

Printing the Dao: Master Zhou Xuanzhen, The Editorial History of the *Jade Slips of Great Clarity* and Ming Quanzhen Identity*

Bony Schachter

Abstract

Drawing on a variety of previously unstudied materials, including the 1609 edition of the *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* (TQYC), stored in the National Library of China, and stele inscriptions collected by the author during fieldwork, the present article discusses how Zhou Xuanzhen (1555–1627) made use of printing as a means through which to establish his religious identity as a Quanzhen priest. Relying on methodologies

Bony Schachter received his Ph.D. in Religious Studies from The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學 (Centre for Studies of Daoist Culture 道教文化研究中心), with a dissertation about the material, textual, and ritual aspects of Zhu Quan's 朱權 (1378–1448) apotheosis as a Daoist god. He is currently Assistant Professor of Religious Studies, Yuelu Academy 嶽麓書院, Hunan, the People's Republic of China. In addition to contributing to the *Daozang Jiyao* Project, he has published articles in peer-reviewed journals, including *Monumenta Serica* and *Journal of Chinese Studies* (CUHK). His research interests include Ming Daoism, Ritual Studies, and contemporary Daoist ritual.

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such as Edition Studies and the History of the Book, the first section of this article compares the two extant editions of the TQYC, namely, the 1607 and the 1609 editions. The second section discusses the TQYC's provenance, demonstrating that both editions reflect Zhou Xuanzhen's connection with court eunuchs. The third section discusses the TQYC's depiction of Quanzhen history. My goal is to clarify why Zhou Xuanzhen, who had that book printed twice, seemingly had it in great esteem. Having the editorial history of the TQYC as its main research object, this article discusses the political dimension of Ming Quanzhen identity, arguing for that book a privileged place in its construction.

Keywords: Quanzhen, Zhu Quan, Zhou Xuanzhen, *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*, Mount Wufeng

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I. Introduction: Zhou Xuanzhen in Daoist Hagiography

Let me commence this investigation with an interesting vignette, the *Grave Inscription of the Teaching Preceptor Zhou Yunqing, Who Restored Mount Wufeng [to Its former] Glory (Chongxing Wufeng shan Yunqing Zhou fazhu mubiao 重興五峰山云清周法主墓表*; hereafter, *mubiao*), a hagiographical account describing Zhou's life.¹ A partial translation reads:

The Teaching Preceptor was named Xuan²zhen; his title was Yunqing. He also had the title Danranzi (Indifferent Master). He was a person from Feicheng. His surname was Qiu. His father was Zongyao. His mother was Lady Zhang. She once dreamt that a god gave her a book with Daoist registers. She woke up with the realization that she was pregnant. She gave birth silently, making all astonished. At the age of 7 *sui*, [Zhou] went to an external teacher. At six *chi*,³ he would swim through [an entire] pool. A cursory glance and he was able to recite [texts]. He mastered the books of the Three Teachings. In terms of medicine and divination, he was god-like. He excelled at the methods of warfare. All people expected that he would become a general. Since his Daoist roots had been planted in previous lives, as soon as he went through his cap ceremony, he abandoned Ruism to follow the Mysterious [Teaching]. His parents forced him [to adopt a family life],

¹ A few studies mention Zhou. See Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling, “*Huangjing jizhu (Gaoshang yubuang benxing jijing zhu)*,” in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, vol. 2, 1113–1115; Hsie Tsung-hui, *Xin Tiandi zhi Ming: Yubuang, Zitong yu feituan 新天帝之命：玉皇、梓潼與飛鸞* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2013), 237–245; Zhou Ying 周郢, “Taoshan Yongning gong yu Wanli gonggui jianshu xin faxiande Zhou Xuanzhen shiliao 陶山永寧宮與萬曆宮闈兼述新發現的周玄貞史料,” *Zhongguo Daojiao 中國道教*, vol. 02, 2013, 48–50; Zhang Yan 張琰, “Mingdai gaodao Zhou shengping shiji kao 明代高道周玄貞生平事跡考,” *Zhongguo Daojiao 中國道教*, 2015, vol. 2, 54–57; Zhang Fang 張方, “Quanzhen daoshi Zhou Xuanzhen yu Wanli huangshi 全真道士周玄貞與萬曆皇室,” *Quanzhen dao yanjiu 全真道研究*, 2015, vol. 4, 270–284; Yin Zhihua 尹志華, *Qingdai Quanzhen Dao lisbi xintan 清代全真道歷史新探* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2014), 75–76.

² Following Kangxi's 康熙 *bihui* 避諱 (taboo character), the text has Yuan 元 instead of Xuan 玄.

³ The text refers to his height, suggesting Zhou to be very tall for his age. The author obviously has the intention of exaggerating Zhou's physical and intellectual qualities, in a laudatory manner.

in consideration of their posterity. When he became a man, he followed his will,⁴ wandering about great distances. He took as his master a man whose surname was Zhou. Travelling through famous places, he obtained initiation from exceptional men many times. In the year *bingshen*, he stationed at the Capital, when Shenzu [that is, the Wanli emperor] ordered him to preside over the White Cloud Monastery. Some years before, there was a man surnamed Dong, who had a dream in which a person in colored garments was carrying a wooden plaque with the inscription: “Zhou, the patriarch who restored Wufeng to [its former] glory [*chongxing Wufeng zushi zhoun* 重興五峰祖師周人].” No one knew what it was about. [Zhou] was then invested by an edict to take scriptures [to Shandong] as the master of Wufeng. What an unusual life the Teaching Preceptor had! Having the renovation of that mount as his mission, he memorialized asking for treasury funds so that he could build the Palace of the Three Principles, the Pavilion of Great Peace, and other [pavilions]. He transformed all the residential monasteries into lofty buildings, [replacing] stones and bricks one by one so that very soon they were not old [buildings] anymore. At Mount Tao, he also built the Palace for Retribution of Kindness, the Palace of Gathering Immortals, and other [palaces]. In a year of extraordinary famine, the poor were [all over the streets] staring at each other [in a desperate fashion]. No less than a thousand people depended on [Master Zhou] to guarantee their survival. Even though he had no financial resources to count on, [the Master] particularly dedicated himself to repairing [the Daoist] Canon and to the exegesis of books, which he would distribute throughout towns, famous mountains, and other places. He offered incense at Mount Tai on behalf of the emperor. Throughout his journeys, he used to dispense charity, thus not eating again for days until he would have [no choice but] to return with not even a single penny in his pocket. In terms of loyalty and filial piety, he resembled Jingyang. In terms of diligence and austerity, he was like Changchun. He hated garments and detested food. He was indifferent to cold and hot weather. In case he could not avoid social contact, he would exert himself to the utmost in order to aid marriages and funerals. He saved those facing difficulties and helped those in affliction. He had no superfluous items beyond his alms bowl. He also had the character of

⁴ *Fu ru yuan* 甫如願. I interpret the term *fu* as pointing to a grown man. See the respective entry in Wang Li 王力, ed., *Wang Li gu hanyu zidian* 王力古漢語字典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 738–739.

sages and wise men, for he would never take even a single mustard seed for himself, seeing the ten thousand things as one.

法主諱元貞，號云清，又號淡然子，肥城人，其姓邱。父宗堯，母張氏，夢神收道籙一書，覺有妊，默然而生，眾奇之。年七歲就外傳，六尺游泮水，過目成誦，書通三教，醫卜如神，尤長於兵法，咸以將相期之。第道根宿植，既冠，遂棄儒而取元。父母強迫之，為後嗣計，甫如願，即出為汗漫游。從師周姓，遍歷名勝，多得異人傳。歲丙申，駐烏都下，神祖命主鉢白雲觀。先數年，有董姓者夢彩衣載一木主，題曰：重興五峰祖師周人，莫知所謂。遂封敕領經為五峰主者。法主之生，洵不凡哉！至以大興山場為己任，奏請帑金創建三元殿、太平等閣。一切嘗住道院，悉為崇樓，一石一磚，復非舊物。又建陶山報恩宮、群仙等殿。歲異荒，貧民道路相望，賴以全活著不下數萬人。雖拮据，尤修藏注書，分鎮名山等處。代上泰山進香，沿途設施，日不再食，迨歸囊無一錢。忠孝似旌陽，刻苦若長春。惡衣惡食，不爐不扇，凡交際不可却者，盡以助婚助葬，拯難周急，瓢屢之外無長物。又有聖賢一芥不取，萬物一體之風也。⁵

Zhou Xuanzhen, as other accomplished masters before him, knew in advance that he was going to return to the Yellow Springs. In Tianqi 7 (1627), “Smiling in a calm and spontaneous manner, he wrote (*dan xiao zi ruo nai shou shu yun* 淡笑自若乃手書云):”

I am not a mundane elder. Observing an edict, I came to the human world, where I was commanded to explain the wonderful within the mystery, thus exposing the mystery within the wonderful. Ah! I shall, in haste, attend to the summoning of the Western Pond; 73 *sui* passed quickly!

余非塵世叟，奉旨到人間，令闡元中妙，故演妙中元。噫！只因速赴西池召，難留光陰七十三。

⁵ This transcription is based on photographic reproductions provided in Zhang Yan 張琰, “Mingdai gaodao Zhou shengping shiji kao 明代高道周玄貞生平事跡考,” 54, 56.

This vivid account, surviving in a Qing dynasty edition,⁶ is attributed to the late Ming official Li Huiyou 李徽猷 (fl. Wanli 35, 1607), a native of Changqing 長清, a district of Jinan 濟南, the capital of Shandong 山東. He signs the *mubiao* as the Commissioner for Undertaking the Promulgation [of Imperial Orders] in Shanxi and other locales (*Shanxi dengchu cheng xuan buzheng shi* 陝西等處丞宣佈政使). Li's story suggests this attribution quite likely to be true and therefore worth retrieving. The *Huangming gongju kao* 皇明貢舉考 describes Li as a *jinshi* from Linyi county 臨邑縣, Shandong.⁷ A Daoguang 20 (1840) edition of the *Jinan fu zhi* 濟南府志 corroborates this information: "Li Huiyou was a person from Linyi. He achieved office as the Commissioner for Undertaking the Promulgation⁸ (*Buzhengshi* 布政使) of Shanxi. [This gazetteer] comprises his biography."⁹ The mentioned biography (*zhuan* 傳) is a short text summarizing Li's accomplishment. The text states that "Li Huiyou was a person from Linyi. He became a presented scholar (*jinshi*) in Wanli *guiwei* (1583)."¹⁰ It then summarizes Li's career, mentioning his various official appointments as *Hucao* 戶曹, as an official of the Xining Circuit 西寧道 and as the Left Officer of the Commissioner (*Zuo buzheng sishi* 左布政司使). Actually, the *Mingshilu* 明實錄 provides more clues on these ranks. In Wanli 22 (1594), Li was still Secretary¹¹ of the Ministry of Revenue¹² of Yunnan (*Yunnan Hubu*

⁶ Zhou's hagiography survives in the *Feicheng xian Qinshi zupu* 肥城縣邱氏族譜, a private genealogy of Qianlong 17 (1752). This edition is property of a contemporary private collector named Wang Qingji 王慶吉 of Shandong. On the ownership of the mentioned edition, see Zhou Ying 周郢, "Taoshan Yongning gong yu Wanli gonggui jianshu xin faxiande Zhou Xuanzhen shiliao 陶山永寧宮與萬曆宮闈兼述新發現的周玄貞史料," *Zhongguo Daojiao* 中國道教, vol. 2 (2013), 49.

⁷ *Huangming gongju kao* 皇明貢舉考, vol. 9, Wanli ed., 745. I consulted the Wanli ed. Preserved in the electronic database *Zhongguo jiben guji ku* 中國基本古籍庫 (hereafter, GJK).

⁸ Translations of official titles follow Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

⁹ 李徽猷臨邑人官至陝西布政使有傳. Cheng Guan 成瓘 (1763–1842), *Jinan fuzhi* 濟南府志, in GJK, vol. 40, Daoguang 20 ed., 1277.

¹⁰ 李徽猷臨邑人萬曆癸未進士. *Idem.*, 1901.

¹¹ *Idem.*, 183.

¹² *Idem.*, 258.

zhushi 雲南戶部主事),¹³ which the Daoguang gazetteer mentions as *Hucao* 戶曹, or a clerk working for the (Ministry of) Revenue. In Wanli 27 (1599), already appointed as Vice Commissioner of Henan (*Henan fushi* 河南副使), Li was promoted again to Vice Commissioner of the Xining Circuit in Shanxi (*Shanxi Xining dao fushi* 陝西西寧道副使).¹⁴ In Wanli 30 (1602), he was promoted to Right Vice Commissioner of Shanxi (*Shanxi you canzheng* 陝西右參政).¹⁵ Following his retirement, Li went back to his hometown where he spent the rest of his days “entertaining himself with poetry and wine. (*shi jiu zi yu* 詩酒自娛)”¹⁶ Wu Yuancui 伍袁萃 (fl. Wanli),¹⁷ providing details worth noticing of Li’s life, informs us that during the *daji* 大計¹⁸ of Wanli 35 (1607), the official was the only one to be expelled from political life, allegedly due to corruption (*tan* 貪).¹⁹ This may suggest that, like the Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 and his sympathizers, in the eyes of strict Ruists such as those forming the Donglin 東林 faction,²⁰ Li’s political alignments were questionable, regardless of whether he was in fact corrupt or not. This is indirect evidence that Li may have been well acquainted with self-identified “Daoists,” vilified by the likes of Wu Yuancui and prominent Donglin members. Li Huiyou was certainly in good terms with local officials in Jinan. He wrote an inscription in memory of Kang Huimin 康惠民, a native from Shanxi 陝西 (where Li had held important appointments) who became prefect of Li’s hometown,

¹³ *Ming Shenzong shilu* 明神宗實錄 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966), vol. 272, 5052 (hereafter, SZSL). *Huangming congxin lu* 皇明從信錄, in GJK, vol. 37, late Ming ed., 843.

¹⁴ SZSL, vol. 334, 6188.

¹⁵ SZSL, vol. 368, 6877.

¹⁶ *Jinan fuzhi*, in GJK, vol. 40, 1901.

¹⁷ Wu Yuancui 伍袁萃 compiled the *Linju manlu* 林居漫錄 in Wanli 35. In that work, he vilifies Zhang Guoxiang, accusing the Celestial Master of bribery (*huilu* 賄賂).

¹⁸ *Daji*, *neiji*, and *jingcha* point to a similar practice, the Ming evaluation of officials. See Hucker, 170.

¹⁹ Wu Yuancui, *Linju manlu* 林居漫錄, in GJK, vol. 3, Wanli ed., 94.

²⁰ Heinrich Busch, “The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance,” *Monumenta Serica* 14.1 (1949), 1–163; John Dardess, *Blood and History in China: the Donglin Faction and Its Repression, 1620–1627* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).

Linyi, in Wanli 41 (1613).²¹ Li Huiyou and Zhou Xuanzhen came from the same area, Shandong. Both were active during the Wanli period and shared a similar political profile.

In addition to its factual nature, other aspects of the *mubiao* should be taken into consideration as well. In changing his surname, Zhou seemingly tried to cut “karmic” ties with his family. Bokenkamp, in his work on Lingbao views of the post-mortem, has fully discussed the reasons leading a Daoist to do so.²² Modern scholarship demonstrates that Daoist practices for the annihilation of familial bonds appear in a very early stage of the religion’s development. In his discussion of the 4th-century *Sword Scripture*, for example, Company demonstrates that the practice of *shijie* 尸解 consisted not of suicide by elixir ingestion, as previously postulated by Strickmann,²³ but rather of “weakening” one’s family ties.²⁴ The *mubiao* performs the religious function of presenting Zhou as a respectable ancestor of the Qius. Ironically, therefore, it violates Zhou’s attempt at cutting ties with his ancestors, placing him back into an undesired genealogy of imperfect human beings, from whom he once tried to distance himself by means of the symbolic act of changing his surname. The man who tried to separate himself from his ancestors—and the karmic ties engendered by familial relations—has now once again returned to his family. And probably to a new cycle of rebirth.

The *mubiao* depicts Zhou as a saint. The reference to a silent birth, for example, describes Zhou as a son who did not inflict pain on his mother, in an extreme manifestation of filial piety (*xiao*

²¹ *Jinan fuzhi* 濟南府志, in GJK, vol. 36, 1124.

²² Oversimplified, Bokenkamp’s argument has that, during the period of division, ancestors became a serious source of anxiety and worldly disputes for the living, a context that informs the creation of the Lingbao corpus. Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

²³ See Michel Strickmann, “On the Alchemy of T’ao Hung-ching,” in Holmes Welch, Anna Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 127.

²⁴ Robert Company, “The Sword Scripture: Recovering and Interpreting a Lost 4th-Century Daoist Method for Cheating Death,” *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 道教研究學報 6 (2014), 33–84. Concerning the issue of family ties, see p. 73.

孝). In stating that Zhou was sent to an external teacher (*waifu* 外傳) at the early age of 7 *sui*, the text implies that he was precocious, for this usually should happen at age 10. In referring to Xu Xun 許遜 (Jingyang 旌陽) and Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春), Li Huiyou implies a connection between Zhou Xuanzhen, Jingming 淨明²⁵ and Quanzhen lineages, even if he does not explicitly mention the term “Quanzhen.” Why did Li mention a Jingming patriarch in his text? Was the historical Zhou somehow connected to Jingming teachings? Li Huiyou may have well captured an important aspect of Zhou’s engagement with lineages other than Quanzhen. Both Li Huiyou’s story and the hagiography attributed to him raise interesting questions concerning Zhou’s social networks and religious identity. Was Li one of Zhou’s disciples and/or clients? This paper shows that Zhou was very fond of his own “Quanzhen” identity. But why, in spite of showing himself so well-informed about Zhou, the official never mentions the term “Quanzhen”?²⁶

As mentioned by Li Huiyou, the priest Zhou adopted the Daoist name Indifferent Master, or Danranzi 澹然子. This Daoist name suggests that Zhou, following early Quanzhen masters,²⁷

²⁵ For scholarship on Jingming, see Xu Wei 許蔚, *Duanlie yu jiangou: Jingming dao de lishi yu wenxian* 斷裂與建構：淨明道的歷史與文獻 (Shanghai: Shanghai chubanshe, 2014).

²⁶ The description Li Huiyou offers, however, conflates with what later self-identified Daoists, modern scholars, and lay people would claim as defining features of “Quanzhen” identity: celibacy, renunciation, austerity, charity, and ritual activities. See Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004). Concerning the defining features of early Quanzhen, see Pierre Marsone, “Daoism under the Jurchen Jin Dynasty,” in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol. 2, 1111–1159. Concerning the issue of Quanzhen stereotypes among non-Daoist circles, see Vincent Goossaert, “Quanzhen, what Quanzhen? Late Imperial Daoist Clerical Identities in Lay Perspective” in Vincent Goossaert and Liu Xun, eds., *Quanzhen Daoists in Chinese Society and Culture, 1500–2010* (Berkeley, California: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2013), 19–43. Mark Halperin, “Explaining Perfection: Quanzhen and Thirteenth-century Chinese Literati,” *T’oung Pao* 104 (2018), 572–625.

²⁷ Concerning the Quanzhen textual corpus, see Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l’ordre quanzhen*, Ph.D. dissertation, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses (1997), vol. 2, 406–470; Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-Transformation in Early*

assumed a philosophical persona and may have compiled doctrinal treatises. None of these works, supposing that they ever existed, seem to have survived to the present day. Regardless of whether he wrote doctrinal works or not, Zhou was nevertheless a *textual producer*. In this respect, the self-identified Quanzhen master adopted very effective strategies. Epigraphic evidence at Mount Wufeng 五峰山, Shandong, demonstrates that Zhou made ample usage of inscriptions in order to make visible and constantly reaffirm his religious identity as a Quanzhen master. Furthermore, the Daoist priest produced new editions of previously existing scriptures, a fact noticed by Li Huiyou and confirmed by extant archival materials. Zhou is an underappreciated and yet extremely important figure of late Ming Quanzhen Daoism. This research gap is not, however, the main reason why he should become a matter of academic concern.

In presenting this contribution, my main goal is similar to Li Huiyou's: I would like to tell Zhou's story. A storyteller myself, my methodology, however, differs significantly from Li's method in that I structure my narrative around archival materials and inscriptions, that is, material evidence. At the same time, the story I intend to tell here would not be the same without the generous contributions made by Daoist scholars. Recent discussions in the field of Quanzhen studies gravitate around the very question of how "Quanzhen" became a historical category. From a scholarly perspective, Zhou's activities have a great deal to reveal about the meaning assumed by "Quanzhen" in seventeenth-century Chinese society, when it was not as stable a category as one may suppose. In this paper, I investigate how Zhou's activities were embedded in his pursuit of a "Quanzhen" identity. Why was Zhou so emphatic about his Quanzhen identity? What did Zhou understand by Quanzhen? What social and political contours did Quanzhen assume in Zhou's context?

In order to explore these issues, I focus on the compelling story behind one of Zhou's textual products, namely, a Wanli 37 (1609)

Quanzhen Daoism (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 382–422; Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 1127–1167.

edition of the *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* 天皇至道太清玉冊 (TQYC),²⁸ now stored in the National Library of China (Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館), Beijing.²⁹ From a paratextual perspective,³⁰ the TQYC is Zhu Quan's 朱權 (1378–1448)³¹ *magnum opus*, printed in Zhengtong 9 (1444). However, without Zhou's efforts, we simply would have no access to Zhu Quan's TQYC. This fact only makes its editorial history even more relevant. In the TQYC Zhu Quan presents his theological motto, the “Dao of the Middle Kingdom and Its Sages” (*Zhongguo shengren zhi dao* 中國聖人之道), arguing for the spiritual uniqueness of the Chinese people and the superiority of the Daoist Teaching (*daojiao* 道教) over foreign teachings. Discussing the TQYC with the aid of archival sources is important because Daoist Studies, in addition to the important conceptual framework furnished by European Sinology, must also rely on the empirical methodologies inherited from Chinese scholarship, which has the discovery and

²⁸ Scholars have proposed various translations for this book title. Schipper renders it as *Most Pure and Precious Books on the Supreme Tao of August Heaven*. See *The Taoist Canon*, 947. Bokenkamp translates it as *Jade Slips of Great Clarity on the Ultimate Dao of the Celestial Luminaries*; see his “Research Note: Buddhism in the Writings of Tao Hongjing,” *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 6 (2014), 248. In the Daoist encyclopedia edited by Fabrizio Pregadio, one sees the translation *Jade Fascicles of Great Clarity on the Ultimate Way of the Celestial Sovereign*, which occurs in entries authored by two different authors: (1) Vincent Goossaert, “Monastic Code,” in Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008), 104, and (2) Judith Boltz, “Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce,” in idem., 974. These three translations obviously reflect diverging interpretative patterns. I am particularly convinced that one should render *ce* 冊 as Bokenkamp does, translating it as “slips,” instead of “fascicles.”

