

The Synthesis of Daoist Sacred Geography: A Textual Study of Du Guangting's *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* (901)*

Lennert Gesterkamp

Abstract

The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* is a famous text on Daoist sacred geography compiled by the Tang court Daoist priest Du Guangting (850–933). It maps all the Daoist sacred sites from the heavens above to the mountains, rivers, and caverns on earth. This study gives a textual analysis of Du Guangting's text, discussing its preface, traditions and sources used, the nature and purpose of the text, its main contents, the geographical distribution of the sacred sites, and later works on Daoist sacred geography. It argues that Du Guangting created a synthesis of the various existing traditions and sources on Daoist sacred geography of the Heavenly Master order, Shangqing tradition, and Lingbao tradition of the pre-Tang era, and adopted the cosmological division of Heaven, Earth, and

Lennert Gesterkamp received his M.A. in Sinology from Leiden University in 1998, his M.A. in Chinese art and archaeology from SOAS, University of London in 2000, and his Ph.D. in Chinese art history from Leiden University in 2008. He was a postdoctoral researcher in Chinese art at the Academia Sinica in Taipei and at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou, and is currently a postdoctoral researcher in a project on East-West cultural exchanges at Utrecht University. In 2011, he published his book *The Heavenly Court: Daoist Temple Painting in China, 1200–1400* with Brill in Leiden.

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Water of the Heavenly Master order, as well as many other new sacred sites related to this order, with the aim of supplementing and substituting the sacred geography of the pre-Tang period. Moreover, since the sacred sites of the Lingbao tradition were not yet codified, Du Guangting added many new sacred sites to this order, many of which belonged to the official state cult, hence also creating a synthesis and codification between the sacred geographies of Daoism and the state. After Du Guangting's synthesis, no other work on Daoist sacred geography has supplanted or augmented his text. It was included in the Ming Daoist Canon and after that in the *Daozang jiyao* editions of the late Qing period, which testifies to its enduring importance to Daoist sacred geography.

Keywords: Grotto-Heavens, Blessed Grounds, Du Guangting, sacred geography, Heavenly Master order

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I. Introduction

In our present period of climatological change, rapid urbanization, and population growth, the awareness of environmental protection and preservation has become particularly acute. In China, where the destruction of entire mountains and waterways is rampant and irreversible, the Daoist organizations and clergy rank among the most outspoken advocates of protecting China's natural landscape, especially its mountains. The celebration and love of nature in China, often captured by the name *shanshui* 山水, or "mountains and waters," in poetry and painting from at least the third century onward is well known, such that it almost becomes a gateway, if not synonymous, to the Dao. The natural landscape is integral to the cultivation of Daoism, providing purity and tranquility. The most numinous mountains and caves have thus attracted generations of Daoist practitioners, becoming sacred sites famed for their herbal and mineral essences, the persons who attained the Dao there, and the many legends associated with them. They formed the foundation for early Daoist communities and temple networks, often with state support, that organized themselves not only around Daoist personal or communal cultivation, but also played an essential role in providing medical assistance, governance, and environmental protection to the local populace.

Already from the later Han dynasty onward, following the tradition of such ancient works as the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture on the Mountains and the Seas), the sacred sites were recorded in texts listing their locations and specificities. In the beginning, these texts documented the sacred geography of individual Daoist traditions and lineages. The blending of both geographical and cosmological aspects of a sacred site is one of the hallmarks of these texts. Over the centuries, however, and parallel with the increasing codification of Daoism and its ritual traditions, the various sites were gradually integrated into more coherent frameworks of sacred geography. The culmination of this process is the great synthesis of Daoist geography represented by Du Guangting's 杜光庭 (850–933) *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 (Record of the Grotto-Heavens, Blessed Grounds,

Sacred Peaks and Marshes, and Famous Mountains), compiled in 901.¹

Du Guangting's cosmology of sacred space and list of sacred sites have appeared particularly enduring and no significant other or alternative list or cosmology has been presented in later centuries. The text's constant re-publication and incorporation in Daoist compendia such as the official Daoist Canon of the Ming dynasty, and the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (Collected Essentials of the Daoist Canon) of the Qing dynasty,² as well as the numerous modern studies and annotations of the text, are a testimony to its lasting appeal and importance for Daoist conceptions of sacred space, geography, landscape, and, presently, ecology as well.

Even though Du Guangting's work is ostensibly a terse list of names and locations, investigations into their backgrounds, especially the sources Du may have used, reveal a stunning palette of the social, cultural, political, and even ecological issues that lay at the foundation of the compilation of Du's work and earlier sources. The present study is basically an investigation of the text, its sources and its further reception and publications. The main goal is to lay bare its social-historical background, explaining its particular compilation and the choices and changes made by Du Guangting for selecting and modifying certain sites and texts. A more comprehensive study on individual sites can hopefully corroborate the present findings. With the rising awareness of ecological protection as well as the more prominent presence of Daoism in Chinese society, this study may offer a small contribution to the current environmental debate in China and the question of how and why Daoism had been a driving force behind ecological preservation for over two millennia.

¹ The standard version is preserved in the Daoist Canon, DZ 599, 12 vols, published in 1445.

² The *Daozang jiyao* version can be found in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要, 翼9 (Taipei: Kaozheng chubanshe, 1971; Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubangongsi, 1977, 1983, and 1986, 25: 10989–10994; Chengdu: Bashu chubanshe, 1995, 10: 323–325), published in 1906 but elaborating on a *Daozang jiyao* edition of the Jiaqing period (1796–1820).

II. General Information

The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* by the late Tang court Daoist Du Guangting is a comprehensive list documenting the names, locations, dimensions, presiding immortals, and other related information of in total 221 Daoist sacred sites, primarily mountains and grottoes.

The text is divided into nine chapters preceded by Du Guangting's preface. Each chapter discusses a special region or category of sacred geography, beginning with the sacred sites located in the heavens and followed by those on earth. Thus, first in the heavens: (1) the Mysterious Metropolis on Jade Capital Mountain (Xuandu yujingshan 玄都玉京山) and its surrounding thirteen divine mountains in heaven; (2) the five divine peaks (*yue* 嶽), the Isles of the Blessed (*dao* 島), and the Ten Continents (*zhou* 洲) in the outer oceans surrounding Mt. Kunlun 崑崙山; and on earth (3) the Five Sacred Peaks (*yue* 嶽);³ (4) the Ten Greater Grotto-Heavens (*dadongtian* 大洞天); (5) the Five Sacred Auxiliary Mountains (*zhen* 鎮),⁴ the Four Sacred Seas (*hai* 海), and the Five Sacred Rivers (*du* 瀆); (6) the Thirty-Six Hermitages (*jinglu* 靖廬); (7) the Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian* 洞天); (8) the Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds (*fudi* 福地); and (9) the Twenty-Four Dioceses (*zhi* 治).

Du Guangting's text presents a synthesis and systematization of various older traditions of sacred geography. The many additions and differences, as well as the new organization in a hierarchical order from the heavenly realms to the terrestrial spheres lacking in the older versions, all suggest that the work is largely Du Guangting's own product rather than a straightforward compilation of these older traditions. The text provides an overarching

³ The "peaks" (*yue* 嶽) appear once in the divine realm surrounding Mt. Kunlun, and once in the terrestrial realm of the Chinese empire, but here indicated by the same term. The divine five peaks seem to be an invention by Du Guangting. See the discussion further below.

⁴ On the concept of *zhen* 鎮, see Franciscus Verellen, "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*Dongtian*) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995), 267.

framework for a Daoist sacred geography existing in parallel to, if not superseding, the terrestrial empire, reflecting the new social realities of organized Daoist religion at the end of the Tang dynasty. This framework of sacred sites laid the foundation for a Daoist sacred empire in Song and Yuan times when this bond between Daoism and the sites was further reinforced with a network of state-supported monasteries and temples. The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* is therefore not merely a list of Daoist paradisiacal names, but a fundamental inventory listing the territories, possessions, and spheres of influence of organized Daoist religion, often sanctioned and supported by the state, and perhaps seen as an extension of the state, or perhaps more correctly at least in the Song era, the state seen as an extension of the Daoist sacred realm.

