

Master Xiao Tianshi and the Transmission of Daoist Scriptures from China to Taiwan

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This article will discuss the relationship between religion and printing, and in the issues of transmission or religious knowledge. Building on previous work I have done on other Daoist figures in this regard, like Fu Jinquan 傅金銓 (Jinxi 金谿, Jiangxi 江西, active in Sichuan 四川 1800-1842), and He Longxiang 賀龍驤 (Jingyan 井研, Sichuan, active 1891-1906)¹, I would like to introduce another example of the work on preservation, transmission and diffusion of religious knowledge, that of Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石. A native of Hunan 湖南, intellectual, publisher and official in the Nationalist government, Xiao spent a decade in Sichuan from 1939 to 1948, and was appointed the governor of Guan county 灌縣, Sichuan, in 1944. In 1949, he left China for Taiwan 台灣, where he founded a printing house, the Ziyou chubanshe 自由出版社 (Freedom publishing house), and spearheaded several printing projects, among which, the *Daozang jinghua* 道藏精華, a collection of Daoist texts that he had gather in Sichuan through a network of friends and acquaintances in Taiwan.

In this endeavor, Xiao was driven by a strong desire to acquire, preserve and spread Daoist texts and knowledge in Taiwan, in the face of possible oblivion in China.

Xiao Tianshi (1909-1986)²

Xiao Tianshi was born in Wenshan 文山, Shaoyang 邵陽 county, Hunan; as a youth he read widely and travelled across the country to find inspiration. At the age of 22 in 1930, he entered the Chinese military academy, and once he graduated in 1933, he settled in Nanjing 南京 where he became interested in the publishing business and wrote several essays for local publications. His



first book, the *Shijie weiren chenggong mijue fenxi* 世界偉人成功秘訣分析 (*Detailed Analysis of the World's Great Personal Successes*), was published in 1936 at the Donghua shudian 東海書店 in Nanjing, where he was also working at the time. In 1937 Xiao established the *Xinghua Daily Newspaper* (*Xinghua ribao* 興華日報) in Nanjing, but at the end of the year, because of the fall of Nanjing to the Japanese, he retreated to Changsha 長沙. In 1939, because of the Japanese advances, he had to relocate to Chengdu 成都, where he established the Dajiang publishing house (Dajiang chubanshe 大江出版社). There, he was also appointed to edit and publish several military publications (*Dangjun ribao* 黨軍日報, *Military daily*; *Huangpu likan* 黃埔季刊, *Whampoa quarterly*; *Huangpu congshu* 黃埔叢書, *Whampoa collectanea*). In the period of his relocation to Sichuan, Xiao came into contact with several people that were to deeply shape his personal path and his choices in the years to come. This is clearly shown by the fact that he included their work in his subsequent publications, and he wrote extensively about them in his writings. In the circle of acquaintances in Chengdu, Xiao met Nan Huaijin 南懷瑾 (1918–2012), who had



also relocated there and was teaching at the (relocated) Military Academy in Chengdu.³ Huaijin was interested in Buddhism and soon after he moved to a Buddhist Monastery on Emei mountain 峨嵋山, the Daping si 大坪寺, where he stayed there in seclusion for 3 years; he would eventually also leave for Taiwan, and become a very popular teacher of Buddhism, with a number of books to his credit. Nan Huaijin will be a life-long friend of Xiao Tianshi,

he penned the introduction to Xiao's earliest work, the above mentioned *Shijie weiren chenggong mijue fenxi*. Before Nan entered the monastery, Nan introduced Xiao to his future wife (Ms. Cao Zheshi 曹哲士), a woman from Sichuan; they married there and their son Xiao Dake 蕭大可 was born there too. Nan also introduced Xiao to Chan Master Guanghou 光厚, the abbot of a Buddhist monastery in Chengdu. In 1942, Xiao fell gravely ill and Master Guanghou taught him Buddhist and Daoist practices that helped him recover.⁴ Already interested in philosophy, this experience opened a window into Daoist practice for Xiao; because of his location, he was then able to spend time in active Daoist temples and was introduced to Daoist scriptures. As his interest deepened, he became a serious Daoist disciple, and for several years collected Daoist texts in printed and manuscript form. In 1943 he started frequenting Daoist master Luo Chunpu 羅春浦 of the Luo sect on Minshan 岷山派羅門.⁵ Luo, very active in Chengdu, was famous for his "Sleeping meditation" (*Shuigong jue* 睡功訣). While in Sichuan, Xiao also became acquainted with the teachings of Liu Zhitang 劉止唐 (Liu Yuan 劉沅, 1768-1856), master of the Liumen 劉門 school, based between Chengdu and Laojun shan 老君山, in Xinjin 新津;⁶ despite the fact that the Liumen tradition had strong Confucian overtones, its followers followed Daoist *yangsheng* 養生 practices; several of their texts feature in the *Daozang jinghua*. Xiao also spent time with Daoist Master No-name 無名子道人 at the Erxian 二仙庵 in Chengdu, where he received secret instructions within the Northern branch of Daoism (Beipai 北派).

In 1944, Xiao trained as an officer in Chongqing and returned to Chengdu to become the governor (*xianzhang* 縣長) of Guan county, a post he held for the next 3 years. Guan county included Qingcheng shan 青城山, a famous and active Daoist mountain, and Xiao often frequented its monasteries, receiving the initiation into the Southern school from someone who called himself Li Babai 李八百.⁷ According to Xiao's son, at the time, on Qingcheng shan, a high ranking Daoist told his father that he would "leave Sichuan, travel to an island, and carry many Daoist scriptures with him".⁸ He explained that only a person in his position (as governor) could carry scriptures out of China, and preserve them. At that time, Xiao was confused by this prediction, but according to Xiao's son, the Daoist's words were to become true. Xiao Minghua 蕭明華, Xiao Tianshi's granddaughter, infers that this mysterious high ranking Daoist was none other than Yi Xinying 易心瑩 (1896-1976), a young and vibrant Daoist monk who at the time was in charge of the Tianshidong 天師洞 monastery, which had a large library of Daoist books.⁹ Xiao speaks fondly of Yi Xinying in his writings,¹⁰ and the two must have developed a deep friendship. Through Yi, Xiao had complete access to the rich Daoist library housed at the Tianshidong monastery; it is there that he collected or transcribed some of the texts that he later transferred to Taiwan, possibly following the direct suggestions of Yi himself. Xiao's encounter with Yi Xinying left a deep influence in many respects: Yi was a serious intellectual who knew Daoist scriptures intimately; he was also a formidable practitioner.

In 1948, Xiao returned to Nanjing to be the editor of the *Heping ribao* 和平日報 (Peace Daily), another army daily, but in April 1949, as the Communist entered Nanjing, he fled to

Taiwan. His wife and son travelled from Sichuan to Hunan, and soon after left for Taiwan too. Xiao had entrusted them with several boxes of books that they transported first to Hunan by car and then onto Taiwan. During the transportation, near Hengyang in Hunan, some boxes of books fell into a dyke and were not recovered. Xiao had a good relationship with Air force commander Luo Ji, who was able to make room for the many boxes of books on the plane transporting Xiao's family as well as his own, directly from Hengyang to Taiwan. In the words of Xiao Tianshi's son, if it had not been for Xiao's high ranking and his friendship with Luo Ji, he would not have been able to transport so many books to Taiwan. Xiao's son also adds that, because of the effort in bringing over to Taiwan so many books amidst so much danger, all of Xiao's friends started calling him "Xiao Laodao 蕭老道" (Old Daoist Xiao).

Yi Xinying 易心瑩 (1896–1976)¹¹



I believe that Xiao's encounter with Yi deeply affected the way in which he approached and represented Daoism once in Taiwan. At the time of his encounter with Xiao, Yi was a very accomplished Daoist practitioner as well as an erudite connoisseur of Chinese tradition in general and of the Daoist tradition in particular. He had entered the monastic community in his youth, and he had also spent several years (from 1917 to 1924) as a student of Wu Junke 吳君可, a prominent Confucian scholar from Chengdu; in 1926, he also became a disciple of Yan Kai 顏楷, a famous *Hanlin* 翰林 academician as well as a well regarded member of the Liumen community. As Yan's disciple, Yi spent three years of intense study at the Chongde shuwu 崇德書屋,¹² one of several Confucian style academies founded by the Liumen group. The training in the Confucian classics as well as the focus on ethical rules and precepts that Yi received during these formative years was to inform his

perspective on Daoist scriptures. Yi then returned to Qingcheng shan, where he devoted the following years to intensive study of the scriptures stored in the Tianshidong library, and to writing¹³. He became the abbot of the Tianshidong in 1942, around the time he met Xiao. Yi's erudition was well known not only in Sichuan, but far and wide in China. He maintained a regular correspondence with Daoist scholar, practitioner and publisher Chen Yingning 陳櫻寧 (1880-1909) in Shanghai, and published a list of all different Daoist schools in one of his journals.¹⁴ He also was well known to erudite Daoist scholar Chen Guofu 陳國符,¹⁵ as well as to Sichuanese scholar of Daoism Meng Wentong 蒙文通 (1894-1968).

Xiao speaks fondly of how Yi introduced him to the stories of immortals roaming Qingcheng shan, as well as of Yi's serious *neidan* 內丹 practice. But it was also through Yi that Xiao was introduced to the large collection of Daoist books stored at the Tianshidong; it was here, likely through careful coaching by Yi, that Xiao was exposed to many different Daoist scriptures and lineages, and thus his approach to collecting texts as well as carefully distinguishing among schools developed. Unlike Xiao, Yi did not leave China in 1949. In 1956, he joined the Daoist Association, the next year became its vice-president, and he was also appointed to the presidency of the Sichuanese Daoist Association. During the Cultural Revolution, he fiercely protected the collection of Daoist books at the Tianshidong from possible destruction, by writing on the bundled books Cultural Revolution slogans like “最高指示” (the highest directive - a saying by Mao) and “三大萬歲” (long live the three Greats - Marxism Leninism, Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong).¹⁶ Yi died in 1976.

