Kubo Noritada. 1968. "Prolegomena on the Study of the Controversies between Buddhists and Taoists in the Yüan Period." *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko* 26: 39-61.

Liu, Ts'un-yan and Judith Berling. 1982. "The 'Three Teachings' in the Mongol-Yüan Period." In *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, edited by Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary, 479-512. New York: Columbia University Press.

Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志. 1975. "Sô no kisô to dôkyô." *Tôkai daigaku bungakubu kiyô* 23: 1-10.

Miyakawa Hisayuki. 1976. "Rin Reisô to Sô no kisô." *Tôkai daigaku bungakubu kiyô* 24: 1-8.

Mou Zhongjian 牟鍾鑒, Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, Wang Baoxuan 王葆玹, eds. 1991. *Daojiao tonglun: Jian lun daojia xueshuo*. Jinan: Qilu shushe.

Nakada Yûjirô 中田勇次郎. 1955. "Dôzô ni mieru shiyô." *Tôhôshûkyô* 7: 64-71.

Nogami Shunjo 野上俊静. 1939. "Zenshinkyô no seiritsu no ichi kôsatsu." *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 5.2: 80-95.

Qing Xitai 卿希泰. 1993. *Zhongguo daojiao shi*. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin.

Reiter, Florian C. 1981. "The Soothsayer Hao Ta-t'ung (1140-1212) and His Encounter with Ch'üan-chen Taoism." *Oriens Extremus* 28.2: 198-205.

Reiter, Florian C. 1985. "Ch'ung-yang Sets forth His Teachings in Fifteen Discourses." *Monumenta Serica* 36: 33-54.

Reiter, Florian C., ed. 1990a. *Leben und Wirken Lao-Tzu's in Schrift und Bild.. Lao-chün pa-shih-i-hua t'u-shuo*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.

Reiter, Florian C. 1990b. "A Chinese Patriot's Concern with Taoism: The Case of Wang O (1190-1273)." *Oriens Extremus* 33: 95-131.

Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬, eds. 1991. *Daozang tiyao*. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chuban she.

Sanaka Sô 佐中壯. 1943. "Chôshun shinjin no saiyû ni tsuite." *Shigaku zasshi* 44.1: 82-90.

Sun Kekuan 孫克寬. 1965. *Song Yuan daojiao zhi fazhan*. Taizhong: Donghao daxue.

Tsui, Bartholomew P.M. 1991. *Taoist Tradition and Change: The Story of the Complete Perfection school in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture.

Waley, Arthur. 1931. *The Travels of an Alchemist*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.

Wang Minxin 王民信. 1978. "Qiu Chuji." In *Zhongguo lidai sixiangjia*, edited by Wang Shounan, vol. 31. Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu.

Wong, Eva. 1992. *Cultivating Stillness: A Taoist Manual for Transforming Body and Mind*. Boston: Shambhala.

Wong Shiu-hon [Huang Zhaohan] 黃兆漢. 1981. "Quanzhen jiaozhu Wang Chongyang de ci." *Journal of Oriental Studies* 19: 19-43.

Wong Shiu-hon. 1988a. "Qiu Chuji de 'Panqi ji'." In *Daojiao yanjiu lunwen ji*, edited by Wong Shiu-hon, 183-210. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Wong Shiu-hon. 1988b. "Quanzhen qizi ci pingshu." *Xianggang zhongwen daxue zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 19: 135-162.

Yao Congwu 姚從吾. 1958. "Jin-Yuan Quanzhen jiao de minzu sixiang yu jiushi sixiang." In *Dongbei shi luncong*, edited by Yao Congwu, 2: 175-204. Taipei: Zhengzhong.

Yao, Tao-chung. 1980. "Ch'üan-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona.

Yao, Tao-chung. 1986. "Ch'iu Ch'u-chi and Chinggis Khan." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40.1: 201-19.

Yao, Tao-chung. 1995. "Taoism and Buddhism under the Chin." In *China Under Jurchen Rule: Essays in Chin Cultural History*, edited by Stephen West and Hoyt Tillman, 145-80. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Yokote Hiroshi 横手裕. 1990. "Zenshikyo no henshu." *Chugoku tetsugaku kenkyu* 2: 23-92.

Yoshioka, Yoshitoyo. 1979. "Taoist Monastic Life." In Facets of Taoism, edited by H. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, 220-52. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Zhan Shichuang 詹石窗. 1989. *Nan Song Jin Yuan de daojiao*. Shanghai: Shanghai guji.

Zhang Guangbao 張廣保. 1995. *Jin-Yuan quanzhen dao neidan xin xing xue*. Beijing: Sanlian shudian.

Zheng Suchun 鄭素春. 1987. *Quanzhen jiao yu da Menggu guo dishi*. Taipei: Xuesheng.

Zhou Shaoxian 周紹賢. 1982. *Daojia quanzhen dazhi Qiu Changchun*. Taipei: Shangwu.

CHAPTER TWENTY

DAOISM IN THE MING (1368-1644)

PIERRE-HENRY DE BRUYN

DESCRIPTION

Scholars tend to see the Ming dynasty as a time when the Daoist religion went into somewhat of a decline (Qing 1988, 8; Ren 1989, 579). In contrast, it should be regarded as a time of prosperity and can even be considered to be one of Daoism's most powerful periods, when the religion was followed by large segments of the population (Liu 1970, 291). The Ming was also a time of great change, because the political control over the different Daoist schools and groups exerted a deep influence on the evolution of the religion. The variety of views on the period reflects the dearth of academic studies in this area. Most histories of Daoism tend to pass it by quickly after discussing the Yuan, or even stop in the fourteenth century (Robinet 1997). The following will present a basic outline of Ming Daoism in the hope that interest in the period will be awakened and the importance of further study will become obvious.

HISTORY

THE DECISIVE INFLUENCE OF MING TAIZU (1368-1399). According to the *Mingshi* 明史 (History of the Ming), Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the first emperor Taizu, was variously influenced by Daoists during his ascent to power. Important figures include the legendary Zhang Sanfeng 張三豐 (or 丰; see below), Zhang Zhong, Leng Qian, the Quanzhen master Zhou Dianxian and the Daoist official Qiu Xuanqing.

Of particular importance was **Zhang Zhong** 張中 (fl.1362-1370, *zi* Jinghua 景華; *hao* Tieguanzi 鐵冠子 or "Master of the Iron Cap," from Linchuan 臨川). He failed the official examination, but was nevertheless recommended to Zhu Yuanzhang by the general Deng Yu 鄧愈. In 1362, he impressed the future emperor with his predictions, which included unmasking an assassination plot by Shao Rong 邵榮 and Zhao Jizu 趙繼祖.

In 1363, he also foresaw Zhu's victory over Chen Youliang 陳友諒(1320-1363), which inspired numerous legends in Ming fiction.

Leng Qian 冷謙(14th c., *zi* Qijing 啓敬, *hao* Longyangzi 龍陽子, from Qiantang 錢塘 in Zhejiang), lived on Mount Wu 吳山 where he studied the *Yijing*, music and painting. In 1368, Taizu made him music director at the Ming court, and, in 1387, promoted him to Pitchpipe Assistant (*xielu lang* 協律朗). He wrote the *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音 (Lost Music of the Past, lost) as well as the *Lengxian qinsheng shiliu fa* 冷仙琴聲十六法 (Sixteen Lute Techniques of Immortal Leng), contained in the *Jiaochuang jiulu* 蕉窗九錄 (Nine Registers of the Plaintain Window) by Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (see Goodrich 1976, 802-4; Wong 1979, 15).

Zhou Dianxian 周顛仙(14th c.) was a medical practitioner whose medicines allegedly healed Taizu. In addition, he is said to have predicted the new ruler's ascent to power and was lauded as a master who was not harmed by fire and could walk on water (Qing 1993, 388).

Qiu Xuanqing 丘玄清(1327-1393, *zi* Yungu 雲谷, from Fuping 富平 near Xi'an), was said to have studied with the Qingwei 清微 (Subtle Tenuity) patriarch Huang Shunshen 黃舜申 (b. 1224). In the 1360s, he moved to Mount Wudang 武當山, where he is thought to have met Zhang Sanfeng and became head administrator of the main sanctuary, the Wulong gong 五龍宮 (Five Dragons Palace). The emperor heard of his talents and called him to the capital to promote him first to Inspector, then to Ceremony Chamberlain (*taichang qing* 太常卿). While preparing for the annual sacrifice to Heaven, Taizu fasted and met with Qiu, asking him questions about weather-making rites. The emperor was so pleased with the Daoist that he offered him two palace women, a present Qiu rejected with vigor. Qiu's parents, too, received honorific titles and at his death he was honored by Zhang Zhi 張智, secretary in the Ministry of Rites. He wrote the *Yungu tu* 雲谷圖 (Chart of the Cloudy Valley).

Zhu Yuanzhang was a Buddhist monk for some years in his youth, yet Daoism played a strong role in the **imperial family**. His tenth son, Zhu Tan 朱檀 (1370-1390), turned blind because he took a Daoist drug; he was cursed by his father with the posthumous name Huang 荒 (uncultivated). Zhu's seventeenth son, Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378-1448), became known for his Daoist works (see below), and his twelfth son, Zhu Bo 朱柏, the Prince of Xiang, visited the Daoist center on Mount Wudang to make offerings to the gods (De Bruyn 1997). Zhu Yuanzhang had many Daoist connections not only on a personal level but also in politics. His main goal was to limit the influence of organized religions, and to this end he prepared an official liturgy for all Daoist rituals. In so doing, he gave clear preference to the Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) school of the Celestial Masters and criticized the Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection). Following Song and Yuan models, he organized the national administration of Daoism on all levels

and promoted a unitive spirit among the three teachings (*sanjiao* 三教) in hopes that they would all serve imperial power.

