dual role as a public monastery with a platform for formal ordinations and as the headquarters of the Longmen branch (see Yoshioka 1970; 1979).

Regarding the first role, the abbot of a public monastery was also the Master of Discipline who transmitted the precepts (*chuanjie lishi* 傳戒律師). Under Wang Changyue's supervision, that is, under the direction of the Longmen school, the Baiyun guan became a major training center for all kinds of Daoist schools, promoting a "standardization" of religious rules in conformity with the ruling Confucian ethics. The *Zhuzhen zongpai zongbu* 諸真宗派總簿 (Comprehensive Register of all Genuine Lineages; in Koyanagi 1934, 91) reveals that many schools accredited at the Baiyun guan differed in terms of their "lineage verse" (*paishi* 派詩). This was commonly used as a form of "ideogram genealogy" (*zipu* 字譜), with every Daoist belonging to a particular school receiving one of the verse's characters as part of his or her religious name (Yoshioka 1979). The official appointment of the Baiyun guan as agency overseeing the spiritual formation of all ordained Daoist priests (*shoujie zhe* 受戒者), independent of their various schools, was crucial to its widespread influence under the Qing.

The second role of the Baiyun guan was as headquarters of the Longmen school. Longmen first claimed supremacy over the Daoist priesthood in the north (just as the Celestial Masters did in the south). Then, helped by its official position as ordination monastery, the school extended its influence throughout China, creating a *de facto* "Longmen standardization" of Daoism. Many Daoist schools continued to maintain their diversity, but they were compelled to subsume themselves to Longmen, at least officially, to assure their survival.

The first Qing abbot of the Baiyun guan was **Wang Changyue** 王常月 (?-1680, orig. Wang Ping 王平, hao Kunyang 崑陽, from Lu'an 潯安 in Shanxi). In his early years, he travelled around famous mountains and, in 1628, met Zhao Fuyang 趙復陽 on Mount Wangwu 王屋山 (Shanxi). Zhao, a sixth-generation Longmen patriarch, gave Wang the Longmen precepts as well as the ordination name of Changyue, "Constant Through the Months," making him the seventh Longmen patriarch. For nine years, he studied the classics of the three teachings and visited many masters until he met Zhao once again, on Mount Jiugong 九宮山 (Hubei). Zhao predicted that Wang would become the main representative of Longmen at the Baiyun guan. In 1655, Wang went to live in the Lingyou gong in the capital, and one year later he indeed became abbot of the Baiyun guan. All this is reported in the *Jin'gai xinding* 金蓋心燈 (1.15a-17b) by Min Yide, a major source on Longmen history (see below).

As abbot, Wang reorganized Daoist religious precepts in accordance with Neo-Confucian ethics as supported by the Qing court. He divided them into three stages: (1) initial precepts of perfection (*chuzhen jie* 初真戒); (2) intermediate precepts (*zhongji jie* 中極戒); and (3) precepts of celestial immortality (*tianxian jie* 天仙戒). According to him, the precepts were an indispensable means to enlightenment and an important element in the education of the Daoist clergy. They represented a compromise between the aim of becoming a monk, inherited from Quanzhen Daoism, and the necessity to live in the world, following the social rules of Confucianism. This compromise constitutes the core of Longmen doctrine, as Wang explained in his *Biyuan tanjing* 碧苑壇經 (Platform Sūtra of the Jade Garden), a work influenced by the "Platform Sūtra" of the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng 慧能. It consists of discourses given by Wang during an ordination held at the Biyuan guan in Nanjing, and is contained in Min Yide's *Gu shuyin lou cangshu* (see below). It is also included in the modern collection *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 (Daoist Texts Outside the Canon; abbr. ZWDS; 6: 729-85) under the title *Longmen xinfa* 龍門心法 (Core Teachings of Longmen). The court approved of this concept because it encouraged Confucian morality and also because it drew on Chan Buddhist doctrines that were supported by the early Qing emperors (see Bardol 1992) as well as by many officials and men of culture (see Esposito 1993).

Wang also wrote a history of Quanzhen transmission entitled *Bojian* 鉢鑑 (Examination of the Bowl, maybe lost; see Esposito 1993; Mori 1994) and the *Chuzhen jielü* 初真戒律 (Initial Precepts and Codes of Perfection; in *Daozang jiyao* [DZJY] *changji* 7; ZWDS 12). The latter includes the *Nüzhen jujie* 女真九戒 (Nine Precepts for Women Perfected; see Despeux 1990). After Wang's death, the Kangxi Emperor gave him the posthumous title "Eminent Master who Embraces the One" (Baoyi gaoshi 抱一高師), and

ordered a sacrifice hall built with his portrait and a dispatch of officers to be present at a ceremony in his honor.

With Wang Changyue, the Longmen lineage was established and Longmen teachings began to spread throughout China. He ordained thousands of disciples in Beijing, Nanjing, Hangzhou and elsewhere (*Jin'gai xindeng* 1.15a-17b; Esposito 1993). Through him, Longmen became a key Daoist school of the Qing, one that remains active to the present day.

Another key patriarch of the school was **Min Yide** 閔一得 (1758-1836, orig. Min Tiaofu 閔若甫, *hao* Buzhi 補之, Xiaogen 小艮, *daohao* Lanyunzi 懶雲子 or "Master of the Lazy Clouds", from Wuxing 吳興, modern Huzhou 湖州 in Zhejiang). Min was the eleventh patriarch of the Longmen school on Mount Jin'gai and the founder of a group called Fangbian pai 方便派 (Skillful Means) in Shanghai. He came from a distinguished family and his father Min Genfu 閔艮甫 had passed the provincial examination in Henan (*Jin'gai xindeng* 8.1a).

In his early years, Min was very weak and his father brought him to the Tongbo gong 桐柏宮 (Cypress Temple) on Mount Tiantai 天台山 (Zhejiang), where Gao Dongli 高東籙 (? -1768), the 10th Longmen patriarch, cured him with Daoist gymnastics (*Jin'gai xindeng* 8.1a, 6a). Gao's disciple Shen Yibing 沈一炳 (1708-1786, *hao* Qingyun 輕雲; Taixu weng 太虛翁) then became Min's master and taught him the basic Longmen principles. Min later he recovered his health, finished his studies, and followed his father's wishes by becoming a departmental vice magistrate (Zhou sima 州司馬) in Yunnan. While there, in 1790, he allegedly encountered Jizu daoze 雞足道者 (Daoist of Chicken Foot Mountain), a semi-legendary figure who, himself a recipient of Longmen ordination, came to play an important role in Min's spiritual development (*Jin'gai xindeng* 6.1a-2b). Jizu daoze was later credited with having established a Longmen branch in Yunnan called Xizhu xinzong 西竺心宗 (Heart School of West India), a kind of Tantric-Daoist branch. Min claimed to have received two texts from him: the *Lǐzǔ sānni yìshì shuōshù* 呂祖三尼醫世說述 (Patriarch Lǐ's Explanation of the Three Sages' Doctrine of Salvation) and the *Foshuo chishi tuoluoni jīng* 佛說持世陀羅尼經 (*Vasu(n)dhārā-dhāraṇī*). Both are included in his *Gu shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書 (Collection from the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books; see below). Min also received a Dipper method which included the recitation of mantras based on their Sanskrit pronunciation.

Having become the eleventh patriarch of Longmen and an initiate of the West India branch, Min withdrew to Mount Jin'gai and devoted himself to writing the history of Longmen patriarchs and branches, paying particular attention to the local tradition. This work is the *Jin'gai xindeng* 金蓋心燈 (Transmission of the Heart-Lamp from Mount Jin'gai, 10 j.), an important source for Longmen history. Min also collected Longmen texts on inner

alchemy in his *Gu shuyin lou cangshu*, which is central to our understanding of Qing inner alchemical ideas and practices.

