

THE DISCOVERY OF JIANG YUANTING DAOZANG JIYAO IN JIANGNAN  
A PRESENTATION OF THE DAOIST CANON OF THE QING DYNASTY  
(Revised edition)\*

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After the Daoist Canon of the Ming period (*Zheng tong Daozang* 正統道藏 1445) the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 or *Essentials of the Daoist Canon* is the most important collection of Daoist texts of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912). It is by far the largest anthology of premodern Daoism and thus an indispensable source for the study of Daoism in the Ming and Qing period (fourteenth to late nineteenth century). Although it is chiefly derived from the Daoist Canon, the *Daozang jiyao* contains numerous texts that are not included there. It features texts on *neidan* 內丹, cosmology, philosophy, ritual, precepts; commentaries on Buddhist, Confucian and Daoist scriptures; hagiographic, topographic, and epigraphic works; and much more.

Despite its importance as the most valuable collection of Daoist literature of the late imperial period, and even though scholars make frequent use of its texts, the *Daozang jiyao* has never been the object of systematic study.<sup>1</sup> The genesis of this

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\* My thanks to Urs App for his precious suggestions and help in improving this article. An earlier version of this article was published in Mugitani Kunio 麥谷邦夫 (ed.), *Kōnan dōkyō no kenkyū* 江南道教の研究 (Kyoto: Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科学研究所, 2007): 79-110 and in *Xueshu Zhongguo* 學術中國 (2007.11):25-48. A Chinese translation based on the present revised English version (available at [www.daozangjiyao.org](http://www.daozangjiyao.org)) is going to be published under the title “Qingdai Daozang—Jiangnan Jiang Yuanting ben *Daozang jiyao* zhi yanjiu” 清代道藏江南蔣元庭本道藏輯要之研究, in *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究.

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the support of the Chiang-Ching Kuo Foundation, an international research project on the *Daozang jiyao* has begun under my direction in July 2006 at Kyoto University’s Institute for

collection is still hardly explored, and neither are its history and its various editions, some of which are classified as “rare” in Chinese, Taiwanese, European and Japanese libraries. Before entering this *terra incognita*, it is important to briefly present the main scholarly views on the history of the *Daozang jiyao*’s compilation.

### *Three Main Theories regarding the History of the Daozang jiyao*

*Theory 1:* According to the most common account presented even in recent articles,<sup>2</sup> the *Daozang jiyao* exists in at least three different editions:

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Research in Humanities (Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科学研究所). We hope it will enhance knowledge about this important collection of the Qing dynasty. Information about this project is found at <http://www.daozangjiyao.org>. It is important to notice that, except for the studies by Mori Yuria 森由利亜 (“*Dōzo shūyō to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō*” 道藏輯要と蔣予蒲の呂祖扶乩信仰, *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 98, 2001: 33–52) and Kim Yunsu 金侖壽 (“*Dojang jipyō wa Jang Yoepo*” 道藏輯要と蔣予蒲, *Dogyo Munhwa Yoengu* 道教文化研究 17, 2002: 277-316) on the history of this compilation, no systematic work has been done on the variant editions of the *Daozang jiyao*. My thanks to Mori Yuria for sending me a copy of Kim Yunsu’s article and to Kim Jihyun 金志玹 for her help in translating parts of it.

<sup>2</sup> The given account stems from the article of Zhao Zongcheng 趙宗誠, “*Daozang jiyao de bianzuan yu zengbu*” 道藏輯要的編纂與增補, *Sichuan wenwu* 四川文物 2 (1995): 27-31. A similar view by the same author is also included in Qing Xitai 卿希泰 (ed.), *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中國道教史 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin, 1996): vol. 4, 453-464. See also the Preface by Qing Xitai 卿希泰, “Chongkan *Daozang jiyao* (suoyinben) xu” 重刊道藏輯要(縮印本)序, in Chen Dali 陳大利 et al. (eds.), *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要, 10 vols. (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995): vol. 1, 1-3, also published in *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 31 (1996.2): 1-2. Ding Changchun 丁常春 and Li Hechun 李合春 in their recent works (“Chengdu Erxian’an lishi yange” 成都二仙庵歷史沿革, *Hongdao* 弘道 24, 2005.3: 92-97 and *Qingyanggong Erxian’an zhi* 青羊宮二仙庵誌, Chengdu: Sichuansheng xinwen, 2006, 188-194) give an overview of this Canon by basing themselves on Zhao Zongcheng’s hypothesis included in Qing Xitai. My thanks to Yin Zhihua 尹志華 for having offered me a copy of Ding and Li’s book as soon as it was published. Articles on the internet present a similar account; see for instance Li Gang 李剛, “*Daozang jiyao*” 道藏輯要, *Daojiao wenhua ziliaoku* 道教文化資料庫 (<http://www.taoism.org.hk/taoist-scriptures/taoist-canon/pg4-1-4-3.htm>), and Hong Baijian 洪百堅, “*Daozang jiyao*” 道藏輯要, *Daojiao xueshu zixun wangzhan* 道教學術資訊網站 (<http://www.etcwri.idv.tw/IndexD2/D2-13/066-127/13102/071-137/109.htm>). Zhao Zongcheng’s hypothesis has also been accepted by some Western scholars; see for instance Elena Valussi, “Peng

1. An original edition compiled around 1700 by Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719) containing 200 works, all extracted from the Ming Canon;<sup>3</sup>

2. A second expanded edition by Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (i.e., Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲, 1755-1819) from the Jiaqing era (1796-1820) which, in addition to Peng Dingqiu's edition, contains 79 texts which are not included in the Ming Canon;<sup>4</sup>

3. A re-edition by He Longxiang 賀龍驤 and Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 published in 1906 at the Erxian'an 二仙菴 of Chengdu (Sichuan) under the name of *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 or *New Edition of the Essentials of the Daoist Canon* which supposedly contains a total of 319 titles.<sup>5</sup>

*Theory 2:* In contrast to this account, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 in 1955 was

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Dingqiu,” in Fabrizio Pregadio (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 2 vols. (London: Curzon Press, 2008):vol. 2, 784-85, and Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007): 275.

<sup>3</sup> For the attribution of the original edition of the *Daozang jiyao* to Peng Dingqiu see also Li Yangzheng 李養正, *Daojiao shouce* 道教手冊 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1993): 358-359, and the entry “Daozang jiyao,” in Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 (ed.), *Zongjiao dacidian* 宗教大詞典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu, 1981) in which on p. 1064 Peng Dingqiu's original edition is said to contain 283 texts representing “the essence of the *Daozang*.” See also here below note 5.

<sup>4</sup> One finds a list of these supposedly 79 additional titles in Zhao Zongcheng (“*Daozang jiyao de bianzuan yu zengbu*,” 27-29, also in Qing Xitai, ed., *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, vol. 4, 455-458). They derive from a list of *Daozang jiyao* extra-canonical texts compiled by Weng Dujian 翁獨健 in his *Daozang zimu yinde* 道藏子目引得 (*Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature*), Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, no. 25 (Beiping [Beijing]: Yenching University Library, 1935): 38-40. For more information about this list, see Monica [Esposito] 莫尼卡, “*Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi—Shijie Qingdai Daozang suoshou daojing shumu wenti*” 道藏輯要及其編纂的歷史—試解清代道藏所收道經書目問題, Paper presented at the First International Academic Symposium of Daoist Literature and its Path to Immortality (Gaoxiong, Zhongshan University, November 10-12, 2006, in press [also available at <http://www.daozangjiyao.org>]).

<sup>5</sup> We find also mention of these three editions but including a different number of texts (173, 176 or 283 for Peng's edition, 270 for Jiang's edition, and 287 for He Longxiang's edition); see Ozaki Masaharu 尾崎正治, “*Dōzo shūyō*” 道藏輯要, in Noguchi Tetsuro 野口鐵郎 et al. (eds.), *Dōkyō jiten* 道教事典 (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1994): 456-457. See also the entry “Daozang jiyao,” in Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 (ed.), *Zongjiao dacidian* 宗教大詞典, 1064.

the first scholar to affirm in his *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* 道教經典史論 that there are only two editions of the *Daozang jiyao* (number 2 and number 3 of the first theory). The extant edition (number 2 of the list above) belonged to Jiang Yuanting, and consisted of 173 works, all from the Canon. Between 1821 and 1900, Jiang Yuanting's edition was engraved twice, and in the process 96 extra-canonical texts were added for a total of 269 texts. 18 more extracanonial works are said to have been added in the 1906 *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* edition for a total of 287 works.<sup>6</sup> Based on Yoshioka's work, Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁 gave the same account and proclaimed the attribution of the original edition of the *Daozang jiyao* to Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 as historically unlikely.<sup>7</sup>

*Theory 3*: Finally in 1996 Ding Peiren 丁培仁, after having consulted the exemplar of the *Daozang jiyao* stored at Sichuan Provincial Library (i.e., the property of Yan Yanfeng 嚴雁峰, which served as basis for the 1906 *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*), confirmed Jiang Yuanting as editor.<sup>8</sup> The fact that this collection includes taboo characters of Kangxi to Jiaqing eras (1662-1820) and not of the Daoguang era (1821-1850) indicates the time period when Jiang Yuanting supposedly compiled it and supports his being the original editor. According to Ding, the *Daozang jiyao* consists

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<sup>6</sup> Yoshioka, Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* 道教經典史論 (Tokyo: Dōkyō kankōkai, 1955): 175-176.

<sup>7</sup> Liu Ts'un-yan [柳存仁], "The Compilation and Historical Value of the Tao-tsang," in Donald D. Leslie, Colin Mackerras, and Wang Gungwu (eds.), *Essays on the Sources of Chinese History* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973): 104-119, in particular 107-108. On Liu Ts'un-yan's steps based on the previous statements of Yoshioka, see also in chronological order: Wang Shiu-hon, *Investigations into the Authenticity of the Chang San-Feng Ch'uan-Chi* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982): 3-7; Julian Pas, "Preface," in William Chen, *A Guide to Tao-tsang Chi Yao* (Stony Brook N.Y: The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religion, 1987): vii; Zhu Yueli 朱越利, *Daojing zonglun* 道經總論 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyi, 1991): 328; Wang Ka 王卡, "Daozang jiyao," in Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛 (ed.), *Zhongguo daojiao dacidian* 中國道教大辭典 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1995): 230; and Tian Chengyang 田誠陽, *Daojing zhishi baodian* 道經知識寶典 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin, 1995): 109.

<sup>8</sup> Ding Peiren 丁培仁, *Daojiao dianji baiwen* 道教典籍百問 (Beijing: Jinri Zhongguo, 1996): 216-218.



of 204 canonical texts and 93 extra-canonical texts. This means that this collection, in Ding's view, contained a total of 297 texts. 17 more extracanonial works are said to have been added in the 1906 *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* new edition for a total of 314 works.

Which of these current accounts is correct? Who was the original editor of the *Daozang jiyao*? How many times was this collection edited or reprinted? How many texts are really contained in it? How many of the *Daozang jiyao*'s texts are canonical and how many extracanonial? How many texts were added in the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* edition by He Longxiang 賀龍驤?

I have discussed the problems related to the extant editions of the *Daozang jiyao* and *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* as well as the numbering of its canonical and extra-canonical texts in a connected article which shows that both the identification of editors and the number of editions proposed by the above-mentioned scholars are questionable.<sup>9</sup> Here I will concentrate on some central questions concerning the editorship and the content of this collection.

In accord with Yoshioka, my study of the extant editions has confirmed that the original edition by Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (number 1 of the list above) is a fiction and does not exist. The edition by Jiang Yuanting (number 2) forms the basis of all extant printed editions; it is relatively rare but forms the kernel of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* of 1906 (number 3).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Monica [Esposito] 莫尼卡, "Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi." The questionable attribution of *Daozang jiyao*'s editorship refers exclusively to Theory 1.

<sup>10</sup> See Monica Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon. L'école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le Daozang xubian (Suite au canon taoïste)*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Paris VII, 1993): vol. 1, 4, 158, 162-163; "Daoism in the Qing (1644-1911)," in Livia Kohn (ed.), *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000): 623-658, in particular 634-635; and "Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi." Ding Peiren 丁培仁 (*Daojiao dianji baiwen*), Mori Yuria 森由利亜 ("Dōzo shūyō to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō"), and Kim Yunsu 金侖壽 ("Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo") also confirm that the *Daozang jiyao* is the fruit of Jiang Yuanting's editorship. See also the entry "Daozang jiyao," in Qing Xitai (ed.),

However, if this can be easily proved: why does the name of Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 still figure in the heading of today's reprints of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* instead of the original editor Jiang Yuanting? How did this mistake arise and why is it perpetuated until today? How can we prove that the *Daozang jiyao* was the work of Jiang Yuanting?