In terms of **administration**, soon after 1368 Taizu established the Xuanjiao yuan 玄教院(Court of the Mystery Teaching), an independent body that dealt with the administration of all Daoists in the empire. This court was abolished in 1371, after which Daoists were governed by the Daolu si 道錄司(Bureau of Daoist Registration), which was divided into two sections (left and right), each including officials of various ranks. This organization was a subdivision of the Libu 禮部(Ministry of Rites), responsible for the supervision of all levels of Daoist activity. It controlled the Daoji si 道紀司(Bureaus of Daoist Institutions) on the provincial level, the Daozheng si 道政司(Bureaus of Political [Supervision] of Daoists) on the prefectural level and the Daohui si 道會司 (Bureaus of Daoist Assemblies) on the district level. In 1379, Taizu moreover established the Shenyue guan 神樂觀(Temple of Divine Music), which was in charge of music and dance during court rituals and was completely independent of the other administrative units. This offered court Daoists the opportunity to personally meet with the emperor and get to know him intimately. (Under the Yongle emperor, the Daoists of Mount Wudang acquired the same political and economic privileges as those of the Shenyue guan; they had direct contact with the emperor and had only to go through the imperial eunuchs rather than through more formal channels.)

Various of Taizu's regulations involved age: in 1373, he decreed that no woman could become a Daoist or Buddhist nun after the age of 40; in 1387, he prohibited men from becoming monks after the age of 20; in 1394, he set the minimal age of ordination at 14. Moreover, no soldiers or artisans could ever be ordained. In 1418, his son, the Yongle Emperor, fixed the maximum number of Daoists and Buddhists in the empire: forty per province, thirty per prefecture and twenty per district. This amounted to about 36,000 offically acknowledged religious practitioners in all China. However, their actual number during the Ming was always well above this mark. In 1373, for example, there were already 96,000 Daoists (Ren 1990, 605), and during the Zhengtong era (1436-1450) in the early fifteenth century, Wang Zhen 王振, a champion of the religion, single-handedly supported the ordination of 23,300 new monks and nuns. This trend continued such that in 1507, under Emperor Wuzong, 40,000 new Daoists were ordained.

Taizu also continued the system of ordination certificates first established under the Tang, through which the state certified monks and nuns after an official examination taken after three years of study (Qing 1993, 422-26). The certificates contained the name of the monk or nun, his or her religious affiliation, the date of ordination as well as their various appellations. They were distributed only once every three years. Under Yongle, this period was lengthened to five years, and in 1458, under Yingzong, to

ten. Certificates were essential, since monks and nuns were not permitted to leave their monasteries without them.

In a further move to control religion and especially to curb the flourishing of so-called heterodox sects (*xiejiao* 邪教), the Ming administration created the Zhouzhi ce 周知冊 (All-Knowing Register), an official list that contained the names of all Daoists who had ever passed time in any monastery. Because visitors' names were officialy registered, it was possibe to keep track of their movements and thus establish control. The *Ming huidian* 明會典 (Institutions of the Ming) dates the practice to 1372; the *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (Factual Records of the Ming) places it at 1392. Another restriction applied to aristocrats, who were no longer allowed to build private temples. Only sanctuaries with a horizontal tablet of the imperial administration were legal, and in 1391 all those lacking this authorization were ordered destroyed. The establishment of these various regulations by the dynasty's founder set the tone for the entire period of the Ming.

THE REIGN OF THE YONGLE EMPEROR 永樂 (CHENGZU, 1403-1425). The Yongle emperor was the second major ruler of the Ming. The fourth son of Taizu, he was called Zhu Di 朱棣 or the Prince of Yan. Under his rule Daoism grew significantly, both through imperial protection and in the provinces. The latter benefited particularly from the work of **Liu Yuanran** 劉淵然 (1351-1432, *hao* Tiyuanzi 體元子, from Gan 贛 in Jiangxi), a Daoist who became an adept in the Xiangfu gong 祥符宮 (Monastery of the Auspicious Talisman). There he learned talisman-making from the two masters Zhang and Hu. Later he studied with Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真 who taught him alchemical arts and introduced him to the secrets of the Jingming 淨明 (Pure Brightness) tradition, whose sixth master he became. In addition, Liu Yuanran was trained in the Quanzhen and Qingwei schools and excelled in the summoning of wind and thunder. In 1393, he was asked by Taizu to demonstrate his abilities, given the title Eminent Daoist and installed in Chaotian gong 超天宮 (Monastery of Transcending into Heaven) on Xishan near Nanjing. Under Yongle, he became Daoist patriarch of the left (*zuozheng yi* 左正一) and was given the title Perfected. However, he quarreled with various court officials and eventually ended up in exile. This took him first to Longhu shan and later to Yunnan for three years, where he created Daoist associations, greatly developing the regional organization of the religion. Renzong summoned him back in 1425, established him in the Dongyang guan 洞陽觀 (Monastery of Pervading Yang) and gave him the new title Changchun zhenren 常春真人. This came with a position of the second rank, equalling that of the Celestial Master. At the end of his life, he recommended his disciple Shao Yizheng (see below) as his replacement.

A key Daoist event under the Yongle Emperor was his order to have a new **Daoist canon** compiled, which was printed in 1445. Responsible for

the compilation were Zhang Yuqing 張宇清, the 42nd Celestial Master, and the general intendant of Mount Wudang (Hubei), **Ren Ziyuan** 任自垣 (fl. 1400-1422, *zi* Yiyu 一愚, *hao* Chanyu 蟬宇, from Danyang 丹陽 near Nanjing). Ren received Daoist and classical training and joined the religion at the Wanning gong 萬寧宮 (Monastery of Ten-Thousandfold Quietude) on Maoshan 茅山 (see Feng 1991). In 1411, he received an office in the Daolu si and was ordered, together with Hu Ying 胡熒, to find the whereabouts of Zhang Sanfeng. In 1413, upon recommendation by Zhang Yuqing, he became the head of all Wudang temples, a post he held for over fifteen years. During this time he compiled a local monograph, the *Dayue taihe shanzhi* 大嶽太和山志 (Monograph of the High Peak of Great Harmony, 15 j., dat. 1431), which contains the first biography of Zhang Sanfeng. He also visited the court in 1419, at which time he received a gift from the emperor and supervised the compilation of a Daoist canon that was presented at court in 1422 (Ren 1990, 787).

Another important development under the Yongle Emperor was the elevation of **Mount Wudang** 武當山 to a major Daoist center, which supported the emperor in various ways. Among others, **Li Suxi** 李素希 (1329-1421, *zi* Youyan 幽岩 or "Dark Boulder," *hao* Mingshi taoguang dashi 明始韜光大師 or "Great Master Concealing the Initial Light of His Talents," from Luoyang), trained at the Wulong gong on Mount Wudang and became a Quanzhen Daoist. He was known for the poverty of his clothes and his simple lifestyle, as well as his enjoyment of the *Yijing* and the *Daode jing*. After serving briefly in the Wulong gong he retired to a small temple on the mountain. In 1405 and 1406, he served the political legitimation of the Yongle Emperor by sending his disciple to court with several pieces of fruit from the Langmei tree 榔梅樹, which was thought to have been created by the Dark Warrior from plum and elm wood. It was seen as an auspicious sign for the court, and the emperor sent back an envoy with a gift of gold for Li. In 1412, the emperor decided to construct new buildings on Mount Wudang and ordered a consultation with Li Suxi on the local architectural tradition, but he did not give Li any religious responsibility in the reorganization of the monasteries. Li died in 1421 and was buried with imperial honors.

An important move of the Yongle Emperor regarding Daoism was to give official support to **Xuanwu** 玄武, the Dark Warrior, as an imperial deity. The god, a constellation of the northern sky venerated since antiquity, was originally represented as a snake embracing a turtle (see Major 1986). Under the Song, there was a growing influence of the Four Saints corresponding to the four directions of space, whose cult developed after the apparition of the Tantric god Heisha 黑殺 (Black Killer) to Zhang Shouzhen 張守真 in 960. Influenced by this development, Xuanwu was gradually recognized as an important deity (see Lagerwey 1992) and became

increasingly a personalized rather than starry god. In 1012, due to a character taboo involving Zhao Xuanlang 趙玄郎, the alleged ancestor of the Song rulers, *xuan* was replaced by *zhen* 真, and the Dark Warrior became the Perfect Warrior. Under the Southern Song Daoists adopted the cult of this deity. They presented him as a prince who became a Mount Wudang monk and from there ascended to heaven. Under the Yuan his cult grew further, and the *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 武當福地總真集 (Collection of the Assembled Perfected of Mount Wudang, the Auspicious Spot, CT 962), by Liu Daoming 劉道明 of the year 1291, names him by his Daoist title Xuantian shangdi 玄天大帝 (Highest Emperor of the Dark Heaven). Only in the *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啓聖錄 (Revelation Record of the Emperor of Dark Heaven, CT 958; see Boltz 1987, 88; Lagerwey 1992, 326n3) was Xuanwu first named the eighty-second transformation of Laozi. As this work was probably only compiled under Chengzu (see deBruyn 1997), it is likely that the god did not received this title until the Ming. Xuanwu was not only heir to the Daoist tradition; he was also influenced by the traditional divinity Beidi 北帝 (Emperor of the North; see Nikaidô 1998; Mollier 1997) and by the Tantric god Mahâkâla, a celestial emperor of the dark heaven who was adopted as imperial protector by the Yuan (see Zhang 1997; De Bruyn 1997). Xuanwu's Daoist title was officially recognized by the Yuan emperor Chengzong in 1304, and from then on Mount Wudang was officially the god's holy center (see Wong 1988; Chuang 1994).

