

Tracing Back Wang Changyue's Precepts for Novices in the History of Daoism*

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Abstract

Wang Changyue (1594–1680?) is generally known as a Daoist monk who allegedly restored the Complete Perfection Tradition by establishing its precepts for ordaining Daoist monks. It is usually said that Wang established the three sets of Precepts consisting of *Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhen jie* 初真戒), *Precepts of the Central Pole* (*Zhongji jie* 中極戒), and *Precepts for Celestial Immortals* (*Tianxian jie* 天仙戒). However, because of lack of sources, the facts about Wang Changyue and his precepts remain largely unclear. Among the extant texts of the three sets of precepts, association with Wang cannot be confirmed for the latter two. Even with *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* (*Chuzhen jielü* 初真戒律), the text which conveys the *Precepts for Novices*, though, very basic question remain: Did Wang really compile it? And if he did, what time precepts did he restore? Therefore, in this article, only *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* will be discussed. This article aims to determine

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Wang Changyue's precepts in usage of the same set of *Precepts for Novices* in the history of Daoism. The article will make a reasonable assumption about Wang and his disciples' intention in compiling *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices*. In the first half of this article, I will make a reference to the "Precepts and disciplines for Novices" from the Kangxi era (1662–1722): This provides clear evidence that the book was already in circulation by the early 18th century. In the second half of this article, I will follow the history of *Precepts for Novices* as it is found in various texts from the late-Tang to Ming periods. In that process, we find that the same set of *Precepts for Novices* used by Wang was conferred on Daoist novices in the Ming period. The compilation of *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* by Wang and his disciples will be considered as an attempt to restore the ordination ritual performed during the Ming period.

Keywords: Wang Changyue, Precepts for Novices, Ten Precepts, Zhou Side, Quanzhen

Wang Changyue 王常月 (aka Kunyang 崑陽, 1594–1680?, fl. 1663),¹ a Daoist monk of the Complete Perfection Tradition (Quanzhen dao 全真道) in the early Qing period, is well known among scholars as one of the most important restorers of the Quanzhen tradition in the seventeenth century. He allegedly revived it by establishing a unique ordination system for Daoists. Wang's system of ordination is generally known as consisting of three stages of a consecration ceremony in which three sets of precepts—corresponding to each stage—are conferred on the ordinands. The first set of precepts is called *Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhen jie* 初真戒), the second is called *Precepts of the Central Pole* (*Zhongji jie* 中極戒), and the last is *Precepts for Celestial Immortals* (*Tianxian jie* 天仙戒). The introduction of this three-fold ordination system is generally recognized as Wang's most important accomplishment. The surviving texts of each set of precepts are found in *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (DZJY), compiled by Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲 (1755–1819).

However, recent studies have critically analyzed narratives about Wang Changyue's work, and as a result more than a few of Wang's supposedly “true stories” are now recognized as creations by later Daoists to reflect and enhance their own sense of identity. Some of these imaginative stories about Wang are related to the creation of narratives about transmission of his precepts. The most far-reaching criticism of the manipulation of the history of Wang Changyue's precepts is that published by Monica Esposito.

Esposito has demonstrated that Min Yide 閔一得 (1735–1836) created the legend of an uninterrupted transmission of the three-fold precepts through the Longmen 龍門 lineage from Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (aka Changchun 長春, 1148–1227), the alleged founder of the lineage, to Wang Changyue in his *Mind-Lamp Transmission of Mount Jingai* (*Jingai xindeng* 金蓋心燈).² Esposito has also pointed

¹ About the life course of Wang Changyue, see Yin Zhihua, “Nianpu,” *Wang Changyue Xue'an* 王常月學案 (Jinan: Jilu shushe, 2011), 87–91.

² Esposito, Monica, *Creative Daoism* (Wil/Paris: University Media, 2013), 16–173. Also see Esposito, “The Longmen School and Its Controversial History during the Qing Dynasty,” in John Lagerwey ed., *Religion and Chinese Society* (Hong Kong/Paris: Chinese University Press and EFEO, 2004), 621–98; Esposito, “Qingdai Quanzhen santan dajie yishi de chuangli” 清代全真三壇大戒儀式的創立, (Continue on next page)

out that Min Yide intended to connect the narrative of the uninterrupted passing on of Qiu Chuji's precepts with the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 in Beijing through the invented story of Wang's ordination ritual being held at that temple.³ The description of how Baiyun guan has become central in the story of the Longmen lineage and the uninterrupted transmission of the Quanzhen precepts is one of the most important parts of Esposito's discussion.⁴ I think these arguments by Esposito are significant, and I also share her view that many of the stories concerning Wang Changyue were manipulated by Min Yide.⁵

The problem with Esposito's discussion, however, is that she regards the date of the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices*

(Note 2—Continued)

in Zhao Weidong 趙衛東 eds. *Quanzhendao yanjiu* 全真道研究 2 (2011), 204–20. As for discussions which have demonstrated that the content of Min Yide's *Mind-Lamp Transmission of Mount Jingai* is largely based on creations, also see Zeng Zhaonan 曾召南, "Longmen pai" 龍門派, *Zhongguo Daojiao* 中國道教, vol. 1 (1994), 200–5; Mori Yuria, "Zenshin kyô Ryûmon-ha Keifu ko: Kingai shintô ni shirusareta Ryûmon-ha no keihuni kansuru mondaiten ni tsuite" 全真教龍門派系譜考:『金蓋心燈』に記された龍門派の系譜に関する問題点について, *Dôkyô bunka eno tenbô* 道教文化への展望 (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1994), 180–211; Ding Peiren 丁培仁, "'Jingai xindeng' juanyi zhiyi"《金蓋心燈》卷一質疑, Chen Giying 陳鼓應 ed., *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 23 (2008), 411–29.

³ Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, 93 and 171.

⁴ Ibid. Esposito has clearly challenged the myth of the Longmen lineage as a sect placing its center in Beijing by advocating multi-central development of the lineage. This new picture of multi-central development was soon supported by other scholars as Liu Xun 劉迅 (2008) and Wang Gang (2011). See Liu Xun, "Zhang jiangjun yimai kugu: Qingchu Nanyang zhongjianzhong Quanzhendao yu Qingting zhi hezuo" 張將軍瘞埋枯骨: 清初南陽重建中全真道與清廷之合作, Chen Giying 陳鼓應 ed., *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 23 (2008), 330–64; Wang Gang, "Mingdai Jiangnan shishen jingying yu Maoshan Quanzhendao de xingqi" 明代江南士紳精英與茅山全真道的興起, Zhao Weidong 趙衛東 ed., *Quanzhendao yanjiu* 全真道研究 2 (2011), 26–71. Vincent Goossaert (2007) points out that "the Baiyun guan had no authority over the other Quanzhen monasteries" before 1956. As for the re-establishment of the Quanzhen consecration system (in Baiyun guan) by Wang Changyue, Goossaert says "there is actually rather little hard historical evidence for this." See Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800–1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 168.

⁵ Mori, "Zenshin kyô Ryûmon-ha Keifu ko," 180–211.

(*Chuzhen jielü* 初真戒律) as being as late as the early 19th century: “hundreds years after Wang’s death.”⁶ It is undisputable that the extant text of *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* was published as a part of the DZJY in the early 19th century. I even do not exclude the possibility that Jiang Yupu could have partly revised and added something to the original text of *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* that I have not identified yet. But these possibilities do not necessarily mean that there were no versions of the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* before it was included in DZJY. What makes me feel uncomfortable is that when Esposito discusses the authorship of the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices*, she does not examine the prefaces written in the names of Wang Changyue’s disciples and his friends, such as those by Long Qiqian 龍起潛 (dated 1674) and Wu Taiyi 吳太一 (dated 1686), and an undated but important postscript by the famous calligrapher and painter Da Chongguang 笮重光 (1623–1692). She refers to all of these in another part of her book, but she does not discuss the history of the formation of *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices*. If these prefaces were taken into account, it would be natural to consider the possibility that the book was published soon after Wang Changyue’s death, not “hundreds of years after it.”

In the first half of this article, I will introduce a reference to the “Precepts and disciplines for Novices” from the Kangxi era (1662–1722), which can be regarded as clear evidence that the book was already in circulation by the early 18th century, about thirty years after Wang Changyue’s death. In the second half of this article, I follow the history of *Precepts for Novices* as it is found in various texts from the 8th to 17th centuries—thus, the history of the *Precepts for Novices* before Wang Changyue and his disciples adopted it in the mid-17th century.

As Esposito and other scholars have pointed out, *Precepts for*

⁶ See Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, 102. In relation to the authorship of *Chuzhen jielü*, Esposito also mentions that annotations found in *Chuzhen jielü* include “Qing scriptures of the old *Daozang jiyao* connected with Jiang Yuaning’s spirit writing altar.” But she does not elaborate on this fact in her book, although some titles of the texts are mentioned in a footnote. See Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, 121.

Novices was not created by Wang Changyue himself, nor was it brought about as a result of a revival of Qiu Chuji's precepts. Rather, it was taken from the *Daozang* by the actual compilers of *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices*.⁷ I am rather skeptical about the assumption that the compilers of the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* intended to revive Qiu Chuji's precepts, since this "fact" is not mentioned in the book or in the preface attributed to Wang Changyue. My conclusion, from the discussion in this article, is that the compilers of the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* intended to revive the ordination ritual held during the Ming period. The most important goal for Wang Changyue and his disciples was apparently the restoration of the order of the Daoist monastery, which was not clearly stated as a revival of Qiu Chuji's tradition. In order to make this point clear, I will follow the history of use of the *Precepts for Novices* from the Tang to the Qing period. The *Precepts for Novices* consisted of traditional Daoist precepts conferred on those who left their families from the late-Tang onwards. Ming Daoism took over this tradition, and apparently Wang Changyue tried to continue the tradition after the turmoil of the fall and rise of empires in mid-17th century China.

I. *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices (Chuzhen jielü)* as a Reliable Source of Wang Changyue's Precepts

(a) *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* witnessed by Zhan Xian in 1711

As mentioned above, there is evidence that the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices (Chuzhen jielü 初真戒律)* was compiled about thirty years after Wang's death. This evidence is found in Zhan Xian 詹賢's anthology, *Zhan Tie'niu shiwen ji 詹鐵牛詩文集*, which has a postscript 後序 dated 1727 (雍正五年).⁸ In the section

⁷ Min Zhiting 閔智亭, *Daojiao yifan 道教儀範* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1995), 58–62; Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, 91–130.