²⁹ The National Library of China classifies this copy of the TQYC as a rare edition, or *shanben* 善本.

³⁰ The classical formulation of paratext occurs in Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: thresholds of interpretation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997). New understandings of paratext have emerged recently in scholarly literature. See Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Gillian Wright, *Producing Women's Poetry, 1600–1730: Text and Paratext, Manuscript and Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

³¹ See Richard Wang, “Prologue: Zhu Quan and His Legacy,” in *The Ming Prince and Daoism: Institutional Patronage of an Elite* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), xi–xix.

discussion of new materials as its foundation.³² In fact, in order to discuss the editorial history of the TQYC in an adequate manner, and in accord with the humanistic education I received in Chinese universities, I had to consult its 1609 edition, as well as carry out fieldwork in Mount Wufeng, Shandong.

The TQYC, classified by scholars as a Daoist “encyclopedic” book, is not exclusively about “Quanzhen.” If Zhou’s main goal was to make visible his status as a Quanzhen master, it could be more effective to print a text authored by an authority such as Wang Chongyang 王重陽 (1115–1234) or other masters of doctrines. As scholars usefully argue, however, it is “hazardous to identify a Quanzhen text on the basis of doctrine.”³³ Equally important is the observation that “it is not easy to define a Quanzhen text. No common formal criteria seem to link the corpus together.”³⁴ Finally, the term “Quanzhen” is not a “reliable indicator” of affiliation, for “on the one hand it is claimed by authors primarily affiliated with other schools, and on the other, it is absent from many core Quanzhen texts.”³⁵ These remarks make clear that the label “Quanzhen,” even when applied to scriptures, is not a stable category. Exactly for this reason, the TQYC—regardless of its affiliation or not with that label—could serve well Zhou’s purposes. The TQYC is not a self-identified Quanzhen text, but the manner it articulates Quanzhen history does confer upon this imagined Order a privileged place in Chinese history.

The editorial history of the TQYC provides an opportunity for a discussion of the social aspects of Ming Quanzhen identity. In advancing a hypothesis able to explain why Zhou decided to

³² I do not claim to be the first scholar to notice the existence of the 1609 edition of the TQYC. In fact, as far as I know, Richard Wang was the first to do so. See Richard Wang, *The Ming Prince and Daoism: Institutional Patronage of an Elite*, 81: “More importantly, Zhu Quan’s *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*, apart from its inclusion in the *Daozang*, was reprinted in 1609.” In his book, however, Wang does not discuss the TQYC’s editorial history, the identity of its editor, or the circumstances of its publication. His main concern, I believe, was to offer a panoramic view of Ming princely production of Daoist books.

³³ *The Taoist Canon*, 1130.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

reprint the TQYC, I argue that he did so primarily, but not exclusively, due to the manner that book articulates Quanzhen history. In other words, I argue that the narrative aspects of the TQYC made the perfect link between Zhou's demand for religious identity and the uncertainties faced by him and his peers on the verge of the collapsing world order of the late Ming. I am convinced that Zhou and his peers saw the imminent disruption of a body politic based on what Lagerwey has termed "the double orthodoxy of Daoxue 道學 and Daojiao 道教,"³⁶ instituted by the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398), as one of the most urgent perils to be dealt with. It is this context of perceived political deterioration that explains Zhou's enthusiasm towards Zhu Quan and his TQYC. The same context allows one to make sense of his Quanzhen identity in a more precise manner.

Identity is a key term in contemporary scholarship.³⁷ Social responsibility and allegiance to the state were two constitutive elements of early Quanzhen identity, which flourished under Jin

³⁶ John Lagerwey, "The Ming Dynasty Double Orthodoxy: Daoxue and Daojiao," in *Daoist Lives: Community and Place*, special issue of *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 25 (2016), 113–129. As I understand it, Lagerwey's conceptualization of Ming double orthodoxy offers an extremely useful conceptual framework through which to evaluate what was going on in Chinese religion and politics in the Ming-Qing transition. Lagerwey situates the origins of this double orthodoxy in the Song period. See the "Introduction" of John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsonne, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol. 1, 62–70. Also, see John Lagerwey, *Paradigm Shifts in Early and Modern Chinese Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), especially "Cultural Modernity," 121–131. On the formation of the Daoxue orthodoxy, see Peter Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992). It is a scholarly consensus that Daoxue was an important aspect of Song-Yuan-Ming orthodoxy and orthopraxis, or as Richard von Glahn summarizes it, "Another signal feature of the Song-Yuan-Ming transition is the institutionalization of the Daoxue Confucian vision of society and government." See Richard von Glahn, "Imagining Pre-Modern China," in Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2003), 69.

³⁷ Modern scholarship offers useful perspectives on the investigation of Daoist identities. Concerning Daoist identities in general, see Livia Kohn and Harold Roth, eds., *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

and Mongol rulers. Goossaert effectively argues that Quanzhen identity “is not based on spiritual doctrine” nor is it defined by liturgical practice.³⁸ The compilation of lineage histories constituted an important strategy of identity-making for Qing dynasty Quanzhen Daoists.³⁹ The variety of available sources explains the scholarly interest for this period of Quanzhen history.⁴⁰ The inverse applies to the Ming period, when Quanzhen “is very poorly documented.”⁴¹ Ming Quanzhen Daoists have been described as being “largely excluded from the official religion and depreciated by the Ming court for its teachings based on the cultivation of the self.”⁴² But what “self” and, consequently, what identity did Quanzhen Daoists cultivate during the Ming period?⁴³ The Ming evidence presents the Quanzhen “self” in terms of proto-national⁴⁴ narratives whose primary concern is to build a strong political identity. In order to persuasively develop my central argument, I

³⁸ See Vincent Goossaert, “The Quanzhen 全真 Clergy, 1700–1950,” in John Lagerwey, ed., *Religion and Chinese Society, Vol. II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China* (Hong Kong and Paris: The Chinese University Press, 2004), 699–771.

³⁹ See Monica Esposito, *Creative Daoism* (Wil/Paris: University Media, 2013). From the same author, “The Longmen School and Its Controversial History during the Qing Dynasty,” in John Lagerwey, ed., *Religion and Chinese Society, Vol. II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China* (Hong Kong and Paris: Chinese University Press and EFEO, 2004), 621–98. For a response to some of Esposito’s claims, see Yuria Mori, “Tracing Back Wang Changyue’s Precepts for Novices in the History of Daoism,” *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 8 (2016), 207–249.

⁴⁰ *Idem.*, 709–16, for a discussion on Qing sources.

⁴¹ Pierre Marsone, “Daoism under the Jurchen Jin Dynasty,” in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol. 2, 1158. Marsone refers to a presumed quasi-absence of Ming sources. This supposed absence should be gradually replaced with a more optimistic picture as new studies of epigraphic materials emerge.

⁴² See Esposito, “The Longmen School and Its Controversial History during the Qing Dynasty,” 681, footnote no. 76.

⁴³ For a discussion of early Quanzhen views of the self, see Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-Transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 63–97.

⁴⁴ For several reasons, especially anachronistic readings of the Ming evidence, I avoid the term “nationalism.”

divided this paper into three sections, which answer the following questions: (1) in producing a reprint of the TQYC, what kind of material objects did Zhou contribute to create? (2) The first part of this paper argues that Zhou did not produce his edition of the TQYC out of nothing. What does the TQYC's editorial history, however, *mean*? (3) Why, in establishing his Quanzhen credentials, did Zhou deem the TQYC a useful resource? How does this book construct Quanzhen identity?

In the first part, I compare the two extant editions of the TQYC, showing that their respective physical structures diverge considerably. I also hypothesize that, in spite of this structural discrepancy, both editions derive from the same source-edition, now lost. Interestingly enough, this source-edition most probably is not Zhu Quan's edition of 1444. Without minimal consideration to the social conditions Zhou was immersed in, the discussion I foment in this paper could easily delve into a *histoire événementielle*, which is not my goal. For this reason, I discuss the TQYC's provenance with the aid of newly collected epigraphic evidence able to illuminate the social dynamics informing Zhou's decision of producing a reprint. I discuss the provenance of the extant TQYC and demonstrate that Zhou, in addition to producing the 1609 reprint, was also responsible for its inclusion in the *Xu Daozang* (hereafter, XDZ) of 1607. Why is this discovery relevant? Because it shows what are the circumstances leading Zhou to know about the TQYC and the societal standards informing his authentication of Zhu Quan's authorship. The TQYC provides a unique formulation of Quanzhen history, one that certainly could satisfy Zhou's convictions and his immediate demands. In the final part of this paper, I examine three passages of the TQYC that support my argument. The imagined Quanzhen narratives of the TQYC, though not necessarily corresponding to an accurate picture of historical facts, could nevertheless satisfy Zhou's demand for identity in the politically polarized environment of the late Ming. Zhou's reprint of the TQYC was not a *disinterested* "contribution." On the contrary, it was a calculated effort through which Zhou could affirm his status as a Quanzhen priest, regardless of his possible affiliation with other lineages. The TQYC connected past and future in a way that could make sense for Zhou and his peers.

II. The TQYC and Its Extant Editions: What Did Zhou Contribute to Create and Why Does It Matter?

The first premise informing my discussion of editorial history concerns the physicality of editions. The problem has been traditionally addressed in fields such as the History of the Book and now it increasingly attracts the attention of Daoist scholars. As it is widely known, the extant *Daozang* is a Ming collection printed first during the Zhengtong period.⁴⁵ The discipline of Daoist Studies owes much of its achievements to the availability of modern reprints of this source, whose contents scholars investigate with the aid of textual approaches. Only recently, however, have scholars commenced to investigate the *Daozang* in terms of its extant editions. Recent studies taking place independently in Hong Kong and Japan are surprising and fascinating, to say the least. These studies show that the extant *Daozang* actually corresponds to Wanli and Qing physical objects, not Zhengtong editions.⁴⁶ The Ming is one of the most fecund periods in the history of Daoist printed editions and yet the scholarly potential of Ming editions remains largely unexplored.⁴⁷ For example, many texts of the *Daozang* exist in multiple editions, a great part of which corresponds to archival materials of late Ming provenance. Late Ming editorship, therefore, shaped in significant ways the textual and material aspects of pre-Ming and early Ming Daoist scriptures. Bokenkamp has noticed that this fact has unpleasant consequences for the textual study of pre-Ming Daoism.⁴⁸ One should emphasize, on the other hand, that the very existence of this unexplored

⁴⁵ See *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 1, 1–5.

⁴⁶ On March 7, 2018, I had the pleasure of attending the lecture *Cong Daozang dao Daozang jiyao: banben, liubian yu chuancheng* 從《道藏》到《道藏輯要》：版本、流變與傳承, held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Three distinguished scholars, namely, Lai Chi Tim 黎志添, Wan Chui Ki 尹翠琪, and Yokote Yutaka 橫手裕 explained their new findings concerning the *Daozang* and the *Daozang jiyao*. For more details, see *Xianggang Zhongwen Daxue Daojiao Yanjiu Zhongxin Tongxun* 香港中文大學道教研究中心通訊, vol. 48 (May 2018), 7–8.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of Ming Daoist books, see Richard Wang, *The Ming Prince and Daoism: Institutional Patronage of an Elite*, 61–82.

⁴⁸ See Stephen Bokenkamp, “Research Note: Buddhism in the Writings of Tao Hongjing,” *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 6 (2014), 248.

multitude of archival sources also opens up new research possibilities. The investigation of Ming editions *as material objects* raises interesting questions about the historical circumstances of Daoist textual production: what was at stake when a Ming elite Daoist decided to produce a printed edition of an authoritative “text”? How did Ming editors interpret the “texts” they contributed to print? How did previously existing editions come to be described as “books,” that is, “texts” that are conceived as being relatively independent from their material support? Are Ming editions simply a window through which to contemplate pre-Ming Daoist history, or do these editions have something important to tell about their own fabrication context? In other words, was the late Ming copious fabrication of new Daoist editions a disinterested reproduction of the past, a recreation of it, or both? How do these editions reflect the immediate concerns of their editors and patrons? These questions apply to Daoist scriptures in general, including the TQYC. It is not difficult to perceive that Ming editions of Daoist scriptures constitute a formidable object for scholars who are willing to combine the concerns of fields such as Daoist Studies and the History of the Book.⁴⁹ Zhou’s career as a Daoist priest offers a unique opportunity for a discussion of Daoist textual production and its social meaning during the Ming.

⁴⁹ The term “History of the Book” does not point to an unequivocal or easily recognizable set of methodologies. For an overview of this “field,” see Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, “The History of the Book,” in John Nerone, ed., *The International Encyclopedia of Media Studies*, Vol. 1 (New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 1–26. As explained by the authors, there is no such thing as an internally coherent “History of the Book,” since this term points to academic practices carried out by “various national groups of scholars” whose concerns differ drastically. Concerning the material aspects of the book, see Erik Kwakkel, ed., *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture 500–1200* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2013). For a genesis of printing culture in Europe, see Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). Chinese Studies also have responded to the concerns of the History of the Book. See Joseph Peter McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006); Cynthia Joanne Brokaw and Peter Francis Kornicki, eds., *The History of the Book in East Asia* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2013).

The second premise informing this study is closely connected to the first. The problem of editorial history situates historical causality and textual production in relation to the concerns of editors. In other words, rather than undermining prevailing Sinological assumptions, this second premise has the potential of enriching scholarly discussions by bringing into discussion the active role played by editors in shaping authorship. As it will become clear in this paper, Zhou used the TQYC in the same manner he used inscriptions: as a tool by means of which he could affirm his religious identity as a Quanzhen master.

Now, it is necessary to accept that the term Quanzhen poses a scholarly conundrum.⁵⁰ It points, at the same time, to a historically constructed category⁵¹ and to a scholarly interpretative concept.⁵² The category “Quanzhen” is extremely difficult to define. Looking for definitions, therefore, may be a worthless pursuit. It should be more useful, for academic purposes, to approach “Quanzhen” as “resource” through which historical actors define their place in the social fabric. As a historical construct, the social significance of “Quanzhen” depends on what different social actors made of it. At the outset, therefore, it is useful to notice that Zhou’s Daoist name—Xuanzhen 玄貞—reveals much about his “Quanzhen” pedigree. Scholars notice that “during the Yuan, disciples affiliated with Quanzhen had as the first character of their religious name one of the three characters *zhi* 志, *dao* 道, or *de* 德.”⁵³ According to

⁵⁰ See Vincent Goossaert, “Quanzhen, what Quanzhen? Late Imperial Daoist Clerical Identities in Lay Perspective,” 19–43.

⁵¹ See Monica Esposito, “The Invention of a Quanzhen Canon: The Wondrous Fate of the *Daozang jiyao*,” in *Quanzhen Daoists in Chinese Society and Culture, 1500–2010*, 44–77.

⁵² As a scholarly interpretative category, Quanzhen imposes issues that go from its historicity to the problem of how to translate the term. Pierre Marsone argues that one should translate Quanzhen as “Completion of authenticity”; see his “Daoism under the Jurchen Jin Dynasty” in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol. 2, 1117, footnote no. 18. Concerning the issue of the meaning and translation of this problematic term, see Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-Transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 9–17.

⁵³ Monica Esposito, “The Invention of a Quanzhen Canon,” 52.

Vincent Goossaert, this naming system provided “Quanzhen clerics a concrete sense of belonging to the same timeless and universal community.”⁵⁴ Zhou Xuanzhen, however, lived in a period when Quanzhen “local sects of the Ming and Qing came to be inscribed into a fragmented time and space; they split into a variety of branches and subbranches, each of which had its own lineage poem.”⁵⁵ A Wanli 41 (1613) inscription mentions Zhou in connection with three Daoist priests: Han Jingshen 韓靜慎, and his disciples, Zong Zhende 宗真德 and Zhao Changcun 趙常存.⁵⁶ It is interesting to notice that Zhou’s Daoist name contains the fourth character from the Longmen 龍門 lineage poem (*xuan* 玄), while Han, Zong, and Zhao’s respective ordination names contain the fifth, sixth, and seventh characters from the same poem. It is clear that Zhou’s status as a Quanzhen priest cannot be taken for granted.⁵⁷ The TQYC, whose editorial history closely relates to Zhou’s career, is a legitimate object through which scholars can investigate what the priest meant by that problematic term.

(a) Physical and Textual Structure of Extant Editions of the TQYC

The earliest mention of the TQYC occurs in a Jiajing (1521–1567) catalogue, the *Baowen Tang shumu* 寶文堂書目, attributed to Chao Li 晁璠. This *shumu* mentions an edition of unspecified date, “printed in the Ning prefecture” (Ningfu ke 寧府刻).⁵⁸ No Jiajing

⁵⁴ Vincent Goossaert, “The Invention of an Order: Collective Identity in Thirteenth-Century Quanzhen Taoism,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001), 132.

⁵⁵ Monica Esposito, “The Invention of a Quanzhen Canon,” 52.

⁵⁶ *Beijing tushuguan cang zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本彙編 (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhou guji chubanshe, 1997), vol. 59, 51–53 (hereafter, BJTB).

⁵⁷ The evidence suggests Zhou, therefore, to be a Longmen priest. I do not discuss in this paper the genealogical aspects of Ming Quanzhen identity. For an introduction to this issue, see Zhang Guangbao 張廣保, “Mingdai Quanzhen jiao de zongxi fenhua yu paizi pu de xingcheng 明代全真教的宗系分化與派字譜的形成,” in Zhao Weidong 趙衛東, ed., *Quanzhen Dao yanjiu* 全真道研究, Vol. 1 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2011), 189–217.

⁵⁸ See *Chaoshi baowentang shumu / Xushi hongyulou shumu* 晁氏寶文堂書目 / 徐氏紅雨樓書目 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxuan chubanshe, 1957).

editions, however, are known to be extant. The present TQYC reflects Zhou's editorial efforts. The priest produced new editions on the basis of a transmitted version. In other words, the extant TQYC is a product of late Ming scholarship, whose standards constitute one of the objects of my investigation. Without taking this fact into serious consideration, studies of the TQYC will delve into exercises of philosophy disguised as philology and history. For example, in the absence of the 1444 edition, how do we know that Zhou's editions of the TQYC reflect Zhu Quan's redaction? In this contribution, I do not explore the aspects of the TQYC corroborated by Zhu Quan's context and pre-Wanli editions attributed to the Ming prince. I shall explore, however, a more basic question: what kind of physical objects did Zhou contribute to create and what does their physicality mean? In this connection, to what degree may one talk about Zhou's editorship as a form of authorship? These questions would be inconsequential were they not informed by three important facts: (1) no modern scholar ever saw Zhu Quan's Ning prefecture (Ningfu 寧府) edition of 1444, for this Zhengtong printed edition⁵⁹ is now lost; (2) The extant editions of the TQYC must relate to Zhou and, as far as the evidence suggests, he never saw Zhu Quan's "original" edition either; (3) some key passages of the TQYC survive in more than one version. While I do not advance the radical view that Zhou co-authored or rewrote passages of the TQYC, I believe it is important to explore what Zhu Quan's clear lack of textual control over his own oeuvre, which survives in editions posthumously edited and compiled, may signify for the study of Daoist texts.

In this section, I propose to carry out "the forensic study of the structure of a book to extract evidence of its history and significance from its physicality."⁶⁰ The goal of this "forensic"

⁵⁹ In his preface, Zhu Quan explicitly affirms that he had the work printed, "*sui shou zhu zi* 遂壽諸梓." The 1444 edition, therefore, was a printed edition, not a manuscript.

⁶⁰ Michelle Brown, "Mercian Manuscripts: The Implications of the Staffordshire Hoard, other Recent Discoveries, and the 'New Materiality,'" in Erik Kwakkel, ed., *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture 500–1200* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2013), 29.

examination, however, is not to provide a scientific report on the *causa mortis* of a book, but rather its humanistic resuscitation. The TQYC survives in two different editions. The first edition makes part of the *Xu Daozang* (XDZ), while the second is a 1609 object. Both editions can be found in the National Library of China, Beijing. The editorial marks seen in the XDZ, in their majority, reflect Zhang Guoxiang's interventions, reason why scholars tend to associate the *Supplement* to the Celestial Master.⁶¹ Scholars also believe that Zhou contributed with a single scripture, the *Huangjing jizhu* 皇經集註.⁶² This picture, however, is misleading. As it will become clear below, Zhou had a more active role in the composition of the XDZ than previously recognized. The insertion of the TQYC into the XDZ in 1607 was an editorial choice reflecting Zhou's influence and Zhang Guoxiang's revision. Zhou had a new edition of the TQYC published again, in 1609. The 1607 edition of the XDZ set, I call E1. The 1609 edition, I name E2.

E1, the physical edition originating modern reprints of the TQYC, makes part of a larger collection—the complete set of the XDZ stored in the National Library—and it comprises 8 individual physical volumes or fascicles (*juan* 卷). In material terms, E1 is a complex object. Its iconography suggests it to be a Wanli edition, but we know that the copy stored in Beijing was repaired during the Qing.⁶³ Some of its elements, such as cover and title labels, for example, may date back to the Daoguang period (1820–1850). E1 preserves the stamp “*Baiyun Guan Cang* 白雲觀藏,” which modern reprints do not reproduce. On the basis of such reprints, Judith Boltz presumed that “two sheets of twenty-five columns each from the 1607 printing, corresponding to 6.12a6–13a10 and 6.13a11–14b5, are printed in reverse order in modern editions of the Taoist

⁶¹ See *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 1, 37–39. This excerpt remains the standard description of the textual history of the Supplement of 1607. Schipper does acknowledge the participation of “a certain Zhou Xuanzhen,” but he is clearly a secondary element of the story.

⁶² *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, 1113–1115.

⁶³ Piet van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index* (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), 58–63.

Canon.”⁶⁴ In reality, this editorial error occurs in E1 and may reflect Qing attempts at restoring the book. The reprint of 1926 and its counterparts follow the modern book format. E1, on the other hand, is a concertina edition. In Chinese, this binding style receives the name *jingzhezhuang* 經折裝. Since E1 is bound in concertina format, it does not present a page numeration system, for the very concept of “page” is foreign to it. This type of binding also occurs in other imperially sponsored editions of Daoist scriptures produced during the late Ming. In Wanli 43 (1615), for example, Shenzong had an exquisite manuscript edition of the *Sanguan Jing* 三官經 produced. This manuscript edition in golden letters followed the concertina format.