When Zhu Yuanzhang came to power, he demanded that his sons sacrifice to Xuanwu at the northern gate of Nanjing whenever they visited. This indicates the importance attached to the cult even at the dynasty's beginning. During his campaign to usurp the throne of Emperor Huidi (r. 1399-1403), Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆, the Yongle Emperor claimed that Xuanwu had given him special help. He later ordered Zhang Xin 張信 (d. 1442), a key figure during the usurpation, to rebuild the temples of Mount Wudang from their Yuan-dynasty ruins and gave him command over 200,000 troops as well as over his own son-in-law. He further set up a Zhenwu sanctuary at the holiest and most northern place of Beijing's forbidden city when he moved the capital there in 1421. Both Mount Wudang and Zhenwu's cult thus became essential elements of Ming religion and politics. The Perfect Warrior served the Ming as a dynastic protector, just as Laozi had served the Tang, Huangdi the Song and Mahâkâla the Yuan. This veneration was expressed in the ruler's ascension ritual. Soon after ascending the throne, a Ming emperor would send an emissary to Mount Wudang with a sacrificial prayer, which was later carved in stone (Lagerwey 1992). Also, the administration of Mount Wudang was given over to the imperial eunuchs, another indication of the importance of this Daoist center.

Besides the Perfect Warrior, the Yongle Emperor also venerated **other Daoist divinities**, including the cult of the two brothers Xu Zhicheng 徐知澄 and Xu Zhi'e 徐知鄂. Their worship arose in Fujian in the late tenth century, and they were the subject of a text contained in the Daoist canon, the *Hong'en lingji zhenjun shishi* 洪恩靈濟真郡事實 (True Facts about the Perfect Lords of Boundless Grace and Numinous Salvation, CT 476, dat. 1417; see Lagerwey 1987, 261). Yongle venerated them because he claimed to have once been healed by their divine power. Later emperors, too, supported their cult and bestowed new titles upon them: Xuanzong in 1435, Yingzong in 1436 and Xianzong in 1485 (see CT 1470).

Another deity supported at this time was Guandi 關帝, the popular god of war (see Duara 1988). Under Taizu, a temple to him was built in Nanjing; under Yongle, one was erected in Beijing. In 1594, following a request by the Daoist Zhang Tongyuan 張通元, he was promoted to "emperor," only to receive a still more resounding title in 1614 and be worshiped as Wusheng 武聖, the Warrior Sage. By this time, he had over fifty sanctuaries in Beijing alone and was featured in the popular novel *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 (Journey to the North; see Seaman 1987). In the latter, Guandi is contrasted with Xuanwu, who he is said to have accidentally killed. But he did not stay dead for long, being brought back to life upon Lord Lao's command.

Politically the most important god during Ming times was Chenghuang 城皇, the City God, the divine representative of localities and cities (see Johnson 1985; Hamashima 1992). His main feast day was the 11th day of the 5th lunar month, two days before Guandi's birthday. Taizu had already ordered that each official arriving at a new post had to pay a visit to the local City God (see Taylor 1977). Daoists, too, adopted him into their pantheon by making him an emissary of Lord Lao (see Kohn 1996). Two further divinities emerging in the early Ming should be mentioned briefly: the Wutong shen 五通神, a group of gods grown from nature demons under the Song and gradually fused into Daoism (see Cedzich 1994, 139); and Yangong 晏公, an obscure immortal originally of the Tang or Song who was said to have helped Taizu in his attack against Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 (Ren 1990, 603).

FROM RENZONG TO WUZONG (1424-1521). Renzong died after only one year of rule due to a Daoist drug. Xuanzong (r. 1425-1436) let the imperial eunuchs have the run of the court, initiating a development that would eventually lead to an alliance with Daoists in the control of Ming politics. Yingzong reigned twice (1436-1450 and 1457-1465). During his first term, in 1445, the Daoist canon was readied for printunder the supervision of **Shao Yizheng** 邵以正 (d. 1462, *hao* Chengkangzi 承康子 or "Master Receiving Health," Zhizhi daoren 止止道人 or "Daoist Stopping Blockages," from Yunnan). He was the disciple of Liu Yuanran and served as Gentleman of Celestial Rightness in the Daolu si. Under Yingzong, Shao

became Daoist patriarch to the left, which made him responsible to the Ministry of Rites for examining and certifying all Daoist priests through special local registries. Under Daizong he received an official title, and in 1456 he restored three buildings of the Baiyun guan in Beijing. When Yingzong returned to power, Shao asked permission to retire, but his request was refused. Later he received another title. After his death he was buried on Mount Wuhua 五華山 upon imperial orders. Besides the Daoist canon, Shao edited the works of his master in a book entitled *Changchun Liu zhenren yulu* 常春劉真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Liu Changchun).

Xianzong (r. 1465-1488) was known for his predilection for Daoist magicians, whom he greatly promoted. For example, **Li Zisheng** 李孜省 from Nanchang 南昌 in Jiangxi came to court in 1477, served the emperor in the procurement of young sex partners and rose to become Grand Councellor of the Office of Imperial Sacrifices. Being thus in charge of all official rites celebrated by the emperor, he met with strong Confucian opposition, particularly from Wan An 萬安, Liu Ji 劉吉 and Peng Hua 彭華, but remained securely in power. Other important Daoist figures of this period were Deng Chang'en 鄧常恩, Zhao Yuzhi 趙玉芝, Gu Hong 顧玒 and Wang Wenbin 王文彬. They collaborated with the eunuchs in the control of Ming rule and were easily bribed to allow official promotions. Called Chuanfeng guan 傳奉官 or "officers transmitting emoluments," they contributed significantly to the declining effectiveness of the Ming examination system. Xianzong, like Renzong, died from taking a Daoist drug.

His son Xiaozong (r. 1487-1505) reacted against his father's religious zeal by first trying to rid his court of all Daoist and Buddhist influences. Within a few years, however, he too became a fervent follower and participated in many Daoist rituals. During the second part of his reign, Daoists, such as Wang Yingqi 王應綺 and Du Yongqi 杜永祺, again acquired political influence and, in cooperation with eunuchs such as Li Guang 李廣 and Yang Peng 楊鵬, ran the empire. They promoted hundreds of personal friends to official positions and occupied key positions, including the Ministry of Rites under the Daoist Cui Zhiduan 崔志端.

Wuzong (r. 1505-1521), Xiaozong's only son, ascended the throne at the age of fifteen. Soon all power was consolidated within the hands of a group of eunuchs known as the "eight tigers" (*bahu* 八虎), under the leadership of Liu Jin 劉瑾. Daoist political influence, however, was limited, especially since Wuzong was fond of Buddhism. In 1507, he personally supervised the ordination of 40,000 monks, and in 1510 he adopted the Buddhist title Daqing fawang 大慶法王 (Dharma King of Great Celebration).

SHIZONG, THE DAOIST EMPEROR (1521-1566). Shizong was very fond of Daoist rituals and after surviving an assassination plot in 1542 he became involved in Daoist pratices to the point of neglecting state affairs.

Daoists gained influence as so-called "prime ministers promoted by blue-paper prayers" (*qingci* 青詞)—the Daoist prayers used in imperial *jiao* 醮 offerings. Most important among them were Shao Yuanjie and Tao Zhongwen.

Shao Yuanjie 邵元節 (1459-1539, *hao* Xueyai 雪崖, Taihezi 太和子 or "Master of Great Harmony," from Guixi in Jiangxi), was a Daoist of the Shangqing temple on Mount Longhu 龍虎山, the headquarters of the Celestial Masters. He allegedly refused an invitation from Prince Zhu Chenhao 朱宸濠 (d. 1521), and so avoided being involved in the latter's unsuccessful rebellion in 1519. He was called to the court in 1524 and received the title "Perfected" in 1526. In 1530, the secretary for the recruiting of soldiers, Gao Jin 高金, was put to death for daring to oppose Shao's rapid rise at court and in 1532 Yang Ming 楊明, compilor at the Hanlin Academy, was jailed for the same reason. Shao was protected by forty guards. After having prayed successfully in 1536 for the posterity of the emperor, he was promoted to Minister of Rites. In 1539, his health declined and so he could not join the emperor on his journey south. After his death, he received an honorific title and was buried with aristocratic honors. He wrote the *Taihe wenji* 太和文集 (Collected Works of Great Harmony, lost; see Goodrich 1976, 1169-70).

When Shao found himself weakening, he recommended his protégé **Tao Zhongwen** 陶仲文 (1481-1560, *zi* Dianzhen 典真, from Huanggang in Hubei) as his replacement on the emperor's imperial tour. Tao made a good impression and his prayers were credited with the emperor's recovery in 1540. He rose to become Minister of Rites, and in 1544 was promoted to Junior Mentor, Junior Guardian and Junior Preceptor, receiving the first degree of nobility and becoming the only figure in Chinese history to ever jointly hold the three functions known as the "Three Solitaries" (*sangu* 三孤). After 1542, Shizong no longer actively ruled and only Tao had regular contact with him. Yet another Daoist, Xu Kecheng 徐可成 who had served in the Shenyue guan since 1531, became Minister of Rites in 1556. For many years, Tao was in close alliance with Yan Song 嚴嵩 (1480-1565), and together they managed to oust the Grand Secretary Xia Yan 夏言 (1482-1548). In addition to his court activities, Tao visited important Daoist centers and, in 1522 and 1555, he helped to select respectively 300 and 160 young virgins from whom to extract the ingredients for a high-power aphrodisiac. He retired in 1559 and died the following year, receiving a posthumous title. This title was removed again when the new emperor ascended in 1567 (see Goodrich 1976, 1266-68).

Other important Daoist figures were Duan Chaoyong 段朝永 from Hefei 合肥 in Anhui who claimed that he could magically transform plates and dishes into gold, but was found a fraud and executed, and Gong Kepei 龔可佩 from Jiading 嘉定 near Shanghai who became responsible for all

palace officials involved with Daoist rituals and was later accused of drunkenness and beaten to death. Another well-known Daoist was **Lan Daoxing** 閭道行 who pleased Shizong with his mastery of the planchette (*fuluan* 扶鸞), and his ability to invoke spirits into a tray of sand. In a session arranged in 1552, the emperor asked why the empire had become so difficult to govern, and Daoxing answered: "Because the wise are not used and the incompetent do not retire." Shizong then asked who were "the wise" and who "the incompetent," and Daoxing replied that Xu Jie 徐階 and Yang Bo 楊博 were wise but Yan Song was incompetent. Shizong then dismissed the latter, who in turn bribed a number of officials to accuse Lan Daoxing of charlatanery. As a result, Yan Song was called back and Lan was put into jail where he eventually died.