The Daoist sacred geography evinced in the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* appears to have been the most definite version. As the inclusion of the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* in the *Daozang jiyao* demonstrates, no other text on this topic achieved a similar status or was as comprehensive. The sacred geography of Daoism defined by Du Guangting as well as its related real-world network of sacred sites and temples remained largely in place and in operation well up to the end of the imperial period, which is largely due to Du Guangting's codification and the text's inclusion in the *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 and the *Daozang jiyao*.

In the past century, many of the sites of Daoist sacred geography have been lost or destroyed. Several scholars have attempted to determine the location of the original sites, both by means of textual study and field research, as well as to reconstruct the old traditions related to the sites.⁵ Climatological changes and

⁵ See for example, Li Shen 李申, *Daojiao dongtian fudi* 道教洞天福地 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2001); Volker Olles, *Der Berg des Lao Zi in der Provinz Sichuan und die 24 Diözesen der daoistischen Religion* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005); Verellen, "The Beyond Within," 265–290; idem, "The 24 Dioceses and Zhang Daoling: The Spatio-Liturgical Organization of Early Heavenly Master Taoism," in Ph. Granoff and K. Shinohara, eds., *Pilgrims, Patrons, and Place: Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 15–67 (also as website: http://lecai.org/24dioceses/24Dioceses_1.html); Wang Chunwu 王純五, *Tianshidao ershisi zhi kao* 天師道二十四治考 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1996); idem, *Dongtian fudi yuedu*

questions of environmental protection have also brought Daoist sacred geography and its importance for Chinese ecology into the spotlight.⁶ The wealth of information on Daoist sacred geography provided by the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* has played, and still plays, an important role in these investigations.

III. Du Guangting and His Preface

Du Guangting's preface to the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* is dated 901 and was written when he resided at the Yuju guan 玉局觀 (Jade Armrest Monastery) in Chengdu, Sichuan.⁷

Du Guangting (850–933) was a Daoist priest trained in the Shangqing tradition at Mt. Tiantai 天臺山 (in Zhejiang), where he studied with Ying Yijie 應夷節 (810–894), a seventh-generation disciple of Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536). Around 875, he moved to the Tang capital Chang'an (present-day Xi'an, Shaanxi), where he attracted the attention of Tang Emperor Xizong 僖宗 (r. 874–888) and became a leading court Daoist stationed at the Taiqing gong 太清宮 in the capital. In 881, Du Guangting followed Emperor Xizong and his court for the second time to Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) after rebels besieged the capital. Shortly after, he resigned from his official position and remained in Shu, locating himself at Mt. Qingcheng 青城山, all the while roaming the area and staying at various monasteries. One of these was the Yuju Monastery 玉局觀, a Daoist sacred site and one of the former Twenty-Four Dioceses of

mingshan ji quanyi 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記全譯 (Guizhou: Renmin chubanshe, 1999). Since 2011, Tsuchiya Masaaki 土屋昌明 of Senshe University in Tokyo has published an annual periodical specially dedicated to the subject: *Dōten fukuchi kenkyū* 洞天福地研究 (Tokyo: Kōbun Shuppan, 2011–present).

⁶ N. J. Girardot, James Miller, and Liu Xiaogan, eds., *Daoism and Ecology: Ways within a Cosmic Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions, 2001); James Miller, *China's Green Religion: Daoism and the Quest for a Sustainable Future* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).

⁷ The Yuju guan was located inside the city of Chengdu, near the south gate. "Yuju" was short for 玉座局腳, "resplendent throne on curved legs." See Franciscus Verellen, *Du Guangting (850–933): Taoïste de cour à la fin de la Chine médiévale* (Paris: Collège de France, 1989), 117.

the early Heavenly Master order.⁸

Du Guangting remained in Shu for the rest of his life, not only becoming a court Daoist priest for the Shu kings, after the demise of the Tang dynasty in 907, but also becoming one of the great scholars and codifiers of Daoism, writing and compiling many texts on Daoist liturgy, hagiography, history, literature, philosophy, and, naturally, sacred geography.⁹ The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* is therefore not an isolated document but should be seen in the wider context of Du Guangting's compilation and codification efforts. Considering his eminent status at the Tang and Shu courts, these efforts also carry considerable socio-political overtones, reflecting the changing religious landscape to which Du Guangting sought to adapt the ideas and practices of Daoism.

Du Guangting's preface consists of four parts. The first section is a description of Daoist cosmogony and its cosmic central mountain, Mt. Kunlun. The second section gives a short summary of the contents of the scripture, pertaining to the sacred geography of both mountains and grotto-heavens (*dongtian*) and stressing that these are complete cosmoses or paradises in themselves. The third section is Du Guangting's comment on his compilation, explaining for whom the scripture is intended and that he did not include all the details, limiting himself to the names and locations of Daoist sacred sites. The fourth section is Du Guangting's signature and date and location where he completed the text, referring to his title from his period at Mt. Tiantai, and signed at the Yuju Monastery in 901 while in Sichuan and before his tenure with the Shu kings. The preface reads:¹⁰

When Heaven and Earth were both divided and the clear and turbid energies had separated, those that melted became rivers and streams, and those that congealed became mountains and peaks. Above, stars and constellations were formed; below, grotto-heavens were concealed. All of these places were governed by the great sages and superior perfected, who dwelled in their numinous palaces and majestic mansions, all constructed from congealed energies and resting on the

⁸ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 1–4.

⁹ Verellen, *Du Guangting (850–933)*.

¹⁰ See Verellen, "The Beyond Within," 272–273, for a slightly different translation.

space of dense clouds. The azure water of the Jade Pond [at Mt. Kunlun] has rivers flowing into the four corners; the jasper forest of the Pearl Trees [at Mt. Kunlun] grows luxuriously from its soil. These are the breeding grounds of the divine phoenixes and flying dragons, the living spaces of the heavenly unicorns and marsh horses. [Mt. Kunlun], as the pivot of Heaven and Earth and the axle of Yin and Yang, steers the Sun on its course through the sky, rotates the stars in their constellations through the heavens, stores wind and rain, and harbours clouds and thunder. Suddenly, [Mt. Kunlun] rises above the seas and recedes into the heavens; Weak Water surrounds it, and giant waves keep it separated; it is not shone upon by sunrays, nor touched upon by human traces. All of this is recorded and transmitted in the true scriptures and secret books.

The Grand Historian [Taishigong 太史公] says: “In this great, barren land, there are five thousand famous mountains. Among these, the Five Sacred Peaks serve as regulators, and the ten mountains as their assistants.” Furthermore, the *Jade Scripture of Tortoise Mountain* [Guishan yujing 龜山玉經] writes: “In this great heaven, there are Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens, and each has a sun, moon, planets, stars, and the palaces and towered gates of the numinous immortals. They are in charge of our punishments and blessings, and keep record of the times of our births and deaths. The high Perfected dwell there and the immortal kings rule them. In addition, there are the Five Sacred Peaks Beyond the Seas, the Three Isles, the Ten Continents, the Thirty-Six Hermitages, the Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds, the Twenty-Four Dioceses, and the Four Assisting Mountains.”

Presently, I have summarized [the sacred sites] in one scroll in order to transmit it to scholars passionate about these matters. Because the details on their officials and locations, the names of those who have achieved the Dao there, the rulers of the grottoes, or the hierarchies of the immortal officials are so numerous, they cannot be listed in their entirety. I have therefore only recorded their governmental district names and a large number of altars of the immortals and monasteries.