E2 does not make part of a larger collection, nor does it exist in modern reprint. As far as we can tell from paratextual elements, E2 is a Wanli physical object tracing back to Zhou. The binding style, pagination, layout system, and visual elements of E2 also differ considerably from those seen in E1. E2 is a thread-bound edition (*xianzhuang* 線裝). This edition, therefore, allows to a comparison with the recto/verso system of modern books, though the idea of recto/verso, originally connected to papyrus culture, does not describe E2 in a reliable manner. E2 comprises 4 fascicles or volumes, not 8. This is obviously due to the different binding system and layout E2 adopts. E2 presents a grid system, while E1 does not. The presence of a grid system is a clear indication that E2 was designed in order to enhance readability. E1 and E2 correspond, therefore, to two completely distinct material objects. Their respective sizes, layout, typographical/calligraphic features, as well as pagination systems are not the same. Zhu Quan did not participate in any of these choices. In the absence of his Zhengtong edition, we are simply left in the dark as to his intentional patterns. Did Zhu Quan design a concertina or a thread-bound edition? The material aspects of his 1444 edition could reveal much information of historical significance. In the absence of Zhu Quan’s edition, one must admit that the present editions of the TQYC are a collective

⁶⁴ See Judith Boltz, “Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce,” in Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008), 976.

invention of which many fundamental aspects simply escaped his control. In addition, it is important to notice that E1 and E2 respective binding methods *do reflect* different intentional patterns. Simply put, binding methods define the former as a worship item, and the latter as a reading object. I substantiate this claim further in the next section.

Even though E1 and E2 reflect completely different physical structures, they do nonetheless present a very similar textual structure. This fact suggests that these two editions derive from the same source-edition, or *diben* 底本. I explore this concept later. Commonalities include paratextual elements and the plain text in 19 chapters, which occur both in E1 and in E2 in the same order. Common paratextual elements include (1) preface by Zhu Quan; (2) essay *Yuandao*; (3) summary. Noticeable textual discrepancies pertain exclusively to the realm of the paratextual and include (1) preface/postscript by Zhou; (2) postscript by Zhu Quan; (3) a variant colophon (see table 1). Zhu Quan's paratexts are not only texts *by* the Ming prince, they are also texts *about* him. Simply put, these paratexts tell stories about Zhu Quan that emphasize the sanctity of the imperial family and the Ming prince's divine nature. In the *Yuandao*, Zhu Quan reveals how he came to know his status as the incarnation of the Southern Pole (Nanji 南極), or Nanji Chongxu Miaodao Zhenjun 南極沖虛妙道真君,⁶⁵ a divine title that appears in an inscription of Zhengtong 7 (1442), at the ruins of the Nanji Changsheng Gong 南極長生宮, in Jiangxi.⁶⁶ Apart from providing Zhu Quan a hyper-dignified status, our paratexts also argue for the internal coherence and authorial unity of the TQYC as a whole. None of Zhu Quan's paratexts mention the division in 19 chapters seen in the summary, but they nonetheless contribute to depict the TQYC as the product of a single author's efforts. Zhu Quan's paratexts explicitly articulate a connection between the Daoist Teaching and collective narratives. The first assumption the TQYC communicates, therefore, is that the TQYC is a product of

⁶⁵ E1, 8b / E2, vol. 1, 9b.

⁶⁶ See *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu* 江西明代藩王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010), 1–14.

divine authorship. The TQYC's authority stems from the divine status of its author. This is obviously an argument on the adequateness and sanctity of social hierarchies.

For unknown reasons, E1 does not record Zhu Quan's postscript (*Taiqing yuce ba* 太清玉册跋), visible only in E2.⁶⁷ It is possible that Zhang Guoxiang had it erased in order to save space and decrease the cost of production, for this *ba* is a relatively long textual piece. In E2, Zhu Quan's postscript follows a scheme of 8 lines per page, 14 characters per line. Zhou deemed it important enough to have it punctuated and rendered in the same calligraphic style used for other paratextual elements, such as prefaces and the *Yuandao*. Since Zhou had this and other paratexts punctuated, one may conclude that he intended to increase the readability of these paratexts. Zhu Quan's postscript concerns the major themes of the TQYC, namely, the centrality of the Yellow Thearch in Chinese history as well as the political motto of the "Dao of the Middle Kingdom and Its Sages." It passionately defends the place of Daoism in Chinese political life, thus describing Buddhist religion and "barbarians" (*hu* 胡) in derogatory language. This postscript coheres with other paratextual elements attributed to Zhu Quan and with the 19 chapters of the TQYC. There is no reason, therefore, to doubt the authenticity of this postscript as a *transmitted text* preserved in the *diben* originating both E1 and E2. To suppose that Zhou himself wrote this postscript would amount to nothing but mere speculation. However, what was this *diben* and how did Zhou obtain a copy of it? E2 provides a hypothesis to this question.

(b) E2, Its Colophon and the Diben of the Wanli Editions of the TQYC: A Hypothesis

The Chinese term "*diben* 底本" has technical implications and, therefore, requires a brief definition. Cynthia Brokaw defines the term *diben* as "the template manuscript or transcript" prepared by

⁶⁷ E2, vol. 4, 45a–47b.

scribes prior to the preparation of printing blocks.⁶⁸ I do not dispute Brokaw's apt definition, but here I use the term *diben* in the sense of "source-edition," that is, a previously existing edition, not a template or transcript. The *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏 edition of the TQYC uses the term "*diben*" in the sense I apply to it in this paper.⁶⁹ In order to produce reprints such as E1 and E2, their respective scribes would need first to copy the contents of a given *diben*, that is, an existing source-edition, thus producing a transcript (a *diben*, in Brokaw's terminology, but not in mine). This transcript would originate the printing woodblocks of the TQYC. In the specific case of this book, the source-edition (*diben*), the transcript, and the printing blocks originating E1 and E2 are all lost. Typographical and calligraphic features suffice to prove that E1 and E2 do not share the same transcript, nor do they stem from the same printing blocks. This fact is made evident, for example, in the colophon to the TQYC. Both E1 and E2 preserve this colophon. The version seen in E2, however, sheds new light on the TQYC's possible *diben*. In both editions, the colophon preserves the same text, showing however a slightly different layout:⁷⁰

[To the] Southern Pole;	南極
The gentlemen who print this book	凡下士有刊行是書者
will expunge their sins	悉免過愆
and record [an increase of] one degree to	記功一級
their [ledgers of] merits.	
Upon the numbers of their respective	於本命數上
fundamental destinies,	

⁶⁸ See Cynthia Brokaw, "The Aesthetics of Cheap Print: Commercial Book Production in the 19th-Century Hinterland," in Ming Wilson and Stacey Pierson, eds., *The Art of the Book in China* (London: University of London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2006), 45.

⁶⁹ See Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹, ed., *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏 (Beijing, Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), vol. 28. This collection recognizes the Zhengtong edition of the TQYC as its *diben*. In reality, however, it is based on modern reprints.

⁷⁰ Cynthia Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

there will be an increase of 12 years in longevity;	增壽一紀
blessings shall flourish through three generations.	福昌三世

Clearly, the colophon translated above reflects Daoist theological ideas about the soteriological potential of printing. Most importantly, however, E2 connects this colophon to a lay devotee (*shanxin dizi* 善信弟子) by the name of Chen Dagang 陳大綱, who “compassionately commissioned the printing” (*faxin kanshi* 發心刊施) of the TQYC (see fig. 1). During the Ming, there is a court official of same name active during the Jiajing period, but the colophon does not allow one to establish with certainty whether they are the same person or not, since it does not mention Chen’s rank, or whether he was an official at all. External evidence does not confirm any connections between the court official Chen Dagang and Daoist lore either.⁷¹ A reasonable explanation for the presence of Chen Dagang’s name in E2 is that the scribe responsible for preparing the manuscript template originating this edition copied the mentioned colophon *verbatim* from its source. This source-edition could not be E1, since this edition did not preserve Chen’s name. Chen printed the TQYC in order to accumulate spiritual merits. The colophon to E2 seems to indicate that his edition originated both E1 and E2. These two editions, therefore, most probably do not stem directly from Zhu Quan’s edition of 1444. Do E1 and E2 actually originate from a lost edition funded by Chen Dagang? Does Chen’s edition originate directly from Zhu Quan’s edition? Only the discovery of older editions could answer these questions.

A properly conducted *kaozheng*, however, should answer the following question: how did Zhou obtain an edition of the TQYC in the first place? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to carry out a detailed discussion of Zhou’s preface and postscript to E2. These paratextual pieces prove that Zhou did not obtain his copy of the TQYC from Zhang Guoxiang, but from a court eunuch

⁷¹ *Ming Shizong shilu* 明世宗實錄, vol. 89, 2041.

named Zhang Jin 張進. Zhou's preface and postscript to E2 do not mention Chen Dagang as a donor for the printing of that edition. This only augments my suspicion with regards to a lost edition by Chen being the actual *diben* originating both E1 and E2. All this leads us to the issue of provenance.

III. The TQYC's Provenance

While my proposition about the TQYC's *diben* must remain a hypothesis, the evidence for the book's provenance is extremely clear. According to Li Huiyou, Zhou "dedicated special efforts to the compilation of collections and the exegesis of books." The extant editions of the TQYC constitute material evidence corroborating this assertion. Li, however, ignored an important aspect of Zhou's social milieu, namely: his interactions with court eunuchs. This aspect of Zhou's life can be attested as early as Wanli 23 (1595), when the eunuch Luo Ben 羅本 brought a copy of the *Daozang* to Yanqing Zhou 延慶州 (Xuánhua Prefecture 宣化府) and invited Zhou to preach (*jiang* 講) the *Daode Jing* 道德經.⁷² Zhou's inscriptions mention various court eunuchs. To my knowledge, however, Luo Ben's name does not appear in these records. Did Zhou form political alliances with these palace eunuchs? Why and in which circumstances? The editorial history of the TQYC offers an interesting opportunity for the exploration of these issues, since eunuch patronage engendered its extant editions.

Zhou authored two paratextual elements to E2, namely, a preface and a postscript to the TQYC. Zhou wrote the preface (*Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce chongke xu* 天皇至道太清玉冊重刻序)

⁷² This event seemingly related to the creation of the Pavilion for Scriptural Storage (*Canjing ge* 藏經閣), which during the Qianlong period still existed at Leshan Road 樂善街. *Yanqing zhou zhi* 延慶州志, in GJK, vol. 7, Qianlong 7 ed., 12: 明萬曆二十三年, 太監羅本資捧道藏至州。道人周雲清立道場講道德經。因建閣貯藏。On Ming eunuchs, see Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996); Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 161–166; Gilbert Chen, "Castration and Connection: Kinship Organization among Ming Eunuchs," *Ming Studies* 74 (2016), 27–47.

on *Shangyuan* 上元 of the first lunar month of Wanli 37,⁷³ that is, during the Lantern Festival. He then composed the postscript some months later, on the first day of the third month of Wanli 37.⁷⁴ In both paratexts, Zhou presents himself as a Quanzhen priest (see fig. 2). The reprint of 1609 was not a disinterested reproduction of a Zhengtong scripture. The fabrication of scriptures allowed elite segments of Ming society to form alliances and satisfy social anxieties. This edition also allowed Zhou to make his Quanzhen identity visible at the Capital, where it was printed.

(a) Zhang Jin's Social Identity

Zhou authenticated the TQYC's authorship on the basis of both textual and societal standards. In this section, I explore his societal standards, leaving textual considerations to the last part of this paper. In explaining the TQYC's provenance, Zhou says that although "this book has been transmitted for more than 200 hundreds years" (*shu chuan er bai yu nian* 書傳二百餘年),⁷⁵ only rarely (*shenshao* 甚少) have people carved its printing woodblocks (*zi* 梓) and commercialized (*shou* 售) it. Zhou's calculation is incorrect, for between 1444 (the date of Zhu Quan's preface to the TQYC) and 1609 we actually have a gap of 165 years. He may have intended, however, a rhetorical exaggeration. Most importantly, Zhou describes the TQYC as an object commercialized in the book market of the late Ming, a market anxious for new products, including spuriously attributed texts and falsifications of all sorts.⁷⁶ This aspect of book production, however, could not undermine Zhou's pious faith in the TQYC's authenticity.

In early modern European societies, discussions about the juridical nature of copyrighting helped shape the limits of

⁷³ 大明萬曆三十七年歲次巳酉正月上元. E2, vol. 1, 12b.

⁷⁴ 大明萬曆三十七年巳酉歲三月朔日. E2, vol. 4, 48b.

⁷⁵ E2, vol. 1, 12a.

⁷⁶ See Ming Wilson, "What Do Books Tell Us About Their Buyers—A Case Study of the Guyu Tupu (Illustrated Manual of Ancient Jades)," in Ming Wilson and Stacey Pierson, eds., *The Art of the Book in China* (London: University of London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2006), 105–115.

authorship.⁷⁷ In the late Ming, the authenticity and consequently the authorship of works attributed to single masters could and should be determined on the basis of societal standards. The social rank of a given author could have much impact over the authentication of his authorship. Zhu Quan's case is paradigmatic in that his privileged status as a prince guaranteed his authorial success in his postmortem period. The *Ningfan shumu* 寧藩書目 describes Zhu Quan's oeuvre as totaling 137 different works,⁷⁸ of which more than 30 titles survive in major libraries. The majority of these titles correspond to late Ming and Qing editions produced after Zhu Quan's death. In late imperial China, social rank goes hand-in-hand with authorial credibility. This must be one of the main reasons informing the preservation of Zhu Quan's oeuvre.

The social dynamics leading Zhou to come across the TQYC could also aid to establish its pedigree. Zhou's preface demonstrates that the credentials of those introducing him to the TQYC were as impeccable as Zhu Quan's own credentials. Zhou tells us that a eunuch by the name of Zhang Jin introduced this book to him. In his preface to the reprint of 1609, Zhou refers to Zhang Jin as "Zhang Gong 張公,"⁷⁹ also known as the "Southern Gentleman of the Capital (Ben jing nan qishi 本京南奇士)"⁸⁰ Both in his preface and in his postscript, Zhou describes Zhang Jin's rank as Notary of the Repository of Armors from the Directorate of Palace Eunuchs (Neiguanjian taijian kuijiachang qianshu 內官監太監盔甲廠簽書).⁸¹ As Zhou makes clear, in Wanli 37 Zhang Jin worked for the Repository of Armors (*kuijia chang* 盔甲廠), a unit responsible, among other things, for the fabrication and storage of weapons.⁸²

⁷⁷ For an introduction on the issue of authorship in Western history, see Sean Burke, *Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern, A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

⁷⁸ See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, in the electronic database Scripta Sinica 漢籍電子文獻資料庫 (Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei), vol. 87, 1812.

⁷⁹ E2, vol. 1, 12a.

⁸⁰ Idem., 12b.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² See Chen Jiude 陳久德, *Huangming mingchen jingji lu* 皇明名臣經濟錄, in GJK, vol. 15, Jiajing 28 ed., 201.

Zhang Jin's subordination to the Directorate of Palace Eunuchs meant that he was active in Beijing. The administrative function of Notary required Zhang Jin to have a minimum degree of literacy. Accordingly, Zhou praises Zhang Jin's literary skills in the following terms: "Zhang Gong, from the Jigu Tang 汲古堂, is famous within the inner court for his literary accomplishments (*Jigu Tang Zhang Gong yi wen ming nei han* 汲古堂張公以文名內翰)."⁸³ The reference to the Jigu Tang, a publishing house in Beijing, most probably means that Zhou and Zhang Jin had their edition of the TQYC printed there. What can we know about Zhang Jin beyond his rank and apparent engagement with literary circles?

Though Zhang Jin was not as famous an author as Zhou would like to depict him, epigraphic materials of the Beijing area show that he was not a marginal member of late Ming society either. The name Zhang Jin does not appear in pre-Wanli Beijing inscriptions. I found, however, many Beijing inscriptions of the Wanli, Tianqi, and Chongzhen reigns that mention the name Zhang Jin in association with cohorts of eunuchs who acted as patrons of Buddhist and Daoist institutions.⁸⁴ To my knowledge, the earliest of these records is a Wanli 6 (1578) inscription, while the latest inscription corresponds to a stele at the Dongyue Miao dated 09/01 of Chongzhen 2 (1629). This last date is important because it shows that, two years after Zhou's presumed date of death, provided in Li Huiyou's hagiography, Zhang Jin was still active in Beijing.

It would go beyond the scope of this paper to provide a detailed account of inscriptions bearing Zhang Jin's name. I must emphasize, however, that these Beijing materials are very useful in determining his social profile. According to inscriptions of the period spanning from Wanli 6 to Wanli 34 (1606), Zhang Jin was active in various areas of Beijing, including the suburban area of Changping Xian 昌平縣, but mainly in the central area of

⁸³ E2, vol. 1, 12a.

⁸⁴ (1) Wanli 6; (2) Wanli 9; (3) Wanli 13; (4) Wanli 19; (5) Wanli 19; (6) Wanli 20; (7) Wanli 21; (8) Wanli 23; (9) Wanli 24; (10) Wanli 26; (11) Wanli 27; (12) Wanli 34. See BJTB, vol. 57: 63–64; 102; 134–135; vol. 58: 7–8; 5–6; 24; 42–43; 62; 66–67; 84–85; 91–92; 186–187.

the Capital, in districts such as Xuanwu 宣武, Xicheng 西城, Dongcheng 東城, Haidian 海淀, and Chaoyang 朝陽. Buddhist and Daoist proponents surely competed for patronage. For a Ming lay patron, however, there was no conflict whatsoever in giving simultaneous support to both Buddhist and Daoist institutions, as imperial patrons in general and Zhang Jin in particular did. In Beijing, Zhang Jin joined Buddhist Associations such as the Mituo Hui 彌陀會. His name also occurs in four significant inscriptions at the Dongyue Miao, Chaoyang district, where he became a member of associations devoted to temple patronage. These associations promoted gatherings and social interactions of all sorts.⁸⁵ It is in the context of gatherings held in Beijing that Zhou may have met with Zhang Jin for the first time. To my knowledge, however, the sole Beijing inscription to mention a person by the name of Zhou Xuanzhen does not explicitly connect him to Zhang Jin. One is thus authorized to ask: is there concrete evidence that Zhou and Zhang Jin ever met? Actually there is: it corresponds to a Wanli 35 inscription at Mount Wufeng named *Inscription for the Imperial Offering* (*Huangjiao beiji* 皇醮碑記; hereafter, HJBJ). This inscription provides new evidence on the social dynamics informing the editorial history of the TQYC.

(b) General Remarks on Zhou's Inscriptions

Since the HJBJ of Wanli 35 is but one of many inscriptions authored by Zhou, some general comments on these materials as a whole are due. During a visit to Mount Wufeng 五峰山,⁸⁶ I found that Zhou authored a significant number of inscriptions. Mount Wufeng is situated at a distance of 20 km from the center of the Jinan municipality 濟南市, at the Changqing District 長清區, Shandong province. Local authorities name the architectural complex in which one finds Zhou's inscriptions as the Dongzhen

⁸⁵ See Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 499–564.

⁸⁶ The term Wufeng refers to the following five peaks: (1) Yingxian Feng 迎仙峰, (2) Wangxian Feng 望仙峰, (3) Huixian Feng 會仙峰, (4) Zhixian Feng 志仙峰, (5) Qunxian Feng 群仙峰.

Guan 洞真觀. This temple name appears in a 1210 inscription of the Jin period.⁸⁷ The same temple was restored under Mongol rule in 1246.⁸⁸ In fact, one of Zhou's inscriptions mentions a structure of same name, but this building collapsed a long time ago. Despite its exalted status, the present Dongzhen Guan transpires a decadent atmosphere of abandonment and economic stagnation.⁸⁹ The place is of difficult access and does not provide adequate facilities for tourists. Ironically, this certainly contributed to the preservation of inscriptions. Exposure to aggressive climatic conditions, however, turned the content of some particular stelaes illegible. Fortunately, many Ming dynasty *beiwén* 碑文 show a good state of preservation.

In its present arrangement, the Dongzhen Guan comprises 12 basic structures.⁹⁰ Zhou's inscriptions can be found at the courtyard of the Sanyuan Palace 三元殿, which displays a total of 29 inscriptions of Ming-Qing provenance. A steep ladder formed by

⁸⁷ Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Daojia jinshi lüe* 道家金石略 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe), 441.

⁸⁸ *Idem.*, 467.

⁸⁹ The place achieved the status of provincial touristic area (*shengji luyou dujia qu* 省級旅遊度假區) in 1995. In 2001, it obtained the status of an "AAA" touristic destination, while in 2006 it was promoted to "important unit for protection of material culture" (*zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei* 重點文物保護單位). The site is now administered jointly by local residents and Quanzhen priests.

⁹⁰ These structures are: (1) Imperial Gate (Huanggong men 皇宮門); (2) ruins of the Sanqing Palace (Sanqing Dian yizhi 三清殿遺址); (3) Gulou 鼓樓; (4) Zhong lou 鐘樓; (5) Yühuang Dian 玉皇殿; (6) Bixia Dian 碧霞殿; (7) Zhenwu Dian 真武殿; (8) Baoguo Longshou Gong shifang 保國隆壽宮石坊, a stone portal repaired during the Qing dynasty; (9) Sanyuan Dian 三元殿; (10) Chaoyang Dong 朝陽洞; (11) Qingdi Gong 青帝宮; (12) Lüzu Miao 呂祖廟. Between the imperial gate and the ruins of the Sanqing Palace, one finds three gigantic inscriptions, one being of Jiajing provenance and two of the Wanli period. At left and right of the aforementioned ruins, one detects a total of 18 inscriptions, the majority of which belong to the Ming-Qing period. Of these, the earliest inscription bears the date of Dading 7 (1167), while the latest one is a Minguo 24 (1935) inscription. Recently built walls serve as supports securing these 18 inscriptions in their respective places, with the undesired consequence of turning their back sides unavailable and therefore impossible to read. Of the buildings mentioned above, only the Chaoyang Dong seems to be a Ming dynasty structure. It was constructed in stone and, therefore, has a higher degree of resilience. The other buildings are wooden structures. The original buildings collapsed long ago. During my visit to Mount Wufeng, I had no access to the Lüzu Miao because the building had just collapsed.

91 steps, located at the right side of the Zhenwu Palace 真武殿, gives access to the Sanyuan Palace. Unfortunately, the walls surrounding the majority of its 29 inscriptions made their respective backsides illegible. The inscriptions surrounding the Sanyuan Palace, nevertheless, demonstrate that Zhou's religious identity was not a matter of "private religiosity." If it were, he would have no need to attract funds, as he did so aggressively and effectively, in order to make his identity and his glorious contributions to the *continent des esprits* (*shenzhou* 神州)⁹¹ as solid as stone.

Zhou's inscriptions reflect the major background of Shenzong's patronage to Daoist institutions, since in many occasions the imperial family donated funds in support of Zhou's ritual services. The priest carefully recorded the dates, circumstances, and technicalities of these rituals. This operation allowed Zhou to eternalize his ritual activities, otherwise ephemeral, for almost all inscriptions authored by him concern Jiao services. Inscriptions, therefore, became the primary material media through which Zhou could make visible his religious identity. The performance of Jiao rituals was a foundational aspect of the early Quanzhen movement.⁹² In extensively recording his Jiao activities, Zhou may have intended to establish a parallel between his efforts and the ritual activities of early Quanzhen founders.