A contemporary of Min Yide was yet another eleventh Longmen patriarch who arose on Mount Qiyun 栖雲 (Gansu) and was named **Liu Yiming** 劉一明 (1734-1821, *hao* Wuyuanzi 悟元子 or "Master Awakening to the Prime," *Supu sanren* 素樸散人或 "The Simple Unemployed," *Beihe sanren* 被褐散人或 "The Unkempt Unemployed," from Pingyang 平陽 in Shanxi). What little we know about his life is gleaned from biographical notes in his extensive writings. Liu was apparently born into a rich family and studied the Confucian classics in his youth. However, he tells us in the preface to the *Wugen shujie* 無根樹解 (Explanation of "The Tree Without Roots" [poems by Zhang Sanfeng]), he soon developed a strong interest in inner alchemical poetry, especially that of Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰, and he dedicated himself to the study of perfection and the elucidation of inner alchemy. In his *Huixin waiji* 會心外集 (Outer Collection of the Encounters with the Mind), Liu recalls that he left his family and wife at the age of eighteen. In the prefaces to his *Wudao lu* 悟道錄 (Record of Awakening to the Path) he writes that sometime before turning twenty he suffered a terrible illness that no medicine could cure. Then, on his way to Nan'an 南安 (Gansu), he met Pengtou laoweng 蓬頭老翁 (Old Man of the Tousled Head) who gave him a powerful recipe that restored his health. This story is interesting because it follows a stereotyped paradigm: the seed of the quest for immortality is instilled in the adept during a long illness which seems incurable until, nearly desperate, he meets a superb master who gives him a miraculous drug. Liu writes that he was awakened to the Dao through his disease.

After his recovery, in 1760, Liu met Kangu laoren 龔谷老人 (Old Man of the Recessed Cavern) in Yuzhong 榆中 (Gansu). The latter, dressed in Confucian garb, unexpectedly transmitted to him the secret formulas of inner alchemy. Nevertheless, he still felt a need to search for further enlightened masters and deepen his quest for truth, and so he "roamed with the clouds," visiting Buddhist and Daoist masters north and south. During these years Liu acquired a deep knowledge of the three teachings and a thorough understanding of the significance of their classics. His efforts eventually led him to his longed-for encounter with a genuine master. In 1772, at the age of thirty-nine, Liu met Xianliu zhangren 仙留丈人 (Elder Remaining Immortal) who freed him from all of his doubts (Qing 1996: 157).

During the later part of his life, he withdrew to Mount Qiyun (Yunnan, Yuzhong district), where for twenty years he lived in the Chaoyuan guan 朝元觀 (Abbey of Worshipping the Prime), writing in a lodge called Zizai wu 自在窩 (Nest of Freedom). Here he also engaged in further self-cultivation and transmitted Daoist teachings to selected disciples. As a result, his fame

spread far and wide throughout northwest China (modern Shaanxi, Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia). Liu wrote numerous books, most of which are edited in a collection called *Daoshu shier zhong* 道書十二種 (Twelve Daoist Books; see below).

An earlier Daoist who claimed to be a Longmen adherent but is better known for his association with the so-called Wu-Liu school was **Wu Shouyang** 伍守陽 (see also "Daoism in the Ming"). According to his biography by Shen Zhaoding 申兆定 (fl. 1764), Wu Shouyang (ab. 1574-1644, *zi* Duanyang 端陽, *hao* Chongxuzi 沖虛子, from Nanchang) took up the life of a recluse and attained transcendence only at age seventy after his mother's death. He thought of himself as a disciple of the Longmen branch (Boltz 1987, 199), but this has not been undisputed. In his works, Wu claims a lineage connection to Cao Changhua 曹常化 (1562-1622, *hao* Huanyang 還陽), a disciple of Li Zhenyuan 李真元 (1525-1579, *hao* Xu'an 虛庵), who in turn studied with Zhang Jingxu 張靜虛 (b. 1432, *hao* Hupi 虎皮), a Longmen master associated with Mount Wudang 武當山 (*Xianfo hezong yulu*, DZJY *biji* 1.85a-86a; see Liu 1984, 186; Mori 1994, 193-95, 211).

According to another biography, by Min Yide (*Jin'gai xindeng* 2.1a-2b), Wu was linked to the eight Longmen generation through Zhao Fuyang 趙復陽, who persuaded him to seek instruction from Wang Changyue on Mount Wangwu (Shanxi). All of this suggests that Wu Shouyang's original affiliation to a local Longmen branch was obscured by the official, standardized Longmen claim that linked him with Wang Changyue (Esposito 1993; Mori 1994). Also, even though Min Yide's biography mentions Cao Changhua as Wu's master, it places their encounter several decades earlier, at the time when he fled to Mount Lu on the northern border of Jiangxi. Liu at this time received instruction in inner alchemy from Cao Changhua and from Li Niwan 李泥丸, alleged master of the five thunder rites (*wu leifa* 五雷法) who was located on Mount Jin'gai (see Esposito 1993). What Wu learned from Cao he then put into his *Tianxian zhengli* 天仙正理 (Proper Principles of Celestial Immortality, DZJY *biji* 4-5), after which he also wrote the *Wu zhenren dandao jiu pian* 伍真人丹道九篇 (Nine Chapters on the Alchemical Path by the Perfected Wu, DZJY *biji* 6). This latter work contains the instructions he gave while serving as tutor to the Prince of Ji, sometimes identified as Zhu Youlian 朱由櫟 (d. 1635; Boltz 1987, 200) Zhu Changchun 朱常淳 (d. 1618; Liu 1984, 208) or Zhu Cikui 朱慈燧 (Mori 1994, 191, 201).

Wu's name was later linked with that of Liu Huayang 柳華陽 (fl. 1736), a Chan monk and author of the *Huaming jing* 慧命經 (Book of Wisdom and Life, trl. Wilhelm 1929; Wong 1998), dat. 1794. Some of their works were published together under the title *Wu Liu xianzong* 伍柳仙宗 (Immortality Teachings of Wu and Liu), creating a lineage called the Wu-Liu school. Eclectic in character, this work drew on the inner alchemical traditions of

the Song and Yuan, joining them with Chan and Huayan Buddhism and presenting them in a readily comprehensible language inspired by Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist teachings as well as medical theories.

Another Qing school of inner alchemy was the WESTERN SCHOOL, also known as the Yinxian pai 隱仙派 or "Hidden Immortal School" or again as the Youlong pai 猶龍派 or "Like Unto a Dragon School" (see Wong 1988a). It flourished in Leshan 樂山 district (Sichuan) in the nineteenth century, and its main representative was Li Xiyue 李西月 (fl. 1796-1850, orig. Yuanzhi 元植, zi Pingquan 平泉, hao Changyi shanren 長乙山人 or "Hermit of Changyi," Zixia dong zhuren 紫霞洞主人 or "Master of Purple Clouds Cavern," Shibenzi 食本子 or "Eater of Books," Tuanyangzi 團陽子 or "Master of Round Yang;" see Wong 1988a, 1-62; Yokote 1994, 70). Li says that he received the name Xiyue from the immortal Lü Dongbin when they met on Mount Emei 峨眉山 (Sichuan) together with Zhang Sanfeng (*Daozang jinghua*, abbr. DZJH, 2-2). He regarded himself as a disciple of both masters and was particularly devoted to the collection and transmission of Zhang's alchemical teachings, compiling also the *Zhang Sanfeng quanji* 張三丰全集 (Complete Works of Zhang Sanfeng; see "Daoism under the Ming").

Among his works are also a commentary to the *Wugen shu* 無根樹 (The Tree Without Roots), a collection of poems attributed to Zhang Sanfeng (*Daoshu qizhong* 道書七種, DZJH 8) and a collection of exegeses to the *Taishang shisan jing* 太上十三經 (Thirteen Highest Classics; see below). Li further explains his alchemical theories in the *Daoqiao tan* 道竅談 (Discussion of the Opening of the Path) and the *Sandong bizhi* 三洞秘旨 (Secret Principles of the Three Vehicles), both edited by Chen Yingning 陳櫻寧 in the twentieth century (DZJH 2-2). In the latter text in particular, Li divides the alchemical firing process into three stages called the "three vehicles." The first is employed to transport vital energy (*qi* 氣) and corresponds to the microcosmic orbit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天); the second transports essence (*jing* 精) and corresponds to the circulation of the jade liquid (*yuye* 玉液); the third transports both essence and vital energy and corresponds to the macrocosmic orbit (*da zhoutian* 大周天; see Yokote 1994). The three vehicles clearly recall the Buddhist parable of the three carts, mentioned in the *Lotus sūtra* (Yokote 1994).