⁸ See *Zhan Tieniu wenji 詹鐵牛文集*, j. 9, "Mujieyi shu" 募戒衣疏. Siku jinhuishu congkan bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫禁毀書叢刊編纂委員會 ed., *Siku jinhuishu congkan 四庫禁毀書叢刊* (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), *Ji bu*, Vol. 167: 295–586.

titled “Raising Funds for Precept Robes” 募戒衣, we find a reference to a copy of the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* witnessed by Zhan Xian himself in 1711 (辛卯, 康熙 50) in Konglong 孔礪, Hubei:

Three years after I began to live in Xunshui 潯水 (aka Jiujiang 九江, Jiangxi), New Year's day of *xinmao* 辛卯, 1711, I took a business trip as an official to Chu, and on the way I stayed one night in Konglong. Guangrong, keeper of the cottage, was pleased to let me stay and we had conversations over tea. Suddenly I heard the sound of something crying under the table like a bird. It sounded as if it were crouching and throwing itself face down there. Then I already had problems with nearsightedness. [It was really hard to see things in the dark.] I only saw in the night something like a tortoise moving and crawling, and I did not know what it was. Guangrong said to me, “This is a hunchbacked Buddhist monk, Huikai 慧愷, who traveled from Xiaogushan to sojourn here. Having heard a guest arrive, he came along to make an obeisance and show his respect.” I apologized and said, “That was not an animal! That was a man! That was a monk!” . . . [Later,] I untied [the scrolls which Huikai possessed] and saw most of his scriptures were just minor fragments, not texts of so-called Chinese origin. Among them, there was a volume titled “the Precepts and Disciplines for Novices by Daoist Wang Kunyang [Wang Changyue].” I picked it up and read it and found that it included explanations of *xinyi* (the Robe of Faith), *jingyi* (the Robe of Purity), and *dongyi* (the Robe of Brightness), with very clear pictures of them. Huikai, leaning on a desk, was reciting this book [that is, the *Preface and Norms for the Novices*] in the morning and the evening, so I called him and stepped forward, saying, “You obey the teaching of the Saints in the West, but you are studying the words of the tradition of the Yellow Caps [that is, Daoists]. This could be terribly wrong!” Huikai replied, “Buddhism and Daoism are different in their methods, but this mind [of yours] cannot be divided [into two]. Daoism emphasizes cultivating perfection (immortality), while Buddhism emphasizes attaining enlightenment by means of [meditation] Chan. For those who are willing, if they make their body pure and meditate on the actions and reactions [of the mind], why would it be impossible to transform the training of immortality into the realization of Bodhisattvahood? If the mind is united into one, then, the principle is one, too. Now, today, I am going to make a donation and ask [people in] ten-directions [for donations] so that I can make a set of Precept

Robes. [When you are going to be ordained,] what is the difference between [being consecrated in Daoist style] in accordance with Wang Kunyang's explanations of the Robe of Faith, the Robe of Purity, and the Robe of Brightness and [being consecrated in Buddhist style]?" Impressed, I clapped my hands and said, "How enlightening is what Huikai said about religious robes! He is better than [Wang] Kunyang!"

余寓潯水之三年，歲值辛卯元旦，以公事過楚，道經孔礪之一宿。菴老衲廣容歡然留之。淪茗相話。忽有一物從幾下來嚶嚶焉作聲，若俯伏狀。余目不耐遠，晚而視之，有似龜挪鼈跛者，然究亦不知為何物也。廣容請曰，此矮僧慧愷，從小孤山雲遊掛單於此。聞客至頂禮問訊。余詫之曰，此殆非物也耶，其人也，其僧也。〔中略〕因是緝閱經本，大都不過斷簡零帙，絕無所謂支挪謬述者。中有一冊為崑陽王道士初真戒律，揭而讀之，內有信衣、淨衣、洞衣等說，圖式井然。慧愷憑幾狂哦朝夕此編。余於是呼之而前曰，以爾從事西方聖人之教，而所習者乃黃冠家語，得毋悖謬實甚。慧愷曰，釋道分途也，而此心不分。道主修真，釋主悟禪。有志者，倘能體清淨而觀感應，安知不可以轉修鍊而證菩提。其心同，其理同也。即僧今日意欲募緣十方，共成戒衣一襲，揆之王崑陽所稱信衣、淨衣、洞衣之說，豈有異乎。余不禁節曰，善乎，慧愷之言衣也，進於崑陽矣。⁹

Interestingly, in this account, Zhan Xian mentions that the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* by Wang included references to the three robes (*xinyi* 信衣, *jingyi* 淨衣, and *dongyi* 洞衣) and their pictures. This corresponds to the extant version of *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* (*Chuzhen jielü*) also giving explanations and the pictures of the "Robe of Faith for Novices" (*Chuzhen xinyi* 初真信衣), the "Robe of Purity for Those Who Are Free from Lay Relations" (*Qingchen jingyi* 輕塵淨衣), and the "Robe of Brightness for Celestial Immortals" (*Tianxian dongyi* 天仙洞衣). This allows us to infer that the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* referred to in this story by Zhang Xian has the same content as the existing version of the book. We can conclude that the *Precepts and*

⁹ Ibid.

Disciplines for Novices was widely circulated, and used by a Buddhist monk and a local official around the border of Hubei and Jiangxi in 1711, more than a hundred years before DZJY was published.

Another point that seems very important is that Zhan Xian and Huikai seem to have understood that the three robes are given to the monks when they are invested with the precepts (*jiēyī* 戒衣). According to the existing *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* (*Chuzhen jielü*), each of the three robes was given to those who were invested with the corresponding set among the three-fold precepts. As Esposito has mentioned, the correspondence is shown in a paragraph titled “Sanyi ge” 三衣格 (The Norms of Three Robes) on folios 40b–41b of the text.¹⁰ The correspondence between the precepts and the robes can be summarized as follows:

Ten Precepts for Novices—Invested with the Robe of Faith for Novices

初真十戒——身著初真信衣

Pure Precepts of the Central Pole—Invested with the Pure Robe for Those Who Are Free from Lay Relations

中極淨戒——俱著輕塵淨衣

Mysterious Precepts for Those Who Have Great Virtue as Celestial Immortals—Invested with Robe of Haze for Celestial Immortals

天仙大德妙戒——身著天仙霞衣¹¹

According to this table, those who on whom are conferred the Precepts for Celestial Immortals (Tianxian jie) are not assumed to be vested with the “Robe of Brightness for the Celestial Immortals,” but the “Robes of Haze for Celestial Immortals,” which does not correspond exactly to the Zhan Xian account. But, in another part of the text, “Dongyi” (張集 7:39a) or “Tianxian dongyi” (張集 7:46b)

¹⁰ Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, 109–12.

¹¹ As Esposito shows, there are more elements that are placed in correlation to the Three Robes. But, in this article, I only pay attention to the correspondence with the precepts the Daoists were invested with, and the related rank. See Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, 110–12.

are clearly mentioned along with the other two robes. Therefore, *xiayi* may be regarded as another name for *dongyi*.

Although Zhan Xian does not directly mention the correspondence of the robes to the three sets of precepts, the fact that Huikai regarded them as equivalent to Buddhist “*jieyi*” 戒衣 suggests that Zhan Xian assumed that Wang’s three robes were the robes conferred on the ordinand during the ordination ceremony. If a set of three robes for the ordination did not correspond to the three sets of precepts, it would be difficult to explain why Daoists had to prepare “three” robes for their ordinations. Therefore, I think it is natural for us to assume that the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* (*Chuzhen jielü* 初真戒律) observed by Zhan Xian conveyed the same concept of the conferral of three-fold precepts as we see in our existing version.

(b) Prefaces to the Current Version of the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices*

Let us now look at the prefaces of the current version of the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices*, which are essential data to help us determine the approximate date of compilation of the book. The *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* has three prefaces and a postscript, all written by Wang’s disciples and friends who once lived in Jiangnan. Among them, the first and most important preface was written in 1674 (康熙13) at Hengshan 恆山 by Long Qiqian 龍起潛, who first became acquainted with Wang Changyue at Yinxian’an 隱仙庵 (Hermitage of Retreat Immortal) in Jiangnan.¹² Long also mentions that he saw Wang again confer his precepts at Yuxu gong 玉虛宮 (Palace of Jade Void) on Mount Wudang 武當山, and that he himself was finally ordained there by Wang.¹³ He

¹² *Chuzhen jielü xu*, *DZJY Zhang ji* 7: 27a–28a.

¹³ Wang Gang (2011) demonstrated that Maoshan was one of the centers of the activity of the Quanzhen Daoists in 16th century who claimed themselves as the successors of Qiu Chuji. Wang points out that Yan Xiyan 閻希言 (1509–1588) and Li Chedu 李徹度 (1510–1619) both stayed in Wudangshang before they
(Continue on next page)

mentions himself as “the disciple holding precepts” 持戒弟子, which also suggests that he was an immediate disciple of Wang.¹⁴

The next preface is titled “Essay on Precepts for Novices” 初真戒說, written by Wu Taiyi 吳太一 and dated 1686 (康熙 25). His name, Taiyi, tells us he was a grand-disciple of Wang Changyue.¹⁵ He also mentions that he wrote the essay at the Yinxian'an in Jinling 金陵 (Nanjing). The year 1686 is the latest date found in the text, which seems to be the year when the book was published.

The third is a postscript by a famous calligrapher and painter, Da Chongguang 笈重光 (1623–1692). The postscript is not dated, but Da mentions that he came into contact with Wang Changyue and his disciples at Maoshan 茅山.¹⁶ Da also mentions that Wang moved to Yinxian'an in Nanjing, where he was very popular and often invited by people to lecture on the importance of his precepts.¹⁷ According to Da, Wang left Nanjing for famous mountains to confer his precepts on students of Daoism (to make them available in a wider area).¹⁸ These accounts in the prefaces to the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* indicate that the book was compiled by Wang's direct disciples and grand disciples in Yinxian'an around 1686.

Two of the authors of the prefaces and postscripts mention that they themselves were acquainted with Wang Changyue. It seems obvious that compilers of the book shared the memory of Wang Changyue, and it is difficult to deny that the precepts and various rules given in this book were based on Wang's ideas.

(Note 13—Continued)

came to Maoshan. See Wang Gang, Wang Gang, “Mingdai Jiangnan shishen jingying yu Maoshan Quanzhendao de xingqi” 明代江南士紳精英與茅山全真道的興起, 26–71.