A pair of inscriptions at the entrance of Mount Wufeng, right in front of the ruins of the Sanqing Palace 三清殿, demonstrates that on 02/10 of Wanli 27 (1599), when Zhou was 44 *sui*,

⁹¹ Lagerwey's translation captures a unique aspect of the term *shenzhou* 神州. See Jonh Lagerwey, *Le continent des esprits: la Chine dans le miroir du taoïsme* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose; Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre, 1993). As Lagerwey puts it in a recent contribution: "If filled with good spirits, it is like China itself a 'continent of the gods' (*Shenzhou* 神州). [. . .] For a space filled with evil spirits there is no name: they must be driven out." See John Lagerwey, *Paradigm Shifts*, 54.

⁹² Pierre Marsonne, "Daoism under the Jurchen Jin Dynasty," in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsonne, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol. 2, 1111–1159, especially "Rituals and Prayers for the Dead," 1136–1137. Also, Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), especially "Rituals in Early Quanzhen Taoism," 171–193.

Shenzong conferred an entire set of the *Daozang* upon the Precious Palace of the Three Officials (Sanguan Baodian 三官寶殿). This palace was one of the main worship structures at Mount Wufeng during the Ming. According to the inscription, Zhou should receive and safeguard this precious set. The Emperor explains that:

My ancestors established the Daoist Registry with the specific purpose of administrating this Teaching. [My] Sacred Mother, the Solemn Empress Cisheng Xuanwen once commanded that I had all scriptures copied and distributed under heaven.

我祖宗設立道錄一司專領是教。聖母慈聖宣文肅皇太后嘗命摹全經頒佈天下。

For this reason, Shenzong had the entire *Daozang* printed in “480 cases (*han* 函).” The resulting sets were sent to the Capital as well as to famous temples throughout the realm:

Stele on the Promulgation of Scriptures. The decree informs the Abbot of the Precious Palace of the Three Officials at Mount Wufeng, Shandong, as well as its Daoist community. I, expressing a sincere heart, had the scriptures of the Grand Canon printed, distributing it to the Capital and throughout the temples of famous mountains under heaven as an offering.

頒經敕諭碑。敕諭山東五峰山三官寶殿住持及道眾人等，朕發誠心，印造大藏經，頒施在京及天下名山宮觀供奉。

Accordingly, Daoist priests should “pray for the good fortune of the realm and liberate the people from their sins (*wei guo zhu li wei min jie zui* 為國祝釐，為民解罪).” Most importantly, Daoist priests must “eternally revere this Canon (*yong yuan zun zang* 永遠尊藏).” One may infer that this set of Wanli 27 was a worship object probably bound in concertina format. Addressing Zhou and others, Shenzong urges that “You, the Abbot and the Daoist community, must piously revere tranquility, reciting [scriptures] day and night in accordance to the rites. 爾住持及道眾人等務要虔潔供安，朝夕禮誦.” According to this inscription, therefore, Daoist rituals are expected to produce political stability and social order. These

rituals are a fundamental aspect of the Chinese church-state.⁹³ The text explicitly mentions “the Quanzhen Daoist priest Zhou Xuanzhen 全真道士周玄真”⁹⁴ as the recipient of funds (*ji* 齋) that should be allocated to the conduction of rites on behalf of the realm. We do not know how Shenzong interpreted the category “Quanzhen.” The inscriptions capture, however, essential aspects of Zhou’s career: (1) he was an exalted member of a monastic community; (2) Shenzong recognized his status as a “Quanzhen” priest; (3) the worship of the Three Officials was an important aspect of the religious services celebrated at Mount Wufeng.

According to Li Huiyou, Zhou “presented incense at Mount Tai on behalf of the Emperor (*dai shang taishan jin xiang* 代上泰山進香).” In fact, Zhou’s inscriptions concern ritual activities whose main goal was to guarantee imperial longevity. Zhou performed several Jiao ceremonies between Wanli 30 and Wanli 35, the year Zhang Guoxiang had the XDZ printed. On r.⁹⁵ 02/25 of Wanli 30 (1602), for example, Zhou performed a Jiao service in favor of Shenzong and his mother. The court eunuch Shen Rong 沈榮 transmitted Shenzong’s edict. The inscription refers to Shenzong’s health as the *sagely body* (*shengti* 聖體); it explicitly describes Shenzong’s longevity (*wanshou wan’an* 萬壽萬安), as well as Xiaoding’s longevity (*cishou wannian* 慈壽萬年), as the main goals to be achieved through ritual means. The ceremony required four “Altars of the Imperial Offering” (*Huangjiao tan* 皇醮壇), which Zhou had installed inside the Precious Palace of the Three Officials.

In the majority of his services, Zhou acted as a mediator between the Three Officials and imperial demands of personal nature, now appropriately described as matters of “national” concern. On 03/10 of Wanli 30, Shenzong and Lady Shu (*Huang guifei niangniang Shu* 皇貴妃娘娘淑), whom the emperor had taken

⁹³ See John Lagerwey, *China: A Religious State* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), especially “Daoist Ritual in Social and Historical Perspective,” 57–94. To my knowledge, Lagerwey was the first scholar to clearly formulate the idea of China as a church-state.

⁹⁴ Here, the inscription has *zhen* 真, instead of *zhen* 貞.

⁹⁵ Here, “r.” points to the Chinese notion of *run* 閏.

as concubine in Wanli 10 (1582)⁹⁶ and had promoted to *Huang guifei* in Wanli 14 (1586),⁹⁷ commanded Zhou to perform Imperial Offerings “in Gratitude to the Grand Thearchs, the Three Officials (*bao xie Sanguan Dadi* 報謝三官大帝).” This time, palace eunuch Liu Kun 劉坤 transmitted the order. This inscription commemorates “the abundant pacification of the imperial body (*yu ti wan an* 御體萬安),” that is, Shenzong’s good health and well-being, which resulted from blessings conferred upon the emperor by the Three Officials. As a ritual healer, Zhou most probably had some sort of access to imperial anguishes and expectations concerning personal health. With due deferment to matters of ritual propriety, Zhou’s inscriptions depict Shenzong as a potential source of blessings and misfortunes for the entirety of the Chinese realm.

The mid-Wanli period also attests to the construction of the Palace Guaranteeing the Realm’s Majestic Longevity, or Baoguo Longshou Gong 保國隆壽宮, a temple devoted to the cult of the Eastern Peak and the Three Officials, of which only a stone portico repaired during the Qing dynasty survives. An inscription mentioning the date of Wanli 34 (1606) reveals that this temple was constructed under Zhou’s request, as the priest intended to store the *Daozang* there. Other inscriptions show that Zhou had access to a large variety of scriptures, the majority of which were produced under imperial patronage. The Baoguo Longshou Gong would soon have new additions to its collection, which by then probably comprised the exalted set of Wanli 27.

For example, in a temple inscription named *Daily Record of Imperial Retribution* (*Qinshang riji* 欽賞日記), a status-minded Zhou solemnly identifies himself as the “Quanzhen Daoist from the Baoguo Longshou Gong” and reveals that the imperial family had new editions of Daoist scriptures sent to Mount Wufeng. This inscription records events occurring between 10/01 and 10/15 of Wanli 36 (1608). The newly acquired scriptures included copies of a commentary to the *Beidou Jing* 北斗經, as well as copies of the *Yühuang Jing* 玉皇經 and of the *Sanguan Jing* 三官經. On this

⁹⁶ SZSL, vol. 122, 2276.

⁹⁷ SZSL, vol. 172, 3117.

occasion, palace eunuch Cui Deng 崔登 transmitted Shenzong's edict, according to which the imperial family granted Mount Wufeng donations in silver.⁹⁸

Zhou's inscriptions, therefore, mention several Daoist scriptures, none of which present a direct connection with the early Quanzhen movement. These scriptures, nonetheless, may provide clues on Zhou's possible training in non-Quanzhen lineages, which he seemingly preferred not to emphasize, in detriment of a strong claim for a pure "Quanzhen" affiliation. For example, the *Yüxia ji* 玉匣記 is a recurring scripture in Zhou's inscriptions: "According to the Liturgical Codes of the *Yüxia Ji*, we selected the auspicious days for the execution of the Jiao services (*Yi Yuxia ji xuan ji xiu jiao* 依玉匣記選吉修醮)." The same scriptural title occurs in inscriptions recording the various Jiao services Zhou performed in benefit of Shenzong, his mother, and concubines on 03/08 of Wanli 32, 06/02 of Wanli 32, 09/17 of Wanli 33, and 02/13 of Wanli 34. The *Yüxia Ji* originates in Jingming lore, traditionally associated with the Jiangxi area.⁹⁹ Zhou's usage of this text implies his religious identity to be more complex than he wanted us to believe. I return to this issue later.

Finally, it is important to notice that Zhou's inscriptions explicitly articulate the fabrication of *beiwén* as a matter of establishing posterity.¹⁰⁰ He wanted later generations to know about all aspects of his contributions to the Chinese realm. For example, an inscription of Wanli 37 at the gate of the Tiger God Palace (*Hushen dian* 虎神殿), Mount Wufeng, reads: "Restored by the Quanzhen [Priest] Zhou in the *Zhongyuan* day of Wanli 37. 大明萬曆三十七年巳酉歲中元日全真周玄貞修建." Distributed around sacred sites, Zhou's inscriptions became visible not only to human but also

⁹⁸ Silver was a much sought commodity in Ming China. I explore the economic significance of Zhou's rituals in another contribution. On the import of silver for the Ming economy, see William Atwell, "Ming China and the emerging world economy, c. 1470–1650," in Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 8, The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 376–416.

⁹⁹ On DZ 1480, or *Xu Zhenjun yuxia ji* 許真君玉匣記, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, 757.

¹⁰⁰ Admittedly, however, this feature is not specific of Zhou's inscriptions.

to divine sight. Following this digression, I now return to the HJBJ and the TQYC's editorial history.

(c) Zhang Jin Meets Zhou at Mount Wufeng

What were the specific motivations driving Zhou's ample creation of inscriptions? Here, I explore this issue in relation to the HJBJ of 10/19 of Wanli 35, which reveals important aspects of Zhou's social interactions.¹⁰¹ These aspects have consequences for our understanding of the TQYC's editorial history. The HJBJ of 10/19 of Wanli 35 is the 12th inscription to the right side of the Sanyuan Palace. Measuring 69 cm x 169 cm, its title is written in beautiful *Mingchaoti* 明朝體 and occupies a square-like area surrounded by two dragons whose visual features are of characteristically Wanli provenance. The material of which the HJBJ is made, showing a brownish coloration, differs considerably from the gray surface of other stelae.¹⁰² Taking into account Changqing's climatic patterns, one may say that the HJBJ survives in excellent conditions of preservation. The text is fully legible and there are almost no missing characters. The layout reflects utmost care towards the sensitivities of human patrons and spiritual forces. The names of deities, patrons, and key terms (e.g., *guo* 國) always appear at the top of a given line. Without a doubt, we are dealing with a meticulously designed object. As such, the HJBJ reveals important data concerning the relationship between Zhou, his patrons, and Daoist spiritual potencies. Our inscription's authorship and circumstances of fabrication are extremely clear. The final line of the inscription shows that Zhou was its author, as he claims to have "cautiously recorded" (*jinji* 謹記) it. Zhou identifies himself variously as "the disciple of the Quanzhen Teaching" (*Quanzhen jiao dizi* 全真教弟子), and as "the insignificant vassal of the Quanzhen" (*Quanzhen xiaochen* 全真小臣). Why did Zhou have this inscription fabricated? Zhou made it clear that, "along with

¹⁰¹ In this paper, therefore, it will not be possible to fully explore the scholarly potential of Zhou's inscriptions as a whole.

¹⁰² This fact may suggest differences in terms of cost, but I will not be able to explore such discrepancies here.

the Daoist cohorts, I established this inscription in order to transmit it through generations. 同道眾立碑以傳世世。” There is much more to this inscription, however, than this remark suggests.

The inscription mentions Zhang Jin, identifying his rank as Neiguanjian kuijia chang guanshi 內官監盜甲廠管事 (see fig. 3). The Zhang Jin of this inscription, therefore, must be the same eunuch who provided funds for the reprint of 1609, since both pieces of evidence show the same rank. As early as Wanli 35, therefore, Zhang Jin already worked at the Repository of Armors. The HBJJ constitutes evidence that Zhou met the eunuch in 1607, when Zhang Jin arrived at Mount Wufeng to transmit Shenzong's sacred edict (*shengzhi* 聖旨). Zhang Jin brought with him not only Shenzong's edict but also economic resources through which Zhou could establish lavish Jiao rituals. This happened some months after Zhang Guoxiang had the XDZ printed.

In its final portion, the HBJJ celebrates the donations offered by Shenzong and Huang Niangniang 皇孃孃 for the execution of Jiao rituals. Shenzong donated 150 *liang* in silver, while Huang Niangniang donated 20 *liang*. Relying on these donations, Zhou executed a Great Jiao Service of the Blood Lake (*Xuehu daojiao* 血湖大醮) at the Sanyuan Baodian 三元寶殿, Mount Wufeng, for five days and five nights (*wu zhouye* 五晝夜), from 10/15 to 10/19 of Wanli 35. On this occasion, Zhou established an altar for the Great Offering of the Universal Heaven (*putian dajiao* 普天大醮) and performed charity activities for the benefit of the deceased and of the living. According to his account, “Daoists, laypeople, as well as male and female orphans and poor people of this Mount offered incense together, all experiencing joy. 山中道俗及孤貧男女並進香人眾箇箇權悅。” On this occasion, Zhou had medicines (*yao* 藥), soup (*tang* 湯), vegetarian foods (*zhai* 齋), and tea (*cha* 茶) distributed to the poor. The aforementioned Jiao service also included the feeding of orphan souls. The precise economic and social roles of these Jiao services, however, require further research.

(d) The Social Circumstances of Authorship

Zhou met Zhang Jin at Mount Wufeng right after the publication of the XDZ. But what does this fact have to do with the editorial

history of the TQYC? Zhou's textual characterization of Zhang Jin in his paratexts to E2 agrees with the epigraphic evidence found in Beijing and at Mount Wufeng. The circumstances Zhou narrates in his paratexts to E2 explain how he came across the TQYC. Epigraphic evidence shows that Zhang Jin gave simultaneous support to both Buddhist and Daoist associations. Buddho-Daoist conflicts, however, could not be as important as praising one's patron. Accordingly, Zhou used E2 in order to describe his patron, who now had a Daoist scripture printed, in an extremely flattering manner. According to Zhou's preface to E2, Zhang Jin was a man of profound knowledge (*boqia* 博洽) who understood that "*sanjiao dongqi* 三教洞契," a sentence by means of which Zhou meant that the Three Teachings complement each other.¹⁰³ In describing Zhang Jin in such terms, Zhou seemingly recognized the legitimacy of the eunuch's ample and simultaneous patronage of both Buddhist and Daoist institutions. Other aspects of Zhou's paratexts, however, show that he was certainly not sympathetic to Buddhism.

Zhang Jin seemingly took part in patronage projects due to personal motivations of a religious nature. The absence of paratextual elements authored by Zhang Jin, however, makes it impossible to know clearly his intentions and motivations. We must, therefore, rely on Zhou's account, according to which Zhang Jin provided funds for the reprint of 1609 due to his awareness of the important message the TQYC could offer to the late Ming world. Zhang Jin was afraid that the TQYC could vanish with the passing of time (*jiu ze min* 久則泯). For this reason, the eunuch donated funds (*juanjin* 捐金) in order to print (*kan* 刊) and transmit (*chuan* 傳) this book.¹⁰⁴ Zhou continues to praise the eunuch, arguing that Zhang Jin "*yu zuozhe tonggong* 與作者同功,"¹⁰⁵ that is, in printing the TQYC, Zhang Jin's merit equaled that of the TQYC's author (*zuozhe* 作者), Zhu Quan. Praising one's patron is never enough. Zhou gives continuity to his laudatory exaltation of Zhang Jin in his postscript to the TQYC:

¹⁰³ E2, vol. 1, 12a.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

What the Emaciated Immortal did before, Zhang Gong will transmit to posterity. Then people's minds will get immediately rectified; the mysterious merits will increase in their vastness; the Body of the Dao will never decay. Is not his merit far from superficial?"¹⁰⁶

耀僊作於前，張公傳於後，則人心既正，玄功益博，道體永不墜矣。
其功益淺淺哉！

According to Zhou, Zhang Jin obtained his copy of the TQYC from a court physician of “advanced age and brilliant virtue” (*nian gao de shao* 年高德邵),¹⁰⁷ whom the eunuch served (*shi* 侍). Not only was this physician an honorable and respectable man of old age, he was also acknowledged by Zhou as an “outstanding physician” (*jingyi* 精醫) who, in his long career of 50 years, administered medicines (*shiyao* 施藥) and saved uncountable (*buke shengji* 不可勝計) lives. This physician “also transmitted this book (*you chuan shi shu* 又傳是書)”¹⁰⁸ to Zhang Jin, so that “his merit is enormous (*gongde yi da yi* 功德益大矣).”¹⁰⁹ It was from this physician, therefore, that Zhang Jin obtained a copy of the TQYC. This copy was most probably Chen Dagang's reprint of the TQYC. This must have happened before 1607, when the XDZ went to print. Could Zhang Jin or Zhou put into question the reliability of a book transmitted by such a noble donor? They had no reason for doing so, as suspicion could undermine social bonds, which constituted an important means through which Ming audiences evaluated the authorship of transmitted texts. Why would a court physician be in possession of one of Zhu Quan's works, treasuring it as a gift worth passing down to the next generations? One of the reasons may be Zhu Quan's popularity in the book market as a “medical” author. As far as the Wanli editions of the TQYC are concerned, Zhu Quan's authorship reflects a consensus taking place among men, not women,¹¹⁰ of similar social rank. This consensus

¹⁰⁶ E2, vol. 4, 48a–48b.

¹⁰⁷ E2, vol. 1, 12a.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ This reflects what Lagerwey terms the “masculinization” of Chinese society. See John Lagerwey, *Paradigm Shifts*, 33–37.

was partially built upon subjective criteria such as the mutual trust between equals. It did not take into consideration the physical aspects and the textual history of received editions. These issues were not as important as whether the TQYC provided a dignifying picture of Zhu Quan or not.

Now, if the story I tell above is true, then there should be evidence proving that prior to 1607, when Zhang Guoxiang had the XDZ printed, Zhou already owned a copy of the TQYC. Actually, this evidence does exist. The commentary to the *Scripture of the Jade Sovereign* (*Huangjing jizhu* 皇經集註), the only text of the XDZ to record Zhou's editorial marks, also draws from the TQYC. Zhou inserted a fragment of Zhu Quan's *Yuandao* into the Wanli 35 edition of the *Huangjing jizhu*.¹¹¹ As far as the extant evidence is concerned, only the TQYC preserves the *Yuandao*. Therefore, Zhang Jin most probably shared an edition of the TQYC with Zhou before 1607. Zhou did not insert the entire *Yuandao* into the *Huangjing jizhu*, showing again the fragility of Zhu Quan's authorship. The evidence demonstrates, therefore, that before the XDZ went to print, that is, before Wanli 35 (1607), Zhou was already in possession of a copy of the TQYC. This copy, which I hypothesize to be Chen Dagang's reprint, gave origin to E1 and E2.

The XDZ, concerning the origins of its texts, is a tremendously laconic source. In "his" XDZ, Zhang Guoxiang never mentions Zhou's meritorious contributions. The Celestial Master presented himself in various passages as the reviser of the *Supplement*, thus stealing all the attention for himself. His strategy worked, since modern scholars always refer to the XDZ as Zhang Guoxiang's work, with little or no credit to Zhou. It is very significant, however, that Zhou did not invite Zhang Guoxiang to take part in the process of fabricating a new edition of the TQYC. With Zhang Jin's patronage, Zhou produced a new edition that, in many aspects, was superior to that of 1607. The binding style of E2 defines it as an object to be consumed by men of letters, which is not the case for the concertina format of E1. E2 adopts the same binding choice seen, for example, in depictions of Guan Yu 關羽 as

¹¹¹ *Huangjing jizhu*, 1:3b-4b.

a scholar.¹¹² Apart from a thread binding system, E2 shows a clear layout, convenient pagination system, as well as more alluring aesthetic features. Its paratexts are written in relatively beautiful calligraphic style. Without a doubt, the goal was not to store the newly printed TQYC of 1609 in a monastery but to have it circulated among Zhang Jin's peers, which included thousands of eunuchs mentioned in Beijing inscriptions and the literati of the Jigu Tang.

In sum, the evidence discussed above suggests the existence of, at least, 4 editions: (1) Zhu Quan's lost edition of 1444; (2) Chen Dagang's lost edition, whose date is unknown and whose very existence is hypothetical; (3) the XDZ edition of 1607; and (4) Zhou's edition of 1609, funded by Zhang Jin. In Wanli 35, when Zhang Jin visited Mount Wufeng, Zhou most probably convinced the eunuch Zhang Jin that he should fund a reprint of the TQYC, one that could make justice to their unrecognized contribution. Zhou, making use of Zhang Jin's economic aid, was able to hire artisans and have a new edition of the TQYC fabricated, thus establishing both for himself and for his patron a place in Chinese posterity. The new edition of the TQYC should also help to spread Zhou's image as a respectable Quanzhen priest. However, what did Zhou understand by "Quanzhen"? I approach this question in the following sections. First, I use the HJBJ to discuss what Zhou *did not* understand by "Quanzhen."

(e) The HJBJ and the Complexity of Zhou's Religious Identity

Apart from providing new evidence on the nature of the relationship established between Zhou, Zhang Jin, and imperial patrons, the HJBJ also reveals much about the subtleties of Zhou's religious identity. I explore this issue in this subsection. The inscription shows how, under Shenzong's patronage, Zhou made use of the *Xuehu Jing* 血湖經 in order to save the deceased. The ritual took place with the aid of a mediator, the court eunuch Zhang Jin, who brought with him economic resources sent by the

¹¹² On this deity, see Barend J. Ter Haar, *Guan Yu: The Religious Afterlife of a Failed Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Capital. As we have seen, this eunuch is the key figure connecting the TQYC, Zhou, and the XDZ. In the HJBJ, Zhou claims for himself a monastic identity, as he explicitly uses the term *chujia* 出家. Monasticism, therefore, was an important element of Zhou's interpretation of his own religious identity and, consequently, was an important aspect of his usage of the term "Quanzhen." His religious identity, however, is more complex than it appears at a first glance. The HJBJ offers interesting data concerning Zhou's training as a Daoist priest and what he *did not* understand by "Quanzhen." Zhou's religious identity *did not* contemplate ritual purism, nor did it imply political neutrality. This feature of Zhou's religious identity coheres with pre-Ming Quanzhen practice.