Compiled and recorded by the Feathered Man from the Flowered Summit [Huading yuren 華頂羽人] Du Guangting at the Yuju Monastery of Chengdu, [signed] on the fourth day of the eighth lunar month of the *xinyou* 辛酉 year of the Tianfu 天復-reign period [Friday, 23 September 901].¹¹

¹¹ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 1–4. The present study relies on this annotated and commentated edition by Wang Chunwu, unless otherwise stated.

IV. Traditions and Sources

The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* is an impressive synthesis and systematization of older traditions and sources on sacred sites. Sacred sites and their legends are not found only in Daoist scriptures, but figure also in poems and wondrous stories popular from the second to the sixth centuries, *zhiguai* 志怪 and *chuanqi* 傳奇, which often recount the experiences of lost travellers stumbling into paradisiacal realms inside caverns, mountains, and even calabashes. The most famous story of this kind is Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 (365–427) "Peach Blossom Spring" (*Taohua yuan* 桃花源), which had lasting effect on Chinese literati culture and art.¹²

The sacred sites of Daoist scriptures as well as the literary versions all seem to go back to even older traditions of local legends and cults on immortals, and oral tales, probably of Han times and earlier, of which the Daoist texts on sacred geography are already early systematizations. Pre-Han texts dealing with paradisiacal realms, in particular those of Mt. Kunlun and its presiding deity, the Queen Mother of the West, like the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture on the Mountains and the Seas) and the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Mu, Son of Heaven), formed the blueprints for Daoist sacred geography. In this ancient sacred geography, Mt. Kunlun represents the archetype sacred mountain, located at the centre of the earth and acting as an axis, and consequently also as a gateway to the heavenly paradise.

Du Guangting's preface is a testimony to this ancient tradition, understanding sacred sites and their distribution as a natural result of the evolving process of Daoist cosmogony. The sacred sites function as small pockets in a wide, interconnected underground network that provide a secret access back to the heavenly realms. In Du Guangting's preface, the pivotal role of Mt. Kunlun has been superseded in this sacred cosmological model by the Mysterious

¹² On the Peach Blossom Spring in Chinese literature and art, see Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font and the Grotto Passage," *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 106 (1986), 65–107; Susan E. Nelson, "Catching Sight of South Mountain: Tao Yuanming, Mount Lu, and the Iconographies of Escape," *Archives of Asian Art* 52 (2000–2001), 11–43.

Metropolis on Jade Capital Mountain, which is imagined as a Heavenly Court located at the summit of the axial pillar formed by Mt. Kunlun. Mt. Kunlun in turn is surrounded by distant seas where the divine continents and the Isles of the Blessed are located. The terrestrial world located at the foot of Mt. Kunlun (traditionally located in the northwest of the Chinese empire at the source of the Yellow River) then harbours all the other remaining sacred sites such as Sacred Peaks and Marshes, Grotto-Heavens, Blessed Grounds, Hermitages, and Dioceses. Interestingly, the tripartite division evoked by Du Guangting in this cosmological model is exactly the traditional cosmological model of the early Heavenly Master order, dividing the cosmos (and body) in three realms of Heaven, Water, and Earth, now matching the heavenly realms of Jade Capital Mountain, Mt. Kunlun beyond the seas, and the various sacred sites of our mundane world on earth. This tripartite division of Heaven, Water, and Earth is interestingly also found in the pantheon of deities in Daoist liturgy and their accompanying depictions in Heavenly Court paintings that also became prominent in Du Guangting's time.¹³

The traditions of sacred geography found in Daoist scriptures are incorporated and synthesized in the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji*. Various Daoist traditions had already created their own texts of sacred geography or mentioned similar listings of sacred sites in their texts. Best known are the Twenty-Four Dioceses of the Heavenly Master order of the Later Han, the Grotto-Heavens of the Shangqing tradition, and the Five Sacred Peaks of the Taiqing and/or Lingbao tradition.

(a) Heavenly Master Order

The Heavenly Master order is the first Daoist tradition to compose a scripture on sacred geography, listing twenty-four centres distributed around southwestern China, but mainly in Sichuan, the home base of the Heavenly Master order. The Dioceses were

¹³ Lennert Gesterkamp, *The Heavenly Court: Daoist Temple Painting in China, 1200–1400* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 193–195.

religious, administrative (*zhi* 治) territories—not necessarily mountains or grottoes—of the priests and their communities, also reflecting the administrative task of the deities of the celestial bureaucracies keeping accounts of the merits and demerits of the community members and subduing (*zhi* 治) the demonic forces through the network of Dioceses. The network, possibly already defunct in Du Guangting's time, was according to legend established in 143 by Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the first Heavenly Master. They were organized in a hierarchical order of three groups of eight, and matching the Twenty-Four Energies of the year cycle and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. At a later time, the Twenty-Four Dioceses were further expanded with four extra Dioceses (but still indicated by Twenty-Four Dioceses) to better match the lunar mansions, as well as with nineteen Hermitages (*jinglu* 靖廬).

The names, locations, and related information on the Dioceses are known from several early scriptures. The earliest known version is found in the first chapter of the *Shoulu cidi faxin yi* 受籙次第法信儀 (Protocol of the Ritual Pledges [to Be Given] on Receiving the Registers, in Hierarchical Order, DZ 1244), and titled the *Tianshi zhi yi shang* 天師治儀上 (First Chapter of the Protocol of Dioceses of the Heavenly Master Order) dated to 552. It contains a list of forty-four Dioceses (Twenty-Four Dioceses plus twenty Hermitages?), relating their names, locations, and correspondences to the lunar mansions. Small notes, probably of the Tang period, further mention their corresponding five phases. Other versions presently survive in three different Daoist encyclopedias, the *Wushang biyao* 無上祕要 (Essentials of the Unsurpassed Secrets, DZ 1138, late sixth century), *Sandong zhunang* 三洞朱囊 (Pearlbag of the Three Caverns, DZ 1139, ca. 680), and *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Slips in the Bookcase of the Clouds, DZ 1032, presented to the throne in ca. 1028).¹⁴ Du Guangting is also known to have written an *Ershisi hua tu* 二十四化圖 (Diagram of the Twenty-Four Dioceses),¹⁵ now lost, but which may be incorporated in the present

¹⁴ *Wushang biyao* DZ 1138, j. 23; *Sandong zhunang* DZ 1139, j. 7; *Yunji qiqian* DZ 1032, j. 28.

¹⁵ “Yiwen zhi 藝文志,” *Song shi* 宋史, 4.5190.

text or in the *Yunji qiqian* (j. 28) version.¹⁶ Importantly, the text of the Twenty-Four Dioceses was also part of the Heavenly Master ordination ritual, and transmitted to the head-priest of a Diocese,¹⁷ and as such included in *Zhengyi mengwei falu* 正一盟威法籙 (Ritual Register of the Authoritative Covenant of Correct Unity, DZ 1209).

The sacred geography also played a role in Heavenly Master ritual proceedings. Expanded to Thirty-Six Hermitages and Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds, the sacred geography was incorporated in the *chuguan* 出官 (Dispatching the Officials) rite in rituals of the Lingbao tradition, but significantly not in its other rituals. These rituals include the Smearing Soot Retreat 塗炭齋,¹⁸ the Retreat of Spontaneity,¹⁹ a similar transmission ritual,²⁰ and Lu Xiujing's 陸修靜 (406–477) Lingbao transmission ritual.²¹ Conspicuous in this respect is that the same reference is found in a text of the fourth century of the original Lingbao corpus that is known for its strong Heavenly Master influences, the *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣 (Instructions from All the Scriptures for the Ritual of the Lingbao Retreat, Expounded by the Perfected of the Great Ultimate, DZ 532), also indicating the introduction of Heavenly Master sacred geography in the Lingbao tradition at a very early stage. The introduction of the Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds should, however, be linked to the Shangqing tradition (see below).