It is still unclear if and how Xiao transported to Taiwan Daoist scriptures that were once in the Tianshidong library; however, in the introductory remarks for some scriptures published in the *Daozang jinghua*, Xiao mentions Yi or the Tianshidong library as the source; in some cases the books were given as gifts to Xiao, in some other cases they were apparently copied. Two of the scriptures coming from Sichuan are related to the cult of Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, very strong all over China and especially in Sichuan: the *Lúzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 and the *Wuzhen baofa jinyujing* 悟真寶筏金玉經; both were published by a local Sichuanese publishing house, the *Kongqing dongtian cangban* 空青洞天藏版. A third scripture, the *Guben Zhouyi cantongqi jizhu* 古本周易參同契集註, by Qing author Chou Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲, was “given as a gift to him by Yi Xinying”;¹⁷ in the same preface, Xiao comments that, after

he arrived in Taiwan, this book kept in a box for 30 years until the 1983 edition, when he decided to publish it (本書於余作宰四川灌縣時，得之於青城山天師洞，為易心瑩道師所贈，藏於匣中者，已三十餘年矣!).

Chinese Identity

Xiao was among a group of Republican intellectuals who, while still in China, were eager to categorize, but also to modernize Chinese tradition and to find a new Chinese identity that could serve to strengthen it in the face of foreign invasion. His interest and involvement in Daoism and publishing run parallel to those of other prominent Daoist intellectuals, like the previously mentioned Chen Yingning, and of Ding Fubao 丁福保 (*Zi Zhongyou* 仲祐, 1874-1952), whose interests spanned from Daoism to Buddhism and Chinese medicine. Chen, from his base in Shanghai, was actively circulating knowledge about Daoism, through cheap publications and biweekly journals, and thus had a great impact on the reorganisation and diffusion of Daoist texts and notions in the Republican period.¹⁸ Chen, like Yi Xinying, did not leave China in 1949 and went on to become the second president of the Chinese Daoist Association.¹⁹ Ding fubao, in a similar spirit to Chen Yingning and Xiao Tianshi, re-published and re-organised hard to find original Buddhist, Daoist and medical scriptures in his collectaneas: *Dingshi foxue congshu* 丁氏佛學叢書 (*Ding's Buddhist Studies Collectanea*), published between 1918 and 1924, Ding also worked on a Daoist collection of works, the *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 (n.d. Republican Period)²⁰ and on a collection of medical texts, *Dingshi yixue congshu* 丁氏醫學叢書, published in 1917.²¹

Xiao, continuing the work started in China, through the *Ziyou Chubanshe*, was attempting to collect, preserve and distribute as widely as possible traditional Chinese knowledge. The *Daozang jinghua* was integral part of this attempt. His son Xiao Dake described this process in detail in a recent interview:

The first point is, that he rescued Daoist scriptures that would have been lost during the Cultural Revolution; the second point is that he was publishing books from different schools that had been kept secret, that were handwritten, that had been transmitted within families and were not transmitted to outsiders; the third point is that his work of careful editorial distinction is kept for future generations.²²

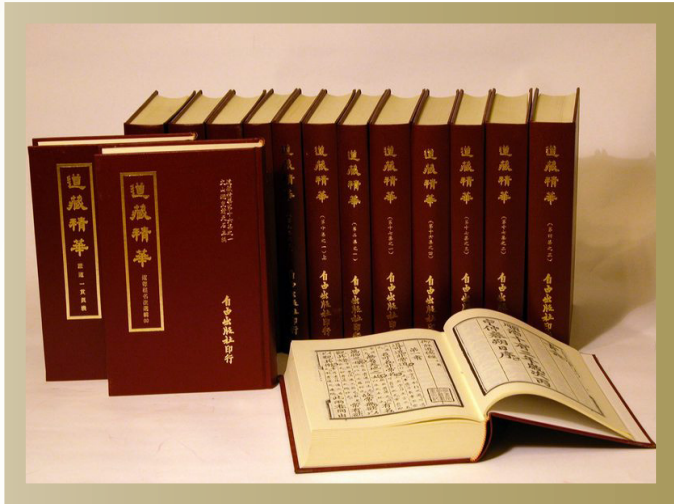
In Taiwan

In 1951, Xiao, building on his publishing expertise and contacts, established the *Ziyou chubanshe*, first in Taizhong and later in Taipei. Xiao was thirty-one years old at the time, and he devoted the rest of his life in Taiwan to preserving and making widely available documents on traditional Chinese culture, especially on Daoism, through this publishing house, still active today in Taipei and run by his son Xiao Dake, his wife and their daughter Xiao Minghua. Throughout his publishing career, Xiao edited and published different scriptures related to Chinese philosophy and religions, including Daoist canonical scriptures, Chinese philosophical treatises, collections of Zen and Tantric Buddhist treatises, and collections of Chinese



medical treatises;²³ his major accomplishment, and what would become an all absorbing feat that would last 28 years and that accompanied him until his death was a series of seventeen “anthologies,” the *Daozang jinghua* (*Essential Splendors of the Daoist Canon*), containing many unpublished manuscripts on late imperial Daoism collected while in Sichuan, and later through a network of friends and acquaintances in Taiwan.

The *Daozang jinghua*



The *Daozang jinghua* consists of seventeen “anthologies” (*ji*集), each containing between 1 and 10 sections, each section corresponding to a book in turn containing from 1 to 35 different texts. The publication project was thus very complex and lasted more than two decades, after which several single volumes were reprinted. The whole collection was again reprinted in 1983.²⁴

Contents

In the foreword to the 1983 reprint, entitled “Xinbian *Daozang jinghua* yaozhi liyan 新編《道藏精華》要旨例言” (Introductory Remarks to the New Edition of the *Daozang jinghua*), Xiao states that he focuses on works on self-cultivation instead of the doctrinal foundations of Daoism, as he intends to make available texts that adepts can use in their practice. This is indeed true: no works on doctrine or ritual are included, the vast majority of the texts revolve around *neidan* and *yangsheng* techniques, and several on *sanjiao* 三教 practices.²⁵ While there is a selection of texts from the *Daozang*, and while there are several commentaries to the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, all in fact are related to discussion of immortality techniques.

Xiao also had a clear bias in favor of later works. When he includes earlier works, he normally includes ones with commentaries from the Ming and Qing. Thus, the most prominent authors in the collection are Lu Xixing 陸西星, Wu Shouyang 伍守陽, Liu Yiming 劉一明, Fu Jinquan 傅金銓, Min Yide 閔一得, and Li Xiyue 李西月, all of whom lived in the late Ming or the Qing periods. Moreover, several works are related to Zhang Sanfeng 張三豐 and Lü Dongbin, both *neidan* patrons of the Ming and Qing periods. The collection also includes works by contemporary Republican authors, and

fourteen works by Xiao himself, dealing with *neidan* and self-cultivation.

Sources

Xiao provides essential details on the sources of the texts included in the *Daozang jinghua*. Given his interest in late imperial texts, it is not unusual that some of his sources are late imperial Daoist collections, large and small, such as the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 edited by Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭, the *Daotong dacheng ji* 道統大成集 edited by Wang Qihuo 汪啟瀟, the *Daozang xubian* 道藏續編 (*Sequel to the Daoist Canon*) edited by Liu Yiming, the *Daozang jinghua lu* (*Record of the Essential Splendors of the Daoist Canon*) edited by Ding Fubao, the *Daoshu shi'er zhong* 道書十二種 (*Twelve Books on the Dao*) by Liu Yiming, the *Daoshu Shiqizhong* 道書十七種 edited by Fu Jinquan, and many other collections.

From the selection of texts in the *Daozang jinghua*, it is also clear that Xiao’s time in Sichuan had an effect on the contents of the collection; for example, the works of Sichuanese *neidan* author and compiler Fu Jinquan are all republished in the *Daozang jinghua*, albeit divided up among the 17 volumes according to their contents, thus not preserving the unity of Fu’s collection. Also, works by other Sichuanese authors like Li Xiyue, Huang Shang 黃裳 and Liu Yuan (all Fu Jinquan’s contemporaries) also feature in the collection. The Sichuan connection is also evident in the provenance of these texts, printed at printing houses based in Sichuan: the *Xishu Qingcheng shan kongqing dongtian cangban* 西蜀青城山空青洞天藏版 (connected to Li Xiyue’s works), the *Shoujing tang* 守經堂 (connected to Liu Yuan’s works), and the *Shancheng tang* 善成堂, which published all of Fu Jinquan’s works.

Meaning of His Work

Xiao’s publishing activities in Taiwan, and especially his work on the *Daozang jinghua* reveals a desire to save, transmit and provide the newly established Republic with a wide selection from the rich philosophical, intellectual, medical and religious culture that they had just left behind. Thus, Xiao is a good example of the transfer of knowledge and expertise that happened with the Communist takeover in China and the exodus of the Republican army to Taiwan in 1949. Xiao was aware of his important role as transmitter and preserver of these texts. This is clear in his many prefaces:

From time immemorial (these texts have been preserved) until the present day, I cannot bear their loss and destruction; I want to preserve and organize their principles, that have been transmitted to us, so that, with great effort, we can collect them in their entirety, and also that we can rigorously examine and rearrange them, collate them, and select them for publication, deleting excesses, selecting only beautiful and brilliant writings, dividing them up into different collections for publication, and calling this “*Daozang jinghua*”.

年來有見及此，又不忍令其散佚湮滅，爰秉整理文化遺產之旨意，特以全力廣為搜集，並為精嚴之審訂、校勘、整理與選印，刪繁去蕪，取精擷華，分集出版，命名曰道藏精華。²⁶

Li Fengmao 李豐楙, a scholar of Chinese and Taiwanese Daoism, commenting on this effort, notes that this process of preserving, cataloging and publishing that Xiao undertook after his escape from mainland China, under very particular political pressures and conditions, resulted in a peculiar product, which brought together materials from many Daoist schools regardless of geographical or canonical affiliations, a feat that had not yet been achieved in previous collections:

如是各門派匯萃於一島、一地的奇特現象，只有在這種特殊的政局鉅變下才會出現，如此並存的形勢而不分南北仙宗，這些本來分散於大河、大江南北西東的，就如多方的菜系盡萃於一個島上、或一個都會內，才會導致晚出的「南北和」現象，而使晚近的氣功團體一時併出。²⁷

Xiao, because of his previous publishing expertise, and because of his ties to the Daoist, publishing and intellectual world while still in China, was able to form a network of relationships with other Daoist practitioners and intellectuals that had moved from China to Taiwan, often bearing their school's secret texts. Xiao carefully prefaced each text, detailing where it came from and how he received it. This information is essential in understanding the transmission of these texts from the mainland to Taiwan, as well as the process of selection, editing and publication that they went through. It is also essential in reconstructing the human network that enabled Xiao to publish the *Daozang jinghua*.

