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Liu Yuanran and Daoist Lineages in the Ming

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Abstract

This article examines the court Daoist Liu Yuanran (1351–1432), his religious lineage, and his role in Ming Daoism. As a crucial priest who shaped the Daoist development, Liu is the key to our understanding of Daoism in the early Ming in general and such dominant Daoist lineages as Qingwei, the Longhushan community, Quanzhen, and Jingming in particular. From transmitted teachings, ritual arts, master-disciple relationship, and the lineage verse, Liu Yuanran can be identified as a Qingwei priest, as testified by a Daoist ecclesiastical community and its lineage verse from the Tianfei Palace of Tianjin. This study argues that Liu Yuanran would not have been a Quanzhen Daoist, and the Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran–Shao Yizheng lineage was not part of Quanzhen. The view of Liu Yuanran as Quanzhen master and his lineage as Quanzhen was established *a posteriori* in the nineteenth century. Liu's association with Longhushan concerns the delegation mechanism of the Heavenly Master

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institution at Longhushan, which had to rely upon Liu as its delegate to the court. The eventual skirmish between Liu Yuanran and the Heavenly Master institution reflects the competition for such state ritual offices as the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, the Divine Music Abbey, and the Central Daoist Registry. Liu's lineage and the Longhushan Daoists as the Heavenly Master's delegates constituted two of the three or four dominant Daoist groups craving for prestige at the court. This article also demonstrates that the later Jingming tradition regarded Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran as its fifth and sixth patriarchs. However, the direct association of Zhao-Liu and Jingming Daoism does not appear in any Yuan and Ming sources before and during Liu's lifetime. Shao Yizheng, Liu's disciple, was responsible for this notion, which emerged around 1452. Although Shao championed this view, it is following Li Ding's (1544–1607?) *Jingming zhongxiao quanzhuan zheng'e* (Corrected Complete Biographies of the Pure and Bright [Way] of Loyalty and Filiality) that the Jingming textual tradition of Liu Yuanran's place in Jingming was finalized. By reconstructing Liu Yuanran's relations with different lineages and what later Daoists made of him, this essay concludes that Liu Yuanran played a crucial role in the four most important Daoist lineages of the Ming either by himself or attributed to him. In the end, even though Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage was a transregional phenomenon, that his Qingwei lineage and sublineages spread from the political centers Nanjing and Beijing, through the cultural hub Suzhou and the hinterland Shandong, to such a frontier region as Yunnan indicates that Liu Yuanran's impact had local contexts and local variants. His ties to the Heavenly Master institution were linked with the Heavenly Master at Longhushan in Jiangxi. The idea of Liu's connection with Jingming appears to first have been circulating in Nanjing as a Jiangnan phenomenon. The Jingming lineage around Nanchang was an even clearer local tradition that appropriated this Jiangnan view of Liu Yuanran for its own agenda. This way, the localization process as represented by Liu Yuanran's lineage constitutes a crucial feature of Ming Daoism.

Keywords: Liu Yuanran, Qingwei, Quanzhen, Longhushan, Jingming

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Liu Yuanran 劉淵然 (1351–1432) was one of the most important Daoist figures in the Ming, and the most respected cleric in the courts of the Hongwu (r. 1368–1398), Jianwen (r. 1399–1402), Yongle (r. 1403–1424), Hongxi (r. 1424–1425), and Xuande (r. 1425–1435) emperors consecutively. He was appointed the head of the Central Daoist Registry (*Daolu si* 道錄司) in charge of the Daoist affairs in the country. The Qingwei 清微 (Pure Tenuity), Jingming 淨明 (Pure Brightness), and Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection) schools all claim him as their patriarch. These three schools, together with the Mount Longhu (Longhushan 龍虎山) lineage, constituted the most important Daoist traditions in the Ming. Liu Yuanran indeed spent parts of his life at Longhushan. He was also the teacher of the forty-third Heavenly Master. He was once exiled to Yunnan. Finally he lived in Nanjing and Beijing for a lone time. He thus appears to have been responsible for spreading his brand of Daoism to these regions. More than a hundred of his direct disciples and more indirect disciples from many provinces carried on his teachings throughout the Ming. In this sense, Liu is arguably a crucial Daoist who shaped the development and features of Daoism of that era. Playing a transitional role, he is the key to our understanding of Daoism in the early Ming in general and these dominant lineages in particular. Hata Shinobu 畑忍 has done a preliminary study of Liu Yuanran, based on some Ming-Qing biographical accounts.[1] A thorough examination of Liu Yuanran the priest, his religious lineage historically, and his role in Ming Daoism is still lacking. It should be noted that although this article briefly starts with Liu Yuanran's biographical accounts as the background for further investigation, it aims not at Liu's life, but rather at Liu's relations with different lineages and what later Daoists made of him. By addressing these issues, this essay explores some crucial features and lineages of Ming Daoism. This study also addresses the localization process of Ming Daoism as represented by Liu Yuanran's lineage.

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[1] Hata Shinobu, "*Dōshi Ryū Enzen shotan: So no jiseki to dōkyōshijō ni okeru ichi*" 道士劉淵然初探——その事跡と道教史上における位置, *Chūgoku bunshi ronsō* 5 (2009): 101–18.

It is imperative now to give working definitions of "lineage" and "school" in the context of Ming Daoism, and clarify their meanings in this study. The most systematic analysis of them to date has been published by Vincent Goossaert. The discussion here largely follows his framework. The Chinese term *pai* 派 stands for both textual traditions and master-disciple genealogies. The *Daomen shigui* 道門十規 (Ten Guidelines for the Daoist Community), an important Daoist handbook of the early Ming, by the forty-third Heavenly Master Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410), first distinguishes between orders (*jiao* 教) and schools (*fa* 法), the former being Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) and Quanzhen, and the latter being Qingwei, Lingbao 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure), and Thunder Rites (*leifa* 雷法). Then in the heading, "Origins and Branches of the Daoist Teaching" ("Daojiao yuanpai" 道教源派), Zhang Yuchu lists the following schools of textual transmissions (*paixi* 派系): Zhengyi, Jingming, Lingbao, and Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity). Finally, in the heading, "Lines of Transmission of Daoist Ritual" ("Daofa chuanxu" 道法傳緒), he further points out that Thunder Rites arose from Qingwei and Shenxiao 神霄 (Divine Empyrean) schools. In addition, there appeared many branches characteristic of master-disciple genealogies, which he terms *pai*, of Qingwei and Shenxiao.[2] His use of *pai* and *fa* refers to both textual traditions (spiritual and liturgical) such as Qingwei, Lingbao, Thunder Rites, Zhengyi, Jingming, Shangqing, and Shenxiao on the one hand, and master-disciple genealogies in the transmission of particular ritual traditions such as many Qingwei and Shenxiao branches on the other hand. In order to discuss the issue more effectively, a theoretical distinction between "school" and "lineage" has been made. In this sense, schools denote textual traditions with doctrinal and liturgical foundations while lineages, whose Chinese equivalent is *fapai* 法派, designate master-disciple transmissions without texts other than their genealogies. Unlike their medieval model, Daoist schools in late imperial China were not corporate

[2] Zhang Yuchu, *Daomen shigui* (DZ 1232), 1b, 3b–4a, 11a. In his treatment of the schools (*fa*), Zhang Yuchu uses the term "Leiting" 雷霆 (Thunderclap) to stand for Thunder Rites. The Thunderclap legacy was a later variety of *leifa*.

institutions, to which one did not have a sense of formal belongings. During this period, all clerics were identified by their lineages that determined their ordination names (*faming* 法名 or *daohao* 道號) generated by "lineage verses" (*paishi* 派詩). While a school was a more abstract category of texts, doctrines, and liturgies, a lineage had legal and property rights, subject to inheritance and transfer.[3] The problem for our study is their fluidity and nominal overlap.[4] In addition, as Zhang Yuchu tells us, Zhengyi, Qingwei, Shenxiao, and Jingming were certainly textual traditions, and thus schools although "Zhengyi" was also known as an order encompassing all non-Quanzhen traditions. Many branches of Qingwei and Shenxiao were characteristic of master-disciple genealogies in the context of the *leifa* transmission, and thus lineages. Since these branches may still have used the name "Qingwei" or "Shenxiao," Qingwei and Shenxiao can also indicate lineages. The same is true for Zhengyi and Jingming. Qingwei lineages in this article mean master-disciple genealogies in the transmission of the Qingwei liturgy. One may argue that Zhengyi was extremely important in the Ming. Having acknowledged this, this study deals with the Longhushan lineage of the Zhengyi order as an elite representative of Zhengyi. In this sense, this article treats a certain Zhengyi lineage instead of the entire Zhengyi order/school.[5] The use of Jingming follows the same suit.

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[3] Goossaert, "Les institutions lignagères des spécialistes religieux en Chine, 16e–21e siècles," in *Moines et moniales de par le monde. La vie monastique au miroir de la parenté*, eds. Adeline Herrou and Gisèle Krauskopff (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009), 305–16; *The Taoists of Peking, 1800–1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 24–25. See also Zhang Xuesong 張雪松, "Quanzhendao paibei zipu fayin" 全真道派輩字譜發隱, *Quanzhendao yanjiu* 3 (2014): 127–29.

[4] Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 24.

[5] In this study, I avoid using the term "Zhengyi school" (*Zhengyipai* 正一派) or "Zhengyi Daoism" (*Zhengyidao* 正一道) to refer to the Longhushan lineage. Although Zhengyi Daoism had the Zhang Heavenly Master on Longhushan as its nominal authority, it was a loosely organized order and could mean a tradition with its literate priests who distinguished themselves on the one hand from "ritual masters" (*fashi* 法師) of a vernacular liturgy, and on the other hand from strictly celibate monks of the Quanzhen order. In a broad sense, Zhengyi stands for any non-Quanzhen Daoist schools of literate tradition, including Qingwei and Jingming in this study. To juxtapose Zhengyi with Qingwei and

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Quanzhen is slightly different for it is a school-turned order. In terms of Ming Daoism, the Longmen 龍門 (Gate of the Dragon) lineage as the oldest lineage of Quanzhen is attested around the mid-fifteenth century and early sixteenth century. The existence of the Huashan 華山 lineage, another old Quanzhen lineage, in 1508 is also confirmed.[6] It is unclear whether Quanzhen still maintained its existence as a corporate body, or its lineages already came on the

(Note 5—*Continued*)

Jingming would confuse the reader. After all, there is no clear definition of what the term "Zhengyi" refers to in actual practice. This should be investigated albeit not in this essay. The Daoist priests from Longhushan, though extremely important with their head the Heavenly Master and his court on the mountain, were but a minority among Zhengyi priests in a broad sense. With respect to Longhushan Daoist clerics, technically there were at least three lineages (*fapai*) or sublineages on Longhushan. Vincent Goossaert argues that the family of the Zhang Heavenly Master was not a religious lineage but a biological one. In this study, by the "Longhushan lineage" I do not mean the Heaven Master family but a label for all Zhengyi priests residing at Longhushan who were directly subordinated to the Heavenly Master or were the clerical personnel of the "Heavenly Master institution" no matter to which sublineage they belonged. Goossaert also uses the term "Heavenly Master institution." The Longhushan lineage clerics here thus correspond to the personnel aspect of the "Heavenly Master institution." Chuang Hung-i 莊宏誼 confines his *Mingdai Daojiao Zhengyipai* to this particular group of Daoist priests. His use of the "Zhengyi lineage" corresponds to what I call the "Longhushan lineage." For the three sublineages at Longhushan, see Yuan Mingshan 元明善 (1269–1322), Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 (fl. 1577–1611), and Zhang Xianyong 張顯庸 (1582–1661), *Xuxiu Longhu shanzhi* 續修龍虎山志 (SKQSCC), 1.34a–b. This piece of information on the three lineages appeared before 1611. For a discussion of the family of the Zhang Heavenly Master as a biological lineage and the "Heavenly Master institution," see Goossaert, "Les institutions lignagères des spécialistes religieux," 315n18, "Bureaucratic Charisma: The Zhang Heavenly Master Institution and Court Taoists in Late-Qing China," *Asia Major* 3rd series, 17.2 (2004): 123. For Chuang Hung-i's definition and coverage of Zhengyipai, see Chuang, *Mingdai Daojiao Zhengyipai* 明代道教正一派 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1986), 2, and passim.

[6] Zhao Weigong 趙衛東, "Henan Jiyuan Quanzhendao zongpai chuancheng kao" 河南濟源全真道宗派傳承考, *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 5 (2013), 91–94, 99–100, 106, 108; "Qingzhou Quanzhen Xiuzhengong kao" 青州全真修真宮考, *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu,* 2008.4: 23–25; Richard G. Wang, "A Local Longmen Lineage in Late Ming-Early Qing Yunnan," in *Quanzhen Daoists in Chinese Society and Culture, 1500–2010*, eds. Xun Liu and Vincent Goossaert (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, UC Berkeley, 2014), 243, 246, 249, 267; Zhang Fang 張方, "Beike suojian Jiexiu Houtumiao Longmenpai chuancheng" 碑刻所見介休后土廟龍門派傳承, *Quanzhendao yanjiu* 3 (2014): 248, 252–54.

scene before the mid-fifteenth century. But at least by the very early Ming, when Liu Yuanran was active, Quanzhen lineages had not emerged.[7] As Vincent Goossaert puts it, Quanzhen at that time "had no symbolic identity such as lineage poems or hagiographic traditions. This were the preserve of the Quanzhen order as a whole, understood as one single lineage [*pai* 派]."[8] In other words, Quanzhen was a super-lineage without branches. While after the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth century in terms of the Quanzhen clerical organization one should talk about its lineages instead of the Quanzhen order/school, during Liu Yuanran's time Quanzhen was still a single super lineage. In this sense, Quanzhen of that time is comparable to Qingwei, Jingming and Zhengyi lineages.

I. Liu Yuanran's Biographical Accounts

A native of Gan 贛 county of Ganzhou 贛州 prefecture (Jiangxi), Liu Yuanran became a disciple under the instruction of the Daoist priest Chen Fangwai 陳方外 of the Xuanmiao Abbey 玄妙觀 in Ganzhou, who taught Liu thunder rites. Liu Yuanran was then ordained into the priesthood and became a priest at the Xiangfu Palace 祥符宮 of Ganzhou at the age of fifteen, receiving talismans and teachings. He was transmitted the rites related to talismans (*fufa* 符法) by Masters Hu 胡 and Zhang 張. Then he went to the Ziyang Abbey 紫陽觀 at the township of Yudu 雩都 county of Ganzhou to receive Daoist teachings from Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真 (d.

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[7] Goossaert argues that Quanzhen in the Yuan made "efforts at building a cohesive, well-organized order," and its system of religious names and clerical travel and assemblies "allowed all Quanzhen clerics a concrete sense of belonging to the same timeless and universal community." Furthermore, he points out that this did not change until the advent of the Ming. Zhang Xuesong believes that starting with the early Ming, the corporate nature of Quanzhen gradually disappeared, and the period from the early to mid Ming was the transition from the Quanzhen school as a collective entity to lineages. See Goossaert, "The Invention of an Order: Collective Identity in Thirteenth-Century Quanzhen Taoism," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 129–34; Zhang, "Quanzhendao paibei zipu fayin," 128–29. The citations here are from Goossaert's above work 131 and 132, respectively.

[8] Goossaert, "The Invention of an Order," 132.

1382), who accepted him as a disciple. Zhao Yizhen passed down to Liu many teachings, cultivation arts, ritual and exorcistic techniques such as thunder rites, and scriptures. In 1390 Liu Yuanran visited Longhushan. Having heard of him, Ming Taizu (the Hongwu emperor) in 1393 summoned him to Nanjing, granting him the appellation of Gaodao 高道 (Exalted Way), and housed him at the Chaotian Palace 朝天宮, a state Daoist institution. Favoring him greatly, Taizu ordered to rebuild the Xishan Cloister 西山道院 for him within the compound of the Chaotian Palace. In the Jianwen period he was appointed the Right Daoist Patriarch (*you zhengyi* 右正一) of the Central Daoist Registry. In 1405, the Yongle emperor promoted him to be the Left Daoist Patriarch (*zuo zhengyi*), the highest ranking official in the Central Daoist Registry administering the national Daoist affairs. In 1422, however, he was exiled to Longhushan, and soon further to Kunming 昆明, Yunnan. When the Hongxi emperor ascended the throne, he summoned Liu back to Beijing with great favor. Liu Yuanran was titled the "Perfected of Perpetual Spring" 長春真人, and was charged with managing Daoist affairs of the country with a position of the second rank. The emperor also assigned ten Daoist musicians and dancers (*yuewusheng* 樂舞生) as his disciples. In early 1426, the Xuande emperor elevated him to the Great Perfected (*Dazhenren* 大真人), equalizing that of the Heavenly Master. In 1432 Liu Yuanran retired to the Xishan Cloister. Six months later, he died. He took more than a hundred disciples, and the forty-third Heavenly Master Zhang Yuchu also received teachings from him.[9] Due to his great

[9] The material for this section has been taken primarily from the following sources: Hu Yan 胡儼 (1361–1443), "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan" 長春劉真人傳, in Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (1271–1325), comp., Xu Hui 徐慧 (1291–1350), ed., *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 淨明忠孝全書, preface by Hu Ying 胡濙 (1375–1463) and postface by Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (fl. 1427–1454) dated 1452, a rare book in the Naikaku bunko 內閣文庫, Japan (hereafter the "Naikaku bunko ed."), 32a–34b; in Li Ding 李鼎 (1544–after 1613), *Jingming zhongxiao quanzhuan zheng'e* 淨明忠孝全傳正訛, in idem, *Li Changqing ji* 李長卿集, a rare book in the Naikaku bunko 內閣文庫, Japan (Nanchang: Li family print, 1612), 24.20b–22b; in Hu Zhiwen 胡之玟 (fl. 1653–1684) and Hu Shixin 胡士信 (fl. 1666–1681), eds., *Taishang lingbao jingming zongjiao lu* 太上靈寶淨明宗教錄 (Nanchang: Qingyunpu, sometime between 1666–81; rpt. Nanchang: Xishan Wanshougong and Nanchang Wanshougong, 2004), 6.96–98; in Ding Bushang 丁步上 (fl. 1740) and Guo Maolong 郭懋隆 (fl. 1740), comp., *Xiaoyaoshan*

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(Note 9—*Continued*)

Wanshougong zhi 逍遙山萬壽宮志 (1740, a rare book in the Shanghai Library),5.32a–34a; Yang Rong 楊榮 (1371–1440), "Changchun Liu Zhenrenzhuanlue"長春劉真人傳略, in Ge Yinliang 葛寅亮 (1570–1646), *Jinling xuanguan zhi* 金陵玄觀志 (ZDC), 1.21b–22a; Chen Xun 陳循 (1385–1464), "Longquanguan Changchun Zhenren ciji" 龍泉觀長春真人祠記, in Beijing tushuguan jinshizu 北京圖書館金石組, comp., *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1989), 51:199; Wang Zhi 王直 (1379–1462), "Changchun Liu Zhenren citang ji" 長春劉真人祠堂記, in idem, *Yian wenji houji* 抑菴文集後集 (SKQS), 5.46b–49b; Wang Zhi, "Zixiaoguan bei" 紫霄觀碑, in ibid., 24.61b–62b; Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 (1335–1418) et al., ed., *Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966), 230.3b; Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1365–1444) et al., ed., *Ming Renzong shilu* 明仁宗實錄 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966), 4B.5b; Yang Shiqi et al., ed., *Ming Xuanzong shilu* 明宣宗實錄 *(Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966),* 30.4b; Ren Ziyuan 任自垣 (1368–1431), *Chijian Dayue Taihe shanzhi* 敕建大嶽太和山志, in Zhongguo Wudang wenhua congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 中國武當文化叢書編纂委員會, ed., *Wudang shan lidai zhishu jizhu* 武當山歷代志書集注, vol. 1 (Wuhan: Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe, 2003), 405; Li Xian 李賢 (1408–1466) et al., *Ming yitong zhi* 明一統志 (SKQS), 58.20a; Shang Lu 商輅 (1414–1486), "Longquanguan Tongmiao Zhenren citang ji" 龍泉觀通妙真人祠堂記, in Chen Yuan 陳垣, comp., Chen Zhichao 陳智超 and Zeng Qingying 曾慶瑛, eds., *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), 1266; *Zhengde Yunnan zhi* 正德雲南志 (1510), 35.5b–6a; *(Jiajing) Xuzhou zhi* (嘉靖)徐州志 (1541–66), 9.4b–5a; Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590), *Yanshan tang bieji* 弇山堂別集, ed. Wei Lianke 魏連科 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 272; *(Wanli) Shangyuan xianzhi* (萬曆)上元縣志 (1597), 11.15a–b; Ge, *Jinling xuanguan zhi* (1607), 1.5b–6a, 7a–9a; *(Tianqi) Ganzhou fuzhi* (天啟)贛州府志 (1621; 1660), 17.13a–14b; Zhou Hui (1546–1627?), *Jinling suoshi*, in idem, *Jinling suoshi, Xu Jinling suoshi, Erxu Jinling suoshi* 金陵瑣事 · 續金陵瑣事 · 二續金陵瑣事 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2007), 4.137–38; Song Zaiheng 宋在衡 (fl. 1664), comp, *Lidai shenxian tongji* 歷代神仙通紀, in *Siku weishoushu jikan* 四庫未收書輯刊 ed., *ce* 27, 209–10; Wang Hongxu 王鴻緒 (1645–1723), *Ming shigao* 明史稿 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1962), "Liezhuan," 176.11b–12b; Lou Jinyuan 婁敬垣 (1689–1776), *Longhu shanzhi* 龍虎山志 (ZW), 7.23a; Zhu Zhanji 朱瞻基 (the Xuande emperor), preface to his "Yuzhi Shanshui tu ge zeng Chengchun Zhenren" 御製山水圖歌賜長春真人, in Ge, *Jinling xuanguan zhi*, 1.8a–b; "Chongxu zhidao xuaomiao wuwei guangfan yanjiao zhuangjing puji Changchun Zhenren Yuanran Liugong muzhiming" 沖虛至道玄妙無為光範演教莊靜普濟長春真人淵然劉公墓誌銘 (hereafter the tomb epitaph), quoted in Yue Yong 岳湧, "Ming Changchun zhenren Liu Yuanran muzhi kao" 明長春真人劉淵然墓誌考, *Zhongguo daojiao* 2012.2: 42–45. Brief biographies of Liu Yuanran may be found in Judith M. Boltz, "Liu Yuanran," in ET, 693–94; Pierre Henry de Bruyn, "Daoism in the Ming," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 597; Qing Xitai 卿希泰 et al., *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 (Shanghai: Zhishi chubanshe, 1994), 1:378. A more reliable modern biography can be found in Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月觀暎, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei: Jōmyōdō no kisoteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1978), 159–61. A critical account of Liu's life and career with collating of different Ming-Qing biographies of him can be found in Hata, "Dōshi Ryū Enzen shotan," 105–14.

contribution to Daoism and great influence, four shrines dedicated to him were erected in Nanjing, Suzhou, Kunming, and Baoshan 保山 (Yunnan), respectively, and another hall to both him and Zhao Yizhen was founded within the Baiyun Abbey 白雲觀 in Beijing.[10] In December 2010, his tomb was excavated in the Xishan Bridge 西善橋 area situated in the southern suburb of Nanjing. Seventeen funerary objects are uncovered in the tomb chamber which is largely intact. The most important of them is a stone epitaph inscription that largely confirms Liu Yuanran's life and career recorded in his biographies.[11]

The above account is based on multiple sources, but mainly on the "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan" 長春劉真人傳 (Biography of the Perfected Liu Changchun), an epitaph by Hu Yan 胡儼 (1361–1443) dated 1432, the single most important and influential account of Liu Yuanran. As just noted, a buried tomb inscription for Liu Yuanran was excavated at Liu's tomb, and this epitaph, though incomplete, essentially conforms to Hu Yan's biography of Liu.[12] This indicates the reliability of Hu Yan's work. Almost all the Ming-Qing era biographies of Liu Yuanran are derived from it. This work therefore has a complicated textual history that reflects the development of Daoist schools and Liu Yuanran's role in Ming Daoism. In terms of its length with certain features, we can first classify all these biographies descending from Hu Yan's work into

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[10] Wang, "Changchun Liu Zhenren citang ji," 5.46b–49b; Xu Youzhen 徐有貞 (1407–1472), "Fujiguan xinjian ciyu ji" 福濟觀新建祠宇記, in *Wuzhong jinshi xinbian* 吳中金石新編, ed. Chen Wei 陳暐 (SKQS), 6.30a–b; Chen, "Longquanguan Changchun Zhenren ciji," 51:199; Shang, "Longquanguan Tongmiao Zhenren citang ji," 1266; Liu Pengnian 劉彭年 (*jinshi* 1514), "Chongxiu Longquanguan ji" 重修龍泉觀記, in Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1278; Xiao Jihong 蕭霽虹, "Yunnan Baoshan Daojiao 'Changchun lingbao pai' keyi yanjiu" 雲南保山道教長春靈寶派科儀研究, ZDY, 244–45; Shao Yizheng, "Chongjian Baiyunguan Changchundian beilue" 重建白雲觀長春殿碑略, in Yu Minzhong 于敏中 et al., *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下舊聞考 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2000), 1582.