Du Guangting's *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* contains several modifications on the Twenty-Four Dioceses, the most important being the introduction of new localizations, the abolishment of the hierarchical grouping in three levels of eight, and the modification of the cosmological correspondences of the

¹⁶ Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Daozang tongkao) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 422–423, 473.

¹⁷ Chen Guofu 陳國符, *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 339–340.

¹⁸ *Wushang biyao* DZ 1138, j. 5.

¹⁹ *Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhajie* 洞玄度靈寶自然齋儀 DZ 523.

²⁰ *Taishang dongxuan lingbao erbu chuanshou yi* 太上洞玄靈寶二部傳授儀 DZ 1259.

²¹ *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀 DZ 528.

Dioceses. For example, the early Dioceses were only linked to the lunar mansions, as demonstrated by the *Tianshi zhi yi shang* and *Wushang biyao*,²² while in the Tang period they were further linked to the five phases, as demonstrated by the *Yunji qiqian*. In Du Guangting's time, however, correspondences to the seasonal energies (*jieqi* 節氣) and the sexagenary cycle were added, probably in reflection of the greater importance of such aspects in Daoist liturgy in which cosmological entities were linked to a Daoist adept's fate.²³

(b) Shangqing Tradition

Shangqing texts mention Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds, which originally were terms used to denote the same sacred site and not two different types of paradises. The *Maojun zhuan* 茅君傳 (Biography of the Lord Mao), lost, and the *Zhengao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected, DZ 1016, j. 11) contain quotations on Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds, the latter also quoting a *Mingshan neijing fudi zhi* 名山內經福地志 (Record of Blessed Grounds in the Inner Scripture of Famous Mountains) and a *Kongzi fudi ji* 孔子福地記 (Record of Blessed Grounds of Confucius). They are described as microcosms and safe havens. The specific listing in thirty-six sites seems to be a response to the Twenty-Four Dioceses of the Heavenly Master order that had arrived in southeastern China by the fourth century.

The earliest known complete listing of Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds is found in Sima Chengzhen's 司馬承禎 (647–735) *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖 (Diagram of Palaces and Departments in Heaven and Earth), in two scrolls.²⁴ This is also the first known

²² *Wushang biyao* DZ 1138, 23.4a–9a.

²³ Verellen, “The 24 Dioceses and Zhang Daoling,” 24; and Zhao Zongcheng 趙宗誠, “Du Guangting *Linghua ershisi* de yixie tedian 杜光庭《靈化二十四》的一些特點,” *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 1.2 (1990), 10–12.

²⁴ Found in *Yunji qiqian* DZ 1032, j. 27. It is unclear whether the chapter on the *ershiba zhi* 二十八治 in *Yunji qiqian*, j. 28, is the second scroll of Sima Chengzhen's *Tiandi gongfu tu* or a later edited version of Du Guangting's *Ershisi hua tu*; see Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 422–423, 475.

text where the Grotto-Heavens are divided into ten great and thirty-six smaller grottoes. The Blessed Grounds are separately listed as seventy-two sites. The expansion of sacred sites was accompanied with an expansion in territory, identifying sites all over China as Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds. Sima Chengzhen's revision should therefore be seen as a first important codification of Daoist sacred geography on a more national level as well as a synthesis of various traditions but giving pride of place to the Shangqing tradition.

Interestingly, Du Guangting's preface mentions a *Jade Scripture of Tortoise Mountain* and compared to Sima Chengzhen's text, it presents a next step in the systematization of Daoist sacred geography, adding categories for the Five Sacred Peaks Beyond the Seas, the Three Isles, the Ten Continents, the Thirty-Six Hermitages, and the Four Assisting Mountains. It should therefore date after Sima Chengzhen. The text is now lost and only known from quotations in Daoist scriptures and local gazetteers. However, its title *Daozang Guishan baiyu jing* 道藏龜山白玉經 (White Jade Scripture of Tortoise Mountain from the Daoist Canon) as quoted in Du Guangting's preface to a gazetteer on Mt. Wangwu 王屋山, the first Great Grotto-Heaven, and preserved in a stele inscription *Tiantan Wangwushan shengji ji* 天壇王屋山聖跡記 (Record of the Traces of the Saints of the Heavenly Altar at Mt. Wangwu, DZ 969), reveals two important aspects of the scripture. The first is that the prefix Daoist Canon indicates that the text was part of the (Kaiyuan) Daoist Canon of 748 compiled under Tang Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), which in turn suggests that by that time the sacred sites and their temples were incorporated in an imperially endorsed Daoist network. The other is that the inclusion of “white jade” and “Tortoise Mountain,” which are symbolic names for the West and Mt. Kunlun, suggests that the text was attributed to the Queen Mother of the West who resides at Mt. Kunlun and that the text was considered a Shangqing scripture. Curiously, the Twenty-Four Dioceses are not mentioned, although the Hermitages are.

Another quotation from this text is found in the local gazetteer of Piling 毗陵, the *Xianchun chongxiu Piling zhi* 咸淳重修毗陵志

(Restored Gazetteer of Piling of the Xianchun Period).²⁵ It can prove that Du Guangting did not copy the Tang text. The gazetteer mentions that the famous Mr. Zhang Cave (Zhanggong dong 張公洞), i.e. Zhang Daoling's cave, near Wuxi, Jiangsu, is the fifty-eighth Blessed Ground (*fudi* 福地) and governed by Lord Gengsang, or Gengsang Chu 庚桑楚. In the list of Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds of Du Guangting's text, this sacred site is number fifty-two, and without any reference to Gengsang Chu. In Sima Chengzhen's list, it is number fifty-nine.

In the same vein, the first part of Du Guangting's preface on the cosmology of Daoist sacred geography may also have been sourced from this Tang text. Du Guangting, however, leaves out any direct reference to Mt. Kunlun—still the central divine mountain in the Tang sacred geography—while at the same time keeping its attributes. The reason, as discussed above, is that Du Guangting supplanted Mt. Kunlun with the Mysterious Metropolis on Jade Capital Mountain. We can infer further that, simultaneously, the Queen Mother of the West of the Shangqing tradition was superseded by the Heavenly Worthy of Original Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun 原始天尊) and the Three Purities (Sanqing 三清) of the Daoist Heavenly Court, thus representing a synthesis of the various Daoist traditions.

Du Guangting's preface quoting the *White Jade Scripture of Tortoise Mountain* also mentions a chapter on the Ten Continents and Three Isles (of the Blessed). Intriguingly, a text of the sixth century on this subject, the *Shizhou ji* 十洲記 (Record of the Ten Continents, DZ 598),²⁶ is also found in the *Yunji qiqian*,²⁷ and placed in front of Sima Chengzhen's chapters on the Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds and the Twenty-Four Dioceses. Perhaps it was this text that was included in the *White Jade Scripture of Tortoise Mountain*. Du Guangting's chapter, however, differs greatly from this old text, which is much abbreviated and

²⁵ *Xianchun chongxiu Piling zhi* 咸淳重修毗陵志, compiled by Shi Nengzhi 史能之 in 1268 and re-published in 1564, 15.17a–18a.

²⁶ On this text, see Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 115; Thomas E. Smith, "Record of the Ten Continents," *Taoist Resources* 2.2 (1990), 87–119.

²⁷ *Yunji qiqian* DZ 1032, j. 26.

lacks the narrative descriptions, only providing data on names and locations and some short notes. In addition to abbreviating the text, he expanded the number of sites, subordinating Mt. Kunlun as the central peak of the Five Sacred Peaks Beyond the Seas and expanding the Three Isles to Ten Isles.²⁸

Compared with Sima Chengzhen's text, Du Guangting introduced several modifications to his list of Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds. For example, he changed names, their order, and most importantly, he deleted all the names of the immortals governing the Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds, except for the Ten Greater Grotto-Heavens, although changing a number of immortals. For the other Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds he sometimes added short commentaries stating which famous Daoist person had lived there or attained the Dao at the site. The majority of sites are, however, left without any of these references. Indeed, Du Guangting writes in his preface that he deliberately left out these details for being too numerous. Correct as this may be, another consequence is that the sacred sites became detached from their original (mainly Shangqing) tradition of immortals and local cults.