Let us begin with the purported editor Peng Dingqiu.

### *The Wrong Attribution to Peng Dingqiu or Peng Wenqin*

If one searches the internet databases of many libraries around the world for the *Daozang jiyao*, one often finds PENG DINGQIU or PENG WENQIN 彭文勤 as editor.<sup>11</sup> The name of Peng Wenqin appears, for instance, in the reprints of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* published by the Kaozheng 考正 (Taipei, 1971) and the Xinwenfeng 新文豐 (Taipei, 1977, 1983 and 1986) publishing houses.<sup>12</sup> How did this come about?

In 1892, when Yan Yonghe 閻永和 became abbot of the Daoist monastery of Erxian'an 二仙菴 in Chengdu, he decided to reprint the *Daozang jiyao*. Unfortunately, as its printing blocks were already ruined, Yan had them newly engraved.<sup>13</sup> Thanks to

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*Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教, 4 vols. (Shanghai: Zhishi, 1994), vol. 2, 32-33.

<sup>11</sup> See for instance Taiwan Opac (<http://nbinet.ncl.edu.tw>) or the National Library of China (<http://www.nlc.gov.cn/en/collections/books.htm>) where one finds for the editor of the *Daozang jiyao* the mention “(清)彭定求等編” as well as “彭文勤等纂輯 賀龍驤校勘.” In the website of the Academia sinica library (<http://las.sinica.edu.tw/>) one now also finds the mention “彭元瑞 (1731-1803) 纂輯”. On the figure of Peng Yuanrui see here below.

<sup>12</sup> In the reprint of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* in ten volumes (Chen Dali et al. eds., *Daozang jiyao*), one finds an earlier introduction by Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 dated 1985 (issued for the newly edition in 314 fascicles/32 cases of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* after the restoration of its printing blocks by the Bashu shushe publishing house), which does not mention anything about the editorship, and an introduction by Qing Xitai (1995) based on the account of the three editions (see above note 2). More on the 1906 *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* and its editions in Monica [Esposito], “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.”

<sup>13</sup> While Yan Yonghe and Peng Hanran in their Prefaces (respectively: “Chongkan Daozang jiyao yuanqi” 重刊道藏輯要緣起, 15a/4, and “Chongkan Daozang jiyao bianyan” 重刊道藏輯要弁言, 16a/3,

the economic support and help of Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 and the participation of He Longxiang 賀龍驤 as collator, this new edition of the *Daozang jiyao* was made on the basis of a printed exemplar of Yan Yanfeng 嚴雁峰 stored in Sichuan.<sup>14</sup> According to He Longxiang, this exemplar was the work of Peng Dingqiu. Referring to its table of contents, He Longxiang says in his “Preface to the Detailed Table of Contents of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*” (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao zimu chubian xu* 重刊道藏輯要子目初編序, 1906, 20a):

We express our gratitude to the Premier of our dynasty, Peng Dingqiu, who compiled the *Daozang jiyao*. Unfortunately, the table of contents of the original collection stops short of recording the number of fascicles and does not provide a detailed listing of their contents.

我朝彭定求相公，撰《道藏輯要》一書，為世稱快。惜原書〈總目〉，止載卷數，未列子目。<sup>15</sup>

With regard to the content of this collection, in the “Preface to the Catalogue of the Imperial Edition of the Daoist Canon” (*Qinding Daozang quanshu zongmu xu* 欽

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in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1986, vol. 1, 44) mention that the printing blocks were already ruined, He Longxiang (“Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou” 校勘道藏輯要書後, 17b/8-9, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 45) tells us that they were stored in Beijing but eaten by worms. More on the destiny of the *Daozang jiyao* printing blocks here below. From now on I shall refer for the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* to the Xinwenfeng reprint of 1986 in 25 volumes. The references to the *Daozang jiyao* are also given according to this more available Xinwenfeng reprint of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*.

<sup>14</sup> See the Preface by Yan Yonghe, “Chongkan Daozang jiyao yuanqi,” 15a-b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 44). However, He Longxiang in his Preface (“Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou,” 18a, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 45) tells us he also used for the collation two manuscript versions of the *Daozang jiyao* of two bibliophiles: He Qizhong 何起重 and Qin Pengsheng 秦芃生. See Monica [Esposito] 莫尼卡, “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.”

<sup>15</sup> *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 46. He Longxiang refers here to the “*Daozang jiyao zongmu*” 道藏輯要總目, the table of contents included in the printed exemplar of Yan Yanfeng. More on this below.

定道藏全書總目序, 1b), He Longxiang adds:

As for the *Daozang jiyao* compiled by the Minister of State Peng Dingqiu, it is partly derived from the [Ming] imperial edition [of the Daoist Canon] and partly from bookshops' current editions. Although the content of these current editions was genuine and refined, they were not included in the Daoist Canon. 相國彭定求所編《道藏輯要》，出於頒行本者半，出於坊間本者亦半。雖坊本亦皆純正精粹，然非《道藏》所有。<sup>16</sup>

While He Longxiang twice mentions Peng Dingqiu as editor and refers to him by the titles of *xianggong* 相公 and *xiangguo* 相國, in the “Postscript to the Collation of the *Daozang jiyao*” (Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou 校勘道藏輯要書後, 17b) dated 1906 he uses the same title *xiangguo*, but this time with the name of Peng Wenqin 彭文勤:

When I heard that the Erxian'an was re-editing the *Daozang jiyao* of the Minister of State Peng Wenqin, my heart was full of admiration. 聞二仙菴重刊相國彭文勤《道藏輯要》，心輒慕之。<sup>17</sup>

The biography of Peng Dingqiu (1645-1719) contains no mention of the title *xiangguo* or the name Wenqin 文勤.<sup>18</sup> Conversely, the posthumous name Wenqin appears in the biography of PENG QIFENG, 彭啟豐 (1701-1784), the grandson of Peng

<sup>16</sup> *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 303. See also Wang Shiu-hon, *Investigations into the Authenticity of the Chang San-Feng Ch'uan-Chi*, 3-4.

<sup>17</sup> *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 45.

<sup>18</sup> For the biography of Peng Dingqiu see *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, j. 480 (repr. in 48 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976-77): vol. 43, 13155, and Rufus O. Suter, “P'eng Ting-ch'iu,” in Arthur W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Taipei: Ch'eng wen Publishing Company, 1970): 616-617. Regarding the problem of the official titles Zhao Zongcheng also notices that the biographies of Peng Dingqiu do not contain any mention of the title *xiangguo* or the name Wenqin, and he wonders if He Longxiang mistakenly took the title *xiangguo* 相國 to mean *xianggong* 相公. See also Qing Xitai (ed.), *Zhongguo dao jiao shi*, vol. 4, 459, note 1, and Kim Yunsu, “*Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo*,” 282-283.

Dingqiu, as well as in the biography of a certain PENG YUANRUI 彭元瑞 (1731-1803) from Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi) who obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1757.<sup>19</sup> In his recent postdoctoral work devoted to the *Daozang jiyao*, Wan Dekai 万德凯 notes that in the two passages where He Longxiang mentions the name of Peng Dingqiu, his role is specified as *bian* 編 or *zhuan* 撰 (i.e., compiler: 彭定求所編《道藏輯要》; 彭定求相公·撰《道藏輯要》一書). But in the only passage where He Longxiang mentions the name of Peng Wenqin, he simply writes of “the *Daozang jiyao* of Peng Wenqin 彭文勤《道藏輯要》”. According to Wan this might point either to a mistake by He Longxiang in transcribing Peng’s names or to a possible connection of a transmitted copy of the *Daozang jiyao* with Peng Wenqin.<sup>20</sup> If He Longxiang refers to Peng Qifeng as “Peng Wenqin,” it is worthy of note that Peng Qifeng was the person who stored in his house an old version of Lü Dongbin’s writings, the *Quanshu zongzheng* 全書宗正. As is stated in various prefaces included in the *Daozang jiyao*, this collection should be one of the sources that Jiang Yuanting used for his *Quanshu zhengzong* 全書正宗, a work that, as we are going to see, was central for the

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<sup>19</sup> “彭啟豐 ... 謚文勤,” see Dou Zhen 寶鎮 (ed.), *Guochao shuhuaqia bilu* 國朝書畫家筆錄 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1971): j. 1, 55a, and Mori Yuria 森由利亜, “Chūkan Dōzō shūyō to Shinchō Shisen chiiki no shūkyō” 重刊道藏輯要と清朝四川地域の宗教, in Okazaki Yumi 岡崎由美 (ed.), *Chūgoku koseki ryūtsūgaku no kakuritsu: ryūtsū suru koseki, ryūtsū suru bunka* 中國古籍流通學の確立：流通する古籍・流通する文化 (Tokyo: Yūzan shuppan, 2007): 339-401, here 351. As for Peng Yuanrui, at the beginning of the Jiaqing era he was ordered to revise Gaozong’s *Shilu* 高宗實錄. In his younger days, Peng Yuanrui and Jiang Shiquan 蔣士銓 were referred to as “The Two Celebrities of Jiangxi 江右兩名士.” In 1789-91 Peng rose to the high rank of president of the Board of Civil Office. See *Qingshi gao*, j. 320 (vol. 36, 1769-1770), and Tu Lien-che, “Chiang Shih-ch’uan,” in Arthur W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese*, 141. According to Kim Yunsu (“*Dojang jipyō wa Jang Yoepo*” 道藏輯要と蔣予蒲, 282-83) and Wan Dekai 万德凯 (“*Daozang jiyao yanjiu*” 道藏輯要研究, Postdoctoral report, Sichuan University, summer 2007, 8-10), the title *xiangguo* and the posthumous name (*shihao* 謚號) Wenqin should refer to Peng Yuanrui. My thanks to Dr. Wan for sending me a copy of his work on July 15, 2007.

<sup>20</sup> See Wan Dekai “*Daozang jiyao yanjiu*,” 8-10.

compilation of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao*.<sup>21</sup>

In any case it is difficult to know on which basis He Longxiang established Peng's editorship; but we cannot but remark that, like his grandson Peng Qifeng, Peng Dingqiu had clear links with Daoism.

Born in Changzhou 長洲 (today's Suzhou, Jiangsu) into a family of military descent, PENG DINGQIU (*zi*: Qinzhi 勤止, Fanglian 訪濂; *hao*: Nanyun 南昫), after having obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1676 or 1686,<sup>22</sup> served as Senior Compiler (*xiuzhuan* 修撰) at the Hanlin Academy in Beijing. Under the guidance of Tang Bin 湯斌 (1627-1687) he was a scholar of Wang Yangming and at the same time a Daoist devotee.<sup>23</sup> In 1674 he participated in vegetarian activities with the literati You Tong 尤侗 (1618-1704, *zi*: Meian 梅庵) in his hometown and produced Daoist poems.<sup>24</sup> In the *Daozang jiyao* his name is associated not only with a new edition of a Daoist scripture entitled *Zhenquan* 真詮 but also, as manager of a spirit-writing altar,<sup>25</sup> with the

<sup>21</sup> See Monica Esposito, "The Different Versions of the *Secret of the Golden Flower* and Their Relationship with the Longmen School," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* XLIII (1998): 90-109, here 95, note 17, and 103-105; and of the same author "Shindai ni okeru Kingai-san no seiritsu to *Kinka shūshi*," 清代における金蓋山の成立と金華宗旨 in Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo (ed.), *Chūgoku shūkyō bunken kenkyū* 中国宗教文献研究 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2007, 239-264): here 261-262. See also below note 43.

<sup>22</sup> *Qingshi gao*, j. 304 (vol. 35, 10503) and j. 480 (vol. 43, 13155), respectively; see Qing Xitai (ed.), *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, vol. 4, 454, note 1. In *Yuquan yulu* 玉詮語錄 78b/4 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 13, 5753), Peng Dingqiu is said to be the number one Scholar in 1676.

<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to notice that the mother and the wife of Jiang Yuanting were also connected to Tang Bin as they were 5<sup>th</sup>-generation members of his family from Suizhou 睢州 (Henan). See Kim Yunsu, "Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo," 291.

<sup>24</sup> One of the first activities he organized in his hometown was a vegetarian society modeled after the Doufu hui 豆腐會 (Association of Bean Curd Eaters) founded by Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562-1626); see Rufus O. Suter, "P'eng Ting-ch'iu," in Arthur W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese*, 617, and L. Carrington Goodrich and Fang Chaoying (eds.), *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 1368-1644 (New York: Columbia University, 1976): 701-710. For the Daoist poems included in *Meian nianpu* 梅庵年譜 see Kim Yunsu, "Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo," 283.