Yet another Daoist figure was **Hu Dashun** 胡大順 from Huangfeng 黃鳳 in Hubei, presented to the emperor by Tao Zhongwen and put in charge of the Lingji Palace 靈濟宮. When his protector died, he fell into disfavor for a time before rising once again to prominence. He wrote the *Wanshou jinshu* 萬壽金書 (Golden Book of Ten Thousand Years), allegedly revealed by the immortal Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓. At the end of his life, Hu Dashun was put to death for falsifying official documents.

Under Shizong, some Confucian officials, such as Lan Tianyu 閭田玉, Gu Kexue 顧可學, Sheng Duanming 盛端明, Zhu Longxi 朱隆禧 and Wang Jin 王金, attained official promotions only by mastering Daoist techniques. Others were executed because they criticised the popularity of Daoists in imperial favor. For example, in 1532, Yang Ming tried unsuccessfully to oppose Shao Yuanjie, and in 1566 Hai Rui 海瑞 was jailed for attempting to dissuade the emperor from further research into immortality. All this reveals how deeply political life under Shizong was influenced by politically active Daoists and masters of magic.

TO THE END OF THE MING (1567-1644). After Shizong, the empire declined financially, and the official status of Daoism was reduced. One factor in this development was the division among the Zhengyi and Quanzhen schools, which began moving in opposite directions. The Zhengyi diversified into several branches (Qingwei, Jingming, Maoshan and Wudang) and gained more independence; the Quanzhen united under the umbrella of the Longmen branch. Another factor was that Ming rulers became disenchanted with Daoism after Shizong's excessive fervor.

Thus Shizong's son Muzong (r. 1566-1572) reacted strongly against the Daoist education he had received in his youth and eliminated all powerful court Daoists, even cancelling the posthumous titles that had been given to Shao Yuanjie and Tao Zhongwen. In 1568, Muzong confiscated two important symbols of the Celestial Master, stripping Zhang Yongxu 張永緒 (49th) of both the right to be called Perfected of Orthodox Unity and his seal of official recognition. Both were restored to Zhang Guoxiang

張國祥 (50th; d. 1611) under Shenzong (r. 1572-1619) in 1577. Still, Zhang was not allowed to enter the palace or visit the emperor, a rule that was relaxed gradually so that he could attend court once every three years. He later published the *Xu daozang* (Supplement to the Daoist Canon). Other important Daoists under Shenzong were Yan Xi 閻希 (d. 1588), the founder of the Longmen 龍門 branch at the Qianyuan guan 乾元觀 (Monastery of Celestial Prime) on Maoshan, and Lu Xixing 陸西星 (d. 1606), an important Daoist writer (see below).

Zhuanglie di (r. 1628-1644), the last Ming emperor, did not take a Daoist drug but received Daoist aid his the selection of sexual partners. He also sought Daoist reassurance in the face of a declining empire and, one year before the end of the dynasty, invited the Celestial Master to celebrate a ritual at the imperial court. He then received the assurance that Zhenwu was still supporting the Ming emperor and his family (Ren 1990, 597).

Texts

COLLECTIONS. ***Zhengtong daozang*** 正統道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Era, 5305 j., 480 sects., dat. 1445). After Daoist books were burned in 1281, the Yongle Emperor ordered a new compilation of the Daoist canon. The leading editiors were the Celestial Masters Zhang Yuchu and Zhang Yuqing, as well as Ren Ziyuan, Xu Shenggong, Yu Daochun, Tang Xiwen and Shao Yizheng. The collection is the major resource for the study of Daoism today. It divides materials into Three Caverns 三洞 and Four Supplements 四輔 in representation of the schools of Highest Clarity, Numinous Treasure, Three Sovereigns and Orthodox Unity. Within these grouping, materials are further subdivided according to twelve categories: Fundamental Texts, Divine Talismans, Secret Instructions, Numinous Charts, Genealogies and Registers, Precepts and Regulations, Rituals and Observances, Techniques and Methods, Various Arts, Records and Biographies, Eulogies and Encomia, and Lists and Memoranda. (For descriptions and discussions, see Liu 1973; Ofuchi 1979; Thompson 1985; Boltz 1987.)

Xu daozang 續道藏 (Supplement to the Daoist Canon, 240 j., dat. 1607). In 1598, under the influence of his mother, Empress Dowager Li, Emperor Shenzong approved the reprinting of the Daoist canon. He assigned Zhang Guoxiang, the 50th Celestial Master, to produce a supplement, which was added to the canon (Boltz 1987, 9).

The collection begins with the *Taishang zhongdao miaofa lianhua jing* 太上中道妙法蓮華經 (Lotus Scripture of the Highest Central Dao, CT 1432) and ends with the *Laozi yi* 老子翼 (Wings to the Laozi; CT 1475, 6 j.) and the *Zhuangzi yi* 莊子翼 (Wings to the Zhuangzi, CT 1476, 8 j.), by

Jiao Hong 焦竑. It contains a total of fifty-six works, mostly from the Yuan and Ming. Some texts, however, date further back, such as the *Taiwei dijun ershisi shen huiyuan jing* 太微帝君二十四神回元經 (Scripture of the 24 Gods of the Lord Emperor of Great Subtlety, CT 1455, 1 j.), the *Beidou jiuhuang yinhui jing* 北斗九皇隱諱經 (Scripture of the Concealed Names of the Nine Emperors of the Northern Dipper, CT 1456, 1 j.), the *Taishang dongzhen huixuan zhang* 太上洞真徊玄章 (Stanzas on the Authentic Return to the Mystery of the Highest Perfection Cavern, CT 1458, 1 j.), and the *Taiqing jinzhang shier pian* 太清金章十二篇 (Twelve Sections of the Golden Chapter of Great Clarity, CT 1459, 1 j.). Others, such as the *Huangming enming shilu* 皇明恩命世錄 (Record of Daoist Decrees of the Sovereign Ming, CT 1462) and the *Han Tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家 (Genealogy of the Celestial Masters since the Han, CT 1463) provide valuable information on the history of the Zhengyi school. The *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (In Search of the Supernatural, CT 1476) is also important for its clear lists of the names of the various gods.

WORKS BY INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS. **Zhao Yizhen** 趙宜真 (d. 1382, *zi* Yuanyangzi 原陽子 or "Master of Original Yang," from Fu'an 富安 in Jiangxi), was the first disciple of the Quanzhen Daoist Zhang Tianquan 張天全 of Jiangnan (see Schipper 1987), as well as of Li Xuanyi 李玄一 of Nanchang. Both were followers of Jin Pengtou 金蓬頭 (1276-1336), a southern Daoist related to Quanzhen. Zhao Yizhen in turn taught Liu Yuanran and, indirectly, Shao Yizheng, the last editor of the Daoist canon. Trained in the Qingwei, Quanzhen and Jingming traditions, he edited the rituals of the Qingwei school as published in the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 (A Corpus of Daoist Ritual, CT 1220; see Loon 1979). He also wrote the *Lingbao guikong jue* 靈寶歸空訣 (Numinous Treasure Secrets of Returning to Emptiness), the *Yuanyangzi fayu* 原陽子法語 (Dharma Sayings of Master Yuanyang) and the *Xianzhuan waike jiyanfang* 仙傳外科集驗方 (Collection of Efficacious Medicines Found in Immortals' Biographies). Zhang Yuchu wrote Zhao Yizhen's biography and Liu Yuanran secured a canonical title for him in 1455.

Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378-1448, also known as Daming qishi 大明奇士, Quxian 臞仙, Hanxuzi 涵虛子 and Danqiu xiansheng 丹邱先生), was the seventeenth son of Taizu. He was promoted to Prince of Daning 大寧 (modern Jehol) in 1391, then moved to Nanchang in 1402 (Goodrich 1976, 305-7). Under Yongle, he stayed out of politics, spending his time studying and writing over fifty books. He played the lute, cultivated flowers and bamboo and pursued an interest in medicine and chemistry. After his death, he was canonized as an immortal. He wrote widely and on many subjects, including agriculture, the burning of incense and geomancy, but his best-known work is the *Taihe zhengyin pu* 太和正音譜 (Orthodox Musical Score of Great Harmony), which presents northern lyrical drama and includes lyrical pieces.

Zhu's key work on Daoism is the ***Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*** 天皇至道太清玉冊 (Jade Records of Great Purity of the Perfect Dao of the Heavenly Emperor, CT 1483, 8 j, 19 sects., dat. 1444). This is an apology for orthodox Daoism, "an indispensable compendium on the beliefs and practices of the early empire as seen through the eyes of a member of the imperial house" (Boltz 1987, 237). The text, often simply called *Taiqing yuce*, begins with a Daoist cosmogony that includes various meteorological and astronomical terms. Here Zhu Quan justifies the orthodoxy of Daoism, saying that "China is located in the middle of heaven and earth, which is why it can obtain the true *qi* of heaven and earth, its people have the right attitude, the sounds of its music are adequate and its teachings are orthodox" (1.4).

After commenting on the southern and northern branches of the religion and justifying both as orthodox, in the second chapter Zhu replies to criticism voiced in Buddhist polemics, both of the middle ages and the Yuan dynasty. He provides also an inventory of sacred texts and ordination registers as well as a detailed account of the book burning under the Mongols. In chapter 3 he offers instructions on Daoist rituals and regulations governing the activities of ritual officers. Chapter 4 explains Daoist hierarchies, reminding the reader that the seat of honor should always be offered to Buddhist monks visiting Daoist temples, and vice versa (4.9a). Nevertheless, Zhu also insists that the Chinese people should not follow religious teachings from abroad.