For example, the concern with the deceased is an important feature of early Quanzhen lore. The HJBJ is evidence that Zhou's treatment of the dead involved some sort of ritual training in non-Quanzhen lineages. Between 10/07 and 10/15 of Wanli 35, Zhou performed sublimation sacrifices (*lian ji* 煉祭)¹¹³ for the deceased, which presupposes knowledge of *leifa* 雷法 methods.¹¹⁴ In the

¹¹³ On *liandu* rites, see Zhu Yiwen 祝禮雯, "Juqi huiling jiuzhuan shengshen: Jiang Shuyu *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi zhong de liandu yi* 聚炁回靈九轉生神: 蔣叔與《無上黃籙大齋立成儀》中的鍊度儀," in Lai Chi-Tim, ed., *Daojiao tuxiang, kaogu yu yishi: Songdai daojiao de yanbian yu tese* 道教圖像·考古與儀式: 宋代道教的演變與特色 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2016), 235–266.

¹¹⁴ There is a relatively extensive academic corpus on *leifa*. Here, I refer only to some seminal works. Lowell Skar, "Administering Thunder: A Thirteenth-century Memorial Deliberating the Thunder Rites," *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 9 (1996), 159–202; Judith Boltz, "Not by the Seal of Office Alone: New Weapons in Battles with the Supernatural," in Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 271–305; Florian Reiter, *Basic Conditions of Taoist Thunder Magic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz & Verlag, 2007); from the same author, "Taoist Transcendence and Thunder Magic, As Seen in the Great Rituals of Heavenly Ting of Metal and Fire in the Divine Empyrean (神霄金火天丁大法)," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 161.2 (2011), 415–444. Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); Mark Meulenbeld, *Demonic Warfare: Daoism, Territorial Networks and the History of a Ming Novel* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015); Matsumoto Koichi 松本浩一, "Daoism and Popular Religion in the Song," in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol. 1, 285–327.

autumn of that year (1607), climatic catastrophes, including windy weather and violent rain, killed many people. It is not clear where these catastrophes took place. However, repeated references to a certain *Scripture of the Blood Lake* (*Xuehu Jing* 血湖經), which may refer to texts such as DZ 72, *Yuanshi tianzun jidu xuehu zhenjing* 元始天尊濟度血湖真經,¹¹⁵ show that on this occasion Zhou conducted rituals for the salvation of women. The first part of the inscription, for example, emphasizes that “the immortal scriptures of the Daoist Canon are the fundamental canon for ladies.”¹¹⁶ Zhou established a “Great Offering of the Blood Lake” (*Xuehu dajiao* 血湖大醮) on 10/15 of Wanli 35, or “the day when the Water Official Dissolves Calamities” (*Shuiguan jie e zhi chen* 水官解厄之辰), as he explains it.

During the ritual, Daoists chanted the *Litany of the Scripture of the Blood Lake* (*Xuehu jing chan* 血湖經懺), which may refer to DZ 538, *Taiyi jiuku tianzun shuo badu xuehu baochan* 太一救苦天尊說拔度血湖寶懺¹¹⁷ and similar liturgies for the atonement of the deceased, or as the inscription puts it, “the orphan souls” (*guyou* 孤幽). The evidence is revealing because there is no connection whatsoever between the *Xuehu jing* and Quanzhen lore. First, the textual history of the *Xuehu jing* suggests that this scripture predates the early Quanzhen movement.¹¹⁸ Second, there is evidence that, during the Ming, the *Xuehu jing* was seen as a Zhengyi text. The *Daozang* edition of the *Xuehu baochan*, for example, provides a long list of Daoist divinities, none of Quanzhen provenance. In this list, we find gods connected to Lingbao lore, sublimation rites, and finally, references to nine Celestial Masters, including the “Zhengyi Tianshi 正一天師,”¹¹⁹ or Zhang Daoling 張道陵. In addition, the TQYC explicitly mentions *xuehu* lore in two passages of the chapter *Tianhuang longwen zhang* 天皇龍文章. The first passage, *Zhengyi Registers of All Levels* (*Zhengyi zhupin lu* 正一諸

¹¹⁵ *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, 983.

¹¹⁶ 道藏仙經尤淑人之要典。In the Ming context, the term *shuren* 淑人 also points to a rank defined for the wives of officials in Taizu’s time. See *Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄, vol. 62, 1198.

¹¹⁷ *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, 993.

¹¹⁸ Idem., “Yuanshi tianzun jidu xuehu zhenjing,” 983.

¹¹⁹ DZ 538, 11b.

品籙), mentions two Zhengyi registers (*lu* 籙) for the salvation from the Blood Lake.¹²⁰ According to Zhu Quan, these registers emanate from Yuanshi Tianzun. Even more interestingly, Zhu Quan, in his list of Zhengyi scriptures, the *Zhengyi Immortal Scriptures of All Levels* (*Zhengyi zhupin xianjing* 正一諸品仙經), mentions the book title *Taishang lingbao jidu xuehu zhenjing* 太上靈寶濟度血湖真經,¹²¹ which may be an earlier edition of the *Xuehu jing*, mentioned by Zhou in his inscription of Wanli 35. Zhu Quan's list is evidence that, during the Ming, the *Xuehu jing* was seen as a Zhengyi/Lingbao scripture. Zhou, who had the TQYC printed twice, would hardly be unaware of this fact.

The HJBJ is evidence that Zhou was trained in Zhengyi/Lingbao rituals. Accordingly, the TQYC is a systematic account of Daoist history and theology encompassing all possible lineages, a sublime book attributed to Zhu Quan's divine persona as the incarnation of Nanji. Zhou did not edit its content in order to transform the book into a pure "Quanzhen" text. Ritual purism, therefore, *was not* a constitutive element of Zhou's religious identity as a "Quanzhen" priest. Pretty much on the contrary, it is possible that Zhou understood Zhengyi rituals and scriptures as pertaining to the scope of his Quanzhen identity.

IV. Why the TQYC? Between Past and Future: The Book and Its Textual Articulation of Quanzhen History

What did Zhou understand by "Quanzhen"? I have argued that the HJBJ of Wanli 35 does explain what he *did not* understand by this term. Our inscription makes clear that, in Zhou's case, the term "Quanzhen" does not stand for social quietism nor does it mean ritual purism. Zhou adopted a monastic life devoted to social responsibilities, rather than individualistic isolation from society.

¹²⁰ E1, 45a. These registers are: (1) the *Lingbao shengxuan jidu xuehu baosheng zhenlu* 靈寶升玄濟度血湖保生真籙, and the (2) *Lingbao shengxuan jidu xuehu bawang zhenlu* 靈寶升玄濟度血湖拔亡真籙.

¹²¹ E1, 47a.

He devoted his ritual efforts to the longevity of the imperial family and, consequently, to the pacification of the Chinese realm. These aspects of Zhou's career cohere with the evidence for early Quanzhen proponents. What, therefore, is specific to Ming articulations of Quanzhen identity?

Zhou did not come across the TQYC coincidentally. During the late Ming, and in spite of the termination of the Ning principality following Zhu Chenhao's 朱宸濠 (d. 1521) treason, Zhu Quan became one of the most popular authors in the book market. The strong and inflamed emotional tone of Zhu Quan's writings, very well in accordance with the demands of a politically polarized society, may be one of the reasons leading to his postmortem success. The *Guochao xianzheng lu* 國朝獻徵錄, by Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540–1620), is proof that Zhu Quan was a popular author during the Wanli. Jiao Hong, who was among the authors scorned by the Donglin movement, provides an extensive list of Zhu Quan's works,¹²² which he probably saw in Wanli editions. Accordingly, many of these works, including pieces such as the TQYC and the *Shenyin* 神隱, survive as Wanli editions. As Kristofer Schipper has noticed, the very structure of the XDZ reflects late Ming political polarization, including disputes between self-identified “Daoists” and the representatives of the Donglin movement. For example, the inclusion of Li Zhi's 李贄 (1527–1602) work in the XDZ “was politically significant. It amounted not only to a rehabilitation, but to an act of defiance towards the Donglin Party and their allies.”¹²³ Political polarization, rather than doctrinal affiliation, seems to inform the structure of the XDZ. Zhou may have been responsible for the editorial choice of including Jiao Hong's commentaries to Laozi 老子 and Zhuangzi 莊子 in the XDZ, since Jiao Hong was an enthusiastic admirer of Quanzhen literature.¹²⁴

However, how does the TQYC relate to Zhou's claim for a Quanzhen identity? The answer to this question, I believe, should partially be found in the compelling stories the TQYC tells about

¹²² *Guochao xianzheng lu* 國朝獻徵錄, in GJK, vol. 1, Wanli 44 ed., 31.

¹²³ *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 1, 38.

¹²⁴ *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, 1133.

Quanzhen. These stories provide a privileged perspective through which to understand the narrative aspects of Zhou's religious identity. The evidence suggests that, in printing the TQYC, Zhou used it as the material media through which to build his own image as the legitimate successor to a glorious Quanzhen past of which Zhu Quan was, in recent history, the main representative. The TQYC also offered a theology of the homeland according to which the Daoist Teaching (*daojiao* 道教) had an important soteriological mission to accomplish. This theology offered many narratives and stories that should explain, in religious terms, what it meant to be born in the Middle Kingdom. As a philosopher has recently put it, "All societies are full of emotions."¹²⁵ The late Ming was no exception to this. Zhu Quan's inflamed rhetoric is a clear sign that the TQYC is also a book meant to foster strong political emotions. In this connection, the TQYC presents Quanzhen history in relation to the concerns of an anthropology of "Chinese" spiritual uniqueness.

(a) Zhou's Interpretation of Zhu Quan's Authorship

Authorship is not a neutral category, as it does not occur independently from readership and its acts of authentication. Zhou did accept and authenticate Zhu Quan's authorship of the TQYC. In doing so, his goal was to establish the reliability of the Ming prince's role as an author. The fabrication of a new edition was the means through which to achieve this goal. The category authorship, however, is not unequivocal nor stable. Authorship is a historical construct. It certainly stems from authors and their writing activities. One could argue, however, that authorship also depends on readers and editors. The editors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目, for example, never accepted Zhu Quan's authorship of works signed under the divine name Nanji Chongxu Miaodao Zhenjun 南極沖虛妙道真君, when in reality this title is the main aspect of Zhu Quan's authorship supported by archaeological evidence.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Martha C. Nussbaum, *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice* (Cambridge; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 1.

¹²⁶ *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu* 江西明代藩王墓, 1–14.

The evidence suggests that Zhou held essentialist assumptions about authorship. In a nutshell, essentialism is the belief that received editions reflect the redaction of earlier editions, even when these earlier documents are not available for investigation anymore. Modern students of Daoism, since the beginnings of the discipline, developed textual approaches in order to avoid the essentialist trap. Zhou, however, had good reasons to adopt an essentialist methodology. My goal here, therefore, is not to criticize Zhou's "essentialism," but to understand its place in the authentication of authorship. In a society where social prestige and rank could determine the reception to one's intellectual accomplishments, Zhou could hardly establish himself as a respectable author. A "book" authored by Zhu Quan offered Zhou a certain access to the authority he needed in order to argue for the legitimacy of his profession. Why was it important to argue for the Daoist Teaching in general and for Daoist priests in particular a rightful place in society? This assumption deserves further explanation and provides a useful means through which to evaluate Zhou's essentialism.

As argued by Strickmann, Daoists had access to the deepest personal anxieties of their clients.¹²⁷ Accordingly, in his close reading of the *Zhen'gao* 真誥, Bokenkamp has shown how the Shangqing patriarch Yang Xi 楊曦, seemingly manipulated the Xus for his own ends.¹²⁸ Strickmann and Bokenkamp, in their distinctive ways, captured an important sociological truth about professional "Daoists": equipped with powerful soteriological tools, Daoists could eventually acquire great psychological influence over their patrons. Zhou was no exception to this sociological truth. He had much to offer: personal counseling, longevity practices, and highly

¹²⁷ Michel Strickmann, edited by Bernard Faure, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2002), 20: "To ask a Taoist priest to diagnose and treat an illness was to invite a general exhumation of all skeletons in the family closet."

¹²⁸ Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), especially "Doomed for a Certain Term," 130–157. The scholar acknowledges his own uneasiness with this interpretation: "I must admit, however, that the picture of Yang that has emerged from my researches has troubled me. Still in awe with his writing skills, I find myself less fascinated than before with aspects of his religion."

technical rituals that should solve all imaginable demands.

In order to argue for the legitimacy of his livelihood, Zhou would have to connect his profession to major concerns of collective and even “national” nature, even if the problems he had to solve pertained for the most part to the realm of the domestic and the personal. Fortunately, for Zhou, this was exactly what the TQYC had to offer. This book presented the Daoist Teachings as the quintessence of those born to the Middle Kingdom.

Zhou never saw a 1444 edition of the TQYC. However, the TQYC conformed to his assumptions about the true nature of the imperial family, which in itself sufficed to guarantee its authenticity. The priest, therefore, would have no good reasons to question Zhu Quan’s authorship: “This book was created by the Emaciated Immortal (*ci shu chuang yu Quxian* 此書創於臞仙).”¹²⁹ The TQYC provided Zhou an opportunity to praise the imperial family, accumulate spiritual merit, and inscribe his own name in history. Zhou, therefore, praises Zhu Quan in the following terms:

The Emaciated Immortal, endowed with extraordinary talents, was born when the resplendent Ming set forth its revolutions, and the Supreme Ancestor [Taizu, that is, Zhu Yuanzhang] wiped out the barbaric Yuan and accomplished his supreme government.

臞仙以穎異之資，生於皇明啟運之時，太祖掃胡元成至治。

Here, Zhou makes a fair judgement of the religious import Zhu Yuanzhang assumed for a Ming audience. As argued by Lagerwey, “it was not the single Daoxue orthodoxy but the combined orthodoxies of Daoxue and thunder rites that made the Chinese state once again a church, with the genealogy of the Dao and political legitimacy indissolubly linked in the cosmic person of the Ming founder.”¹³⁰ For Zhou, both Zhu Yuanzhang and the Wanli emperor certainly played the role of “cosmic pivot.” As I have demonstrated before, this point is made clear in the very language Zhou used in writing his inscriptions. The manner he describes

¹²⁹ E2, vol. 1, 11b.

¹³⁰ John Lagerwey, “The Ming Dynasty Double Orthodoxy: Daoxue and Daojiao,” 129.

Shenzong's health and physical condition is especially indicative of his view of Shenzong as a "cosmic pivot" regulating the human and divine worlds. In his philosophical reading of history, Zhou also demonstrates a confident knowledge about Zhu Quan's state of mind and internal motivations. Zhou thus affirms that the Ming prince was "afraid" (*kong* 恐) of the various moral deviations inevitably committed by those who are "foolish" (*yuzhe* 愚者), "perverted" (*bujingzhe* 不經者), and "love fame but have no substance" (*shiming wushizhe* 嗜名無實者).

As we have seen before, Zhou praises his patron Zhang Jin for understanding the equal import of the Three Teachings. In his preface to E2, however, Zhou explicitly attacks Buddhism: "[Zhu Quan], therefore, composed this book, by means of which he promoted the mysterious winds and dissolved ignorance. Suppressing the wicked lineage, he assisted the supreme government."¹³¹ The "mysterious winds" (*xuanfeng* 玄風) obviously refer to the Daoist Teaching, regardless of it being Zhengyi or Quanzhen. The term "supreme government" (*zhizhi* 至治) refers to Zhu Yuanzhang's reign. The "wicked lineage" (*xieliu* 邪流) points, without a doubt, to Buddhism.

Zhou's paratexts demonstrate that for Ming proponents scholarship was not a politically inoffensive endeavor. Scholarship was rather a matter of life and death that could have devastating impacts over social life. Authorship was not as stable or "objective" as we assume. Its authentication—or negation—was extremely reliant on the political inclinations of readership. A "book" was not simply a "book." For Zhou, the TQYC was a powerful device, a *text* with profound implications. Zhou's interpretation agrees with the preface and postscript attributed to Zhu Quan. These textual elements also present the TQYC as more than a simple printed edition, describing the "book" as a means through which to spread Daoism and fight against foreign influence. In spite of praising his eunuch patron for his ample patronage of the Three Teachings, which included Buddhism, Zhou accepted and celebrated Zhu Quan's anti-Buddhist rhetoric.

¹³¹ 故著是書雖以振玄風寔以開蒙昧遏邪流弼至治也。E2, vol. 1, 11b.

For Zhou and his peers, Zhu Quan was an “author”—Zhou explicitly uses the term *zuozhe* 作者—and the TQYC a product of this single author’s efforts in saving the Chinese realm from the pernicious influence of “barbaric” culture, or Buddhism, the “wicked lineage.” Zhu Quan’s authorship was important not only because of its intellectual component, but also because of the confidence in powerful political leaders. Zhou found in history—in an imagined past and in his own personal history—the theology through which to interpret his place in the sacred land of *Zhongguo*, a term that one cannot simply translate as “China.” The TQYC’s credentials were beyond any doubt. The causality of authorship—as the causality of everything else—could and should be determined according to textual, moral, and partisan standards. History, in Zhou’s essentialist interpretation, is not material, but textual and theological.

Zhou argues in his preface to E2: “It was once said: the Body of the Dao is limitless. The mysterious merit is immeasurable. It would be difficult to rely on language in order to speak everything that has to be said about it, [as it would be difficult] to rely on writing in order to enlighten people.”¹³² Actually, some Ming compilations attribute the sentence “The Body of the Dao is limitless” (*daoti wuqiong* 道體無窮) to the Song philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). According to Zhou, the TQYC has an exegetical or explanatory nature. In his interpretation, the TQYC is a “book,”¹³³ or *shu* 書: “And then there appeared the book *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*.”¹³⁴ Zhou, therefore, does not reduce the TQYC to the condition of a mere “object.” He does so because he is certain about the truth of the TQYC’s message. Nothing could convince him the TQYC to be a spurious text. Zhou was hooked into the powerful effects of the political emotions instilled by that book. Zhu Quan’s political radicalism had a drug-

¹³² 嘗謂道體無窮玄功莫量欲以言盡道以文啟人難矣. E2, vol. 1, 11a.

¹³³ I use the word “book” in the absence of a better term. This paper must have shown that the TQYC in particular and Chinese printed editions in general simply do not—and should not—satisfy the criteria applying to the definition of a modern book.

¹³⁴ 迺有天皇至道太清玉冊之書. E1, vol. 1, 11a.

like effect over Zhou! Are we, moderns, able to sympathize with Zhou's political emotions? No, we are not. But this fact alone should suffice to show the import of Daoism in general and Zhu Quan in particular in a more accurate understanding of contemporary China and its characteristic political environment. In Zhou's interpretation, this "text" named TQYC performs several functions, for it:

- (1) "Reconstructs the beginning and the end of the transformations of the Dao."¹³⁵
- (2) "Exhausts the most precise and subtle aspects of the principle of things."¹³⁶
- (3) "Explains the fundamental purpose of the Mysterious Learning."¹³⁷
- (4) "Explores the upright origins of the Dao of life."¹³⁸

The TQYC, in Zhou's interpretation, also "completely exposes substance and function,"¹³⁹ unraveling the mysteries of *xing* 性 and *ming* 命.¹⁴⁰ In Zhou's philosophical reading, therefore, the TQYC concerns both Daoism and Ruism, for it explains Ruist discussions of substance/function (*tiyong* 體用) and provides explanation on the Daoist cultivation of *xing-ming*.¹⁴¹ Most importantly, Zhou concludes his philosophical remarks by stating that the TQYC "is of help to the path of governing (*shi zhi dao zhi yi zhu ye* 是治道之一助也)."¹⁴² Zhou's statements provide a new interpretation to the contents of the TQYC. In reducing content to the philosophical topics of Ruist and Daoist cultivation, Zhou articulates the connection between Ruist morality, Daoist self-cultivation, and the political realm, for his praise of the TQYC as a book leading to

¹³⁵ 原道化之始末. Ibid.

¹³⁶ 盡事理之精微. Ibid.

¹³⁷ 闡玄學要旨. Ibid.

¹³⁸ 演性道正脈. Ibid.

¹³⁹ 體用全彰. Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ 性命之不可聞者直揭其秘. Ibid.

¹⁴¹ On the terms *xing* and *ming*, see Fabrizio Pregadio, "Destiny, Vital Force, or Existence? On the Meanings of *Ming* in Daoist Internal Alchemy and Its Relation to *Xing* or Human Nature," *Daoism: Religion, History, and Society* 6 (2014), 157–218.

¹⁴² E2, vol. 1, 11b.

good government reflects a society where Daoism must prove itself useful for rulers, as Zhou did through his various Jiao services at Mount Wufeng.

However, there is more to the TQYC than supposed by Zhou's interpretation of its authorship. Some of the 19 chapters of the TQYC contain passages that strongly connect Zhu Quan to recent developments of "Quanzhen" history. For Zhou, who would like to be seen as a Quanzhen priest whose Jiao services contributed to the stability of the Middle Kingdom, the TQYC certainly represented strong evidence concerning the legitimacy of his efforts. As I demonstrate in the following, political radicalism and anti-Buddhist rhetoric also constitute important aspects of the TQYC's portrayal of Zhu Quan as a Quanzhen reformer. This aspect of the TQYC raises interesting questions about the textual narratives informing Daoist self-cultivation in the Ming period. The evidence shows that the "self" cultivated by Ming Quanzhen proponents reflects an old, strong, and affirmative culture of political celebration and strong confidence in the spiritual superiority of the Chinese people.

(b) Quanzhen and Its Past: Zhu Quan as a Reformer and His Role in the Double Orthodoxy

In describing Zhou as an "essentialist" reader, my goal is not to criticize his supposed lack of philological standards, but to investigate further what I term the "creative potential" of this type of approach to history, which certainly was the norm among his Ming peers. Zhou's editions of the TQYC cannot be categorized as an attempt at presenting a "Quanzhen" text, but they nonetheless tell a compelling story about the place of Zhu Quan in Quanzhen history. Zhou's preface and postscript to E2 do mention Daoist lineages, but only in a subtle manner. Zhou does not explicitly argue for the superiority of one lineage over another. This attitude conforms to epigraphic evidence, according to which Zhou received training in non-Quanzhen rituals. In his postscript, Zhou approves of both "Zhengyi" and "Quanzhen" aspects of the TQYC, as this book records "the meanings of the mysterious ranks, the sequence of registers, as well as the punishments to sins and the mysterious statutes (*xuan zhi lu jie pin ci ji fa guo xuan lu zhi yi* 玄職錄階品次及罰過玄律之義)." In his own explanation:

The Daoist Learning is abstruse, and the arts of *xing* and *ming* are profoundly authentic. [Daoxue] deploys the mysterious ranks in order to promote those who have merits and uses the mysterious statutes in order to restrain those who committed sins. This is exactly what is named the wondrous art of saving the world and the mysterious mechanism through which one restores the Dao and purifies the Teaching.