Li's alchemical theories overall reflect the tendency of the time to join the three teachings and clarify alchemical practices from a physiological viewpoint. His work is important because it sheds light on the teachings and history of the Western School associated with Zhang Sanfeng and other schools similarly linked with him.

The JINGMING SCHOOL, prominent under the Song and Yuan (see Akizuki 1978), continued under the Qing as part of the Longmen and the official Zhengyi legacies (see Chen 1990; 1991; Qing 1996, 126-29); it was

particularly associated with the well-known *Jinhua zongzhi* 金華宗旨 (Secret of the Golden Flower; trl. Wilhelm 1929; Cleary 1992). Having lost some lineage continuity, the school attempted to reconstruct itself with the help of spirit-writing, calling particularly upon the immortal Lü Dongbin (Esposito 1998a; 1998b; Mori 1998a; 1998b; forthcoming). A different perspective is found in the *Xiaoyao shan wanshou gong zhi* 逍遙山萬壽宮志 (Gazetteer of the Palace of Longevity on Mount Xiaoyao, j.13; ZWDS 20, 819-21). It says that Xu Shoucheng 徐守誠 (1632-1692) was the major patriarch of the school. He belonged to Longman in the eight generation and withdrew to Xishan (Jiangxi) to devote his life to the restoration of the local Jingming temple and the renewal of Jingming doctrine (Qing 1996, 127-28).

Another important representative of the school was **Fu Jinquan** 傅金銓 (b. 1765; zi Dingyun 鼎雲, hao Jiyizi 濟一子 or "Master Saving the One," Zuihua laoren 醉華老人 or "Old Man Drunk on Flowers, from Jinxi 金溪 in Jiangxi), whose work contributed greatly to the diffusion of Jingming teachings (Qing 1996, 194-208. Information about his life is scarce. He was born into a wealthy family and received a classical education, excelling in painting, music, calligraphy and other subjects (*Beixi lu*, ZWDS 11.1). He travelled in Jiangxi, Jiangsu and Hunan and, in 1817, moved to Sichuan where he transmitted his teachings (Qing 1994, 1: 399). Fu claimed to have obtained teachings from Lü Dongbin, but he also placed a high emphasis on Confucian values of filial piety and loyalty. His doctrines are reflected in his *Daoshu shiqi zhong* 道書十七種 (Seventeen Daoist Books, see below), in which he collected the dialogues of Liu Yu 劉玉, the original founder of the Jingming school, emphasized Confucian ethics and argued for the necessity of living in the world in accordance with moral and social rules. Fu is also the author of certain texts on women's inner alchemy (see Despeux 1990; Wile 1992) and of several commentaries on alchemical classics (ZWDS 11: 745-861).

## TEXTS

**CANONS.** *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (Epitome of the Daoist Canon), dat. 19th c. The main edition of this text is the *Chongkan dao zang jiyao* (Reedited Epitome of the Daoist Canon), which was compiled in 1906 under the supervision of abbot Yan Yonghe 閻永和, with the help of Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 and He Longxiang 賀龍驤. It was based on the version stored at the Erxian'an 二仙庵 (Hermitage of the Two Immortals) in Chengdu after a fire destroyed the original blocks in 1892. (Repr.: Taipei: Kaoheng, 1971; Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1977; Chengdu: Erxian'an, 1986 [see Chen 1987; Ding 1996].)

This canon collects Daoist texts not only from the *Daozang* but also from private collections, libraries and temples of the Ming and Qing. Its origins are somewhat obscure. According to the preface of the Erxian'an edition, Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719) first compiled it during the Kangxi era (1662-1722; see Wong 1982, 3-4; Qing 1996, 453-54), but this seems historically unlikely, as Liu Ts'un-yan has shown (1973, 107-8). Another account is found in a gloss to the list of contents of the *Daozang jiyao* (*Daozang jiyao zongmu* 總目) as contained in the *Daozang jinghua lu* (repr. 1989, 1: 1a-8a), where the compilation is attributed to Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲 (1755-1819, zi Yuan-ting 元庭) and dated to the Jiaqing era (1796-1820). According to this gloss, Jiang had the printing blocks engraved in Beijing and then delivered them back to the south. However, soon after his return north, he died in Beijing, and for this reason only a few copies of this edition circulated (Wong 1982, 5-6; Yoshioka 1955, 176; Liu 1973, 108; Ding 1996, 216-18). One copy, the property of Yan Yanfeng 嚴雁峰, was preserved in the Sichuan provincial library in Chengdu and formed the basis for a later Erxian'an reedition (Ding 1996, 216).

The collection has various prefaces compiled through spirit-writing at the Altar of Awakening (*juetan* 覺壇) where Jiang Yupu and his companions worshiped. The prefaces include clear instructions by Lü Dongbin to these Daoists that they should edit and publish the compilation (Ding 1996, 216-17; Esposito 1998a, 11-12; 1998b; Mori 1998b, 18-19). The fact that they date from the Jiaqing era, matching the time when Jiang Yupu supposedly compiled it, supports his being the original editor. The contents of the *Daozang jiyao* are mostly texts on inner alchemy, allegedly received through spirit-writing. They shed light on the popularity of this practice as well as on the cult of the immortals, especially that of Lü Dongbin (see Katz 1996). It is a fundamental source on the cults, schools, doctrines and practices of Ming and Qing Daoism.

*Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 (Record of Essential Blossoms of the Daoist Canon, 100 texts, 10 sects.), by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874-1952, zi Shouyizi 守一子), ed. Shanghai: Yixue, 1922; Zhejiang guji, 1989. This consists mostly of works from the *Daozang* and the *Daozang jiyao* on inner alchemy and nourishing life, but it also contains some biographical notes, doctrinal statements and ritual texts. It continues earlier encyclopedias, such as the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Tablets in a Cloudy Satchel) and the *Xuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection), and includes important Ming-Qing inner alchemical texts. Each of these texts is accompanied by a brief abstract and notes on its origin.

INNER ALCHEMICAL COLLECTIONS. *Wu Liu xianzong* 伍柳仙宗 (Immortality Teachings of Wu and Liu, 4 texts), edited by Deng Huiji 鄧徽績, dat. 1897. This collection begins with two texts by Wu Shouyang. The first text, the *Tianxian zhengli* 天仙正理 (Proper Principles of Ce-

lestial Immortality; also in DZJY *biji* 4-5), has two sections entitled "Simple Explanations" (*qianshuo* 淺說) and "Forthright Discourses" (*zhilun* 旨論). The first contains the alchemical teachings Wu received from Cao Changhua, with a commentary by his brother Wu Shouxu 伍守虛 (*zi* Zhenyang 真陽). The second section consists of nine essays dealing with vital energy Before and After Heaven, basic medicines, the alchemical cauldron, the firing process, refining the self, laying the foundations, refining the medicine, controlling the energy and embryo respiration. Each essay contains a saying by master Wu with extensive annotation by Wu Shouxu, and the second section concludes with a note on the origin of the nine essays and a more general postface.

The second text of the collection is the *Xianfo hezong yulu* 仙佛合宗 語錄 (Recorded Sayings on the Common Tradition of Daoism and Buddhism, also DZJY *biji* 6; 1; 2.1a-25a; 3.31b-39b), which contains questions and answers of Wu's disciples. The main theme of this text is the pursuit of transcendence as analogous to the attainment of Buddhahood, a theme probably also central in an earlier text, the *Xianfo tongyuan* 仙佛同源 (Common Origins of Daoism and Buddhism, lost) by Zhao Youqin 趙友欽 (fl. 1329; see Boltz 1987, 201). Wu's text is interesting because it provides a concrete explanation on how to distinguish reality from illusion, how to realize instantaneousness in the regulation of the firing process and how to understand key terms, such as *zhenyi* 真意 (true intention) and *shouzhong* 守中 (guarding the center).