An excerpt from one of Xiao's detailed prefaces gives us a glimpse of his work process and of his network, and his interaction with Ma Bingwen 馬炳文 (1921-2002), who also relocated to Taiwan in 1949, and transmitted the Western school of Daoism (xipai 西派) to Taiwan and was its patriarch of the seventeenth generation:

This book was initially printed in the 10th year of the Guangxu reign(1885), the publication was preserved in and rescued from Liu Jing 流井(in Zigong 自貢, Sichuan)²⁸ but it contained many printing errors. Three years ago I obtained one printing from Mr. Yin Qitang 殷啟唐²⁹, but I later returned it to him with thanks, and now he has already gone to South America. The same year, in the summer, I obtained, from Mr. Ma Bingwen and Mr. Ma Jiekang 馬傑康, the 1875 Yangxingzhai 養性齋 edition by Mr. Wang 汪 of Huayang 華陽, but it was lacking punctuation, so I started to painstakingly punctuate it, but unfortunately I did not finish the project. Later, I again obtained, from Mr. Yu Ancheng 俞安澄³⁰, a copy from the Nanjing Hongwanzhui daoyuan 紅卍字會道院³¹. That copy was photocopied, and then I used the copy from the Yangxingzhai that Mr. Ma had given me, and after editing it carefully, I changed it using the edition that Mr. Yu had from the Daoyuan. Mr. Yu was

very busy with his Buddhist affairs, and did not have time to describe in detail the fate that brought him to collect this book. Because of the greatness of this book, for three years many Daoist friends and old people came to pile up on this scripture, like... Zhang Enpu 張恩溥³², Xu Zhuoxiu 許卓修³³ and other people who over and over told me to hurry(in printing it).

本書原刻於光緒十年，版存自流井，魯魚亥豕，誤刻不少。三年前得一刊本於殷啟唐先生處，後復璧還，今已寄往南美矣。本年夏間先得馬炳文馬傑康二先生所藏乙亥華陽汪氏養性齋刊本，無句讀，經其細心圈點之，惜未竟。後復得南京紅卍字會道院精刻本於俞安澄先生處。本次所影印，原擬用馬藏養性齋刊本，經仔細校勘之後，又改用俞藏道院刊本。俞以正忙於佛事，未及執筆述其藏書因緣。又本書之景行，三年來疊經道友通玄老叟……與張恩溥，許卓修等諸先生再三催促。³⁴

Another example of the wide network Xiao was able to create and draw from is his interaction with Mr. Jiang Xiasheng 江絮生, who also donated several book to Xiao. There is very little information about Jiang; originally from Hefei 合肥 in Anhui 安徽, he was a poet as well as a Daoist adept (his Daoist name was 絮道人), and was part of a group of Nationalist intellectuals, editors and writers who were publishing poems on the *Minzu shitan* 民族詩壇 (*National Poetry Platform*). Jiang apparently did not meet Xiao prior to their escape to Taiwan, though both were active in similar circles. Jiang shared several books with Xiao, including ones by Fu Jinqian, like the *Zhengdao yiguan zhenji yijianlu* 證道一貫真機易簡錄 (*Daoist Books that Record the Single Thread and the Ease and Simplicity of the True Mechanism*, 1814) and the *Neijindan* 內金丹. In the introduction to the republication of this book, Xiao quotes Jiang describing the reasons for his passing the precious scriptures he had rescued onto Xiao:

I found this book when I was in Beiping (Beijing); I came across it in Liulichang. Everybody who practices Daoism should read this book.... When I left China in 1950 fleeing for my life, I gave up everything; I only carried with me many different Daoist scriptures, and waited for a sign of good fortune. In 1953, I left Hong Kong and came to Taiwan, and met Xiao Tianshi; Mr.(Xiao), with his innate intelligence, is able to illuminate the Dao, and equally with his compassion is able to save people. He has the generous wish to benefit life with magnificent methods. Because I trust him I gave him (my book) to publish. This is only one of many different kinds (of Daoist scriptures)''

於昔年游北平時，無意於琉璃廠冷攤中得之者，此書乃學道者所必讀之書……三十九年余亡命海外，盡棄所有，獨攜出道書多種，以待有緣。四十二年由港來臺，幸晤通道蕭天石先生，先生宿慧以明道，等慈以濟眾，慨然有宏法利生之願，因悉畀以付梓，此編特多種中之一種也。³⁵

There are other examples of how scriptures were transmitted from mainland China to Taiwan and to Xiao, but not enough space to list them all here. In all these cases, Xiao was entrusted with valuable texts that had travelled all around China before they arrived in Taiwan. The relationships between Xiao and other Daoist believers who contributed texts to the *Daozang jinghua* are yet to be explored. However, a cursory look at the history of some of the texts in the *Daozang jinghua* suggests that the collection was not only based on the many books that Xiao had collected or was given while in Sichuan, but that Xiao actively continued to gather and collect Daoist scriptures from recently relocated Daoist practitioners. Thus, in this recovery and transmission effort, Xiao acknowledged he was not alone.

This process of transmission was directed by Xiao himself, who had a vision of providing a solid foundation to the revival of Daoism in Taiwan. His selection process valued personal practice above rituals; and he was clearly catering to serious Daoist practitioners, providing them with the possibility to find a variety of techniques in one anthology. This, as Li Fengmao said, was indeed a “new” kind of Daoism, the construction of a tradition that had not existed before.

Xiao devoted the rest of his life in Taiwan to the publishing of Daoist books, to which he also added philosophical treatises and Buddhist scriptures. Xiao not only worked on the *Daozang jinghua*, but also on the *Comprehensive Collection of Famous Chinese Classics (Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng 中國子學名著集成)*, published by the Taipei Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jichengbianyin jijinhui 臺北中國子學名著集成編印基金會, in 100 volumes, in 1978. For this endeavor, Xiao, together with a group of collaborators, organized a not-for-profit organization to raise money for the publication of a collection of Chinese classics. They produced this publication and sent it for free to 500 libraries across the world. It includes works on Confucianism, Daoism, *yin yang* 陰陽 philosophy, Legalism, the art of war and many more. The book is dedicated to the celebration of president Chiang Kaishek 蔣介石.

Even though this article is focused on Xiao Tianshi, he was not the only person to contribute to the revival of Daoism in Taiwan and to the transmission of Daoist scriptures and practices from Mainland to Taiwan. A figure whose life story is somewhat parallel to Xiao Tianshi's is publisher Song Jinren 宋今人 (1910-1984). Just like Xiao, Song relocated to Sichuan during the Japanese invasion; also just like Xiao, Song was very interested in Daoist practices and he too, received the transmission of a self-cultivation method (the method of *Yijinjing* 易筋經³⁶), while on Leshan 樂山, a mountain famous for both Buddhist and Daoist communities. And finally, just like Xiao, Song relocated to Taiwan in 1949, and opened a publishing house, the Zhenshanmei chubanshe 真善美出版社 in Taipei, committed to publishing works on Daoism and self-cultivation. While in China, Song had been influenced by Chen Yingning's approach to Daoist self-cultivation; after relocating to Taiwan, Song re-published several books that had initially been published by Chen through the Yihua tang 翼化堂 publishing house in Shanghai. The Zhenshanmei also published the magazine *Xianxue* 仙學 (1957-1990s?), in the style of the *Yangshan banyuekan* 揚善半月刊 and *Xiandao*

xuebao 仙道學報, two biweekly magazines published by Chen Yingning in Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s. The two editors of this magazine were Xu Boying 徐伯英 and Yuan Jiegui 袁介圭 (1903-1979), another important figure in the self-refinement market in Taiwan in this period, who also helped with the revival of Chen Yingning's work in Taiwan.³⁷ In 1978, Xu and Yuan published a selection of important letters and articles in the *Yangshan banyuekan*, one of the two publications on inner alchemy spearheaded by Chen Yingning in Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s.

Conclusion

Xiao was part of a large community of Daoist intellectuals, believers and practitioners active in China in the Republican period and interested in restructuring Daoist knowledge, making it more organized and accessible to a larger audience (this trend encompassed not only Daoism, but Buddhism, medicine and other fields). Some of these intellectuals relocated to Taiwan after hastily leaving mainland; many of them had spent some time in Sichuan during the Sino-Japanese conflict. They saw their mission as rescuing and transmitting the Daoist tradition, continuing the work they had started in mainland, but with a renewed sense of urgency. Xiao's first priority was to reorganize Daoist knowledge to give readers better access to it. Through this reorganization and his life-long commitment to publication, he redefined Daoism in Taiwan. He re-created a Daoist tradition by bringing together texts from various traditions and places and giving them all equal importance, in this process truly created a new Daoism for the new homeland.

Xiao's rescuing was enacted in a context of great anxiety about the future of China and of Chinese tradition; his project, exemplified clearly in the name of the press he founded *ziyou* 自由, was one of freeing Chinese tradition from the shackles of Communism, and rescuing it from sure destruction. The people who donated books and money for this enterprise surely also felt part of this project.