[11] Yue Yong, "Nanjing Xishanqiao Mingdai Changchun zhenren Liu Yuanran mu" 南京西善橋明代長春真人劉淵然墓, *Wenwu* 2012.3: 22–30; "Ming Changchun zhenren Liu Yuanran," 42–45.

[12] The tomb epitaph, 42–45.

the "full recension" and "simple recension."[13] I shall deal with the "simple recension" later in this study. At this moment, the focus is on the "full recension."

Hu Yan's epitaph is not contained in his collected writings. It survives in ten versions.[14] These ten works constitute the aforementioned "full recension." But none of these texts is complete, and each of them makes certain textual changes. Within the "full recension," we can further divide these full versions into two edition traditions: the literati tradition,[15] and the Jingming tradition (see the appendix).[16]

Of the two textual systems, the literati tradition is earlier and closer to Hu Yan's original text. The Jingming tradition retains most of the elements of Hu Yan's text. However, it adds some elements that reveal features of Jingming Daoism. With this in mind, we are now turning to Liu Yuanran's lineage.

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[13] For a construction of the textual systems, different from this author, of the Ming-Qing era Liu Yuanran's biographies, see Hata, "Dōshi Ryū Enzen shotan," 102–5.

[14] It is contained in a 1452 reprint of the *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* (hereafter "Naikaku bunko ed."). Both Chen Xun's inscription for the shrine dedicated to Liu Yuanran and Wang Zhi's inscription for another shrine to Liu indirectly quote it. The late Ming Jingming collection *Jingming zhongxiao quanzhuan zheng'e* compiled by Li Ding (hereafter "Li Ding's collection"), the early Qing Jingming anthology *Taishang lingbao jingming zongjiao lu* edited by Zhu Daolang 朱道朗 (1622–1688), Hu Zhiwen and Hu Shixin (hereafter "Hu's anthology"), and the earliest monograph of the Wanshou Palace 萬壽宮 at Xishan dated 1740, all contain this biography. In addition, the biographies of Liu Yuanran in such local gazetteers as the 1510 *Zhengde Yunnan zhi*, the 1541–1566 *(Jiajing) Xuzhou zhi*, the 1597 *(Wanli) Shangyuan xianzhi*, and the 1621 *(Tianqi) Ganzhou fuzhi* are also directly derived from Hu Yan's text, although simplifying it one way or another. See Hu, "Changchun Liu zhenren zhuan," in the Naikaku bunko ed., 32a–34b; Chen, "Longquanguan Changchun Zhenren ciji," 51:199; Wang, "Changchun Liu Zhenren citang ji," 5.46b–49b; Li Ding's collection, 24.20b–22b; Hu's anthology, 6.96–98; Ding and Guo, *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong zhi* (1740), 5.32a–34a; *Zhengde Yunnan zhi* (1510), 35.5b–6a; *(Jiajing) Xuzhou zhi* (1541–1566), 9.4b–5a; *(Wanli) Shangyuan xianzhi* (1597), 11.15a–b; *(Tianqi) Ganzhou fuzhi* (1621; 1660), 17.13a–14b.

[15] The literati tradition consists of Chen Xun's and Wang Zhi's inscriptions as well as the 1510 Yunnan provincial gazetteer, the 1541–1566 Xuzhou subprefectural gazetteer, and the 1621 Ganzhou prefectural gazetteer.

[16] The Jingming tradition starts with the Naikaku bunko ed., and includes the 1597 Shangyuan county gazetteer, Li Ding's collection, Hu's anthology, and the 1740 Wanshougong monograph.

II. Liu Yuanran and His Qingwei Lineage

Zhao Yizhen was a Qingwei school patriarch, as the main codifier of its teachings.[17] Hu Yan's epitaph of Liu Yuanran provides us with a detailed description of the transmission of the teachings from Zhao Yizhen to Liu Yuanran:

> [Zhao Yizhen] also transmitted to Liu Yuanran the books of the Jade Clarity teaching, the violent thunder from the statutes and ordinances of the *she* altar, the Jade Palace [Rites], the Yellow Register [Rites], Jade Register [Rites], the Great Ultimate and so on. In terms of the arts of summoning wind and thunder, commanding and punishing ghosts and spirits, and salvaging the spirits of the dark by means of relieving them, [Liu Yuanran] immediately received efficacious responses. Three years later, Yuanyang [i.e., Zhao Yizhen] taught him the secrets of the reverting the great elixir from fire and gold.
>
> 復授以玉清宗教、社令烈雷、玉宸、黃籙、玉籙、太極等書。呼召風雷，役治鬼物，濟拔幽顯，立有應驗。又三年，原陽告以金火返還大丹之訣。[18]

The "Jade Palace" (*Yuchen* 玉宸), or the Jade Palace Rites (*Yuchen zhaifa* 齋法 / *Yuchen jingfa* 經法), refers to a type of Daoist ritual. The corpus of the Jade Palace Rites is located in the Daoist ritual compendium *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 (Corpus of Daoist Ritual) in its *juan* 13–17 and 19–23.[19] As is well known, the first fifty-five

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[17] For a study of Zhao Yizhen as a Qingwei patriarch, see Kristofer Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen (?–1382) and the Ch'ing-wei School of Taoism," in Dōkyō to shūkyō bunka 道教と宗教文化, ed. Akizuki Kan'ei (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1987), 1–20; Lowell Skar, "Seibi senfu raihō shinrei soshite dōgen: Chūsei no Chūgoku tōnanbu ni okeru shūkyō teki tōgō ni tsuite" 清微仙譜、雷法、神靈そして道原: 中世の中國東南部における宗教的統合について, in *Dōkyō to kyōsei shisō: Daisankai NichiBei dōkyō kenkyūkai giron bunshū* 道教と共生思想: 第3回日米道教研究會議論文集, eds. Tanaka Fumio 田中文雄 and Terry F. Kleeman (Tokyo: Taigashobō, 2009), 150–52.

[18] Hu, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan," quoted and paraphrased in Chen, "Longquanguan Changchun Zhenren ciji," 51:199, and in Wang, "Changchun Liu Zhenren citang ji," 5.47a. "The thunder from the statutes and ordinances of the *she* altar" 社令雷 was one of the five orthodox thunders in Thunder Rites. See *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 (DZ 1220), 250.15a.

[19] *Daofa huiyuan*, 13.1a–17.17b, 19.1a–23.30b. See also Hata, "Dōshi Ryū Enzen shotan," 108.

juan of the *Daofa huiyuan* are manuals of Qingwei ritual.[20] In fact, as Zhao Yizhen himself makes clear, the Jade Palace Rites constitute parts of the Qingwei liturgy.[21] The role of thunder rites is also emphasized in the above citation, in addition to *neidan* or inner alchemy. The thunder rites, which emerged in the Song, were used by the Shenxiao school and Qingwei school.[22] They also involve inner alchemy.[23] Clearly, Hu Yan's standard account makes it manifest that Liu Yuanran received Qingwei teachings and ritual arts from Zhao Yizhen. Indeed, as Kristofer Schipper states, "Liu [Yuanran] and Shao [Yizheng] were both patriarchs of the Qingwei school."[24]

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[20] Skar, "Seibi senfu raihō shinrei soshite dōgen," 150–52; "Qingwei (Pure Tenuity)," ET, 804–5; Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen," 720; Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling, "*Daofa huiyuan*," TC, 1106; Boltz, "*Daofa huiyuan (Corpus of Taoist Ritual)*," ET, 317.

[21] *Daofa huiyuan*, 5.36b–37b; 14.2b; 17.1a, 3a–6b. For a rudimentary treatment of the Jade Palace Rites, see Ding Qiang 丁強, "'Shufu lufa' suo tixian de xiangzheng yiyun: Yi Qingweipai 'Yuchen jingfa' liandu keyi wei li" 書符籙法所體現的象徵意蘊——以清微派玉宸經法鍊度科儀為例, *Yunnan minzu daxue xuebao* 23.2 (2006): 99–101.

[22] Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California, Center for Chinese Studies, 1987), 39; Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 29–30; Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen," 720; "The Qingwei School," TC, 1096; Skar, "Seibi senfu raihō shinrei soshite dōgen," 147; "Qingwei," 804.

[23] Matsumoto Kōichi 松本浩一, "Sōdai no raihō" 宋代の雷法, *Shakai bunka shigaku* 17 (1979): 59–60; Qing, *Zhongguo daojiao*, 1:143; Skar, "Ethical Aspects of Daoist Healing: The Case of Song and Yuan Thunder Rites," in *East Asian Science: Tradition and Beyond*, eds. Hashimoto Keizō, Catherine Jami, and Lowell Skar (Osaka: Kansai University Press, 1995), 226; "Seibi senfu raihō shinrei soshite dōgen," 147–48; Li Zhihong 李志鴻, "Shilun Qingweipai de 'huidao' yu 'guiyuan'" 試論清微派的會道與歸元, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 2005.3: 123–24.

[24] Schipper and Yuan, "*Daofa huiyuan*," 1106. See also Skar, "Seibi senfu raihō shinrei soshite dōgen," 150–51; Monica Esposito, "The Longmen School and Its Controversial History during the Qing Dynasty," in *Religion and Chinese Society*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press; Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004), 627, 659; Xu Wei 許蔚, "Ziwo rentong haishi tazhe rentong: Zhen Yizhen, Liu Yuanran sipai Jingming wenti de zai tantao" 自我認同還是他者認同——趙宜真、劉淵然嗣派淨明問題的再探討 (unpublished paper).

In fact, Liu Yuanran was engaged in ritual performances praying for rain.[25] It should be noted that one of the techniques praying for rain involves *leifa*, particularly "the thunder from the statutes and ordinances of the *she* altar" which was responsible for rain in face of drought.[26] Although it is not clear whether Liu applied *leifa* to this particular ritual performance, the possibility exists as stated in the prescription by Zhao Yizhen in the *Daofa huiyuan*, for the compilation of which a direct disciple of Zhao such as Liu Yuanran, or an indirect disciple such as Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (fl. 1427–1454) was most likely responsible. Liu Yuanran also conducted ritual at the Chaotian Palace and for the Abbey of Divine Music 神樂觀, the two state Daoist institutions controlled by Zhengyi Daoists.[27] Qingwei was a lineage of the Zhengyi order, and the Qingwei components in these Zhengyi (or Qingwei Lingbao 清微靈寶) rituals should not be neglected. Finally, the hand-copied edition of the canonical *Taishang taixuan nüqing sanyuan pinjie bazui miaojing* 太上太玄女青三元品誡拔罪妙經 (Marvelous Scripture That Abolishes Sins against the Classified Rules of the Three Principles, Spoken by the Most High Most Mysterious Nüqing) has a preface by Liu Yuanran dated 1431. At the end of the preface, Liu impressed five seals. While two of the seals are inscribed his sobriquets, the other three are his liturgical *fayin* 法印 (Seals of the Law) for stamping documents used in rituals. After a comparison with other Daoist *fayin*, our tentative conclusion is that these three *fayin* belong to the Qingwei liturgy. Liu Yuanran died in 1432. A year before his death, his use of the Qingwei *fayin* demonstrates his

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[25] Huang Yu 黃瑜 (fl. 1456–1470), *Shuanghuai suichao* 雙槐歲鈔 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 69; Yu Ruji 俞汝楫 (fl. 1620), *Libu zhigao* 禮部志稿 (SKQS) 88.29a; Wan Sitong 萬斯同 (1638–1702), *Mingshi* 明史 (XSKQS) j. 48, 658a.

[26] *Daofa huiyuan*, 56.13a–14b.

[27] Tao Shu 陶澍 (1779–1839), *Tao Wenyi Gong quanji* 陶文毅公全集 (XSKQS), 42.10a–11a. On the lineage belonging of the clerics at the Divine Music Abbey, see Shiga Takayoshi 滋賀高義, "Minsho no Shingakukan to Dōkyō," Ōtani gakuhō 43.2 (1963): 43; Li Yangzheng 李養正, *Xinbian Beijing Baiyunguan zhi* 新編北京白雲觀志 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003), 508.

final identity. His lineage identity was thus manifested through ritual.[28]

In addition to teachings and ritual arts, there are two methods to identify one's religious lineage: the master-disciple relationship, and the lineage verse.[29] In terms of the former, it is necessary to mention Zhao Yizhen, Liu Yuanran's master. Like his disciple, Zhao Yizhen was also regarded as a patriarch of the Qingwei, Jingming, and Quanzhen schools. It was from Zhao that Liu Yuanran received the trainings supposedly derived from these schools and transmitted their teachings, as a disciple who carried on Zhao's lineage.

As for disciples, Liu Yuanran had over a hundred, of whom Shao Yizheng was the most famous.[30] Since Liu Yuanran was said to be a patriarch of three Daoist schools, in theory he might have transmitted several lineages. Among the majority of his identifiable disciples, direct and indirect, however, we can find only one consistent major pattern that corresponds to a Daoist lineage verse, with several versions though, of all extant *paishi* known to us. The lineage verse with its generation characters that match the ordination names (*faming*) of Liu Yuanran, his master, his disciples, and later spiritual heirs runs as follows, "Yi yuan yi dao zhi, yong de zhen chang cun; zhao ying tong xuan li, wei xi zui you cheng. Xiu xing cheng qing jing, kai ren ji shi sheng. Miao ming yan su fa, yan jiao qi zhen

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[28] *Taishang taixuan nüqing sanyuan pinjie bazui miaojing*, a rare book preserved in the Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum Digitale Bibliothek, Bildnr. 4. Online. Available: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00067828/images/index.html?id=00067828&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=1 (accessed on March 31, 2015). I thank Xu Wei for drawing my attention to this text. For the three *fayin* as Qingwei seals, I benefited from my personal conversation with Xu Wei on March 29, 2015.

[29] On this issue, see Goossaert, "Les institutions lignagères des spécialistes religieux," 311. For an introduction to Daoist "lineage verses," see ibid., 310–11; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "Taoist Monastic Life," in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, eds. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 231.

[30] For information on Shao Yizheng's life, see Feng Qianshan 冯千山, "Shao Yizheng shengping, Daozang ji qita" 邵以正生平、道藏及其他, *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 1992.1–2: 46–52, 36.

rong" 一元以道至，永德振常存；昭應通玄理，惟希最有成。修省承清靜，開仁濟世生；妙明嚴肅法，演教啟真容. The Tianfei Palace 天妃宮 (renamed as Tianhou Palace 天后宮 after the Kangxi reign of the Qing) in Tianjin has transmitted this lineage verse since the early Ming, and this lineage has been named the Qingwei Zhengyi pai 清微正乙派 (Pure Tenuity Orthodox Unity Lineage).[31] Due to its orality, when the lineage verse was later recorded, it resulted in different versions. At least four other lineages shared similar wording in their respective verses. Lacking a standard in recording, homographs naturally take place. The orality of a *paishi* also gives rise to homonyms. After collating, the first twenty characters of the correct version is reconstructed as follows: "Yi yuan yi dao zhi, yong de zhen chang cun; zhao ying tong xuan li, wei xi zui you cheng" 宜淵以道志，永德振常存；昭應通玄理，惟希最有成.[32]

It is clear now that the *faming* of Liu Yuanran's master, some fellow disciples, and direct and indirect disciples perfectly match this reconstructed lineage verse as shown in my database. This genealogy poem also shows that this lineage started with, or rather, was attributed to, Zhao Yizhen.

Furthermore, as mentioned, this lineage transmitted at the Tianfei Palace has been named the Qingwei-Zhengyi lineage while the majority of the other versions were named Heavenly Master Zhang's Zhengyi lineage (Zhang Zhenren Zhengyi pai 張真人正乙

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[31] Zhang Xiuhua 張修華, "Wo he Tianhougong" 我和天后宮, *Tianjin wenshi ziliao xuanji* 19 (1982): 159, 161, 166, 187; Dong Jiqun 董季群, *Tianjin wenhua tonglan (Diyi ji) Tianhougong xiezhen* 天津文化通覽(第一集)天后宮寫真 (Tianjin: Tianjin shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2002), 61; Tianjin shi difangzhi bianxiu weiyuanhui 天津市地方志編修委員會, comp., *Tianjin jianzhi*, 天津簡志 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1991) 1244. The title of the goddess was elevated from Celestial Consort (Tianfei) to Celestial Empress (Tianhou) around 1683 or 1684. See Li Xianzhang 李獻璋, *Boso shinkō no kenkyū* 媽祖信仰の研究 (Tokyo: Taizan bunbutsusha, 1979), 298–302.

[32] Interestingly, by synthesizing different versions of the Qingwei lineage verse Qu Shuang 曲爽(Huangdi Long 黃帝龍) concludes an almost same genealogy poem of the Tianfei Palace. See Qu Shuang and Zhang Wei 張煒, "Qingwei pai chuancheng kao: Yi Zhao Yizhen, Li Desheng chuan Tianjin Tianhougong yixi weizhu" 清微派傳承考——以趙宜真、李得晟傳天津天后宮一系為主, ZDY, 571, 577; Dong Jiqun, *Tianjin Tianhougong* 天津天后宮 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2012), 99–100.

派), Zhengyi lineage (Zhengyi pai 正乙派 / 正一派), or Heavenly Master lineage (Tianshi pai 天師派).[33] As is well known, Qingwei was one of many schools under the Zhengyi order. The last version has the name Zhenwu lineage (Zhenwu pai 真武派),[34] suggesting a tie to Mount Wudang 武當山, the center for the Zhenwu cult. Indeed, Mount Wudang in the Yuan and Ming was one of the Qingwei centers, while Qingwei was in turn the main lineage there.[35] For these reasons, the lineage name in the Tianfei Palace of Tianjin indicates that this lineage was a Qingwei lineage founded by, or attributed to, Zhao Yizhen. And Liu Yuanran's own direct and indirect disciples' *faming* confirm that he transmitted this Qingwei lineage with the lineage verse supposedly inherited from Zhao Yizhen.

Indeed, the disciples of this lineage had a strong Qingwei lineal identity. The large ritual compendium *Daofa huiyuan*, probably compiled by Liu Yuanran or Shao Yizheng as we have surmised, not only contains a number of texts edited by Zhao Yizhen, but also deifies Zhao in ritual invocations.[36] The compiler, be Shao

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[33] Wang Ka 王卡, *Zhuzhen zongpai yuanliu* 諸真宗派源流, in idem, "Zhuzhen zongpai yuanliu jiaodu ji" 諸真宗派源流校讀記, in *Quanzhen dao yu Lao-Zhuang xue guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 全真道與老莊學國際學術研討會論文集, eds. Xiong Tieji 熊鐵基 and Mai Zifei 麥子飛 (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 58, 60, 61; Igarashi Kenryū 五十嵐賢隆, *Dōkyō sorin Taishingu shi* 道教叢林——太清宮志 (rpt.Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1986), 81, 82, 84; Koyanagi, *Baiyunguan zhi*, ZDC, 107–108; Yan Heyi 嚴合怡, *Daotong yuanliu* 道統源流 (Shanghai: Daotong yuanliu bianjichu, 1929) "Zhengyi fatong" 正一法統, 1a, 2b; Bai Yongzhen 白永貞, *Tiecha shanzhi* 鐵剎山志 (Fengtian: Qingmi ge, 1938), 7.3b, 4a; Huabei zongjiao nianjian 華北宗教年鑑, comp., *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 華北宗教年鑑 (Beijing: Xinmin yinshuguan, 1941), 261.

[34] Wang, *Zhuzhen zongpai yuanliu*, 58; Bai, *Tiecha shanzhi*, 7.2a; Koyanagi, *Baiyunguan zhi*, 109; *Huabei zongjiao nianjian*, 262; Yan, *Daotong yuanliu*, 2.11a.

[35] Yang Lizhi 楊立志, "Sanshan dixue pai yu Wudang qingwei pai" 三山滴血派與武當清微派, in *Ziran, lishi, daojiao: Wudangshan yanjiu lunwenji* 自然，歷史，道教：武當山研究論文集, ed. Yang Lizhi et al. (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006), 320–22; Wang Guangde 王光德 and Yang Lizhi, *Wudang daojiao shilue* 武當道教史略 (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 1993), 126–31, 201–4; de Bruyn, *Le Wudang Shan: Histoire des récits fondateurs* (Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2010), 176–78, 186.