<sup>25</sup> As is well-known, "spirit-writing" (in Chinese referred to as *fujū* 扶乩 "wielding the stylus," *fuluan* 扶鸞 "wielding the phoenix," *feiluan* 飛鸞 "flying phoenix," *jiangluan* 降鸞 "descending

transmission of morality texts including those in honor of Wenchang 文昌, the god of literary pursuits.<sup>26</sup>

It is thus plausible, as Kim Yunsu has suggested, that on the basis of these quotations referring to Peng Dingqiu and included in the *Daozang jiyao*, He Longxiang ended up wrongly attributing the entire compilation to Peng Dingqiu.<sup>27</sup> We can say “wrongly attributing” because if one looks at the content of the *Daozang jiyao*

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phoenix,” *jiangbi* 降筆 “descending brush,” etc.) is one of the most common practices of divination which, during the Ming and Qing dynasties, was *en vogue* among high-ranking officials and literati as well as common people. Its popularity largely derived from the belief of literati and officials who often used it for asking about examinations and attaining official posts. During the time of civil service examinations in the Ming and Qing the practice was so widespread that spirit writing altars (*jitan* 乩壇; see below Fig. 3) could be found in almost every prefecture and county. See David K. Jordan and Daniel Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 40-41. See also below note 85.

<sup>26</sup> Peng Dingqiu showed not only interest in Daoist self-cultivation practices (see his Preface dated 1710 to the *Zhenquan* 真詮, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 21, 9159), but also in spirit-writing activities. The introductory note of the *Yuquan yulu* 玉詮語錄 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 13, 5753) states that this scripture belongs to Peng's spirit-writing altar named Yuquan 玉詮, which is located in Sucheng 蘇城 (Suzhou). Furthermore, in the Preface to the *Dongjing shidu* 洞經示讀 attributed via spirit writing to Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君 and dated 1728 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 3, 1174-1175), the name of Peng Dingqiu appears related to Wenchang's cult. With regard to this Rufus O. Suter (“P'eng Ting-ch'iu,” 617) documents that occasionally Peng lectured to his younger fellow-villagers at the local temple of the God of Literature (i.e., Wenchang).

<sup>27</sup> As Kim Yunsu (“*Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo*,” 285-286) emphasizes, He Longxiang does not seem very reliable in his attributions of Daoist works. In the “Qinding Daozang quanshu zongmu” 欽定道藏全書總目, 14a (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 310), for instance, he attributed the *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 to Shi Tai 石泰 (?-1158) when, as is well known, Shi Tai is only the author of the *Huanyuanpian* 還源篇. Again in the “Guochao fangke daoshu mulu” 國朝坊刻道書目錄, 14a-b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 352) although it is said that the printing blocks of the *Daoyan wuzhong* 道言五種 were carved in the Xianfeng era (1854), He attributed this collection to the Song figure Weng Baoguang 翁葆光 (fl. 1173). From the content of this collection one can easily know that it was a compilation by Tao Susi 陶素耜 (fl. 1676), a Qing official close to Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1713) who was interested in Daoist inner alchemy.

and its prefaces and postfaces one can identify many traces left by the true editor. But before following and analyzing these traces, we will examine an irrefutable proof of the *Daozang jiyao*'s true editorship which is contained in the work of Min Yide 閔一得 (1748/58?-1836).

*The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting's Daozang jiyao in Jiangnan*

Min Yide 閔一得, an important figure in Qing dynasty Quanzhen Daoism, mentions the *Daozang jiyao* various times in his writings.<sup>28</sup> As eleventh patriarch of the Longmen 龍門 lineage at Mount Jin'gai 金蓋 (Zhejiang), while collecting and editing texts on inner alchemy related to his own tradition, he was aware of Daoist works that circulated at that time in the Jiangnan area. Min Yide noted that for his own *Collection from the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books* (*Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書) he edited two texts from the *Daozang jiyao*: the *Yinfujing xuanjie* 陰符經玄解 and the *Jinhua zongzhi* 金華宗旨.

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<sup>28</sup> On the life of this master and his work see Monica Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon. L'école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le Daozang xubian*. For a short English presentation see also my entry "Min Yide," in Fabrizio Pregadio (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol. 2, 747-748. Recently a number of Chinese articles devoted to this important figure have been published in various Chinese journals. See for instance Wu Yakui 吳亞魁, "Jingai shan ren Min Yide zhuanlüe" 金蓋山人閔一得傳略, *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 (2004.3): 139-148, and the articles issued in the *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 journal available online: Xie Zhengqiang 謝正強, "Min Yide xiaokao erze" 閔一得小考二則, *Zhongguo daojiao* (2004.1; [http://big5.chinataoism.org/content.php?cate\\_id=1077#78](http://big5.chinataoism.org/content.php?cate_id=1077#78)), Liu Huanling 劉煥玲, "Shixi Min Yide zhi Longmen Fangbian famen" 試析閔一得之龍門方便法門, *Zhongguo daojiao* (2005.5; <http://big5.chinataoism.org/showtopic.php?id=9370>), and Wang Zongyao 王宗耀, "Min Yide shennian kaoyi" 閔一得生年考疑, *Zhongguo daojiao* (2005.6; [http://cn.qikan.com/b5qikan/view\\_article.asp?titleid=zgdj20050617&lanmu=%A1e%A5v%AE%C6%B BP%AA%BE%C3%D1%A1f](http://cn.qikan.com/b5qikan/view_article.asp?titleid=zgdj20050617&lanmu=%A1e%A5v%AE%C6%B BP%AA%BE%C3%D1%A1f)). For a Japanese presentation of Min Yide's life and his relation with Tantrism see Monica Esposito (モニカ・エスポジト), "Shindai dōkyō to mikkyō: Ryūmon seijiku shinshū" 清代道教と密教—龍門西竺心宗, in Kunio Mugitani 麥谷邦夫 (ed.), *Sankyō kōshō ronsō* 三教交渉論叢 (Kyoto: Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 2005): 287-338, in particular 294-306 (also available at <http://www.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/cgi-bin/kyodo-pub.cgi?pub-sort.csv>).



The first text was a commentary by Fan Yibin 范宜賓 (fl. 1722) that editor Jiang Yuanting, as he explains in his Postscript, inserted in the “*Daozang [jiyao]*.”<sup>29</sup> Min Yide states in his Preface that he added his own commentary (*zhengyi* 正義) and thus named it *Yinfujing xuanjie zhengyi* 陰符經玄解正義 (Correct Interpretation on the Profound Meaning of the *Yinfujing*). For his explanations he based himself on a number of exegeses to the *Yinfujing*—some of which, like the commentary by the Ten Perfects and those by Zhang Guo 張果 and Wang Daoyuan 王道淵, were also included in the *Daozang jiyao*.<sup>30</sup> Like Jiang in his Postscript, Min in his Preface simply refers to the *Daozang jiyao* as *Daozang* 道藏 or Daoist Canon, but he also uses the abbreviation *Jiyao* 輯要.

The second text edited by Min Yide, as is clearly mentioned in its title inside Min's collection, was another work edited by Jiang Yuanting:

*Lü zushi xiantian xuwu Taiyi Jinhua zongzhi* (The Essence of the Tradition of the Supreme One's Golden Flower of the Primordial Void by Patriarch Lü [Dongbin]), edited by the Vice-minister Jiang Yuanting and revised by Min Yide from Mount Jin'gai.

《呂祖師先天虛無太一金華宗旨》，蔣侍郎元庭先生輯，金蓋山人閱一得訂政。<sup>31</sup>

Min Yide informs us of its relation to the *Daozang jiyao* by saying:

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<sup>29</sup> *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 8, 3192. Here the editor Jiang Yuanting uses the word *Daozang* for the *Daozang jiyao* and signs his Postscript with his appellation Lifu shanren 立甫山人. See here below for other appellations of him.

<sup>30</sup> See the Preface by Min Yide to the *Yinfujing zhengyi* in his *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* reprinted in Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (ed.), *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書, 20 vols. (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992): vol. 10, 296-297. Min Yide quotes here all the commentaries to the *Yinfujing* that have been included in the *Daozang jiyao* just before the commentary by Fan Yibin. See *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 8, 3148-3184.

<sup>31</sup> *Jinhua zongzhi*, 3a (*Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 10, 328).

This scripture appeared in the *wuchen* year of the Kangxi era (1688) and was transmitted at the Lineage altar of the Lodge of the Dragon Peak on Mount Jin'gai where a sage of this mountain, Tao Shi'an, printed it. During the Jiaqing era (1796-1820) Vice-minister [Jiang] Yuanting obtained and copied a spurious version of it and inserted it in the *Daozang jiyao*.

是書出於康熙戊辰，金蓋龍嶠山房宗壇所傳，本山先哲陶石菴先生壽諸梓。嘉慶間，侍郎元庭先生得傳抄訛本，纂入《道藏輯要》。<sup>32</sup>

Min Yide thus seems to have been quite familiar with the content of the *Daozang jiyao*, at least with regard to the texts he was interested in. According to him, this Daoist Canon of the Jiaqing era was the fruit of Jiang Yuanting's editorship. Furthermore, Min notes that Jiang edited another work devoted to the teachings of the Patriarch Lü Dongbin, the *Lüzü Tianxian zhengzong neiji* 呂祖天仙正宗內集 (Inner Collection of the Orthodox Tradition of the Celestial Immortals of Patriarch Lü), which he strongly relied on for his exegesis of the *Lü zushi sannī yishi shuoshu* 呂祖師三尼醫世說述 (Explanations on the Three Sages's Doctrine of Healing the World by the Founding Patriarch Lü).<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Jinhua zongzhi*, 3a (*Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 10, 328).

<sup>33</sup> See *Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 10, 354. For a partial translation and presentation of the *Lü zushi sannī yishi shuoshu* and its related texts belonging to the central cycle of Lü Dongbin's teachings associated with Mount Jin'gai's tradition of Healing the World (Yishi zong 醫世宗), see Monica Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon. L'école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le Daozang xubian*, vol. 1, 246-279; "Longmen Taoism in Qing China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 191-231, in particular 213-221; and "Shindai ni okeru Kingai-san no seiritsu to *Kinka shūshi*" 清代における金蓋山の成立と金華宗旨 (The *Secret of the Golden Flower* and the Establishment of the Longmen Tradition at Mount Jin'gai during the Qing Dynasty), in Tokio Takata 高田時雄 (ed.), *Chūgoku shūkyō bunken kenkyū kokusai shinpojūmu hōkokusho* 中国宗教文献研究国際シンポジウム報告書 (Kyoto: Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 2004): 259-268, in particular 262-265 (also published in Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, ed., *Chūgoku shūkyō bunken kenkyū* 中国宗教文献研究, Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2007, 239-264). See also Mori Yuria 森由利亜 "Ryo Dōhin to Zenshin-kyō: Shinchō koshū Kingai-san no jirei o chūshin ni" 呂洞賓と全真教—清朝湖州金蓋山の事例を中心に, in Kikuchi Noritaka 野口鐵郎 (ed.), *Dōkyō no kamigami to kyōten* 道教の神々と經典 (Tokyo: Yūzan

As we are going to see, as an affiliate of Lü Dongbin's orthodox lineage of Celestial Immortals, Jiang also compiled a collection of texts better known as *Lüzü quanshu shiliu juan* 呂祖全書十六卷 (Complete Works of Patriarch Lü in 16 scrolls), or *Quanshu zhengzong* 全書正宗 (Complete Works of the Orthodox Lineage).<sup>34</sup> Various prefaces included in the *Daozang jiyao* refer to this collection.<sup>35</sup>

It is thus clear that Min Yide knew Jiang's work. More than that: he also met the man in 1817 when Jiang was in Hangzhou. In the "Biography of Muzhaigong" (Muzhaigong zhuan 牧齋公傳), commented by Min Yide in his *Jin'gai xindeng* 金蓋心燈 or *Lamp History of Mount Jin'gai*, Min mentions that Jiang Yuanting wrote for him an essay entitled "Min recovers the epitaph of his ancestor" (Minshi fude zumu ji 閔氏復得祖墓記) which describes Min's discovery in 1817 of the epitaph of his ancestor Muzhaigong and its restoration.<sup>36</sup> We can assume that they exchanged their views on alchemical practice and information about texts in circulation.<sup>37</sup> According to

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kaku, 1999): 242-264, in particular 250-260.

<sup>34</sup> It is under the title of *Lüzü quanshu shiliu juan* that Zhu Gui 朱珪 (1732-1806) in his Preface dated 1803 ("Quanshu zhengzong houxu" 全書正宗後序, j. 首, 1a, in Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲 ed., *Quanshu zhengzong*, 16 juan, 1805) quotes this collection and states that it was compiled by the Chief Minister Jiang Yupu 蔣太僕予蒲; see Monica Esposito, "The Different Versions of the *Secret of the Golden Flower* and Their Relationship with the Longmen School," 94-95, and 103-104. For a presentation of this collection, see Mori Yuria, "*Dōzo shūyō* to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō," 36-43, and here below.