註釋：

- Elena Valussi, "Printing and Religion in the Life of Fu Jinquan: Alchemical Writer, Religious Leader, and Publisher in Sichuan," *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 4 (2012):1-52; Elena Valussi, "Men and Women in He Longxiang's *Nüdan hebian* (Collection of Female Alchemy)," *Nannü: Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China* 10.2(2008):242-278.
- Li Huan 李寰 (1896-1989), a Sichuan native and Guomindang officer, who moved to Taiwan in 1949, wrote an essay detailing the main points of Xiao's life in "Jianji wenshan dunsou 簡記文山遯叟" (A simple record of old man Dun from Wen mountain), in Xiao Tianshi, , See Xiao Tianshi, *Daohai Xuanwei* 道海玄微 (Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 1974), 621-630. Most of the accounts of his life that have been published in print or on the web have followed quite closely this account.
- Nan Huaijin will go on to become an authority on Chinese spirituality, writing several dozen books on Buddhism.
- Xiao explains his encounter with Guanghou, as well as Guanghou's personality in "Sichuan huoluohan Guanghou laochanshi yishi 四川活羅漢光厚禪師佚事" (A Sichuanese live Arhat: scattered notes on Chan Master Guanghou), in *Daohai xuanwei*, 584-588.
- Also called Xiantian daopai 先天道派. Xiao mentions Luo Chunpu and his method of meditation in "Xiantian daopai Luomen Shuigongjue 先天道派睡功" in his *Daohai xuanwei*, 91-94.
- Xiao discusses Liu Yuan's teachings in "Liu Zhitang yu Sichuan de Liumen dao 劉止唐與四川的劉門道" (Liu Zhitang and the Liumen school in Sichuan), in *Daohai xuanwei*, 589-593. On the Liumen, see also Volker Olles, *Ritual Words: Daoist Liturgy and the Confucian Liumen Tradition in Sichuan Province* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag, 2013). Xiao includes two texts by Liu in his *Daozang jinghua*, the *Daodejing jie yi juan* 道德經解一卷 (*Daozang jinghua*, 13.2.6), received through spirit writing from Lü Dongbin, and the *Huaixuan yueyan* 槐軒約言 (*Daozang jinghua*, 11.3.1); in the preface Xiao explains how Liu regularly received texts from Laozi and Lü Dongbin, was a proponent of "sanjiao 三教," and instructed his followers in the Quanzhen practice of *qingjing xiulian* 清靜修煉.
- A famous Sichuan Daoist whose hagiographies are well known; he is discussed by Ge Hong (283-343) in his *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳. See Robert Ford Campamy, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 215-218.
- Interview with Xiao Dake, found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JdKV9gLns-8>. Also reported in Xiao Minghua, "Dao de chuancheng: chutan *Daozang jinghua* de bianxiu lishi he li'nian 道的傳承——初探《道藏精華》的編修歷史和理念," in *Dandao zai Taiwan de liuchuan yu fazhan xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 丹道在台灣的流傳與發展學術研討會論文集 (Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 2010),7.
- Xiao Minghua acknowledges this in a footnote of her paper. *Ibid.*, 12.
- Xiao recalls his encounter with Yi Xinying in the context of his discussion of Li Babai in "Qingcheng daoren Li Babai changsheng miaodao jianshu 青城道人李八百長生妙道簡述" (Simple explanation of the long-life and wondrous Dao: techniques of Li Babai, a Daoist of Qingcheng mountain), in *Daohai xuanwei*, 594-599.
- There are several biographies of Yi Xinying, for example, Qiu Jinzhi 邱進之, Liu Weihang 劉偉航, *Zhongguo lidai mingdao* 中國歷代名道 (Changchun: Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), 600-609 and recently, one full study of Yi and his *Daojiao sanzijing*, see Zhao Min 趙敏, "Yi Xinying yu Daojiao sanzijing 易心瑩與《道教三字經》" (Ph.D. dissertation, Sichuan University, 2010).
- Founded by the 4th Liumen patriarch Liu Xianjun 劉鹹俊 (1871-1935).
- In this period of time he wrote several books: *Laozi tongyi* 老子通義, *Laozi daoyixue xitongbiao* 老子道義學系統表, *Daojiao xitongbiao* (*Laozi yinghua tushuo*) 道教系統表(老子應化圖說), *Qingcheng fengjing daolan* 青城風景導覽, *Qingcheng zhinan* 青城指南, *Daoxue keben* 道學課本, *Daojiao sanzijing* 道教三字經, and many more. He also edited *Nüzi Daojiao congshu* 女子道教叢書.
- "Qixuan zhaolou shu: lun Daojiao zongpai 奇玄照樓書——論道教宗派" and "Daojiao fenzong biao 道教分宗表," collected in Hu Haiya 胡海牙, *Daojia yangsheng miku* 道家養生秘庫 (Dalian: Dalian chubanshe, 1991), 557-559, 560-563.
- Chen refers to him in "Lidai daoshumu ji *Daozang zhi zuanxiu yu louban* 歷代道書目及道藏之纂修與鑄版," in *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流攷 (Taipei: Xiangsheng chubanshe, 1975), 190, 202: 「國符嘗訪道觀多處，其道士率皆不學，曾見《道藏》者鮮。……僅四川尚有道士，熟談《道藏》。通常道士所述，多不可信；」四川道士則頗能讀道書；且有能著書者」.
- This is described in many of Yi's biographies. For example, see *Zhongguo lidai mingdao*, 607.
- Daozang jinghua* 13.1.2.
- For relationship between these intellectuals, see Fu Fengying 傅風英, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo Daojiao xueshu de xinkaizhan* 二十世紀中國道教學術的新開展 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2007).
- Xun Liu has published a book on Chen Yingning and his efforts in modernizing Daoism in the Republican Period. See Xun Liu, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Harvard: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).
- Republished in 1990 by Zhejiang guji chubanshe.
- Yixue shuju, 1917.
- This interview can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JdKV9gLns-8>.
- Among many publications of Daoist, Buddhist and medical texts, Xiao also embarked in the editing of a large compendium of Chinese philosophical and religious works, *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* 中國子學名著集成 in 100 volumes, containing 108 Confucian texts, 58 Daoist works, 9 works on *Yinyang* philosophy and others.
- The scattered nature of this publishing effort has lead to various authors attributing different dates to the series; William Chen (1984) indexes a 1963 edition containing 108 titles in 115 volumes; Zhu Yueli 朱越利 (1992) mentions a 1956 and a 1973 edition. The *Daozang jinghua mulu* 道藏精華目錄, the latest and most accurate cataloging effort by Yokote Yutaka 橫手裕, based on the 1983 edition, puts the total number of text at 509. Yokote Yutaka, *Daozang jinghua mulu*, 2013.
- Daozang jinghua*, 1.1-12.
- Xiao Tianshi, *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao* 道家養生學概要 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2007), 18.
- Lee Fongmao, "Dandao yu kexue, zhengzhi: zhanhou Taiwan dandao de xiandaihua 丹道與科學、政治：戰後台灣丹道的現代化," *Zhongzheng daxue zhongwen xueshu niankan* 中正大學中文學術年刊1(2008):
- Liu Jing located in the same county (Zigong) that Fushun is located in; Fushun is where Huang Shang settled after moving to Sichuan from Jiangxi. Therefore it is easy to understand why this printed copy that Xiao received should be from Liu Jing; it was probably printed there around the time that it was first compiled. It is interesting to read that this first copy was, according to Xiao, full of errors.
- Yin Qitang was part of a group of Buddhist believers who emigrated to Brazil in 1960.
- Mr. Yu had also provided Xiao with another manuscript in his possession, *Wuxing qiongyuan* 悟性窮源 by Qing dynasty author Hanguzi 涵穀子 (*Daozang jinghua*, 5.6.3). Xiao describes Mr. Yu as interested in both Daoism and Buddhism; in fact the *Wuxing qiongyuan* is described by Xiao as combining both Daoist and Buddhist ideas.
- Red Swastika Society – a philanthropic society originally founded in China in the 1920s, based on Buddhist and Daoist philosophies, and that flourished in Taiwan.
- The Celestial Master 天師 at the time.
- Xu Zhuoxiu 許卓修(?~1969), *ming Guangcai* 光彩, from Shuangxiliu 雙溪流. He served in different capacities under the Guomindang. See Xu Zhaorui 許兆瑞, "Xu Zhuoxiu xiansheng dui jindaishi yanjiu zhi gongxian 許卓修先生對近代史研究之貢獻," *Jindai Zhongguo* 近代中國 125(1998): 141-150.
- Preface by Xiao Tianshi to the *Daodejing jingyi* 道德經精義 by Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (Huang Shang), in *Daozang jinghua*, 4.1.1. Xiao received this text from Ma Bingwen and his brother Ma Jiekang. Ma Bingwen also gave Xiao his own hand written copy of the *Taiji chongxuan zhidao xinchuan* 太極沖玄至道心傳, originally found in the *Daozang jiyao*, which Xiao included in volume 9.5 of the *Daozang jinghua*.
- Daozang jinghua*, 4.7.1.
- On this method, see Xiao Tianshi, *Zhenben Yijinjing miben Xisuijing hekan, zengfu Shugu tang Qian Zunwang cang jingxieben* 真本《易筋經》秘本《洗髓經》合刊增附述古堂錢遵王藏精寫本 (Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 1976). On Song Jinren, see Li Shiwei 李世偉, "Jieyan qian Taiwan xiandao tuanti de jieshe yu huodong, 1950-1987 解嚴前臺灣仙道團體的結社與活動(1950-1987)," in *Xianggang ji Hua'nán Daojiao yanjiu* 香港及華南道教研究, ed. Lai Chitim 黎志添 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 492.
- On the publication of these journals, see Lee Li-liang 李麗涼, "Taiwan jieyan qian de liangzhong xiandao kanwu: *Xianxue* and *Xiandao* 台灣解嚴前的兩種仙道刊物——《仙學》與《仙道》," in *Dandao zai Taiwan de liuchuan yu fazhan xueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, 68-82. Xu and Yuan also co-edited a collection of Chen's writings and letters in *Zhonghua xianxue* 中華仙學 (*The Doctrine of Immortality in China*, Taipei: Zhenshanmei chubanshe, 1978).