[36] Schipper and Yuan, "*Daofa huiyuan*," 1106; Boltz, "*Daofa huiyuan*," 317; Skar, "Seibi senfu raihō shinrei soshite dōgen," 152; Piet van der Loon, "A Taoist

(*Continue on next page*)

Yizheng or someone else if not Liu Yuanran himself, would certainly have been heavily influenced by Liu Yuanran, the successor to Zhao, in compiling this collection and establishing Zhao as a deified patriarch of the Qingwei school. Liu Yuanran took Shao Yizheng, a native of Kunming, as a disciple after Liu was banished there in 1422. Shao thus did not have any personal contact with Zhao Yizhen who died in 1382. His respect of Zhao would certainly have reflected Liu Yuanran's view and feelings in deifying Zhao Yizhen in the Qingwei ritual collection. Likewise, in 1454, Shao Yizheng petitioned the court to erect the Zixiao Abbey 紫霄觀 at the tomb of Zhao Yizhen in Yudu county to worship the latter.[37] These two cases demonstrate that Zhao Yizhen was recognized by Liu Yuanran and his disciples as the patriarch of this particular Qingwei lineage.[38]

The Tianfei Palace tradition traced its genealogy to Li Desheng 李得晟 (also written 李德晟, fl. 1503–1532) as the founder of this lineage at this temple.[39] Due to the fact that Li Desheng was a fourth generation disciple of Shao Yizheng and the only historical personage with rich records after Shao Yizheng, this author treats him here in more details to show the genealogy of Liu Yuanran's lineage. Li Desheng was a court cleric. In 1503 he was promoted to be the Left Perfect Numinousness (*zuo zhiling* 左至靈, rank 8a), a Daoist official in the Central Daoist Registry. In 1509 he renovated the Baiyun Abbey of Beijing, with a stele inscription composed by

(Note 36—*Continued*)
Collection of the Fourteenth Century," in *Studia Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift für Herbert Franke*, ed. Wolfgang Bauer (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag Gmbh, 1979), 402.

37 Wang, "Zixiaoguan bei," 24.61a–63b; *(Kangxi 1) Yudu xianzhi* (康熙元年) 雩都縣志 (1662), 10.3b.

38 I use "lineage" instead of "school" to refer to the Zhao Yizhen-Liu Yuanran-Shao Yizheng tradition. Because even though Zhao Yizhen, and probably Liu Yuanran as well, was the codifier of the Qingwei school, there were other branches of the Qingwei movement simultaneously existing but not affiliated with the Zhao Yizhen-Liu Yuanran-Shao Yizheng tradition. In this sense, the Zhao Yizhen-Liu Yuanran-Shao Yizheng tradition was but one of many lineages of the Qingwei school.

39 Zhang, "Wo he Tianhougong," 166, 187; Dong, *Tianjin Tianhougong*, 93–100; *Tianjin jianzhi*, 1244.

him in 1516. By this time the emperor had already granted him the title of the Perfected Miaoying 妙應真人, the highest honorific Daoist rank (rank 2a) only after that of the Heavenly Master. In the early 1530s the Jiajing emperor (1522–1566) dispatched Li to Mount Qiyun 齊雲山 to perform Golden Register Retreats (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋) praying for an imperial heir.[40]

Li Desheng is said to have passed down his teachings to four disciples, who founded four lines/halls within the Tianfei Palace, known as the "Four Great Lines" (*si damen* 四大門). Among the four only Shao Zhenzu 邵振祖 seems to have been the second patriarch of the temple lineage.[41] The Ministry of Rites issued a set of the *Daoist Canon* (*Daozang*) to Shao Zhenzu at the Tianfei Palace sometime between 1483 and 1521.[42] The Tianfei Palace tradition holds that Li Desheng was the first patriarch of this temple lineage, or even the first known Tianjin Daoist priest, and Shao Zhenzu was Li's immediate disciple.[43] The emperor's entitling of Li Desheng, and enlisting of his service, as well as the Ministry

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[40] Jiao Fang 焦芳 (1436–1517) et al., *Ming Xiaozong shilu* 明孝宗實錄 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1964), 204.9b–10a; Li Desheng, "Changchundian zengsu Qizhen xianfan jilue" 長春殿增塑七真仙範記略, in Yu, *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 1579, 1582–1583; Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525–82) et al., *Ming Shizong shilu* 明世宗實錄 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966), 117.2b; Lu Dian 魯點 (fl. 1596–1637), *Qiyun shanzhi* 齊雲山志 (1599; ZDC), 2.34a–36a, 46a–47b; Wang, *Ming shigao*, "Liezhuan," 86.16b–17a; Dong, *Tianjin Tianhougong*, 59, 93–100. For a study of these prayers for imperial heirs at Mount Qiyun, see Richard G. Wang, "Qiyunshan as a Replica of Wudangshan and the Religious Landscape of the Ming Empire," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 42.1 (2014): 38.

[41] Zhang, "Wo he Tianhougong," 166; Dong, *Tianjin wenhua tonglan*, 84; *Tianjin Tianhougong*, 97, 100, 104; Qu and Zhang, "Qingwei pai chuancheng kao," 575.

[42] The date of the *Daozang* granting is concluded through analyzing multiple sources about the event. For the references to this event, see *(Zhengde) Jinghai xianzhi* 靜海縣志 (1506–1521), quoted in *(Guangxu) Chongxiu Tianjin fuzhi* (光緒) 重修天津府志 (1899), 34.8a; *(Wanli) Hejian fuzhi* (萬曆) 河間府志 (1615), 2.41a; *(Kangxi) Tianjin weizhi* (康熙) 天津衛志 (1675), in Lai Xinxia 來新夏 and Guo Fengqi 郭鳳岐 et al., eds., *Tianjin tongzhi: Jiuzhi dianjiao juan* 天津通志舊志點校卷 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1999), 68; *(Qianlong) Tianjin fuzhi* (乾隆) 天津府志 (1739), 10.8a; *(Qianlong) Tianjin xianzhi* (1739), 8.23a; *(Guangxu) Chongxiu Tianjin fuzhi* (1899), 34.8a.

[43] Zhang, "Wo he Tianhougong," 166; Dong, *Tianjin Tianhougong*, 93–100, 104.

of Rites' granting of a copy of *Daozang* to Shao Zhenzu demonstrate the court's continuing trust of Liu Yuanran's spiritual descendants, namely, an honor for Liu's Qingwei lineage.

The transmission of this Tianfei Palace Qingwei lineage never stopped. We have the records of the fifteenth to the twenty-sixth generations of disciples of this lineage at the temple and its subsidiaries (*xiayuan* 下院) in Tianjin in the Qing and Republican periods.[44] Both the Ming-Qing historical sources and the Tianfei Palace tradition confirm that the transmission starting from Li Desheng at the Tianfei Palace, and by extension this Qingwei lineage traced to Zhao Yizhen or at least Liu Yuanran, is reliable.

In addition to the Tianfei Palace in Tianjin, Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage had disciples in other institutions. First, many of them were Daoist officials of the Central Daoist Registry. Occasionally some of these disciples served the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichang si* 太常寺), which controlled two types of state ritual institutions staffed with Daoist clerics: the Divine Music Abbey, and a cluster of imperial mausoleums and state altars.[45] As noted, the Hongxi emperor assigned ten Daoist musician-dancers (*yuewusheng*) as Liu Yuanran's disciples. These *yuewusheng* certainly came from the Divine Music Abbey. Among Liu Yuanran's lineage descendants, Zhu Yongyang 朱永暘 (fl. 1526) was Director (*fengsi* 奉祀, rank 7b) and the designated Daoist cleric of the Central Altar of Mountains and Rivers (Shanchuantan 山川壇) of Beijing. In addition, Li Yongchang 李永昌 (fl. 1539) was Assistant

[44] Zhang, "Wo he Tianhougong," 158, 166–73, 179, 182, 188, 196; Qu and Zhang, "Qingwei pai chuancheng kao," 578–82, 585; Dong, *Tianjin wenhua tonglan*, 47, 187–88; *Tianjin Tianhougong*, 100–103, 105–6, 111–12; *Tianjin jianzhi*, 1244; Yilan Qiankun 易覽乾坤, "Tianjin daojiaoshi jianjie," online available: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_571fb0d90100ln0u.html (accessed on February 26, 2012)

[45] For the best study of the Divine Music Abbey, see Shiga, "Minsho no Shingakukan to Dōkyō," 32–45; Shiga, "Mindai Shingakukan kō" 明代神樂觀考, Ōtani gakuhō 57.2 (1977): 15–25; Liu Yonghua, "Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China: The Case of the Imperial Music Office (Shenyue Guan), 1379–1743," *Late Imperial China* 33.1 (2012): 55–88. For a brief mention of these imperial mausoleums and state altars, see ibid., 61.

Minister (*sicheng* 寺丞) of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices.[46]

Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage also transmitted at the following Daoist institutions: the Chaotian Palace, Qingjiang Cloister 清江道院, and Lingying Abbey 靈應觀 of Nanjing; the Hongen lingji Palace 洪恩靈濟宮, Daci yanfu Palace 大慈延福宮, Chaotian Palace, Dade xianling Palace 大德顯靈宮, and Lingyou Palace 靈祐宮 of Beijing; the Fuji Abbey 福濟觀 of Suzhou; and the Longquan Abbey 龍泉觀 in Kunming county seat, Yunnan.

Furthermore, some Daoist priests descending from Liu Yuanran's Qingwei line either came from, or were assigned the leadership positions, in various other Daoist institutions such as Hang Yiwen 杭以文 (d. before 1457), who was from the Yuchen Abbey 玉晨觀 of Maoshan 茅山,[47] and Ni Zhengdao 倪正道 (fl. 1417–1448), who as a Daoist priest first studied at the Chongzhen Wanshou Palace 崇真萬壽宮 of Beijing and then was a cleric in the aforementioned Hongen lingji Palace before being appointed the abbot of the Baiyun Abbey of Beijing.[48]

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[46] *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*, 54:194; Shao Yuanjie 邵元節, *Cihao Taihe xiansheng quanji* 賜號太和先生全集, in *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2000), 4.27b; *Taichang xukao* 太常續考 (SKQS), 7.80a.

[47] Ni Qian 倪謙 (1415–1479), *Ni Wenxi ji* 倪文僖集 (SKQS), 32.4a; Da Changuang 笪蟾光 (1623–1692), *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 (ZW), 9.16b–17a.

[48] Huang Heng 黃恆 (fl. 1424), comp., *Xuxian zhenlu* 徐仙真錄 (DZ 1470) 3. 31b; Hu Ying 胡濙, "Baiyunguan chongxiu ji" 白雲觀重修記, in Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1256; Xu Bin 許彬 (1385–1461), "Ci jing zhi bei" 賜經之碑, in *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*, 51:159; Zhao Shixian 趙士賢 (1460–1511), "Baiyunguan chongxiu bei" 白雲觀重修碑, in Koyanagi, *Baiyunguan zhi*, 131.

Ni Zhengdao was a Daoist priest at the Hongen lingji Palace of Beijing from 1417 to 1426. As noted, the Hongen lingji Palace transmitted Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage, and therefore Ni Zhengdao would have belonged to this lineage. Moreover, the character *zheng* 正 in Ni's name would have been a homograph of the character *zhi* 志, or the former a near homonym of the latter. For a justification of treating these two characters as homographs or homonyms, a version of the Qingwei lineage verse reads, "Yi Yuan yi dao *zhi*" with the character *zhi* written as 至 instead of 志. The character *zheng* 正 is then an obvious homograph of the character *zhi* 至. Another version of the lineage verse even reads, "Yi yuan yi dao *zheng*" instead of "Yi yuan yi dao *zhi*." See Zhang, "Wo he Tianhougong," 166; Dong, *Tianjin wenhua bonglan*, 61.

It should be noted that Liu Yuanran is said to have also transmitted in Yunnan, especially Kunming, a local Changchun lineage 長春派, which honored him as the founding patriarch, with the following lineage verse: "Ri dao da hong, xuan zong xian miao, zhen chong yuan he, yong chuan zheng jiao, shao shu xian zong" 日道大宏，玄宗顯妙，真崇元和，永傳正教，紹述仙蹤.[49] In addition, Xu Daoguang 徐道廣 (fl. 1444), a Daoist priest of the Changchun lineage, received the teachings of the Five Thunder Rites (*wulei fa* 五雷法) from his master Jiang Rihe 蔣日和 (fl. 1425–1444), who was in turn Liu Yuanran's disciple of this lineage. Xu is said to have been excelled at drawing talismans, healing, exorcising ghosts and spirits, warding off calamities, and praying for rain. According to the sources, his art of the Five Thunders was so efficacious that in the Jiajing period he was posthumously conferred on the title, the Principal Clerk of the Thunderclap (*leiting duli* 雷霆都吏).[50] As is well known, *leifa*, the Five Thunder Rites or thunderclap rites were characteristic of the Qingwei school, in addition to the Shenxiao school.[51] Indeed, the main teachings and practices Liu Yuanran received from Zhao Yizhen were the Thunder Rites, exorcistic techniques, and healing art.[52] Judging from these features,

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[49] Xiao Jihong, "Daojiao Changchun pai zai Yunnan de lishi he xianzhuang" 道教長春派在雲南的歷史和現狀, *Zhongguo daojiao* 2011.6: 39, 42; Song Enchang 宋恩常, "Kunming jiqi shijiao zongjiao chubu diaocha" 昆明及其市郊宗教初步調查, in *Kunming minzu minsu he zongjiao diaocha* 昆明民族民俗和宗教調查, ed. Yunnan sheng bianji zu 雲南省編輯組 (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1985) 134; Yang and Liu, *Yunnan daojiao* (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2004), 77; Lei Hongan 雷宏安, "Yunnan daojiao yuanliu chutan" 雲南道教源流初探, *Zhongguo daojiao* 1991.1: 14. These sources have few insignificant variants.

[50] *(Tianqi) Dianzhi* (天啟) 滇志 (1625), 17.49b; *(Kangxi) Yunnan tongzhi* (康熙) 雲南通志 (1691), 26.3a; *(Kangxi) Yunnan fuzhi* (康熙) 雲南府志 (1696), 17.2a; *(Kangxi) Chuxiong fuzhi* (康熙) 楚雄府志 (1716), 7.39a–b.

[51] On the Rites of the Five Thunders, see Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, 24–30; Lowell Skar, "Administering Thunder: A Thirteenth-Century Memorial Deliberating the Thunder Rites," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996–1997): 168; Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*, 263. On thunder rites as the central technique of the Qingwei school, see Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*, 39; Skar, "Seibi senfu raihō shinrei soshite dōgen," 147; "Qingwei," 804.

[52] On the main teachings and arts Liu Yuanran received from Zhao Yizhen, in addition to the various biographies of Liu Yuanran examined in this study, see also Skar, "Seibi senfu raihō shinrei soshite dōgen," 150–51.

the Changchun lineage of Yunnan seems to have been a local branch of Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage.[53]

In fact, Shao Yizheng, Liu Yuanran's most illustrious disciple, had Riyun 日雲 as his original ordination name (*faming*), before changing it to Yizheng. His initial *faming* thus matches the Changchun lineage verse.[54] And he and Jiang Rihe, the priest of the Changchun lineage, were originally fellow disciples under Liu Yuanran.[55] Furthermore, both the Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran–Shao Yizheng Qingwei lineage and Liu Yuanran's Changchun lineage in Yunnan claim that Gong Daoyan 鞏道巖 (fl. 1432–1470s) and Yu Daochun 喻道純 (fl. 1444–1484) as disciples of their respective lineages. Gong Daoyan was not a Yunnan native, and he was based in Yanzhou 兗州, Shandong. Yu Daochun was a native of Changsha 長沙, Huguang, and he was active first in Nanjing and then in Beijing. They were both recognized as grand disciples of Liu Yuanran in his Qingwei lineage.[56] Gong and Yu were not Yunnan natives and would not have been the disciples of Liu Yuanran's Changchun lineage in Yunnan. However, in the memory of this lineage, they are still listed as its members. This suggests that these

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[53] That the Changchun lineage of Yunnan would have been a Yunnan local branch of Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage can be drawn from Jiang Rihe's own testimony. Jiang confirmed that he and Shao Yizheng were fellow disciples of Liu Yuanran. See Jin Wen 金問 (fl. 1404–1444), "Zhenqingguan xingzao ji" 真慶觀興造記, in Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1257. Yang Xuezheng 楊學政, Guo Wu 郭武, and Lei Hongan all classify the Changchun lineage as a branch of Quanzhen Daoism. But this is caused by the misconception of Liu Yuanran as a Quanzhen Daoist (to be discussed later). See Yang Xuezheng and Liu Ting 劉婷, *Yunnan daojiao* 雲南道教 (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2004), 76–77; Guo, *Daojiao yu Yunnan wenhua: Daojiao zai Yunnan de chuanbo, yanbian ji yingxiang* 道教與雲南——道教在雲南的傳播、演變及影響 (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 192, 194; Lei, "Yunnan daojiao yuanliu chutan," 14.

[54] Xiao, "Daojiao Changchun pai zai Yunnan," 39, 42.

[55] Jin, "Zhenqingguan xingzao ji," 1257.

[56] For information on Gong Daoyan and Yu Daochun's lives and careers, see Bai Fen 白玢 (1430–1486), "Jingshi tongyong zhiyin xu" 經史通用直音序, in Shao Yizheng, comp., *Jingshi tongyong gujin zhiyin* 經史通用古今直音 (Jianyang: Anzheng tang of the Liu family 劉氏安正堂, 1537), a rare book in the Harvard-Yenching Library, 2a, 3a, 4a; Ge, *Jinling xuanguan zhi*, 1.7a–8a, 9a–b, 22a–23a; *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*, 51:199, 52.126; Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1260–1263, 1265–1269; *(Kangxi) Ziyang xianzhi* (康熙) 滋陽縣志 (1672), 1.55(A)a, 4A.61a–b; *(Qianlong) Yudu xianzhi* (乾隆) 雩都縣志 (1757), 10.3b–4a.

two lineages would have been one and the same, with one being just a local variation of the other. The affinity between Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage and the Changchun lineage of Yunnan is thus beyond any doubt. In this regard, the Zhenqing Abbey 真慶觀 in Kunming county seat, the Xuanzhen Abbey 玄真觀 in Chuxiong 楚雄 prefectural seat, and the Qixia Abbey 棲霞觀 on Mount Wei 魏山 of Dali 大理 prefecture (Yunnan), were temples that transmitted Liu Yuanran's Changchun lineage, and this lineage continued its transmission to this day.[57]

There was a further localization of the Changchun lineage in Baoshan 保山, Yunnan, known as the "Changchun Lingbao lineage" 长春靈寶派. The Changchun Lingbao lineage honored Liu Yuanran as its founding patriarch, with its own lineage verse. It is said that the Changchun Lingbao lineage clerics were non-monastic Zhengyi Daoists, who were conversant with Lingbao ritual with *zhai*, *jiao*, and talismans. As noted, Lingbao, Qingwei, and Qingwei Lingbao were interchangeable liturgical terms in late imperial times. The liturgy of the Changchun Lingbao lineage is thus characterized by the Qingwei tradition.[58] Again, this variation of the Yunnan Changchun lineage demonstrates the existence of Qingwei in Yunnan, though localized, and its ties to Liu Yuanran or his Qingwei lineage. But a more thorough investigation of this local lineage awaits the discovery of more information.

All in all, Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage and sublineages spread from Nanjing (the earlier capital), Beijing (the later capital), Suzhou (a major city in Jiangnan), and Ziyang in Shandong, to Yunnan. From the provincial seat Kunming of Yunnan, it further circulated to such more peripheral regions as Chuxiong, Dali, and Baoshan, where there were fewer Han populations. In other words, Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage and sublineages expanded from the political centers, through the cultural hub and the hinterland, to the frontier region. From these samples and other regions where

[57] Xiao, "Daojiao Changchun pai zai Yunnan," 39–40, 42–43, 44n44.
[58] Xiao, "Yunnan Baoshan Daojiao 'Changchun lingbao pai,'" 243–46.

Qingwei was present, one may speculate that there was a much wider spread of Qingwei, probably an empire-wide phenomenon.[59]

III. Quanzhen Connection

What Yang Rong 楊榮 (1371–1440) recounts in one of the earliest biographies of Liu Yuanran was that Liu "completely received the mysterious cultivation arts of Quanzhen [from Zhao Yizhen]" 盡得全真秘妙之術.[60] However, Hu Yan in his biography of Liu Yuanran dated 1432, simultaneously with or even earlier than Yang Rong's text,[61] relates Zhao Yizhen's transmission to Liu Yuanran of many Qingwei and other non-Quanzhen Daoist cultivation arts, exorcistic power, thunder rites, and scriptures without mentioning Quanzhen at all.[62] Then both Wang Zhi in his inscription for the shrine in Nanjing dedicated to Liu Yuanran and Chen Xun in his inscription for the shrine in Kunming dedicated to Liu follow Hu Yan's text in providing details of the transmission to Liu Yuanran Daoist

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[59] For the Qingwei presence on Mount Wudang, on Maoshan, in Jingzhou 荊州 (Huguang), and in Beijing other than Liu Yuanran's lineage during the Ming, see de Bruyn, *Le Wudang Shan*, 281–82, 284; Wang and Yang, *Wudang daojiao shilue*, 197–98, 203; Wang Gang 王崗 (Richard G. Wang), "Mingban quanben *Maoshan zhi* yu Mingdai Maoshan Zhengyidao" 明版全本《茅山志》與明代茅山正一道, in *Newsletter of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica*, 24.3 (2014): 40–48, 53; "Mingdai Liaowang de Jingzhou chongdao huodong jiqi zhengzhi mingyun" 明代遼王的荊州崇道活動及其政治命運, in *Zhongguo jinshi defang shehui zhong de zongjiao yu guojia* 中國近世地方社會中的宗教與國家, eds. Richard G. Wang and Li Tiangang (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2014), 215, 225–27; Ye-Guo Licheng 葉郭立誠, *Beiping Dongyuemiao diaocha* 北平東嶽廟調查 (1939; rpt. Taipei: Dongfang wenhua shuju, 1971), 5–6; Koyanagi, *Dongyuemiao zhi*, 217; Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 41; Liu Ji 劉吉 (1427–1493) et al., *Ming Xianzong shilu* 明憲宗實錄 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1962), 147.1a, 229.6b, 247.1a–b, 276.1b; *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike*, 52:180, 183; 53:12, 15.

[60] Yang, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuanlue," 1.21b.

[61] Hata holds that Yang Rong's text is based on Hu Yan's biography of Liu Yuanran. See Hata, "Dōshi Ryū Enzen shotan," 103, 104–105, 110.