The deletion of the information on presiding immortals and the substitution with new Daoist figures also allowed for the introduction of Heavenly Master legend and lore into the framework of Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds, an aspect necessarily absent in Sima Chengzhen's Shangqing systematization. There are quite a few examples of the Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds: Du Guangting notes that the first Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling lived at the thirteenth Grotto-Heaven, Mt. Dawei 大圍山 (in Sima Chengzhen's text called Mt. Xiaowei 小滄山, both in Hunan); and that the famous Tang Heavenly Master Ye Fashan 葉法善 lived at Mt. Qingtian 青田山 (in Zhejiang), the thirtieth Grotto-Heaven.²⁹ With regard to the Blessed Grounds, he notes that number twelve Mt. Tiantai 天臺山 (in Zhejiang) is the home of Heavenly Master [sic] Sima Chengzhen; that, for the first time,

²⁸ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 6–8.

²⁹ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 54–55.

number twenty-seven Mt. Longhu 龍虎山 (in Jiangxi) is the home of the Heavenly Masters, i.e. the Heavenly Master Zhang family (as well as the home of Zhang Daoling?); that number thirty-two Mt. Gezao 閣皂山 (in Jiangxi), known as the home base of the Lingbao tradition, was “transformed by the Heavenly Master [order]” 在天師行化; that number fifty-three Mt. Yangxian 陽羨山 (in Jiangsu) has the Mr. Zhang (Daoling) Cave 張公洞; and that number sixty-four Mt. Bailu 白鹿山 (i.e. Dadishan 大滌山, in Zhejiang) is the hiding place of the Tang Heavenly Master and poet Wu Yun 吳筠.³⁰ None of this information is found in Sima Chengzhen’s text. Through these modifications, Du Guangting not only gave greater prominence to the Heavenly Master order, but also expanded the number of the sacred sites associated with the Heavenly Master order and through them the order’s sacred geographical jurisdiction.

(c) Taiqing Tradition and Lingbao Tradition

The Five Sacred Peaks are the sacred sites identified with the ancient Taiqing tradition and going back to Han times. Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343) in his *Baopuzi* 抱朴子,³¹ already places them at the top of his list of twenty-eight sacred mountains which were considered appropriate for producing an elixir of immortality and places where divinities and immortals dwell. In the Lingbao tradition, the divine manifestations of the five directions, the Five Emperors (Wudi 五帝), not the mountains of the Five Sacred Peaks themselves, play a central role. The Lingbao tradition has no known text on Daoist sacred geography. It was, however, instrumental in defining the Mysterious Metropolis on Jade Capital Mountain as the new divine summit and centre in Daoist sacred geography, mainly because of its supreme place in the *Duren jing* 度人經 (Scripture of Salvation, DZ 1), the most famous scripture of the Lingbao corpus. Supplanting Mt. Kunlun as the axis of the universe, Du Guangting followed the Lingbao tradition in his new

³⁰ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 68–71.

³¹ Ge Hong 葛洪, *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, in Wang Ming 王明 (ann.), *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), j. 4.

systematization of sacred geography, granting the Jade Capital Mountain pride of place.

The Five Sacred Peaks were first incorporated in Daoist sacred geography by Sima Chengzhen but only as part of the Thirty-Six Smaller Grotto-Heavens, thus subsuming them to a Shangqing hierarchy and cosmology. Sima Chengzhen expanded the original Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens to Ten Greater and Thirty-Six Smaller Grotto-Heavens, and most curiously there are nine mountains (including the Five Sacred Peaks) from Ge Hong's list, suggesting that Sima Chengzhen expanded his list with the aim to incorporate the mountains from the Taiqing or Lingbao traditions.

Du Guangting promotes the status of the Five Sacred Peaks to an independent category and places them before all the other terrestrial mountains. Curiously, the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* now comprises the Five Sacred Peaks twice, first as a separate category and then later heading the Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens after Sima Chengzhen. Sima Chengzhen categorized the Five Sacred Peaks as grottoes (*dong* 洞) and not as mountains. In fact, the Five Sacred Peaks were part of the state cult with sacrifices at the Altar of Heaven (Yuanqiu 圜丘) since the mid-Han dynasty; all the Five Sacred Peak deities had received the title of king by the mid-Tang dynasty.³² The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* demonstrates that the Five Sacred Peaks of the state cult were incorporated into Daoist sacred geography and that, consequently, the Daoist clergy had become responsible for the proper ritual observances to the Five Sacred Peaks, theoretically in addition to the state cult, but in practice supplanting it with Daoist ritual. It was therefore not until the late Tang that they were officially included in Daoist sacred geography. Interestingly, the Sacred Peaks and Marshes (*yuedu* 嶽瀆) are also included in the title of Du Guangting's text, as well as used for the second chapter on the divine mountains Beyond the Seas, putting them on a par with the Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds as sanctified places of Daoist paradises.

³² Gesterkamp, *The Heavenly Court*, 29ff; Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 17–27.

V. Nature and Purposes

The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* is a topography of all the Daoist paradises in heaven, beyond the seas, and on earth. As the text and its predecessors demonstrate in the previous section, Daoist sacred sites are originally closely linked to local cults of an important figure or immortal of Daoist history, which existed in local legend and lore and was then incorporated in Daoist regional traditions. We see this phenomenon of the connection between a mountain or sacred site and a figure or deity in the *Shanhai jing*. Many of the Twenty-Four Dioceses of the early Heavenly Master order in Sichuan and all of the Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens in the Shangqing tradition of Sima Chengzhen were related to such a legendary or Daoist figure. Du Guangting largely disconnected the sacred sites again from these historical or legendary figures to allow for a more comprehensive view of sacred sites, not necessarily linked to a certain tradition, which the connection with a specific immortal would undoubtedly entail. Obviously, the sacred sites and their descriptions played important roles in the hagiographies of these immortals.³³ Such hagiographies, in conjunction with stele inscriptions and local gazetteers, provide a wealth of information on each site, making it possible to contextualize each entry of the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji*, but this kind of research has only been sporadically done.

The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* serves multiple religious purposes. Its main religious purpose is describing and defining Daoist sacred geography. As the preface indicates, each Grotto-Heaven is a microcosm with its own sun, moon, and stars. Stories

³³ Li Yuanguo 李遠國, “Dongtian fudi: Daojiao lixiang de renju huanjing ji qi kexue jiazhi 洞天福地: 道教理想的人居環境及其科學價值,” *Xi’nan minzu daxue xuebao* 西南民族大學學報 12.184 (2006), 118–123; Ren Linhao 任林豪, “Tiantaishan dongtian fudi yu shenhua chuanshuo 天臺山洞天福地與神話傳說,” *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 2 (1991), 49–53; Shi Zhouren 施舟人 (K. M. Schipper), “Diyi dongtian: Mindong Ningde Huotongshan chukao 第一洞天: 閩東寧德霍童山初考,” *Fuzhou daxue xuebao* 福州大學學報 55.1 (2002), 5–8; Verellen, “The Beyond Within”; idem, “The 24 Dioceses”; Xiong Tiejie 熊鐵基, “Dongtian fudi shi shenxian sixiang fazhan de chanwu 洞天福地是神仙思想發展的產物,” *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 5 (2012), 22–24.

in literature describing Grotto-Heavens further ascribe to them complete landscapes with mountains, rivers, and villages with people where time stands still.³⁴ This image of sacred geography is also transposed to the body, which is similarly likened to Mt. Kunlun, a Grotto-Heaven, or a combination thereof, and generally referred to as the Inner Landscape (*neijing* 內境, 內景 or 內經). A note by Du Guangting in the first chapter (see below) explicitly mentions this link between human body and sacred geography, but in fact it only pertains to the divine heavens. In inner alchemy, this matching between the sacred geography and the human body was an important means for mapping the body. For example, the *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 修真太極混元圖 (Diagrams of the Great Ultimate and Undifferentiated Origin for Cultivating Truth, DZ 149) of the Northern Song divides the Blessed Grounds into three spheres, corresponding to the three cinnabar fields. The Three Isles are matched to the Three Passes (of the spine) and provide access to the Grotto-Heaven of Emptiness (in the skull?). The well-known stele-carving of the Inner Landscape body of the Qing dynasty at the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 in Beijing depicts the head as Mt. Kunlun, with the Yellow River flowing downwards from it along the spine.