中大論道——道教研究系列論壇紀要（三講）

一、尹翠琪：道經扉畫的圖像傳統與宗教功能——以兩種萬曆御製《玉樞經》為例

2013年9月25日，新學期的「中大論道——道教研究系列論壇」再次拉開帷幕，第十六講由香港中文大學藝術系尹翠琪教授主講。尹教授以「道經扉畫的圖像傳統與宗教功能——以兩種萬曆御製《玉樞經》為例」為題，從圖像傳統和宗教功能兩個維度，為我們介紹了兩個版本的《玉樞經》扉畫的不同設計及其產生背景。她的講解闡明了道經扉畫並不一定僅僅作為經文插圖而存在，它們還具備「弭息百邪」的宗教功能。

專研道教藝術的尹翠琪教授認為，在中國古代道教經籍前繪製的扉畫冠於經文之首，所佔篇幅又遠遠大於一般插圖，它們在道經中的重要性不容置疑，如《太霄琅書》卷五「書經訣第十一」中記載：「經中有圖，圖或別卷，各有侍官，典圖真吏，玉童玉女，與經略同。不可輕易避難，起經棄圖。」然而，對於扉畫的內容、生產方式以至宗教功能等問題，至今仍然缺乏深入的討論，因此這次講座以明神宗御製的兩幅《玉樞經》扉畫為例，探討它們的圖像傳統與宗教功能。



尹翠琪教授

明神宗曾於萬曆四十三年（1615）御製兩批共十二本用磁青紙泥金抄寫的《玉樞經》（北京國家圖書館藏，分為七月甲本與八月乙本），及後又於萬曆四十七年（1619）御製雕版印刷《玉樞經》三百六十本（日本京都大學松本文庫藏）。雖同出於神宗旨意而製作，但這兩種《玉樞經》扉畫的構圖與主神形象皆不相同。後者的構圖與其他傳世的幾種《玉樞經》扉畫接近，基本沿襲唐宋以來佛經扉畫「說法圖」的形式，如九世紀的《金剛般若波羅蜜經》扉畫（大英圖書館藏）。

通過比對《道法會元》、《上清靈寶濟度大成金書》等道教科儀書中對元帥神的描繪與《玉樞經》扉畫中的神祇形象，尹教授指出其中除了有一般典型的神祇組合之外，更多描繪了元帥神，而其選取原則可能是以當時元帥神在雷法儀式中的權能大小為依據。換言之，效驗（efficacy）是扉畫選取神祇的重要原則。這些元帥神大多有比較固定的形象，尹教授由十四世紀的「天尊圖」（日本奈良法隆寺藏）出發，向我們展示了鄧天君、辛天君、張天君、趙元帥、溫元帥、關元帥的圖像特徵。這些元帥神是雷法傳統中的科儀神將、執行者（ritual agency），在《玉樞經》經文中並沒有出現，因此尹教授認為其扉畫並非是經文的插圖。

在探討了1619年《玉樞經》扉畫的圖像傳統後，尹教授重置了1615年御製的兩批泥金抄本《玉樞經》產生的歷史脈絡與當時的政局，即明宮中「梃擊案」的發生。而此批《玉樞經》扉畫中九天應元雷聲普化天尊騎麒麟持法的形象，正是為了召喚該神「弭息百邪」的大能，平息當時宮中發生的禍患。這種持法的動態形象不同於1619年《玉樞經》扉畫中講道的靜態形象，正是由於兩者的宗教目的不同。前者不僅進一步支持「效驗」是扉畫選取神祇及其形象的重要原則，更令人思考扉畫圖像是否具備祈禳等宗教功能。

二、陸晶晶：道教內丹與醫學——以修真圖為例

2013年10月24日，「中大論道」道教研究系列論壇第十七講，在香港中文大學梁銓瑠樓303室舉行。這次演講由本校文化及宗教研究系博士候選人陸晶晶小姐主講，她的題目是「道教內丹與醫學——以修真圖為例」。

據陸晶晶介紹，《修真圖》是重要的道教修煉真圖，現時流通的主要有三種不同版本，分別藏在廣州三元宮、北京白雲觀和湖北武當山。而本次講座，陸晶晶即以這三種版本中最早的三元宮藏本為主要媒介，來解釋道教內丹與中國傳統醫學理論的關係。

《修真圖》包括了一個佈滿圖示和文字的人體圖以及周圍的文字說明。陸晶晶將《修真圖》上的文字分為八個部份，並詳細分析當中有關臟腑的文字描述與兩部主要醫學經典——《黃帝內經》及《備急千金要方》的差異，以及它們在描述上的相同地方。除此之外，陸晶晶按照《修真圖》上的人體圖案，將之與《修真圖》中的修煉文字進行比對，並通過與醫學專用的穴位透視圖將內丹修煉中的一些重要的身體位置，如上丹田、中丹田、下丹田、尾閭、夾脊、玉枕、丹爐等進行解說及展示。是次討論，陸晶晶主要對內丹修煉中的中丹田及下丹田在修煉過程中將會起到的作用進行分析，並將它們的功能及修煉意義與金元四大家之一的李東垣的溫補脾胃思想及理論，以及明代醫家張景岳的溫補命門思想及理論進行比較，認為二者在概念和理論上具有相當的同一性，二者的區別在於醫學是使用草本礦石為媒介來修復脾胃及命門的功能，而內丹修煉則是以意念為媒介來修復脾胃及命門的功能。

通過比較與分析，陸晶晶最後得出一個重要結論：她認為《修真圖》的內容有百分之八十的成份來自醫學的文獻及理論，其修煉的理論性是建立於中國傳統醫藥學的治療理論和身體觀之上的。從《修真圖》這個案例可以看出傳統中國醫學對道教的內丹修煉具有相當重要的意義。在內丹修煉的理論架構中，傳統醫學的辨證論治、臟腑學說等擔當著重要的角色，它們是道教內丹建立神仙的可修性理論中不可忽略的元素之一。

三、蔡志祥：醮—多元視野的鄉村節日和儀式

2013年11月13日，在香港中文大學梁銶琚樓303室展開了道教研究系列論壇之第十八講。這次演講，我們有幸邀請到了對香港的太平清醮已進行了三十多年的關注與研究的本校歷史系蔡志祥教授。他講授的題目是「醮：多元視野的鄉村節日和儀式」。

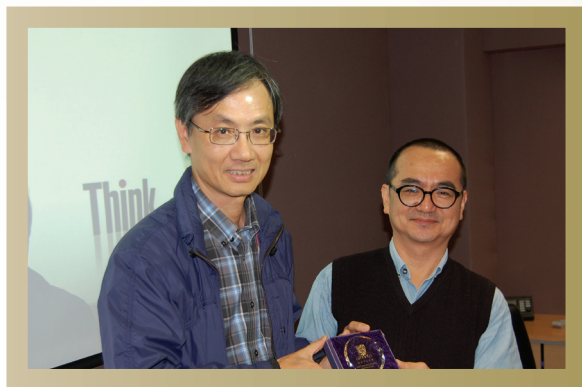
太平清醮，又名清醮、打醮、打清醮、祈安清醮，屬醮的一種，是道教一個傳統儀式，也是一種民間習俗。在香港，太平清醮是村民酬謝神恩、祈求國泰民安的盛大儀式，不少鄉村至今仍保留定期打醮的習俗，大部份清醮都稱為太平清醮，少數則稱為安龍清醮。

講座開始，蔡教授首先介紹了香港新界太平清醮的整體狀況。據蔡教授的調查，現在香港的非物質文化遺產，過半數都與太平清醮有關。而香港的太平清醮，除長洲以外，一般都有一個週期，或三年，或五年，或十年，最長的則是西貢井欄村的安龍清醮，三十年一屆。而且主持醮儀者在流派上也有一個變化，2000年以前，鄉村的醮儀主要請正一喃嘸道士主持，只有極少數才請圓玄學院主持進行。而2000年後，這一情況才發生改變。隨後蔡教授談到太平清醮的過程和考察太平清醮的不同視野。

第一在太平清醮的過程方面，蔡教授介紹說，在正式進行太平清醮前要進行一系列的準備，包括上表、成立建醮委員會、卜杯選緣首以及擇日等程序。有的村落（如林村）還要進行封山，也就是在打醮前的一段時間，要齋戒和禁殺生。而到了清醮正式進行的日子，正一儀式一般要進行取水淨壇、揚幡、請神、分燈、打武禁壇、禮斗、上榜、迎聖、祭小幽、走赦書、放生、祭大幽、燒金榜、酬神、行符、扒船、化衣、化幡貢竹、化大士等一系列程序。在生動地介紹這些程序和儀式的過程中，蔡教授舉例說明了鄉村之間的差異，以及由正一喃嘸道士和全真派的圓玄學院經生主持進行太平清醮時在程序上的區別。

第二是如何從不同視野看香港的太平清醮。比如正一喃嘸道士和全真派的圓玄學院看待清醮，就有一種不同的立場和態度在內；而分別從道士、經生和村民的角度來看清醮，又有很大差別，從而產生了兩者之間的衝突與互動。除了介紹不同的研究視野和研究方法外，蔡教授還探討了女性在太平清醮過程中所處的地位和實際上發揮的作用。

在演講過程中，蔡教授不斷舉出各種他親身觀察和採集到的實際例子來作說明，使得他的講解生動而富有生氣。在講座的後半段，主持人黎志添教授對演講作了概括性的總結，在座聽眾也提出了一些疑問來請蔡教授講解。



中心主任黎志添教授向蔡志祥教授贈送紀念品

中大論道——道教研究系列論壇預告（1st Term, 2014）

由二〇一二年開始舉辦的「中大論道——道教研究系列論壇」，至今已成功舉辦了十八講。論壇聚集了道教研究領域的國際知名學者、研究生以及對道教歷史和文化有興趣的各界人士，從道教經典、考古藝術、田野考察、造像繪畫等不同的角度，分享道教研究的心得與資訊。