道學雖玄而性命之術甚真，以玄職薦有功，以玄律繩有罪。正所謂度世之妙術而修道貞教之玄機也。

In these words, Zhou refers to various forms of Daoist teachings. The term *lujie* 籙階, for example, obviously refers to Zhengyi registers, extensively recorded in the TQYC. The term *xingming* 性命, on the other hand, reflects Zhou's possible engagement with self-cultivation arts. The “mysterious statutes” relate to Daoist rules of Lingbao provenance, which the TQYC also records. Clearly, Zhou does not foster disputes between “Quanzhen” and “Zhengyi” teachings, for his own “Quanzhen” identity seemingly encompassed the participation in “Zhengyi” rituals. After taking these observations under consideration, it is important to notice that the plain text of the TQYC does, nevertheless, confer to Quanzhen a special place in Daoist history and, consequently, Ming society. The TQYC offers compelling narratives connecting “Quanzhen” to a glorious past, the Ming imperial family, and recent historical developments.

However, as far as the relationship between the historical Zhu Quan and Quanzhen lore is concerned, the factual nature of the TQYC's account is, to say the least, a very complicated matter. In my previous research, I have compared the TQYC to a 1472 edition of the *Zhouhou shenshu* 肘後神樞, thus identifying to what degree the Wanli editions overlap with pre-Wanli editions attributed to Zhu Quan. This comparison allowed me to prove with certainty that Zhu Quan's apotheosis as Nanji, also corroborated by the archaeological record, traces back without a doubt to early Ming textual elaborations.¹⁴³ As for Zhu Quan's connection with

¹⁴³ See Bony Schachter, *Nanji Chongxu Miaodao Zhenjun: The Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce and Zhu Quan's (1378–1448) Apotheosis as a Daoist God*, Ph.D.

Quanzhen lore, I so far have not seen its articulation in pre-Wanli editions. Also, archaeologists have never found objects of evident Quanzhen provenance at the ruins of the Nanji Changsheng Gong.¹⁴⁴ The TQYC does not mention the talismans seen in Zhu Quan's mausoleum.¹⁴⁵ Archaeological evidence does not allow one to establish with certainty whether the TQYC's account of the Nanji Changsheng Gong's physical structure is accurate or not. The TQYC tells stories about topics as diverse as Zhu Quan's divine nature as Nanji, the structure of the Nanji Changsheng Gong, as well as the Ming prince's relationship with Quanzhen lore. To make things even more complicated, these stories survive in more than one version, and in different editions. As observed by Goossaert, "Dans son texte [the scholar refers to the TQYC], Zhu Quan précise qu'il a lui-même pratiqué ce type de méditation, bien que nous n'ayons aucune raison de penser qu'il ait été lui-même ordonné comme moine quanzhen."¹⁴⁶

(1) What Do Textual Discrepancies Mean?

As I have previously shown, Zhu Quan could have no control over the physical aspects of posthumously fabricated editions. Zhou, accordingly, designed his 1609 edition of the TQYC as a reading object to be distributed among Zhang Jin's peers at the Capital. Though it is obvious that Zhu Quan could have no participation

dissertation (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2018), especially "The TQYC and Its Redaction," 377–480.

¹⁴⁴ For a list of items found in this archaeological site, see *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu* 江西明代藩王墓, 9–14. This book does not provide information on author, research group, or editors.

¹⁴⁵ According to the report, these talismans include the (1) *Ziqing jiangfu tianzun yongjie baofu* 紫清降福天尊永劫寶符; (2) *Taiping huguo tianzun baoshi fu* 太平護國天尊保世符; (3) *Huoming renzhi jinqi ling changsheng jiushi fu* 火命人制金氣令長生久視符; (4) *Longxuan quanzhong hushi baozuo zhenfu* 龍玄犬種護世保祚真符; (5) *Gaozhenjun hushi fumo zhenfu* 告真君護世伏魔真符; (6) *Qinghua zhangren hushi changsheng zhenfu* 青華丈人護世長生真符. See *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu* 江西明代藩王墓, 7–8.

¹⁴⁶ See Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l'ordre quanzhen*, 225. The materials I use in this section are basically the same seen by Goossaert and, before him, the Japanese scholar Hachia Kunio 蜂屋邦夫.

whatsoever in the decisions engendering the material aspects of posthumous editions of “his” TQYC, it is less obvious that he could have no control over their textual aspects. The essentialist approach, of which Zhou is a representative, relies on textual evidence in order to construct literary narratives that, from a native perspective, are interpreted as “history.” In his paratexts to E2, Zhou would like to convince his audience, for example, that the TQYC is a “text” whose redaction reflects unequivocally Zhu Quan’s writing activities. For Zhou and his peers, the stories told in the TQYC do not belong to the realm of “fiction.”¹⁴⁷ The textual record, however, does not corroborate Zhou’s essentialist assumptions. It shows that key portions of the TQYC survive in more than one version and that these versions are not complementary, but mutually exclusive. In order to make this point clearer, I shall compare how two different editions record “Zhu Quan’s” writings on the Quanzhen *huanshi* 園室, a structure designed for the practice of solitary contemplation.¹⁴⁸ The TQYC edition reads:

The *huanshi*

It is a chamber made of bricks. Its square and circular [areas should] measure one *zhang*. Having no doors, [it] should preserve only one orifice so that beverages and foods may pass through it. A hole should be kept open in its rear [section] thus making convenient to expel impurities. [When] a Quanzhen [Daoist] enters the *huanshi* and immures its door, this is called “closing the gate.” [The Daoist] sits there [in meditation] for 100 hundred days before opening it, which is called “opening the gate.” Thus is created the *huanshi*.

園室

以磚砌為室，方圓一丈，無門，止留一竅以通飲食。後留一穴，以便

¹⁴⁷ In fact, one could even question whether there was something as “fiction” in late Ming China. For a lucid perspective on the historical creation of this category vis-à-vis Chinese Studies, see Mark Meulenbeld, *Demonic Warfare: Daoism, Territorial Networks, and the History of a Ming Novel* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015).

¹⁴⁸ The standard description of *huandu* may be found in Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l’ordre quanzhen*, 171–219.

出穢。全真入園，砌其門，謂之閉關。坐百日乃開，謂之開關，此園室之製也。¹⁴⁹

Following this brief description, this passage of the TQYC tells the story behind the construction of the first Quanzhen *huanshi*. Unexpectedly, our text attributes its creation to Zhang Daoling 張道陵, a Zhengyi patriarch. This passage relies on authoritative hagiographies of the “first” Celestial Master. In this respect, the TQYC version resembles, for example, the versions seen in Ming editions of the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 and of the *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記. These three editions describe Zhang Daoling as a scholar from the Taixue 太學 who abandoned his rank and went to Mount Heming, Sichuan, to investigate the Dao of long life. There, Zhang Daoling would have authored 24 Daoist books. Both the TQYC and the *Shilin guangji* editions emphasize Zhang Daoling to be a descendant of the early Han strategist Zhang Liang 張良, a matter about which the *Taiping guangji* edition keeps silent.

The TQYC edition is unique in its attempt at connecting Zhang Daoling to Quanzhen lore. Our passage states that Zhang Daoling “entered Mount Heming in Shu, sitting at the *huanshi* there (*ru Shu Heming shan zuo huan* 入蜀鶴鳴山坐園).” Unlike the *Taiping guangji* and the *Shilin guangji* editions, therefore, the TQYC defines Zhang Daoling’s Quanzhen identity in terms of him being a meditation practitioner. The TQYC seems to be the sole edition to put forward this view. In its last sentence, this entry explicitly articulates its goal of presenting Zhang Daoling as the originator of the Quanzhen *huanshi* by saying that “the *huanshi* commences here.”¹⁵⁰

The ease with which different authors and editors rely on pre-existing texts in order to manipulate Zhang Daoling’s image reveals much about the limits of individual authorship in traditional China. The comparison of the three editions mentioned above (the TQYC, the *Taiping guangji*, and the *Shilin guangji*) suggests that, in reading

¹⁴⁹ E1, 139b. This passage is translated into French in Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l’ordre quanzhen*, 208.

¹⁵⁰ 其園室自此始也. E1, 140a / E2, vol. 3, 3a–3b.

Chinese materials, the notion of individual authorship is not as adequate as the idea of collaborative or collective authorship. Even more surprising, however, is the fact that the TQYC's entry on the *huanshi* actually exists in more than one version. This fact has disruptive consequences for the essentialist argument Zhou pursues.

This second version of the *huanshi* survives in Gao Lian's 高濂 *Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋. I saw two editions of this book, namely, a Wanli 19 edition and the Qing *Siku quanshu* edition. Gao Lian attributes the record partially translated below to Zhu Quan, whom he describes as the Emaciated Immortal:

The *huanshi*

The Emaciated Immortal said: "People disagree with regard to the fabrication of the *huanshi*. My intention was to adopt the principles informing the models and dimensions of heaven and earth. Its upper section should be circular, while its lower section should form a square, measuring one *zhang*."

圓室

懼仙曰：圓室之制，人各不同，予所志者，取法於天地範圍之理，上圓下方經一丈。¹⁵¹

It is not clear which edition of Zhu Quan's work Gao Lian read. His version nonetheless partially agrees with the version seen in the TQYC. In both editions, the *huanshi* is formed by two sections. The excerpt seen in the TQYC, however, differs dramatically from the text preserved in Gao Lian's *Zunsheng bajian*. First, in the passage translated above, Zhu Quan speaks in the first-person pronoun and describes the *huanshi* as his own creation. Unlike the TQYC, therefore, Gao Lian's version attributes the creation of the *huanshi* to Zhu Quan, not to Zhang Daoling. In Gao Lian's version, Zhu Quan explicitly affirms his authorship of the *huanshi* by stating that "I created it."¹⁵² As we have seen, the TQYC version does not present such a claim. Second, in Gao Lian's

¹⁵¹ *Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋, *Siku quanshu* edition, 7:33a. This passage is translated into French in Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l'ordre quanzhen*, 215.

¹⁵² 此余所製也. *Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋, *Siku quanshu* edition, 7:33a.

version, the *huanshi* also has two orifices, but the first orifice should “allow to the passage of the sunlight and the moonlight,”¹⁵³ while the second should be used “in order that one may absorb the numinous *qi* of the celestial gate.”¹⁵⁴ The TQYC’s version, on the other hand, emphasizes more practical functions, since these two holes should allow the passage of foods and “impurities” (that is, urine and feces). Gao Lian’s version, therefore, reflects a stronger concern towards self-cultivation: the orifices should allow one to absorb various forms of *qi*. Finally, it is important to notice that we are dealing with two mutually exclusive narratives. Textual control is the hallmark of individual authorship. The textual record explored above, however, suggests that Zhu Quan’s authorship is much more complex than implied by the essentialist methodology. Which version did Zhu Quan author? Gao Lian’s version of Wanli 19 or Zhou’s version of Wanli 35? Clearly, these *are not* relevant questions. It is obvious that the essentialist paradigm and its interpretation of authorship as a matter of origin, instead of ascription, does not stand to the challenge represented by textual evidence.¹⁵⁵

Therefore, as far as Quanzhen-related passages are concerned, there are some possible scenarios informing the TQYC’s authorship. These passages may reflect: (1) Zhu Quan’s redaction in its pristine form; (2) later interventions by anonymous editors; (3) Zhou’s textual interventions, who would like to depict Zhu Quan as a Quanzhen master. Concerning this last possibility, it is interesting to notice that Zhou did not take part in the compilation of Gao Lian’s *Zunsheng bajian*. Gao Lian, who printed his book in Wanli 19 (1591), probably had access to an edition unknown to Zhou. This fact provides Zhou an alibi against the accusation of textual intervention. Zhou most probably simply reproduced the contents of the edition he obtained from Zhang Jin.

¹⁵³ 以通日月之光. Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ 以取天門靈氣. Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Actually, as pointed by Goossaert, in Zhu Quan’s writings there is a third reference to the *huanshi*, now in an edition of the *Shenyin* 神隱. Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l'ordre quanzhen*, 215–216. Goossaert observes that “Je n’ai malheureusement pas pu trouver ce texte dans l’oeuvre de Zhu, qui sont d’ailleurs mal éditées et négligiés depuis sa mort.”

It is useful to remember that Zhou was as distanced in time from Zhu Quan as we are today from Qing dynasty historical figures. In order to understand clearly what the textual evidence truly means, one should have to consult Zhu Quan's edition of 1444, the *diben* originating E1 and E2, and the edition seen by Gao Lian, whose book title he unfortunately does not even mention. The fact that Gao Lian's version of the *huanshi* survives in a Wanli 19 document, being therefore a few decades earlier than the extant editions of the TQYC, *does not* mean that it is closer to Zhu Quan's edition of 1444. In fact, it could be the case that the Wanli 35 edition of the TQYC does reproduce the 1444 edition in a reliable manner. In the absence of positive evidence, however, there is no reason to accept one version as truer than the other.

I must, therefore, formulate my argument on the TQYC's portrayal of Zhu Quan as a Quanzhen reformer in a way that accounts for our empirical limits. The essentialist assumption provides later editors the perfect conditions through which to advance their own goals and agendas on the basis of authoritative figures of the past. One cannot completely rule out, therefore, the possibility that Zhou could have edited Zhu Quan's text, depicting him as a Quanzhen reformer. However, since this theory cannot be proven or disproven, I do not deny Zhu Quan's authorship, nor do I accuse Zhou of recreating a Zhu Quan disguised as a Quanzhen master. Suffice it to understand that, as an editor in possession of the *diben* generating E1 and E2, Zhou approved of both Quanzhen and non-Quanzhen aspects of the TQYC. The TQYC offered Zhou an image of the "recent" past that could satisfy his present demands for religious identity.

In sum, textual evidence shows that the two versions of the *huanshi* have nothing reliable to say about the historical origins of the Quanzhen *huanshi*. The textual record requires one to investigate further the essentialist approach to authorship. The question enticed by textual evidence is not much "What did Zhu Quan write?" but "Why did Ming proponents deem the essentialist approach so persuasive?" We should not neglect, therefore, its undeniable potential. Zhou's interpretation of the TQYC, following essentialist assumptions, offered compelling stories whose goal was to reinforce collective identities. In the following, I explore the

stories the TQYC tell about Quanzhen. These stories provide a unique perspective on the narrative aspects of Ming textual articulations of Quanzhen identities.

- (2) Passage 1, or Quanzhen as a Continuous Order: Chapter 2—*Daojiao yuanliu* 道教源流 (E1: 22a–33a / E2: Vol. 1, 22a–30a)

This chapter explains the origins of the Daoist Teaching both in cosmological and theological terms. It establishes an imagined connection between Ming proponents and the Quanzhen past by explaining that the “Northern lineage” (Beipai 北派) “commenced during the Song.” This passage repeats the classical hagiographic episode¹⁵⁶ according to which Wang Chongyang 王重陽¹⁵⁷ saw seven golden lotuses when he reached Donghai 東海. This was a sign that the “Seven Perfected,” that is, Qiu 丘, Liu 劉, Tan 譚, Ma 馬, Hao 郝, Wang 王, and Sun 孫 “should appear here.” The passage in question demonstrates a clear attempt at connecting this classical theme to the Ming context. The last sentence of this entry has that “The Quanzhen Teaching of the present day commenced with it.” One is supposed to read the term “present day” (*jin* 今) as pointing to the Zhengtong period, when Zhu Quan printed the TQYC. Apart from the term *beipai*, this passage of the TQYC also refers to the term “Quanzhen Teaching,” or *Quanzhen zhi jiao* 全真之教. The abbreviated form *Quanzhen jiao* 全真教 occurs in the HJBJ, authored by Zhou in Wanli 35. This means that Zhou would like us to see him as a legitimate or even direct descendant of Wang Chongyang’s Quanzhen Order, or the Northern lineage. The passages I discuss in the following sections develop further the narrative framework alluded to in this chapter of the TQYC. Unlike the present passage, however, the following passages

¹⁵⁶ See Pierre Marsone, “Daoism under the Jurchen Jin Dynasty,” in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol. 2, 1111–1159, especially “The Legend of the Seven Authentics,” 1129–1130.

¹⁵⁷ See Pierre Marsone, *Wang Chongyang et la fondation du Quanzhen*, Ph.D. dissertation (Paris, 2010).

explicitly articulate a narrative account connecting the Quanzhen Order to the Ming imperial family.

- (3) Passage 2, or Zhu Quan's Place in the Order's History:
Chapter 10—*Gongdian tanshan* 宮殿壇壝 (E1: 5.1a–10a /
E2: Vol. 3, 1a–6b)

According to the summary, this is the first chapter of the second *juan* in Zhu Quan's lost edition of 1444. This chapter describes the historical origins of 21 architectonic structures. Of these, a passage discussing the *botang* 鉢堂 is of special interest. A *botang* is a structure designed for the practice of meditational asceticism, or *zuobo* 坐鉢, to which the TQYC devotes one chapter.¹⁵⁸ According to the TQYC, the historical Zhu Quan established a *botang* inside the Nanji Changsheng Gong. Archaeological evidence shows that Zhu Quan established the Nanji Changsheng Gong in Zhengtong 7 (1442) in order to supplicate for the longevity of the imperial family and its subjects.¹⁵⁹ The ruins of the aforementioned structure, however, do not allow one to know clearly whether there was a *botang* there or not.

Our passage nonetheless recreates the story of Zhu Quan's *botang* vis-à-vis his noble and aristocratic motivations. It is meant to be read as a first-hand account regarding Zhu Quan's actions. It states: “*Botang* 鉢堂: such a Hall is the place where the companions of phoenixes and the friends of cranes [*luan dao he lu* 鸞儔鶴侶, a poetic manner of addressing companions and friends who also practice self-cultivation] from the four corners practice the cultivation of authenticity (*zhen* 真).”¹⁶⁰ The term *zhen* 真, in this

¹⁵⁸ On Quanzhen ascetic practices, see Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004); Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-Transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). On Quanzhen Daoism in the Ming-Qing periods, see Vincent Goossaert and Liu Xun, eds., *Quanzhen Daoists in Chinese Society and Culture, 1500–2010* (Berkeley, California: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2013); Pierre Marsone, “Daoism under the Jurchen Jin Dynasty,” 1134–1158.

¹⁵⁹ *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu* 江西明代藩王墓, 1–14.

¹⁶⁰ 鉢堂其堂乃四方鸞儔鶴侶栖真之所. E1, 138b / E2, vol. 3, 2b.

passage, has the same connotation implied by the same noun in the compound “Quanzhen.” This is reinforced by other passages of the same entry. For example, Zhu Quan explains that “I built a *botang* at the Nanji Changsheng Gong, naming it Qizhen Guan 棲真館 [Temple for the Cultivation of Authenticity].”¹⁶¹ “*Qizhen*” 棲真, or the cultivation of authenticity, is the behavior through which one accomplishes the desired ideal of “Quanzhen.”

Regardless of whether this is true or not, there should be no doubt that our passage aims at depicting the Qizhen Guan as a place for Quanzhen cultivation. Zhu Quan allegedly wrote a *duilian* 對聯 at the entrance of this *botang*, with the sayings: “The clouds and waters of the world all lodge here / The foremost Quanzhen Pass under heaven.”¹⁶² In another *duilian*, Zhu Quan wrote: “Explaining the Grand Dao of the Middle Kingdom and Its Sages / Inheriting the lost customs of the immortal children from the highest heavens.”¹⁶³ The first sentence of this second *duilian* explicitly repeats the central political motto seen both in the *Yuandao* and in Zhu Quan’s postscript, which as I have mentioned before, only E2 contributed to preserve.

Inside the Qizhen Guan, Zhu Quan would have placed the statue of the first Quanzhen patriarch: “within it, one worships the Perfected Man Wang Chongyang.”¹⁶⁴ Zhu Quan decorated Wang’s altar table with symbols of the metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, “in order to symbolize the five phases and the creation-transformation,” as well as “seven golden lotuses, in order to represent the Seven Perfected Ones.”¹⁶⁵ Archaeologists never found such objects at Zhu Quan’s tomb. The religious decoration of Zhu Quan’s *botang*—be it imagined or not—connects directly with the hagiographical element mentioned in the chapter *Daojiao yuanliu*. This second passage reinforces the claim for historical continuity seen previously. According to the TQYC, therefore, Zhu Quan played a fundamental role in guaranteeing the historical continuity

¹⁶¹ 余於南極長生宮建造鉢堂名曰棲真館。Ibid.

¹⁶² 世間雲水皆居此天下全真第一關。Ibid.

¹⁶³ 闡中國聖人之大道襲上天仙子之遺風。Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ 中祀王重陽真人。Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ 以相五行造化及金蓮七朵以表七真。Ibid.

of the Quanzhen Order. This passage also explicitly connects this imagined Quanzhen Order to Zhu Quan's theology of the Dao of the Middle Kingdom. In printing this exalted text, Zhou was also taking part in the continuity of an old and respectable religious Order.

(4) Passage 3, or Zhu Quan's Contributions to Quanzhen Reformation: Chapter 13—*Quanzhen yishi* 全真儀式 (E1: 5.30a–36a / E2: Vol. 3, 26b–30b)

This chapter deals with Quanzhen protocols. Recent scholarship points to a strong connection between early Ming princes and Zhengyi Daoism.¹⁶⁶ This chapter of the TQYC, however, depicts Zhu Quan as a Quanzhen reformer responsible for revolutionizing the practice of *zuobo* 坐鉢.¹⁶⁷ This passage of the TQYC defines “Quanzhen” primarily in terms of it being a meditation practice. As it will become clear below, however, this “self-cultivation” involves due deference to collective, instead of individualistic, articulations of religious identity.

In discussing the term *zuobo*, or “sitting around the bowl,”¹⁶⁸ Vincent Goossaert argues that the TQYC presents the “most precise description of the procedure.”¹⁶⁹ In addition, it is important to notice that this chapter of the TQYC offers not simply a description

¹⁶⁶ Concerning this issue, there are two seminal articles written by Schipper and Wang on Zhao Yizhen and Liu Yuanran, respectively. Both authors understand that, in the early Ming, the Qingwei methods were very much associated with Thunder Ritual lore. According to Schipper, the strong reference to Qingwei methods in Zhao Yizhen's oeuvre would mean that he was not connected to the Quanzhen school. See Kristofer Schipper, “Master Chao I-chen and the Ch'ingwei School of Taoism,” in Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月觀映, ed., *Dokyo to Shukyo bunka* 道教と宗教文化 (Tokyo: Hirakawa, 1987), 1–20. Following Schipper's reasoning, Wang argues that Liu Yuanran's connection with the Quanzhen school is a posthumous creation. See Richard G. Wang, “Liu Yuanran and Daoist Lineages in the Ming,” *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 7 (2015), 265–335.

¹⁶⁷ On *zuobo*, see Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l'ordre quanzhen*, 220–258.