In addition, the religious purpose of an inventory list as provided by the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* overlaps in many aspects Ge Hong's mountain list above, i.e. providing a list of places appropriate for self-cultivations and finding minerals and herbs. The sacred sites are virtual repositories for herbs and minerals and can be compared to medicinal lists found in the Daoist Canon.³⁵ The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* in this sense functions not merely as a religious manifest on sacred geography, but also as a practical guide for Daoists and physicians alike.

Apart from its main religious purposes, the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* also serves socio-economic purposes, and scholars have already pointed out that the socio-economic factors

³⁴ Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Verellen, "The Beyond Within."

³⁵ Li, "Dongtian fudi," 123.

have been as instrumental in the establishment of sacred sites as the religious factors. For example, research on the Twenty-Four Dioceses demonstrated that the majority of Dioceses are located near waterways and main roads and at the rim of the Chengdu plain, which was the economic heartland of Shu thanks to its newly developed irrigation system and its flourishing rice cultivation.³⁶ Other socio-economic factors in which the Dioceses played an important role include salt winning, the repairing of waterways and roads, the building of inns for travellers, and the promotion of farming.³⁷ Besides microcosms, the Grotto-Heavens of the Shangqing tradition, and Maoshan 茅山 (in Jiangsu) in particular, were considered safe havens for the local populace in times of war and during natural disasters; located on mountains, they were places where “soldiers and diseases did not reach, and floods and waves did not climb; they exactly are Blessed Grounds.”³⁸

The religious and socio-economic aspects of Daoist sacred geography have already received considerable scholarly attention, but its political implications are less well known. The administrative function of the Dioceses of the early Heavenly Master order has been duly acknowledged,³⁹ a feature which was firmly integrated in the ordination and ranking system of the order, as mentioned above. With the expansion and systematization of the Daoist sacred geography in later centuries, the sacred sites also received the protection from the imperial state. Sima Chengzhen must have been instrumental in achieving this new status, as he requested the throne in 721 to have separate temples established to the Perfected Lords of the Grotto-Heavens of the Shangqing tradition on the Five Sacred Peaks, because “the temples to Five Sacred Peaks are to deities of mountains and forests and are not the correct and true deities,” and because the Perfected Lords regulate the natural

³⁶ Verellen, “The 24 Dioceses,” 22; Li, “Dongtian fudi,” 118.

³⁷ Wang, *Tianshidao*, 22–37.

³⁸ *Zhengao* 真誥 DZ 1016, 11.2a–b; cf. Zhao Yi 趙益, “Juqu dongtian: Gongyuan sishiji Shangqing daojiao de duzai zhi fu 句曲洞天：公元四世紀上清道教的度災之府,” *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 3 (2007), 57–63.

³⁹ Wang, *Tianshidao*, 3–15; Verellen, “The 24 Dioceses,” 19.

phenomena and therefore decide over disasters and diseases.⁴⁰ His request was granted, which essentially meant that from that moment on the Five Sacred Peaks fell under the jurisdiction of the Daoist clergy (and not the state cult or Buddhist clergy we may presume). This feature also explains why Sima Chengzhen's text includes for each Grotto-Heaven or Blessed Ground the name of a perfected or immortal governing the site; these sites were still associated with the local cults or Daoist communities of their governing immortals, one surmises. The Five Sacred Peaks had official temples belonging to the state cult but overseen by Daoist priests performing Daoist rituals at the behest of the emperor until the end of the imperial period. Besides the official state temple dedicated to the mountain deity and his governing dominion in the east, south, west, north, and center, which was often located far removed from the actual mountain for practical reasons, a Daoist monastery dedicated to a Daoist perfected or immortal, as assigned by Sima Chengzhen, was located at the foot of the mountain, thus bringing the Five Sacred Peaks under the supervision and jurisdiction of the Daoist clergy, and in fact incorporating the state cult of the Five Sacred Peaks within the Daoist sacred geography as well as in its ritual framework. This of course also means that the temples to the Sacred Peaks were sponsored by the state, also a practice that lasted until the end of the imperial period.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, compiled by Wang Pu 王溥 (822–882) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 50.1029. The passage is translated in Edouard Chavannes, "Le jet de dragons," in M. Senart, ed., *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1919), 200n24.

⁴¹ The best sources to reconstruct the Daoist history of the Five Sacred Peaks are the many stele inscriptions to the state cult temples and their assigned Daoist monasteries found in Chen Yuan 陳垣 et al., *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988). Many of the Sacred Peaks also have their own gazetteers, comprising relevant inscriptions on the Sacred Peaks and their history. For a discussion of the Sacred Peak of the North and its Daoist connection, see *Beiyue miao ji* 北嶽廟記, no author, reprint of Wanli (1573–1620) edition in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1998), v. 118, 747–830; see also Gesterkamp, *The Heavenly Court*, 116–142. To my knowledge there is no formal study on the relationship between the Five Sacred Peaks and Daoist sacred geography.

Significantly, also from that moment on we encounter references in stele inscriptions and gazetteers to imperial decrees forbidding logging, hunting, fishing, or the burning of forests at sacred sites, such as Maoshan 茅山 (748?, 883, and 1009), Xiandushan 仙都山 (748), Wuyishan 武夷山 (748),⁴² and Wangwushan 王屋山 (854).⁴³ Most interestingly, the repeated occurrence of the year 748 suggests a strong link with the publication and distribution of the Daoist Canon by Emperor Xuanzong that year, which also contains the first official, codified text on Daoist sacred geography, the *White Jade Scripture of Tortoise Mountain*, discussed above. It is not known whether such exemptions were made for all sacred sites, or whether non-sacred sites could also obtain exemptions, but being included in the list evidently resulted in greater political support and imperial protection. Basically, the list of sacred sites constituted, from the Tang to the Ming, an imperially sanctioned inventory list of Daoist possessions and jurisdictions.

VI. Summary of Contents

The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* has in total nine chapters preceded by a preface. The chapters do not contain any narrative content, and only provide data such as names, surfaces, locations, and in some cases assisting mountains, titles of presiding deities, or short comments on famous figures of Daoist history associated with the site. The first, second, and fourth chapters also include extra commentaries by Du Guangting explaining the hierarchical ordering and distribution of these mountains.

(a) *Yuedu zhongshan* 嶽瀆眾山 (Multitude Mountains of the Sacred Peaks and Marshes)

This chapter lists fourteen mountains, divided into three groups of one, six, and seven. The first is the Mysterious Metropolis on Jade Capital Mountain located in Great Matrix Heaven (*daluo* 大羅, i.e.

⁴² Li, “Dongtian fudi,” 120–121.

⁴³ *Ci Baiyun xiansheng shushi bing jinshan chibei* 賜白雲先生書詩並禁山敕碑, dated 854. In Chen, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, 182–183.

the highest of the thirty-six Heavens of Daoism), as Du Guangting explains in a commentary. The second group of six divine mountains are located around the Jade Capital Mountain in the four directions, all above Jade Purity Heaven (the first of the Three Purity Heavens and the second of the thirty-six Heavens; the text may be corrupt here, and perhaps “inside Jade Purity Heaven” is intended). The third group of seven mountains are located in the Three Purity Heavens (Jade Purity 玉清, Highest Purity 上清, and Great Purity 太清; the second to the fourth of the thirty-six Heavens; the text may be corrupt here as well and only Highest Purity and Great Purity Heavens are probably intended). The text, however, mentions Jade Capital six times, which makes no sense, especially because Du Guangting’s commentary explains that these are the mountains of the Three Realms (i.e. the Three Purity Heavens) and not Jade Capital Mountain.