¹⁴ Long Qiqian also gave another short foreword for the book, which does not include information about date. See “Introduction to the Rules of the Precept Altar” 戒壇規範引言, *Chuzhen jielü* Zhangji 7: 29a.

¹⁵ The “genealogy-poem” (*paishi* 派詩) of Longmen lineage (道德通玄靜, 真常守太清, 一陽來復本, 合教永圓明) shows that the letter *tai* 太 is used for the 9th generation.

¹⁶ *Chuzhen jie houxu* 初真戒後序, *DZJY Zhang ji* 7: 61a–b.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* “先生攝靜於金陵之隱仙庵受四方迎請為闡揚斯義。”

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Besides the prefaces by Wang's disciples and friends mentioned above, there is a preface attributed to Wang Changyue himself. The case for the *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* being compiled by Wang Changyue himself would thus seem strong. Yet, we cannot have much confidence about this preface's attribution to Wang Changyue himself. In this preface, Wang is said to have installed a precept altar (*jietan* 戒壇) at Baiyunguan 白雲觀 (in Beijing) to confer his precepts on ordinands in 1656. But we do not have any contemporary references by outsiders (who were not the disciples of Wang) that are specific enough to support the claim that he actually had the chance to confer his precepts at Baiyunguan in the capital city. Yin Zhihua 尹志華 has pointed out that Wang Yun 王濤, a literati of the Kangxi era (1662–1722), mentions in his *Manyou jilüe* 漫遊紀略 that he met at Mt. Wudang in 1673 a *Vinaya* master of “white cloud” (*baiyun jieshi* 白雲戒師) named Wang Kunyang 王昆陽 born in Shangdang 上黨.¹⁹ Without doubt, the *baiyun jieshi* mentioned here as Wang Kunyang must indeed be Wang Changyue. But the meaning of the words “baiyun jieshi” can be interpreted in two ways. The first, following Yin Zhihua, is to interpret it as “a precept-master from Baiyun(guan).” This would make the account the only evidence from an outsider, claiming that Wang actually once stayed in Baiyunguan in Beijing. However, it is odd to mention a Daoist monastery in such a general context without using the word *guan* 觀.

On the other hand, “baiyun jieshi” can also be interpreted as “a wandering precept-master,” which seems, at least to me, to be more natural than to take it as a name of a monastery. The second

¹⁹ See Yin Zhihua 尹志華, *Wang Changyue xue'an* 王常月學案 (Jinan: Jilu shushe, 2011), 7 and 91. See also Yin Zhihua, *Qingdai Quanzhendao lishi xintan* 清代全真道歷史新探 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2014), 42. The passage in *Manyou jilüe* reads: “入仙關次復真觀小憩，道人上黨王昆陽白雲戒師也。豐姿修偉，自言年八十餘，善導引之術，弟子眾多。” (We took a small rest at Fuzhen Monastery next to the Ruxian Gate. The Daoist was Wang Kunyang from Shangdang, the wondering Precept master. Being tall and sturdy, he said that he was more than eighty years of age.) Chuyoung 楚遊, zhong 中, *Manyou jilüe juan* 4:7b, *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (Yangzhou: Jiangsu guangling guji keyinshe, 1983), vol. 17, 16a.

interpretation is also consistent with the postscript by Da Chongguang saying that Wang left Nanjing to travel (wander) around famous mountains to confer his precepts on many Daoists. Consequently, there is a strong possibility that the account by Wang Yun in his *Manyou jilüe* does not mean that Wang Changyue conferred his precepts “in Baiyunguan in Beijing.” Therefore, unless new evidence is found, it is extremely difficult to determine whether Wang Changyue conferred his precepts in Beijing in 1656.

If we assume that Wang actually held an ordination ritual for Daoist novices in Beijing, the preface attributed to him should be regarded as unquestioned authentic. On the other hand, if we assume that Wang never held an ordination ritual in Beijing, it would be clear that his immediate disciples had already made a legend of their master forged a preface attributed to him. These two different assumptions might not after all create a problem for us in drawing an image of Wang Changyue. If it is true that he conferred his precepts in Beijing, the absence of mention by outsiders to the conferral seems to mean that his ceremony in Beijing in 1656 did not draw much attention at that time. In any case, the importance and the effect of the event had to be exaggerated or even made up by his immediate disciples and friends by 1686. Whether he was ever in Beijing, the most important base for his fame as a precept-master was established when he was in Jiangnan around 1660.

Let me make one last comment concerning Wang's ordination ritual in Beijing: If it is accepted that Wang held the ceremony in Beijing, we have to assume that the precepts Wang conferred on Daoists there were not three sets of precepts but only one, the “Precepts for Novices.” As I have discussed on another occasion, it is reasonable to assume that Wang Changyue adopted the idea of “three-fold precepts” from Buddhists in Nanjing.²⁰ If the center of the activity of Wang was in Beijing around 1650, and if he had not

²⁰ Mori Yuria “Ô Jôgetsu no sansô kai kôsô to jûnana seiki ni okeru kairitu kaikaku undo: Ô Jôgetsu, Kangetsu Hôzô, Kengtsu Dokutai” 王常月の三層戒構想と十七世紀江南金陵仏教における戒律改革運動：王常月・漢月法蔵・見月讀體, *Tôyô no shisô to shûkyô* 東洋の思想と宗教 33 (2016.3), 45–66.

been to South China at that time, then it would have been impossible for him to confer on the Daoists in Beijing the three sets of precepts that he later adopted in Nanjing.

As we have seen above, the earliest version of *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* obviously included the idea of the Three Robes, which means it included the idea of three sets of precepts. The question is, did Wang Changyue actually hold the latter two ordinations, or did he only form the scheme of the three sets of precepts modeled on the contemporary Buddhist reform of the ordination ceremony in Jiangnan, without actually performing the latter two?

II. The *Chuzhen shijie* of the Tang period

(a) *Chuzhen jie* (*Precepts for Novices*) in *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chujia yinyuan jing* (“*Lingbao Scripture on the Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family*”)

In this section, we will follow the development and use of the *Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhenjie* 初真戒) before it was adopted by Wang Changyue in the Qing period. In the *Daozang*, we find two sets of precepts called *Precepts for Novices*: They differ from each other in their contents, but both consist of ten articles of precepts that were assumed to be conferred on novices who left their families to live in a monastery. It is probably under the influence from the Buddhist “Ten Precepts for the Shami” (*Shami shijie* 沙彌十戒) that the Daoists also conferred a set of ten precepts on the novices. However, while Buddhists basically had only a single stable set of “Ten Precepts for the Shami” to be conferred on novices, Daoists made use of various sets of ten precepts.²¹ Thus, it is

²¹ For example, a set of ten precepts called “Ten Precepts of Contemplating Subtleness and Settling Mind (*Siwei dingzhi shijie* 思微定志十戒, aka “Ten Precepts of Celestial Worthy” [*Tianzun shijie* 天尊十戒]) had obviously been created for lay believers by the time of Liu Xiuqing (406–477), but, later, it was utilized to be conferred to the ordinands who left their family in “Liturgy of Ordination” (Durenqi 度人儀) in *juan* 6 of *Regulations for the Practice of Dao in Accordance with the Scriptures of the Three Caverns, a Dongxuan Lingbao Canon* (*Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 三洞奉道科戒營始) [SN1125], a
(Continue on next page)

noteworthy that there emerged a series of ten precepts called *Precepts for Novices* to be exclusively conferred on those who left their families. The set of precepts which Wang Changyue developed in the 17th century were probably created to enhance this long-standing tradition.

The earliest example of the ten precepts for the Daoist novices called *Chuzhen jie* is found in *Lingbao Scripture on the Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family* (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao chujia yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶出家因緣經) [SN 339], which was compiled by the early 8th century.²² In this text, a set of ten precepts called *Chuzhen jie* is mentioned in a scene where a Celestial Worthy of the Most High (*Taishang tianzun* 太上天尊) instructs kings who long to leave their families to become novices:

The Celestial Worthy of the Most High has ordered me (the Most High Lord of Dao: *Taishang daojun*) and the higher sages at the Heaven of Jade Purity to confer on various kings the rules and the

(Note 21—*Continued*)

compendium which reflects the standards of Daoist liturgy from the late Six-Dynasty period to the Early Tang. In the late-Northern Song period, Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔 adopted a set of ten precepts called *Zhibui shangpin shijie* 智慧上品十戒 originating in *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經 in his *Taishang chujia chuanduyi* 太上出家傳度儀 (Ordination Ceremony for Those Who Leave the Family, compiled around 1086) [SN1236] as a set of ten precepts which should be conferred to the novices. According to *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing*, the *Zhibui shangpin shijie* was originally conferred on lay men and women, but it was converted to precepts conferred to the novices living in a monastery in Jia Shanxiang's ritual.

²² *Chujia yinyuan jing* (*Lingbao Scripture on the Karmic Causality*) is quoted four times in *Yiqie daoqing yinyi miaomen youqi* 一切道經音義妙門由起 [SN 1123] edited by Shi Chong 史崇, the abbot of Taiqing guan 太清觀, at the command of Xuanzong 玄宗 (685–762), with other Daoist scholars including Zhang Wanfu 張萬福, who also lived in Taiqing guan. Meanwhile, *Chujia yinyuan jing* is not referred in *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 [SN1138] or other Daoist or Buddhist resources before the Sui dynasty (581–619). As was clarified by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豐, *Miaomen youqi* was completed during 712 and 713; therefore, it may be safely assumed that *Chujia yinyuan jing* had already been compiled in early 8th century. See Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dokyo kyoten shi ron* 道教經典史論 (*Yoshioka Yoshitoyo Chosaku shû* 吉岡義豐著作集), vol. 3 (Tokyo: Satsuki shobô, 1988), 88.

precepts for entering the Dao. He also ordered Catvāro mahā-rājānah (Sitianwang) to bestow the Dharma-robe on the kings. The kings faced north to make obeisance three times to the Celestial Worthy [of the Most High]. They paid obeisance to me, various celestial immortals, and perfected sages. And then they faced east, prostrated themselves, and received the “Precepts for Novices.”