The third and fourth texts of the *Wu Liu xianzong* are by Liu Huayang. The third is his *Huiming jing* 慧命經 (Book of Wisdom and Life), dat. 1794 (trl. Wilhelm 1929; Wong 1998), with a preface containing biographical notes on the author. The first part of the text includes and explains a series of eight illustrations on inner alchemical practice, while the remainder presents various related theories.

The fourth and final text of the collection is the *Jinxian zhenglun* 金仙証論 (A Testimony to Golden Immortality, dat. 1799), written at the Renshou si 仁壽寺 (Temple of Humane Life) in Beijing. It is divided into eighteen sections, the first six of which concern the practice of the microcosmic orbit and the refinement of *jing* and *qi*. Section 7 focuses on the moment of production of the small medicine, that is, the experience of instantaneousness in the firing process, which is the starting point of the second stage of refining *qi* and *shen*. Later sections discuss the foundation of real practice and the difference between the different orbits (sect. 11). The last third of the text deals with the right vision of discernment and the path leading to the third stage, culminating in a section entitled "Resolving Doubts" (*juji* 決疑) and presenting questions by Liu's disciples. The text ends with a supplement called "On Dangers" (*weixian shuo* 危險說) that explains obstacles to the practice, such as the incursion of discursive

thoughts, the erroneous understanding of the principles and the fall into heterodox paths.

**Daoshu shiqi zhong** 道書十七種 (Seventeen Daoist Books, 17 texts), by Fu Jinquan 傅金鎔 of the Daoguang era (1796-1850), ed. Shudong shancheng tang, 1825 (see Needham et al. 1983, 5:5, 231, 240-43); Guangling guji, 1993; ZWDS 11. These seventeen texts can be divided into three groups: (1) exegeses by Fu Jinquan; (2) texts written by Fu Jinquan; (3) texts written by other authors.

The first group contains Fu's commentaries on texts associated with Lü Dongbin, such as the *Lüzū wupian* 呂祖五篇 (Five Compositions of Patriarch Lü) and the *Duren tijing* 度人頌 (The Gradual Path of Universal Salvation), dat. 1815.

The second group contains eight works by Fu Jinquan 傅金鎔: *Xingtian zhenggu* 性天正鵠 (Striking the Center of Celestial Nature's Target), on Jingming practice;

*Daohai jinliang* 道海津梁 (Bridge of the Sea of the Path), on Jingming practice;

*Chishui yin* 赤水音 (Songs on the Red Water), poetry on alchemy;

*Yiguan zhenji yijian lu* 一貫真機易簡錄 (Simple Notes on the Mechanism That Unifies All), prose on alchemy;

*Xinxue* 心學 (Study of the Heart), syncretistic teachings;

*Beixi ji* 懷溪集 (Collection from Bei Mountain Stream), collection of poems;

*Ziti suohua* 自題所畫 (Painting Inscriptions), poems and art inscriptions.

The third group has works by various Daoist masters and schools. These include the *Qiaoyang jing* 樵陽經, which also contains the *Qiaoyangzi yulu* (Recorded Sayings of Master Qiaoyang [Liu Yu]) and other early texts related to the Jingming school; the *Sanfeng danjue* 三丰丹訣 (Sanfeng's Alchemical Formulas), which includes various texts attributed to Zhang Sanfeng; and the *Qiu Zu quan shu* 邱祖全書 (Complete Works of Patriarch Qiu [Chuji]), which has the recorded sayings of Patriarch Qiu (see Mori 1998c). According to Pan Jingguan 潘靜觀, a Longmen disciple, this text was preserved by Zhang Bixu 張碧虛, a disciple of Qiu (see his *Yulu houxu* 語錄後序 [Postface to the Recorded Sayings], dat. 1815).

The collection also presents the *Tianxian zhilun* 天仙旨論 (Fortright Discourses on Celestial Immortality) by Wu Shouyang of the Wu-Liu school under the title *Nei jindan* 內金丹 (Inner Golden Elixir), and it contains a number of texts on operative alchemy, attributed to Guangchengzi 廣成子, Ge Xuan 葛玄, Liu An 劉安 and others under the title *Wai jindan* 外金丹 (Outer Golden Elixir). As a whole, it is useful for the study of late Jingming thought and provides a better knowledge of the Longmen school as well as of inner alchemical theory in the Ming and Qing.

***Gu shuyinlou cangshu*** 古書隱樓藏書 (Collection from the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books, 35 texts, 14 vols.), by Min Yide 閔一得, was collected in the Chunyang gong 純陽宮 (Palace of Master Chunyang [Lü Dongbin]) on Mount Jin'gai and first edited in 1834. It was reedited variously (see Qing 1996, 116). The 1904 edition was reprinted by Guangling guji in 1993. Twenty-three texts of the collection, mostly inner alchemical texts and commentaries, also appear in the *Daozang xubian* 道藏續編 (Supplementary Collection of Daoist Canon), first edited on Mount Jin'gai in 1834 and since then reprinted variously: Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1952; Beijing: Haiyang, 1989; Beijing: Shumu wenxian, 1993 (see Esposito 1992; 1993).

The texts contained in the *Gu shuyinlou cangshu* can be divided into three groups: (1) commentaries or texts revised by Min Yide or other masters; (2) texts written by Min himself; (3) texts written by other masters.

The first group contains Min's notes on a number of established texts, including the *Xiuzhen biannan* 修真辨難 (Debate on the Cultivation of Perfection), by Liu Yiming; the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on Joining with Obscurity), by Li Quan 李筌; the *Jindan sibaizi* 金丹四百字 (Four-hundred Words on the Golden Elixir), by Zhang Boduan 張伯端, with commentary by Peng Haogu 彭好古 and revised by Min Yanglin 閔陽林 (Min Yide comments only on the preface); and Min's full notes on the *Xiuxian bianhua lun* 修仙辨惑論 (On Doubts Concerning the Cultivation of Immortality), by Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾, under the title *Guankui bian* 管窺編 (A Personal Lecture).

Also included are Min's annotations and revisions of hitherto unpublished manuscripts that had been stored in different temples. These include the *Huangji hepi zhengdao xianjing* 皇極闡經證道仙經 (Immortals' Scripture Testifying to Opening and Closing the August Ultimate) and the *Liaoyang dian wenda bian* 廖陽殿問答編 (Questions and Answers from the Liaoyang Hall). Both are manuscripts from the Qingyang gong 青羊宮 (Black Sheep Palace) in Chengdu that were transmitted by the semi-legendary Yin Pengtou 尹蓬頭 (*Daozang xubian* 1.7b; Esposito 1993). There is, in addition, a version of the *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* 太一金華宗旨 (Secret of the Golden Flower), revised by Longmen masters from Mount Jin'gai (Esposito 1993; 1996; Mori 1998a; forthcoming). Min also included a cycle of texts on the doctrine of healing the world, which he claimed to have received from Jizu daoze and his master Shen Yibing, and wrote a commentary on this subject under the title *Du yishi shuoshu guankui* 讀醫世說述管窺 (A Personal View on the Explanations of the Doctrine of Healing the World). The first part of the collection contains towards its end a cycle of texts on precepts, transmitted by Shen Yibing and compiled by Min Yide in the context of the cultivation of celestial immortality. Here also are two texts on women's inner alchemy and related moral rules (see Despeux 1990; Wile 1992;

Esposito 1993).

The second group of texts contains a number of Min's own works, such as the *Suyuan xu* 頤言續 (Sequel to an Ignorant Transmission), *Erlan xinhua* 二懶心話 (Heart-to-Heart Dialogue Between the Two Leisuredly [Masters]) and *Tianxian xinzhuan* 天仙心傳 (Heart Transmission of Celestial Immortality).