Chapter 5 contains names of temples and institutions, as well as those of divinities and details on music and vestments. The latter included also a set of instructions on the Quanzhen meditation rite of *zuobo* 坐鈸 (see Wang 1997; Goossaert 1997, 220-59). The sixth chapter speaks of ritual instruments and contains essays on various other topics. Chapter 7 provides a Daoist calendar, while chapter 8 is devoted to numerical terms. A concluding note explains that anyone who prints the book will receive twelve additional years of life and have prosperous descendants for three generations.

Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361-1410, *zi* Zixuan 子璿, *hao* Jishan 槎山) was the oldest son of Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 and the 43rd Celestial Master (Reiter 1988, 7-41). In 1378, he received the title Great Perfected of Orthodox Unity, and in 1383 he held a special celebration on Mount Zijin 紫金山 near Nanjing. Two years later he prayed successfully for rain in the Shenyue guan and, in 1390, he received special permission and imperial funds to rebuild the Shangqing gong 上清宮 of Longhu shan. The following year, despite a strong prohibition against conterfeit charms, he received a special seal that granted the authenticity of his work. Stripped of his title and punished unfairly during the reign of Jianwen (r. 1398-1402), he was restored by Yongle. In 1406, Zhang Yuchu was put in charge of preparing a new version of the Daoist canon and two years later was sent

to find out the whereabouts of Zhang Sanfeng. In 1410, he died after transmitting his authority to his brother Zhang Yuqing 張宇清, a painter and calligrapher, who in turn passed the baton to his nephew Zhang Maocheng 張懋承 (1380-1445; see Goodrich 1976, 107-8).

Zhang wrote the *Duren jing tongyi* 度人經通義 (Pervasive Meaning of the Scripture of Universal Salvaton, 4 j.) and a 7-*juan* collection of the sayings of his ancestor, the 30th patriach Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092-1126). His *Longhu shanzhi* 龍虎山志 (Gazetteer of Mount Longhu, 10 j.) is now lost. Zhang Yuchu tried in his works to unify the three teachings and encouraged Daoists of all schools to conform to official guidelines. His *Daomen shigui* exerted great influence on the organisation of Daoist monasteries, prohibiting monks from interfering in wordly affairs.

Daomen shigui 道門十規 (Ten Statutes for Taoist Followers, CT 1232, 1 j., dat. 1406). This concise treatise reflects its author's interest in collecting books for the new canon and his concern with unifying the different Daoists institutions of his time (Boltz 1987, 241). Here Zhang claims that the various schools of Zhengyi, Jingming, Lingbao and Shangqing are merely different designations of the same unique teaching dispensed by Lord Lao. He goes on to distinguish between scriptural writings applied in personal cultivation and those offering salvation to the masses. Next, he presents various aspects of meditative practice, based to a great extent on the teachings of the Southern School of inner alchemy. Zhang then explains liturgical matters and the history of thunder rites as practiced in the Qingwei and Shenxiao schools. Next he describes how one becomes a Daoist abbot, by first leaving home to dedicate oneself to the Dao, and then undergoing special training. The last three sections of the treatise present Zhang's vision of the state's role in the maintenance of Daoist temples.

Xianquan ji 峴泉集 (Anthology of the Alpine Spring, CT 1311, 12 j.), dat. 1404-1407. Originally ordered by a son of the royal house, Zhu Zhi 朱植 (d.1424), Prince of Liao, "this is one of the largest and most diverse literary anthologies in the canon" (Boltz 1987, 193). It contains a broad overview of the concerns that the Celestial Master of Mount Longhu had in regard to the local cults of his surroundings.

Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520-1601, *zi* Changgeng 長庚, from Xinghua 興化 in Jiangsu) represents the Eastern school of inner alchemy in the Ming. His family was poor, and his father was a diviner and student of the *Yijing* (Liu 1976, 991). In his early years he tried unsuccessfully to pass the provincial examination, then decided to give up all official aspirations and devote himself to the Dao. Considering the reclusive life to be the true Daoist way, he withdrew to the mountains, thus acquiring his *zi* Qianxuzi 潛虛子 (Master Secluded in Emptiness). He claimed to have met Lü Dongbin at Caotang 草堂 (in Beihai) in 1547 and received his teachings in direct transmission, coming thus to regard himself as Lü's disciple. His teachings

are collected in the *Binweng ziji* 賓翁自記 (My Memories of the Venerable Bin) and in the *Daoyuan huilu* 道緣彙錄 (Collection of the Affinity to the Path).

His major work is the ***Fanghu waishi*** 方壺外史 (An Unofficial History of Mount Fanghu, 8 j.). The text was first edited in the mid-sixteenth century (Longqing era), and a photolitographic reprint of this edition was made in 1915. A second edition, undertaken by Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 during the Wanli period (1573-1620), is found in *Daozang jinghua* 道藏精華 2-8, *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 5, and in a 1993 reprint by Guji Press in Guanglin. The work contains fourteen inner alchemical texts with Lu's commentary, including the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (Tally to the Book of Changes, CT 999; see Liu 1968; Pregadio 1996, 79-80), the *Ruyao jing* 入藥鏡 (Mirror for Composing Medicines, (CT 1017, j. 37), the *Jindan sibaizi* 金丹四百字 (Four-hundred Words of the Golden Elixir, CT 1081) and others. It also includes interpretations of the *Daode jing* and the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture of Joining with Obscurity, CT 31) as well as four texts on inner alchemical theory and practice written by Lu himself.

The first of these texts is the *Xuanfu lun* 玄膚論 (On the Surface of the Mystery). It focuses on inner alchemical principles and criticizes the partial views and heterodox transmissions of Daoist masters. Next, the *Jindan jiuzheng pian* 金丹就正篇 (Proper Understanding of the Golden Elixir, dat. 1564; see Wile 1993, 149-53), presents the Southern School theory of the double cultivation of inner nature and destiny, following the explanations given by Chen Zhixu 陳致虛 (1326-1386). It also discusses teachings Lu allegedly received directly from Lü Dongbin.

The third text is the *Qipo lun* 七破論 (Seven Essays of Refutation). It argues for the elimination of all heterodox and wrong doctrines and of partial views on inner alchemical theory and practice. It anticipates the later work of Liu Yiming 劉一明. Finally, the *Jindan dazhi tu* 金丹大旨圖 (Illustrated Pointers to the Golden Elixir) contains diagrams of the Great Ultimate and the Non-Ultimate as well as eight illustrations of the inner alchemical process. The *Fanghu waishi* is thus a major work on inner alchemical doctrines and practices, especially of the Eastern School of the Ming.

Besides his Daoist endeavors, Lu Xixing also edited the ***Xinghua xianzhi*** 興化縣志 (Local Gazetteer of Xinghua District) on his home area and wrote numerous religious and philosophical works. The latter include a commentary to the *Zhuangzi* entitled *Nanhua zhenjing fumo* 南華真經副墨 (Additional Notes on the Perfect Scripture of Southern Florescence), which was appreciated by scholars and listed both in the *Mingshi* and the *Siku Catalog*. Jiao Hong (1541-1620) cites it frequently in his *Zhuangzi yi* (Wings to the Zhuangzi, CT 1487). In his interpretation, Lu uses Buddhist terms and cites numerous Buddhist texts, rethinking the Daoist classics in a Bud-

dhist light (Liu 1976, 992). This inclination toward Buddhism increased in his later years, and he wrote two commentaries on the *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經 (Surangama sûtra). He also acquired a Buddhist *zi*, calling himself Yunkong jushi 蘊空居士 (Recluse of Empty Skandhas).

A key representative of Ming syncretism, Lu was also credited with the authorship of the novel ***Fengshen yanyi*** 封神演義 (Creation of the Gods), a fictional account of the conquest of the Shang dynasty by the Zhou (trl. Gu 1992) that includes various episodes involving Buddhist and Daoist divinities mixed with popular cults and beliefs (see Liu 1962; 1976, 993). Finally, Lu was also known for his calligraphy, painting and poetry, and some of his poems are preserved in the *Xinghua xianzhi*.

On the level of practices, Lu's books contain nothing new, but his **systematization** is of such high quality that it has been described as marking the third stage of the development of inner alchemy, following Wei Boyang's *Zhouyi cantong qi* and Zhang Boduan's *Wuzhen pian* (see Qing 1995, 22; Robinet 1995). As other books of his time, Lu's inner alchemical writings focus on *shuangxiu* 雙修, the double cultivation of spirit and life, sometimes with sexual undertones. For example, in the *Jindan*, the oldest chapter of the *Fanghu waishi* 方壺外史 (Formal History of Fanghu), we find the formula *yiqian yigong* 一鉛一汞 or "one lead and one mercury," which is explained as the essence of a man and a woman united in sexual intercourse. Both partners—although the text were written more with male cultivation in mind—are said to try to steal the complementary energy from the other, and Lu accordingly says that a "[practicing] Daoist is a thief" (*daozhe dao ye* 道者盜也). These practices were not mere vulgar methods aimed at heightened sexual pleasure but, as Lu insists, could be successful only if each partner would practice self-refinement (*lianji* 鍊己), i.e., train himself or herself to regulate and transform the nature of sexual energies, and seek the trust of the partner (*mixin* 覓信), i.e., pay attention to the other. The progressive spiritual transformation of sexual energies then takes place in three steps, called "the hundred days of purification" (*bairi qingxiu* 百日清修), the "ten months of regulating the fire" (*shiyue xinghuo* 十月行火) and the "spirit transformation of the embryo" (*tuotai shenhua* 脫胎神化), moving from breath to the circulation of sexual energy to its ultimate transcendence as spirit. Intercourse in this system is only one step among others, a form of spiritual cultivation called "to get the medicine in a short time" (*pianxiang er deyao* 片晌而得藥). It cannot be separated from the three others.