<sup>35</sup> See for instance the Postfaces by Wu Fengzhou 吳鳳洲 and Jiang Yupu (i.e., Jiang Yuanting) to the *Shiliupinjing* 十六品經 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5340), and below note 41. See also the study of Kim Yunsu ("Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo," 296-303) and his hypothesis that this collection was named *Lüzü quanshu zongzheng jicheng* 呂祖全書宗正集成.

<sup>36</sup> *Jin'gai xindeng* 金蓋心燈, j. 7, 17b/7-8, in Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥 (ed.), *Daojiao wenxian* 道教文獻, 20 vols. (Taipei: Danqing tushu youxian gongsi, 1983, vols. 10-11): vol. 11, 588; quoted in Kim Yunsu, "Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo," 290.

<sup>37</sup> Min Yide in the *Yin zhenren Donghua zhengmai huangji hepi zhengdao xianjing* 尹真人東華正脈皇極闢關證道仙經 (*Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 10, 367-383) quotes for instance Jiang Yuanting's alchemical views by mentioning Jiang under his style name Nanqiaozi 南樵子. Min also shows his disagreement with Jiang's explanations about the commentary of the *Jinhua zongzhi* by labeling it

Min Yide, during the period when Jiang Yuanting was in his region, Jiang learnt about another edition of the *Jinhua zongzhi* which was different from the version Jiang had already inserted in his *Daozang jiyao*. This newly discovered version was transmitted at Mount Jin'gai, the Daoist sanctuary where Min Yide lived at that time. Jiang is thus said to have taken the decision to substitute the spurious version in his *Daozang jiyao* with that of Mount Jin'gai; but “as the printing blocks [of the *Daozang jiyao*] were in his residence at the capital (i.e., Beijing), he delivered them back south. Then, he moved again north and passed away at the capital 而板在京邸，及送板歸南，而先生又北上，卒於京。”<sup>38</sup>

From the biography of Jiang Yuanting we know that in 1816 Jiang indeed moved to Hangzhou with his son for three years, that in 1819 he decided to return to Beijing in order to celebrate the 60<sup>th</sup> birthday of the Jiaqing emperor, and that he had passed away soon afterwards.<sup>39</sup>

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“Central Lineage” or Zhongzong 中宗; see Monica Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon. L'école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le Daozang xubian*, vol. 1, 184-221, in particular 205-210; and “Il Segreto del Fiore d'Oro e la tradizione Longmen del Monte Jin'gai,” in Piero Corradini (ed.), *Conoscenza e interpretazione della civiltà cinese* (Venice: Cafoscarina 1996): 151-169, in particular 163-169. See also Kim Yunsu, “*Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo*,” 306-312.

<sup>38</sup> See the Introductory note by Min Yide to the *Jinhua zongzhi* (*Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 10, 328) whose initial part has been already translated above. The entire passage in Chinese goes as follows: 是書出於康熙戊辰，金蓋龍嶠山房宗壇所傳，本山先哲陶石菴先生壽諸梓。嘉慶間，侍郎元庭先生得傳抄訛本，纂入《道藏輯要》。後在浙省見本山梓本，議即改梓。而板在京邸，及送板歸南，而先生又北上，卒於京；事故中止。此未了要事，一得之心，不能刻忘也。今歲遊金陵，得世所傳謄本，亦與陶本不盡合，而較蔣本多收一二節，似又出自陶本者，各以私意增損，言人人殊，何以信後。茲一準陶本訂政之。

<sup>39</sup> See the epitaph (“Muzhi ming” 墓誌銘) devoted to Jiang Yuanting under his original name Jiang Yupu and compiled by Hu Jing 胡敬 in the Appendix to *juan 94* of the *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 國朝耆獻類徵初編 in 480 *juan* edited by Li Huan 李桓 between 1884 and 1890 (in Zhou Junfu 周駿富 ed., *Qingdai chuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊, Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985): 146.183-188, in particular 188. On more on Jiang Yupu, see Mori Yuria, “*Dōzo shūyō to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō*,” 36-37, and Kim Yunsu “*Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo*,” 290-295. See also here below. My thanks to Mori Yuria for sending me materials related to the biography of Jiang Yupu.

Concerning the printing blocks of the *Daozang jiyao* that were “delivered back south,” there is an interesting passage in Min Yide’s preface to the *Yin zhenren Donghua zhengmai huangji hepi zhengdao xianjing* 尹真人東華正脈皇極闔關證道仙經 (Immortal Scripture by the Perfected Yin Testifying to the Path of Opening and Closing the August Ultimate according to the Orthodox Lineage of the Eastern Florescence) dated 1831. Min Yide informs us that the blocks were now stored in Suzhou. It was thanks to them that Min could easily revise the *Jinhua zongzhi* before publishing it in his *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* or *Collection from the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books*:

Fortunately the spurious copy of the *Hepi jing* was not yet included in the *Daozang [jiyao]*. By contrast, a spurious copy of the *Jinhua zongzhi* was inserted in the Canon. But since its printing blocks were in Suzhou, once I obtained them it was simple to revise it.

今幸《闔關經》訛本，未纂入《道藏》。《金華宗旨》訛本，雖入藏，而板存姑蘇，取以重梓，亦自易易。<sup>40</sup>

It is thus clear that at the time of Min Yide, Jiang Yuanting was not only known as the compiler of Lü Dongbin’s works but above all as the editor of the *Daozang jiyao*. Jiang was said to have stored the printing blocks of the *Daozang jiyao* in his residence at the capital, but after having moved to Hangzhou in 1816 he wanted them to be transferred to Suzhou. We do not know why Jiang chose Suzhou, but it is interesting to note that in 1815 he was exactly in this town: in December of that year he was invited to write the text of a stele for the rebuilding of the Great Hall of Wenchang in the Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀 of Suzhou.<sup>41</sup> Two of his friends, Song Rong 宋鎔 and the

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<sup>40</sup> *Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 10, 367. For an almost integral translation of this interesting Preface see Monica Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon. L'école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le Daozang xubian*, vol. 1, 185-188.

<sup>41</sup> See Jiang Yupu, “Chongxiu Yuanmiaoguan Wenchang dadian ji” 重修元妙觀文昌大殿記, in

great-grandchild of Peng Dingqiu, Peng Xilian 彭希濂, who both were living in Suzhou, were charged with its calligraphy.<sup>42</sup> At any rate, during the Daoguang 道光 era (1821-1850) the printing blocks were apparently in Suzhou, the hometown of Peng Dingqiu, but we do not know what happened after that.<sup>43</sup>

*Ding Fubao and his Index to Jiang Yuanting's Daozang jiyao*

We have to wait until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to find again some traces of this Canon. In 1922 the bibliophile Ding Fubao 丁福保 (*hao*: Shouyi zi 守一子, 1874-1952), after having obtained a copy of the *Daozang jiyao*, compiled a catalogue entitled *Daozang jiyao zongmu* 道藏輯要總目 which he went on to publish in his *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 or *Record of the Quintessence of the Daoist Canons*.<sup>44</sup> In the explanatory note to his catalogue, Ding records a very similar account of what Min Yide reported in 1834 in his introductory note to the *Jinhua zongzhi*:

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*Chongyin Xuanmiaoguan* 重印玄妙觀志, j. 10, 12b-13a (*Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 20, 501-502); quoted in Kim Yunsu, “*Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo*,” 294.

<sup>42</sup> See Kim Yunsu, “*Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo*,” 292-293. Kim also suggests on p. 306 that the printing blocks of the *Daozang jiyao* might be stored in Song Rong's house.

<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to note that the grandson of Peng Dingqiu, Peng Qifeng 彭啟豐 (1701-1784) stored in his house an old version of Lü Dongbin's writings, the *Quanshu zongzheng* 全書宗正 which, as is stated in various prefaces included in the *Daozang jiyao*, should be one of the collections that Jiang used for his *Quanshu zhengzong*. In the “Conventions” (*Fanli* 凡列) to Jiang's *Quanshu zhengzong* it is in fact said that “this collection stems from the revision of the [*Quanshu*] *zongzheng* on the basis of the [*Lüzu*] *quanshu* by Liu Tishu in 32 scrolls and by Shao Zhilin in 64 scrolls.” 是集係就《宗正》原本重訂，恭檢《全書》，劉體恕所刻三十二卷，邵志琳所刻六十四卷。In 1852 the printing-blocks of the *Quanshu zongzheng* were restored by Chen Mou 陳謀 and published under the title *Lüzu quanshu zongzheng* 呂祖全書宗正 in 18 *juan*. See Monica Esposito, “The Different Versions of the *Secret of the Golden Flower* and Their Relationship with the Longmen School,” 95 note 17, and 103-105, and of the same author, “Shindai ni okeru Kingai-san no seiritsu to *Kinka shūshi*,” 261-262.

<sup>44</sup> Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1922 (repr. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1989). For a short introduction of this collection including works both from the Ming Daoist Canon than the *Daozang jiyao*, see Judith Boltz, “*Daozang jinghua lu*,” in Fabrizio Pregadio (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol.1, 340-341.

This book (i.e., the *Daozang jiyao*) was compiled by the Vice-minister Jiang Yuanting during the Jiaqing era (1796-1820) of the Qing dynasty. Its printing blocks were first kept at his residence at the capital (Beijing), and later he delivered them back south. Then he moved again to the north and passed away at the capital. Thus there are only a few copies in circulation outside.

是書清嘉慶間蔣元庭侍郎輯，板在京邸，及送板歸南，而先生又北上，卒於京，故外間傳本甚少。

From this passage it is clear that Ding Fubao read Min Yide's note.<sup>45</sup> This can be further confirmed by the fact that some years later Ding published the work of Min Yide.<sup>46</sup>

In his catalogue to the *Daozang jiyao*, Ding based himself not only on the table of contents included in his copy entitled *Daozang jiyao zongmu* 道藏輯要總目 but also recorded details regarding the content of texts.<sup>47</sup> Interestingly, Ding's copy included

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<sup>45</sup> It is enough to compare this Chinese passage with Min's quotation included here in note 38 (in particular with its underlined part) for understanding this.

<sup>46</sup> This work is entitled *Daozang xubian* 道藏續編. As its title page shows, its first xylographic edition was prepared in 1834 on Mount Jin'gai. It includes twenty-three texts forming the core of Min Yide's *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書 opening with the *Jinhua zongzhi*. After having bought a copy of it, Ding Fubao made a reproduction using metallic type characters and in 1952 published it under the title *Daozang xubian chuji* 道藏續編初集 (Shanghai: Yixue shuju). Later reprints in smaller format were published in 1989 (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe) and 1993 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe); see "Bianji shuoming" 編輯說明 as well as the explanation given by Shou Yizi (i.e., Ding Fubao) in *Daozang xubian* (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1989). On this collection see Monica Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon. L'école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le Daozang xubian*, and the entry "Daozang xubian," in Fabrizio Pregadio (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol. 1, 347-350.

<sup>47</sup> This can be proved by comparing the information given in Ding Fubao's catalogue for the title of texts, number of fascicles, chapters, authors, etc., and the information given in the table of contents ("Daozang jiyao zongmu") of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao*. See Appendix 1 to Monica [Esposito], "Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi." The "Daozang jiyao zongmu" originally included in Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* was also reedited by He Longxiang under the title "Chongkan Daozang jiyao

two supplementary texts that are not found in the 1906 new edition of the *Daozang jiyao*: the *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin jijing* 玉清贊化九天演政心印集經 and the *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin baochan* 玉清贊化九天演政心印寶懺. Both texts are related to the immortal Lü Dongbin who appears under the title Yuqing zanhua 玉清贊化, a title which was conferred on him in 1801 “on account of the great veneration that he enjoyed among Daoist clergy and laymen.”<sup>48</sup>

The first text was also known to Min Yide because Min quoted it in a passage of his *Lü zushi sannī yishi shuoshu* 呂祖師三尼醫世說述,<sup>49</sup> whereas the second text was commented by Min’s master Shen Yibing 沈一炳 (1708-1786) who transmitted many texts to Min that are included in his collection of Daoist scriptures.<sup>50</sup> It is thus quite possible that both texts belonging to Min Yide’s tradition came to the attention of Jiang Yuanting during his stay in Hangzhou between 1816 and 1819. One may infer that these were the last texts to be added to the *Daozang jiyao*; and it is conceivable

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zongmu” (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 12-31).