[62] Hu, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan," in the Naikaku bunko ed., 32a–34b; in Li Ding's collection, 24.20b–22b; in Hu's anthology, 6.96–98; and in Ding and Guo, *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong zhi* (1740), 5.32a–34a; *(Jiajing) Xuzhou zhi* (1541–1566), 9.4b–5a.

teachings and techniques without mentioning Quanzhen.[63] Moreover, the excavated tomb inscription for Liu Yuanran does not have any hint of Quanzhen either.[64]

The late Ming Jingming collection *Jingming zhongxiao quanzhuan zheng'e* 淨明忠孝全傳正訛 (Corrected Complete Biographies of the Pure and Bright [Way] of Loyalty and Filiality) compiled by Li Ding 李鼎 (1544–after 1613; "Li Ding's collection"), the early Qing Jingming anthology *Taishang lingbao jingming zongjiao lu* 太上靈寶淨明宗教錄 (Records of the Pure and Bright Sect of the Most High, in the Lingbao Tradition) edited by Zhu Daolang 朱道朗 (1622–1688), Hu Zhiwen 胡之玟 (fl. 1653–1684), and Hu Shixin 胡士信 (fl. 1666–1681; "Hu's anthology"), and the earliest monograph of the Wanshou Palace (Wanshougong 萬壽宮) on the Western Hills (Xishan) located about fifteen kilometers northwest of Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi), dated 1740, all include Hu Yan's biography of Liu Yuanran, with some modification. But no Quanzhen tie is indicated.[65] In their biographies of Liu Yuanran, the 1461 national gazetteer, the Ming and early Qing Yunnan provincial gazetteers, Jiangxi provincial gazetteers, Ganzhou prefectural gazetteers, Xuzhou subprefectural gazetteers, Shangyuan 上元 county gazetteers, the 1668 gazetteer of Jiangning 江寧 prefecture, and the 1696 gazetteer of Yunnan 雲南 prefecture do not have any hint of the Quanzhen connection either.[66]

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[63] Wang, "Changchun Liu Zhenren citang ji," 5.47a; Chen, "Longquanguan Changchun Zhenren ciji," 51:199.

[64] The tomb epitaph, 42–45.

[65] Li Ding's collection, 24.20b–22b; Hu's anthology, 6.96–98; Ding and Guo, *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong zhi* (1740), 5.32a–34a.

[66] *Ming yitong zhi* (1461), 58.20a; *Zhengde Yunnan zhi* (1510), 35.5b–6a; *(Jiajing) Jiangxi tongzhi* (嘉靖)江西通志 (1525), 35.99b–100a; *(Jiajing) Ganzhou fuzhi* (嘉靖)贛州府志 (1536), 12.5b; *(Jiajing) Xuzhou zhi* (1541–1566), 9.4b–5a; *(Wanli) Yunnan tongzhi* (萬曆)雲南通志 (1574; 1934 typeset reprint), 13.8b; *(Wanli) Shangyuan xianzhi* (1597), 11.15a; *(Tianqi) Ganzhou fuzhi* (1621; 1660), 17.13a–b; *(Tianqi) Dianzhi* (1625), 17.47a; *(Kangxi 7) Jiangning fuzhi* (康熙七年)江寧府志 (1668), 27.23b–24a; *(Kangxi) Jiangxi tongzhi* (康熙)江西通志 (1682), 42.60a–b; *(Kangxi) Yunnan tongzhi* (1691), 26.2b; *(Kangxi) Yunnan fuzhi* (1696), 17.1b–2a. The 1621 *Ganzhou fuzhi* was originally completed in 1621, though edited and printed in 1660 with the additions of later events. The contents of events that happened before 1621 were dated 1621.

As indicated, Hu Yan's epitaph of Liu Yuanran survives in a "full recension" and a "simple recension." The former consisted of the ten texts listed in the Chart, "The Stemma of the Full Recensions of Hu Yan's 'Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan'" (appendix). The earliest simple recension is the 1461 national gazetteer. In the genre of local gazetteer, the simple recension tradition also comprises the 1525 Jiangxi provincial gazetteer, and the 1536 gazetteer of Ganzhou prefecture. In terms of local gazetteer, the full recension includes all the rest of the local gazetteers referenced above.

Likewise, Wang Qi 王圻 (1530–1614) in his *Xu wenxian tongkao* 續文獻通考 (Sequel to the General History of Institutions and Critical Examinations of Documents and Studies), an important historical work printed in 1603, provides a brief biography of Liu Yuanran according to which various ranks of Daoist talismans, registers, and alchemical secrets were transmitted from Zhao Yizhen to Liu Yuanran without mentioning Quanzhen.[67] The *Xu wenxian tongkao* follows the "simple recension" of Hu Yan's epitaph, most likely the 1461 national gazetteer. In the same vein, Wang Hongxu 王鴻緒 (1645–1723), largely based on the "full recension" of Hu Yan's epitaph but with additional information, provides the most detailed biography of Liu Yuanran among Ming and Qing historiographies of the Ming dynasty. His *Draft of Ming History* (*Ming shigao* 明史稿) completed in 1723 does not suggest Liu Yuanran's Quanzhen ties either.[68] The official *Ming History* (*Mingshi* 明史) compiled by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1672–1755) et al. and completed in 1735 is completely based on Wang Hongxu's work with simplification in its biography of Liu Yuanran.[69]

While Yang Rong emphasizes only the Quanzhen teachings Liu Yuanran received from Zhao Yizhen without noting other teachings and arts, all the extant Ming and early Qing biographical accounts of Liu Yuanran describe non-Quanzhen teachings, with varying degrees of details, which he received from Zhao Yizhen without

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[67] Wang, *Xu wenxian tongkao* (XSKQS), 243.33b.
[68] Wang, *Ming shigao*, "Liezhuan," 176.11b–12b.
[69] Zhang Tingyu, *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j. 299, 7656.

referring to Quanzhen at all.[70] Judging from the comparison of these sources, Yang Rong appears to have been influenced by the accounts of Zhao Yizhen (to be discussed later), or to have had a personal Quanzhen preference. All the Ming and early Qing sources about Liu Yuanran nationwide—from Beijing where the 1461 national gazetteer and the final stage of Wang Hongxu's *Draft of Ming History* were completed, Kunming (Yunnan), Nanchang (Jiangxi) where the Jiangxi provincial gazetteers, Li Ding's collection, Hu's anthology, and the Wanshougong monograph were produced, Ganzhou (Jiangxi), Xuzhou (Nanzhili), Nanjing which served as the seat of Shangyuan county and Jiangning prefecture, Shanghai where Wang Qi compiled his *Xu wenxian tongkao*, to Huating 華亭 county (Nanzhili) where Wang Hongxu wrote portions of his *Draft of Ming History*—follow Hu Yan's epitaph while nobody bothers Yang Rong's text at all.[71] Both Yang Rong and Hu Yan were eminent court officials, the former being one of the most important Ming statesmen and the latter as an influential scholar and educator. Yang Rong was eventually Junior Preceptor and concurrent Minister of Works and Grand Secretary (rank 1b), while Hu Yan was Adviser to the Heir Apparent and concurrent Chancellor of the National University (rank 3a). In this respect, Yang Rong ranked even higher and was more famous than Hu Yan.[72] Name recognition was not an issue. Hence it was hardly possible for Ming and early Qing people to ignore Yang Rong while merely buttressing Hu Yan's view due to their respective fames. The geographically and temporally widespread acceptance of Hu Yan's epitaph does suggest that his work was considered credible while Yang Rong's was not reliable.

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[70] In addition to the above-mentioned biographies of Liu Yuanran, Wang Zhi's "Zixiaoguan bei" also touches upon Liu Yuanran's life without again providing a Quanzhen connection. See Wang, "Zixiaoguan bei," 24.61a–63b.

[71] Wang Qi was a native of Shanghai, while Wang Hongxu was a native of Huating county. For information on Wang Qi and Wang Hongxu's lives and the localities where they worked on the *Xu wenxian tongkao* and *Draft of Ming History*, respectively, see *DMB*, 1355–1356; Tu Lien-che, "WANG Hung-hsü," in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel, Sr. (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1943–1944) , 826.

[72] For information on Hu Yan and Yang Rong's lives, see *DMB*, 641–43, 1519–22.

Kristofer Schipper in his study of Zhao Yizhen as a Qingwei patriarch states, "It may seem strange that someone who is described as having been trained as a Ch'üan-chen Taoist would practice such arts as Thunder Magic (*lei-fa*), and indeed it is."[73] Although also trained in Quanzhen, regarding Zhao Yizhen's links with the Quanzhen school, Schipper concludes, "these links, if at all real, must have been very formal and superficial."[74] Likewise, Liu Yuanran in his own words disqualifies his Quanzhen connection. In his *Recorded Sayings* 語錄 edited by Shao Yizheng in 1443, Liu Yuanran praises the Zhengyi order for its role in buttressing the imperial house, saving the living and deceased, praying for blessing and leading people to accumulate merits before concluding that Zhengyi "was the step for proceeding to the Dao" without any criticism. Then in his discussion of Quanzhen Daoism, after a cliché of spiritual enlightenment and inner alchemy, he harshly attacks various heretical sexual arts, oddly identifying them with Quanzhen, or, in his words, "those who claim to be Quanzhen Daoists,"[75] Criticism of sexual arts is not new, and it is also possible that a Quanzhen Daoist would distance himself from sexual arts. It is unthinkable, however, for a Quanzhen cleric to identify the notorious "heresy" with his own school! This remark suggests that Liu Yuanran would not have been a Quanzhen Daoist. Instead, his comments on Zhengyi would put him in the Zhengyi camp. Without any direct training in Quanzhen with a proper Quanzhen master, Liu Yuanran's knowledge of Quanzhen, at best, came secondhandedly through Zhao Yizhen. His Quanzhen connection was slim.

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[73] Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen," 7.

[74] Ibid., 9.

[75] Shao Yizheng, ed., *Chongxu zhidao Changchun Liu Zhenren* 沖虛至道長春劉真人語錄 (prefaces dated 1443 and 1444; a rare book in the Shanghai Library), no pagination. This version is a manuscript hand-copied by Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645–1719) in 1661. There is another version with the title *Xinke Changchun Liu Zhenren yulu* 新刻長春劉真人語錄, contained in Hu Wenhuan's 胡文煥 (fl. 1593–1621) *Gezhi congshu* 格致叢書, *ce* 129. But Hu Wenhuan's version is severely shortened and thus does not reflect Liu Yuanran's thought. More problematic, Hu's version deletes all of Liu Yuanran's remarks on rituals and Zhengyi, showcasing a typical literati bias. Hu's version is therefore unreliable. Hu's version is also included in the *Yuanzong bolan* 元宗博覽 (j. 28), edited and printed by Hu Wenhuan as well.

It should be noted that two Ming-era stelae about Liu Yuanran are somehow cited as being related to Quanzhen. Shao Yizheng in his inscription commemorating the renovation of the Baiyun Abbey of Beijing claims that he was a descendant to the Qiu Chuji's 丘處機 (1147–1227) Quanzhen lineage by circumstantial link between Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran on the one hand and the Quanzhen order on the other.[76] In order to justify his adding a hall dedicated to Zhao and Liu in the Baiyun Abbey, Shao Yizheng had to associate his grandmaster and master with Qiu Chuji, the patriarch of the abbey.[77] Only in this light could he relate himself to the abbey as well. Obviously, Shao Yizheng does not think that his grandmaster and master belong to a unified Quanzhen tradition; rather, he sees his own lineage from Zhao and Liu as a *separate* tradition from Qiu Chuji, thus a need to found a separate hall from that to Qiu Chuji and that to Qiu's eighteen disciples. Indeed, as Ishida Kenji 石田憲司 points out, Shao Yizheng himself had no direct link to Quanzhen.[78]

In 1509, Li Desheng, then the high-ranking "Perfected Miaoying," worshiped in the Changchun Hall 長春殿 of the Baiyun Abbey. Seeing the hall falling into decay, he commissioned to renovate the hall simply because he wanted to honor his lineage ancestor Shao Yizheng's will. He reiterated Shao Yizheng's attempt to associate Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran with Quanzhen. Then he added the following statement in his stele inscription dated 1516 commemorating the renovation: "As to the Perfected Tongmiao 通妙真人 Shao [Yizheng], the Perfected Puyi 普毅真人 Du 杜 [Yongqi 永祺] till me, who holds the title of 'the Perfected Miaoying' without the necessary qualifications, we are all descendants succeeding to [Qiu Chuji's] school."[79] Du Yongqi (fl. 1480–1504) was Li Desheng's master, and he was from the Chaotian Palace of

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[76] Shao, "Chongjian Baiyunguan Changchundian beilue," 1582.

[77] On Shao Yizheng's deliberate efforts to link Zhao Yizhen with Qiu Chuji, see also Xu, "Ziwo rentong haishi tazhe rentong."

[78] Ishida, "Mindai Dōkyō shijō no Zenshin to Seii" 明代道教史上の全真と正一, in *Taiwan no shūkyō to Chūgoku bunka* 台灣の宗教と中國文化, ed. Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫 (Tokyo: Fūkyōsha, 1992), 158.

[79] Li, "Changchundian zengsu Qizhen xianfan jilue," 1583.

Beijing, the state Zhengyi institution.[80] Obviously, he could not be a Quanzhen monk. By the same token and evoking the same rhetoric, Li Desheng sees a justification for relating his own lineage to Qiu Chuji. Again, we should not take Li Desheng's words at face value. What he emphasizes is his *own* lineage from Zhao Yizhen, Liu Yuanran, and Shao Yizheng all the way to himself.

Actually, the later tradition of the Baiyun Abbey no longer had the hall dedicated to Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran, and the priests there did not worship Zhao and Liu either.[81] Given the lofty status and influence of Liu Yuanran in the Ming, it would have been unthinkable to stop venerating him at this abbey unless he was not considered as a Quanzhen master. The Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran–Shao Yizheng lineage was not part of Quanzhen, and Shao Yizheng and Li Desheng's patronage of the Baiyun Abbey is what Vincent Goossaert describes: "Quanzhen monastic institutions . . . survived under the benevolent supervision of the Qingwei Lingbao Taoists, who formed the Taoist clergy's official leadership and were nominated by the Ming court."[82] Qingwei Lingbao (also called Qingwei, or Qingwei Zhengyi) Daoists refer to the Zhengyi priests who claimed to uphold the grand classical ritual tradition, or simply the mainstream Zhengyi Daoists.[83] We have explained that the Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran–Shao Yizheng lineage at the Tianfei Palace was a Qingwei lineage with the name "Qingwei Zhengyi." Shao Yizheng and Li Desheng's patronage of the Baiyun Abbey and their attempts to associate their lineage with Qiu Chuji were such a gesture of benevolent supervision.

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[80] *Ming Xianzong shilu*, 201.1a, 247.4b; *Ming Xiaozong shilu*, 155.2b, 204.9b, 205.3b, 208.8b; Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578–1642), *Wanli yehuo bian* 萬曆野獲編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 696; Qu and Zhang, "Qingwei pai chuancheng kao," 573; Dong, *Tianjin Tianhougong*, 93, 99.

[81] Neither Koyanagi Shikita's *Baiyunguan zhi* (1939), Yoshioka Yoshitoyo's 吉岡義豊 *Dōkyō no jittai* 道教の實態 (1941) and *Dōkyō no kenkyū* 道教の研究 (1952), An Shilin's 安世霖 *Baiyunguan zhigao* 白雲觀志略 (1940–1946), nor Li Yangzheng's *Xinbian Beijing Baiyunguan zhi* (2003) mentions the hall dedicated to Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran. For An Shilin's *Baiyunguan zhigao*, see Li, *Xinbian Beijing Baiyunguan zhi*, 84–85.

[82] Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 33. See also ibid., 40; Esposito, "The Longmen School," 627.

[83] Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 29–30.

The same is true of the Fuji Abbey of Suzhou. In his temple inscription, Xu Youzhen 徐有貞 (1407–1472) records the Daoist priest Guo Zongheng's 郭宗衡 (fl. 1420s–1470s) rebuilding of the abbey and his lineage. Xu Youzhen tells us that Guo Zongheng first honored as his master Chen Yuanmo 陳淵默, who, seemingly a disciple of Zhao Yizhen, was the abbot of the Chaotian Palace of Nanjing that was a state-sponsored Zhengyi institution. "Then Guo Zongheng became a disciple of Liu Yuanran from whom he received transmissions of such teachings as Qingwei Lingbao, Jingming and Shenxiao."[84] Again, Qingwei Lingbao, or simply Qingwei, stands for the classical and sophisticated liturgy belonging to the Zhengyi order and the priests who uphold this tradition.[85] Jingming and Shenxiao, like Qingwei, were two new ritual movements characteristic of local deity cults and ritual traditions including Thunder Rites that appearing during the Tang-Song transition, especially the Song era, and became popular from the Song to the Ming.[86] What is noticeable is that there is no hint of the transmission of Quanzhen to Guo Zongheng by Liu Yuanran.

After Guo Zongheng was later appointed the abbot of the Fuji Abbey, he rebuilt the temple with two new side halls, one dedicated to Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and Quanzhen patriarchs, and the other to "the masters such as [Liu] Changchun [i.e., Yuanran]" 祠長春諸師.[87]

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[84] Xu, "Fujiguan xinjian ciyu ji," 6.30a.

[85] For a treatment of Qingwei Lingbao, see Goossaert, "Daoism (Zhengyi tradition)," in *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture*, ed. Edward L. Davis (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 135; *The Taoists of Peking*, 29–30; "Longhu shan 龍虎山 [Mount Longhu (Jiangxi)]," in ET, 703.

[86] I will deal with Jingming later in this essay. For a study of the Shenxiao school, see Matsumoto, "Sōdai no raihō," 50–52; Michel Strickmann, "Sōdai no raigi: Shinshō undō to Dōka nanshū ni tsuite no ryakusetsu" 宋代の雷儀: 神霄運動と道家南宗についての略説, *Tōhō shūkyō* 46 (1975): 19–26; Strickmann, "The Longest Taoist Scripture," *History of Religions* 17.3–4 (1978): 336–51; Lee Fong-mao 李豐楙, *Xu Xun yu Sa Shoujian: Deng Zhimo daojiao xiaoshuo yanjiu* 許遜與薩守堅: 鄧志謨道教小說研究 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1997), 171–206; Li Yuanguo 李遠國, *Shenxiao leifa: Daojiao Shenxiao pai yange yu sixiang* 神霄雷法: 道教神霄派沿革與思想 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2003); Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*, 26–30; Lowell Skar, "Ritual Movements, Deity Cults, and the Transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan Times," in *Daoism Handbook*, 422–24, 435–37; Skar, "Administering Thunder," 169.

[87] Xu, "Fujiguan xinjian ciyu ji," 6.30a–b.

Because of this event and his identity as Liu Yuanran's disciple, according to a misconception with which I shall deal soon, Guo Zongheng has been erroneously identified as a Quanzhen monk.[88] From Xu Youzhen's inscription one cannot reach a conclusion of Guo's lineage identity. Like Shao Yizheng's handling of the Baiyun Abbey, Guo Zongheng saw Liu Yuanran (and some other masters of his lineage) as *different* from the Quanzhen patriarchs. But then why did Guo erect two halls of different lineages? Exactly like the Baiyun Abbey, the Fuji Abbey had been a Quanzhen ecumenical monastery (*conglin*) since 1391.[89] If he was not a Quanzhen monk, how come did Guo become the abbot of this monastery? Indeed, Guo Zongheng studied Daoism at the Chaotian Palace of Nanjing, the state Zhengyi institution. Then, Xu Youzhen's stele tells us, "[Guo Zongheng] traveled and sojourned in the two capitals, and served by offering sacrifices (*shici*) the travel palaces for a long time."[90]

The phrase, *shici* 侍祠, "to attend upon by offering sacrifices," is a key here. As a Daoist cleric, in what capacity did Guo attend upon the emperor in the travel palaces of the two capitals? Obviously, he provided religious services to the throne with offering-making as a cleric. In other words, he was an official cleric working for the court and state ritual. Concerning the circumstance of Guo Zongheng's abbacy, Xu Youzhen's stele clarifies, "[Guo Zongheng] received (*ling* 領) the abbatial appointment of the abbey."[91] In terms of state ritual institution from the Song to the Ming, the state usually made the abbacy appointment of a large ecumenical monastery known as the system of "abbacy appointments by edicts" (*chichai zhuchi zhi* 敕差住持制),[92] employing an official cleric working for the state ritual. With regard to Daoism in the Ming, these official clerics were with few exceptions almost all Zhengyi priests. Now although Guo

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[88] See, for example, Wu Yakui 吳亞魁, *Jiangnan Quanzhen daojiao* 江南全真道教, rev. ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 135–38.

[89] On the Fuji Abbey as a Quanzhen monastery, see Wu, *Jiangnan Quanzhen daojiao*, 133–36.

[90] Xu, "Fujiguan xinjian ciyu ji," 6.30a.

[91] Ibid.

[92] For a discussion of the Song precedents for the system of "abbacy appointments by edicts," see Liu Changdong 劉長東, *Songdai fojiao zhengce lungao* 宋代佛教政策論稿 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2005), 275–348.

Zongheng was a Zhengyi or Qingwei Daoist and the Fuji Abbey was a Quanzhen monastery, the appointment of Guo still fit the institutional practice pattern as the abbacy of the Baiyun Abbey in Beijing which were almost all filled by Zhengyi priests in the Ming.[93] Guo Zongheng's abbacy at the Fuji Abbey represents another example of the elite Zhengyi Daoists' "benevolent supervision" of Quanzhen monasteries. Guo Zongheng's erection of two side halls, one to respect the Fuji Abbey's Quanzhen tradition, the other to honor his own lineage masters, including Liu Yuanran, further confirms Liu Yuanran and his lineage's non-Quanzhen nature.

But Chen Minggui 陳銘珪 (1823–1881) in his *Changchun daojiao yuanliu* 長春道教源流 (Origins and Development of the Daoist Teaching of [Qiu] Changchun) dated 1879 for the first time identifies Liu Yuanran as a Quanzhen Daoist.[94] Chen Minggui's biography of Liu Yuanran is copied from Wang Hongxu's *Draft of Ming History*, which, however, does not mention Quanzhen ties at all. As a Quanzhen Daoist himself, Chen Minggui saw an interest in making such famous Ming Daoists as Zhao Yizhen, Liu Yuanran, and Shao Yizheng as Quanzhen monks, for without these Chen Minggui could not fill in the gap of the Quanzhen history in the early-mid Ming. Since Chen Minggui, in the atmosphere of the Quanzhen revival and the political and literati preference of Quanzhen, almost all scholarly works have followed this suit. Chen Minggui has shaped our modern view of Quanzhen in the Ming. This view of Liu Yuanran and Quanzhen Daoism in the Ming was certainly established a posteriori and historically inaccurate. Due to Chen's impact on modern scholarship, any narrative on Ming Quanzhen starts with Liu Yuanran and his direct and indirect disciples, without which the early and middle Ming Quanzhen

[93] For example, Li Shizhong 李時中 (fl. 1406) and Ni Zhengdao, the abbots of the Baiyun Abbey, were typical Zhengyi Daoists. According to a legend, the aforementioned Qingwei priest Li Desheng had been the abbot of the Baiyun Abbey before he assumed the abbotship at the Tianfei Palace. See Ishida, "Mindai Dōkyō shijō no Zenshin to Seii," 154–56; Esposito, "The Longmen School," 677n28; Pierre Marsone, "Le Baiyun guan de Pékin: épigraphie et histoire," Sanjiao wenxian 3 (1999): 83; Dong, *Tianjin Tianhougong*, 93.