天尊命我與玉清高聖，授諸王等入道科誡、節度威儀，四天王等為加法服。北面禮天尊三拜，回禮吾及諸天仙真聖等，東面伏地，受初真誡也。²³

After this paragraph, the Lord of the Way (Daojun 道君) revealed the content of the *Precepts for Novices*:

The Precepts are as follows: After you leave your family, first, you must never disrespect the scriptures, the Dao, or your masters. Second, you must never defile your Dharma-robe or fail to maintain the proper department of the Dao. Third, you must not give up halfway to seek worldly prosperity. Fourth, you must never abandon our [Daoist] Dharma-robe to follow different studies. Fifth, you must never associate with those who have not left their families or with various followers of different studies. Sixth, you must never eat meat, drink wine, or have the intent to kill or hurt others. Seventh, you must not associate with various men and women and have lascivious thoughts. Eighth, you must never violate the scriptures and precepts and let yourself commit various transgressions. Ninth, you must not be arrogant, deceitful, or brutal in order to deceive and damage either colleagues following the Dao or those who have not left their families. Tenth, you must never be disrespectful to your parents and kings, never be disloyal and unfilial to your parents and monarchs. (Underlined by me)

曰，出家之後，第一，不得輕慢經道及以本師。第二，不得泄慢法服，損道威儀。第三，不得中道退敗，趨世榮華。第四，不得捨我法衣，更從異學。第五，不得與非出家及諸異學交遊居處，穢辱法服。第六，不得啖食酒肉，懷殺害想。第七，不得與諸男女交遊，生姪邪想。第八，不得違犯經誡，生諸過惡。第九，不得傲誕狠戾，欺凌同

²³ *Chujia yinyuan jing*, 4b.

道及非出家人。第十，不得不敬父母國君，不忠不孝。²⁴

As is clearly articulated in the underlined part and its contents, this set of ten precepts was obviously created to be given to those who leave their families.

(b) Zhang Wanfu's *Precepts for Novices*

Soon after *Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family* became popular, Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 (fl. 711–713) referred to the *Precepts for Novices*. In his *Short Exposition on the Transmission of the Scriptures, Rules, and Registers of the Three Caverns* (*Chuanshou Sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法錄略說) [SN1241] dated 712, he refers to the *Precepts for Novices* after mentioning several sets of precepts, including the Three Refuges 三歸戒, Five Precepts 五戒, Eight Precepts 八戒, and the Supreme Ten Precepts 無上十戒.²⁵ He makes his own comment on the *Precepts for Novices* as follows:

These Precepts for Novices are to be given to those who have newly left their families. It means that they should take off their lay clothes to enter the Daoist life [through the ritual of ordination].

此初真戒者，新出家所受，謂始脫俗服入道也。²⁶

In his preface to *Comprehensive Prescriptions of the Three Caverns* (*Sangdong zhongjiewen* 三洞眾戒文) [SN178], Zhang Wanfu also mentions, “[To] those who leave their families, the *Precepts for*

²⁴ Ibid., 4b–5a.

²⁵ About Zhang Wanfu and his ordination system, see Kristofer Schipper, “Tonkô monjo ni mieru dôshi no hôikaitei ni tsuite” 敦煌文書に見える道士の法位階梯について, in *Tonkô to chûgoku dôkyô* 敦煌と中国道教 (Kôza Tonkô 4 講座敦煌4) (Tokyo: Daitô shuppansha 大東出版社, 1983), 325–45. See also Maruyama Hiroshi, “Zhô Manpuku no dokyô girei gaku to tōdai zenhanki no dôkyô kai” 張萬福の道教儀禮學と唐代前半期の道教界, in Maruyama, *Dokyô girei monjo no rekishiteki kenkyû* 道教儀礼文書の歴史的研究 (Tokyo: Kyûko shoin, 2004), 420–57.

²⁶ *Chuanshou Sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo*, *juan shang* 卷上, 1b. “Jiemu” 戒目.

Novices [should be conferred]” 新出家者：初真戒。²⁷

Zhang Wanfu never quotes the text of the *Precepts for Novices* he mentions, but he appears to have adopted the same precepts that were introduced as *Precepts for Novices* in *Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family* discussed above. Interestingly, *Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family* is quoted in the *Phonological Glossary of the Taoist Canon and The Origin of Daoist Doctrine* (*Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 一切道經音義妙門由起) [SN 1123] a total of four times, the highest number of citations from one book quoted in the glossary.²⁸ As is well-known among scholars of Daoism, the leading editor of the *Phonological Glossary* is Shi Chong 史崇, the abbot of Taiqing guan 太清觀. But we should also pay attention to the fact that Zhang Wanfu was one of the leading editors of this book.²⁹ Considering the number of citations of *Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family* in the book for which Zhang was one of the editors, it seems natural to infer that the *Precepts for Novices* mentioned by Zhang is the same set of ten precepts mentioned in *Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family*.

III. Precepts for Novices after the Tang Period

The first set of the *Precepts for Novices*, which appeared around the early 8th century in *Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family*, seemingly became obsolete before the Northern Song period (960–1127). Possibly taking its place, another set of *Precepts for Novices* appeared in the *Collection of the Supreme Words* (*Zhiyan zong* 至言總) in the 9th century. This later version of the *Precepts for Novices* became the precepts conferred on new monks who had

²⁷ *Sangdong zhongjiewen xu* 序, 1b.

²⁸ Ôfuchi Ninji, Ishi Masako, and Ozaki Seiji (eds.), *Kaitei zôho: Rikuchô Tô Sô no kobunken shoin Dôkyô tenseki mokuroku sakuin* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankô kai, 1988), 8.

²⁹ Franciscus Verellen, “Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi,” in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, vol. 1 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 443.

left their families in post-Tang China. From the late Tang to the early Qing, there are at least nine variations of this same set of ten precepts found in the *Daozang* and other sources. We will divide them into four groups (types), according to chronology:

Type A

- A1: *Chuzhen jie* 初真誡 in *Zhiyan zong* 至言總
 A2: *Chuzhen shijie* 初真十戒 (*Ten Precepts for Novices*) in *Shuojie* 說戒 (*Explaining the Precepts*), *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (*Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels*), j. 40

Type B

- B1: *Xiuzhen shijie* 修真十戒 (*Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*) in *Zazhu zhixuan pian* 雜著指玄篇 (*A Miscellany of Directions to Mystery*)
 B2: *Beiji zhenwu yousheng zhenjun liwen* 北極真武佑聖真君禮文 (*Rite of Homage to the True Warrior of the North Pole, True Lord of Saintly Succor*), SN816
 B3: *Beiji zhenwu puci dushi fachan* 北極真武普慈度世法懺 (*Litany of Salvation by the True Warrior of the North Pole of Universal Compassion*), SN815
 B4: *Shengong miaoji zhenjun liwen* 神功妙濟真君禮文 (*Ritual of Homage to the True Lord of Wonderful Succor and Divine Merit*), SN518

Type C

- C1: Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451) *Pidai yi* 披戴儀 (*Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps*) in *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 (*Golden Book of Great Perfection of Salvation*)

Type D

- D1: *Xuhuang tianzun Chuzhen shijiewen* 虛皇天尊初真十戒文 (*Text*)

of Ten Precepts and Disciplines for Novices of the Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void), SN180

- D2: *Xuhuang tianzun suoming Chuzhen shijie* 虛皇天尊所命初真十戒 (*Ten Precepts for Novices Conferred by Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void*) in *Chuzhen jielü* 初真戒律 (*Ten Precepts and Disciplines for Novices*) attributed to Wang Changyue

In this section, we will trace the line of succession of the *Precepts for Novices* across different versions composed at different times. The texts of all of these nine variants of *Precepts for Novices* are shown in Table 1, so that readers can compare the texts themselves.

(a) Type A

A1: This is the earliest text of the later version of the “Prefaces for Novices” that appeared in *Collection of Supreme Words* in the 9th century. The text consists of a foreword, main text (ten precepts), and a postscript. Below is the foreword attributed to a certain “celestial perfected” (*tianzhen* 天真), where the purpose of conferment of the *Precepts for Novices* is explained briefly:

A celestial perfected says: [Whether you can] leave your family and go beyond lay society is determined by good and promising deeds you have done in previous lives. [Under these conditions,] obviously, you can break away from the crowd of ordinary companions. If you maintain your dedication undiminished to the end and train yourself most carefully, seven generations of your ancestors will enjoy happiness and the bliss will be shared by all of your family. [As Laozi remarks,] building a tower of nine stories begins with piling earth; A journey of a thousand *li* starts with a single step. [If you proceed step by step,] your merits and virtue will fully mature, [and eventually] you can ascend in the broad daylight. Therefore, at the time of ordination, you will be conferred with the precepts for novices, which are ten in number. You must receive these!

天真言，出家超俗，皆宿有良契，故能獨拔常倫。若慎終如始，精至修煉，當福七祖，慶流一門。所謂九層之臺，起於累土，千里之行，始於足下，乃至功成德就，白日昇天。故於開度之時，宜受初真之

戒。其有十，爾當而受之。³⁰

The foreword insists that the novices' leaving their families is predetermined by good deeds in their past lives.³¹ This clearly shows that this set of precepts is intended to be given to Daoist novices who leave their families. But interestingly, neither this preface (nor any other part of this text) mention the name of the "celestial perfected" who revealed this set of ten precepts. It is the later versions, such as D1 and D2 that specify the revealer of the precepts as the "Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void" (Xuhuang tianzun 虛皇天尊). The first versions of this text (A1 and A2) do not give any mythical context explaining why, when, or in what situation these ten precepts were revealed. It seems quite unusual that a specific set of precepts was regarded as authoritative without mentioning a legitimate source from which the precepts were bestowed.

A2: As Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 has pointed out, this early 11th century version of the *Precepts for Novices* included in *juan 40 of Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels* was taken from *Collection of Superior Words*.³² Although there are minor differences between texts A1 and A2, they are virtually the same.

(b) Type B

The following four texts are grouped as Type B. Although they adopt nearly the same set of ten precepts as Type A, they are not called *Ten Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhen shijie*), but rather *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* (*Xiuzhen shijie* 修真十戒). The difference between Type A and B are not limited to their titles. The Chinese characters in the texts of Type B are much more diverse than those under Type A. Some variants of Type B were used by lay practitioners. On the whole, Type B texts not only

³⁰ *Zhiyan zong*, 1.6b–7a.

³¹ *Zhiyan zong*, 1:7a.

³² Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, "Saikairoku to Shigensô" 齋戒錄と至言總, in *Yoshioka Yoshitoyo chosakushû*, Vol. 2 吉岡義豊著作集 (2) (Tokyo: Satsuki shobô, 1989), 286.

indicate that there were wide variations among texts, but also indicate that the ten precepts originally called *Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhen jie*) were spread among various types of religious groups. The texts classified as Type B were apparently compiled from the 13th to the early 14th century: they will be discussed at the end of this section.

B1³³ consists only of the main text (ten precepts) and a very brief note at the end saying, “All those who hold these ten precepts will become officials among Immortals” 凡能持此十戒昇為仙官.³⁴ As Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein has pointed out, *A Miscellany of Directions to Mystery* mainly consists of “treatises and poems by Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194–1229?), his teachers, and his disciples.”³⁵ The anthology was apparently compiled shortly after 1244 by someone also closely related to a circle of Bai’s disciples.³⁶ The close relationship of this anthology to the school of Bai Yuchan naturally leads us to infer that *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* was also used among the circle of the disciples of Bai Yuchan.

It is uncertain how *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* was distributed and used by Daoists after the Southern Song, but the following passage about the Teachings of the Complete Perfection 全真之教 in *Ten Rules for the Daoists* (*Daomen shigui* 道門十規) [SN1232] by Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410) draws our attention. It shows us the possibility that the set of precepts was already being used by the Complete Perfection Daoists by the early 15th century:

Those who study it [that is, the Teachings of the Complete Perfection] today regard genuine merit [of inner alchemy] and true practice [of doing good deeds] as the substantive base [for their practice]. When they first become Daoists, they should choose a wise master and visit

³³ *Zazhu zhixuan pian* is included in *Ten Books on Studying Perfection* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書) [SN263].

³⁴ *Zazhu zhixuan pian*, 8.2a.

³⁵ Farzeen Bardrian-Hussein, “Zazhu zhixuan pian,” in Schipper and Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon*, 838–39.

³⁶ *Xiuzhen pian* 修真篇 included in *Zazhu zhixuan pian* 雜著指玄篇, j. 1 is dated 1244 by Liao Zheng 廖正: “歲在淳祐甲辰暑月廖正敬書” (10a).

him/her to worship, and so develop their nature. They must observe the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* and study the literature [of regulations], such as the *Codes for the Halls* by Patriarch Bai and by Patriarch Feng. They should control their bodies and minds, behave with integrity, and study the scriptures thoroughly.

殆今學之者，眾皆以真功實行為本。其初入道，先擇明師參禮，開發性地，懇守修真十戒、白祖師馮尊師堂等文，收習身心，操持節操，究竟經典。(7b–8a)

Here, the Ten Precepts for *Those Who Cultivate Perfection* is mentioned as one of the key principles that the Complete Perfection Daoists should observe. As this passage does not quote the text of the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*, we cannot conclude with certainty that the “Xiuzhen shijie” mentioned by Zhang Yuchu actually refers to *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*. But considering that Bai Yuchan was already been regarded as one of the Quanzhen masters by the early 14th century,³⁷ it is acceptable for us to recognize *Xiuzhen shijie* mentioned by Zhang Yuchu as the same ten precepts mentioned in *A Miscellany of Directions to Mystery (Zazhu zhixuan pian)*.

B2 is a ritual text of repentance dedicated to Zhenwu 真武, or True Warrior. The text repeats the list of prohibited deeds mentioned in the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*. On the basis of this list, users of this scripture of repentance ritual are guided to confess the transgressions from their own past lives in front of Zhenwu and other gods.

At the beginning of this text, a ritual priest called “Official of the Retreat” (*Zhaiguan* 齋官) asks the gods to come down to the altar and consider the participants’ sincere attitudes so that they, the gods, can erase the participants’ past sins. After taking refuge in the Three Purities and Jade Emperor, the repentance to Zhenwu

³⁷ Yokote Yutaka 横手裕, “Zenshinkyô no henyô” 全真教の変容, *Chugoku tetsugaku kenkyû* 中国哲学研究 2 (1990), 23–93. See also Yokote, “Zenshinkyô to Nanshû Hokushû” 全真教と南宗北宗, in Miura Kunio 三浦國雄, Horiike Nobuo 堀池信夫, Ôgata Tôru 大形徹, eds., *Dôkyô no seimeikan to shintairon* 道教の生命観と身体論 (Yûzankaku shuppansha, 2000), 180–96.

begins:

Humbly referring to the text, the first precept of the *Cultivating Perfection* says, “You must never steal or deceive people to damage others and benefit yourself.” I am bowing low in contemplation, which leads me to understand that I have committed this sin in my previous lives. Now I make a deep vow to you, the high perfected, and make my modest repentance. Considering the benevolence of the Dao, please forgive me!

謹按修真第一戒云，不得陰盜潛謀，害物利己。伏念，某多生以來，曾犯此戒。今禮高真虔誠懺悔，仗此道恩，普垂赦宥。³⁸

In this part, repentance is expressed on the basis of the first precept of *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* (B1). But the above quotation is only from the former half of the first precept beginning with “you must not . . .” 不得. The latter half, beginning with “you must . . .” 當 in the original article of *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* (and all the variants of *Ten Precepts for Novices* [*Chuzhen shijie*]) is omitted. The omission is repeated in subsequent repentances corresponding to the second to the tenth precepts. In spite of this omission, it is obvious that this ritual text for repentance is based on the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* (B1).

B3 shares characteristics with B2 as a ritual text for repentance based on the “Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection” performed in front of Zhenwu. But while B2 is a rather short text with only one *juan*, B3 has ten *juans*, each of which corresponds to one precept included in “Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection.”

According to this litany, the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* was revealed to Perfected Miaoxing 妙行真人 by a supreme god named Celestial Worthy Reincarnating at the Golden Gate, the Sovereign of Red Letters of the Highest (Wushang Chiwen dijun jinque huashen tianzun 無上赤文帝君金闕化身天尊) in order to save people in a sinful age. The Celestial Worthy relates a

³⁸ *Beiji zhenwu yousheng zhenjun liwen*, 3a–b.

story to Miaoxing explaining how the precepts were revealed for the first time during Kaihuang 開皇 kalpa. At that time, the Celestial Worthy explains, he reincarnated himself as Zhenwu to show the words of the ten precepts to save innumerable people. Having listened to this story, Miaoxing asked the Celestial Worthy to show the ten precepts again so that everyone could hold them. Satisfied with Miaoxing's request, the Celestial Worthy revealed the precepts to Miaoxing. Just as in the case of B2, the ten precepts mentioned in this book are based on B1, but they quote only the former part of each precept.

One of the most remarkable points of B3 is that, in this text, the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* is regarded not only as a ritual text for those who have left their families but also as a text for lay practitioners who remain at home. After revealing the ten precepts, the Celestial Worthy explains the result of performing this litany as follows:

If it is performed on the days of Three Primes, five *la* days, days of *jiazi*, days of *gengshen*, Three Assemblies, or Ten Retreat Days, and whether you live in monasteries, or at home where you arrange incense and flowers, perform the ritual of repentance humbly, take refuge in our teaching, repent of your own sins, and discipline yourself in the future: Your name on the register of the dead in black ink will be removed and then written in the cinnabar-red register so that you can live happily until you die and then can ascend to heaven after death.

若能於三元、五臘、甲子、庚申、三會、十直之辰，於諸宮觀或在家庭，備列香花，虔心懺禮，誓依吾教，改往修來，即得謫削黑書，名標丹籍，見存獲慶，過世超昇。³⁹

In this passage, “to perform ritual of repentance humbly” 虔心懺禮 means to repent of one's sins by comparing one's deeds to the provisions of the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*. The practitioners who perform this ritual are assumed to be *in monasteries or in their own homes* 於諸宮觀或在家庭. As we have

³⁹ *Beiji zhenwu puci dusi fachen*, 1.2b.

seen, the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* is virtually the same set of precepts as the *(Ten) Precepts for Novices*, which is a set of precepts exclusively for those who left their home. But this text expands the use of the precepts so that those who stay at home can also use them.

B4, as can be imagined from its title, is very much like B2, except that this litany is dedicated to True Lord of Wonderful Succor and Divine Merit (Shengong miaoji zhenjun), or Xu Xun 許遜, while B2 is dedicated to Zhenwu. Let us look at the repentance shown in regard to the first precept:

Humbly referring to the text, the first precept of *Cultivating Perfection* says, “You must never steal or deceive people to damage others and benefit yourself.” Thinking carefully, [I must admit] I have committed this sin in my previous lives. Now, I make a deep vow to the True Lord, beg his mercy, and strive for repentance.

謹按，修真第一戒云，不得陰盜潛謀，害物利己。切念，某多生以來曾犯此戒，今禮真君，求哀懺悔。

The text seen in this passage is very like those quoted from B2 above. Just as in the case of B2, this text also quotes only the former half of each precept of *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*.

As mentioned above, it is extremely difficult to determine the date of formation of B2, B3, and B4. Different scholars have been led to different conclusions, but here I will use mainly Yang Lizhi’s 楊立志 discussion, which most thoroughly refers to relevant materials.⁴⁰ Yang tentatively dated these texts based on the canonical titles (titles given by government to the gods) of Zhenwu in each text. Needless to say, the date of conferment of the title only determines the earliest possible date of formation of the text that mentions the title. But, judging from these texts dedicated to Zhenwu, such dates seem to suggest the approximate time when the texts became popular. As Yang has pointed out, the latest canonical title conferred on Zhenwu in B2 is “Dark Emperor, Jade

⁴⁰ Yang Lizhi 楊立志, *Wudang wenhua gailun* 武當文化概論 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2008), 93–160.

Void Tutorial Primer” (Yuxu shixiang xuantian shangdi 玉虛師相玄天上帝).⁴¹ Although it is extremely difficult to determine precisely when this title was conferred on Zhenwu by the emperor, the earliest detectable reference to this title is the mention by Cheng Zhong 陳侗 in his commentary to *Scriptures of the Divine Spell Personally Transmitted by Zhenwu, Great Saint of Dark Heaven* (*Taishang shuo xuantian dasheng zhenwu benzhuān shenzhou miaojing zhu* 太上說玄天大聖真武本傳神咒妙經). Yang has shown that Chen Zhong wrote a postscript to the scripture in 1236, which survived in a version of *Scriptures of the Divine Spell* preserved in Zixiaogong 紫霄宮 at Wudang-shan.⁴²

As mentioned above, B3 is a text compiled on the basis of B2. According to Yang, the title of Zhenwu mentioned in B3 includes the word *fude* 福德, or “Blessing the Virtuous,” which is the canonical title conferred on Zhenwu by Ningzong (r. 1194–1224) in 1209.⁴³ So 1209 can be regarded as the earliest possible date when B3 was compiled.⁴⁴

Regarding B4, Kristofer Schipper has pointed out that this text includes a canonization title consisting of four Chinese characters: “zhidao xuanying” 至道玄應, which was added by Yuan Chengzong 成宗 in 1295 to the previous canonization title of Xu Xun. Therefore, the formation of this text cannot be earlier than 1295.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid., 141. The full title of Zhenwu mentioned in this text is: Zhentian zhenwu zhishi fushen Yuxu shixiang xuantian shangdi 鎮天真武治世福神玉虛師相玄天上帝. As “Yuxu shixiang xuantian shangdi” is obviously the latest canonical title among this long series of titles, here we deal only with this part consisting of eight characters.