<sup>48</sup> See the Preface by Xiao Lun 蕭掄 (dated 1817) to the *Jin’gai xindeng*, 1a/3-5 (in Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥 ed., *Daojiao wenxian* 道教文獻, vol. 10, 5) where it is said: “However, in these days nobody is more venerated among Daoist clergy and laymen than the Immortal Lü. Today at the end of 5<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor [Jiaqing] reign (1801), because of his popular veneration, the four characters Yuqing zanhua 玉清贊化 have been conferred in order to worship him.” 而近世道俗所尊奉者莫呂仙若。今天子御極之五年，因民情所信向，特錫「玉清贊化」四字，以褒崇之。

<sup>49</sup> See *Lü zushi sannī yishi shuoshu*, 1a/7-8 (*Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 10, 348) where Min Yide quotes a passage from the *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin jijing* 玉清贊化九天演政心印集經 (6a-b) which is found in some versions of the *Daozang jiyao* including the lodge Jiji 箕集 10 (see here below). This goes as follows: “The *Xinyin jijing* says: Qingni (Laozi) reaches the Center, Zhongni (Confucius) catches the Center and Moni (Śākyamuni) empties the Center. 心印集經曰：青尼致中，仲尼時中，牟尼空中。” See Monica Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon. L’école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d’après le Daozang xubian*, vol. 1, 254-255.

<sup>50</sup> The biography of this master is included in Min’s *Jin’gai xindeng*. Shen Yibing’s transmission is particularly related to the cycle of teachings on the Celestial Immortality and the tradition of Healing the World (see above, note 33), as well as inner alchemical practices devoted to women. For an introduction to this master and the transmission of his scriptures see Monica Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon. L’école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d’après le Daozang xubian*, vol. 1, and “Longmen Taoism in Qing China,” 213-221.



that they were included after the *Daozang jiyao* printing blocks had been relocated to Suzhou.<sup>51</sup> The existence of a version of the *Daozang jiyao* that closely matches the description by Ding Fubao would confirm this scenario.

### *Two Kinds of Extant Editions of Jiang Yuanting Daozang jiyao*

In 1933 the famous French scholar Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) bought a copy of the *Daozang jiyao* in China and offered it to the Library of the Collège de France in Paris. In the early 1990s, while I was working on my Ph.D. thesis, I discovered this copy and, by comparing it with Ding Fubao's catalogue, realized that it was a copy of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao*.<sup>52</sup> It listed the texts in the same sequence as Ding Fubao's catalogue and, exactly like Ding's catalogue this "Paris copy" included the two above-mentioned texts.<sup>53</sup>

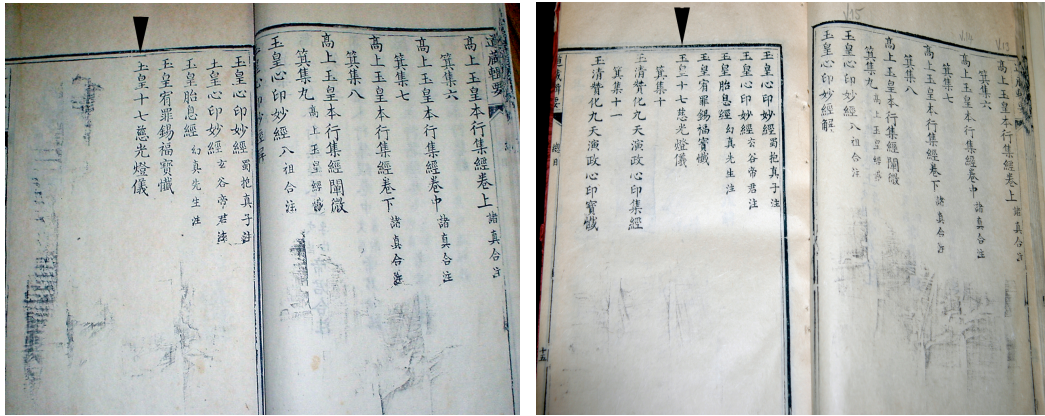
In 1997, when I was invited for the first time to Japan, I was surprised to see that different versions of this Canon were stored in various libraries. In contrast with the Paris version they did not contain the two supplementary texts. Some years later, when I began working at the Institute for Research in Humanities (Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科学研究 所) at Kyoto University, I analyzed a copy stored at the institute's library (in the following I will call this the "Jinbun version"). Comparing its table of contents with that of Paris version, I saw that the latter lists two more texts included in a supplementary lodge Jiji 箕集 10-11 (see Fig. 1: Tables of contents of the Jinbun and Paris versions of the *Daozang jiyao*).

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<sup>51</sup> According to Kim Yunsu ("Dojang jipyō wa Jang Yoepo," 299-300) it is possible that these two texts were added by Jiang Yuanting to his collections just after 1801.

<sup>52</sup> See Esposito, *La Porte di Dragon. L'école Longmen du Mount Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le Daozang xubian*, vol. 1, 4.

<sup>53</sup> Ding Fubao's catalogue presents for instance a different sequence of texts in comparison with Jiang Yuanting's table of contents ("Daozang jiyao zongmu"), and among other things, the Paris version (like Ding Fubao's catalogue) does not include a text entitled *Han Tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家. See Monica [Esposito], "Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi."



Jinbun version (fol. 15a)

Paris version (fol. 15a)

Fig. 1: Tables of contents of the Jinbun and Paris versions (four lines are added in the Paris version).

Apart from this discrepancy, the tables of contents (“*Daozang jiyao zongmu*”) of the Jinbun and Paris versions do not differ. It is clear that the two versions stem from the same printing blocks except for the following newly engraved parts of the Paris version: 1) its table of contents corresponding to folio 15a; and 2) the two additional texts themselves. Unfortunately it is difficult to know when these newly engraved parts were added to the Canon; but on the basis of the link of its content to Min Yide’s tradition one may infer that this happened after 1801, possibly during the sojourn of Jiang Yuanting in Hangzhou (1816-19) or maybe after 1819 when the printing blocks were moved to Suzhou.

From the analysis of nine versions of Jiang Yuanting’s Canon that are still extant at various libraries, I was able to distinguish two editions of the *Daozang jiyao* which, for the sake of convenience, I here call the “Jinbun edition” and the “Paris edition.”<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> A study about the available versions of Jiang Yuanting’s *Daozang jiyao* is in preparation in the context of the *Daozang jiyao* Project. Under the category “Jinbun edition” (established on the basis of its table of contents and the non-inclusion of the two texts) other copies and editions of Jiang Yuanting’s *Daozang jiyao* will be listed, for instance those owned by Tokyo University (2 versions). The category “Paris edition” (which features the two mentioned texts in the table of contents and in the body of the collection) will for example list a version stored at Tokyo Diet Library and a version stored at the National Taiwan Library (unfortunately the latter is incomplete because it lacks, among other things, the

Neither the table of contents nor the body of the Jinbun edition contains the above-mentioned two texts and their corresponding lodge (箕集 10-11). By contrast, the Paris edition contains these two texts and their lodge (箕集 10-11) both in its table of contents and in its body.

According to the various prefaces and postfaces, the Jinbun edition appears to have been finished between 1805-06 and 1816, while the Paris edition probably was completed after 1816.<sup>55</sup> Now that we have established that there are at least *two different basic editions* of the *Daozang jiyao* in existence we can finally have a look at the content of this Canon.

### *A Presentation of the Daoist Canon of Jiang Yuanting*

As in the Ming Daoist Canon, some versions of the *Daozang jiyao* open with the picture of the Sanqing 三清, while others do not include it. Extant fascicles range from a minimum of 91 to a maximum of 280 depending of the binding and the number of missing fascicles, texts, chapters, or folios.<sup>56</sup> Every folio consists of 10 lines and every

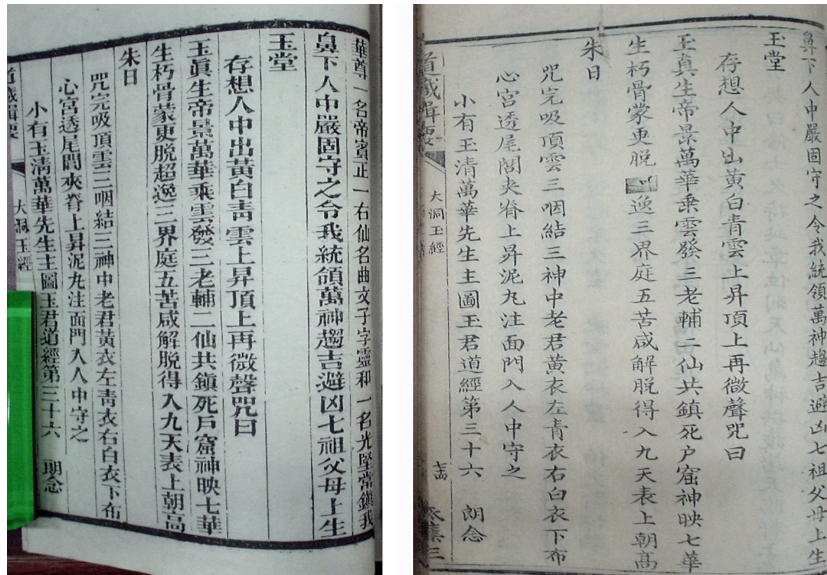
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first fascicle and thus the table of contents). Apart from these two editions, there are also other editions in Japan and China like for instance those stored at the Toyo Bunko, Osaka and Chengdu (Yan Yanfeng exemplar). See also Monica [Esposito], “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.”

<sup>55</sup> In Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* the most recent prefaces and postfaces are dated 1805 (see Postface to the *Yuanshi Dadong yujing* 元始大洞玉經 attributed to Liu Shouyuan 柳守元, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 3, 1173; Postface attributed to Liu Shouyuan to *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 7, 2585; Preface attributed to Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 to *Yuhuang benxing jijing chanwei* 玉皇本行集經闡微, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 7, 2743). There are also three Postfaces to *Yuhuang benxing jijing chanwei* (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 7, 2826-2829) that might be dated 1806. This means that the first edition was achieved after 1805 (or 1806) but before 1816 when Jiang moved to Hangzhou because Min mentioned that the printing blocks were at that time already stored in Jiang's residence in Beijing. See also Mori Yuria, “*Dōzo shūyō* to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō,” 48. According to Kim Yunsu (“*Dojang jipyō* wa Jang Yoepo,” 294) one can assume that the *Daozang jiyao* was published before 1817.

<sup>56</sup> All extant versions of the *Daozang jiyao* have at least one or more texts missing, apart from chapters and folios. The version stored at Taiwan National Library lacks, for instance, three entire

line has 24 characters. The same number of lines per folio and characters per line was used in the new edition of 1906 by the Erxian'an (see Fig. 2: Comparison of Erxian'an *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* and Jiang Yuanting *Daozang jiyao*).



*Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 1906      *Daozang jiyao* (between 1805/6 and 1816)

Fig. 2: Comparison of Erxian'an *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* and Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao*

Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao*, in its most complete exemplar, includes:

- Four prefaces, all except one (attributed to Guanyin 觀音) entitled “*Daozang jiyao xu*” 道藏輯要序 (1. Attr. Lü Dongbin; 2. Attr. Guanyin; 3. Attr. Zhongli Quan 鐘離權; 4. Attr. Su Lang 蘇郎).<sup>57</sup>

fascicles. Even Yan Yanfeng's exemplar that was used for the new edition of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* and was one of the most complete printed copies of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao*, as He Longxiang informs us, lacked the third fascicle of the lodge Bi 壁; see He Longxiang “Jiaokan *Daozang jiyao* shuhou,” 18a/8-9 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 45), and Monica [Esposito], “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.”

<sup>57</sup> Except for the exemplar of Yan Yanfeng (used for the new edition of 1906, the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*) which, as Ding Peiren (*Daojiao dianji baiwen*, 217) states, contains four Prefaces, all versions of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* that I consulted include only one or two prefaces (those

- Conventions or “Daozang jiyao Fanli” 道藏輯要凡列 in 12 items (1a-3a);
- Table of Contents titled “Daozang jiyao zongmu” 道藏輯要總目 (4a-44b);
- Texts divided into twenty-eight sections according to the names of the twenty-eight lunar lodges (*ershiba xiu* 二十八宿). Each section or lodge includes a varying number of subsections, between four and twelve, marked by numbers: ex. Jiaoji 角集 (1-7), Kangji 亢集(1-7), Dijī 氐集 (1-8), etc.<sup>58</sup>

The first 6 sections or lodges (角集 1-7 to 尾集 1-7) are modeled on the Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) of the Ming Daoist Canon including its scriptures revealed by its Daoist Trinity: Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 with the *Durenjing* 度人經 placed as the opening text, Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊, and Daode tianzun 道德天尊. Sections 7 (箕集 1-9 / 箕集 10-11 only in Paris edition)<sup>59</sup> and 8 (斗集 1-11) are composed of texts attributed or related to Yuhuang, Huangdi (commentaries on the *Yinfujing* 陰符經 and *Longhujing* 龍虎經), and the Lords of the Five Dippers (*Wudoujing* 五斗經). Sections 9 (牛集 1-12) to 11 (虛集 1-11) include commentaries on philosophical Daoist works like *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Liezi* 列子, *Wenzi* 文子, and commentaries on alchemical classics like *Cantongqi* 參同契 and *Ruyaojing* 入藥鏡. Section 12 (危集 1-7) is devoted to texts of Zhong-Lü and Jingming traditions. Sections 13 (室集 1-7) and 14 (壁集 1-6) form the core of the *Daozang jiyao* including collections of texts attributed or related, via spirit-writing, to the patriarch Lü Dongbin under his title Fuyou shangdi 孚佑上帝. Sections 15 (奎集 1-4) to 17 (胃集 1-11) include the texts of saints, patriarchs and

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attributed to Su Lang and Zhongli Quan). In the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* three of the four prefaces have been published under the title “Daozang jiyao yuanxu” 道藏輯要原序. The Preface attributed to Guanyin is titled “Guanyin dashi bianyan” 觀音大士弁言. See *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 6-10. See also Mori Yuria, “*Dōzo shūyō* to *Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō*,” 35-36.