[94] Chen, *Changchun daojiao yuanliu* (ZW) 7.19a–24a.

cannot be satisfactorily explained. The fact is that Liu Yuanran and his lineage had nothing to do with Quanzhen. The refutation of his link with Quanzhen will clarify the confusion. Therefore this author will spend some space below tackling Chen Minggui's view.

Chen Minggui uses three pillars of arguments to support his claim. First, he argues for Zhao Yizhen's Quanzhen identity.[95] As mentioned previously, Zhao Yizhen was not a Quanzhen Daoist, and thus this line of argument does not hold true. Second, Chen Minggui tries to prove Liu Yuanran's Quanzhen ties by misquoting Wang Shizhen's 王世貞 (1526–1590) comments on the latter's visit of the Baiyun Abbey. Wang Shizhen's original "You Baiyunguan ji" 遊白雲觀記 (Record of the Baiyun Abbey Tour) reads,

> At that time, the teachings of Quanzhen were spreading all under the heaven. . . . [Its prosperity] was steadfast throughout the Yuan. After the rise of the Ming, its teachings started slightly subdued because of Liu Yuanran's being elevated and Jiao Fengzhen's being deceptive. Quanzhen could not completely restore its [old] prosperity.
>
> 當是時，全真之教徧天下，……蓋與元相始終。明興，而其道始小屈，以劉淵然之見崇，焦奉真之為幻，不能盡復其盛。[96]

The key sentence here is that "Jiao Fengzhen was deceptive." Jiao Fengzhen (ca. 1400–1448), a native of Nanjing, was a Daoist priestess. Because her devotees became increasingly numerous, the Yongle emperor summoned her to the palace. In 1420 he granted her the title Goddess Miaohui 妙惠仙姑 and erected for her the Xuanzhen Shrine 玄真堂, which was then bestowed the name "Xuanzhen Abbey" 玄真觀 together with a set of *Daozang* in 1443 by Emperor Yingzong (r. 1436–1449, 1457–1464). Jiao Fengzhen, thus also known as Jiaogu 焦姑, was famous for magic, being able to pray for rain or sunshine.[97] Her brother was a Daoist priest at

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[95] Ibid., 7.19a–20a, 23b–24a.

[96] Wang Shizhen, "You Baiyunguan ji," in idem, *Yanzhou shanren xugao* 弇州山人續稿 (fac. rpt. Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1970), 61.23a.

[97] Qian Pu 錢溥 (1408–1488), "Xuanzhenguan xingzao ji" 玄真觀興造記, in Ge, *Jinling xuanguan zhi*, 13.27a–b; Zhou, *Jinling suoshi*, 4.138; Ge, *Jinling xuanguan zhi*, 13.26a–b; *(Kangxi 7) Jiangning fuzhi* (1668), 27.24a–b, 32.6b; *(Kangxi) Jiangnan tongzhi* (康熙) 江南通志 (1684), 58.4b–5a.

the Abbey of Divine Music in Nanjing.[98] It is well known that the Daoist clerics at the Divine Music Abbey, the state ritual institution, were Zhengyi Daoists.[99] Thus Jiao Fengzhen seems to have come from a hereditary Zhengyi Daoist family. Moreover, the Xuanzhen Abbey was considered a temple responsible for state ritual under the control of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. In fact, it was ranked as a "Small" subsidiary of the Nanjing Divine Music Abbey.[100] Since the Divine Music Abbey was staffed with Zhengyi Daoists, as its subsidiary the Xuanzhen Abbey was thus also a Zhengyi institution. Moreover, the Xuanzhen Abbey had a hall dedicated to the Three Mao Lords 三茅君 (Sanmaodian 三茅殿),[101] the saints of the popular cult originated from Maoshan and incorporated into the Shangqing school—now part of Zhengyi Daoism, but no Quanzhen figure was worshipped in the abbey. Jiao Fengzhen's Zhengyi identity is thus beyond any doubt.

It should be noted that Wang Shizhen favored Quanzhen Daoism, and was a major patron of a Quanzhen lineage at Maoshan, making it the center of Quanzhen in south China.[102] No wonder he lamented that Quanzhen of his day "could not completely restore its old prosperity" of Jin-Yuan times. He attributed the Quanzhen's decline to the competition of non-Quanzhen Daoists such as Jiao Fengzhen. In his view, Jiao's summoning by the emperor is thus described as "deception" (*huan* 幻). In the traditional Chinese gender politics, as long as a protagonist of the story is a woman, her behavior or perceived efforts to bewitch others is construed as "deception" or "delusion" (*huo* 惑). In such stories where the protagonist is portrayed as a *femme fatale* "the woman's power to delude (*huo*) her lover is

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[98] Zhou, *Jinling suoshi*, 4.138; *(Kangxi 7) Jiangning fuzhi* (1668), 27.24a–b; *(Kangxi) Jiangnan tongzhi* (1684), 58.4b–5a.

[99] Shiga, "Minsho no Shingakukan to Dōkyō," 43; Li, *Xinbian Beijing Baiyunguan zhi*, 508.

[100] Ge, *Jinling xuanguan zhi*, 13.1b, 26a–b.

[101] Ibid., 13.26b.

[102] For a study of Wang Shizhen's favoritism toward and patronage of Quanzhen Daoism, see Wang, "Mingdai Jiangnan shishen jingying yu Quanzhendao de xingqi" 明代江南士紳精英與茅山全真道的興起, *Quanzhendao yanjiu* 2 (2011): 47–71.

always emphasized."[103] Indeed, Wang Shizhen regards Jiao Fengzhen as "deceptive" because she used her religious (and probably feminine) charms to influence the man with the greatest wealth and highest position, the Yongle emperor, as in the case of King Xin of the Shang and King You of the Zhou. As a result, in Wang Shizhen's view, she was summoned by Yongle to the palace, implicitly suggestive of sexual favor, and was patronized by the emperor. Wang Shizhen's diction of "deception" implies that as a *femme fatale* Jiao Fengzhen utilized her feminine charms to deceive or delude the Yongle emperor in favor of her heresy. Thus, Wang Shizhen classified Liu Yuanran and Jiao Fengzhen into the same category, that is, they belonged to the same force that caused Quanzhen's decay. Like Jiao Fengzhen's "deception," "Liu Yuanran's elevation" is thus not used in a commendatory but rather in a derogatory sense, meaning undeserved elevation by the court.

Now when Chen Minggui cites Wang Shizhen, he deliberately leaves out the crucial phrase regarding Jiao Fengzhen as follows:

> The teachings of Quanzhen were spreading all under the heaven, steadfast throughout the Yuan. After the rise of the Ming, its teachings started slightly subdued. Although Liu Yuanran was elevated, Quanzhen could not completely restore its [old] prosperity.
>
> 全真之教徧天下，蓋與元相始終。明興，而其道始小屈。以劉淵然之見崇，不能盡復其盛也。[104]

The character *yi* 以 here, meaning either "because of" or "with," is the key.[105] Without the phrase, "Jiao Fengzhen's being deceptive," one does not know whether the phrase, "Liu Yuanran's being elevated," is commendatory or derogatory. Now, either the reading,

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[103] William H., Jr. Nienhauser, "Female Sexuality and the Double Standard in Tang Narratives: A Preliminary Survey," in *Paradoxes of Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. Eva Hung (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1994), 9.

[104] Chen, *Changchun daojiao yuanliu*, 7.19b.

[105] Originally *yi* 以 was a verb meaning "to take, to use." Eventually, it became a coverb. In that morphological function, by governing a nominalized clause leading to a certain course of action or behavior, it is often equivalent to "because." It also serves the same purpose as English prepositions like "with," "by means of," "in the capacity of."

"because of," or "[even though] with," is grammatically acceptable. One cannot deny Chen Minggui's commendatory rendering of Liu Yuanran. This reading suggests that even though with the efforts of Liu Yuanran who enjoyed a high status at the court ("Liu Yuanran's being elevated"), alas Quanzhen could not restore its old glory. This reading naturally puts Liu Yuanran in the camp of Quanzhen. Since Chen Minggui, all the subsequent readings of Wang Shizhen's travelogue have followed Chen's interpretation, because these later scholars either did not bother checking Wang Shizhen's original work or they had no idea who Jiao Fengzhen was. They were all tricked by Chen Minggui!

The third and last of Chen Minggui's tactics is his reliance upon Xu Youzhen's stele inscription on the Fuji Abbey treated above. He asserts that since Guo Zongheng erected two halls to worship both Quanzhen figures and Liu Yuanran, his master, Liu Yuanran must have been a Quanzhen master.[106] As argued above, Guo Zongheng's erection of these two halls does not lead to the conclusion that he and his master Liu Yuanran were Quanzhen monks. Rather, it confirms that they were both non-Quanzhen, that is to say Zhengyi, priests. Thus, Chen Minggui's third pillar of evidence does not hold true either.[107]

Related to this issue, the *Taishang laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* 太上老君八十一化圖說 (Illustrated Hagiography of the Most High Lord Lao's Eighty-One Transformations) printed in 1532 by the Beizhen Temple 北鎮廟 on Mount Yiwulü 醫巫閭山 with a postface by Li Desheng,[108] and its subsequent Ming through Republican-era

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[106] Chen, *Changchun daojiao yuanliu*, 7.20b.

[107] For an earlier critique of Chen Minggui's linking Liu Yuanran with Quanzhen and a questioning of Liu Yuanran's Quanzhen identity, see Kubo Noritada 窪德忠, "Rōshi hachijūichi-ka zusetsu ni tsuite: Chin Chikyo-bon no sonzai o megutsute" 老子八十一化圖説について：陳致虛本の存在をめぐつて, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 46 (1968): 31–33. See also Xu, "Ziwo rentong haishi tazhe rentong."

[108] Lu Gong 路工, "Daojiao yishu de zhenpin: Ming Liaoning kanben *Taishang laojun bashiyi hua Tushuo*" 道教藝術的珍品：明遼寧刊本《太上老君八十一化圖説》, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, 1982.2: 51. Lu mistakes this Daoist institution at Mount Yiwulü with a Tianfei Palace. For an identification of the temple that printed the *Taishang laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* as the Beizhen Temple, see Wang, "Mingban quanben *Maoshan zhi*," 26n100.

versions that follow the above version, carry the images of thirty-one perfected 真人圖 (or patriarchs 祖師圖). The perfected/patriarchs comprise three groups. The first is the six members of the so-called "Ten Mysterious Masters" 玄元十子, that is, Yinwenzi 尹文子, Liezi 列子, Zhuangzi 莊子, and so on, who appear in the classical Daoist works and/or are reputedly their authors. The main body of the images consist of the so-called Seven Northern Patriarchs 北五祖, the Five Southern Patriarchs 南五祖, and the Seven Perfected 七真 of the Quanzhen order. The last group contains eight Daoist masters not affiliated with Quanzhen: Zhao Yizhen, Liu Yuanran, Shao Yizheng, Yu Daochun, Song Zhiheng 宋志衡 (fl. 1475–1483), Du Yongqi, Li Desheng, and Shao Yuanjie 邵元節 (1459–1539).[109] These eight were all Qingwei priests, and, with the exception of Shao Yuanjie, were all from the Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran–Shao Yizheng lineage.[110] Even Shao Yuanjie was somehow related to this lineage for he was recommended to the Jiajing emperor by Li Desheng.[111] The academic consensus is that the *Eighty-One*

[109] Kubo Noritada, "Rōshi hachijūichi-ka zusetsu ni tsuite: Chin Chikyo-bon," 20–21, 25–26; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教と佛教 (Tokyo: Nihon gakujutsu shinkōkai, 1959), 184–185; Hu Chuntao 胡春濤, *Laozi bashiyi hua tu yanjiu* 老子八十一化圖研究 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2012), 73–78. Kubo Noritada and Hu Chuntao mistake Song Defang 宋德方 (1183–1247) or Song Zongzhen 宋宗真 (fl. 1372–1374) as Song Zhiheng, and they do not identify Du Puyi 杜普毅 with Du Yongqi. See Kubo, "Rōshi hachijūichi-ka zusetsu ni tsuite: Chin Chikyo-bon," 25, 28, 38;Hu Chuntao, *Laozi bashiyi hua tu*, 74–75, 81–82. For the identification of Song Zhiheng and Du Yongqi as disciples of the Zhao Yizhen-Liu Yuanran-Shao Yizheng lineage, see Qu and Zhang, "Qingwei pai chuancheng kao," 573; Kubo, "Rōshi hachijūichi-ka zusetsu ni tsuite: Chin Chikyo-bon," 38.

[110] Kubo Noritada points out that the canonization titles of the Seven Northern Patriarchs, the Five Southern Patriarchs, and the Seven Perfected of the Quanzhen order are chaotic and sometime incorrect, and the rest of the perfected or patriarchs illustrated in the *Eighty-One Transformations* are not Quanzhen. From his observation, one may further argue that the compiler of the received version of the *Eighty-One Transformations* would not have been a Quanzhen Daoist. See Kubo, "Rōshi hachijūichi-ka zusetsu ni tsuite: Chin Chikyo-bon," 23–27, 38.

[111] *Ming Shizong shilu*, 117.2b. Gao Jin 高金 (fl. 1526–1530), the Supervising Secretary in the Office of Scrutiny for War, referred to Li Desheng as Shao Yuanjie's "master" 師 in his memorial to the Jiajing emperor. See Wang, *Ming shigao*, "Liezhuan," 86.16b–17a. We should not, however, take Gao Jin's use of

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Transformations is derived from the Quanzhen tradition in the Jin-Yuan.[112] This, however, does not prevent Daoists of the Liu Yuanran lineage from appropriating this illustrated hagiography for their agenda in the same fashion as Quanzhen's utilization of the "Ten Mysterious Masters" in its own purpose. Indeed, such Daoist temples as the Beizhen Temple on Mount Yiwulü that printed this work were not Quanzhen institutions at that time.[113] As noted, the 1532 version of the *Eighty-One Transformations* was affiliated with Li Desheng. Li's involvement in this project followed the same pattern of his renovating the Changchun Hall of the Baiyun Abbey from 1509 to 1516, as the Qingwei Daoists' attempt to appropriate Quanzhen for their own agenda.

We can conclude here that if Zhao Yizhen was not a successor to Quanzhen as Schipper describes, then Liu Yuanran was even less so: he was not a Quanzhen priest although he might have had knowledge of Quanzhen indirectly. More importantly, his heirs were not institutionalized as Quanzhen. Any view of his substantial ties to Quanzhen should be dismissed.[114]

(Note 111—*Continued*)

the term "master" as face value. Gao Jin's interest was his polemic against Jiajing's favoritism of Shao Yuanjie and Li Desheng. Since Li Desheng recommended Shao Yuanjie, it was natural for Gao Jin to consider theirrelationship as "master-student" so that an attack of Jiajing's policy would make more sense if both a cleric and his "student" received undeserved imperial favor. Shao Yuanjie actually transmitted the lineage of Li Bofang 李伯芳–Huang Taichu 黃太初 known as the Ziwei lineage 紫微法派 at Longhushan. For details, see Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁, "Shao Yüan-chieh and T'ao Chung-wen" 邵元節與陶仲文, in idem, *New Excursions from the Hall of Harmonious Wind* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 168–70; B. J. ter Haar, "Shao Yuanjie," in ET, 878–79.

[112] Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究 (Tokyo: Shoseki bunbutsu ryūtsūkai, 1965), 308–322; Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō*, 175–193; Hu, *Laozi bashiyi hua tu*, 26–28, 32–41. Although Kubo refutes that the received version of the *Eighty-One Transformations* is copied from the so-called "original" version of the Jin-Yuan era, he does not deny the existence of the "original" Jin-Yuan version. See Kubo, "Rōshi hachijūichi-ka zusetsu ni tsuite: Sono shiryō mondai o chūshin to shite," 老子八十一化圖説について:その資料問題を中心として, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 58 (1972): 6, 57–58, 63, 69–70.

[113] Wang, "Mingban quanben *Maoshan zhi*," 26n100; Hu, *Laozi bashiyi hua tu*, 53–54.

[114] Hata also doubts Liu Yuanran's Quanzhen identity. See Hata, "Dōshi Ryū Enzen shotan," 111, 114.

IV. Longhushan Delegation

But another set of Liu Yuanran's ties merits our serious consideration. This issue is about the delegation mechanism of the Heavenly Master institution at Longhushan. Liu's master Zhao Yizhen was a Jiangxi native from Anfu 安福 county. Zhao entered the Daoist order and spent most of his time in Jiangxi. Eventually, he settled in the mountainous region of Ganzhou in Southern Jiangxi, in the township of Yudu. It was there that he taught his famous pupils such as Liu Yuanran. And he finally died there. What is germane to us at this point is that his teachers' master Jin Pengtou 金蓬頭 (Jin Zhiyang 金志陽, 1276–1336) was a Quanzhen Daoist residing on Longhushan, the headquarters of the Heavenly Master. At the beginning of the Ming, Zhao Yizhen also visited Longhushan. The then reigning forty-second Heavenly Master Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (1335–1377) respected Zhao very much and wanted to retain him at Longhushan. Although he declined the invitation, many clerics at the Great Palace of Highest Clarity (Da shangqinggong 大上清宮), the main establishment on Longhushan, studied under Zhao Yizhen.[115] According to Zhang Yuchu, the forty-third Heavenly Master and Zhao Yizhen's biographer, Zhao Yizhen had two main disciples. One is Liu Ruoyuan 劉若淵 who may be the same as Liu Yuanran. The other is Cao Ximing 曹希鳴 (1330–1397), a native of Yugan 餘干 county, Jiangxi.[116] Cao Ximing afterward resided on Longhushan before he was appointed a Daoist official in the Central Daoist Registry in the capital, and he was

[115] Zhang Yuchu, "Zhao Yuanyang zhuan" 趙原陽傳, in idem, *Xianquan ji* 峴泉集 (SKQS), 3.38b–39b; Wang, "Zixiaoguan bei," 24.61a–63a; Wu Jie 吳節 (1397–1481), "Anyi Daohui si ji" 安邑道會司記, in idem, *Wu Zhupo xiansheng wenji* 吳竹坡先生文集 (SKQSCC), prose section, 4.4b–5a; *(Jiajing) Ganzhou fuzhi* (1536), 12.6b; Li Ding's collection, 24.19b–20b; *(Tianqi) Ganzhou fuzhi* (1621; 1660), 17.12b–13a; Song, *Lidai shenxian tongji*, *ce* 50, 491; *(Kangxi 1) Yudu xianzhi* (1662), 10.1b–2b; *(Kangxi) Anfu xianzhi* (康熙)安福縣志 (1678; 1679), 4.121a; Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen," 4–8.

[116] Zhang, "Zhao Yuanyang zhuan," 3.38b–39b; Kubo, "Rōshi hachijūichi-ka zusetsu ni tsuite: Chin Chikyo-bon," 30; Sun Kekuan 孫克寬, "Mingchu tianshi Zhang Yuchu *jiqi Xianquan ji*," in idem, *Hanyuan daolun* 寒原道論 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1977), 322, 345; Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen," 9.

finally buried on Longhushan after his death.[117] Thus, Zhao Yizhen's ties with Longhushan were strong.

Like his master and his fellow disciple, Liu Yuanran, another Jiangxi native, also closely associated himself with Longhushan. In 1390, Liu Yuanran called on Longhushan. After serving the throne as a court cleric for twenty-nine years, in 1422 he was exiled to Longhushan, before being banished further to Yunnan.[118] He transmitted teachings to Zhang Yuchu.[119] In fact, the *Longhu shanzhi* 龍虎山志 (Monograph of Mount Longhu) compiled in 1740 by Lou Jinyuan 婁近垣 (1689–1776), a Daoist master from Longhushan, includes Liu Yuanran as one of the illustrious Daoist masters from Longhushan.[120] The lack of evidence makes it hard to know in what circumstance Liu Yuanran visited Longhushan. But we can speculate. As mentioned, Zhao Yizhen visited Longhushan and was warmly welcome by the then Heavenly Master Zhang Zhengchang. A few clerics from the Great Shangqing Palace on the mountain actually honored Zhao as their teacher. Liu Yuanran's journey to Longhushan seems to have wanted renewing this bond, or even consulted those clerics from the Great Shangqing Palace, who studied under Zhao Yizhen, about Zhao's teachings and life. It was probably there, like Zhao Yizhen, that he taught Zhang Yuchu, the future Heavenly Master. The Longhushan clerical community also seems to have recognized him as a member of this headquarters of Zhengyi, as Lou Jinyuan, a later high-ranking priest on Longhushan, includes Liu Yuanran in Lou's monograph of Longhushan. Indeed, when Liu Yuanran was disfavored in the court in the Yongle period, he was first exiled to Longhushan.

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[117] Zhang, *Xianquan ji*, 2.1a–3b, 3.19a–22a, 4.20a–b; Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen," 9.

[118] Hu, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan," in the Naikaku bunko ed., 32b–33a; in Li Ding's collection, 24.21a–b; in Hu's anthology, 6.97; and in Ding and Guo, *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong zhi* (1740), 5.32b–33a; Yang, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuanlue," 1.21b; Wang, "Changchun Liu Zhenren citang ji," 5.47a–b; Chen, "Longquanguan Changchun Zhenren ciji," 51:199.

[119] Zhang Fu 張輔 (1375–1449) et al., eds., *Ming Taizong shilu* 明太宗實錄 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966), 102.5b; Wang, *Ming shigao*, "Liezhuan," 176.9a, 12a; Lou Jinyuan, *Longhu shanzhi* (1740), 7.23a.

[120] Ibid.; Chuang, *Mingdai Daojiao Zhengyipai*, 108.

Usually an exilic destination in imperial China was either a remote region or the official-exile's hometown (in the sense of being demoted to a commoner's status). Being the Left Daoist Patriarch (rank 6a) of the Central Daoist Registry at that time, Liu Yuanran was equivalent to a court official of the same rank. While his latter or second exilic destination was indeed the remote Yunnan, his earlier or first destination of banishment was Longhushan. Located in Jiangxi, Longhushan was not a remote region. The reason for banishing Liu Yuanran there seems to lie in the fact that the court regarded Longhushan as a place closely related to Liu Yuanran's origin, although in this case it would have been his religious origin more than his domicile (but Longhushan was not far from his hometown).