The third group contains works (1) of Confucian background, (2) materials associated with Zhang Sanfeng and (3) several Tantric or Buddhist-inspired works. Among the first, Confucian works, there are the *Jiuzheng lu* 就正錄 (Record of the Realization of Rectitude) and *Yu Lin Fenqian xiansheng shu* 與林奮千先生書 (Letter to Master Lin Fenqian), both by the Confucian Lu Shichen 陸世忱. Second, works associated with Zhang Sanfeng include the *Sanfeng zhenren xuantan quanji* 三丰真人玄譚全集 (Complete Collection of the Mysterious Words by the Perfected Sanfeng), attributed to Zhang Sanfeng. In the third group, there is a Tantric work, the *Chishi tuoluomi jing* 持世陀囉尼經 (Dhāraṇī for Supporting the World), which also appears to exist in a Tibetan version (see Esposito 1993) and Wang Changyue's *Biyuan tanjing*.

**Daoshu shier zhong** 道書十二種 (Twelve Daoist Books) by Liu Yiming 劉一明, editions: Changde (Hunan): Huguo'an, 1819; Shanghai: Yihua tang, 1880; Shanghai: Jiangdong shuju 1925; Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1983; Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao, 1990; ZWDS 8. This collection's materials can be divided into three groups: (1) Liu's commentaries on the *Yijing*; (2) Liu's commentaries on alchemical classics; (3) Liu's own works.

The first group contains two texts, the first being the *Zhouyi chanzhen* 周易闡真 (True Explanation of the "Changes," 4 j., pref. 1798, trl. Cleary 1986a). *Chanzhen* here means "authentic exegesis," and it concerns the explanation of truth inherent in the investigation of principles, the truth of the fulfillment of inner nature and understanding of the meaning of destiny. The first chapter has thirty diagrams on the *Yijing*, transmitted from the Song and Yuan, some of which are traditionally attributed to the Song master Chen Tuan 陳搏. The remaining three chapters contain a commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams as well as their individual lines. The second text of this group is the *Kongyi chanzhen* 孔易闡真 (True Explanation of the Confucian "Changes," two sects., no pref., trl. Cleary 1986a, 239-323). It contains an exegesis of the *Daxiang zhuan* 大象傳 (Commentary on General Images) and of the *Zagua zhuan* 雜卦傳 (Commentary on Miscellaneous Hexagrams).

The second group of texts presents Liu's commentaries on alchemical classics. Here we find his *Cantong qi zhizhi* 參同契直指 (Direct Pointers to "The Triplex Agreement," pref. 1799, Pregadio 1996, 83); *Wuzhen zhizhi* 悟真直指 (Direct Pointers to "Awakening to Perfection," pref. 1794, trl. Cleary 1987; see Miyakawa 1954); *Yinfu jing zhu* 陰符經註 (Commentary

on the Scripture on Joining with the Hidden, pref. 1779, trl. Cleary 1991, 220-38); *Huangting jingjie* 黃庭經解 (Explanations of the Yellow Court Scripture) and *Jindan sibaizi jie* 金丹四百字解 (Explanations of the Four Hundred Words on the Golden Elixir, pref. 1807, trl. Cleary 1986b). Liu compares the various classics and, with the help of the teachings he received from his Daoist masters, explains the meaning of their symbolic language and sheds light on their abstruse alchemical terminology. He thus offers an exegesis that cleverly mixes his knowledge of the three teachings with that from his alchemical and spiritual experiences.

The third group of texts in the *Daoshu shier zhong* contains eight texts in Liu's own hand. They begin with the *Xiyou yuanzhi* 西遊原旨 (The Original Meaning of the "Journey to the West," pref. 1778, 1798, trl. Yu 1991; Cleary 1991), a work midway between an alchemical exegesis and an independent work. It is an alchemical explanation of the novel *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West). Some Ming and Qing scholars, including Liu, erroneously attributed this work to Qiu Chuji and confused it with the record of his journey to Chinggis Khan, also entitled *Xiyou ji* (CT 1429). In his comments, Liu links the one-hundred chapters of the novel to secret alchemical practices and shows how they represent the true alchemical quest, a journey to perfection that takes place in the adept's body (Despeux 1985, 65-66, 70-72).

Next is the *Xiangyan poyi* 象言破疑 (Resolving Symbolic Language, 2 sects., pref. 1811, trl. Cleary 1986a: 51-118). Liu here presents seven diagrams to illustrate the natural process of human creation, which he divides into three stages: gestation, childhood and adulthood (see Li 1988, 554-558; Liu 1991, 237-239). A third text is the *Tongguan wen* 通關文 (Treatise on Going through the Passes, 2 sects., pref. 1812). It is related to the *Xiuzhen juyao* (see below) and its first section on "Seeing Through Things of the World." Liu here presents a list of fifty passes intended to prevent adepts from sinking into the ocean of wordly sufferings. Passes that have to be overcome include the pass of desire, the pass of affection, and the pass of honors. The list represents a series of stages of progressive awareness (see Li 1988, 559-60).

Fourth is the *Xiuzhen biannan* 修真辨難 (Debate on the Cultivation of Perfection, 2 sects., pref. 1798). This is a dialogue between master and disciples on various ways of attaining perfection. The fact that it is also contained in Min Yide's *Gu shuyin lou cangshu*, demonstrates the importance of Liu's ideas in Longmen teachings. Liu's fifth work contained here is the *Shenshi bafa* 神室八法 (Eight Elements of the Spiritual Abode, pref. 1798). The "spiritual abode" is a metaphor for the nature of the mind and thus for the basis of true alchemical cultivation. Liu presents a list of eight spiritual qualities needed as the basic materials for building one's spiritual abode:

firmness, flexibility, sincerity, trustfulness, temperance, peacefulness, emptiness and spiritual clarity (see Li 1988, 563-67).

The sixth text is the *Xiuzhen juyao* 修真九要 (Nine Principles in the Cultivation of Perfection, pref. 1798), which presents a list of nine principles matching nine stages of spiritual cultivation. They begin with "Seeing Through Things of the World" and continue on to "Realizing Destiny Through the Outer Medicine" and "Realizing Inner Nature Through the Inner Medicine" (see Li 1988, 559-63). This text is followed by the *Wudao lu* 悟道錄 (Record of Awakening to the Path, 2 sects., pref. 1810, 1811, trl. Cleary 1988), which contains Liu's cosmological theories. The text especially points out the indissoluble bond between macrocosm and microcosm and emphasizes the fundamental balance between yin and yang (see Li 1988, 559-63). The eighth and last text here is the *Huixin ji* 會心集 (Collection of Encounters of the Mind, 2 parts, 2 sects., pref. 1801). The first section of the inner part consists of poems in five and seven character verses, compositions of irregular verses and songs illustrating the alchemical path. The second section includes ten treatises, such as "Discussion of the Great Dao Going Back to the One," "Gathering the Medicine" and "The Firing Process." All are devoted to the explanation of alchemical practices. The first section of the outer part has poems, inscriptions and eulogies, while the second consists of songs and miscellaneous prose, including songs about "Women's Alchemy" and the "Debate on the Three Teachings."

**RITUAL TEXTS.** *Guangcheng yizhi* 廣成儀制 (Ritual Systematization of Master Guangcheng, 270 texts), by Chen Chongyuan 陳仲遠 (*hao* Yunfeng yuke 雲峰羽客 or "Feathered Guest of the Cloudy Peak"; see Qing 1996, 139, 465), editions: Chengdu: Erxian'an, 1911; repr. 1913; ZWDS 13-15. This work represents the most complete collection of liturgical Quanzhen texts. It includes texts used in Quanzhen temples, works on popular and regional cults (Yangzi valley, Sichuan) and materials on the rituals of other Daoist schools, such as the Lingbao and Qingwei, as they were standardized under to the Quanzhen model. The book is a valuable resource concerning the development and progressive standardization of Daoist ritual under Quanzhen canonization.

**Gazetteers.** *Chongxiu Longhu shanzhi* 重修龍虎山志 (Reedited Gazetteer of Mount Longhu, 16 j., pref. 1740), by Lou Jinyuan 婁近垣, editions: xylographic version in Shangqing gong on Mount Longhu; ZWDS 19: 419-636; *Daojiao wenxian* 2 (Taipei, Danqing tushu, 1983); Taipei: Guangwen shuju yinxing, 1989. The text describes the history of Mount Longhu and its temples, drawing upon an earlier record by Yuan Mingshan 元明善 (1269-1322; *Daojiao wenxian* 1) and following "what remained of a 10-ch. topography by the 43<sup>rd</sup> Celestial Master Zhang Yuzhu (1361-1410)" (Boltz 1987, 276 n.157). It begins in *juan* 1 with imperial decrees regarding

the mountain, the rebuilding of its temples, and the titles granted to its Celestial Masters, and includes certain biographical notes on its author.