<sup>58</sup> This division is based on Jiang Yuanting *Daozang jiyao* (Jinbun edition), on its table of contents, and its interlinear commentary. On the content of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* see also Fabrizio Pregadio, “Daozang jiyao,” in Fabrizio Pregadio (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol. 1, 341-345.

<sup>59</sup> With the two supplementary texts related to Lü Dongbin as Yuqing zanhua 玉清贊化; see above note 48.

masters of the Southern and Northern Lineages (with a prevalence of scriptures related to the Northern Lineage). Sections 18 (昂集 1-10) and 19 (畢集 1-6) are mainly devoted to texts on inner alchemy and attributed to authors from the Tang to Ming dynasties (section 19 contains the texts of Wu Shouyang 伍守陽, 1574-1644). Sections 20 (觜集 1-9) to 22 (井集 1-6) mainly include Daoist encyclopedic works like the *Zhen'gao* 真誥, *Daoshu* 道樞, and *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤. Section 23 (鬼集 1-7) consists of more recent commentaries on inner-alchemy like the new edition of the *Zhenquan* 真詮 by Peng Dingqiu and the *Xinchuan shuzheng lu* 心傳述證錄 by Jiang Yuelun 蔣日綸 (1729-1803), the father of Jiang Yuanting. Sections 24 (柳集 1-6) and 25 (星集 1-7)<sup>60</sup> contain litanies (*chan* 懺), Neo-confucian commentaries like Zhuxi's *Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說, Shao Yong's *Huangji jingshi shu* 皇極經世書, hagiographies, and works related to Wenchang and Guandi 關帝. Section 26 (張集 1-7) is mainly devoted to collections of monastic liturgy, rules and ethics. Finally, sections 27 (翼集 1-9) and 28 (軫集 1-6) contain biographic, epigraphic and topographic works.

With regard to content, as the Preface attributed to Zhongli Quan states, this collection represents “the quintessence of the Daoist Canon.” By the order of the Immortal Lü Dongbin, the members of the so-called “Altar of the Source of Awakening” (Jueyuan 覺源) or “First Altar of Awakening” (Diyi juetan 第一覺壇) directed by Jiang Yuanting,<sup>61</sup> were requested to compile and publish the *Daozang jiyao* so as “to collect the quintessence of all Canon and mend the omissions of the earlier [Ming] Canon 擷全藏之精華，補前藏之遺漏.”<sup>62</sup> In contrast with the Ming

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<sup>60</sup> Although the tables of contents in the Jinbun and Paris editions of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* record the lodge Xingji 星集 8, in reality all consulted versions of this Canon stop at the lodge Xingji 7. See also Monica [Esposito], “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.”

<sup>61</sup> This altar is mentioned in the *Daozang jiyao* with different names; see Mori Yuria, “Identity and Lineage—The *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* and the Spirit-Writing Cult to Patriarch Lü in Qing China,” in Livia Kohn and Harold Roth (eds.), *Daoist Identity* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000): 165-184, in particular 174-175, and “Dōzo shūyō to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō,” 38-41.

<sup>62</sup> See “*Daozang jiyao yuanxu*,” attributed to Zhongli Quan (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 8).

Canon of 1445 and its precursors, which were all sponsored by the imperial court and are the outcome of a working relationship between church and state, the *Daozang jiyao* is the fruit of private initiative of high-ranking officials. In place of the emperors who, in all previous eras, entrusted experts among the Daoist clergy with the compilation of Daoist Canons, we are here faced with a legendary immortal like Lü Dongbin who reportedly ordered his lay disciples to compile and publish a new Daoist Canon under the editorial guidance of Jiang Yuanting. Instead of the name Jiang Yuanting (used by Min Yide and Ding Fubao), one finds in this Canon Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲 as well as his other appellations like Mengyin 夢因, Huijue 惠覺, Guanghua dizi 廣化弟子 or simply Guanghuazi 廣化子, etc.

*The Editor Jiang Yupu, alias Jiang Yuanting*

Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲 (*zi*: Yuanting 元庭 / 沉庭, Nanqiao 南樵) was an elite official at the Qing court. Born in Suizhou 睢州 (Henan) in 1755 from a family of high-ranking officials, he obtained in 1781 the *jinshi* 進士 degree and progressed in his career, filling the post of Grand Secretariat Academician Reader-in-waiting (*Neige shidu xueshi* 內閣侍讀學士) in 1794 and of Chief Minister at the Court of the Imperial Stud (*Taipusi qing* 太僕寺卿) in 1802.<sup>63</sup> In 1806 he became Vice-director of the Ministry of Works (*Gongbu youshilang* 工部右侍郎) before serving in 1808 at the Ministry of Revenue (*Hubu shilang* 戶部侍郎). Although involved in an official career, Jiang Yupu also had religious aspirations. In 1795 he took the five lay precepts at the Guanghuisi 廣惠寺 from the Buddhist monk Mingxin 明心 and became vegetarian.<sup>64</sup> Jiang's master Mingxin, better known under his secular name Wang

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<sup>63</sup> See the biography on Jiang Yupu, and his epitaph ("Muzhi ming") compiled by Hu Jing 胡敬 in Li Huan 李桓 (ed.), *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian*, j. 94 (Zhou Junfu ed., *Qingdai chuanji congkan*, 146.163 and 146). While in the biography 35b/10 (146.160) the year 1801 is mentioned, in the epitaph (146.185) one finds the date 1802.

<sup>64</sup> See Jiang Yupu's biography in Li Huan 李桓 (ed.), *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian*, j. 94, 37b

Shuxun 王樹勳, had become a monk at the same monastery in Beijing, after having failed the official examination. Mingxin was known for spreading spirit-writing practices among high officials. In the summer of 1792 Jiang and his Confucianist father Jiang Yuelun 蔣曰綸 (1729-1803) often visited Mingxin's monastery and joined the Jueyuan 覺源 or Diyi juetan 第一覺壇, a spirit-writing altar in honor of the immortal Lü Dongbin.<sup>65</sup> Jiang was known at this altar under the name of Huijue 惠覺

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(Zhou Junfu ed., *Qingdai chuanji congkan*, 146.160-163); Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (ed.), *Donghua xulu* 東華續錄 under “Jiaqing 39” 嘉慶三十九, 12a (in *Xuxiu Sikuan shu* 續修四庫全書, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1995): vol. 375, 163; and *Qing huidian shili* 清會典事例, j. 112 (Shibu 史部 96, Chufenli 處分例 35, “Sengdao dudie” 僧道度牒; in Academia Sinica electronic data, 448-1, 448-2). For the reference to Jiang Yupu's vegetarianism taught by Mingxin (i.e., Wang Shuxun) see Chen Kangqi 陳康祺 (1840-?), *Langqian jiwen chubi erbi sanbi* 郎潛紀聞初筆二筆三筆, 2 vols., Sanbi 三筆 j. 1/34 (“Jiang Yupu jianli buming” 蔣予蒲見理不明 in *Qingdai shiliao biji congkan* 清代史料筆記叢刊, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984): vol. 2, 664.

<sup>65</sup> See the Preface to *Chanfa daguan* 懺法大觀 by Jiang Yuelun dated 1803 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 21, 9220) where it is said that in the summer of 1792 Jiang Yuelun and his son Jiang Yupu often visited Guanghushi and were probably during that period introduced by Mingxin to spirit-writing practice and its cults (cf. Kim Yunsu, “*Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo*,” 293). Here Jiang Yuelun, before introducing his visits with his son to the Buddhist monastery, says that before coming in contact with the monk Mingxin he ignored that the paths of Daoism and Buddhism were continuous with his Confucian path (初不知仙佛之道與吾儒相通也。). Via Mingxin, they experienced at Guanghushi the practice of Nature and Life (*xingming zhi gong* 性命之功). The teachings transmitted by the monk Mingxin are then clearly related to the inner alchemical practice and linked to the important scripture *Jinhua zongzhi* 金華宗旨 (see note below 66). More particularly, in this preface Jiang Yuelun refers to the transmission of “the tenets of the Great Method of the Celestial Immortals” (*Tianxian dafa zongzhi* 天仙大法宗旨) which do not rely on minor techniques like dietetics, operative alchemy, etc. “The tenets of the Great Method of the Celestial Immortals” are at the center of the constitution of Jiang Yupu's altar and its “lineage of the Celestial Immortals” (Tianxianpai 天仙派) as well as of the compilation of the *Daozang jiyao*. It is interesting to compare the view of this “Great Method” mentioned in this preface with the “Fanli” of the *Daozang jiyao* (in particular item 5) as well as the preface to the *Daozang jiyao* attributed to Zhongli Quan. As for Mingxin (original name: Wang Shuxun), after having failed the official examination, he became a monk at Beijing's Guanghushi and was known for spreading spirit-writing practice among high officials like Jiang Yupu, Pang Shiguan 龐士冠, and others. Because of this Mingxin was later criticized and condemned to return to secular life. In 1815 he was accused of having obtained an official post by bribery and was finally sent to exile in



or Guanghua dizi 廣化弟子, possibly in memory of his conversion at the Guanghui 廣惠 monastery under the Buddhist master Mingxin and of his association with the altar Juetan 覺壇.<sup>66</sup> Between 1803 and 1805, on the basis of previous anthologies attributed to the immortal Lü Dongbin entitled *Lüzü quanshu* 呂祖全書 (Complete Works of the Patriarch Lü),<sup>67</sup> Jiang with the help of his altar's companions compiled a new edition: the *Quanshu zhengzong* 全書正宗 (Complete Works of the Orthodox Lineage). As mentioned above this 16-juan collection was also known as *Lüzü quanshu*.<sup>68</sup> Except for a limited number of texts, most of its scriptures were also included in the central sections of the *Daozang jiyao*.<sup>69</sup> Thanks to the *Quanshu zhengzong* and to its new

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Heilongjiang 黑龍江. Jiang Yupu, Song Rong 宋鎔 and other disciples of Mingxin were obliged to resign. See Zhaolian 昭樾 (1776-1830), *Xiaoting zalu* 嘯亭雜錄, j. 8 on “Wang Shuxun” (in *Qingdai shiliao biji congkan* 清代史料筆記叢刊, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980): 236, and the biography of Shi Chengzao 石承藻 in *Qingshi gao*, j. 356 (vol. 37, 11319-11320).

<sup>66</sup> This has been suggested by Kim Yunsu (“*Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo*,” 295). It is interesting to note that even Min Yide in the notes to the *Jinhua zongzhi* mentions the monk Wang 王和尚 (i.e., Wang Shuxun) as master of Jiang Yuanting; see *Jinhua zongzhi* chap. 12, 31b/5 (*Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 10, 342).

<sup>67</sup> The first edition of the *Lüzü quanshu* in 32 scrolls was published by Liu Tishu 劉體恕 in 1744. In 1775 this edition was enlarged to 64 scrolls by Shao Zhilin 邵志琳. See also note 43 and below.

<sup>68</sup> See note 34. See also the preface attributed to Liu Shouyuan 柳守元 (“*Quanshu zhengzong zongxu*” 全書正宗總序, j. 首, 38b-39b in Jiang Yupu ed., *Quanshu zhengzong*) where Huijue (Jiang Yupu) is said to have been ordered to revise this collection with the help of his altar's companions.