¹⁶⁸ In Vincent Goossaert's translation; see Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008), 1306.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

but also a *criticism and reform* of various aspects of Quanzhen meditative practice. Though the TQYC does not mention by name book titles concerning Quanzhen meditation, it is clear that the text implies a great degree of familiarity with existing textual traditions.

Zhu Quan proposes the reform of, basically, three aspects of Quanzhen meditation. The first aspect concerns the application of punishments, largely recorded in pre-Ming “Quanzhen” texts. For example, the *Daozang* edition of the *Quanzhen Qinggui* 全真清規,¹⁷⁰ attributed to the pre-Ming author Lu Daohe 陸道和, preserves an excerpt according to which the *fubo* 副鉢 is responsible for denouncing (*juxing* 舉行) those who violate the regulations of meditation practice (*zuobo guishi* 坐鉢規式), while the *zhuobo* 主鉢 is responsible for applying punishments (*zefa* 責罰).¹⁷¹ Zhu Quan, or whoever wrote on behalf of the historical Zhu Quan, was certainly aware of the regulations described by Lu Daohe or, at least, of the existence of similar regulations and texts. Since Lu Daohe’s text is one of the few examples of a pre-Ming textual articulation of *zuobo* practices, I shall briefly compare the TQYC’s description with it. One cannot assume, however, Lu Daohe to be the foremost, the “standard,” or the sole representative of pre-Ming *zuobo* practices. It seems clear to me, nevertheless, that the TQYC’s description of *zuobo* aims at surpassing the limitations of pre-existing traditions.

Accordingly, this chapter of the TQYC explicitly condemns the application of punishments. The text argues that those who practice meditation “are spontaneously afraid of the vastness of life and death” so that there is no need for the application of punishments, “which should all be abolished.”¹⁷² This passage, therefore, recommends the complete termination of physical castigation. This aspect of the TQYC supposes a reformulation of earlier forms of Quanzhen meditation. At the same time, it also reflects a subtle and yet effective opposition to “Buddhist” meditation practice, in

¹⁷⁰ On this text, see Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l'ordre quanzhen*, 259–301. Goossaert presents a French translation of the referred text. Also, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, 1170–1171.

¹⁷¹ DZ 1235, *Quanzhen Qinggui* 全真清規, 5b.

¹⁷² E1, 165b / E2, vol. 3, 26b.

which austerity and physical castigation played an important role.

The second aspect of Zhu Quan's reform concerns the periods for the practice of meditation. Those who practice without the supervision and oral teachings of a master expose themselves to illness. The TQYC recommends that Daoist communities should practice *zuobo* only during 4 of the 6 hours traditionally recommended: *zi* 子, *wu* 午, *mao* 卯, and *you* 酉. Concerning the periods of the year suitable for the practice of *zuobo*, this chapter of the TQYC also differs significantly from the regulations seen in Lu Daohe's compilation. Lu Daohe establishes the period going from the first day of the 10th lunar month up to the *zhongxun* of the first lunar month of the next year—a total of approximately 100 hundred days—as the best time for practice.¹⁷³ This chapter of the TQYC mentions three different periods: (1) 02/15 up to 05/15; (2) 07/15 up to 10/15; (3) 10/15 up to 01/15. The text recommends practicing *zuobo* only in two of these periods, in a total of 60 days. This is 40 days less than required by Lu Daohe's approach. Due to hot weather, summer (*xiatian* 夏天) is not suitable to meditation practice.¹⁷⁴ While early Quanzhen Daoists would focus on austerity, this passage of the TQYC recommends, again, moderation.

As mentioned above, the term *bo* points to a bowl used as a type of clepsydra. The third aspect of Zhu Quan's reform concerns this important object. The TQYC first teaches a method for measuring time with the usage of a bowl and a water caldron (*shuiding* 水鼎).¹⁷⁵ In the following entry, Zhu Quan claims to have designed a new clepsydra. This mechanism makes use of one support (*jia* 架), a precious umbrella (*baogai* 寶蓋), five bells (*wuling* 五鈴) and a bowl (*bo* 鉢). It works according to hydrodynamic principles: “when the [recipient] is completely filled with water, the bowl sinks, causing the five bells to sound simultaneously.”¹⁷⁶ The Ming prince emphasizes that this mechanism of time measurement “is not equal to that of the vulgar, being created by me.”¹⁷⁷ The

¹⁷³ *Quanzhen Qinggui*, 5a.

¹⁷⁴ E1, 166b / E2, vol. 3, 27a.

¹⁷⁵ E1, 167a–167b / E2, vol. 3, 27b–28a.

¹⁷⁶ 至水滿鉢沉則五鈴齊振. E1, 167b / E2, vol. 3, 28a.

¹⁷⁷ 不與世俗所有者同自余始之. E1, 167b / E2, vol. 3, 28a.

“vulgar” or “mundane” (*shisu* 世俗) is certainly a derogatory term for Buddhists, who do not enjoy a good reputation in works attributed to Zhu Quan.¹⁷⁸

The final entries of this chapter concern the rules of etiquette to be observed by Quanzhen Daoists, reflecting the same anti-Buddhist rhetoric. This passage associates Zhu Quan’s political motto to Quanzhen meditative practices. The *Text for Joining the Hall* (*Cantang wen* 參堂文),¹⁷⁹ for example, is obviously written in accordance with the central theme seen both in the essay *Yuandao* and in Zhu Quan’s postscript: “What we study is not the pernicious heterodoxy of the collateral lineages [that is, Buddhism]. What we cultivate is the grand Dao of the Middle Kingdom and Its Sages.”¹⁸⁰ One should interpret this chapter, therefore, as Zhu Quan’s contribution to the reform of Quanzhen meditation practices, aligned with pro-Chinese and anti-Buddhist sentiments.

In sum, the TQYC makes three strong claims concerning Zhu Quan and his relationship with Quanzhen lore. The first claim is that Ming dynasty “Quanzhen” commenced in Wang Chongyang’s time and remained unchanged up to the “present era,” which one is supposed to interpret as referring to the Zhengtong period. This is a strong claim for *historical continuity*. The second strong claim also pertains to the scope of historical continuity. According to this second claim, Ming dynasty Quanzhen exists in continuity to Wang Chongyang’s Order. The Ming prince Zhu Quan should be seen as a direct descendant of this Order. Zhu Quan established a meditation hall in his Nanji Changsheng Gong, where he allegedly worshiped Wang Chongyang. Without a doubt, the TQYC depicts Zhu Quan as a figure responsible for the continuity of an imagined Quanzhen Order. The third claim does not concern continuity, but historical transformation. Zhu Quan, partially due to his anti-Buddhist sentiment, purportedly reformed the core aspect of early

¹⁷⁸ In this respect, therefore, this chapter reverberates the same derogatory language seen in Chapter 11—*Protocols for Honoring the Sages* (*Fengsheng yizhi* 奉聖儀制), in its criticism of Buddhist banners.

¹⁷⁹ On this literary genre, see Vincent Goossaert, *La création du taoïsme moderne: l'ordre quanzhen*, 287.

¹⁸⁰ 所學者非傍門不經之異端所修者乃中國聖人之大道。E1, 168b / E2, vol. 3, 28b.

Quanzhen practice, namely, the ascetic practice of *zuobo*. Zhu Quan presumably did so with two basic motivations: (1) he decided that austerity should be kept, but in moderation; (2) he redesigned the clepsydra mechanism used in Quanzhen meditation, emphasizing it to be completely different from that used by Buddhists. This anti-Buddhist sentiment distinguishes Zhu Quan's "Quanzhen" from early Quanzhen lore, which embraced the *sanjiao heyi* 三教合一 ideology.¹⁸¹ The claims for historical transformation, therefore, reflect a hostile attitude towards "Buddhism," described as a foreign teaching. Zhou did authenticate the TQYC's authorship partially due to the manner that book articulates Quanzhen history.

(5) TQYC and the Ming "Self" as a Product of National Narratives

In the TQYC, *zuobo* is a form of self-cultivation that reinforces the spiritual uniqueness of the Chinese people. *Zuobo*, therefore, is self-cultivation in a pre-modern sense; it is a practice that reinforces the sacredness of Ming dynasty social hierarchies and the spiritual uniqueness of Ming subjects. In simplifying the *zuobo* practice, Zhu Quan would have contributed to further differentiating Daoist meditation from Buddhist practices. The main argument is that *zuobo* should contribute to the maintenance of social hierarchies. Such hierarchies prevail not only among Ming subjects, but also between *Zhongguo* and other polities.

Proving this last claim, one should notice that the Daoist gods provide true theological descriptions concerning what it means to be born into the Middle Kingdom. In three curious passages, the chapter *Yuji lingwen* 玉笈靈文 (E1: 6.13a–36b / E2: Vol. 3, 39b–52b / Vol. 4, 1a–2a) of the TQYC retells the history of Korean and Muslim subjects of the Ming dynasty. In a very long passage, the "Koreans" are praised for their commitment to the Chinese way of life. Accordingly, the text traces Korean history back to the time of

¹⁸¹ See Pierre Marsone, "Daoism under the Jurchen Jin Dynasty," 1122. As discussed by Marsone, the founder Wang Chongyang established various societies named after the Three Teachings.

King Wu 武王 of the Zhou dynasty, which in reality is a laudatory historiographical attitude.¹⁸² This retelling of Korean history vis-à-vis Chinese cultural supremacy ends with discourses attributed to two gods, namely, Huangnan Zhenren 皇南真人 and Bixia Weng 碧霞翁. Huangnan Zhenren's discourse corroborates the redaction of the first chapter of the TQYC, according to which the Eastern Direction is inhabited by the Yi 夷 people, who rejoice in living a long life.¹⁸³ Bixia Weng provides a theological interpretation about the true nature of the Korean people, arguing that the kingdoms of the Yi-Di regions are endowed with a meager blessing-*qi* (*fuqi* 福氣). Koreans are not able to be born as Chinese because they lack a robust *shangen* 善根, a term by means of which Bixia Weng means something as a predestined connection. This discourse obviously elevates the Middle Kingdom and its people to a superior position, theologically conceived as such. The people of the Middle Kingdom, being born under the auspices of divine figures such as Zhu Yuanzhang and Zhu Quan, have privileged access to ascetic practices that distinguishes them from barbarians and would-be civilized peoples. Zhu Quan's reform of Quanzhen asceticism, therefore, would have a collective aspect to it. Unlike Zhu Yuanzhang's famous remarks on Quanzhen self-cultivation would suggest, in the Ming context Quanzhen narratives describe a politically integrated rather than a socially alienated "self." Quanzhen asceticism, rather than representing a form of social quietism, is connected to narratives in which the self is conceived in relation to the spiritual superiority of *Zhongguo* and its people. According to the TQYC, those born in *Zhongguo* were, essentially, of a different configuration that would predispose them to the practice of the Daoist Teachings. Participation in Quanzhen asceticism was first and foremost a prerogative of those born to the Middle Kingdom, while adherence to it on the part of foreign members would probably involve some sort of recognition of Chinese spiritual superiority. Accordingly, *zuobo* should reinforce the uniqueness and spiritual superiority of the Chinese people,

¹⁸² E1, 196a / E2, vol. 3., 46b.

¹⁸³ E1, 15a–15b / E2, vol. 1, 18a.

whose rigid social hierarchies actually reflect the divine nature of its political leaders. According to the TQYC, therefore, practicing *zuobo* was a matter of taking part in national narratives. These endorsed the divine nature of key figures such as Zhu Quan. Ming Quanzhen identity, as formulated in the TQYC, presupposes a strong belief in political life.

It is reasonable to argue that Zhou embraced the narrative aspects of the TQYC partially because this book identified in Zhu Quan a key element of the religious identity he himself pursued. Zhu Quan was the key link connecting an imagined Quanzhen order to its glorious past. Zhou, in printing his book, became a second link guaranteeing the continuity of this Order's existence during the late Ming. Zhou's religious identity takes form at a very specific moment of political struggle during the late Ming. In purely narrative terms, Zhou's Quanzhen identity is built against the background offered by a glorious past represented by Zhu Yuanzhang's political restoration and Zhu Quan's support of Daoism, but in societal terms, his religious identity also takes place against the political battles taking place during his day and that would define the future of the Middle Kingdom.

(6) Quanzhen and Its Future: Defending the Double Orthodoxy

As John Dardess acutely observes, late Ming society is characterized by conflicts between different elite social segments, especially the Donglin and its opponents. In spite of internal disputes, all sides of the quarrel, however, were “monarchical and authoritarian to the core.”¹⁸⁴ Republicanism, secularism, and other modern political ideals remained unthinkable for late Ming proponents such as Zhou, for whom rulers were hyper-dignified and, in some cases, divine beings. Zhou, endorsing the sacred status of social hierarchies, printed a book that, in spite of its obscure provenance, depicts Zhu Quan—a distinct member of the imperial family—as a Daoist god willing to save the Chinese realm by means of his

¹⁸⁴ John Dardess, *Blood and History in China: the Donglin Faction and Its Repression, 1620–1627* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 7.

printing activities. Scholars have noticed and described in great detail the philosophical proclivities of Donglin members,¹⁸⁵ but not much has been said about the role played by religion and rituals in late Ming political conflicts.

The editorial history of the TQYC has much to teach us about the relationship between book printing, social networks, and religious identity in late Ming China. Zhou's Quanzhen identity had, as an essential aspect of its political dimension, an expected veneration towards the imperial family in general and Zhu Quan in particular, for the Ming prince connects "Quanzhen" to its recent past. But what about its future?¹⁸⁶ It would be useful to find evidence connecting my argument on the sociological contours of Ming Quanzhen identity to social reality. Actually, such evidence does exist, and fortunately it sheds light on Zhou's social networks.

The mentioned Beijing stele does not concern, at least not directly, the editorial history of the TQYC, but it does reveal a great deal about Zhou's political inclinations as reflected by his social networks. Zhou's connection with Li Huiyou, as well as his ample contact with court eunuchs, suggests him to be aligned with anti-Donglin forces. The most emblematic case connecting Zhou to the politics of his day is that of Gu Bingqian 顧秉謙 (1550–?), an ally of Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568–1627). The inscription in question is emblematic because in it, Quanzhen asceticism appears as an important element informing the rhetoric of Gu Bingqian's description of his career and motivations.

According to our inscription, in Wanli 40 (1612), Zhou successfully attracted funds for the restoration of a Lüzu Shrine—or Lü Gong Ci 呂公祠—in the Huguo Yong'an Gong 護國永安宮, a Daoist temple in Dongcheng, Beijing, located at the margin of the Paozi river 泡子河. This temple was built in the beginning of the Chenghua period (1465–1487). During the Jiajing, an official of the

¹⁸⁵ Heinrich Busch, "The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance," *Monumenta Serica* 14.1 (1949), 1–163.

¹⁸⁶ The discussion of this section has, admittedly, a tentative and preliminary character. It would take a monograph-length study in order to fully discuss the role played by religion and ritual in the political struggles of the Ming-Qing transition.

Embroidered Uniform Guard (Jinyiwei 錦衣衛) named Lu Gui 陸檜 patronized its restoration.¹⁸⁷ As customary, a temple stele was erected as a monument in homage of Zhou Xuanzhen, his patron, and their collective merits.¹⁸⁸ In this case, the main patron was a man named Chen Ji 陳紀, who worked for the Western Jurisdiction of the Embroidered Uniform Guard.¹⁸⁹

It is important to notice that Zhou certainly took part in spirit-writing rituals, a fact clearly announced in his 1607 edition of the *Scripture of the Jade Sovereign* (*Yuhuang Jing* 玉皇經), with paratexts attributed to Lüzu, a cohort of Daoist deities, and commentaries by the Ming scholar Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504–1564). Schipper has suggested Luo's commentaries to be a product of planchette writing.¹⁹⁰ One could wonder whether Gu Bingqian's participation in spirit-writing circles was mediated by Zhou himself. If this is the case, as suggested by our inscription, Zhou may have contributed decisively in shaping the religious profile of Gu Bingqian. Whatever the case, it is certain that both men saw in Lüzu's divine interventions and in the Daoist rhetoric inherited from Quanzhen literature important resources through which to articulate their respective places in the social fabric.

The Beijing inscription celebrating the merits of Zhou Xuanzhen and Chen Ji explains the social networks connecting these two men. We do not know the name of the artisan responsible for cutting and carving the stone. We know, however, that Gu Bingqian wrote the text seen on the front side. Zhang

¹⁸⁷ BJTB, vol. 59, 52.

¹⁸⁸ Idem., 51–53.

¹⁸⁹ The complete title of Chen Jin's rank was Jinyiwei xisifang lixing qianhu 錦衣衛西司房理刑千戶. BJTB, vol. 59, 53.

¹⁹⁰ On this commentary, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, 1113–1115; on the scripture and its editions, see Hsie Tsung-hui, *Xin Tiandi zhi Ming: Yuhuang, Zitong yu feiluan* 新天帝之命：玉皇、梓潼與飛鸞 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2013); for a translation, see Bony Schachter, "Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing (Combined scriptures of the Original Acts of the Exalted and Superior Jade Sovereign): An Annotated Translation and Study of Its First Chapter," *Monumenta Serica* 62 (2014), 153–212. In another paper, I discuss the scripture's ritual content and its reception during the Ming-Qing; see my "Beyond the Kingly Metaphor: A Sociological Reading of the *Scripture of the Jade Sovereign*," *Journal of Chinese Studies* 60 (2015), 95–158.

Weixian 張惟賢 was responsible for the calligraphic rendition in standard script (*kaishu* 楷書) of the plain text. Wang Yuzong 王毓宗 produced the seal script for the stone plaque (*e* 額), which bears the inscription *Dongcheng Huguo Yong'an Gong beiji* 東城護國永安宮碑記. Together, these three men of outstanding social position authored the Wanli inscription at the Lügong Ci, in homage to Zhou Xuanzhen and Chen Ji. At this point of his long career, Gu Bingqian had already accumulated many official positions, which he lists in the inscription: (1) *jinshi* 進士; (2) Grand Master for Excellent Counsel, Jiayi dafu 嘉義大夫; (3) Right Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites, Libu youshilang 禮部右侍郎; (4) Academician Reader-in-Waiting of the Hanlin Academy, Hanlin Yuan shidu xueshi 翰林院侍讀學士; (5) Assistant Manager of the Household Administration of the Heir Apparent, Xieli zhanshi 協理詹事府事; (6) Instructor Bachelor, Jiaoxi shuji shi 教習庶吉士; (7) Right Palace Cadet in Charge of the Right Secretariat of the Heir Apparent, Youchunfang zhangfang shi you shuzi 右春坊掌坊事右庶子; (8) Manager in Charge of Imperial Diarists,¹⁹¹ Ji zhu qiju guanli 記注起居管理. Wang Yuzong and Zhang Weixian were also *jinshi*. Wang Yuzong and Gu Bingqian were both members of the Hanlin Academy. Both men worked at the Right Secretariat of the Heir Apparent, or *Youchunfang* 右春坊. Zhang had accumulated many offices, including military ones. Later in his life, Gu Bingqian allied himself with powerful court eunuchs. No wonder, therefore, that Qing historiography would include his brief biography in the section devoted to the members of the so-called *Yandang* 閹黨:

Gu Bingqian was a person from Kunshan. He became a presented scholar [*jinshi*] in Wanli 23. Changing into Bachelor, he accumulated offices as the Right Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites, and Bachelor Instructor. In Tianqi 1, he was promoted to Minister of the Ministry of Rites, handling the affairs of the Household Administration of the Heir Apparent. In the second year, Wei Zhongxian seized the affairs.¹⁹² The Speaking Official Zhou Zongjian

¹⁹¹ This rank implies that Gu Bingqian supervised the compilation of Shenzong's *Qiju zhu*, or imperial diaries.

¹⁹² *Yongshi* 用事, meaning to take control of political affairs.

and others were the first to be impeached. Wei Zhongxian then conspired with the ministers of the outer court. Gu Bingqian and Wei Guangwei were the first to cunningly adhere to him, being followed by the likes of Huo Weihua and Sun Jie. In the spring of the next year, Gu Bingqian and Wei Guangwei then joined Zhu Guozhen and Zhu Yanxi, so that all became Participants in Determining Governmental Matters.

顧秉謙，崑山人。萬曆二十三年進士。改庶吉士，累官禮部右侍郎，教習庶吉士。天啟元年晉禮部尚書，掌詹事府事。二年，魏忠賢用事，言官周宗建等首劾之。忠賢於是謀結外廷諸臣，秉謙及魏廣微率先諂附，霍維華、孫杰之徒從而和之。明年春，秉謙、廣微遂與朱國禎、朱延禧俱入參機務。¹⁹³

This brief biography focuses on the later period of Gu Bingqian's life, for an obvious reason: his alignment with the powerful eunuch Wei Zhongxian. The *Mingshi* corroborates the information in the inscription of Wanli 42 (1614). Though the stele commemorates the merits of Zhou Xuanzhen and Chen Ji, the plain text revolves around Gu Bingqian's biographical trajectory and Lüzu's salvific interventions. This inscription reveals much about an aspect of Gu Bingqian's biography that was of no interest to Qing historians, namely, his Daoist inclinations. The inscription in commemoration of Zhou Xuanzhen and Chen Ji may aid us to understand what court officials and eunuchs saw in Daoism that the strictly *Ruist* program of the Donglin movement could not offer to them. Daoism was—and still is—a religious movement whose Canon included all sorts of texts, including philosophical scriptures whose teachings taught people about the Dao of releasing oneself from social identities in order to achieve mystic ecstasy.¹⁹⁴ In some cases, these revolutionary texts, now canonized under solemn titles,¹⁹⁵ would go as far as to make jokes about the ridiculousness of social norms.

¹⁹³ Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, *Mingshi* 明史, in GJK, vol. 306, Wuyingdian ed., 7843.

¹⁹⁴ See Robert Campney, "The Meanings of Cuisines of Transcendence in Late Classical and Early Medieval China," *T'oung Pao* 91 (2005), 126–182.

¹⁹⁵ The *Zhuangzi*, for example, was canonized as Nanhua zhenjing 南華真經. *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 1, 671–680.