*Juan* 2 describes the landscape surrounding Mount Longhu; *juan* 3-4 present its temples and hermitages; *juan* 5 cites relics of the past and gives information on its Buddhist temples; *juan* 6 contains biographies of Celestial Masters from Zhang Daoling to Zhang Xilin (55th); *juan* 7 has those of other local Zhengyi masters; *juan* 8 provides an account of imperial honorific titles conferred on the Celestial Masters and the transmission of seals since the early Ming; *juan* 9 deals with land donations made to the mountain; *juan* 10 through 16, finally, are comprised of artistic and literary works, recorded sayings, epigraphic sources, elegies, miscellanea and other materials. This gazetteer is an important resource for the history of the Celestial Masters and their relationship to Mount Longhu. It is of particular interest for the study of their development under the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Several other gazetteers were compiled during the Qing. One is the *Maoshan quanzhi* 茅山全志 (Complete Gazetteer on Mount Mao, 14 j., pref. 1669, repr. 1878), by Da Changuang 笪燾光, ed. ZWDS 19: 687-964. This text contains drawings of the mountain, reprints of epigraphic records such as stelae and temple inscriptions, relics of the past and biographies of local patriarchs and Maoshan masters from Wei Huacun 魏華存 to Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (fl. 1317-1328), 45<sup>th</sup> patriarch and author of the earlier *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 (Record of Maoshan, CT 304; see Boltz 1987, 103; Schafer 1980). The collection has important materials for the study of the Daoism associated with the mountain, including also a survey of overall historical and religious development from the Song to the late Ming.

*Huayue zhi* 華嶽志 (Gazetteer of Sacred Mount Hua), also known as *Huashan zhi* 華山志 (Gazetteer of Mount Hua, in 8 j., pref. 1821, 1831), by Li Rong 李榕, ed. ZWDS 20: 3-185. The compiler lived on the mountain for twenty years and presents a comprehensive collection of relevant drawings, relics, biographies, epigraphic sources, literary works and more. He relies heavily on earlier compilations, such as Wang Chuyi's 王處一 *Xiyue huashan zhi* 西嶽華山志 (Gazetteer of Mount Hua, the Western Peak, CT 307; see Boltz 1987, 107-9) and Li Shifang's 李時芳 *Huayue quanzhi* 華嶽全集 (Complete Collection on Mount Hua, 13 j.), supplemented by Ma Ming-qing 馬明卿 in 14 j. All of these use epigraphic sources and various other materials concerning the mountain, but the Qing-dynasty *Huayue zhi* constitutes the final version, combining information from all previous gazetteers.

*Xiaoyao shan wanshou gong zhi* 逍遙山萬壽宮志 (Gazetteer of Longevity Temple on Mount Xiaoyao, in 15 j., dat. 1878), by Jin Guixin 金桂馨 and Qi Fengyuan 漆逢源, ed. ZWDS 20: 653-977. This collection of materials on the Longevity Temple on Xishan (Jiangxi) contains important sources on the Xu Xun 許遜 cult and the Jingming school (see Akizuki

1978, 63-86).

**Jingdong zhi** 金鼓洞志 (Gazetteer of the Golden Drum Cavern, in 8 j., dat. 1796-1820), by Zhu Wenzao 朱文藻 upon request of Zhang Fuchun 張復純, the 14th patriarch of Longmen at the Helin gong 鶴林宮 (Crane Forest Palace) of the Jingdong. Editions: *Wulin zhanggu congbian* by Ding Bing 丁丙, dat. 1833 (Taipei: Jinghua, 1967); ZWDS 20: 189-299. The Helin Temple still exists as a Longmen center at the foot of Mount Zilong north of Qixia Peak in modern Hangzhou. It has been a Longmen temple since Zhou Mingyang 周明揚 (1628-1711). The text begins in *juan* 1 with a portrait of Lü Dongbin and four characters allegedly written in his own hand. *Juan* 2-3 contain a description of the local landscape and surrounding places, including travel notes and eulogies (also in j. 5). *Juan* 4 is devoted to, among other things, the history and development of the temple, and descriptions of its sanctuaries, halls, lay-out, and other features. *Juan* 7 has the names of related Longmen patriarchs, from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> generations, while *juan* 8 contains supplementary notes, epitaphs and biographies of ancient sages and eminent personages who lived there.

#### WORLDVIEW

**SYNCRETISM OF THE THREE TEACHINGS.** Late imperial China generally was characterized by unity and integration. This is evident in the thought of many philosophers of the time who developed theories and methods of self-cultivation that mixed Confucianism with Buddhism and Daoism. The unity of the three teachings shaped Ming and Qing society and was acclaimed by religious schools, sects and lay associations in the wider populace, the intellectual elite and even the emperors. Syncretism as a means to reconcile elements of different religious traditions was and still is central to Chinese religious life. Despite its flexibility, it tended to establish further levels of orthodoxy and thus, paradoxically, paved the way for more pronounced sectarian activities (see Berling 1980). Generally Ming and Qing rulers and their representatives were suspicious of any organized religious elements that did not support the "kingly way" and they persecuted all forms of religious and intellectual heterodoxy. The organized religions, therefore, had to adopt their own values to Confucian cultural norms. These norms were completely accepted not only by them (see Smith 1983) but also by various heterodox associations—the White Lotus 白蓮, for example, incorporated the six Confucian maxims of the first Ming emperor into its popular chant (see Naquin 1985).

Still, the two dynasties were not entirely alike. The Ming government saw the three teachings as a source of official legitimacy; the Qing, as a foreign dynasty, used them to emphasize the role of Neo-Confucianism in

contrast to Buddhism and Daoism. The Qing pursued complete control over all religious organizations and attempted to concentrate them around certain well-defined and well-controlled schools that were faithful to official policy. At the end of the Ming, the Confucian elite supported the syncretic movement and contributed to the propagation of the religious and intellectual theories of the three teachings (e.g., Wang Yangming, Lin Zhaoen, Wang Fuzhi). Many Qing scholars, by contrast, were shocked by the disastrous consequences of Ming despotism and felt it necessary to return to the source of the original Confucian spirit. They traced the Ming collapse and its cataclysm of 1644 to the empty speculations regarding the inner quest of sanctity that had begun in Song times. Accordingly, they adopted a pragmatic policy and strongly rejected Buddhist and Daoist doctrines (see Cheng 1997).

Thus, like the Ming dynasty, the Qing period was open to syncretic impulses, but in a more covert way. The Ming witnessed the spread of lay syncretistic associations, supported even by the ruling elite, and also the production of many religious and morality books that focused on meeting the needs of laymen and narrowing the gap between the people and the elite. The Qing, by contrast, cut all links with these associations and their publications because they were too independent of government control; they used morality pamphlets only to propagate models of social behavior and ethics that were consistent with Confucian doctrines. The Qing court was obsessed with ensuring subject-monarch loyalty on the basis of filial piety, and to that end they employed morality books and so-called "Sacred Edicts" as instruments of indoctrination. For example, the Kangxi emperor's "Sacred Edict" of 1670 was supposed to be read aloud by officials and village elders in public meetings in all rural localities. Even more publicized was the *Shengyu guangxun* 聖語廣訓 (Extensive Explanation of the "Sacred Edict"), an amplification of Kangxi's edict produced by his son, the Yongzheng emperor. It was published in a number of popularized versions, some of them written in local dialects (see Chang 1967; Mair 1985).

This phenomenon of widespread Confucian propaganda facilitated cultural integration and greater uniformity of norms. However, cultural integration was concomitant with cultural heterogeneity, and the late imperial period was characterized by not only uniformity and consensus, but also diversity and dissidence (Rawski 1985).