⁴² Ibid., 141–42. I myself haven’t checked the version preserved in Zixiaogong.

⁴³ Yang, *Wudang wenhua gailun*, 141.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 141. The full title of Zhenwu in B3 is Beiji zhentian yousheng zhushun zhenwu lingying fude zhenjun yuxu shixiang xuantian shangdi 北極鎮天佑聖助順真武靈應福德真君玉虛師相玄天上帝.

⁴⁵ See Schipper, “*Shengong miaoji zhenjun liwen*,” in Schipper and Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, 1116. On the additional investiture of the title “zhidao xuanying” by Yuan Chengzong in 1295, also see Akizuki Kan’ei, *Chugoku kinsei dôkyô no Keisei* (Tokyo: Sôbunsha, 1978), 37. Mu Changchao 牧常晁, known as a *neidan* practitioner and an strong advocate of unification of the Three Teachings active in the second half of the 13th century, mentions that practitioners in Xishan had “Xiuzhen shijie” 西山有修真十戒 (*Xuanzong zhizhi* (Continue on next page)

As we have mentioned, the content of B4 is similar to B3 except for the name of the god to whom the text is dedicated, which suggests that one of the two texts may be based on the other. If we compare the earliest possible dating of B4 (1295) to that of B3 (1209), we might infer that the compiler of B4 imitated B3.

It is very difficult and sometimes a serious error to determine the time of formation of a text on the basis of its earliest mention. But if we consider that these texts all share the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*, these dates given in relation to the years of conferral of the titles of gods, 1236 for B2, 1209 for B3, and 1295 for B4, are indicative. Since the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* (B1) appeared in a text compiled shortly after 1244, it seems safe to say that this set of precepts was widely circulated among worshippers of very popular gods like Zhenwu and Xu Xun from the 13th century to the early 14th century. Although it remains difficult to date each text precisely, it seems reasonable, on the whole, to estimate that the B group of texts were formed during the time from the Southern Song (1127–1279) to Yuan (1271–1368) periods.

(c) Type C

C1: *The Golden Book of Great Corpus of Salvation by Lingbao in Upper Clarity* is a corpus of Lingbao liturgies compiled in 1433 by a Zhengyi 正一 Daoist, Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451).⁴⁶ The book includes various ritual texts used by Zhengyi Daoists in the early 15th century, among which a book of ordination liturgies to confer

(Note 45—Continued)

wanfa tonggui 玄宗直指萬法同歸 [SN1066], 3.20b). As Mu Changchao refers to Xu Xun 許遜's legends as "achievements in Xishan" 西山事蹟, his reference to "Xiuzhen shijie" suggests that some cult to Xu Xun in Xishan, Jiangxi, adopted "Xiuzhen shijie" as a norm for their life by the mid-13th century. It is very plausible that the *Shengong miaoji zhenjun liwen* was compiled by a person who trained in that tradition of using the "Xiuzhen shijie."

⁴⁶ The text is included in vol. 16 and 17 of the *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書. *The Golden Book* has three prefaces: the earliest preface was written in 1432 by the 45th Heavenly Master, Zhang Zhanran 張湛然. The second preface was written by Zhou Side himself also in 1432. The latest one was by Wu Dajie 吳大節 and dated 1433.

the *Ten Precepts for Novices* on initiate monks, or *Chuzhen* 初真, is included.⁴⁷ This liturgy is called the *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps* (*Pidai yi* 披戴儀), and it occupies a part of “Section of Ordination” (*Chuandu pin* 傳度品) in *juan* 19.⁴⁸

The *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps* is extremely important for us: it appears to be the latest dated predecessor of the ordination ritual in which the *Ten Precepts for Novices* were conferred before Wang Changyue. Below, I will briefly introduce the general contents of “Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps.” As I have discussed elsewhere, Zhou Side’s *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps* basically follows the fundamental structure of traditional Daoist ordination for those who leave their families, such as “Liturgy of Ordination” (*duren yi* 度人儀) in *juan* 6 of *Regulations for the Practice of Dao in Accordance with the Scriptures of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 三洞奉道科戒營始) [SN1125] and Jia Shanxiang’s 賈善翔 *Ordination Ceremony for Those Who Leave the Family* (*Taishang chujia chuanduyi* 太上出家傳度儀) [SN1236]. The main structure consists of three basic ceremonies: (1) Leaving Lay Society, (2) Investiture with Costumes, and (3) Conferring of the Ten Precepts.

Here, I will introduce the outline of Zhou Side’s *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps* by briefly explaining the purpose of rituals corresponding to these three basic ceremonies.⁴⁹

(1) Ceremony of Leaving Lay Society

In Zhou’s *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps*, the ceremony of leaving lay society comes after preparatory opening ceremonies such as inviting the Ordination Master (*dushi* 度師, *qingshi*

⁴⁷ “Chuzhen” is the precise word in this text to refer to the ordinands. See *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu, Jiji* 已集 *shang* 上: 8b.

⁴⁸ *Juan* 19 is titled *Liuchuan liji men* 流傳利濟門 (“Chapter of Transmission and Salvation”). *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu, Jiji shang*: 1a–10b. “Chuzhen shijie” is mentioned on 9a–b.

⁴⁹ For more detail about the content of the text, see Mori Yuria, “Dôkyô no shukke denkaigi nit suite no ichikôsetsu (Kinmei Shichishin, Ka Zehnsô, Shû Shitoku wo chûshin ni): Ô Jôgetsu Shoshin jikkai zenshi (II)” 道教の出家伝戒儀についての一考察 (金明七真・賈善翔・周思得を中心に): 王常月「初真十戒」前史 (II), *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungakukenkyûka kenkyû kiyô* 59 (2014), 39–56.

shengzuo 請師升座), and praying before burning incense (*zhuxiang* 祝香). After burning incense, the Ordination Master delivers a sermon to the ordinands about the importance of leaving one's family to become a monk. Next, the ceremony of leaving lay society begins.⁵⁰ It proceeds with ordinands showing their gratitude for the grace of the king (emperor), their ancestors, their parents, and their friends by making obeisance four times in each of the four directions. At the end of each obeisance, the ordinands vow that they will never again practice mundane ritual acts 自今後不得再行俗禮.⁵¹

(2) Ceremony of Investiture with Costumes

Before this investiture, the Ordination Master delivers a rather long sermon on the origin of Daoist teachings that should be studied in the proper manner and deportment (*weiyi* 威儀). The topic of proper manner and deportment develops into the investiture with physical items.

The ceremony is divided into six rituals of conferring the items needed for living in a monastery. The ordinands are invested with: (1) "cloud shoes" (*yunlü* 雲履), (2) a Daoist's skirt (*daoqun* 道裙), (3) "cloud sleeves" (*yunxiu* 雲袖), (4) "cap of the stars" (*xingguan* 星冠), (5) "feather gowns" (*yufu* 羽服), and (6) "audience tablet" (*chaojian* 朝簡).⁵² These items are nearly the same as those conferred on the ordinand in Jia Shanxiang's *Ordination Ceremony for Those Who Leave the Family* (northern Song period).⁵³

(3) Ceremony of Conferment of the Ten Precepts

Next comes the making of obeisance to the Three Masters (*lixie sanshi* 禮謝三師)⁵⁴ and the explanation of the "Ten Proper Manners"

⁵⁰ *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu*, *Jiji shang*: 3a.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4a.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 5a–7a.

⁵³ *Taishang chujia chuandu yi*, 6a. See Mori, "Dokyo no shukke denkaigi ni Tsuite no Ichikosatsu," 59.

⁵⁴ *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu*, *Jiji shang*: 7a.

(*Shishi weiyi* 十事威儀) that those who live in a monastery are to follow.⁵⁵ After showing the “Ten Proper Manners,” comes the ceremony of conferring of the *Ten Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhen shijie* 初真十戒). The conferring starts with the Ordination Master’s sermon on precepts. In this the master, employing Neo-Confucian terminology, insists on the importance of the precepts as essential for controlling (*ge* 格) both the outer and inner objects (*wu* 物) of the mind with sincerity (*cheng* 誠).⁵⁶ After the sermon, the Ordination Master announces the start of the conferral:

Now I am going to grant the words and reveal the secrets so that I can expound to you each precept. If you, XX, always obey [the precepts hereafter], then you will be promoted to higher positions. You should think quietly in your mind, and now you must listen to me!

今當啟言演祕，為設戒條。若弟子[某人]終始不怠，進職有陞。靜念在心，諦聽吾說。⁵⁷

Unfortunately, no concrete explanation given about the gestures made or the words spoken, either by masters or the ordinand. It only gives the text of the *Ten Precepts for Novices*. What is unique about this version of the *Ten Precepts for Novices* is that the sixth precept of the other versions is replaced with the fifth precept of the so-called *Supreme Great Precepts of Wisdom* (*Zhibui shangpin dajie* 智慧上品大戒).⁵⁸ The replaced (original) content of the sixth Precepts is:

⁵⁵ Ibid., 8a. “Ten Proper Manners” is a summary of *Xuanmen shishi weiyi*, 2a in *Daozang*, SN792.

⁵⁶ *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu*, *Jiji shang*: 8b. The Ordination Master says, “The Precepts are [the means of] voiding your mind, understanding the Dao, cultivating your own body, and probing the phenomena of nature” 戒者，虛心明道，修身格物之謂也。

⁵⁷ Ibid., 9a.