二〇一四年二月，新一輪的道教研究論壇即將開始，本中心歡迎對道教歷史和現狀感興趣的各界人士積極參與。

一、講題：亦戲亦儀：從敦煌孟姜女變文到「嘆骷髏」道情

講者：吳真教授（中國人民大學中文系）

時間：2014年2月13日（週四），16:30-18:00

地點：香港中文大學梁銶琚樓303室

二、講題：從《金蓮正宗仙源圖》看明清全真道宗派「字譜」

講者：郭武教授（四川大學宗教學研究所）

時間：2014年3月13日（週四），16:30-18:00

地點：香港中文大學梁銶琚樓303室

三、講題：六十三代天師張恩溥在臺活動與影響

講者：李麗涼教授（臺灣真理大學宗教文化與組織管理學）

時間：2014年4月10日（週四），16:30-18:00

地點：香港中文大學梁銶琚樓303室

（正式講題及時間、地點，請以此海報為準。如有垂詢，請致電：3943 4464）

香港文化博物館 「闔家平安——館藏中國傳統民間木版畫」展覽報告

2013年8月21日，由香港康樂及文化事務署主辦，香港文化博物館籌劃，香港中文大學文化及宗教研究系協辦的「闔家平安——館藏中國傳統民間木版畫」展覽在沙田香港文化博物館隆重揭幕。從傳統木版畫中透射出中國人對於家庭的重視與祝福，這股充溢於博物館中的濃厚祝福將持續至2014年1月13日。

中國傳統木板印刷藝術源遠流長，題材多元，從傳統的門神、灶君、佛道神仙肖像、紙馬，到反映民間風俗、生活的作品，既具備裝飾功能，也承載了人們美好的祝愿。本次展覽精選了百餘幅來自廣東、天津、河北、江蘇、浙江等地的館藏清代及近代版畫，以「家庭」為題材，「闔家平安」為主題，展現了中國各地對於「安家鎮宅」、「和諧豐足」、「福祿齊來」、「喜慶迎祥」的共同關注。這些版畫與日常生活緊密貼合，如用於守衛門戶的文武門神，用於祈福驅邪的好事紙、醜事紙、五鬼紙，描繪衣錦還鄉、升官發財的天津楊柳青年畫，和寓意官運亨通、世代流傳的蘇州「冠帶傳流」。

明清時期的鎮宅版畫題材逐漸豐富，涵蓋了儒釋道以及民間信仰中的諸神，展覽的最後一部分：「畫中神祇」中的展品，正體現了神的社會化和社會生活的神化是中國本土宗教生活的顯著特點。宗教不僅為版畫提供了豐富的素材，同時也通過版畫這種藝術形式，如「春雨潤物細無聲」一般，滲透進人們的生活。在這些鎮宅版畫中，有不少與道教神祇相關，如河北武強版畫「太上老君」、「左青龍」、「右白虎」，廣東佛山的「張天師」、「北斗」、「紫微正照」、「百解雷神鎮宅」、「張天師斬妖除邪印版」等等。隨著宋代以降道教逐漸深入民間的步伐，這些在道教神譜中佔有一席之地之神祇們，也漸漸融入了民俗生活中，不再高高在上，而能夠保護、賜福百姓，為他們排憂解難。以下將精選其中四幅與道教密切相關的版畫，作一簡介，為讀者展示人們日常生活中的道教。

張天師斬妖除邪印版



這塊「張天師斬妖除邪印版」來自廣東佛山。印版中的張天師，即是東漢時期「天師道」的創業者張道陵，中唐以後，其在江西龍虎山定居的一系後裔名聲鵲起，使得該地被奉為「正一道」的祖庭，至今仍香火不斷。

印版上的張天師身著道袍，手舉七星木劍，上方刻有「敕令」、「斬妖」、「除邪」等字樣。下方所刻的語句顯示出此為鎮宅之用的「天師符」，是民間端午節日中常見的一種木刻版畫製品。

北斗



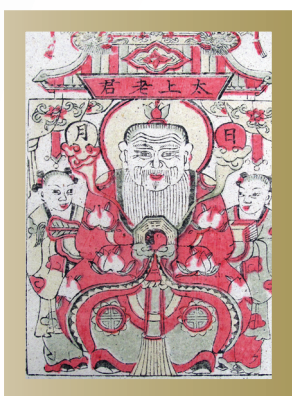
這幅「北斗」版畫來自廣東佛山。北斗，又稱玄武，是北方七宿的總稱。道教繼承了古代中國傳統的星斗崇拜，認為「南斗注生，北斗落死」。宋代以後，作為北方保護神的玄武，地位開始提升，與天蓬、天猷、黑煞一起組成了北方「四聖」。元代，玄武被加封「帝」號。明代以後，他更成為國家祭祀系統中重要的道教神祇。

此圖中的北斗，跏趺端坐，左手所捏的「玄天訣」是他的一個標記。身後侍者所持的北斗七星黑旛旗，象徵著北斗在五行中屬水，尚黑色。

百解雷神鎮宅

中國對雷神的崇拜，由來已久，他是季節性豐收的徵兆，也可以表示天怒，對有違道德之人給予懲罰。隨著雷法的流行，南宋以後，道教天庭機構中增設了雷部，以「雷祖」為首，統領各階神將。雷部的職能，除了催雲助雨之外，還能司掌人物生殺。雷法也成為了道教儀式的一部分，作為道士「代天行道」、斬邪伐妖的工具而被廣泛使用。

此版畫所繪為雷部麾下的殷大元帥，正中所書之「鎮宅」和「保安」字樣，明確交代了版畫的安鎮作用。「當年」、「行月」、「該日」、「英時」等字樣，或許象徵著雷神對家宅四時的保護。



太上老君

來自河北武強地區的版畫，色彩鮮豔，構圖飽滿。版畫中的老君手捧八卦，身側左右各有日月升騰，身後兩位童子侍立，一人執扇，一人捧籍。

「太上老君」，即老子，又被稱為「道德天尊」，在道教最高神祇「三清」中位列第三。在道教宮觀「三清殿」中，其塑像居右方，通常手執扇子。早在漢代，老子已受到帝王的崇祀，出現了老子降世為聖者之師的「化身說」，其後成為東漢、六朝天師道所崇奉的最高神祇。

考察報告：廣東道教洞天福地——雲泉仙觀與慶雲洞

香港中文大學文化及宗教研究系博士研究生 潘沁渝

香港中文大學文化及宗教研究系於2013年10月5日舉辦了「廣東道觀考察團」，系內師生二十餘人到訪了廣東三個宮觀，即佛山市西樵山雲泉仙館、南海區西岸慶雲洞及花都區圓玄道觀。其中雲泉仙館與慶雲洞歷史悠久，並與香港壇堂有深厚淵源。因此本文將重點報告這兩所宮觀的歷史發展與現狀，通過考察口述歷史和實地探訪，了解目前廣州道觀的宮觀管理模式與道長的宗教生活情況。

這兩所道觀早年均有扶鸞活動，並以呂祖信仰為基礎，結社行善，聚眾修習道教教義。1949年中華人民共和國成立後，大部份宗教結社都陸續停止活動，一些廣東道觀也不得不關閉，並將根據地轉移至澳門和香港發展。因此，許多香港壇堂推尋本源都可上溯至內地的祖壇，如香港的雲泉仙館及通善壇均是廣東祖壇的發展分支。

一、西樵山雲泉仙館

西樵山雲泉仙館始建於清道光二十七年（1847），其創建經歷了漫長的發展過程。它的原址本為蘊玉山房和玫玉樓書院。當地鄉紳李宗簡等一群慕道者將其改建為仙館，興建贊化宮，專奉呂純陽仙師，並陸續修建歷代道友之靈位祖堂，及接待客人的墨莊、食堂等設施，於咸豐八年（1858）竣工。李宗簡成為第一任主持。之後清季相繼建成帝親殿、倚虹樓、養真閣等建築群。在民國年間鼎盛時期，館內寄宿道友達一百五十人。抗日戰爭期間，雲泉同門四散，在港道侶於1944年設立香港分館。1952年西樵雲泉仙館道眾被遣散，直至1992年才得到重修並恢復宗教活動。目前有十一位道長管理館內事務。

雲泉仙館早期是個以文人雅士為主導的教團，由文墨雅聚，相與詩酒唱酬、隱居修養而逐漸組織成道教社團。之後仙館制定章則，日見規模。¹ 仙館以扶乩為核心宗教活動，早年均在帝親殿內舉行，入道之道友須得祖師乩示許可並派詩授予道號。日常乩訓被記錄並匯編成書，《善與人同錄》正是館內諸神仙臨壇降乩編成的鸞書。館內道友亦編有多種經懺、醫書、善書，如《呂祖無極寶懺》、《醫道還元》、《三教幽科》及《呂祖靈籤圖解》等。

一直以來，道士的知識一般被限定在師徒之間傳承，絕不會傳授給普通人。故此，社會上道教相關知識分配的質與量是極不均衡的。不論這些扶鸞經書的內容和思想淵源如何，扶鸞活動的確促進了道教知識向有緣的「誠心信士」開放。道徒與神靈之間因襲了師徒的模式，道徒直接拜仙聖為師，與傳統的「以人為師」有別。雲泉仙館與出家道士修行的道觀是不同的，主理仙館之人的主要身分是鄉紳、富商、文人、專業人士等在俗人士，他們無需束髮出家，而以修道省善、普渡積德為共同目標。

二、茶山慶雲洞

慶雲洞位於廣東省佛山市南海區西樵鎮西岸茶山，始建於清光緒二十四年（1898）。光緒二十年（1894），南海一帶瘟疫橫行，蔓延迅速。當時鶴山、南海、新會一批道徒謝燦善等人於鶴山縣沙坪文武帝廟設壇做法事，為患者祈福消災，求乩示處方。其後大批患者康復，文武帝廟自此善信日增。謝燦善與諸道友因而組織「慶雲壇」，每晚均有扶乩集會，宣揚道教教義，並整理所降乩示為《誠真至寶救劫全編》。在此不久之後，一批富商和僑居廣東的人士紛紛入道。為普渡眾生，弘揚道法，眾道友決定覓勝地建觀。後獲呂祖特旨，於1898年在茶山覓得「風水寶地」，歲末建成「慶雲洞」。慶雲洞在抗日戰爭時期曾遭受巨大破壞，抗戰勝利後於1947年得以重修。這段時期部份道徒因時局問題移居香港，並在港臨時設壇，1939年得呂祖乩賜，取名作「通善壇」。²茶山慶雲洞於1952年被公安部門取締閉觀，1993年經政府批准重建，1997年正式對外開放。目前有七位道長管理洞內事務。