He further explains the nature of this realm’s celestial bureaucracy by saying that:

They are all transformations of true energy (*qi* 氣). Above, they have palaces and departments, where the great Saints roam; below, they correspond to the thirteen palaces and departments of the human body, on which matters one should consult the Great Cavern Scripture [*Dadong jing* 大洞經].⁴⁴

The divine geography is matched to the body which similarly contains the Three Realms (Heaven, Water, and Earth, or the three cinnabar fields) corresponding to the thirteen palaces of the body. Because of this matching between the Three Realms of Heaven and the thirteen palaces of the body, one surmises that the thirteen mountains below the Jade Capital Mountain in Great Matrix Heaven are specifically conceived to correspond to these thirteen palaces.

⁴⁴ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 1–2.

(b) *Haiwai wuyue xiandao shizhou* 海外五嶽仙島十洲
 (Five Sacred Peaks, Immortal Isles, and Ten Continents
 Beyond the Seas)

This chapter presents a list of twenty-five sacred sites. The first five are Sacred Peaks in the five directions with Mt. Kunlun in “the centre of Heaven and Earth.” Then follow the ten mountains which are an expansion of the basic Three Isles of the Blessed, Fanghu 方壺, Fusang 扶桑, and Penglai 蓬萊. The other seven are less well known except for the last, which is Fengdu 豐都, or the Chinese Hades. Lastly follow the Ten Continents. For each of the twenty-five sites, its location in the seas of the four directions is given with some additional information, such as the Four Emperors in the colours of their respective directions for the Sacred Peaks (the central Peak is omitted and substituted by Mt. Kunlun; the Queen Mother of the West is not mentioned), or the sun that rises from Fusang (Tree in the East).

Here again, Du Guangting ends with a commentary, explaining this realm’s nature:

All the mountains of Ten Continents, Three Isles, and Five Sacred Peaks are located in the four directions around Mt. Kunlun and in the midst of the enormous ocean. They are inhabited by deities and immortals and governed by the Five Emperors. Normal people cannot go there.⁴⁵

Du Guangting introduces here the Five Emperors of the Lingbao tradition who are the deities of the abstract five directions and links them to abstract manifestations of the Five Sacred Peaks, a category apparently invented by Du Guangting particularly for this goal. The actual Five Sacred Peaks follow in the next chapter, resulting in a conflation of meanings, one referring to abstract or divine manifestations and the other to their terrestrial counterparts.

The particular division into the five directions and a central Mt. Kunlun surrounded by twenty-four mountains is, in contrast to the previous cosmological sphere, closely connected to the Lingbao tradition. The Five Emperors govern the five directions symbolized

⁴⁵ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 8.

by the Five True Writs (*wu zhenwen* 五真文) in Lingbao ritual, and the twenty-four mountains correspond to the Twenty-Four Energies of the Three Realms of the human body, similarly symbolized in the Lingbao tradition by the Twenty-Four Life Charts (*ershisi shengtu* 二十四生圖) (see *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi shengtu jing* 洞玄靈寶二十四生圖經 DZ 1407), which also play an important role in Lingbao liturgy.⁴⁶ This matching can explain Du Guangting's particular choice of expanding the Three Blessed Isles to the Ten Blessed Isles, creating the number twenty-four.

Interestingly, the sacred geography of the two top cosmological spheres (of Heaven and Water) describes on the surface the locations and names of mountains and islands in a divine landscape, but because of the close association with Shangqing and Lingbao texts, we can know that Du Guangting designed these spheres to particularly match the Daoist conception of the human body, and furthermore that these sacred sites in the Daoist heavens should in fact be understood as the dwelling places, i.e. the palaces, even though they are termed mountains, of the deities of the Daoist primordial heavens in the sense of a celestial bureaucracy. Therefore, the Daoist sacred geography of the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* can be understood as a map for the Daoist pantheon of deities, which importantly is also found inside the human body, the Inner Landscape. The terrestrial spheres following below (of the Realm of Earth) extend the Daoist pantheon further to the various mountains, grottoes, and rivers on earth. The first two cosmological spheres may be identified as belonging to the primordial world (*xiantian* 先天) before the world was created, and the terrestrial spheres to the present world (*houtian* 後天) after the world was created.

(c) *Zhongguo wuyue* 中國五嶽 (Five Sacred Peaks of the Middle Kingdom)

This chapter lists the Five Sacred Peaks of the Chinese empire: Mt. Tai 泰山 (in Shandong) in the east, Mt. Heng 衡山 (in Hunan) in the

⁴⁶ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 1–2.

south, Mt. Song 嵩山 (in Henan) in the centre, Mt. Hua 華山 (in Shaanxi) in the west, and Mt. Heng 恆山 (in Hebei) in the north. For each of the Sacred Peaks, the deity's title is given (they were all promoted to kings by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang), along with the number of immortal officials and jade maidens, its surface, and its location; and for each Peak there are two mountains as Advisors (*zuoming* 佐命) and two mountains as Assistants (*zuoli* 佐理), except that the Sacred Peak of the West and the North have five and three Assistants respectively. There is no commentary by Du Guangting.

(d) *Shi da dongtian* 十大洞天 (Ten Great Grotto-Heavens)

This chapter lists the Ten Great Grotto-Heavens, mentioning for each the name of the mountain (i.e. the Grotto) and the name of the Heaven, its surface, the immortal governing the site, and its location. This chapter is concluded by an interesting commentary by Du Guangting saying that “the Ten Great Grotto-Heavens and Five Sacred Peaks are all the lofty perfected and highest immortals in control of unifying [the world] by which means they bestow blessings on all under heaven and unify the multitudes of deities.”⁴⁷

In this commentary, Du Guangting places the Sacred Peaks on a par with the Greater Grotto-Heavens. Since the previous chapter on the Five Sacred Peaks has no commentary, we can infer that Du Guangting views the two chapters as one single category rather than two, basically by arguing that the deities of the Sacred Peaks have the same status as Daoist perfected and immortals. The commentary further suggests that Du Guangting's original text had no titles.

After this first sentence, Du Guangting's commentary continues with providing the names of three additional mountains, Mt. Qingcheng 青城山 (in Sichuan), Mt. Tianzhu 天柱山 (in Anhui), and Mt. Lu 廬山 (in Jiangxi), their presiding perfected lords, and locations, explaining that “they are the Advisor Mountains

⁴⁷ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 29.

[*zuoming*] and the three Highest Office Mountains who are the Assistants [*zuoli*] to the Five Sacred Peaks and fix [*zhen* 鎮] the five directions. They are inhabited by the highest perfected and lofty immortals.”⁴⁸ Mt. Qingcheng and Mt. Lu were appointed Auxiliary Mountains by Emperor Xuanzong in 732,⁴⁹ and perhaps Mt. Tianzhu was also appointed on a later date. Because these three mountains also appear elsewhere in the text, Du Guangting evidently found it important to rank these imperially sponsored sites among the highest places in the hierarchy of the Daoist sacred geography of the late Tang.

(e) *Wu zhen hai du* 五鎮海瀆 (Five Auxiliary Mountains, Seas, and Marshes)

This chapter lists Five Auxiliary Mountains (*zhen* 鎮), the Sacred Seas of the four directions, and the Five Sacred Marshes. For each site, deity titles and locations are given. Four of the Five Sacred Marshes have additional information that they are each sacrificed to at the beginning of one of the four seasons. Again stressing the imperial endorsement of these sacred sites, Du Guangting mentions in a note that “they received their titles in 751.”⁵⁰ The Sacred Auxiliary Mountains, Seas, and Marshes were previously not included in Daoist sacred geography but are now, probably because of their titles and imperial support, listed above all the other former Daoist sacred sites save for the Greater Grotto-Heavens.