Texts such as the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, for example, continued to excite the imagination of Gu Bingqian's contemporaries. No wonder the XDZ included Jiao Hong's 焦竑 (1540–1620) commentary to *Zhuangzi*.¹⁹⁶

In his relatively long text, Gu Bingqian commences his autobiographical narrative by diminishing Kongzi's 孔子 concern with wealth and nobility (*fugui* 富貴). Gu Bingqian assertively affirms Lüzu to be an extremely efficacious deity (*lingtong miaoying* 靈通妙應), with whom he has a “karmic connection” (*suyuan* 夙緣). Gu Bingqian tells us: “I joined the exams for the Southern Capital in *yimao* 己卯 [1579].”¹⁹⁷ Even more startling, however, he reveals that on the occasion of these exams, he “invoked the Duke [that is, Lüzu] through a spirit-medium séance (*luan qing gong* 鸞請公),”¹⁹⁸ so that “the Duke conferred a poem (*Gong zeng shi* 公贈詩)” upon him:¹⁹⁹

揚鞭策馬上瀛洲，
秋夜應登南華樓。²⁰⁰

What did Lüzu mean by this poem? Lüzu provided Gu Bingqian a riddle for his decipherment, as all respectable oracles usually do.²⁰¹ Lüzu's poem predicted Gu Bingqian's success in the exams, for “in that Autumn, I was indeed selected at the provincial level.”²⁰² Then, in the spring of the *renchen* 壬辰 year (1592), Gu Bingqian went to a Lüzu shrine, and in the company of his friends, he “purified the heart and supplicated for a dream (*zhai xin qi meng* 齋心祈夢),”²⁰³ which denotes the practice of sleeping at a temple in order to

¹⁹⁶ But was there any intention on the part of self-identified Daoists such as Zhou Xuanzhen in challenging social norms in the same way texts such as the *Zhuangzi* did? The answer to this question, I believe, is negative.

¹⁹⁷ 余乙卯試南都. BJTB, vol. 59, 52.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ On oracles, see Michel Strickmann, edited by Carl Bielefeldt and Bernard Faure, *Chinese Poetry and Prophecy: The Written Oracle in East Asia* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005).

²⁰² 是秋果舉於鄉. BJTB, vol. 59, 52.

²⁰³ Ibid.

benefit from omens and messages delivered in dreams.²⁰⁴ At that time, Gu Bingqian dreamt that he obtained three ducks. He explains the appearance of three “ducks” (*ya* 鴨) in his dream as a concealed reference to the word *jia* 甲, for in that year three people obtained outstanding results—*dengjia* 登甲—in the civil service examination. Gu Bingqian, however, was not among them. He had to go back to his province, as he failed (*luodi* 落第) in the exams: “Indeed, three men got outstanding results in the exams, but I had to go back [home] for failing it.”²⁰⁵ Three years later, in the *yiwei* 乙未 year (1595), Gu Bingqian went back to the Lüzu shrine in order to supplicate for a dream again. His previous failure did not convince him he should abandon a career as an official: “In my dream, I obtained three ducks again. I was selected along with other two gentlemen, Wang and Du. Indeed, [the three ducks meant] three people again.”²⁰⁶ Actually, 1595 (Wanli 23) is indeed the year Gu Bingqian became *jinshi*, a fact noticed by the compilers of the *Mingshi*.²⁰⁷ Corroborating the *Mingshi*’s redaction, in his Wanli temple inscription, Gu Bingqian affirms that he became a Bachelor (*shujishi* 庶吉士) in the same year. Gu Bingqian then notices that his career actually took the direction Lüzu predicted: “Not very long [after achieving *jinshi*], I then became a Bachelor, entering the Hanlin Academy”;²⁰⁸ this event in Gu Bingqian’s own interpretation corresponded to a passage of Lüzu’s poem of 1579, namely, the sentence “*shang Yingzhou* 上瀛洲.”²⁰⁹ The name Yingzhou 瀛洲 may refer both to mythological paradises such as Penglai 蓬萊 as well as to actual sites named after such paradisiacal places. During the Ming, there is ample evidence that sentences such as “*deng Yingzhou* 登瀛洲” or “*deng Yingmen* 登瀛門”

²⁰⁴ On the sociological aspects of dreams in China, see Brigitte Bapandier, “Writing as a Threshold between the Worlds: Glyphomancy in China,” *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 8 (2016), 251–283.

²⁰⁵ 果登甲三人而余以落第歸。BJTB, vol. 59, 52.

²⁰⁶ 夢又得三鴨余與王杜二君同舉果亦三人焉。Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Zhang Tingyu, *Mingshi*, in GJK, vol. 306, Wuyingdian ed., 7843.

²⁰⁸ 余尋改庶吉士入翰林。BJTB, vol. 59, 52.

²⁰⁹ 則與上瀛洲之句又如執券。Ibid. In this passage, Gu Bingqian establishes an analogy with the Chinese practice of joining the two halves of a given pledge, talisman, token, or contract in order to establish its authenticity.

referred to entering the Hanlin Academy. In stating that Gu Bingqian would “enter Yingzhou” (*shang Yingzhou*), therefore, Lüzu actually predicted his future status as a Hanlin scholar. Gu Bingqian thus concludes this passage of his religious testimony: “I, therefore, say: it is as if I had a karmic connection with the Duke [that is, Lüzu].”²¹⁰ Gu Bingqian articulates in a very clear manner the reasons leading court officials to search for Daoist lore, even if this was not his goal. Daoist gods could provide him reassurance that he would be able to fulfil his mundane ambitions. But there is more to his testimony, whose last half becomes increasingly philosophical. Lüzu may help people achieve their mundane goals, but he is fundamentally an immortal concerned with mystic union with the Dao. Describing Lüzu’s story, Gu Bingqian philosophizes on the meaning of life, depicting himself as a hermit who seemingly discovered all mundane goals to be nothing more than a dream: “Dreams are like birds flying on the sky; dreams are like fishes sinking in profound waters. Those who dream do not know they are dreaming. They only become aware they were dreaming after they wake up.”²¹¹ Our “philosopher,” who then was around 64 years old, proceeds: “I asked permission to return to my hamlet, indulging myself amidst mountains and waters. After some illusions,²¹² I realized that the myriad phenomena amount to nothing.”²¹³ Gu Bingqian claims Lüzu to be omnipresent (*wuzai wubu zai* 無在無不在), so there is no need to go to his shrine in order to make him a visit, though this particular shrine in Dongcheng should serve well its purposes.

Gu Bingqian certainly must have been well acquainted with Zhou Xuanzhen, since he confidently affirms that 60 years after Lu Gui’s donation of Jiajing, the priest Zhou Xuanzhen successfully requested funds from Shenzong in order to restore the shrine, in Wanli *renzi* 萬曆壬子 (1612). Gu Bingqian describes Chen Ji in flattering terms, saying that his patronage “did not lag behind Lu

²¹⁰ 余故謂公若有夙緣也。BJTB, vol. 59, 52.

²¹¹ 夢為鳥而飛於天夢為魚而沉于淵方其夢也不知其夢也覺而後知其夢也。Ibid.

²¹² I translate “illusions” for *Handan meng* 邯鄲夢.

²¹³ 余乞身歸里自放于山煙水月之間庶幾邯鄲夢後覺萬竟皆虛。BJTB, vol. 59, 52.

Gui's" donation, so that under his patronage, restoration works finished in Wanli 42 (1614).²¹⁴ That the backside of the temple inscription refers to Zhou Xuanzhen and Chen Ji as the main benefactors of this restoration only demonstrates that they were certainly connected to Gu Bingqian. Also, Zhou Xuanzhen's undeniable connection with this particular Lüzu shrine may be a clue connecting him to the XDZ edition of the *Lüzu zhi* 呂祖志 (DZ 1484).²¹⁵

In the fabrication of this inscription, everybody won something. Gu Bingqian, a sexagenarian pursuing Daoist cultivation, could depict himself as an enlightened man who woke up from mundane dreams, though the final course of his career—he had an active role in the violent repression of the Donglin movement—proved that he never abandoned his political ambitions. Zhou Xuanzhen and Chen Ji could win the praise of this respectable Hanlin scholar, whose credentials no one in the Ming world—apart from the audacious members of the Donglin—could question. According to Gu Bingqian, Lu Gui and Chen Ji became visible elements of the Lüzu Shrine, for people seemingly erected statues in homage of these two patrons. Daoists, court officials of Daoist leanings, as well as palace eunuchs seemingly had a very good understanding of how *useful* patronage could be. These social segments seemingly also had a natural inclination for making deals, bargaining and negotiating. Gu Bingqian, for example, did not refuse to cooperate with Wei Zhongxian, in spite of the latter's illiteracy and humble origins. Self-identified Daoists such as Zhou Xuanzhen would reassure their patrons that their personal goals—be it achieving office or living a long life—were completely legitimate demands. But in the eyes of their political enemies, especially those associated with the Donglin movement—a group whose members Gu Bingqian contributed to annihilate, in one of the most bloody and spectacular demonstrations of state repression in the history of modern

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ On this edition's possible *diben*, see Lai Chi-Tim, "Ming-Qing daojiao Lüzu jiangji xinyang de fazhan ji xiangguan wenren jitan yanjiu 明清道教呂祖降乩信仰的發展及相關文人乩壇研究," *Journal of Chinese Studies* 65 (2017), 139–179.

China²¹⁶—all this certainly smelled like promiscuity or even prostitution. Court officials such as Gu Bingqian and his eunuch allies, in their pursuit of Buddho-Daoist patronage, were more prone to the implementation of a life-style in which the naked body—or “the Body outside the body” in Gu Bingqian’s felicitous expression²¹⁷—was as important as the body covered in official garments.²¹⁸ In our stele, Gu Bingqian’s Quanzhen asceticism reveals itself as a rhetorical resource through which he describes a politically engaged life. The examples of Zhou and Gu Bingqian demonstrate that Quanzhen played an important role in personal projects of social self-representation. In this respect, the 1609 edition of the TQYC reflects Zhou’s active participation in the political world of the late Ming.

V. Final Remarks

For a late Ming elite Daoist, much was at stake in the fabrication of printed editions, including soteriological goals and “national” concerns of utmost import. The late Ming lavish production of new

²¹⁶ In his short but significant study, Dardess traces some valid analogies between the destiny of the Donglin faction and the dramatic events of Beijing in 1989. See John Dardess, *Blood and History in China: the Donglin Faction and Its Repression* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).

²¹⁷ 身外之身. BJTB, vol. 59, 52.

²¹⁸ This “Body outside the body” is a common topos in both Buddhist and Daoist literature. As observed by Stephen Eskildsen, however, this expression is especially pronounced in Quanzhen literature, where it points to “an immortal consciousness and vitality that can freely exit the body and survive its demise. In such a condition one transcends the mortal body and ego and participates in the eternal life of the Dao.” See Stephen Eskildsen, “Debating what Lü Dongbin Practiced: Why did the Yuan Daoist Miao Shanshi Denounce the Zhong-Lü texts?,” *T’oung Pao* 102 (2016), 434. Pierre Marsone, “Daoism under the Jurchen Jin Dynasty,” 1147: “[. . .] we must return to the definition of inner alchemy: a set of physical and mental techniques using symbolically the materials and concepts of alchemy and implying in particular the control of breath and swallowing of saliva in order to refine and combine the energies of the body and create an ‘embryo of immortality,’ a ‘body outside the body’ 身外身 which brings to its practitioners, if not immortality, at least longevity.” Also, see John Lagerwey, *Paradigm Shifts*, 127: “The aim of Neidan practice is a ‘body outside the body’ which is in fact a ‘cosmic’ body.”

Daoist editions, therefore, does not reflect a disinterested reproduction of the past, but rather the immediate concerns of editors and patrons. Zhou's case reveals much about the intricacies of late Ming Daoist printing culture. In the first part of this paper, I discussed the material aspects of the two extant editions of the TQYC. The material aspects of these editions reveal intentional patterns as diverse as producing, respectively, a worship object (E1) and a reading object (E2). These two editions seemingly owe their textual structure to a third edition, which I hypothesize to be Chen Dagang's lost edition, produced for the attainment of soteriological goals. The present TQYC, therefore, most probably does not stem directly from Zhu Quan's edition of 1444. In the second part, I pursued an investigation of how Zhou came across the TQYC. Zhou never saw a copy of the 1444 edition. How did he know, therefore, that the edition he saw was an authentic work by the Ming prince? In authenticating Zhu Quan's authorship, Zhou could rely on both societal and textual paradigms, which I have historicized. The editorial history of the TQYC explains how its extant editions reflect complex interactions between Zhou and his patrons. In the third part, I explored textual aspects of the TQYC that would conflate with Zhou's pursuit of a Quanzhen identity. Zhou was an important figure in transforming Zhu Quan into an author, or *zuozhe*, a term that Zhu Quan himself never uses in his paratextual pieces. Zhou's reprint of the TQYC was not a neutral reproduction of Zhu Quan's edition of 1444. Zhou's reprint of 1609 was rather a true exegetical effort arguing for the rehabilitation of Zhu Quan's message, which Zhou deemed to be of germane import for late Ming society. It reflected Zhou's approval of Zhu Quan's strong anti-Buddhist and patriotic sentiments as a solution for the collapsing order of the late Ming. The fabrication of printed editions could serve the same religious and social goals performed by inscriptions, namely, making visible Zhou's recreated identity as the successor of an imagined Quanzhen Order. Printed editions, however, constituted an important addition to Zhou's arsenal of identity-making strategies because these editions could circulate amply among literate sectors, having a geographical reach unknown to inscriptions. Though it would be naive to suppose that

Zhou's reprints involved no personal interests whatsoever, being the achievement of a certain degree of social prestige one of such (legitimate, I would contend) goals, he certainly saw his reprint of the TQYC as a means through which to spread powerful ideas about the place of Daoism in Chinese society. The reprint of the TQYC suggests that Zhou's authentication of Zhu Quan's authorship as well as his Quanzhen identity had the love of the homeland as its *summum bonum*. In producing his reprint, Zhou would like to print the Dao announced by Zhu Quan, in an attempt at protecting the double orthodoxy of *Zhongguo* from foreign aggression and internal attacks originating from fundamentalist Ruism. The evidence suggests that in Zhou's context "Quanzhen" had a decisive role in shaping the religious imagination—and the political actions—of those involved in court disputes over the destiny of *Zhongguo*, including those who took part in the violent annihilation of the Donglin party. In this political context, Zhou's reprint of the TQYC meant an attempt at protecting the double orthodoxy established by Taizu, now endangered by Ruists of fundamentalist inclination. In other words, Zhou's reprint of the TQYC was a political action informed by the social anxieties of his time. Unfortunately for Zhou, his effort would not produce its intended effects, for the Ming-Qing transition resulted in the definite collapse of Taizu's double orthodoxy, and Qing reprints of Zhu Quan's *magnum opus* would never be produced. No wonder, therefore, that many loyalists chose to join Quanzhen lineages following the Ming collapse.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ For a preliminary list and study of such loyalists, see Yin Zhihua 尹志華, *Qingdai Quanzhen Dao lishi xintan* 清代全真道歷史新探, 26–35.

Figure 1 E2 and Its Colophon

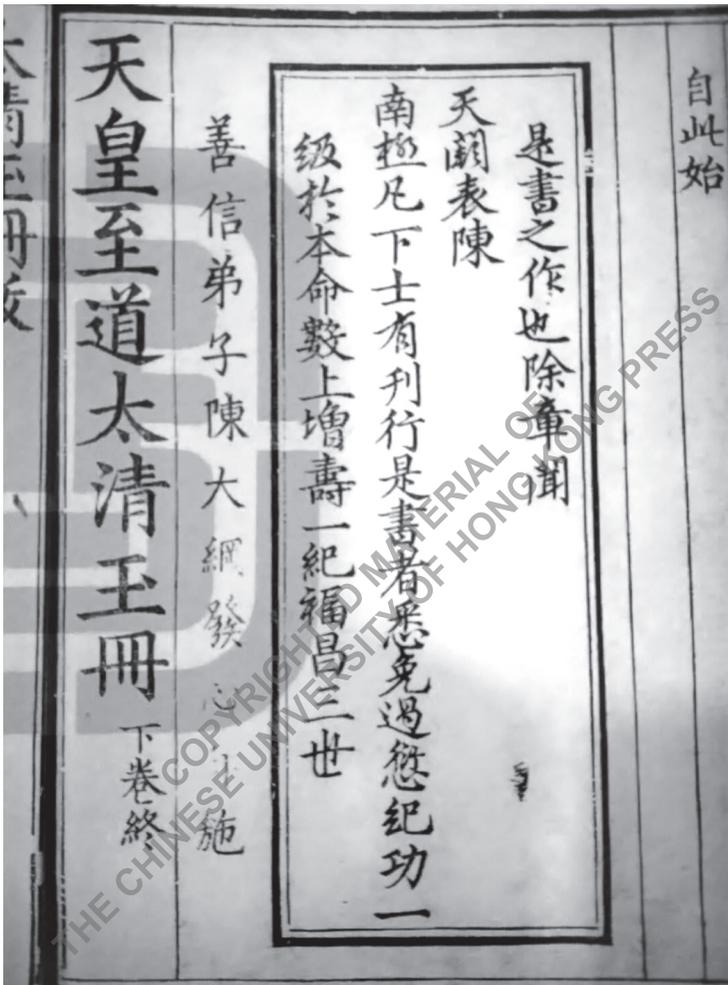


Figure 2 Zhou's Preface to E2

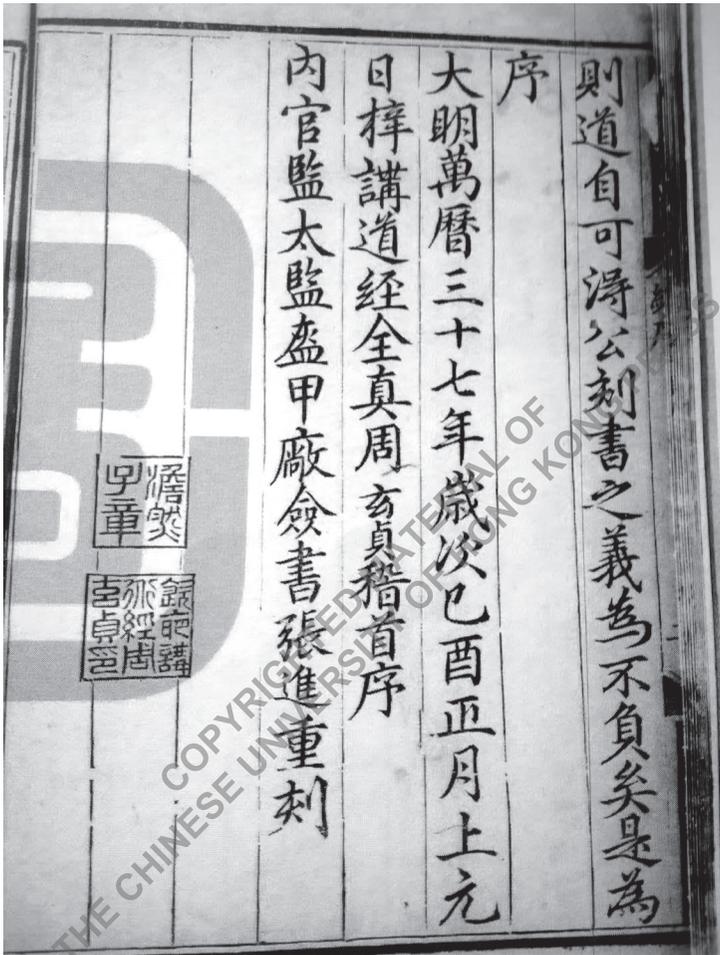
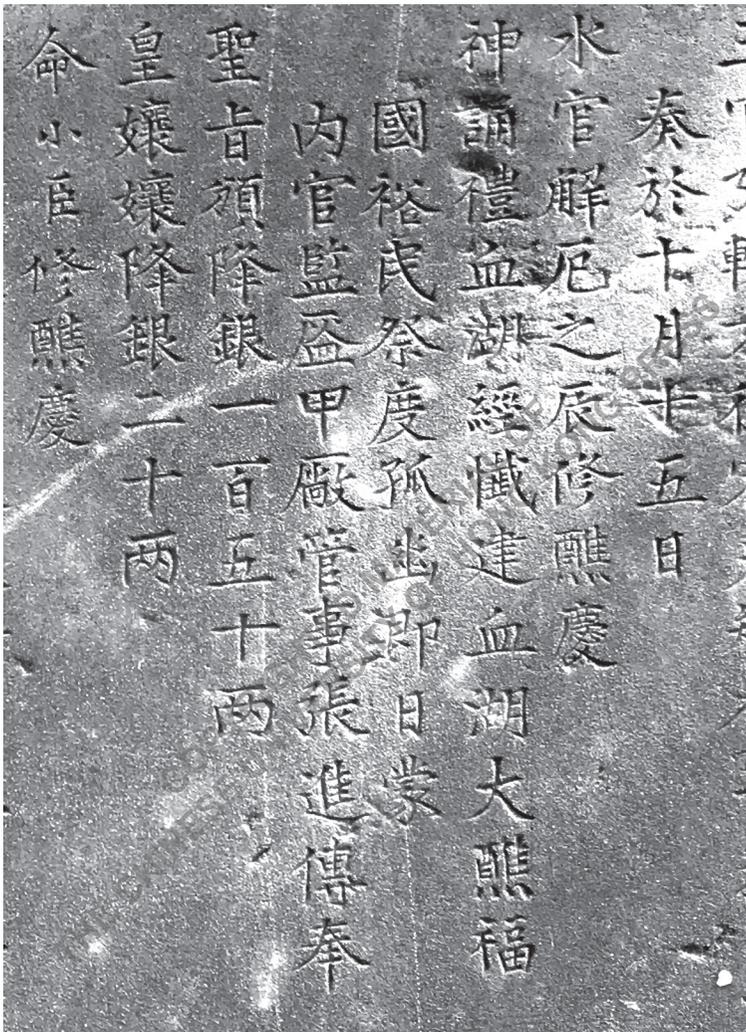


Figure 3 Detail of the HJBJ



「中國聖人之道」的刊載： 由周玄貞在《天皇至道太清玉冊》的版本史 中所扮演的角色看明代全真身份的塑造

羅逸

摘要

本文基於前人研究當中所忽略的史料，包括中國國家圖書館所藏萬曆三十七年(1609)本的《天皇至道太清玉冊》(簡稱《太清玉冊》)以及筆者通過田野調查所搜集的碑文資料，討論周玄貞(1555-1627)如何通過其刊書活動來構造其作為「全真」道士的宗教身份。本文分為三個主要部分。第一部分從版本學、書史等研究方法的角度，比較兩個保留至今的《太清玉冊》版本，即萬曆三十五年(1607)本及萬曆三十七年(1609)本。第二部分主要討論《太清玉冊》及其底本的來源，從而證明了無論是萬曆三十五年《續道藏》本的《太清玉冊》還是中國國家圖書館所藏萬曆三十七年本的《太清玉冊》，其實皆反映了周玄貞與大明皇室諸太監之間的密切來往。第三部分主要討論《太清玉冊》所構造出來的「全真」史，筆者從而進一步討論，分別在萬曆三十五年及三十七年連續兩次刊出《太清玉冊》的周玄貞，為何如此重視該書。本文以《太清玉冊》版本史為主要研究對象，討論了明代全真身份及其政治背景，並認為該書在塑造全真身份中扮演了重要的角色。

關鍵詞：全真、朱權、周玄貞、《天皇至道太清玉冊》、五峰山