慶雲洞供奉觀音、呂祖、文昌、關帝等神靈，主殿為呂祖殿，現存殿內尚有一座「呂祖行宮」。據道長陳述，以往每年農曆四月十四呂祖誕都會請「呂祖行宮」到附近村裡巡遊。這顯示當時呂祖信仰與村落習俗活動相連結，構成民間地方信仰的傳統。加上醫藥濟世，善堂式地服務社區，無論是慶雲洞還是後來的通善壇，都切實回應了民眾的信仰需求。

三、反思：尋找道教中的權威身分

歷史的影響使廣東道觀的傳統有了斷層的問題，他們需依賴權威宮觀如北京白雲觀，或沒有中斷傳承的香港壇堂、分館的資源重塑經典、科儀等傳統。在強調其祖廟身分的同時，宮觀要在現代化的管理下尋索自身在教內的定位，建立自主的權威性是不容易的。香港的道堂如何與洞天福地的祖壇重新建立共同的認同意識，健康的互維關係？相信這是已經開展，但又是漫長的道路。由清以來的新道教運動，經歷時代的磨練，今後的發展方向該由兩地共同攜手努力而達成。

縱觀兩所宮觀的創立和發展，我們不難發現他們都帶有強烈的積極對外行善的善堂性質，並且體現了廣東道堂創立並持續發展的兩大重要推動力：文人結社與抗疫濟世。這或許與時局發展，社會、政治、經濟等因素的轉變有關。這其中有兩個非常重要的核心元素：呂祖信仰與扶鸞活動。這種新道教發展的內涵，正是宗教與信仰群體積極互動、相互影響的結果。通過對嶺南地區的道教洞天福地的具體考察，我們了解到，研究廣東道教發展必須走出書本與教室，同時掌握歷史與田野資料，才可以從總體上把握道教在近代發展的脈絡。

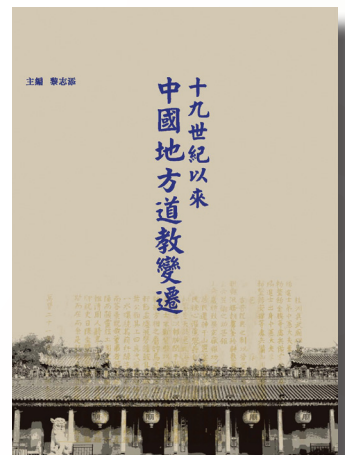
註釋：

- 余信景〈西樵山道教雲泉仙館史話〉謂：「西樵雲泉仙館因靠近廣州市三元宮，道侶們時有往來，互相探訪，其組織法、道規、道範，多效三元宮。仙館第一任住持，是南海人李宗簡，原係廣州市應元宮道侶，道號為『莘野』，早年因科舉未遂到西樵山雲泉仙館隱居，……李宗簡根據全真龍門派羅浮山沖虛觀和廣州三元宮清規戒律，制定雲泉仙館規章制度。……李宗簡在塵世時，經常與廣州市三元宮及羅浮山沖虛觀知客梁雲不時來往，……共談玄機，（李住持羽化登仙）後眾議公舉梁雲為主持，改稱館長，……梁館後蕭規曹隨，更形健全，設館長一人，都管、知客、巡照、總管、庫房、經職主任一至二人，經生若干人，到廣州市三元宮學習一個時期回來誦經。當時雲泉仙館遠近知名，遍及海內外，求道者甚眾，入館人士倍增，梁館長每年必到蘇杭二州，探望廣東同鄉。」見余信景：〈西樵山道教雲泉仙館史話〉，《中國道教》，1994年第4期，48-49。
- 參志賀市子著：《香港道教與扶乩信仰：歷史與認同》（香港：中文大學出版社，2013），頁212-213。

《十九世紀以來中國地方道教變遷》

《十九世紀以來中國地方道教變遷》一書收入了14篇論文，乃2009年11月26-28日於香港中文大學所舉行的「道教與中國文化及社會的關係：新的研究方法與視野」道教研究國際學術研討會的一個成果。本書論文所探討的問題集中在「十九世紀以來中國地方道教與社會變遷」上；研究所涉地域亦極為廣闊，從華北及中原地區的北京、河南，到南方的湘中與嶺南地區，乃至台灣和澳門。一書在手，展之可見大半個中國的道教演變興衰歷程，以及道教與地方社會的緊密結合。

主編：黎志添
香港：三聯書店，2013



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《廣州府道教廟宇碑刻集釋》出版

由黎志添教授、李靜博士編著的《廣州府道教廟宇碑刻集釋》一書，已於今年12月由北京中華書局和香港三聯書店聯合出版。本書是對廣州府道教民間廟宇相關碑刻的一個完全搜集，收錄廣州府縣道教廟宇共121座，包括了從宋、明而迄清末（1910），在廣州府屬及其十三個縣境內與道教廟宇的歷史活動有關的碑刻文獻282通。這些碑刻文獻資料將提供大量的社會經濟、歷史、宗教制度和思想意識等豐富信息，對研究地方道教史或一般宗教社會史有十分重大的意義。另外，本書的突出貢獻還在於：本書所收282通道教廟宇碑刻之中，有112通是編者通過實地訪查48座道教廟宇之後而獲得的研究成果，佔了本書收錄碑文總數的百分之四十。



本書每個廟宇的單元中，包括了廟宇名稱、廟宇簡介、碑題、碑刻信息、碑文正文、作者簡介，以及碑文考釋等項。其中“廟宇簡介”的部份，言簡意賅地說明每一座道教廟宇的歷史沿革、神壇和神像的佈置。這些介紹都是過去宗教碑刻出版集所缺乏的，但對一般讀者都是非常有用的歷史補充資料。「碑文考釋」主要是對碑文內容的介紹和評價，而以介紹為主。即使是

評價，也儘量依據碑刻和文獻資料，以及編著者的研究成果。另外，碑文考釋也包括了作者生平簡介。

為了使讀者方便查閱、比較，每一座道教廟宇及每一通碑刻文都有系統和規則的編號，另外本書還編制了目錄和索引。在附錄部份，此書列出分別按照碑刻的年份、碑題筆劃、撰碑者筆劃、碑刻總序號排列的四種目錄表，以方便讀者查閱每一通碑文的相關信息。

本書針對的讀者群，首先是對中國宗教史（包括道教及民間廟宇）及地方社會史有興趣的學者；其次是對研究廣州歷史有興趣的讀者，特別是想要瞭解廣州從宋到清的道教發展及其與地方廟宇的關係的讀者；第三是對傳統中國廟宇信仰有興趣的一般讀者。

此書分為內地版和海外版，由北京中華書局和香港三聯書店分別在內地和香港發行。內地版和海外版均分為上中下三冊，16開彩印，其中第三冊圖版，包括了各種地圖、廟宇相片和碑刻圖片，其中大部份來自編者實地考察拍攝，均屬第一次公開的珍貴照片。

《廣州府道教廟宇碑刻集釋》一書將在2014年1月4日召開新書發佈會，敬請有興趣的道教界及學術界人士光臨！會議相關信息如下：

日期：2014年1月4日(六)
時間：下午3時至4時30分
地點：香港中文大學崇基學院利黃瑤瑤樓2號演講廳
主辦單位：香港中文大學道教文化研究中心、中華書局有限公司、三聯書店(香港)有限公司

《香港道教與扶乩信仰：歷史與認同》 志賀市子著，宋軍譯

由日本茨城基督教大學的志賀市子教授所撰寫的《香港道教與扶乩信仰：歷史與認同》作為「道教研究學術論叢」中文系列的首本書稿，已於2013年中出版。在香港市區林立的唐樓中，分佈著一批俗稱「道堂」或「道壇」的宗教組織，從事「扶乩」這一中國古老的降神術以及誦經活動。這類屬於道教系統的宗教團體，由於並沒有十分明顯的外部特徵，歷來不太為人所知。本書作者前往道堂實地參與觀察、訪談調查，結合道堂發行的刊物，以及在香港、廣東、日本所收集的地方志、文史資料、筆記、善書等文獻資料，從信仰、功能、歷史背景與展開過程四個層面描述道堂的全貌。本書通過具有歷史視域的民族誌的敘述方式，揭示出香港道堂和近現代香港以及珠江三角洲地區宗教、社會、歷史等各種因素間的錯綜關係。

著者：志賀市子，日本筑波大學歷史和人類學博士，現任茨城基督教大學助理教授。

譯者：宋軍，先後供職於中國人民大學清史研究所、中國社會科學院歷史研究所，長期研究明清宗教結社歷史、基督教會史。

The first book of the Chinese “Daoist Studies Series”, *Hong Kong Daoism and the Cult of Spirit-writing* by Professor Shiga Ichiko at the Ibaraki Christian University, Japan, has been published in mid 2013. The book examines the faith, functions, historical and ethnographic development of spirit-writing in the Daoist temples in Hong Kong, and its relationship with the religious culture of the Pearl River Delta region by analyzing information gathered from interviews, field study, gazetteers, temple publications, historical and literary texts.