**CULTURAL INTEGRATION: STATE RITUAL AND THE STANDARDIZATION OF LOCAL CULTS.** The Qing dynasty placed great emphasis on imperial ritual (*li* 禮), in a manner compatible with Neo-Confucianism (see Zito 1997). They "copied the Ming system down to the smallest detail, often exceeding its dynastic predecessor in ceremonial exuberance" (Smith 1990, 285). The Qing emperors paid unprecedented homage to Confucius, and in the waning years of the dynasty, elevated his wor-

ship to the first level of state sacrifice, assuming that "the moral transformation of the people is the dynasty's first task and the regulations of ritual constitute the great item of moral transformation" (Smith 1990, 288). Important and distinctive ritual compilations were produced under imperial patronage, while ritual handbooks of various sorts circulated widely throughout the empire. Some of these were written for officials and scholars; others for literate commoners, including ritual specialists (Hayes 1985, 100-3).

Even though institutional Buddhism and Daoism had their own separate structures and sets of rituals, they—like all members of Chinese society—were expected to adhere at least to the basic elements of ceremonial behavior. Parallel to imperial ritual, Buddhist and Daoist priests, as well as various other ritual specialists, played a major role in local festivals and other rites that remained virtually independent of the state. Community leaders also acted as officiating priests and often replaced them, taking part in charitable works and assisting actively in the construction of approved temples. "Eager to cooperate with state authorities in the standardization of cults," local elites with interests in land and commerce saw their participation in such events as a way to "gentrify" themselves and their home communities (Watson 1985, 293). The process of cultural integration in late imperial China, then, also brought about greater religious uniformity. Unsanctioned local deities, although never completely eradicated, gradually disappeared, while new, officially recognized ones were installed. "The promotion of state-approved cults in south China was so successful that, by the mid-Qing, local gods had been effectively superseded by a handful of approved deities" (Watson 1985, 293). Different local cults could be joined under a single deity, thus serving the needs of various social classes while at the same time participating in the standardization of cults. Such was the case of Mazu 媽祖 to whom the Qing founder gave the title *Tianshang shengmu* 天上聖母 (Heavenly Saintly Mother), and who rose to the position of *Tianhou* 天后 (Empress of Heaven) in 1737 (see Wadlow 1992). The literati elite thus played an important role "by ensuring that religious cults conformed to nationally accepted models" (Watson 1985, 322).

**MORALITY BOOKS** (*shanshu* 善書). Parallel to the acceptance of more uniform religious symbols and deities, late imperial China also saw a remarkable multiplication of religious books written for non-elite groups. Their content was believed to have been revealed by deities in charge of rewards and punishments, and they were based on Confucian ethics mixed with the popular Buddhist concept of karma and Daoist beliefs in longevity and immortality. Their forerunner was the twelfth-century *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇 (Tract on Action and Response by the Most High, CT 1167). The text was printed first in 1164 and distributed by a Song emperor

to convey the message that good and bad fortune do not come without reason, and was reprinted many times (see Bell 1996). However, while this text and its early successors still focused on the workings of karma and other Buddhist values such as compassion and piety, texts published since the Ming placed a higher emphasis on practical moral teachings (see Yau 1999). One form of moral practice appeared in the so-called Ledgers of Merit and Demerit (*gongguo ge* 功過格; see Brokaw 1991), which measured each good or bad deed in assigned points and allowed a person to save accumulated good deeds to earn good fortune. 3,000 good deeds were believed to grant one a son, while 10,000 would allow one to pass the *jinshi* 進士 degree (see Berling 1985). Anyone, not just the educated elite, could become a virtuous sage if he or she could follow this practical science of moral cultivation. While for individuals these morality books were a concrete way of clarifying moral obligations and of calculating progress in moral cultivation, for the court printing them they served not only to accumulate merits but also to reinforce values that maintained societal stability under Qing rule.

**CULTURAL DIVERSITY: SECTARIAN RELIGION AND PRECIOUS SCROLLS.** Moral cultivation was also central to the practice of sectarian groups, but in their case the government saw it as a source of dissidence because it was propagated outside of orthodox vehicles of transmission. Early modern forms of sectarian activity appeared first in the Yuan in the form of lay Buddhist groups, which gradually integrated Daoist concepts and practices, such as healing, divination and exorcism, into their system (see Overmyer 1976; 1985). At the end of the Yuan, some of these groups became more militant, as can be seen in the case of the White Lotus, which changed from a passive devotional group into a millenarian movement (see ter Haar 1992).

Similarly, a new type of vernacular religious literature called *baojuan* 寶卷 (precious scrolls) appeared among sectarian groups under the Ming and Qing. Early examples contain vernacular discussions of orthodox Buddhist teachings composed by Buddhist monks; later works were authored by charismatic leaders of movements such as the Luo Menghong 羅教 (Teaching of Luo) and the Wuwei jiao 無為教 (Nonaction Religion), who used them to express their doctrines (see Overmyer 1985). The phenomenon grew in tandem with economic progress, population increase and the country's confrontation with Western traders—all social and economic changes which, by the mid-sixteenth century, had ushered in a new phase in China history.

The new religious groups were a social alternative to the institutionalized religions of the ruling monastic institutions and their temple-cults, which were controlled by the established elite. They drew their inspiration from Buddhism, Daoism and local oral traditions and spread widely, so that by the late Ming some were supported by court eunuchs, officials and their

wives (see Sawada 1957). The court at that time helped in the printing of *baojuan*, but under the Qing this support was cut off and the groups were forced underground (see Naquin 1976). The Qing elite and government despised the popular practices performed by Buddhist monks, Daoist priests and village spirit mediums, although they participated in the state cult and often patronized local temples, hiring Buddhist and Daoist professionals. The movements, then, found adherents less among the ruling elite than among the wider populace. By the eighteenth century they had become part of popular religion, absorbing deities like Guanyin, Confucius and Lord Lao into their pantheons. Popular deities thus became increasingly dominant, in contrast with earlier movements in which they had played only a secondary role.

The term "White Lotus sectarianism" has been proposed to subsume all mid-Qing religious groups that shared a new mythological framework and incorporated the Maitreyist goddess Wusheng laomu 無生老母 (Eternal Venerable Mother; see Naquin 1985). These groups usually focused either on sūtra-recitation or on meditation. Groups of the sūtra-recitation type adopted the ideal of Buddhist monkhood and developed an organizational structure concordant with congregational and devotional institutions; their main activity consisted of recitations of sūtras, *baojuan*, morality books and other religious texts. Mid-Qing examples of such groups, which also had literati followers, included the Luojiao and the Hongyang jiao 弘揚教 (Religion of Expansive Yang; see Overmyer 1978; Kelley 1982; Sawada 1957). Groups of the meditation type focused on contemplative practices, healing and martial arts; their organization consisted of personal networks and lacked any fixed structure (see Naquin 1976; Overmyer 1976).

The different orientation of these groups may have been the product of continuing conflict between elite lay Buddhists, observant of traditional forms, and religious groups outside the traditional monastic framework (see ter Haar 1992). Many sūtra-recitation groups, moreover, incorporated beliefs in Maitreya's coming and the Eternal Venerable Mother, so that a schism developed between them and the elite attached to lay Buddhism. Social changes further increased the difference, since, after the mid-Ming, families belonging to non-elite religious groups sometimes had members participating in examinations or in the educational system. This frightened the defenders of Confucian morality who, though they tolerated the monasteries, felt threatened by the non-elite religious groups.

By the late Ming, "the literati's practice of lay Buddhism became a difficult undertaking" (ter Haar 1992), a situation exacerbated by increased persecutions under the Qing. This governmental hostility, far from preventing the emergence of religious groups, contributed to their involvement in millenarian uprisings (see Naquin 1981). In another line of development,

by the mid-nineteenth century, religious groups merged with community structures, and entire villages adopted White Lotus leadership and techniques of self-defense. Ming and Qing editions of *baojuan* then came to be supplemented by spirit-writing scriptures as the basis of new sects.