⁵⁸ As for *Zhibui shangpin dajie* 智慧上品大戒, see Ikehira Noriko, “On the Wisdom of Penetrating the Six Perceptions in the ‘Great Superior Rules of Wisdom’” 關於《太上洞真智慧上品大戒》的「六通智慧」. Paper presented at Fourth Japan-American Daoist Studies Conference, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, Washington, on March 29, 2016.

Do not drink liquor to excess or eat meat in violation of the code. You should harmonize your *qi* and your nature and concentrate on maintaining clarity and the void [of them].

不得飲酒過差，食肉違禁。當調和氣性，專務清虛。⁵⁹

The actual precept, derived from *The Supreme Great Precepts of Wisdom*, is:

Sixth: Do not speak ill of people; do not make idle talk; be honest both in mind and behavior; do not make inappropriate remarks.”

六者，口無惡言，言無華綺，內外忠直，不犯口過。⁶⁰

Although it is understandable that the compiler (Zhou Side) introduced the prohibitions against deeds committed by the use of problematic words, it is not easy to understand why the prohibition against drinking alcohol and eating meat was replaced with them. As we will see later, Wang Changyue also revised the precepts about drinking. The question as to why the prohibition related to drinking was objectionable is yet to be answered.

After the conferral, the Ordination Master clearly mentions the title of the set of the precepts:

The precepts which I have explained for you earlier are called *Ten Precepts for Novices*!

向來為汝說者，是名初真十戒。⁶¹

It is important to note that the set of ten precepts in Zhou's *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps* is cited here under its original name, *Ten Precepts for Novices*. As I have argued elsewhere, the framework of the ordination ritual Zhou employed was very traditional. At the same time, as we have seen, the set of ten precepts he used was also traditional. The traditional form and contents of the Daoist ordination ritual were apparently crystalized

⁵⁹ *Zhiyanzong*, 1.7b.

⁶⁰ *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu*, *Jiji shang*: 9b.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9b.

into the *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps* in the Ming period, and Wang Changyue revived it in the early Qing.

(d) Type D

As mentioned above, the earliest versions of *Precepts for Novices* seen in the texts that belong to Type A are attributed to an anonymous god only mentioned as “celestial perfected” 天真. The compilers of the texts that we categorized as Type D, on the other hand, identify this anonymous god as Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void.

D1: Among the nine texts that include various versions of the “Ten Precepts for Novices,” and the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*, Celestial Worthy (D1) is unique in several ways: First, this is seemingly the first text that attributed the *Precepts for Novices* to the Celestial Worthy of Sovereign (Xuhuang tianzun 虛皇天尊). Second, this is the only version commented on by an anonymous Daoist. Each precept is explained with commentaries. Third, the ninth precept in the original versions of the “Precepts for Novices,” Types A, B, and C, which insists on the importance of “Confucian” virtues such as *zhong* 忠 (loyalty), *xiao* 孝 (filial piety), *ren* 仁 (benevolence), and *xin* 信 (sincerity), has been moved to the position of the first precept in Type D (D1 and D2). Because of this replacement, the precepts from the first to the eighth in Types A, B, and C have been moved to positions from second to ninth in Type D.

Fourth, although there is a great difference in the order of the precepts between Type D and others (Types A, B, and C), the wording of each precept of Types D and A are quite similar. This feature suggests that there is a strong tie between Types D and A. The author of D1 seems to have used A1 or A2 as a base for the text that he/she created. Thus, as for the text's dating, it seems reasonable to look at its relation to the texts belonging to Type A.

There are several reasons for postulating a direct derivation from type A to type D. First, Type A can possibly be traced back to the late Tang period, while Type D did not make its first appearance until the Ming *Daozang*. Generally speaking, it seems natural to regard the texts classified as Type A as versions of an earlier date

than those classified as Type D.⁶² And so it seems more natural to assume that the author of D1 created his/her own version on the basis of the text classified as Type A, rather than the other way around.

However, since appearing in the Ming period does not necessarily mean that the text had not existed before, the above explanation cannot prove that Type D was derived from Type A. A more decisive factor is that the first precept in Type D can be assumed to have been moved from the ninth position to the top by the author of D1. A precept asserting the importance of loyalty and filial piety (which begins with “do not violate being faithful, filial . . .” 不得不忠不孝) is placed as the ninth precept in other versions of the text classified into Types A, B and C. But in D1, that very precept is placed at the top of the ten precepts. If D1 was composed earlier than A1, it would mean that the editor of A1 moved the first precept, insisting on the importance of loyalty and filial piety, to the ninth precept. This does not seem plausible. The anonymous commentary on the first precept of D1 insists that loyalty and filial piety remain important even for those who have left their families:

Therefore, [the precept mentioning] loyalty and filial piety comes first in various precepts; it is the source of hundreds of [good] deeds; and it is the first obligation for the students [of Daoism].

故忠孝為諸戒之首，百行之源，學者之先務也。⁶³

This clearly explains why this precept emphasizing loyalty and filial piety should be placed first in the ten precepts. For the commentator on D1, who most likely is the author of D1, there is a clear reason for putting this precept at the top. And this message must also be clear to readers of D1. If the above inference is acceptable, it is highly unlikely that the author of A1 deliberately moved the first precept of D1 to the ninth when he/she compiled

⁶² Here, we exclude the possibility of A2 being itself derived from D1, because A2 was, as we have discussed, obviously copied from A1. We do not mention D2, either, when we discuss the formation of Type D.

⁶³ Ibid., 2a.

his/her own version of "Ten Precepts for Novices." Then, the only other possibility is that the author of D1 made a change in the order of the precepts on the basis of his/her own idea of insisting on the importance of loyalty and filial piety even for those who leave their families.

The third factor that leads us to infer that D1 was derived from Type A is the fact that the author of D1 attributed it to Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void, while the authors of Type A attributed the precepts to a celestial perfected without name. If the author of A1 compiled it on the basis of Type D, it would mean that he/she replaced Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void with an anonymous celestial perfected, which would diminish the authority of the *Ten Precepts for Novices* that were "originally" attributed to a god of very high status. This seems unlikely.

We have already made clear that D1 was compiled later than the texts classified into Type A, and seems to have been derived from Type A texts. Which text precisely remains to be ascertained? Our answer is that A2 is the more plausible source over A1. The A1 text says "You should praise other people's goodness" 當稱人之善 in its fifth precept, while A2 says "You should praise other people's grace and goodness" 當稱人之美善 in its fifth precept. The corresponding precept of D1, that is, the sixth (not the fifth, given the re-ordering) is similar to that of A2 (美善), thus suggesting that D1 was derived from A2. If this inference is acceptable, it is plausible that D1 was formed after the spread of *Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels* (*Yunji qiqian*), which would be after the mid-11th century. That is the earliest possible date of the D1 text's authorship.

While we can determine the earliest date for D1, it is extremely difficult to move any further because as yet we can find no reference to this text until the Ming *Daozang* was published in 1445: we can only say that D1 was probably formed at some time between the mid-11th century and the early 15th century.

The last question concerning the history of D1 is its relation to Types B and C. All the Types B and C texts place the precept insisting on the importance of loyalty and filial piety as the ninth. Seemingly, the authors of Type B and C, not to mention those of

Type A, had no chance or intention to adopt the text of D1. Therefore, even if we suppose that the date of D1's authorship is rather early, we can assume that D1 did not have much influence on the other extant texts. D1 is isolated from the line of development or derivation that probably connects Types A, B, and C. The first text that was clearly influenced by D1 is D2, a version first seen in the early Qing period and probably compiled by Wang Changyue's disciples.

D2: "Ten Precepts for Novices Conferred by Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void" (*Xuhuang tianzun suoming chuzhen shijie* 虛皇天尊所命初真十戒) is another title for *Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhenjie* 初真戒) mentioned in *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* (*Chuzhen jielü*) attributed to Wang Changyue, which is included in Jiang Yupu's *Daozang jiyao*. As we have noted earlier, *Precepts and Disciplines for Novices* can be understood as a work compiled by disciples of Wang Changyue in Nanjing shortly after 1686.

As Yin Zhihua has pointed out, the text of Wang Changyue's *Ten Precepts for Novices* is identical to the main text of the ten precepts of D1 except for its seventh precept. Wang Changyue (or his disciples) changed an original precept that only forbade drinking too much alcohol into a prohibition against taking any alcohol. He also added a prohibition against eating meat to the same article.⁶⁴ However, the forewords and commentaries seen in D1 were not adopted by D2: it is only in its title that the precepts were claimed as revealed by the Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void.

IV. Conclusion

During the first half of the Tang period, a set of ten precepts for the Daoist novices leaving their families, *Precepts for Novices*, first appeared in a Lingbao scripture, *Lingbao Scripture on the Karmic Causality of Those Who Leave Their Family*. This set of ten precepts seems to have been adopted by Zhang Wanfu; however,

⁶⁴ See Yin Zhihua (2011), 52.

Zhang's *Precepts for Novices* seems to have soon been obsolete. In the second half of Tang period, possibly very late in the period, a new *Precepts for Novices* (A1) made its first appearance. We have not found any sources that explain how and why the previous *Precepts for Novices* was replaced by the new one. In the Northern Song period (960–1127), the new *Precepts for Novices* was included into the influential encyclopedia *Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels* as *Ten Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhen shijie* 初真十戒) (A2).

Our discussion has hopefully made it clear that there were two types of *Precepts for Novices* derived from a set of *Precepts for Novices* preserved in A2. One is the text, classified as Type D, that first appeared as *Text of Ten Precepts and Disciplines for Novices of the Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void* (D1). The date of this text's authorship can be only estimated as sometime between the mid-11th century and the early 15th century. It had little influence on other Daoist texts during this period. Its content was taken over by Wang Changyue 王常月 and his disciples in the early Qing period in their *Ten Precepts for Novices Conferred by Celestial Worthy of Sovereign in the Void* (D2), which was included in their *Prefaces and Disciplines for Novices* (*Chuzhen jielü* 初真戒律).

The other texts derived from A2 were Types B and C. Type B changed its title to *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* (*Xiuzhen shijie* 修真十戒). The texts of this type were developed and shared as a set of precepts, and also as a set of ritual texts for repentance by worshippers of Zhenwu and Xu Xun from the Southern Song to the Yuan period. Some of the advocates of the *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* were the practitioners of the Tradition of Complete Perfection (Quanzhen jiao) who apparently worshipped Bai Yuchan as one of their masters. They were the practitioners who left their homes because they followed the *Codes of the Hall* [for the Daoist practitioners] 堂規 attributed to Bai Yuchan and master Feng. But they were not necessarily novices, which seems to be why these variants of *Ten Precepts for Novices* were called *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*. On the other hand, the members of the cults for Zhenwu and Xu Xun who used the precept as basis for their

ritual of repentance, were not limited to clerics who had left their families. Thus, during the time of the Southern Song and the Yuan, this set of precepts spread among various types of Daoist practitioners, crossing the boundary between laypeople and the clergy.