<sup>69</sup> Except for the *Chanzong zhengzhi* 禪宗正旨, and the *Jingangjing zhu* 金剛經註 with its Appendix (*Xinjing zhu* 心經註), the remaining 17 texts were all included in the *Daozang jiyao*:

1. *Fuyou shangdi Chunyang Lüzü tianshi Shiliupinjing* 孚佑上帝純陽呂祖天師十六品經 (Section 13, lodge Shiji 室集 1, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5293-5340);
2. *Jinhua zongzhi* 金華宗旨 (Section 13, lodge Shiji 室集 2, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5349-5382);
3. *Tongcanjing* 同參經 (Section 13, lodge Shiji 室集 3, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5383-5415);
4. *Wujing hebian* 五經合編 (Section 13, lodge Shiji 室集 4, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5417-5442);

revealed scriptures included in the *Daozang jiyao* we can know more about Jiang Yupu's religious beliefs, his involvement in spirit-writing activities, and the foundation of his "orthodox lineage."

*Jiang Yupu's Spirit-writing Altar: Beliefs and Aspirations*

Like earlier spirit-writing groups of literati, Jiang Yupu and his companions—mostly elite officials involved in the compilation of the Imperial encyclopedia *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書<sup>70</sup>—had great interest in Daoist methods of self-cultivation, inner

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5. *Lüdi wenji* 呂帝文集 (Section 13, lodge Shiji 室集 5, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5443-5507);
  6. *Lüdi shiji* 呂帝詩集 (Section 13, lodge Shiji 室集 6-7, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 13, 5511-5622);
  7. *Taishang daode jingjie* 太上道德經解 (Section 5, lodge Xinji 心集 1, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 4, 1673-1726);
  8. *Xiantian doudi chiyan wushang xuangong Lingmiao zhenjing* 先天斗帝敕演無上玄功靈妙真經 (Section 8, lodge Douji 斗集 1, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 7, 2867-2879);
  9. *Yushu baojing* 玉樞寶經 (Section 8, lodge Douji 斗集 11, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 8, 3504-3512);
  10. *Yishuo* 易說 (Section 14, lodge Biji 璧集 1-2, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 13, 5623-5714);
  11. *Chuandaoji* 傳道集 (Section 12, lodge Weiji 危集 2, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5113-5142);
  12. *Tianxian jindan xinfa* 天仙金丹心法 (Section 14, lodge Biji 璧集 6, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 13, 5859-5993);
  13. *Xuanzong zhengzhi* 玄宗正旨 (Section 8, lodge Douji 斗集 4, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 8, 3045-3057);
  14. *Shijie gongguoge* 十戒功過格 (Section 25, lodge Zhangji 張集 3, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 23, 10309-10339);
  15. *Jingshi gongguoge* 警世功過格 (Section 25, lodge Zhangji 張集 3, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 23, 10339-10353);
  16. *Shengji jiyao* 聖蹟紀要 (Section 14, lodge Biji 璧集 5, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 13, 5831-5857);
  17. *Yulu daguan* 語錄大觀 (Section 14, lodge Biji 璧集 3, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 13, 5715-5778).

<sup>70</sup> Many of Jiang Yupu's companions were elite officials mentioned in the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四

alchemy, and Daoist esoteric doctrines. In fact, among Ming and Qing literati the cult of immortals was very popular: Chen Tuan 陳搏, Lü Dongbin, and Zhang Sanfeng 張三峰 were highly venerated for having realized the Dao thanks to inner alchemical practices. Regarded as a kind of idealized heroes, these immortals were often the protagonists of literary compositions produced via spirit-writing that centered on their life, on biographical accounts and anecdotes, on the transmission of their esoteric teachings, moral injunctions, etc.<sup>71</sup>

While groups of devotees or spirit-writing altars of privates composing such scriptures existed just about everywhere, the community of Hansangong 涵三宮 (Palace Encompassing the Three) distinguished itself particularly in Lü Dongbin's cult. Established during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Hubei region as a special and independent sanctuary for receiving Lü Dongbin's teachings via spirit-writing, this community was not only at the source of the first *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 but also of networks of Lü Dongbin's devotees spreading all over China. Before the foundation of independent temples for this purpose, spirit-writing altars were often located in domestic residences. With the establishment of the Hansangong community thanks to the participation of functionaries of different Chinese provinces, an organization with its own regulations and practices was put in place, and members came to fulfill specified functions.<sup>72</sup> It is

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庫全書總目, j. 首. See also Mori Yuria “Dōzo shūyō to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō,” 40-41, and Kim Yunsu, “Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo,” 291.

<sup>71</sup> See Gōyama Kiwamu 合山究, “Min-Shin no bunjin to okaruto shumi” 明清の文人とオカルト趣味, in Arai Ken 荒井健 (ed.), *Chūka bunjin no seikatsu* 中華文人の生活 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994): 469-502, and Shiga Ichiko 志賀市子, *Chūgoku no kokkurisan: furan shinkō to kajin shakai* 中国のこっくりさん: 扶鸞信仰と華人社会 (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 2003): 124-125.

<sup>72</sup> See the Preface by Huang Chengshu 黃誠恕 to the *Cantong miaojing* 參同妙經 (“Cantong miaojing xu,” j. 16, 3a-4b) and to the *Sanpinjing* 三品經 (“Qingwei sanpinjing xu” 清微三品經序, j. 13, 3a-4b), in Liu Tishu 劉體恕 (ed.), *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書. I have used the edition of 1868 (with a Preface added in 1879) in 33 *juan* (including the *Chanrong zhengzhi* 禪宗正指) from the woodblocks stored at the Xiangtan Chongshantang 湘潭崇善堂藏板. This edition is stored at Kyoto University's Institute for Research in Humanities. See also Ma Xiaohong 馬曉宏, “Daozang deng zhuben suoshou

in this community that the project of composing the *opus magnum* of Lü Dongbin took shape.

In 1712 the Hansangong was the site where a group of texts central to the compilation of the *Lüzu quanshu* was produced, and in 1739 the *Cantong miaojing* 參同妙經 (Mysterious Scripture on the Equality of the Three [Teachings]) was completed.<sup>73</sup> In 1742 Liu Tishu 劉體恕 and Huang Chengshu 黃誠恕 gathered all scriptures which, as Huang put it, “could be called collecting contributions to the great completion of the Daoist Canon 可謂集《道藏》之大成,” and then published the *Lüzu quanshu* in 32 scrolls.<sup>74</sup> Liu Tishu, who was also on the verge of publishing a compilation of spirit-writing scriptures attributed to Wenchang, the *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書 (Complete Writings of the Imperial Lord Wen, 1743), also gave the title *Quanshu* 全書 to Lü Dongbin’s anthology.<sup>75</sup>

The community of Hansangong served as a model for Jiang Yupu’s spirit-writing altar. For instance, the majority of Hansangong’s scriptures were republished in a new Lü Dongbin anthology, the *Quanshu zhengzong* or *Complete Works of the Orthodox Lineage*. Moreover, Hansangong’s so-called “great completion of the Daoist Canon” was in a sense incarnated in Jiang Yupu’s *Daozang jiyao*. After having compiled Lüzu’s scriptures based on previous *Lüzu quanshu*, Jiang Yupu and his altar’s companions decided to insert them in a new Daoist Canon that would convey the ultimate honor to Lü Dongbin and his teachings by spreading them all across the country. In this way texts representing at their origin beliefs and practices related to Lü

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Lü Dongbin shumu jianzhu” 道藏等诸本所收吕洞宾书目简注, *Zhongguo daojiao* 中国道教 (1988.3): 34–37.

<sup>73</sup> See “Lüzu quanshu Hansangong zayong xiaoxu” 呂祖全書涵三宮雜詠小序 (j. 27, 1a) where the revelation of the *Sanpinjing* is said to have occurred in 1712 and that of the *Cantongjing* in 1730. Jiang Yupu revised and published these two texts in his *Quanshu zhengzong*. The *Sanpinjing* has been included as part of the *Shiliupinjing* and put as opening text; see above note 69.

<sup>74</sup> See the Preface by Huang Chengshu to the *Lüzu quanshu* (“Lüzu quanshu xu,” 3a).

<sup>75</sup> See the Postface by Huang Chengshu to the *Lüzu quanshu* (“Lüzu quanshu ba,” j. 32, 9a).

Dongbin's communities could become part of larger Daoist lore under the umbrella of Jiang Yupu's new orthodox lineage. In this respect, earlier beliefs and aspirations of the Hansangong community came also to be elaborated in a new key. An example of such elaboration is the transformation of Liu Qi 柳棨—the legendary disciple and assistant of Lü Dongbin in the *Lüzu quanshu* and in the late Quanzhen genealogic registers—into the prominent figure of Liu Shouyuan 柳守元.<sup>76</sup>

Among gods and immortals thought to descend at Jiang Yupu's altar, Liu Shouyuan plays a prominent role. As mediator between Lü Dongbin and his disciples he not only assisted Jiang Yupu and his altar's companions in compiling the *Quanshu zhengzong* but also appears as the author of a number of prefaces and postfaces included in both of Jiang Yupu's compilations. Furthermore, Liu Shouyuan is also the purported author of a cycle of new scriptures that were included only in the *Daozang jiyao*.<sup>77</sup> If the majority of scriptures revealed at Jiang Yupu's spirit-writing altar are the fruit of editorial recycling rather than literary creation, the scriptures attributed to Liu

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<sup>76</sup> Liu Qi is, for instance, the purported author of a Postface to the *Sanpinjing* (*Lüzu quanshu*, j. 15, 21a). In the “Liu zhenjun gao” 柳真君誥, he is presented as the first disciple of Lü Dongbin 呂祖首座弟子 (*Lüzu gao* 呂祖誥, in *Lüzu quanshu*, j. 32, 6a). In the Longmen lineage of the Quanzhen tradition, Liu Qi is also mentioned as the first disciple of Chunyang dijun 純陽帝君 (i.e., Lü Dongbin); see “Daopu yuanliu tu” 道譜源流圖 in *Jin'gai xindeng*, 3a (vol. 10, 23). As Mori has emphasized, Jiang Yupu in his *Quanshu zhengzong* and *Daozang jiyao* has published the same Postface to the *Sanpinjing* but under the name of Liu Shouyuan. See “Liu zushi sanpinjing houji” 柳祖師三品經後記, 87b/10 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5338-5339). For more information on this figure see Mori Yuria, “Shinchō Zenshin-kyō no denkai to Ryoso fukei shinkō” 清朝全真教の伝戒と呂祖扶乩信仰, in Fukui Fumimasa hakushi koki/taishoku kinen ronshū kankōkai 福井文雅博士古稀・退職記念論集刊行会 (ed.), *Ajia bunka no shisō to girei* アジア文化の思想と儀礼 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2005): 441-461, in particular 451-457.

<sup>77</sup> See *Santan yuanman Tianxian dajie lüeshuo* 三壇圓滿天仙大戒略說 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 24, 10457-10468) and *Qingwei hongfan daomen gongke* 清微宏範道門功課 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 23, 10213-10235). On these two scriptures see Mori Yuria, “Shinchō Zenshin-kyō no denkai to Ryoso fukei shinkō,” and the same author's “Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō to Zenshin-kyō” 蔣予蒲の呂祖扶乩信仰と全真教, in Horiike Nobuo 堀池信夫 and Sunayama Minoru 砂山稔 (eds.), *Dōkyō kenkyū no saisentan* 道教研究の最先端 (Tokyo: Taiga shobō, 2006): 82-108.

Shouyuan appear, by contrast, original. They shaped a new identity for the members of Jiang Yupu's altar. In this context the legendary holder and supervisor of Jiang Yupu's altar,<sup>78</sup> Liu Shouyuan, became recognized as the second patriarch of the orthodox lineage, the Tianxian pai 天仙派 or Celestial Immortals, and was venerated as the successor of the founding patriarch Lü Dongbin.<sup>79</sup> This new lineage—created at Jiang Yupu's altar with its beliefs, aspirations, rules and commitments—became the driving force in the compilation of a new standardized Daoist Canon whose revelation lay in the magical hands of the founding patriarch Lü Dongbin.

### *The Central Role of Lü Dongbin and His Revelation*

The central role of Lü Dongbin is clearly stated several times in the prefaces to the *Daozang jiyao* and its “Conventions” (*Fanli* 凡例). In item 2 of the Conventions, for instance, it is said that innumerable realized men and saints of the past and present all chose Lü Dongbin—here mentioned under his title Fuyou dishi 孚佑帝師 (Imperial Master, Savior of the Needy)—to guarantee the genuine transmission of the mysterious Dao. This choice is based not only on Lü Dongbin's traditional status as patriarch of the Southern and Northern lineages who in handing down their sacred scriptures is capable of explaining their mysterious meaning, but even more on his prowess as great savior capable of converting entire worlds.<sup>80</sup> In his role of savior, Lü Dongbin announced in front of Laozi his project of “compiling all cases [of scriptures] and harmonizing all together” into a single standardized compilation: the *Daozang*

<sup>78</sup> From 1798 onwards, Liu Shouyuan was admitted to Jiang Yupu's altar; see Mori Yuria, “Shinchō Zenshin-kyō no denkai to Ryoso fukei shinkō,” 451.