ON GODS AND IMMORTALS. ***Daming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*** 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 (Illustrated Register of the Marvelous Signs Realised by the Highest Emperor of the Dark Heaven Under the Great Ming, CT 959, 25 pp., dat. 1413). This contains stories, with corresponding illustrations, of wonders and divine apparitions said to have occurred on Mount Wudang in 1412-1413, when the constructions ordered

by Yongle first began. A copy was presented to the emperor, and this is probably the manuscript that survived in the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Monastery) in Beijing. The work is important because it shows the rise of Mount Wudang under Yongle (see Lagerwey 1992; de Bruyn 1997).

Zhang Sanfeng quanji 張三丰全集 (Complete Collection of Zhang Sanfeng, 8 j., dat. 1844; see Wong 1988, 154-61), compiled by Li Xiyue 李西月 (1806-1856). The most commonly used edition of this text is in the *Daozang jiyao* by He Longxiang 賀龍驤 and Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 (vols. 17-18, *Zangwai daoshu* 5; Wong 1988, 150). The compiler claims to have received the materials on Zhang Sanfeng from Wang Yun 王雲, the sixth-generation descendant of Wang Xiling 王錫齡, who lived in the early Qing and claimed to be a disciple of Zhang Sanfeng.

Most texts in this collection state clearly that they were written by Ming and Qing authors other than Zhang Sanfeng, but there are also works by unknown or uncertain authors that are attributed to Zhang Sanfeng, as well as Buddhist texts that bear no relation to him at all. The collection is therefore a highly composite work, with no obvious sytem of organization; its list of contents does not match the actual contents. Its eight *juan* contain the following materials.

Juan 1 and 2 are comprised of six works on the life and manifestations of Zhang Sanfeng, dated from 1359 to the 1700s, a history of his Daoist lineage from Laozi to his later disciples and a number of lesser biographical notes cn hidden scholars, hermits and wise men, some of which were copied from the earlier *Shenxian jian* 神仙鑑 (Mirror of Divine Immortals), and only later attributed to Zhang Sanfeng. *Juan* 3 and 4 contain works attributed to Zhang Sanfeng on inner alchemical practices together with some Daoist doctrinal principles such as the *Dadao lun* 大道論 (On the Great Dao), the *Xuanji zhijiang* 玄機直講 (Direct Explanation of the Mysterious Mechanism), the *Daoyan qianjin shuo* 道言淺近說 (Simple Explanation of Daoist Words) and the *Xuanyao pian* 玄要篇 (On Mysterious Essential Points). The following *juan* has three collections of poems attributed to Zhang Sanfeng and other figures of Li Xiyue's Western School. Two of these are probably by Wang Xiling or may also be the product of spirit-writing. Many poems allude to communications with Zhang Sanfeng, Lü Dongbin and other important Yuan Daoists such as Qiu Chuji and Zhang Yu (see Wong 1988b).

Juan 6 contains prose works under the title *Tiankou pian* 天口篇 (Celestial Formulas), which deal with the syncretism of the three teachings, general philosophical principles of human life and ethical precepts in the style of morality books. *Juan* 7 has scriptures and ritual texts attributed to Zhang Sanfeng which closely resemble the teachings and rites of Mount Wudang. The eighth *juan*, finally, contains three sections under the title *Shuishi xiantan* 水石賢談 (Chatting Near Water and Stones), which present the lives of men

devoted to alchemical and hygienic practices, Daoist poems from the Tang to the Qing and materials on spirit-writing. The book as a whole was popular due to the fame of Zhang Sanfeng; it is important for scholars because it provides a good survey of Ming traditions of inner alchemy and various literary materials.

Worldview and Practices

DAOIST SCHOOLS. In 1360, Zhu Yuanzhang officially recognized Zhang Zhengchang as 42nd Celestial Master of the **Zhengyi school** and in 1368 gave him the official title "Perfected." Soon after this, he suppressed the title Celestial Master, feeling that Heaven should not have another master besides himself, the Son of Heaven. Nevertheless, in 1377, he acknowledged Zhang Yuchu as successor to Zhang Zhengchang and gave him, too, the title "Perfected."

The Ming dynasty was dominated by the Zhengyi school and many Daoist masters from Mount Longhu married women of the imperial family (see Chuang 1986). Its orthodox format of practice was fixed in 1374 and written down in the *Da Ming xuanjiao licheng zhaijiao yifan* 大明玄孝禮成齋醮儀範 (Liturgy for Fasts and Offerings of Daoism Under the Great Ming, CT 467) by Song Zhongzhen 宋宗真, ZhaoYunzhong 趙允中, Fu Ruoxu 傅若霈, Deng Zhongxiu 鄧仲修 and Zhou Xuanzhen 周玄真, with a preface by Taizu himself. Here the emperor expresses his preference for the Zhengyi, because it "focuses on salvation, placing special emphasis on filial children and compassionate parents, and on the improvement of human relations and enrichment of local customs." He contrasts this with Quanzhen, which, he says, "devotes itself to the cultivation of the person" and "serves only the self" (Lagerwey 1987, 260).

Besides Mount Longhu, **Mount Wudang** played a key role in the Ming and certain important Daoists came from there, including Qiu Xuanqing and Li Suxi. The legendary Zhang Sanfeng, too, was associated with the mountain. The Zhongnan mountains also produced leading figures, including He Daoquan 何道全 (1319-1399), orginally from Zhejiang, who trained there. He was deeply influenced by Buddhism and wrote the *Suiji yinghua lu* 隨機應化錄 (Record of Appropriate Change in Accordance with the Pivot, CT, 2 j.).

All of these men can be considered Zhengyi Daoists. The only **Quanzhen master** of any renown during the dynasty was Sun Xuanqing 孫玄清 (1517-1569) who resided in Beijing's Baiyun guan and successfully prayed for rain under Shizong in 1558. If Quanzhen was officially recognized under the Ming and started separate ordination certificates, as some suggest (see Chen 1992, 40), it is hard to know what these certificates really

were. In fact, Quanzhen Daoists were largely excluded from the official religion under the Ming and were not permitted to create documents that would give us a concrete idea of the school's development. In addition, this situation seems not to have changed even at the end of the Ming (Qing 1995, 78), and it was only under the Qing that the Longman school established a religious legitimacy by creating genealogies all the way back through the Ming in an attempt to prove that their school had Quanzhen origins. This in turn is highly dubious because it cannot be confirmed by Ming-dynasty documents at all. The only thing certain in this context is that under the Ming the boundaries between the schools were quite fluid and can be viewed as currents flowing in various directions (see Berling 1998, 959).

DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENTS. Daoists gained political influence under the Ming, but the development of Daoist doctrine was rather poor. What new visions there were occured mainly in the realm of inner alchemy, which matured during this period (Qing 1995, 22), and in the syncretism with Confucianism and Buddhism.

As regards **inner alchemy** (*neidan* 內丹), early on Zhao Yizhen insisted that one must practice both inner and outer forms so that one could attain the oblivion of everything and return to the empty void—where there is nothing but the true void, which is not void. Keeping a ledger of merit and demerit (*gongguo ge* 功過格), another wide-spread practice at the time (see Brokaw 1991), he proposed that one perform a daily examination of oneself, paying attention to avoid acts that would not stand up to documentation and striving for a state in which human reason was in line with the emotions, which in turn meant that heaven and humanity were in harmony. Zhao was also steeped in the Tantric tradition and he insisted on the importance of meditative practice. He recommended daily exercises of inhaling the essence of the sun and the moon and the taking of Daoist elixirs. He stressed that meditators should not allow themselves to be moved by illusions, be they of demons and spirits or immortals and boddhisatvas.

The Celestial Master Zhang Yuchu followed Zhao in his understanding of Daoist doctrine and practice and he emphasized the origin of all Daoist teachings with Lord Lao. He was also concerned with unifying the teachings and refused the dominant opinion of his time that saw Chan Buddhism as concentrating on inner nature, Daoism on destiny, Quanzhen on both of these and Zhengyi on ritual. Zhang taught that all Daoists should follow Quanzhen practice and cultivate the techniques of both major schools. He wrote that "sitting in a meditation cell and maintaining tranquility is the fundamental attitude to enter the Dao." The perfected cultivates himself and thereby saves others, sharing with them the power he gains inside—including magical powers, such as summoning wind and thunder and exorcising evil. Because all these were part of the personal cultivation of oneself, all practices could be joined into one. Zhang's position here

all practices could be joined into one. Zhang's position here documents the growing syncretist tendencies under the Ming as well as the influence of the Quanzhen tradition on the Zhengyi school.

Among later masters, Lu Xixing, author of the *Fanghu waishi*, and Wu Shouyang made important contributions to the systematization of inner alchemy. **Wu Shouyang** 伍守陽 (1563-1644, *zi* Duanyang 端陽, *hao* Chongkongzi 沖空子 or "Master Penetrating the Void," from Bixieli 辟邪里 in Nanchang), was the son of Wu Xide 伍希德, who became an official in 1555, was sent to Yunnan in 1578, and soon died. Shouyang first studied the classics at age ten. He also read the works of the Quanzhen founder Wang Chongyang and obtained a number of Daoist books from his uncle, Wu Lizhai 伍立齋, who was interested in attaining immortality. Wu Shouyang was an important figure in the Longmen lineage under the Qing (see "Daoism in the Qing") and was widely known for his works on inner alchemy, such as the *Tianxian zhengli* 天仙正理 (Proper Principles of Celestial Immortality, 9 j.). Written between 1615 and 1622, this work was transmitted to his main disciple Zhu Changchun 朱常淳 of the Jiwang dian 吉王殿. Wu's *Xianfo hezong yulu* 仙佛合宗語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Common Tradition of Daoism and Buddhism) was written after 1622; it is contained in the *Daozang jiyao* under the title *Wu zhenren dandao jiupian* 伍真人丹道九篇 (Nine Chapters over the Daoist Practices of Perfected Wu). A different text, also entitled *Xianfo hezong yulu*, is in fact a record of Wu's conversations with his disciples (Qing 1995, 37-59). Between 1639 and 1640, Wu retired to Jinling 金陵 to add final corrections to his two books. Also among his notes is the *Daoyuan qianshuo pian* 道原淺說篇 (A Superficial Presentation of the Original Dao), which contains a general summary of his thought.