## PRACTICE

SPIRIT-WRITING or planchette writing (*fúji* 扶乩) was a form of divination analogous to consultation of the *Yijing*, geomancy, astrology, fengshui, physiognomy and dream interpretation. The practice began in Tang times, with a cult in honor of Magu (see Chao 1942) and was structurally organized under the Song, but its origins go back to shamanic spirit possession. It centers on receiving automatically written messages transmitted by the spirits of gods, immortals or culture heroes who "take possession of a writing implement to compose what they will" (Jordan and Overmyer 1986). Spirit-writing was embraced by many literati not only as a means of predicting their lifespan, fortune and examination topics, but also to cure illness, bring rain and procure other necessities of life. Spirit-writing specialists or mediums appeared everywhere and in all social classes. Like professional fortune-tellers, they could predict disasters and provide medical advice in the form of charms or prescriptions (see Smith 1990).

Spirit-writing required several devices, beginning with an altar (*jitan* 乩壇) which, during the Ming and Qing, could be found in every prefectural and county capital (see Xu 1941). It was often located in religious temples, usually Daoist but sometimes also Buddhist, or also in association halls, domestic residences, aristocratic or imperial palaces. A special hall devoted to the practice (*luantang* 鸞堂) typically contained a square table (*xiang'an* 香案), on which was a tray (*jipan* 乩盤, *shapan* 砂盤) covered with sand or incense ashes, known as the planchette. This in turn was surmounted by a wooden T-shaped frame (*jijia* 乩架) made of peachwood or willow, which were believed to have demon-dispelling qualities. To its end was attached a sharp stick (*jibi* 乩筆), about two feet long, which had to have been cut from the southeastern side of a tree exposed to the yang influence of the rising sun on a day and at a time deemed auspicious (De Groot 1892-1910, 1321-22; Goyama 1994, 470). During the procedure, two mediums held (*fú* 扶) the two extremities of the instrument, hence the term *fúji* or "to support the divining instrument" (Smith 1991, 226). This was the most common term used in the early Qing, but there were others: *fúji* 扶箕 (supporting the sieve), *jiangluan* 降鸞 (descent of the phoenix), *fúluan* 扶鸞 (supporting the phoenix) and *feiluan* 飛鸞 (the flying phoenix; see Goyama 1994, 473-74; Jordan and Overmyer 1986).

Before inviting the spirit to descend into the stick devotees offered food or flowers, burned incense, drew talismans, recited incantations and underwent ceremonies of purification. As the spirit entered the stick it began to move automatically, tracing characters on the sand planchette. One person was in charge of reciting the characters (*changlun* 唱鸞) while another wrote them down (*lulun* 錄鸞).

Spirit-writing was highly popular in late imperial China and was practiced by some very illustrious scholar-officials and literati (see Xu 1941; Jordan and Overmyer 1986; Goyama 1994). They liked it not only because it could give advice on official examinations, but also because it emphasized morality. By the early seventeenth century morality books were frequently composed by means of the planchette, most often revealed by Guandi 關帝 (see Duara 1988), Wenchang 文昌 (see Kleeman 1994) and Lü Dongbin (see Katz 1996). The values expressed in such texts were largely Confucian, but also included popular ideas inspired by Buddhism and Daoism. The presence of these non-Confucian elements did not dissuade Qing officials or the gentry from supporting their publication or writing colophons to them. Even scholars involved themselves in the practice, so that Jiang Yupu, for example, presided over a spirit-writing altar called *jueryuan* or *juelan*, which apparently was at the root of the compilation of the *Daozang jiyao*, the *Lizhi quan* and other Qing religious texts (Esposito 1998a; 1998b; Mori 1998a; 1998b; Yau 1999).

Ming and Qing law officially prohibited spirit-writing, but because it was ardently pursued by those very officials who were supposed to enforce the law, spirit-writing survived and flourished throughout the empire. Still, it seems that, like many other shamanic activities, it was practiced more heavily in the south (Goyama 1994, 476). Moreover, non-elite local diviners and shamanic mediums were responsible for many of the spirit texts that circulated widely in Qing society (see Jordan and Overmyer 1986). The spirit-writing activities of non-elite practitioners are important not only regarding the development of "sectarian" spirit-writing texts, but also as an indication of Ming-Qing cultural integration. Parallel to the elite use of spirit-writing, independent religious associations formed around spirit-writing altars. Here morality books were composed in a simple classical style, resembling that used by literati spirit-writers and similarly supporting Confucian values. Only in the late nineteenth century did "sectarian scriptures" appear with mythological content inspired by the Eternal Venerable Mother. Even these retained the format of morality books (Jordan and Overmyer 1986). Such texts can still be found in Taiwan and Hong Kong today, as can spirit-writing groups, sometimes nowadays also called "spirit religions" (*shenjiao* 神教), "Confucian spirit religions" (*ruzong shenjiao* 儒宗神教) or "phoenix worship" (*banluan* 拜鸞). The reference to Confucianism in names such as *Rujiao* 儒教 or *Kongjiao* 孔教 (Confucian religion) may well

reflect their association with the educated art of writing (Jordan and Overmyer 1986). Several Hong Kong groups are related more directly to Daoism and are generally called *daotan* 道壇 (Daoist altar) or *daotang* 道堂 (Daoist hall). They often hold spirit-writing sessions devoted to Lǚ Dongbin and other Daoist divinities (see Tsui 1991; Shiga 1995; 1999). Indeed, most Daoist sects in Hong Kong began as spirit-writing circles and only gradually developed into formal religious organizations, using the Daoist institutions and ritual system as their model. Contemporary Daoist movements can therefore be seen to have emerged from local religious centers rather than secret religious societies (see Shiga 1995).

**INNER ALCHEMY SIMPLIFIED.** We can conclude by saying that moral cultivation was a key preoccupation of Ming-Qing society, propagated in a syncretistic formulation by thinkers such as Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩 (see Berling 1980), as well as by founders of new Daoist schools, such as Lu Xixing, Wu Shouyang and Wang Changyue (see Tang 1995). The government strove for a simplified Confucian ethos to be adapted by the entire population, and so did the religious leaders with their doctrines. As a result, Daoist masters devoted themselves to clarifying obscure inner alchemical theories, leaving out their intricate alchemical symbols, and to simplify them and facilitate everyone's understanding of the essence of true cultivation (Esposito 1993).

Lin Zhaoen, for example, used Buddhist, Daoist and Neo-Confucian theories as the bases of his sixteenth-century popularization of meditation as a path to enlightenment (see Berling 1980). Wu Shouyang similarly formulated his alchemical theory on the basis of a mixture of Buddhist and Daoist doctrines and proposed the attainment of the Confucian humanist path as a first step (see Tang 1995). Wang Changyue of the Longmen school saw the goal of immortality as an attainable goal for anyone who followed a gradual path of precepts that included the cultivation of Confucian moral principles (Chen 1988; Esposito 1993; Tang 1985; Qing 1996).

The disclosure of inner-alchemical arcana and the transmission of religious beliefs were further facilitated by popular novels, such as the *Fengshen yanyi* (Creation of the Gods; trl. Gu 1993) and the *Dongyou ji* 東遊記 (Journey to the East; see Liu 1962), as well as by the development of sectarian associations. The latter, in particular, integrated methods of meditation inspired by Buddhism and Daoism into their main practices. By the 1760s they were even proposing martial arts as practical applications of Daoist and medical theories of the circulation of energy (see Naquin 1981). Charismatic figures such as Zhang Sanfeng were not only regarded as celestial Daoist monks, but also became patriarchs of inner-alchemy schools (see Wong 1982; 1988; Akioka 1994) and founders of schools of martial arts (see Despeux 1981; Engelhardt 1981; Vercammen 1989; 1991). Inner-alchemical theories, therefore, were no longer restricted to circles of initiates but rather became

part of a popular culture. They can still be found in folk practices, such as what is now called Qigong (see Engelhardt 1987; Despeux 1988; Miura 1989; Esposito 1995).

This was not the product of a simple "popularization." Rather, it resulted from a long process of social and intellectual change, from the increasingly shared values of a widely propagated written culture that emerged over the course of two dynasties.

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