<sup>79</sup> This is clearly stated in the Postface by Zhiqiu 志秋 (i.e., Fan Ao 范鏊, fl. 1780-1803) to the *Jinhua zongzhi* 金華宗旨, 4b/8 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12, 5382) where Liu Shouyuan under the title Hongjiao enshi 宏教恩師 is presented as second patriarch of the Tianxian pai.

<sup>80</sup> See item 2 of “*Daozang jiyao Fanli*” 道藏輯要凡例, 1a (expanded in 16 items in the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* under the title “*Chongkan Daozang jiyao Fanli shiliu ze*” 重刊道藏輯要凡例十六則, 12a (vol. 1, 10). For a presentation of the Prefaces and Conventions to the *Daozang jiyao* see also Mori Yuria, “*Dōzo shūyō* to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō,” 43-47.

*jiyao*.<sup>81</sup> In authorizing this new Daoist Canon, Lü Dongbin realized the dream of generations of his devotees. This legendary Daoist immortal selected this Canon's texts carefully in order to “synthesize the true transmission of the alchemical path and to gather the essence of all scriptures 綜丹道之真傳，羅諸真之典要.”<sup>82</sup> Always moved by great compassion he ordered “all disciples at the Altar of the Source of Awakening to compile the *Daozang jiyao*, to get rid of the false and return to the genuine, to delete the superfluous and arrive at the essential 命覺源諸子，編纂《道藏輯要》一書，棄偽而歸真，刪繁而就約 (...).”<sup>83</sup>

The divine revelation of the savior Lü Dongbin in itself is not so exceptional as one might think. As we know, the idea of divine revelation is central to many scriptures that are called “sacred,” such as the Holy Bible or the Koran—both believed to be the word of God, and the latter dictated to the prophet Muhammad by the archangel Gabriel. Daoist canonical scriptures have a similar air of divine inspiration. The word of God Himself or of angels, prophets, apostles, etc. ensured for the Abrahamic religions the legitimate nature of their sacred scriptures. Similarly, Daoist canonical scriptures carry the mark of legitimation by the Daoist trinity, the Sanqing, while Buddhist sutras often are portrayed as the words of Buddhism's founder Śākyamuni.

Like the previous Ming Daoist Canon, this newly standardized Canon of the Qing dynasty also bears the Sanqing's seal of approval. The image of this Daoist trinity is reproduced on the front-page of some of its versions. But the entire compilation rests

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<sup>81</sup> See the Preface attributed to Lü Dongbin, “*Daozang jiyao yuanxu*,” 4a (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 6). See also item 3 of “*Daozang jiyao Fanli*” 道藏輯要凡例, 1b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 10).

<sup>82</sup> See the preface attributed to Su Lang, “*Daozang jiyao yuanxu*,” 10b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 9).

<sup>83</sup> The entire Chinese passage reads as follows: 命覺源諸子，編纂《道藏輯要》一書，棄偽而歸真，刪繁而就約；廣大精微，而天人之道備。 See the Preface attributed to Zhongli Quan, “*Daozang jiyao yuanxu*,” 8a (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 8).

in the holy hands of the Daoist messenger Lü Dongbin. This immortal vows in front of the divine Laozi to carry out the project of compiling the Daoist Canon.<sup>84</sup> The *Daozang jiyao* is a beautiful example of a divine revelation in which central divinities, saints or immortals effectuate the transmission of sacred scriptures to chosen prophets, seers, and inspired mediums. Instead of dictating his message through dreams or visions, the immortal Lü Dongbin guides the writing instrument in the hands of devotees and traces his message on an altar covered in rice grains or sand (see Fig. 3: A Spirit-writing Altar).<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> See the Preface attributed to Lü Dongbin, “Daozang jiyao yuanxu,” 4a (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 6) and note 81.

<sup>85</sup> Immortals, gods, well-known masters of the past, or cultural heroes are thought to descend into a spirit-writing device which often is a T-shaped wooden device with a pointed protrusion on its long end. The handles are held by one or two persons above an altar table. As the device begins to “automatically” move, the protrusion on the long end of this stick traces large characters on a tray covered with sand called *jipan* 占盤 (planchette tray) or *shapan* 砂盤 (sand tray). In this way it can trace magical charms and characters that predict the future, diagnose illnesses, issue moral exhortations, and convey all kinds of teachings (ranging from short phrases to voluminous texts) to the faithful gathered around the altar. For descriptions of different spirit-writing devices or writing implements and methods see David K. Jordan and Daniel Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix*, 32-33, 38, 45, *passim*. See also Gōyama Kiwamu, “Min Shin no bunjin to okaruto shumi,” 469-502, and Shiga Ichiko, *Chūgoku no kokkurisan*, 2-12. On spirit-writing, see also above note 25.



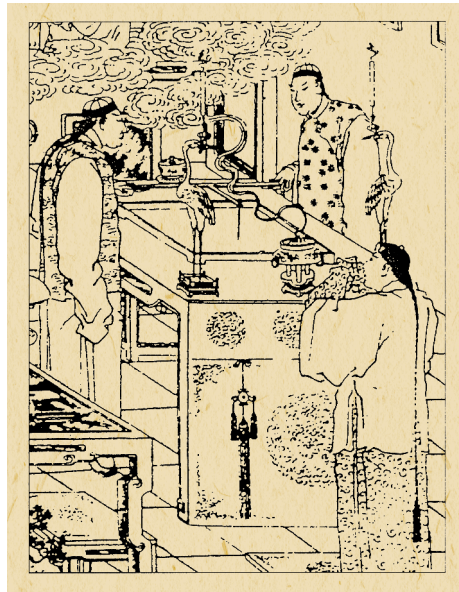


Fig. 3: Spirit-writing Altar (from *Dianshiji huabao* [Bingji] 點石齋畫報丙集, 1884)

This way of written divine communication via a specified device was extremely popular in Qing times and offered a very effective way of reviving a tradition through divine intervention. The entire project of collecting the scriptures and compiling a standardized edition of the Daoist Canon was thus intimately connected with and directed by a spirit-writing altar, the altar of Jiang Yupu. It was on this altar that Lü Dongbin descended and gave precise orders to his disciples telling them to realize his publication project in compliance with the divine Laozi and all saints and realized men.

#### *A New Daoist Canon, Quintessence of the True Alchemical Path*

The criteria purportedly dictated by Lü Dongbin for achieving this compilation are laid out in the “Conventions” (*Fanli*) and prefaces to the *Daozang jiyao*. Here Lü Dongbin orders his disciples to select the essence of all scriptures by “synthesizing the true alchemical path.” This synthesis of the “true alchemical path” forms the core of the *Daozang jiyao*, and the majority of the items in its “Conventions” deal with this task and its definition.

First of all it is important to understand the Daoist purport 道旨—the essence and

goal of Daoist teaching—of what is called *dangong* 丹功, alchemical practice (item 4 of the Conventions). It is necessary to distinguish inner alchemy or *neidan* 內丹 from exterior practice or *waigong* 外功. “Inner alchemy can transcend the ordinary and enter the holy, while exterior practices can only chase away diseases and prolong life 內丹可以超凡入聖，外功祇可卻病延年” (item 8). However, one must be capable of distinguishing those scriptures that, although they seem to deal with operative alchemy and use its terms and metaphors, “in reality are transmitting the secret of alchemical practice 其實乃備傳丹功之秘.” An example is the *Cantongqi* representing “the heart transmission of the Patriarch Wei [Boyang] 《參同契》魏祖心傳.” (item 6).

It is thus necessary to discern ordinary practices from the Daoist goal: the attainment of the true immortality (item 5). As the Preface attributed to Zhongli Quan explains, practices like dietetics, gymnastics, breathing, operative alchemy, salivation techniques, spells, talismans, etc, represent the “small vehicle” and are far removed from the “genuine awakening” to the truth. If the previous Canon integrated such small practices, the new Canon made the clear choice of leaving them out in order to focus on the quintessence of Daoist teaching, the greatness of Dao. The motto thus was simplicity and purity, as opposed to complexity and adulteration.<sup>86</sup> In this perspective, scriptures involving too much complexity like the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元, *Wushang biyao* 無上祕要, *Taipingjing* 太平經 or the *Lingbao lingjiao jidu quanshu* 靈寶領教濟度全書 were not included (item 9). The same holds true for specialized manuals on ritual or talismans (item 10).<sup>87</sup> By contrast, alchemical scriptures like the *Lingbao bifa*

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<sup>86</sup> See the Preface attributed to Zhongli Quan, “Daozang jiyao yuanxu,” 8a (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol 1, 8) and “Daozang jiyao Fanli,” 12b-14a (item 3, item 5, and item 10; *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 10-11).

<sup>87</sup> This is only partly true because the *Daozang jiyao* also includes ritual texts and manuals of exorcism like the *Gaoshang shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa* 高上神霄玉清真王紫書大法 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 8, 3253-3449). About this text originally included in the *Daozang* (CT 1219) see Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (eds.), *The Taoist Canon*, 3 vols. (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004): vol. 2, 1094-1095.

靈寶畢法 were preserved and appreciated for “all their words simple and unadorned 言皆平實,” as was the *Huangting neiwaijing jing* 黃庭內外景經 that shares the same methods of eternal life (item 8).

A “puristic vision of *neidan*” is then at the basis of this new Canon whose aim is to return to the essential purity of Daoism and “to mend the omissions of the earlier [Ming] Canon.” Instead of voluminous and complex texts on rituals, specialized talismanic manuals, and books on physiological techniques and operative alchemy, the canonical choice ranges from texts on self-cultivation and soteriology, morality and ethics, precepts and discipline, to commentaries on Daoist philosophical and alchemical classics with their poems and songs.

In sum, the *Daozang jiyao* reflects an idealistic vision of Daoism that arose and spread among literati and spirit-writing circles interested in self-cultivation who were caught up in moralistic and eschatological sentiments of sanctity and salvation. It pitted lay believers who, apart from their traditional Confucian background, had also Daoist and Buddhist knowledge as well as financial ability, against professional Daoists, priests, and specialists of ritual who had progressively lost their prestige at the imperial court. Finally this Canon mirrors, more specifically, the beliefs and aspirations of the members of the so-called Tianxian lineage allegedly founded by the patriarch Lü Dongbin which represents “the method of Golden Elixir 金丹之法,”<sup>88</sup> the quintessence of orthodox Daoist teaching.



Unfortunately this great project did not bear the expected fruit. What was supposed to get recognized as the new Daoist Canon of the Qing dynasty became, after Jiang Yupu's death, a rare text prized by collectors such as Ding Fubao. After its rediscovery

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<sup>88</sup> See the Postface by Xu Zhen 徐震 to the *Tianxian jindan xinfa* 天仙金丹心法, 78b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 13, 5933) and Mori Yuria “*Dōzo shūyō* to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō,” 41-42.

at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the abbot of Erxian'an Yan Yonghe, it was completely dissociated from the community who gave birth to it: the Tianxian lineage and its manager Jiang Yupu. It was thanks to its emphasis on the purity of inner alchemy over ritual complexity that this Canon came to be appreciated by Yan Yonghe and his Daoist community who decided to recarve its printing blocks.<sup>89</sup>

Although this new edition, the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, was published in 1906 with a wrong name of editor and with newly added Daoist works, it came finally to be handed down to the world as the successor of the Ming Daoist Canon, as was the original intention of Jiang Yupu and his companions. Until the arrival of new orders from above, the *Daozang jiyao* remains the last Daoist Canon.

In contrast with all previous Canons, the *Daozang jiyao* is a Canon that represents at its source the work and aspirations of laypeople. Profoundly inspired by the cult of Lü Dongbin, these laypeople were longing for the promotion and spreading of this cult and its associated practices and liturgy around the world. It was thanks to their altar and to their spirit-writing practices taught by a defrocked Buddhist monk that their Canon happened to see the light of day.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> As the abbot Yan Yonghe 閻永和 emphasized, the reason why the *Daozang jiyao* was reedited by his Quanzhen monastery Erxian'an in Chengdu (Sichuan) was the difficulty of finding *neidan* scriptures in Daoist networks—networks that conversely abounded in liturgical texts. See the Preface by the abbot Yan Yonghe 閻永和, “Chongkan Daozang jiyao yuanqi” 重刊道藏輯要緣起, 15a (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 44).

<sup>90</sup> I refer to Mingxin, Jiang Yupu's Buddhist master who was better known under his secular name Wang Shuxun; see above notes 65 and 66.