The other area in which Ming Daoism developed doctrinally is its syncretism with **Confucianism and Buddhism**. It has long been recognized that Neo-Confucians at the time increasingly turned to the religious practices of the other religions and adopted inner alchemy into their repertory (see Liu 1970). Besides Lu Xixing, a key figure in this endeavor was **Lin Zhaoen** 林兆恩 (1517-1598, *zi* Mao 茂, *hao* Longjiang 龍江, Ziguzi 子谷子 or "Master of the Valley," Xinyinzi 心隱子 or "Master of the Hidden Heart," from Putian 莆田 in Fujian). He came from a long line of bureaucrats and was the son of an official under Wang Yangming 王陽明 whom Lin himself met as a child (see Berling 1980). In 1534, he graduated from the lowest level of the civil service, then studied with Luo Hongxian 羅洪先, an eccentric Daoist who dabbled in various traditions (Liu 1970, 308). Lin was also influenced by Zhuo Wanchun 卓晚春, *hao* Shangyangzi 上陽子 (Master of Superior Yang) or Xiaoshan 小山 (Little Mountain), whom he first met in 1548. Using this broad formation as a foundation, Lin Zhaoen "set up his own syncretist religious organization which,

with Confucianism as its principal doctrine and Buddhism and Daoism as its subsidiary teachings, aimed at gradually eliminating all denominations and sectarianism" (Liu 1970, 319). He styled himself Sanjiao xiansheng 三教先生 (Master of the Three Teachings) in 1556 and attracted numerous disciples.

In 1584, Lin's group became the Sanyi jiao 三一教 (Three-in-One Teaching), which jointly honored Confucius, Laozi and the Buddha as well as the three patriarchs Lin Zhaoen, Zhuo Wanchun and Zhang Sanfeng. Lin wrote the *Linzi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun* 林子三教正宗统論 (Discourse of Master Lin for the Orthodox Sect of the Three Teachings), in which he drew upon several works ascribed to Zhang Sanfeng, such as the *Xuange* 玄歌 (Mysterious Song) and the *Xuantan* 玄談 (Conversations on the Mystery). He also cited his own *Yuyan lu* 語言錄 (Report about Our Conversation), which contains a dialogue between himself and Zhuo Wanchun. Lin's group spread through southeast China and gained considerable influence both during his lifetime and for about 150 years after his death. He died in 1598, at the age of eighty-two (Qing 1993, 513-16).

POPULARISATION OF DAOISM. A more popular strand of Daoism grew rapidly during the Ming, documented partly in the various popular deities who were adopted into the Daoist pantheon, such as the City God and Mazu 媽祖 or Tianfei 天妃, the goddess of merchants and fishermen (see Boltz 1986). In addition, the highly mysterious and very popular figure of **Zhang Sanfeng** 張三丰 arose at this time. His oldest biography is contained in Ren Ziyuan's 仁自垣 *Dayue taihe shanzhi* 大嶽太和山志 (Gazetteer of the Sacred Mountain of Great Harmony [i.e., Mount Wudang]; see Seidel 1970; Wong 1979, 1988; Feng 1992; Yang 1993). Ren describes him as somebody whose "native place no one knew" and affirms that Zhang Sanfeng "was strong and big in stature, his body appearing like that of a tortoise [symbol of longevity], his frame resembling that of a crane [bird of immortality]." According to this, Zhang Sanfeng was "wearing a cassock no matter whether it was winter or summer," and "when someone came to seek instruction from him, he would not utter a single word the whole day long, but when he lectured on the classical works of the three teachings, he would speak without stopping." Ren states that in Taizu's early years Zhang Sanfeng arrived at Mount Wudang and there organized the renewal of Daoist life, putting Qiu Xuanqing 丘玄清 (1327-1393), Lu Qiuyun 盧秋雲 (fl. 1410), Liu Guquan 劉古泉 and Yang Shancheng 楊善澄 in charge of the main temples. He then left the mountain in 1390, "no one knowing where he went." In 1391, Taizu sent Daoist priests to look for him but without success. The Yongle Emperor, deeply impressed by Zhang's high achievements, also tried to find him but to no avail (Wong 1979, 10-12).

This biography, although the earliest source on Zhang Sanfeng, is suspect because not a single text from Taizu's reign mentions him and because all four disciples mentioned were already dead when Ren published his work. At the same time, the biography was successful due to the political context of the time. The Yongle Emperor usurped the throne of his nephew in 1402, but remained unconvinced that the corpse found after the burning of the Nanjing palace was in fact that of his predecessor. After having ascended the throne, he could not very well go about asking people whether his nephew was still alive, so he sent out emissaries to look for "a certain Zhang Sanfeng." The search for the immortal was a clever way of sending secret police officers throughout the country without raising suspicion of the emperor and the legitimacy of his rule. The publicity, however, surrounding the name and fame of Zhang Sanfeng, and made him a legend more quickly than his own actions ever could have. Scholars today suspect that Zhang Sanfeng never in fact existed as a person or at least that he was the subject of mythologizing from a very early point. Thus, little is certain about him (see de Bruyn 1997). To further complicate matters, the expression *sanfeng* 三峰 (Three Peaks) has a technical meaning and was already in use before Zhangs' biography. In Daoist descriptions of sexual practices, it referred to the tongue, the nipples and the vagina (Hao 1997, 39). This is why, during the Ming dynasty, specialists in the erotic arts often used the name Zhang Sanfeng as a euphemism for their practices.

After Yongle, the cult of Zhang Sanfeng developed not only through the creation of new stories about him, but also through claims of increasingly early dates for his life. A number of legends that located his activities in Sichuan or Shandong were printed early on, but most of them were only collected by Jiao Hong (1541-1620) toward the end of the dynasty. They claimed, among others, that Zhang had been buried but that his body was gone when his coffin was opened—leading to the claim that he had come back to life. Jiao Hong also notes that Zhang studied with Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216-1274) and Leng Qian (ab. 1310-1371), raising the assertion that he was a man of the Yuan or even the Song. Later, Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) said that Zhang Sanfeng had been skilled in boxing and had flourished in the Song dynasty, something that is already recognized as spurious in the *Mingshi*.

Under the Qing, Fu Weilin's 傅维鳞 (1662-1722) *Mingshu* 明書 (Book of the Ming) made Zhang a native of Yizhou (Manchuria). Other problematic items found in the *Mingshi* are a title Zhang allegedly received from Yingzong in 1459 and the claim that Yongle had built up Mount Wudang in his honor, neither of which is confirmed by other sources. In the nineteenth century, Li Xiyue published the *Zhang Sanfeng quanji* (see above), claiming that Zhang had been a district magistrate in Boling 博陵 (Zhongshan) in 1248 and implying that he had arrived on Mount Wudang in the 1360s,

being already 120 years old. Later, some of Zhang's admirers even established sects under his name, which is why the *Zhuzhen zongpai zongpu* 諸真宗派總譜 (General Register of the Schools of the Immortals) of 1926 states that ten Daoist schools had him as their main patriarch (Akioka 1994).

Another aspect of the popularization of Daoism under the Ming was the integration of the various schools into the two great ones that alone were recognized by the authorities, the Zhengyi and the Quanzhen. This tendency toward centralization was furthered by emperors who worried about **potential rebellions** spurned by religious movements. The result was that the diverse schools became more homogeneous and that a number of school were actively suppressed (see Reiter 1988). However, this integration did not only involve Daoist schools, but also the broader field of popular ideas and practices. The joining of the different religions can be traced back to Taizu, who in his youth was greatly influenced by folk religions and ideas of magic. His vision and administration came to dominate the country through the over-centralized empire he created. The religious tradition of Daoism thereby became so popularized and secularized that it was not recognized as being a separate organized religion by Jesuits arriving in the sixteenth century. To them, and to many missionaries who followed, Daoism was merely a form of confused popular superstition.

The Ming emperors constantly worried that some opponent would use Daoist or Buddhist organizations to spread rebellion, a fear that was not entirely unfounded. For example, even under Taizu, a certain Peng Yulin 彭玉琳 had called himself Prince of Jin after founding an association of the White Lotus in the late 1300s. Under Yongle, the Buddhist nun Tang Sai'er 唐賽爾 proclaimed herself Mother of the Buddha in 1420 in opposition to the ruler. To apprehend her, Yongle had all the nuns of China brought to Beijing. Similarly, under Daizong, a certain Li Zhen 李珍 pretended to be a lay Daoist practitioner and tried to convince Wei Xuanchong 魏玄沖, Daoist of Mount Wudang, to collaborate with him in the overthrow of the dynasty, promising him that he would soon become emperor. Not surprisingly, then, the Daoist religion was both worshiped and feared by the rulers, a testimony to its great popular influence and religious power.

Less threatening than Daoism, **Confucianism** was adopted as the imperial doctrine of the Ming. As early as 1368, Zhu Yuanzhang asked Kong Kejian 孔克堅, the 55th descendant of Confucius, and his son Kong Xixue 孔希薛 to come to court and collaborate with him. In 1382, he issued an edict that Confucius should be worshiped throughout the country, and himself presented an offering to the sage in the imperial temple. This was a stark contrast to the 1372 prohibition of similar Daoist rituals. At the same time, the emperors also tried to benefit from the popular influence of Daoism and adopted Daoist identities. The Yongle emperor claimed to be a

reincarnation of Zhenwu; Wuzong took the title Dharma King of Great Celebration; and Shizong called himself Imperial Daoist Lord (Daojiao dijun 道教帝君).