With such an affinity with Longhushan, Liu Yuanran's promotion to the Left Daoist Patriarch in 1405 as the highest ranking official in the Central Daoist Registry of the secular government bureaucracy, and the eventual elevation to the Dazhenren (rank 2a) as a religious noble rank equalizing that of the Heavenly Master, deserve our special attention.[121] Throughout the Ming he was the only non–Heavenly Master cleric who received this most prestigious Daoist noble rank. But this glory also cost him. He and Zhang Yuchu, who studied under him, had conflicts. According to a contemporary Ming source, "[Zhang Yuchu] received Daoist arts from Liu Yuanran. Later he was uncongenial to Liu Yuanran. They calumniated and reviled each other. People therefore looked down upon him."[122]

After Zhang Yuchu's death in 1410, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (1364–1427), Zhang Yuchu's younger brother, succeeded to the office, becoming the forty-fourth Heavenly Master. While the Yongle emperor appointed Yuqing as the successor to Yuchu in 1410, the emperor entitled Yuqing "Zhengyi sijiao qingxu chongsu guangzu yandan Zhenren" 正一嗣教清虛沖素光祖演道真人.[123] This title of the Perfected or Zhenren signifies, however, Zhang Yuqing

[121] For a similar observation, see Akizuki, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 160–161.
[122] *Ming Taizong shilu*, 102.5b. See also *Wang, Ming shigao*, "Liezhuan," 176.9a.
[123] *Ming Taizong shilu*, 110.2a; *Ming Xuanzong shilu*, 30.4b.

was below the Great Perfected or Dazhenren, a rank a Heavenly Master during the Ming eventually carried,[124] as in the case of Zhang Zhengchang and Zhang Yuchu.[125] As mentioned, in early 1426 Liu Yuanran was elevated to Dazhenren, equalizing the normal rank of a Heavenly Master. At that time, Zhang Yuqing was still a Zhenren, without the more prestigious rank of Dazhenren, even though he had been the forty-fourth Heavenly Master—strictly speaking, Zhengyi sijiao zhenren 正一嗣教真人—for sixteen years. As a result, Liu Yuanran's prestige became higher than Zhang Yuqing, the nominal patriarch of Daoism.[126] As noted,

[124] Ishida Kenji, based on the *Veritable Records of the Ming*, implies that (Zhengyi sijiao) Zhenren (正一嗣教) 真人 was the proper title a Heavenly Master inherited when he succeeded the office while Dazhenren was an imperially bestowed prestigious sobriquet (*fenghao* 封號). The convenient list supplied by Chuang Hung-i shows that among the ten Heavenly Masters of the Ming (Chuang does not count the fifty-second Heavenly Master Zhang Yingjing 張應京, fl. 1636–1651) three followed this promotion route. In addition, Chuang's list also includes a Heavenly Master who as the (Zhengyi sijiao) Zhenren died before the presumable elevation to Dazhenren. Chuang does not mention that the fiftieth Heavenly Master Zhang Guoxiang (fl. 1577–1611) had been the (Zhengyi sijiao) Zhenren before he was made the Dazhenren. Therefore, five Heavenly Masters out of ten during the Ming fit this promotion path from the (Zhengyi sijiao) Zhenren to Dazhenren. See Ishida, "Mindai Dōkyō no ichi danmen: Ryūkei nenkan no kakudatsu ni itaru shinjingō o tōshite" 明代道教の一斷面: 隆慶年間の革奪に至る真人號を通して, in *Yamane Yukio Kyōju taikyū kinen Mindai shi ronsō* 山根幸夫教授退休記念明代史論叢, ed. Okuzaki Hiroshi 奥崎裕司 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1990), 1320–21; Chuang, *Mingdai Daojiao Zhengyipai*, 11–14. For a study of the genesis and development of the title *dazhenren* in the Ming, see Ishida, "Mindai Dōkyō no ichi danmen," 1310–21.

[125] Chuang, *Mingdai Daojiao Zhengyipai*, 13, 19n48, based on some Ming sources, argues that Zhang Yuchu was only conferred upon the title of Zhenren but not Dazhenren. But He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠(1558–1632), *Mingshan cang* 名山藏 (XSKQS), 104.2b; Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, *Huang-Ming enming shilu* 皇明恩命世錄 (DZ 1462), 3.1a–2b; Zhang Guoxiang, *Han tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家 (DZ 1463), 3.28a; and Lou, *Longhu shanzhi*, 8.22b–23a, all record that Zhang Yuchu's title was Dazhenren. The term *zhenren* used in the sources cited by Chuang Hung-i would have been an abbreviation of *dazhenren*.

[126] This author does not argue that Liu Yuanran was more renowned than the Heavenly Master institution. To be sure, almost everyone in China knew of the Heavenly Master institutionally as the standard authority in Daoism. But this knowledge did not necessarily translate into the cult of a particular Heavenly Master. So far as the Ming period is concerned, the cult of Liu Yuanran spread within the Daoist community, as testified to in the above-mentioned five shrines dedicated to him in Nanjing, Beijing, Suzhou, Kunming, and Baoshan. No

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throughout the Ming, Liu Yuanran was the only non-Longhushan Zhang family member who held the prestige of Dazhenren. Embarrassed of this, Zhang Yuqing supplicated to Hu Ying 胡濙 (1375–1463), then the Minister of Rites, for help. As some Ming sources articulate, "Liu Yuanran had already been Dazhenren. For this reason [Zhang] Yuqing wanted to be on equal terms with him." Pleaded for Yuqing's favor by Hu Ying, the emperor reluctantly elevated Zhang Yuqing to Dazhenren in the sixth month that year.[127] Although there is no record of whether Liu Yuanran and Zhang Yuqing had any direct conflict, the tension between Liu Yuanran and the Heavenly Master institution, if not necessarily the person, is apparent. If that is the case, then what is the nature of Liu's ties to Longhushan?

At first glance, Liu Yuanran and Zhang Yuchu's clash appears to have derived from their personalities, respectively. Liu Yuanran was portrayed to have straightforward temperament and thus won the respect of the successive emperors. But he did not get along with people. For this reason, he offended or displeased some influential figures.[128] Regarding Zhang Yuchu, according to his contemporary sources, Zhang acted with a high hand in his hometown, and he was censured for misconducts several times. In the Jianwen reign, he was castigated, and stripped of the Dazhenren rank. But he was restored by the Yongle emperor.[129] These two personalities now seem to have had natural clashes.

(Note 126—*Continued*)
Heavenly Master, even the most famous Zhang Yuchu, appears to have enjoyed personal cult to this extent. In this respect, Liu Yuanran was more reputable than some Heavenly Masters individually, at least Zhang Yuqing, among his contemporaries or near contemporaries.

[127] *Ming Xuanzong shilu*, 18.6a, 30.4b; Shen, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 915; *Wang, Ming shigao,* "Liezhuan," *176.9a*. The quotation is from the *Ming Xuanzong shilu* (30.4b) and Shen, *Wanli yehuo bian*.

[128] Hu, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan," in the Naikaku bunko ed., 33a; *(Wanli) Shangyuan xianzhi* (1597), 11.15a–b; Li Ding's collection, 24.21b; Ding and Guo, *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong zhi*, 5.33a; *(Kangxi 7) Jiangning fuzhi* (1668), 27.24a.

[129] *Ming Taizong shilu*, 102.5b; Wang, *Ming shigao*, "Liezhuan," 176.9a; Tu Lien-che, "Chang Yü-ch'u," in *DMB*, 107; de Bruyn, "Daoism in the Ming," 606; Judith M. Boltz, "Zhang Yuchu," in ET, 1239.

At a deeper level, however, their tension reveals the delegation problem inherent in the Heavenly Master institution. Although Heavenly Masters were summoned to the imperial court for audiences and probably close control, they preferred residing on Longhushan. A solution defusing such an imperial check was to delegate trusted and outstanding Longhushan Daoist officials at court on behalf of the Heavenly Master.[130] Vincent Goossaert has singled out Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248–1322) and his Mysterious Teachings (*Xuanjiao* 玄教) during the Yuan, and Lou Jinyuan and his newly created lineage during the Qing as such examples of delegates from Longhushan.[131] I hasten to add that this kind of delegation is not confined to Yuan and Qing times. During the Ming it was used several times. But only two times seem successful. One obvious case is Shao Yuanjie from Longhushan and his lineage.[132] An earlier case in the Ming is indeed Liu Yuanran and his Qingwei lineage.

But this deputation mechanism was not always stable. Shao Yuanjie and Lou Jinyuan were careful and modest enough to avoid any direct conflict with the Heavenly Master. Even the highly profiled Mysterious Teachings did not cause real crises although this school did overshadow the Heavenly Master to a certain extent. In the early Ming, the Heavenly Masters Zhang Zhengchang and Zhang Yuchu sent a group of Longhushan priests to the capital as delegates such as Zhang Youlin 張友霖 (1306–1372), Fu Ruolin 傅若霖 (1322–1399), Cao Dayong 曹大鏞 (fl. 1390), Wu Baohe 吳葆和 (fl. 1390), Cao Ximing who was Zhao Yizhen's disciple, and Jiang Leigu 蔣雷谷 (fl. 1368–1403). They were dutiful representatives and capable of ritual performance.[133] However, they

[130] Vincent Goossaert, "Longhu shan," in ET, 703. For an excellent study of the Heavenly Master institution, see Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma," 121–59.

[131] Goossaert, "Longhu shan," 703; "Xuanjiao 玄教: Mysterious Teaching," in ET, 1132–33; "Lou Jinyuan 婁近垣," in ET, 706–7; "Bureaucratic Charisma," 141–49.

[132] For a study of Shao Yuanjie, see Liu, "Shao Yüan-chieh and T'ao Chung-wen," 168–70; ter Haar, "Shao Yuanjie," 878–79.

[133] For information on these men's lives, see Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), *Song Xueshi wenji*, *Song Xueshi wenji* 宋學士文集 (*Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 ed.), 15.5a–7b; 20.17a–b; 61.3b–4a; Zhang, *Xianquan ji*, 3.19a–22a, 23b–27a; Yuan, Zhang and Zhang, *Xuxiu Longhu shanzhi*, 1.46b–47a, 48a. See also Chuang, *Mingdai Daojiao Zhengyipai*, 106–7, 110.

were not outstanding enough to profoundly strengthen the relations between the emperor and the Heavenly Master institution as well as that between state and Daoism. In this sense, the delegation consisting of these clerics was not so successful.

It was in this circumstance that Longhushan had to rely upon Liu Yuanran, who had impressed the successive emperors greatly. Regardless of whether Liu Yuanran considered himself a representative of Longhushan, his aforementioned strong ties with the mountain made a case to the Heavenly Master and acceptable to the court. The Heavenly Master thus naturally saw Liu as a convenient candidate for the Longhushan delegation to the court. Partly because of his personality, partly because of the imperial favor bestowed upon him beyond his own control, Liu Yuanran eventually had a skirmish with Zhang Yuchu and, probably, Zhang Yuqing. Goossaert in his treatment of Lou Jinyuan as a Longhushan delegate provocatively raises a question on Lou's relations with the Heavenly Master family: was he a "protector or usurper"?[134] If Lou Jinyuan, "although not the nominal head of the Taoist clergy, was in a position of effective leadership,"[135] then Liu Yuanran was a different story. Liu's biographical accounts make it clear that the court charged him with managing Daoist affairs empire-wide. This shows a position of effective leadership. Moreover, Liu Yuanran was granted the rank of Dazhenren, which signified the nominal head of Daoist clergy in the Ming. He held the rank alone for six months while the then Heavenly Master Zhang Yuqing had no such a prestige, nor was in such a position to manage Daoist affairs of the country, for sixteen years.[136] It was only after Zhang Yuqing was promoted to Dazhenren six months later that Zhang was assigned the task of managing Daoist affairs of the country.[137] From Zhang Yuchu and Zhang Yuqing's points of view, Liu Yuanran's

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[134] Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma," 146.

[135] Ibid., 146.

[136] Chuang, *Mingdai Daojiao Zhengyipai*, 13, 20n50, and Ishida, "Mindai Dōkyō no ichi danmen," 1313–14, 1323n22, based on a single later Longhushan internal source, hold that Zhang Yuqing was assigned to manage the national Daoist affairs before he was promoted to Dazhenren. However, the *Veritable Records of the Ming* of both the Yongle and Xuande periods that record Zhang Yuqing provide no evidence.

[137] *Ming Taizong shilu*, 110.2a; *Ming Xuanzong shilu*, 18.6a.

high-profile "delegation" can be construed as usurpation. From Liu Yuanran and Daoism's perspectives in terms of the development of Ming Daoism, Liu Yuanran was certainly a protector. Whether Liu Yuanran's "delegation" was successful or not depends upon different perspectives.

This "delegation" had an implication, again related to Longhushan. In the Ming imperial institutions, several offices responsible for state ritual were directly related to Daoism. They were the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichang si*), and the Divine Music Abbey under *Taichang si*'s control. The Central Daoist Registry, responsible for administering national Daoist affairs and certifying and disciplining Daoist practitioners, was another imperial institution. As is well known, the Divine Music Abbey was staffed and controlled by Daoist priests known as musician-dancers (*yuewusheng*). In addition, Ming emperors used Daoist *yuewusheng* from the Abbey of Divine Music as masters of ceremony (*lisheng* 禮生) in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and such other ritual agencies as imperial mausoleums and state altars. Many leading officials from the *Taichang si* such as the Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichang siqing* 太常寺卿, rank 3a), the Vice Minister (*Taichang si shaoqing* 太常寺少卿, rank 4a), the Assistant Minister (*Taichang sicheng* 太常寺丞, rank 5a-6a), the Archivist (*dianbu* 典簿, rank 7a), and occasionally even the Erudite (*boshi* 博士, rank 7a), as well as all the mid- and lower-ranking *Taichang* ritual officials and clerk such as sacrificers (*fengsi* 奉祀, rank 7b), chief musicians (*xielü lang* 協律郎, rank 8a), sacrificial aides (*sicheng* 祀丞, rank 8b), ceremonial assistants (*zanli lang* 贊禮郎, rank 9a), assistant musicians (*siyue* 司樂, 9b), transmission assistants (*chuanzan* 傳贊), and chief assistants (*tongzan* 通贊) were appointed from the Daoist *yuewusheng* of the Divine Music Abbey.[138] In a recent important study of the Divine Music Abbey institution, Liu Yonghua 劉永華 illustrates that such a remarkable Daoist presence went beyond the Abbey of Divine Music and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, even penetrating the Ministry of Rites.[139] By synthesizing

[138] Liu, "Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices," 56, 60–62, 69–71; *Taichang xukao*, 7.52a–95a; Shiga, "Mindai Shingakukan kō," 23; Li, *Xinbian Beijing Baiyunguan zhi*, 506–8.

[139] Liu, "Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices," 55.

five promotion paths for the Daoist *yuewusheng* from the Abbey of Divine Music,[140] he rightly concludes that "it was thus through these paths that musicians and dancers of the Shenyue guan controlled the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and increasingly penetrated to the [Ministry] of Rites and played an important role in sacrificial ceremonies of the Ming dynasty."[141]

In contrast to the Abbey of Divine Music, the Central Daoist Registry was almost completely controlled by non-*yuewusheng* Daoist priests.[142] Furthermore, throughout the Ming, some leadership positions in the Ministry of Rites, in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, and even in the Abbey of Divine Music were filled with non-*yuewusheng* Daoist priests,[143] or *faguan* 法官, who served the Heavenly Master as the latter's officials and held official positions in the imperial bureaucracy appointed either by the state or through the Heavenly Master.[144] These positions were dominated, if not monopolized, in the first half of the dynasty by three main Daoist lineages: that of the Longhushan Daoists as the Heavenly Master's delegates, that of Liu Yuanran, and, to a lesser extent, that of Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451) who was a master of the Daoist ritual tradition known as Numinous Officer Wang's 王靈官 Thunder Rites (*lingguan fa* 靈官法), which was affiliated with the Shenxiao school.[145] This domination of the bureaucratic Daoist offices lasted

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[140] Ibid., 60–61.

[141] Ibid., 62.

[142] Throughout the Ming, there were cases of *yuewusheng* being promoted to leadership positions in the Central Daoist Registry. But these cases were very rare.

[143] Qing Xitai, ed., *Zhongguo daojiao shi,* rev. ed. (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996), 3:395–98, 401–2, 404, 407–10, 419, 443–49; Zhao Yifeng 趙軼峰, *Mingdai guojia zongjiao guanli zhidu yu zhengce yanjiu* 明代國家宗教管理制度與政策研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2008), 133–38, 142–43, 200–201, 210–16, 220; Liu, "Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices," 66–67.

[144] The term *faguan* has many meanings in Daoism. In this study, I follow Goossaert in using the term in the sense of the state-appointed Daoist officials in the Heavenly Master's bureaucracy. For a definition of *faguan* in this context, see Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma," 127.

[145] For a study of Zhou Side and his lineage, see Ding Huang 丁煌, "Taibei cang Ming Xuande ben *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* chuyan" 臺北藏明宣德本上清靈寶濟度大成金書初研, in idem, *Han Tang daojiao lunji* 漢唐道教論集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 258–80; Zhang Zehong 張澤洪, "Mingdai

(*Continue on next page*)

to the end of the Ming, only receiving an addition of Shao Yuanjie's lineage in the domination during the Jiajing period starting 1524.

While these lineages supplemented each other in their control of the imperial Daoist offices, some of them, especially the group of Daoist *faguan* from Longhushan and the descents of Liu Yuanran's line, were competitive in office-holding and prestige. However, it would be an overstatement if we think that the relation between the Longhushan institution and Liu Yuanran's lineage is completely antagonistic. When Liu Yuanran retired, he recommended his disciple Shao Yizheng to the Xuande emperor.[146] From then to his death, Shao Yizheng received favors from the Xuande emperor, Emperor Yingzong, and the Jingtai emperor (1450–1456), successively. He was appointed the Left Daoist Patriarch, the highest ranking Daoist official in the imperial bureaucracy. In the Jingtai period, he was elevated to the rank of Zhenren. He then resigned in the second month of 1457 after Yingzong's restoration. But through the forty-sixth Heavenly Master Zhang Yuanji's 張元吉 (1435–1472) recommendation in the eighth month that year, Emperor Yingzong made Shao Yizheng the Zhenren in charge of the national Daoist affairs again. But this time his standing was lower than that of the Heavenly Master Zhang Yuanji.[147] Another case comes from the forty-fifth Heavenly Master Zhang Maocheng 張懋丞 (1388–1445), who was Zhang Yuchu and Zhang Yuqing's nephew, and Zhang Yuanji's grandfather. In 1444 Zhang Maocheng

(Note 145—*Continued*)
daoshi Zhou Side yu lingguan fa" 明代道士周思得與靈官法 *Zhongguo daojiao* 2006.3: 18–22; Henry Doré, S.J., *Researches into Chinese Superstitions. Part. 2, The Chinese Pantheon*, ch. 4, trans. D.J. Finn, S.J. (rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1967), 133–35. For a study of the Lingguan fa within Shenxiao, see Lee, *Xu Xun yu Sa Shoujian*, 219–26, 244, 253–56, 264–73; Judith M. Boltz, "Not by the Seal of Office Alone: New Weapons in Battles with the Supernatural," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, eds. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 284–85. Zhou Side also associated himself with the Heavenly Master and Liu Yuanran.

[146] Hu, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan," in the Naikaku bunko ed., 33b; in Li Ding's collection, 24.22a; Chen, "Longquanguan Changchun Zhenren ciji," 51:199; Wang, "Changchun Liu Zhenren citang ji," 5.48a.

[147] Feng, "Shao Yizheng shengping," 47.

wrote a preface to Liu Yuanran's aforementioned *Recorded Sayings*, addressing Liu "Perfected Changchun."[148] Furthermore, Zhang Maocheng petitioned Emperor Yingzong to appoint Li Xizu 李希祖 (fl. 1442), a granddisciple of Liu Yuanran, a Daoist official.[149] From here we can see the dynamics of the relationship between Liu Yuanran's lineage and the Heavenly Master institution.

V. Liu Yuanran and Jingming Daoism

Finally, compared with Quanzhen, Liu Yuanran's affinity with Jingming Daoism was more substantial in terms of both the Jingming school and his teaching. A study of Jingming Daoism of the Ming must start with Liu Yuanran. However, this issue is much understudied.[150] In this regard, Judith Berling briefly points out the importance of Jingming in Ming religious and intellectual culture. Lee Fong-mao 李豐楙 articulates the representation of the cult of

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[148] Zhang Maocheng, "Liu Zhenren yulu xu" 劉真人語錄序, in Shao Yizheng, ed., *Chongxu zhidao Changchun Liu Zhenren yulu*, preface section, no pagination.

[149] Chen Wen 陳文 (1405–1468) et al., ed., *Ming Yingzong shilu* 明英宗實錄 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1962), 88.7a–b.

[150] The majority of studies on the Jingming movement end at the Yuan dynasty. For representatives of these studies, see Akizuki, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*; Kristofer Schipper, "Taoist Ritual and Local Cults of the T'ang Dynasty," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, ed. Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1985), v. 3, 812–34; Schipper, "The Jingming Zhongxiao School," in TC, 1115–16; Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*, 70–78; Boltz, "Xu Xun," in ET, 1124–26; Boltz, "Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way)" in ET, 567–71; Boltz, "Liu Yu," in ET, 692–93; Liu Ts'un-yan, "Xu Xun yu Langong" 許遜與蘭公, in idem, *Hefeng tang wenji* 和風堂文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 714–52; Zhang Zehong, "Xu Xun yu Wu Meng," *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 1990.1: 65–73; Wang Ka, "Sui-Tang Xiaodao pai zongyuan" 隋唐孝道派宗源, in idem, *Daojiao jingshi luncong* 道教經史論叢 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2007), 102–29; Lee Fong-mao, "Xu Xun de xianhua yu shengji: Yige feichanghua zushi xingxiang de lishi kehua," in 許遜的顯化與聖蹟：一個非常化祖師形象的歷史刻畫, in *Shengzhuan yu shichan: Zhongguo wenxue yu zongjiao lunji* 聖傳與詩禪：中國文學與宗教論集, ed. Lee Fong-mao and Liao Zhaoheng 廖肇亨 (Taipei: Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 2007), 367–441; Huang Xiaoshi 黃小石, *Jingmingdao yanjiu* 淨明道研究 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1999); Guo Wu, *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu yanjiu: Yi Song Yuan shehui wei beijing de kaocha* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005).