The text of *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection* was followed by a text from Zhou Side, his *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps* in the Ming period (C1). Zhou Side seems to have adopted the text of *Ten Precepts for Those Who Cultivate Perfection*, but used its traditional name, *Ten Precepts for Novices*. As far as I know, his *Rite of Investing Robes and Caps* is the only existing text that shows the outline of the program and sequence of the ordination ritual during which *Ten Precepts for Novices* were conferred on Daoist novices before the Qing.

Zhou Side's text is extremely important when we consider the prehistory of Wang Changyue's consecration ritual. According to the discourse of the Longmen tradition articulated in *Longmen xinfā* 龍門心法, Wang Changyue's precepts were said to be the revival of Qiu Chuji's 丘處機 precept that had been obsolete for some four hundred years.⁶⁵ But the existence of Zhou's *Rite of Investiture with Robes and Caps* shows there was a long, continuous tradition of conferring nearly the same *Ten Precepts for Novices* as Wang had given to his ordinands. This is true even though the style of the text of *Ten Precepts for Novices* (*Chuzhen shijie*) which Wang adopted (Type D) varies a little from what Zhou Side adopted (Type C). Wang seems to have chosen the text of the Ming *Daozang*, in which the precept insisting on the importance of loyalty and filial piety was placed at the top. But the concept of conferring *Ten Precepts for Novices* on Daoist novices that Wang adopted was virtually the same as Zhou Side's. Wang Changyue's ordination ritual for Daoist novices can be regarded in one sense as a revival of the ordination ritual in the Ming period.

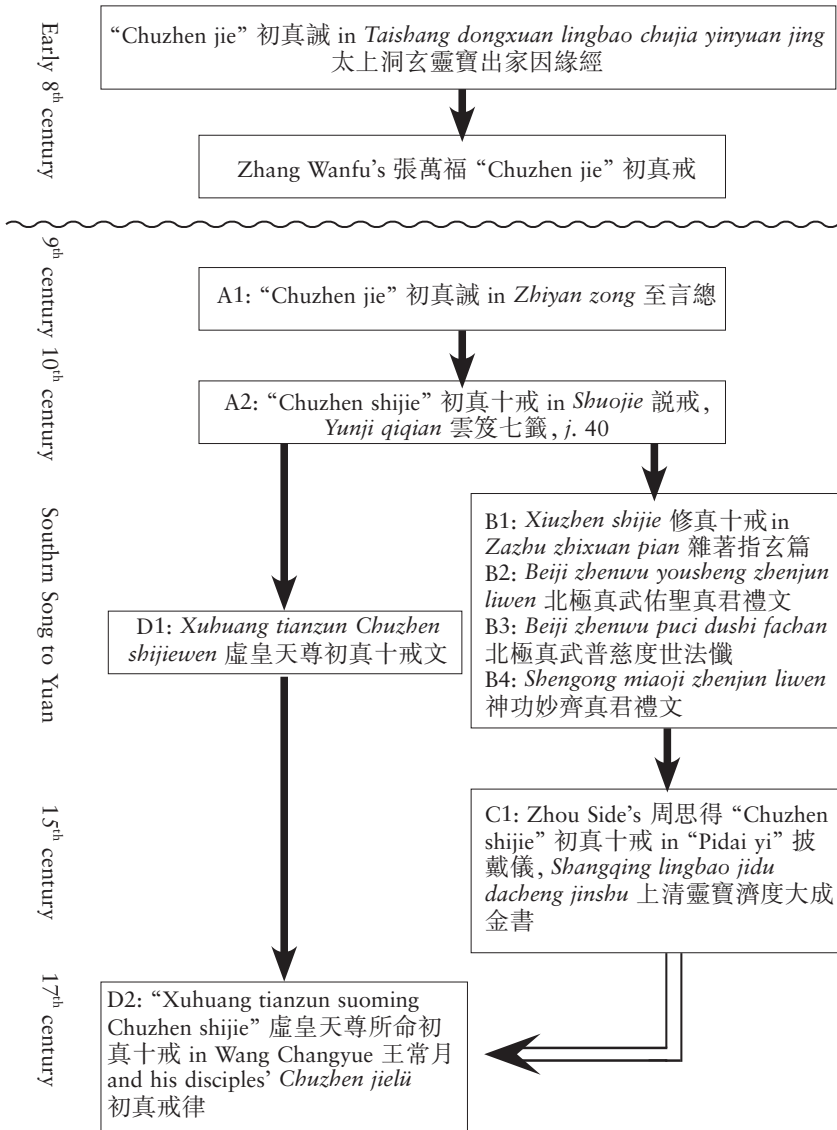
⁶⁵ See *Longmen xinfā, juan shang*: 16b, ZWDS, vol. 6: 736 (我道門中，只因七真闡教之後，教相衰微，戒律威儀，四百年不顯於世)，and *j. xia*: 30a, ZWDS, vol. 6: 772 (又想丘長春祖師，自從元朝，說戒興玄，到今四百年來，不行其戒)。As for the analysis of this part of *Longmen xinfā*, see Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, 105–6.

In conclusion, we can understand that Wang Changyue's ordination ritual of conferring *Ten Precepts for Novices* was based on a long tradition of Daoist ordination rituals. Although it is hard to trace in detail the history of some of the variants we have mentioned in this article, it is clear that virtually the same set of ten precepts was used from the pre-Song period to the early 15th century, well before Wang and his disciples adopted it as their own ritual. If we understand the fact that the same set of ten precepts was used by both Quanzhen and Zhengyi Daoists, the "revival" of the conferment of the precepts by Wang Changyue and his disciples was not necessarily limited to the revival of the Quanzhen tradition: it may be regarded as a revival of the basic tradition of conferral for Daoists in general.

Table 1 Variants of Precepts for Novices

Type A (9 th –early 11 th c.)		Type B (13 th –14 th c.)		Type C (early 15 th c.)	Type D (D1: mid-11 th –15 th c.; D2: second half of 17 th c.)
A1《至言總》卷一所收〈初真誠〉	A2《雲笈七籤》卷四〇所收〈初真十戒〉	B1《雜著指玄篇》卷八〈修真十戒〉	B2《北極真武佑聖真君禮文》	C1周氏《金書》卷十九〈披戴儀〉所收〈初真十戒〉	D1道藏本《虛皇天尊初真十戒文》
第一戒者，不得陰賊密謀，害物利己。當行陰德，廣濟群生。	第一戒者，不得陰賊潛謀，害物利己。當行陰德，廣濟群生。	一者，不得陰賊潛謀，害物利己。當行陰德，廣濟群生。	修真第一戒云，不得陰盜潛謀，害物利己。	一者，不得陰賊潛謀，害物利己。當行陰德，廣濟群生。	第一戒者，不孝，不忠，不仁，不義，不節，不親，不誠，萬物。
第二戒者，不得殺害含生，以充滋味。當行惡惠，以及昆蟲。	修真第二戒云，不得殺害含生，以充滋味。	二者，不得殺害含生，以充滋味。當行惡惠，以及昆蟲。	修真第二戒云，不得殺害含生，以充滋味。	二者，不得殺害含生，以充滋味。當行惡惠，以及昆蟲。	第二戒者，不得殺害含生，以充滋味。當行惡惠，以及昆蟲。
第三戒者，不得淫邪取真，穢慢靈氣。當守貞操，無缺犯。	修真第三戒云，不得淫邪取真，穢慢靈氣。當守貞操，無缺犯。	三者，不得淫邪取真，穢慢靈氣。當守貞操，無缺犯。	修真第三戒云，不得淫邪取真，穢慢靈氣。當守貞操，無缺犯。	三者，不得淫邪取真，穢慢靈氣。當行節操，無犯干。	第四戒者，不得淫邪取真，穢慢靈氣。當守貞操，無缺犯。
第四戒者，不得取人骨肉。當以道助物，令九族慈和。	修真第四戒云，不得取人骨肉。當以道助物，令九族慈和。	四者，不得取人骨肉。當以道助物，令九族慈和。	修真第四戒云，不得取人骨肉。當以道助物，令九族慈和。	四者，不得取人骨肉。當以道助物，令九族慈和。	第五戒者，不得取人骨肉。當以道助物，令九族慈和。

Chart 1 Flow of “Chuzhen (shi) jie” from early 8th century to 17th century



王常月初真戒探源

森由利亞

摘要

一般認為，清初的王常月(1594–1680?)在道教歷史上是一位以復興戒律而實現全真道中興的全真道士。然而，因為資料的缺乏，王常月及其戒法的真實情況在諸多方面仍模糊不清。甚至「王常月是否真地復興過戒律?」、「即使復興過，他又是復興的甚麼時代的戒律?」這種基本問題還有待解決。本文旨在通過研究這些問題，闡明王常月的戒法的歷史地位和王常月創造戒律的意圖。但是，因為在一般被視為由王常月所作的三種戒律(初真戒、中極戒、天仙戒)之中，我們不能把蔣予蒲(1755–1819)編《道藏輯要》中所載的《中極戒》和《天仙戒》看做為王常月和他的弟子們的著作，所以我們無法討論王常月的中極戒和天仙戒。因而，本文以《道藏輯要》所載的王常月撰《初真戒律》(其中載初真戒)為中心進行討論。本文首先確認《初真戒律》的資料價值。介紹康熙50年(1711)在湖北和江西的交界處已經有人念誦王常月《初真戒律》的情況，由此我們指出王常月的《初真戒律》在18世紀初期已經廣為流傳，並指出《初真戒律》由王常月和他的及門弟子親自著作的可能性很高。然後，本文為了解王常月所用的初真戒的由來，而追蹤唐末至明初道教資料中所看到的該戒的用法演變。其中，本文指出在王常月使用初真戒以前，明代的正一道士周思得(1359–1451)刊出了一篇出家傳戒儀，其中已經使用了與王常月所用內容相同的初真戒。以此，我們指出王常月曾試圖復興明代的出家傳戒儀式的可能性。

關鍵詞：王常月、初真戒、十戒、周思的、出家戒、全真