A different line of the popularization of Ming Daoism is found in the presence of Daoists at **folk religious festivals**. The annual festival of Yanjiu jie 燕九節 (Ninefold Festival of Yan) in Beijing, celebrated during the first lunar month, was attended by as many as 40,000 Daoists. Similarly, the great annual *jiao* offering celebrated by Daoists in Beijing's Tianqi miao 天齊廟 (Temple of Heavenly Support) in honor of Dongyue dadi 東嶽 大帝, the god of Mount Tai 泰山, on the 28th of the third month, drew massive crowds. Among them were many blind people who attended due to the belief that the water used in washing the statue would heal them if applied to their faces. Again, in the fourth month, a great festival was held in honor of Bixia yuanjun 碧霞元君, Goddess of the Morning Clouds and daughter of Dongyue dadi. This took place on Mount Miaofeng 妙峰山 in the outskirts of Beijing and was the occasion for a highly popular pilgrimage (Naquin 1992; Ren 1990, 607-10). Such Daoist-cum-popular events were not limited to Beijing, but occurred throughout China to the great delight of the people. To give but one example, Suzhou organized an annual pilgrimage to Mount Wudang that drew several thousand people who traveled over 2,000 miles (mainly by boat) in about six weeks (see Gu 1989).

In charge of these popular festivals were a growing number of small popular associations, to which Daoists also belonged. It seems likely that these associations furnished the bases of an increasing number of unofficial and popular Daoist groups—compensating for the severe restrictions on Daoist growth maintained at the official level. However, this new side of the Daoist tradition developed largely in secret and we know little about it. It is sometimes poetically called the "Daoism of Lakes and Rivers" (*jianghu daojiao* 江湖道教). We can conclude that under the Ming dynasty, there were significant economic activities that sustained religious festivals, pilgrimages and groups, but which have been little studied to date.

References

Akioka Hideyuki 秋岡英行. 1994. "Jô Sanhô to shindai dôkyô seiha." *Tôhôshûkyô* 83: 1-15.

Berling, Judith A. 1980. *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Berling, Judith A. 1998. "Taoism in Ming Culture." In *Cambridge History of China. Vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty*, edited by Denis Twitchett, 953-85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boltz, Judith M. 1986. "In Homage to T'ien-fei." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106: 211-52.

Boltz, Judith M. 1987. *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkeley: University of California, China Research Monograph 32.

Brokaw, Cynthia. 1991. *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chan Hok-lam. 1973. "Chang Chung and his Prophesy: the Transmission of the Legend of an Early Ming Taoist." *Oriens Extremus* 20: 65-102.

Chan Hok-lam. 1975. "The Rise of Ming T'ai-tsu (1368-98)." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95: 679-715.

Chan Hok-lam. 1988. "The Chien-wen, Yung-lo, Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te Reigns." In *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by Frederick W. Mote, 214-21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chan Hok-lam. 1995. "Ming T'ai-tsu's Manipulation of Letters: Myth and Reality of Literary Persecution." *Journal of Asian History* 29: 1-60.

Chan Hok-lam. 1997. "A Mongolian Legend of the Building of Peking." *Asia Major*, 3rd s., 2: 63-93.

Chen Bing 陳兵. 1985. "Jindan pai nanzong qiantan." *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 22.4: 35-49.

Chen Bing. 1992. "Mingdai quanzhen dao." *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 1: 40-51.

Chuang Hung-I 莊弘誼 . 1986. *Mingdai daojiao zhengyi pai*. Taipei: Xuesheng.

Chuang Hung-I. 1994. "Les croyances concernant la divinité taoïste Xuanwu (Xe-XIIIe s.)." Ph. D. diss., Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.

De Bruyn, Pierre-Henry. 1997. "Le Wudang shan: Histoire des récits fondateurs." Ph. D. diss., Université Paris VII, Paris.

Despeux, Catherine. 1985. "Les lectures alchimiques du *Hsi-yu-chi*." In *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger*, edited by. G. Naundorf, K.H. Pohl, and H. H. Schmidt, 61-76. Würzburg: Königs-hausen and Neumann.

Despeux, Catherine. 1988. *La moelle du phénix rouge: Santé et longue vie dans la Chine du seizième siècle*. Paris: Editions Trédaniel.

Ding Huang 丁煌. 1983-85. "Zhengyi dahuang yuxiu yanshou jinglu chuyan." *Daojiao xue tansuo* 1: 373-430; 2: 199-380; 3: 342-62.

Duara, Prasanjit. 1988. "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War." *Journal of Asian Studies* 47: 778-95.

Esposito, Monica. 1993. "La porte du dragon: L'Ecole Longmen du mont Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le *Daozang xubian*." Ph. D. diss., Université Paris VII, Paris.

Farmer, Edward L. 1995. *Zhu Yuanzhang and Early Ming Legislation: The Reordering of Chinese Society following the Era of Mongol Rule*. Leiden: E. Brill.

Franke, Herbert. 1977. "Bemerkungen zum volkstümlichen Taoismus der Ming Zeit." *Oriens Extremus* 24: 205-15.

Goodrich, L. Carrington, ed. 1976. *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Goossaert, Vincent. 1997. "La création du taoïsme moderne: L'ordre Quanzhen." Ph. D. diss., Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris.

Gu Wenbi 顧文璧. 1989. "Mingdai wudang shan de xingsheng han Suzhou ren de da guimo Wudang jinxiang lüxing." *Jianghan kaogu* 1: 71-75.

Guo Peng 郭朋. 1982. *Ming Qing fojiao.* Fujian: Renmin.

Hamashima, Atsutoshi. 1992. "The City-God Temples of Chiangnan in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties." *Memoirs of the Research Department of Tôyô Bunko* 50: 1-28.

Hao Qin 郝勤. 1997. *Daojiao yu wushu.* Beijing: Wenjin.

Ishida Kenji 石田憲司. 1985. "Eirakutei no taiwa san fukkô ni tsuite." *Shakaibunka shigaku* 21-41-57.

Ishida Kenji. 1986. "Mindai taiwasan no deizaiteki ban ni tsuite." In *Chû goku shi ni okeru ran* - 127-52. Kyoto: Yûzankaku.

Ishida Kenji. 1995. "Taiwan nanbu no shinbujin shinkô ni tsuite." *Tôhôshûkyô* 85: 24-40.

Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美. 19 . "Daikokuten: Mahâkâla, le Grand Noir." *Hôbôgirin*, edited by Hubert Durt, 7: 839-920. Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise.

Johnson, David. 1985. "The City-God Cults of T'ang and Sung China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45: 363-457.

Kohn, Livia. 1996. "The Taoist Adoption of the City God." *Ming Qing yanjiu* 5: 69-108.

Lagerwey, John. 1987. *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History.* New York: Macmillan.

Lagerwey, John. 1991. *Le continent des esprits.* Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre.

Lagerwey, John. 1992. "The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan." In *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, 293-332. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lam, Joseph Sui Ching. 1988. "Creativity within Bounds: State Sacrificial Songs from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)." Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Langlois, John D., and Sun K'o-kuan. 1985. "Three Teachings Syncretism and the Thought of Ming T'ai-tsu." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 97-139.

Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁. 1970a. "Taoist Self-Cultivation in Ming Thought." In *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, edited by Wm.Th. DeBary, 291-331. New York: Columbia University Press.

Liu Ts'un-yan. 1970b. "The Penetration of Taoism in the Ming Confucian Elite." *T'oung-pao* 52: 31-103.

Liu Ts'un-yan. 1973. "The Compilation and Historical Value of the *Tao-tsang*." In *Essays on the Sources of Chinese History*, edited by Donald Leslie, 104-20. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Liu Ts'un-yan. 1991. "Mingru yu daojiao." *Hefeng tang dushu ji* 1: 233-71.

Loon, Piet van der. 1979. "A Taoist Collection of the Fourteenth Century." In *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, edited by Wolfgang Bauer, 401-5. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Ma Shutian 馬書田. 1984. "Ming Yongle Emperor de zhengzhi yu zongjiao." *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 3: 35-51.

Major, John S. 1986. "New Light on the Dark Warrior." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 13/14: 65-87.

Mano Senryû 間田潛龍. 1958. "Minchô to taiwasan ni tsuite." *Tôhô gakuhô* 38-3.

Mano Senryû 1963. "Mindai no butôzan to kangen no shinjutsu." *Tôhôshûkyô* 22: 29-44.

Mollier, Christine. 1997. "La méthode de l'empereur du nord du mont Fengdu: une tradition exorciste du taoïsme médiévale." *T'oung-pao* 83: 329-85.

Naquin, Susan. 1992. "The Peking Pilgrimage to Miao-feng Shan: Religious Organizations and Sacred Site." In *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, 333-77. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Nikaidô Yoshihiro 二階堂善弘. 1998. "Genten jôtei no henyû." *Tôhôshûkyô* 91: 60-78.

Ofuchi Ninji. 1979. "The Formation of the Taoist Canon." In *Facets of Taoism*, edited by Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, 253-68. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pregadio, Fabrizio. 1996. *Zhouyi Cantong Qi: Dal Libro dei Mutamenti all'Elisir d'Oro*. Venezia: Cafoscarina.

Qing Xitai 卿希泰. 1988. *Zhongguo daojiao shi*. Vol. 1. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin.

Qing Xitai. 1992. *Zhongguo daojiao shi*. Vol. 2. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin.

Qing Xitai. 1993. *Zhongguo daojiao shi*. Vol. 3. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin.

Qing Xitai. 1995. *Zhongguo daojiao shi*. Vol. 4. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin.

Qing Xitai 1995. *Wudang qingweipai yu wudang quanzhen dao de wenti*. Chengdu: Shehui kexue yanjiu yuan.

Rawski, Evelyn S. 1991. "Research Themes in Ming-Qing Socio-Economic History." *Journal of Asian Studies* 50: 84-113.

Reiter, Florian C. 1988. *Grundelemente des religiösen Taoismus: Das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yüan-*