「第一屆全國道教中青年骨幹培訓班」結業典禮

2013年7月19日，由中國道教協會主辦，香港蓬瀛仙館及香港中文大學道教文化研究中心協辦的「第一屆全國道教中青年骨幹培訓班」結業典禮，假中文大學逸夫書院大講堂，圓滿落幕。結業典禮邀得中國道教協會副會長丁常雲道長、中國道教協會副秘書長孟至嶺道長、香港道教聯合會主席梁德華道長、蓬瀛仙館永遠館長李宏之道長、蓬瀛仙館副理事長周自達道長、蓬瀛仙館副司理黎炳倫道長、蓬瀛仙館弘道委員會主委歐振成道長、齋色園主席黃錦財道長、圓玄學院副主席鄧錦雄道長、青松觀總秘書周和來道長等作為主禮嘉賓，出席典禮，完成學業的40多位學員分別從主禮嘉賓、培訓班導師手中領受畢業證書。

2013年6月3日，「第一屆全國道教中青年骨幹培訓班」於北京中國道教學院新校址開課，集結了來自全國各地道教協會的四十多位骨幹精英。這是中國道教界在道風建設之年，決心培養能夠精通道教經典、熟悉道教儀範、踐行道教精神之人才的積極舉措之一。縱跨南北、貫通中外的培訓計劃旨在開拓學員眼界，加強互相交流，提高學員的綜合素質，將道教文化的菁華與普世精神，注入「中國夢」，並進一步傳遞給全世界。學員們在內地學習了道教經典、道教思想簡史、基本教義、道教傳統威儀等



第一屆全國道教中青年骨幹培訓班結業典禮

專業課程以及其他思想政治和文化理論課程之後，開始了在香港為期十天的學習課程。在香港他們不僅有機會與香港中文大學的學者們進行交流，還參訪了本地的著名道教宮觀，與道友們互相切磋學道修道及宮觀管理的經驗心得，為本課程劃上了一個圓滿的句號。

第二屆道教文化文憑課程畢業典禮暨香港中文大學專業進修學院道教文化課程校友會第二屆常務委員會就職典禮

2013年9月14日，由香港中文大學道教文化研究中心主辦的「第二屆道教文化文憑課程畢業典禮」暨「香港中文大學專業進修學院道教文化課程校友會第二屆常務委員會就職典禮」，假中文大學利黃瑤壁樓一號演講廳隆重舉行。典禮有幸邀得香港道教聯合會主席梁德華道長、蓬瀛仙館理事長洪少陵道長、蓬瀛仙館副理事長周自達道長、雲泉仙館館長吳耀東道長、齋色園監院李耀輝道長和香港中文大學專業進修學院副院長章慧芳女士作為主禮嘉賓，出席典禮。

由香港中文大學道教文化研究中心與香港中文大學專業進修學院合辦的「道教文化文憑課程」，以加深公眾對道教的認識為己任，為有興趣的社會人士提供專業課程，傳授道教文化基本知識。課程開辦以來，深受各界人士歡迎。課程有9個單元，共計152學時，歷時一年，以介紹道教信仰和本地道教歷史傳統為特色。第二屆課程共有16名學員完成課程的考核要求，並獲得畢業證書。

為了延續道教文化課程學員弘揚道教文化的抱負，香港中文大學專業進修學院道教文化課程校友會於2012年正式成立。2013年3月，校友會第二屆會員大會經過選舉，產生了第二屆校友會主席及常務委員會。本屆校友會還有幸獲得本地四位

資深道長的支持，應允出任榮譽顧問，他們分別是香港道教聯合會主席梁德華道長、蓬瀛仙館理事長洪少陵道長、雲泉仙館館長吳耀東道長和齋色園監院李耀輝道長。



第二屆道教文化文憑課程畢業典禮

Daoism: Religion, History and Society No. 5 (2013)

《道教研究學報：宗教、歷史與社會》第五期

本中心與法國遠東學院合作出版的《道教研究學報：宗教、歷史與社會》第五期將於2013年12月出版。本期刊出英文及中文論文共5篇，內容涉及《道德經》研究、地方道教研究、全真道研究、正一經錄傳授研究等等；並首次推出「書評」欄目，評介最近兩年出版的中英文道教研究著作。

The Sage Unbound: Ritual Metaphors in the *Daode jing*

不受限的聖人：《道德經》的儀式隱喻

Gilles Boileau 徐鵬飛

本文致力於描述和分析不同版本的《道德經》中提及儀式內容的段落。首先，「禮」這個字通常被翻譯為 *ritual*，但是，事實上，「禮」應包括兩個不同的領域，一方面是儒家以禮治國概念中的「禮」，另一方面是墨守儀式的「禮」。《道德經》摒棄第一種「禮」，但卻利用繁瑣的禮儀細節，以建構一系列的哲學詮釋。本文提出兩個例子，以顯示《道德經》纂寫者對禮儀知識正確的認知：第一個與軍事和葬禮儀式相關，第二個關於送禮儀式。本研究將透過以下三個主題來分析《道德經》的儀式隱喻：簡單性和起源問題；慷慨的聖人和王室氣度；聖人和國王、身體、自我犧牲以及男性和女性之間的辯證關係，與這些主題相關的段落包含來自古老儀式的描繪和比喻。這些描繪的精確分析，顯示纂寫《道德經》者既深諳古老儀式的奧妙，又選擇他們理想中讚頌的簡樸。他們在東周儀式中採用一種以兩種祭品為中心的祭祀系統：大羹與庶羞。大羹，供獻給人類文明的創造者，是淡而無味的，這種淡而無味，用來比喻「大道」那種未出現他物前純粹未知的潛能。此外，他們還改造和顛覆舊時周朝君主制的禮儀特點，特別是那些有關古老國王的慷慨美德和自我犧牲的君主思想，用以創造出一個新的聖王，優於老的國王，一個順從「道」的無拘無束的聖王。

河南濟源全真道宗派傳承考 趙衛東

本文擬根據現存文獻與田野調查所得的新材料，對元初至民國期間全真道在河南濟源的宗派傳承情況加以研究。元代全真道在濟源主要有五系傳承，即劉處玄—周頤真、宋德方一系，郝大通—王志謹—衛志隱一系，丘處機—張志謹一系，王處一—單志靜一系，馬鈺—皇甫道寧一系。明代濟源全真道主要以龍門派與華山派為主，紫微宮、總仙宮、陽臺宮、二仙廟、玉清宮等屬龍門派，龍泉觀、桃花洞屬華山派。入清以後，濟源各道觀大多歸於龍門派，如紫微宮、陽臺宮、玉清宮、長春觀、靈都宮、迎恩宮等皆由龍門派道士擔任住持。值得一提的是，清光緒年間，柏林長春觀出現了尹喜派傳承。本文通過對元初至民國時期全真道在濟源傳承情況的研究，得出了三點結論：1. 元代全真道在濟源的五系傳承中影響最大的是劉處玄—周頤真、宋德方一系；2. 明代龍門派在濟源的傳承情況，為解決龍門派起源問題提供了新的證據，極大推進了對該問題的研究；3. 尹喜派傳承的發現，證明了其存在的真實性，而且還為進一步瞭解其分佈與傳承情況提供了可靠的證據。



The Local Politics of Festivals in Hangzhou, 1850-1950

杭州賽會與地方政策的變遷 (1850-1950)

Vincent Goossaert 高萬桑

本論文考察了晚清杭州的大型公眾儀式，特別是溫元帥和東嶽大帝等主要神明的賽會，以及他們在當地宗教文化中的地位。論文認為，雖然觀音的香市吸引了杭州城以外的大量信眾，但杭州當地的宗教圖景，在更深層次上是由道教儀式建構起來的。本文隨後探究了晚清至民國時期地方政府的歷年政策對賽會的影響，這些政策針對某些特定的宗教活動，從而在一個世紀內，重組了當地的宗教圖景。

蘇州《大洞無上九極天仙傳戒科儀》
初探——一個清代北京與江南文人
乩壇交互影響的案例
陶金

《大洞無上九極天仙傳戒科儀》是目前蘇州正一派仍在使用的度亡科儀，但它與清代的文人乩壇「玉光派」與「天仙派」有著深刻的關聯。源於北京的天仙派通過「柳守元」降筆，將蘇州玉光派的「碧玉真宮大戒」增改為《三壇圓滿天仙大戒略說》。隨著天仙派文獻傳至江南，在傳統正一派「給錄」科儀的啟發下，它又被進一步增改為向亡靈授戒的《大洞無上九極天仙傳戒科儀》，最終為正一派所吸收，並在其內部傳演至今。

正一經錄初探：以臺灣與福建南安所見為主
謝聰輝

以目前臺灣道教傳度奏職儀式調查與道壇保存的老抄本所見，道士們雖仍運用內部傳承的《天壇玉格》一類資料授予太上三五都功（或進職正一盟威、三洞五雷）道職，諸多正一經錄名稱也仍然被保存於相關抄本中，但在儀式中並沒有實質相應的整宗正一經錄內容傳授。但據筆者實地調查發現，泉州北部的梅山、羅東、九都、洪梅、洪瀨、康美，及泉州市洛江區羅溪、馬甲等諸鎮道壇，依舊傳承六十二代天師所授予的整宗三五都功經錄，且實際依照傳統授錄儀式繼續傳度。因此本文首先考證目前掌握的臺灣正一經錄史料，檢討相關研究的同時，進而重構白玉荷一曾演教一吳玉典的傳授系譜。接著，藉由江西、湖南、南安與天師府的正一經錄資料與相關科儀抄本，將其中的太上三五都功與正一盟威經錄重新辨識、分類與比較，並析論其中所呈現的特質與意義。最後，討論正一經錄傳授中的請錄、填錄、封錄、授錄、安錄與繳錄等重要詞彙及其儀禮內涵，希望透過古典文獻資料的整理，以及道壇秘傳抄本的考察，為建構閩、臺道教傳承關係與變化情形找到更多的確實證據。

Book Reviews 書評

- ▶ *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China*, by Shih-Shan Susan Huang - Maggie C.K. Wan
- ▶ *The Ming Prince and Daoism: Institutional Patronage of an Elite*, by Richard G. Wang - Mark Meulenbeld
- ▶ *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China*, by Robert Ford Campamy - Joshua Capitanio
- ▶ *Empowered Writing: Exorcistic and Apotropaic Rituals in Medieval China*, by Stephan Peter Bumbacher - Gil Raz
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- ▶ 吳真著，《為神性加注：唐宋葉法善崇拜的造成史》- 高振宏
- ▶ *The Heavenly Court: Daoist Temple Painting in China, 1200-1400*, by Lennert Gesterkamp - 謝世維
- ▶ 李志鴻著，《道教天心正法研究》- 酒井 規史
- ▶ 郭武著，《丘處機學案》- 蕭進銘

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