Xu Xun 許遜 (trad. 239–374) in Ming fiction. Judith Boltz studies the Ming-era illustrated biography of Xu Xun, titled *Zhenxian shiji* 真仙事蹟 (Traces of the Perfected Immortal). Guo Wu 郭武 calls attention to the role of Liu Yuanran and Shao Yizheng in promoting Jingming Daoism in the Ming. More recently Xu Wei 許蔚 contributes to the field with a most comprehensive study of Jingming literature, and his work sketches the late Yuan–early Ming Jingming movement and that of the late Ming–early Qing.[151] But we still have no clue of the basic question of how Jingming developed in the Ming. There are so many gaps left and a lot of misconceptions about Liu Yuanran's relationship with Jingming. It is the intention of this study to trace the origin of Liu Yuanran's affinity with Jingming.

Since we will deal with Liu Yuanran in the genealogy of Jingming, it is necessary here to give a short introduction to it. Although the cult of Xu Xun is traceable to the early medieval China and reached high points in both the Tang and Song, the modern Jingming school known as Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道 (Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality) started with Liu Yu 劉玉 (1257–1308) as its codifier. This lineage honored Xu Xun as the Jingming founder (*Jingming daoshi* 淨明道師), his eleven original disciples as the first generation disciples, that is, patriarchs

[151] Lee, *Xu Xun yu Sa Shoujian*, 123–70; Judith A. Berling, "Taoism in Ming Culture," in *The Cambridge History of China*, eds. Denis Twetchett and Frederick W. Mote, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 957–58, 979–83; Judith M. Boltz, "Jōmyōdō no soshi Kyo Son ni matsuwaru monogatari no sai kentō" 淨明道の祖師許遜にまつわる物語の再檢討, in *Chūgoku shūkyō bunken kenkyū* 中國宗教文獻研究, ed. Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2007), 187–219; Guo Wu, "Zhao Yizhen, Liu Yuanran yu Ming-Qing Jingming dao" 趙宜真、劉淵然與明清淨明道, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 2011.1: 81–84; Xu Wei, "*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* de kanxing yu Yuan Ming zhijian Jingming tongxu de goujian: Yi Riben neige wenku cang Ming Jingtai sannian Shao Yizheng xu kanben wei zhongxin" 淨明忠孝全書的刊行與元明之際淨明統緒的構建——以日本內閣文庫藏明景泰三年邵以正序刊本為中心, *Gudian wenxian yanjiu* 17.1 (2014): 124–35; *Duanlie yu jiangou: Jingmingdao de lishi yu wenxian* 斷裂與建構: 淨明道的歷史與文獻 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2014); "Xu Xun xingxiang de goujian jiqi yiyi" 許遜形象的構建及其意義, *Zhongguo suwenhua yanjiu* 5 (2009): 35–53; "Songjin zhiji de Jingmingdao: Yi *Zhao Jingyang Xu Zhenjun bei* wei zhongxin" 宋金之際的淨明道——以《詔旌陽許真君碑》為中心, *Guoxue yanjiu* 24 (2009): 235–51.

of that generation, and Liu Yu as the second (generation) patriarch. Furthermore, Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (1271–1325) and Xu Hui 徐慧 (1291–1350), the disciple and granddisciple of Liu Yu, became the third and fourth patriarchs, respectively.[152] This version of Jingming, represented in the *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 淨明忠孝全書 (Complete Writings of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Loyalty and Filiality, DZ 1110) compiled by Huang Yuanji and edited by Xu Hui with its introduction dated 1327, transmitted its lineage to this day, in which Liu Yu is considered its real founder.

The later Jingming tradition regarded Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran as its fifth and sixth patriarchs. However, the direct association of Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran and Jingming Daoism does not appear in any Yuan and Ming sources before and during Liu Yuanran's lifetime, as can be attested to by the tomb epitaph for Liu Yuanran and Hu Yan's epitaph for Liu. The earliest source that considers Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran as Jingming patriarchs (*sishi* 嗣師), that is, those who succeeded Xu Xun as the patriarchs in a real or reconstructed genealogy, is the postface by Shao Yizheng and the preface by Hu Ying to the *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* printed by Shao Yizheng in 1452, preserved in the Naikaku bunko 內閣文庫, Japan ("Naikaku bunko edition").[153] Another early source is the *Baoshan juan* 寶善卷 (Scroll of Treasuring Good), a morality book about the "Three Teachings" compiled by a certain Dai Pusu 戴樸素 and originally printed in 1454. A colophon at the end of *ce* 4, that is, the Daoist volume, tells the reader that Shao Yizheng transmitted the portraits of the five perfected lords (*zhenjun* 真君) and four perfected (*zhenren* 真人)

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[152] Akizuki, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 142, 147; Boltz, "Jingming dao," 567; "Liu Yu," 692.

[153] Shao Yizheng, "Jingming zhongxiao quanshu houxu" 淨明忠孝全書後序, in the Naikaku bunko ed., 77b; Hu Ying, "Jingming zhongxiao quanshu xu" 淨明忠孝全書序, in ibid., 1a. Ding and Guo, *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong zhi* (1740), 5.31a, 32a, label Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran the "fifth generation disciple who succeeded Xu Xun as the patriarch" 旌陽公五傳 and the "sixth generation disciple who succeeded Xu Xun as the patriarch" 旌陽公六傳, respectively. For a study of the Naikaku bunko ed., see Xu, "*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* de kanxing," 124–35.

of Jingming by reissuing the *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu*,[154] which obviously refers to the Naikaku bunko edition. In the *Baoshan juan* colophon the hierarchical order of the Jingming patriarchs matches perfectly the portraits and hagiographies of the patriarchs in the Naikaku bunko edition, including the additional Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran. The Naikaku bunko edition, followed by the *Baoshan juan* colophon, presents a genealogy of Jingming patriarchs of Liu Yu's modern lineage. Shao Yizheng was apparently responsible for adding Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran to this lineage genealogy. That is to say, the notion that Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran were Jingming's fifth and sixth patriarchs emerged around 1452 or slightly earlier. In exactly the same fashion of his adding a hall to the Baiyun Abbey to honor Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran as his own lineage masters and attempting to link them with the Quanzhen tradition, here Shao Yizheng again utilized a similar strategy to associate Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran with the modern Jingming school by inserting Zhao and Liu to the genealogy of Jingming patriarchs. Now Zhao Yizhen, although having no relations with Xu Hui nor Liu Yu's lineage at all,[155] is installed as the fifth in ranking after Xu Xun's eleven original disciples, Liu Yu, Huang Yuanji and Xu Hui. As Zhao Yizhen's

[154] *Baoshan juan*, quoted in Wang Yucheng 王育成, *Mingdai caihui Quanzhen zongzu tu yanjiu* 明代彩繪全真宗祖圖研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003), 36. Note that the *Baoshan juan* studied by Wang Yucheng is a later version in the form of a painted album completed in 1586. Before this version, the *Baoshan juan* was printed in 1454 for the first time, and then reprinted in 1457, 1462, and 1536, respectively.

[155] Hata endeavors to argue that Liu Yuanran received the ethical theory and moral practices from Zhao Yizhen, and these theory and practices are characteristic of Jingming Daoism. Guo Wu tries to prove Zhao Yizhen's Jingming identity by, in addition to the above-mentioned ethical theory and moral practices, examining a poem of Zhao that mentions of a Jingming symbol. There are problems in these arguments. The ethical theory and moral practices are not exclusively Jingming. And a poetic allusion to a Jingming symbol here does not have any historic value. What we lack is any form of external evidence. At the same time, Guo Wu successfully refutes the view that Zhao Yizhen's master was Xu Hui. Thus the notion of the Liu Yu lineage genealogy from Xu Hui to Zhao Yizhen is not tenable. See Hata, "Dōshi Ryū Enzen shotan," 109–10; Guo, "Zhao Yizhen," 78–81.

successor, Liu Yuanran thus becomes the sixth in ranking. In addition, the version of Hu Yan's epitaph for Liu Yuanran in the Naikaku bunko edition, which is altered by Shao Yizheng, specifically states for the first time that Liu Yuanran always talked about Loyalty and Filiality as the moral principles, and Zhao Yizhen transmitted Jingming among many other Daoist teachings to Liu Yuanran.[156]

Two years after Shao Yizheng's effort to amplify the genealogy of the Jingming patriarchs, Dai Pusu incorporated Shao's idea into his colophon in the *Baoshan juan*. Although the information on Dai Pusu's life is unknown to us, the *Baoshan juan* colophon does identifies the compiler as "Mr. Dai Pusu of Wuyuan" 武原樸素戴公.[157] Wuyuan refers to the seat of Haiyan 海鹽 county, Zhejiang. Shao Yizheng was the first to make Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran the fifth and sixth Jingming patriarchs. But Dai Pusu, a Jiangnan man, also played a role in spreading this notion. But after Shao Yizheng's reproduction of the *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* in 1452 and Dai Pusu's mention of Shao's view in his colophon of the *Baoshan juan* in 1454, apart from the latter's reprints of 1457, 1462, 1536 and 1586, this notion did not draw public attention until seventy years later and more so one and half centuries later.

The Naikaku bunko edition was reprinted in 1522 by Deng Jiyu 鄧繼禹 (fl. 1514–1522), a Daoist official at the Tiezhu Palace 鐵柱宮 in Nanchang, Jiangxi.[158] Aside from the Naikaku bunko edition and its reprint, the 1597 gazetteer of Shangyuan county is the earliest source specifically mentioning Jingming as part of Zhao Yizhen's transmission of Daoist teachings to Liu Yuanran. Although this gazetteer was printed in 1597, it was compiled in 1593.[159] Li Ding's collection must have been compiled later in his life, around 1610. This work simply follows the Naikaku bunko edition in its

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[156] Hu, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan," in the Naikaku bunko ed., 32b.

[157] *Baoshan juan*, quoted in Wang, *Mingdai caihui Quanzhen zongzu tu*, 11.

[158] Fan Bangdian 范邦甸 (1778–1817), *Tianyi ge shumu* 天一閣書目 (XSKQS), j. San zhi er 三之二, 48b–49a. See also Xu, "*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* de kanxing," 125.

[159] *(Wanli) Shangyuan xianzhi* (1597), 11.15a.

biography of Liu Yuanran.[160] Both Hu's anthology, edited and printed sometime between 1666 and 1681, and the 1740 Wanshougong monograph follow the suit.[161]

In fact, the Jingming elements in these sources about Liu Yuanran have something to do with the Jingming elements in the biographies of Zhao Yizhen. The "Yuanyang Zhao zhenren zhuan" 原陽趙真人傳, probably penned by Shao Yizhen, in the Naikaku bunko edition states that Zhao Yizhen received from his master "teachings and methods of the Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality (Jingming zhongxiao daofa 淨明忠孝道法)."[162] The above-mentioned Hu Yan's epitaph for Liu Yuanran in the Naikaku bunko edition mentions of Zhao Yizhen's transmission of Jingming texts to Liu Yuanran.[163] Zhang Yuchu wrote the "Zhang Yuanyang zhuan" 趙原陽傳 (Biography of Zhao Yuanyang [Yizhen]).[164] As noted, Zhao Yizhen spent time at Longhushan, and was honored by some Longhushan Daoists as their master. In addition, Zhang Yuchu learned from Liu Yuanran. Zhang must have been familiar with Zhao Yizhen's teachings. Zhang's composition of a biography for Zhao Yizhen was in a sense to honor his "lineage" tradition. But Zhang does not mention of Zhao Yizhen's reception of Jingming. Wang Zhi was entrusted by Shao Yizheng to compose a biographical inscription for Zhao Yizhen.[165] Wang does not reveal Zhao Yizhen's supposed Jingming teachings either. Chen Xun was also entrusted by Shao Yizheng to write a biographical inscription for Liu Yuanran, where there is no reference to the Jingming transmission between Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran. Then Wang Zhi was again consigned by Shao Yizheng's disciple Li Xizu to the task of inscribing Liu Yuanran's biography. He too does not allude

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[160] Li Ding's collection, 24.20b; Xu, "*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* de kanxing," 134; "Ziwo rentong haishi tazhe rentong."

[161] Hu's anthology, 6.97; Ding and Guo, *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong zhi* (1740), 5.32a; Xu, "*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* de kanxing," 134; "Ziwo rentong haishi tazhe rentong."

[162] "Yuanyang Zhao Zhenren zhuan," in the Naikaku bunko ed., 30a. Xu Wei attributes this biography of Zhao Yizhen to Shao Yizheng. See Xu, "Ziwo rentong haishi tazhe rentong"; "*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* de kanxing," 134.

[163] Hu, "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan," in the Naikaku bunko ed., 32b.

[164] Zhang, "Zhao Yuanyang zhuan," 3.38a–40a.

[165] Wang, "Zixiaoguan bei," 24.61a–63b.

to any Jingming ties between Zhao and Liu. Zhang Yuchu, Wang Zhi, and Chen Xun were all acquainted with Liu Yuanran, Shao Yizheng or Shao's direct disciple, namely the Zhao Yizhen–Liu Yuanran–Shao Yizheng lineage. But they had no knowledge of Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran's association with Jingming. It seems that Zhao and Liu's Jingming ties were Shao Yizheng's invention.[166] Moreover, as noted, both Chen Xun's and Wang Zhi's biographical inscriptions for Liu Yuanran indirectly quote Hu Yan's epitaph for Liu Yuanran. From this we can infer that the original version of Hu Yan's epitaph does not have Jingming elements.

From the appendix, one can see that there developed two textual traditions of Hu Yan's epitaph of Liu Yuanran: the literati version and the Jingming version. No edition of the literati tradition has anything about Liu Yuanran's Jingming teachings. In this respect, the literati version was followed by the 1461 national gazetteer, the 1510 Yunnan provincial gazetteer, the 1536 Ganzhou prefectural gazetteer, the 1541–66 Xuzhou subprefectural gazetteer, Wang Hongxu's *Draft of Ming History*, and Zhang Tingyu's *Ming History*.[167] Leaving aside the 1461 national gazetteer, among the Ming through early Qing local gazetteers that record Liu Yuanran's life, we can classify them into four groups: (1) that of Kunming region where Liu Yuanran was exiled; (2) that of Gan county, which was Liu Yuanran's hometown; (3) that of Xiao 蕭 county, Xuzhou 徐州 subprefecture, which was the ancestral place of Liu Yuanran; and (4) that of Nanjing area in which at the capital Liu Yuanran was active, transmitted his teachings, and spent his last days. It is noteworthy that only the Nanjing-area gazetteers contain the Jingming elements whereas the gazetteers of groups 1 to 3 do not.

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[166] On this issue, see Xu, "Ziwo rentong haishi tazhe rentong"; "*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* de kanxing," 134.

[167] In addition, the literati version includes the 1574, 1625, and 1691 Yunnan provincial gazetteers, the 1621 Ganzhou prefectural gazetteer, the 1577 and 1722 Xuzhou subprefectural gazetteers, the 1682 Jiangxi provincial gazetteer, and the 1696 gazetteer of Yunnan prefecture. See *Ming yitong zhi* (1461), 58.20a; *Zhengde Yunnan zhi* (1510), 35.5b–6a; *(Jiajing) Ganzhou fuzhi* (1536), 12.5b; *(Jiajing) Xuzhou zhi* (1541–1566), 9.4b–5a; *(Wanli) Yunnan tongzhi* (1574), 13.8b; *(Tianqi) Ganzhou fuzhi* (1621; 1660), 17.13a–b; *(Tianqi) Dianzhi* (1625), 17.47a; *(Kangxi) Jiangxi tongzhi* (1682), 42.60a–b; *(Kangxi) Yunnan tongzhi* (1691), 26.2b; *(Kangxi) Yunnan fuzhi* (1696), 17.1b–2a; Wang, *Ming shigao*, "Liezhuan," 176.11b–12b; Zhang, *Mingshi*, j. 299, 7656.

Apparently, the geographical origin of the Jingming elements in Liu Yuanran's biographies is Jiangnan. An analysis of Jingming Daoism in Jiangnan is thus crucial for us to understand Liu Yuanran's role in it. All the Jingming versions shown in the stemma have the Jingming elements. At first glance, all the versions of the Jingming tradition seem to follow Hu Yan's epitaph in the Naikaku bunko edition, through the relatively early Li Ding's collection around 1610.[168] A closer investigation reveals, however, that the 1597 Shangyuan county gazetteer came into being even earlier than Li Ding, in 1593. Our conclusion is that the 1668 Jiangning prefectural gazetteer as well as the 1721 and 1751 Shangyuan county gazetteers are all derived from the 1597 Shangyuan county gazetteer rather than Li Ding's collection.

Given that the Wanshougong on Xishan was the headquarters of Jingming Daoism, it was natural that the productions of Li Ding's collection and the 1740 Wanshougong monograph took place there. In addition, the Naikaku bunko edition was reprinted in 1522 at the Tiezhu Palace in Nanchang, and Hu's anthology was edited and printed by Hu Zhiwen and Hu Shixin sometime between 1666 and 1681 at the Qingyunpu Cloister 青雲譜道院, two other Jingming centers in Nanchang. One is thus tempted to think that the association of Liu Yuanran with Jingming is also derived from this area. If we consider the 1597 Shangyuan county gazetteer that came before Li Ding's collection, we may have a different conclusion. The 1597 gazetteer largely follows Hu Yan's biographical account of Liu Yuanran albeit in a simplified style. In terms of Zhao Yizhen's transmission to Liu Yuanran, as translated above, the standard description in Hu Yan's epitaph of Liu Yuanran mentions of "the Jade Clarity teaching, the violent thunder from the statutes and ordinances of the *she* altar, the Jade Palace [Rites], the Yellow Register [Rites], Jade Register [Rites], and the Great

[168] For instance, the 1740 Wanshougong monograph is evidently derived from Li Ding's collection. The sources of Hu's anthology may be multiple. But Liu Yuanran's biography contained in the anthology also comes from Li Ding's collection. See Akizuki, *Chūgoku kinsei dōkyō no keisei*, 69–72, 110, 159–61, 166–67, 170; Xu, *Duanlie yu jiangou*, 147, 362; "*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* de kanxing," 134n3.

Ultimate," without anything to do with Jingming. The 1597 Shangyuan county gazetteer, however, goes as follows: "Zhao Yuanyang [i.e., Yizhen] transmitted to him the teachings and methods of the Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality (*Jingming zhongxiao daofa*)."[169] It departs from the literati tradition by adding the Jingming teachings. In this aspect, it shares the version of Han Yan's epitaph for Liu Yuanran in the Naikaku bunko edition. But more strikingly, while the Naikaku bunko edition inserts the Jingming elements into the original non-Jingming teachings, the 1597 Shangyuan county gazetteer does not mention any other Daoist teachings and arts at all. The 1668 Jiangning prefectural gazetteer and the 1721 and 1751 Shangyuan county gazetteers all follow the 1597 Shangyuan county gazetteer. The idea of Liu Yuanran's association with Jingming appears to have been circulating in Nanjing area, the political and cultural center of Jiangnan. This issue is germane to the origin of Liu's association with Jingming and the spread of this notion to Nanchang, the traditional headquarters of Jingming, and therefore needs our further investigations.

In the history of Jingming, Xu Xun is said to have been native of Nanchang, Jiangxi. However, the early stage of the Xu Xun cult, known as the Way of Filial Piety 孝道, was already closely associated with Jiangnan.[170] In the Southern Song the Jingming movement spread to Nanjing through waterways from Nanchang area. From the Southern Song to the Yuan, there were several Daoist temples in Nanjing dedicated to Xu Xun and his disciple. And a Nanjing version of Xu Xun's hagiography titled *Xishan Xu Zhenjun bashiwu hua lu* 西山許真君八十五化錄 (A Record of the Eighty-Five Manifestations of the Perfected Lord Xu of Xishan) was even produced.[171] There were also some Daoist temples in Jiangnan during the Ming dedicated to Xu Xun.[172]

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[169] *(Wanli) Shangyuan xianzhi* (1597), 11.15a.

[170] Wang, "Sui-Tang Xiaodao pai zongyuan," 107, 124; Liu, "Xu Xun yu Langong," 727–28, 735.

[171] Lee, "Xu Xun de xianhua yu shengji," 419–20.

[172] *Ming yitong zhi* (1461), 11.11b, 16.10a; *(Jiajing) Nanji zhi* (嘉靖)南畿志 (1534), 27.2b; *(Wanli) Zhenjiang fuzhi* (萬曆)鎮江府志 (1596), 33.37b–38a; *(Kangxi) Jiangnan tongzhi* (1684), 33.14b, 35.55a, 36.12a; Jin Guixin 金桂馨 (fl. 1878–

(*Continue on next page*)

The aforementioned association of Liu Yuanran with the Jingming school is not totally unjustified, at least in Jiangnan. As noted, Ming Taizu ordered to rebuild the Xishan Cloister at the compound of the Chaotian Palace in Nanjing for Liu Yuanran, and Liu returned to this cloister after his retirement as his destination. The Xishan Cloister was originally dedicated to Xu Xun, and it was named after the real Xishan, either because Xishan was the headquarters of the Xu Xun cult, or because the Daoist teaching came from Xishan.[173] Therefore Taizu would have known of Liu Yuanran's ties to Jingming, at least he was aware of this image of Liu Yuanran that was circulating in Nanjing. In his *Recorded Sayings*, Liu Yuanran does show his appreciation of Jingming teachings.[174]

Guo Zongheng, one of Liu Yuanran's disciples, as noted, was an abbot of the Fuji Abbey in Suzhou, and he received teachings of Jingming, in addition to Qingwei Lingbao and Shenxiao, from Liu Yuanran when he was in Nanjing. Furthermore, Yu Daochun, also mentioned, was a disciple of Shao Yizheng, that is, a granddisciple of Liu Yuanran. He was a Daoist priest of the Chaotian Palace in Nanjing before moving to Beijing. He received Jingming teachings

(Note 145—*Continued*)

1887) and Qi Fengyuan 漆逢源, comp., *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong tongzhi* 逍遙山萬壽宮通志 (ZW), 9.21b; *(Hongzhi) Huizhou fuzhi* (弘治) 徽州府志 (1502), 10.54b; *(Jiajing) Huizhou fuzhi* (嘉靖) 徽州府志 (1566), 22.4a; Mei Zhixian 梅志暹, comp., Yu Dazhang 俞大彰, ed., *Chongyang'an ji* 重陽庵集 (ZDC), 8b–11a; *(Kangxi) Zhejiang tongzhi* (康熙) 浙江通志 (1684), 20.7a–b.

[173] *Zhizheng Jinling xinzhi* 至正金陵新志 (1344), in *Jinling quanshu* 金陵全書 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2010) 11.42b. Ishida argues that the Xishan Cloister was directly named after Xishan in Nanchang as if it were erected for the first time in the Ming. See Ishida, "Mindai Dōkyō shijō no Zenshin to Seii," 158. The 1344 gazetteer of Jiqing Route 集慶路 whose seat was Nanjing, however, makes it clear that in the Jiading period (1208–1224) of the Southern Song a certain Daoist priest from Xishan of Nanchang transmitted ritual art to the patron Zhang Shouzheng 張守正 in Nanjing. Zhang thus built a chapel for himself to lodge and cultivate. Then in the Jiaxi period (1237–1240) Zhang's nephew erected the Cloister of Xishan Where Immortals Gather (Xishan xianji daoyuan 西山僊集道院), dedicated to Xu Xun, on that site. See *Zhizheng Jinling xinzhi* (1344), 11.42b. On this issue, see also Hata, "Dōshi Ryū Enzen shotan," 112.

[174] Xu, "Ziwo rentong haishi tazhe rentong."

along with Qingwei teachings and other Daoist arts from Shao Yizheng.[175] At this point, we need to turn to Shao Yizheng. Suzhou was the ancestral place of Shao, whose parents were moved from Suzhou to Yunnan in the Hongwu reign.[176] Shao strongly identified himself with Suzhou. In a sense, Shao saw himself, as attested to by his acquaints, as a Jiangnan man.[177] Judging from the fact that Yu Daochun received teachings from Shao in Nanjing, it seems that Shao Yizheng was active in Nanjing as well. We have mentioned that Shao Yizheng reproduced the Naikaku bunko edition of the *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu*, where he made Liu Yuanran the Jingming patriarch. It is not clear whether Shao appropriated the popular view in Nanjing about Liu Yuanran's Jingming image. It is important here to note the Nanjing connection: both the Xishan Cloister that housed Liu Yuanran and the Chaotian Palace where Guo Zongheng received teachings from Liu Yuanran and where Yu Daochun was a Daoist priest were located in Nanjing. Actually, the Xishan Cloister was part of the Chaotian Palace. In short, Taizu seems to have been aware of Liu Yuanran's Jingming image popular in Nanjing. Shao Yizheng would have formally created Liu Yuanran's Jingming patriarchy. Dai Pusu spread Shao Yizheng's idea of incorporating Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran into the Jingming genealogy. Liu Yuanran's disciple and granddisciple Guo Zongheng and Yu Daochun were active in Nanjing when they made references to Jingming. All these, except the uncertainty of Shao Yizheng, took place in Jiangnan, especially in Nanjing.

From the early phase of the Jingming movement, the active temple network, and the Nanjing tradition of Liu Yuanran's Jingming image, it is now clear that Jingming had its roots and following in Jiangnan during the Ming. Within this background, it

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[175] Bai Fen, "Jingshi tongyong zhiyin xu," 2a, 3a, 4a; Zhou Hongmo 周洪謨 (1421–1492), "Puji Yu Zhenren zhilue" 普濟喻真人誌略, in Ge, *Jinling xuanguan zhi*, 1.22a–23a; Shang, "Longquanguan Tongmiao Zhenren citang ji," 1266; Ge, *Jinling xuanguan zhi*, 1.7a–8a; *(Qianlong) Yudu xianzhi* (1757), 10.3b–4a.

[176] Feng, "Shao Yizheng shengping," 46.

[177] Shao, "Jingming zhongxiao quanshu houxu," 78a; Shao Yizheng, preface to *Chongxu zhidao Changchun Liu Zhenren*, no pagination; Xu Youzhen, *Wugong ji* 武功集 (SKQS), 4.18a–19b.

is no surprise that the 1597, 1721, and 1751 Shangyuan county gazetteers as well as the 1668 Jiangning prefectural gazetteer all add Jingming elements to Liu Yuanran's life and career, because Jingming was popular in Jiangnan only after Nanchang, and the association of Liu Yuanran with Jingming came from Nanjing area.

It is at this conjuncture that Li Ding's career trajectory merits our attention. Although he was a native of Nanchang, Li Ding as a member of the disfranchised lower-status literati known as *shanren* 山人 (mountain men), who failed in the official examinations, was active in Jiangnan, especially in Nanjing for a long time until his late years.[178] In Jiangnan, he participated in Jiangnan literati's patronage of Daoism.[179] It thus seems that in Jiangnan Li Ding would have been influenced by the Jiangnan version of Jingming and its association with Liu Yuanran. As a result, when in his late years he went back to Nanchang compiling the *Jingming zhongxiao quanzhuan zheng'e*,[180] he blended the Liu Yuanran cult popular in Nanjing with Jingming Daoism. First of all, he followed the footsteps of Shao Yizheng to incorporate Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran into the genealogy of the Jingming patriarchs. Second, he inserted the Jingming teachings, the only religious tradition related to Liu Yuanran as was circulating in Jiangnan, in Hu Yan's biography of Liu Yuanran, largely adhering to Shao's Naikaku bunko edition.[181] The version of Hu Yan's epitaph for Liu Yuanran contained in the 1666–1681 Hu's anthology and that in the 1740 Wanshougong monograph all followed Li Ding. Indeed, since Li Ding's collection, the Jingming teaching has become indispensable in any Jingming literature related to Liu Yuanran. Although Shao

[178] For information on Li Ding's life, see Chen Hongxu 陳弘緒 (1597–1665), "Xiaolian Ligong zhuan" 孝廉李公傳, in idem, *Dunsu tang liushu* 敦宿堂留書, in idem, *Chen Shiye xiansheng ji* 陳士業先生集 (*iku quanshu cunmu congshu bubian* 四庫全書存目叢書補編 ed.) 1.32a–35b; Ruyu 如愚 (fl. 1605–1606), *Shitou an Baoshan tang shiji* 石頭菴寶善堂詩集, fac. rpt. in *Chanmen yishu: Chubian* 禪門逸書初編 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1980), 2.2a–3a; Ding and Guo, *Xiaoyaoshan Wanshougong zhi* (1740), 10.14b, 20.12b–13b; Wang, "Mingdai Jiangnan shishen," 62.

[179] "Mingdai Jiangnan shishen," 62.

[180] Chen, "Xiaolian Ligong zhuan," 1.35a–b.

[181] Li Ding's collection, 24.20b–21a.

Yizheng championed the Jingming view of Liu Yuanran in his Naikaku bunko edition as early as 1452, it is following Li Ding's version that the Jingming textual tradition of Hu Yan's epitaph for Liu Yuanran was finalized.

VI. Conclusion

By reconstructing Liu Yuanran's relations with different lineages and what later Daoists made of him, this essay argues that Liu Yuanran played a crucial role in the four most important Daoist lineages of the Ming either by himself or attributed to him. In the end, even though Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage was a transregional phenomenon, the emergence of its two sublineages in Yunnan indicates that Liu Yuanran's impact had local contexts and local variants. His ties to the Heavenly Master institution were linked with the Heavenly Master at Longhushan in Jiangxi. The tension between Liu Yuanran and the Heavenly Master can be argued as the competition between the Heavenly Master's autonomy at Longhushan and the control of his power at the state level. And the Jingming lineage around Nanchang was an even clearer local tradition that appropriated Liu Yuanran for its own agenda. Needless to say, Chen Minggui's "conversion" of Liu Yuanran to Quanzhen represents a nineteenth-century Jiangnan and Guangdong Quanzhen Daoists' efforts to amplify their influence and strengthen their Quanzhen identity and elite icon. But this is beyond the scope of the present study. In this sense, the importance of Liu Yuanran in Ming Daoism lies in not just his actual performance in Daoist lineages but also the attribution to him of greater roles by later generations. The clarification of these facts and attributions would shed light on our understanding of the development of Ming Daoism in general and the four important lineages studied here in particular.

The treatment of Liu Yuanran, however, opens the lid of Pandora's box: following this line of thinking, many questions about Ming Daoism await further investigations and answers. For instance, would other court Daoist priests be active on behalf of the Heavenly Master? In other words, shall we consider these court

clerics in the context of the Heaven Master institution's delegation mechanism in the Ming? As indicated, in addition to Liu Yuanran, the high-profile Shao Yuanjie can be understood this way. If this is the case, then the religion and state issue in the Ming would have a consistent pattern.

With respect to Daoist lineages, what were the relations between Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage and other Qingwei lineages? As I have studied elsewhere, in the Ming the Yuchen Abbey and several other temples on Maoshan transmitted a Qingwei lineage, attributed to the Second Mao Lord 二茅君, characteristic of the Maoshan Qingwei tradition. But this Maoshan Qingwei lineage used a lineage verse different from Liu Yuanran's lineage.[182] However, Hang Yiwen 杭以文 (d. before 1457), who was most likely Liu Yuanran's disciple, was a cleric at the Yuchen Abbey.[183] In addition, Hang Xi'an 杭希安 (fl. 1450s–1480s) as Hang Yiwen's disciple was an abbot of the Yuchen Abbey, and transmitted the Maoshan Qingwei lineage. However, he also received Qingwei teachings from Liu Yuanran.[184] Still, Tang Yuqing 湯與慶 (fl. 1457–1520s) was an abbot of the Chongxi wanshou Palace 崇禧萬壽宮, another important Qingwei institution at Maoshan, and transmitted the Maoshan Qingwei lineage there. He received Qingwei teachings from Shao Yizheng.[185] Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage seems to have intriguingly related to the Maoshan Qingwei lineage and probably other Qingwei lineages as well. This phenomenon may lead to an overall tackling of the overwhelmingly dominant Qingwei school in Ming Daoism.

While the majority of his direct and indirect disciples whose *faming* match the Tianfei Palace Qingwei lineage verse, several of

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[182] Wang, "Mingban quanben *Maoshan zhi*," 40–48, 53.

[183] Ni, *Ni Wenxi ji*, 32.4a; Da, *Maoshan zhi*, 9.16b–17a.

[184] Ni, *Ni Wenxi ji*, 32.3a–4b.

[185] Qiu Jun 邱濬 (1420–1495), *Chongbian Qiongtai gao* 重編瓊臺稿 (SKQS), 17.23b–25a; Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (fl. 1311–1330), comp., Jiang Yongnian 江永年 (fl. 1506–1551), supplement, *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 (Maoshan: Yucheng Abbey, 1550–1551; a microfilm in the East Asian Library, University of Chicago), "Shoujuan" 首卷, 10a, 11a, 12a–b, 33a–b, 41b; "Houjuan qian" 後卷前, 2b, 3b–4b; Da, *Maoshan zhi*, j. 14, "Daozhi kao" 道秩考, 2b.

Liu Yuanran's granddisciples have the character *xi* 希 as the second character in their *faming*.[186] Does this suggest that Liu Yuanran, or at least his granddisciples, had a sublineage different from his main Qingwei lineage, as in the case of the Changchun lineage and Changchun Lingbao lineage in Yunnan? If this is the case, then we see even in his mainstream lineage there also appeared localization process. This further confirms our thesis of this study. But more thorough investigations are needed for these questions.

In addition to the clear master-disciple genealogy, another mark that identifies a Jingming priest from other Daoist lineages is the Jingming lineage verse. A thorough treatment of it awaits another study. Suffice it here to conclude that the local Jingming traditions in Nanchang region had no direct relationship with Liu Yuanran. Their utilization of the versions of the Jingming lineage verse was not derived from Liu Yuanran either. Instead, these local Jingming lineages directly consulted the Jingming text known as the "Quanjie shi" 勸誡詩 (Poems on Exhortation), attributed to Xu Xun and his eleven original disciples, for Nanchang local Daoists' *faming* pattern. On the other hand, Liu Yuanran's Qingwei lineage verse was not adopted by these Jiangxi Jingming Daoists. Although Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran were natives of Ganzhou (Jiangxi), they were not active in Nanchang region including Xishan. Even though from Li Ding onward Jingming literature produced in Nanchang and Xishan associated Liu Yuanran with Jingming, this notion was imported from Jiangnan including Nanjing. Therefore, the Jiangxi Jingming priests had their local traditions, unrelated to Liu Yuanran's lineage although later through Li Ding and other Jingming writings they traced it to Liu Yuanran. This again demonstrates the discrepancy between the prescribed version of Jingming Daoism championed by the Liu Yuanran lineage and the Jiangxi local traditions, or another localization process in Jiangxi beyond the framework of the Jingming construction by an earlier

[186] These Daoists include Li Xizu 李希祖 (fl. 1442), Shao Xixian 邵希先 (1408–fl. 1439), both of whom are Shao Yizheng's disciples, and the above-mentioned Hang Xi'an. See Wang, *Yian wenji houji*, 5.46b–49b; Xu, *Wugong ji*, 4.18a–19b; Ni, *Ni Wenxi ji*, 32.3a–4b.

group of Daoists led by Shao Yizheng, even though the Liu Yuanran patriarchy was imported from Jiangnan.[187]

Finally, as we have clarified, after the mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth century one should talk about different lineages as branches of the Quanzhen order. It is even more so if we deal with the loosely organized Zhengyi order in the study of Ming Daoism.

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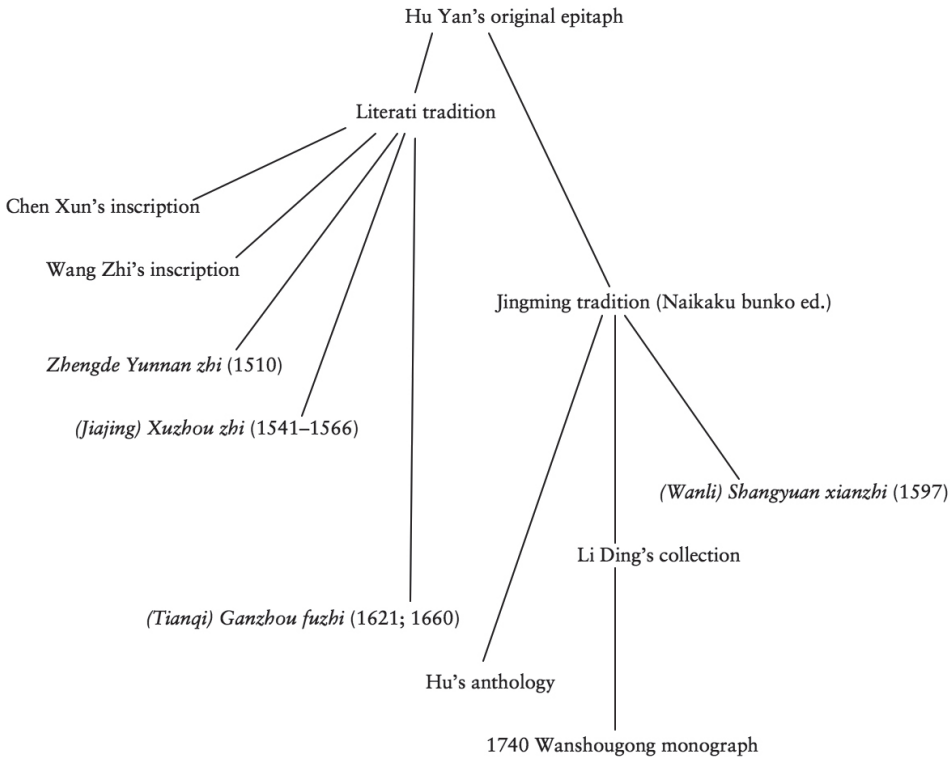
[187] The original Jingming Lineage Verse reads, "Tian de gao wu liang, zhao ming zi gu jin; dao yuan wen jian chu, zong he sheng xian xin" 天德高無量，昭明自古今；到元聞見處，總合聖賢心, which did not emerge before the mid Ming. During the Ming-Qing transition there appeared the so-called "Continued Jingming Lineage" (*Jingming xupai* 淨明續派) with its verse: "Dao de hong qing jing, fa yuan guang da cheng; dong han you zhang jiao, gong guo bao zhong zhen" 道德弘清淨，法源廣大成；東漢有章教，功果保忠禎. Regarding their origins, these Jingming lineage verses are derived from a set of 120 poems, known as the "Poems on Exhortation." Eight quatrains of this set of poems are preserved in Hu's authology. The first and the fifth quatrains match the original Jingming Lineage and Continued Jingming Lineage Verses, respectively. Only the Continued Jingming Lineage Verse was consistently used at the Qingyunpu Cloister of Nanchang. In addition, the Daoist priests at the Wanshou Palace on Xishan as well as householder priests in that region are said to share the same lineage verse. On the other hand, the modern Jingming Daoism represented by Liu Yu and his descendants in the Yuan did not use the Jingming Lineage Verse in their *faming*. Nor did Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran, the so-called fifth and sixth patriarchs of Jingming, as well as their spiritual descendants follow the Jingming Lineage Verse. Instead, they followed their Qingwei lineage verse in their naming. On the original Jingming Lineage Verse, the Continued Jingming Lineage Verse, and the adoption of the Continued Jingming Lineage Verse in clerical *faming*, see Igarashi, *Dōkyō sorin Taishingu shi*, 87; Bai, *Tiecha shanzhi*, 7.6b; Yan, *Daotong yuanliu*, 2.3; Wang, *Zhuzhen zongpai yuanliu*, 63; Koyanagi, *Baiyunguan zhi*, 110; Zhu Daolang 朱道朗 comp., *Qingyun pu zhilue* 青雲譜志略 (Nanchang: Qingyun pu, 1681; a rare book in the Shanghai Library), 3b–4a, 10a; Chen Lili 陳立立, "Dianjiao qianyan" 點校前言, in Hu Zhiwen, comp., Chen Lili et al., ed., *Jingming zongjiao lu* 淨明宗教錄 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2008), 4; Xiao Hongming 蕭鴻鳴, *Daojiao Jingmingpai Qingyunpu kaishanzu Zhu Daolang* 道教淨明派青雲譜開山祖朱道朗, rev. 2007, online available: http://wenku.baidu.com/view/0b777094dd88d0d233d46a99.html (accessed on October 6, 2011), pt. 2, 5, 8, 12; Huang Hanqiao 黃翰翹 (fl. 1920) and Xu Zhongqing 徐忠慶, *Jiangxi Qingyun puzhi* 江西青雲譜志 (ZDC), 76b–78a, 80b–81a, 84a–85a, 105a–122b, 125a, 126a, 133a–134b, 136a–138a, 139b–141a, 144a; Li Dan 李旦 et al., "Qingyunpu" 青雲譜, in Chen Zhongzhang 陳中漳 and Luo Changjiang 羅長江 et al., *Nanchang shizhi* 南昌市志 (Beijing: Fangzhi chubanshe, 1997), vol. 6, 615–16. On the "Poems on Exhortation," see Hu's anthology, 7.16.

Not only many textual and liturgical schools such as Qingwei, Jingming, and Shenxiao under the umbrella of Zhengyi were known for their liturgical methods (*fa*), but also many lineages arose from the same school such as Qingwei. From various Daoist lineage genealogies, there exist at least seventeen Qingwei lineage verses, some of which are traceable to the Ming. Even within Liu Yuanran's own Qingwei lineage, further divisions or further localization is attested as shown in this study. In the case of Liu Yuanran's lineage, most of these localized sublineages had their temple bases, from which we can comfortably discern these master-disciple genealogies and localization processes. These temples as an embodiment define the legal and property rights of these lineages in local society. It is from these local communities that Daoist lineages and their "Daoist liturgical framework" played a significant role in structuring Daoism and society. This approach to the study of Ming Daoism completely departs from the conventional paradigm of the history of Daoism. Even Daoism and state can be understood from the lineage perspective. As mentioned above, the central state Daoist offices were dominated by several lineages, including Liu Yuanran's. This religion and state issue also had a local context.[188] Needless to say, liturgical legacies in local society had a profound affinity with Daoist lineages actively locally. From this perspective, Daoism in the Ming is understood not as a fossil of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, but rather as a living tradition, part of which has transmitted to this day.

[188] For a preliminary attempt, see Wang, "Mingdai Liaowang de Jingzhou chongdao," 201–29.

Appendix

The Stemma of the Full Recensions of Hu Yan's "Changchun Liu Zhenren zhuan" 長春劉真人傳



Abbreviations

DMB	Goodrich, L. Carrington, and Chaoying Fang, eds. *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
ET	Pregadio, Fabrizio, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. London: Routledge, 2008.
SKQS	*Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書. Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983–1986.
SKQSCC	*SKQS cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書. Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1997.
TC	Schipper, Kristofer, and Franciscus Verellen, eds. *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
XSKQS	*Xuxiu SKQS* 續修四庫全書. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995–2002.
ZDC	*Zhongguo daoguanzhi congkan* 中國道觀志叢刊. Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2000.
ZDY	*Zhengyi daojiao yanjiu guoji xueshu huiyi lunwen huibian* 正一道教研究國際學術會議論文彙編. Vol. 2. Shanghai: Zhengyi dojiao yanjiu guoji xueshu huiyi, 2013.
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劉淵然與明代道教法派

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摘要

本文探討了宮廷道士劉淵然（1351–1432）、其法派及其在明代道教中的地位。作為影響了道教發展的關鍵人物，劉淵然對我們了解明初道教整體特別是清微派、龍虎山道團、全真道和淨明道這些明代最重要的道派至關重要。從道法傳授、科儀實踐、師徒傳承和道教派詩諸方面，劉淵然可以被確認為清微道士。明代天津天妃宮的道教教團及其派詩就可以證實這一點。本文認為，劉淵然不是全真道士，關於劉淵然及其法派是全真道的看法是十九世紀逆向建構出來的。至於劉淵然與龍虎山的關係，關乎龍虎山天師體制中的全權代表機制。劉淵然最終與天師體制的衝突反映了對掌控國家禮儀機構的競爭。本文也證明了後來的淨明道派視劉淵然為淨明六祖。但這一觀念的始作俑者卻是其弟子邵以正。儘管邵以正倡導這一譜系，但後人卻是通過沿襲李鼎的《淨明忠孝全傳正訛》，淨明道派有關劉淵然在淨明道中地位的文本傳統才得以最後定型。通過重建劉淵然與不同法派的關係以及後來道團對劉淵然歸屬的認定，本文得出了如下結論：劉淵然在明代道教四大法派中扮演了極其重要的角色，或由其本人直接扮演或由後學歸之於他。儘管劉淵然的清微法派是個跨區域的宗教現象，其法派及其支系從明代的政治中心京畿地區，到文化都會蘇州和內地山東，再向邊疆雲南擴散，這顯示出其影響有地方語境。劉淵然與天師體制的淵源也與江西龍虎山地方上的道教教團分

不開。他與淨明道關聯的觀念首先是作為一個江南現象流傳於南京。但江西南昌的淨明道派這一更具地方化的傳統，卻僭用了源出江南的這一觀念，為自己的宗旨服務。這樣，劉淵然法派所代表的地方化進程便構成了明代道教的核心特徵。

關鍵詞：劉淵然、清微派、全真道、龍虎山、淨明道