(f) *Sanshiliu jinglu* 三十六靖廬 (Thirty-Six Hermitages)

This chapter lists the Thirty-Six Hermitages of the Heavenly Master order after its move to the Jiangnan area in the fourth and fifth centuries. It only gives the names of the Hermitages and their locations and in some instances additional information on the types of locations. They are distributed over a wide area in China,

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ *Jiutian shizhe miao bei bing xu* 九天使者廟碑並序, by Li Pin 李珣, dated 732. In Chen, *Daojia jinsbi lue*, 114–116.

⁵⁰ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 38.

including Jiangxi (fourteen), Shaanxi (six), Henan (three), Hunan (three), Jiangsu (three), Sichuan (three), Hubei (two), Anhui (one), and Zhejiang (one). The Hermitages in each region were often clustered together, for example in Jiangxi, in Hongzhou 洪州 (present-day Nanchang 南昌, ten) and on Mt. Lu (two); in Shaanxi, in the Tang capital Chang'an 長安 (Xi'an, two); and in Hunan, on the Southern Sacred Peak Mt. Heng (two). Two Hermitages were located at or close to a former location of the Twenty-Four Dioceses in Hanzhou 漢州 (in Sichuan).

It is worth noting that a large majority of these sites are not located on mountains (*shan* 山, eight) but rather at homes (*zhai* 宅, ten) of famous Daoist figures, such as the ancient philosopher Liezi's 列子 (seventh century BC) home in Zhengzhou 鄭州 (in Henan), or Yin Xi's 尹希 (seventh century BC) home at Mt. Zhongnan 終南山 (in Shaanxi), the pass keeper who recorded the *Daode jing* 道德經 when Laozi went west; at altar sites (*tan* 壇, three), including two dedicated to Lady Wei 魏夫人 (252–334), one at Mt. Heng (in Hunan) and one in Fuzhou 撫州 (in Jiangxi); or in monasteries (*guan* 觀 or *gong* 宮, nine), such as the Taiqing gong 太清宮 (Palace of Great Purity) in Bozhou 亳州 (in Anhui), which is Laozi's birthplace and his official shrine since the Eastern Han dynasty. The reason is probably that the Hermitage was identified with the Heavenly Master's oratory established at his home, among the people, and not a site connected to a mountain. The heavy clustering of Hermitages in Jiangxi may have accounted for the choice of establishing the headquarters of the Heavenly Master order at Mt. Longhu. Importantly, this chapter by Du Guangting on the Thirty-Six Hermitages is the only known list. It also appears to be unmodified, since the Hermitages were still active in the Tang dynasty as demonstrated by the ritual texts of the Heavenly Master order referring to them discussed above.

(g) *Sanshiliu dongtian* 三十六洞天 (Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens)

This chapter lists the Thirty-Six (Smaller) Grotto-Heavens, providing for each the name of the mountain, the name of the Grotto-Heaven, the surface or distance (not specified), and location.

In some instances, Du Guangting adds short commentaries on famous Daoist persons who dwelled there or other information of interest. The persons mentioned, however, are all new and not recorded in Sima Chengzhen's version. In addition, one can see that even though the Five Sacred Peaks head the list, in Du Guangting's version they are stripped of their title of "Sacred Peak" (*yue* 嶽) and simply referred to by their mountain names, thus Mt. Tai, Mt. Heng etc. Lastly, it can be noted that Du Guangting interpreted the name differently. The terms Grotto and Heaven are not designated to first the mountain and then the heaven respectively, e.g. this (name) mountain "grotto," with this (name) "heaven," but are both applied to the grotto, e.g. this (name) mountain, with this (name) "grotto-heaven." Sima Chengzhen used this pattern for both the Ten Greater and Thirty-Six Smaller Grotto-Heavens, and Du Guangting also used it for the Ten Greater Grotto-Heavens, but curiously not for the Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens. Even though it is only a semantic difference, it perhaps indicates that Du Guangting relied on a different source for the Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens than the Ten Greater Grotto-Heavens, which could also explain the small discrepancies in their order, names, and locations.

(h) *Qishier fudi* 七十二福地 (Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds)

This chapter lists the Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds, providing the name and location of each site, and in some instances short historical or geographical notes, such as which famous Daoist person lived or attained the Dao at the site. In fact, the text only includes the names of seventy-one sites, omitting one. Again, the list contains several discrepancies in the order, mountain names, and locations. Whereas Sima Chengzhen attributed a governing immortal to each Blessed Ground, Du Guangting's list omits all of them and adds new figures. For example, Du Guangting adds to the list Mt. Baodu 抱犢山 (in Shanxi), noting that Zhuangzi 莊子 had lived there.⁵¹ Compared to Sima Chengzhen's list, Du Guangting changes in total eighteen Blessed Grounds.

⁵¹ Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, 70.

(i) *Linghua ershisi* 靈化二十四 (Twenty-Four Numinous Dioceses)

This chapter lists the Twenty-Four Dioceses, providing for each site the name; its cosmological correspondences to the five phases, seasonal energy, lunar mansion, and to the sexagenary cycle of its community members; its precise location with distances from a certain city; and related historical or geographical information, such as the immortals who ascended to heaven at the site. These notes are much shorter than those in the *Yunji qiqian* (Ch. 28), which often provides long narratives, and all of approximately equal lengths. The original Daoist term for Diocese, *zhi* 治, was replaced by Du Guangting with *hua* 化, to avoid a taboo of the personal name of Tang Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 650–683).

VII. Distribution of Sacred Sites

The distribution of the sacred sites per province at the end of the Tang dynasty is summarized in Table 1,⁵² which is revealing in several respects. First, since most studies have thus far focused on either the Twenty-Four Dioceses or the Ten Greater and Thirty-Six Smaller Grotto-Heavens, which represent the sacred sites of the Heavenly Master order and Shangqing tradition respectively, Daoist sacred geography has usually been assumed to be a southern Chinese phenomenon, at least in pre-Tang times. Judging from Du Guangting's new compilation, however, the centre of gravity may still lie in the Jiangnan area, but the sites are far more evenly distributed, following largely the cultural centres of pre-historic China along the Yellow River and Yangtze River. The one exception to this view is the prominence of Jiangxi, probably owing to the new inclusion in the sacred geography of the Thirty-Six Hermitages of the Heavenly Master order, which evidently had relocated its base from the Sichuan area to the Jiangxi area. This is also curious in another respect, because to my knowledge the Heavenly Master order, after its post-Han migration to the Jiangnan area, is best

⁵² Locations based on Wang, *Dongtian fudi*, and Verellen, "The 24 Dioceses."

known to have settled there and mingled with the Lingbao and Shangqing traditions (another known migration was to Shanxi, where Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 [365–448] set up a reformed, state-sponsored Heavenly Master order during the Northern Wei dynasty), but it appears that its actual, or perhaps transformed, centre had settled in the Jiangxi area, if we may take Du Guangting's list as evidence of active communities rather than a ceremonial list. The area around Nanchang in Jiangxi seems to have been particularly important in this respect.⁵³

Within this fuller picture of Daoist sacred geography in the Tang dynasty, it is possible to make some further, general observations regarding affiliation. If we consider the Dioceses and Hermitages to represent sacred sites of the Heavenly Master order, and the Grotto-Heavens and Blessed Grounds to represent those of the Shangqing tradition, the area of western and southwestern China comprising Sichuan, Jiangxi, and Shaanxi is predominantly linked to the Heavenly Masters, while southern and southeastern China, including Zhejiang, Hunan, Jiangsu, and Anhui, is more closely linked to the Shangqing tradition. Jiangxi is again a province that stands out in this respect, containing sites in impressive numbers from both traditions. The location of the Heavenly Master headquarters at Mt. Longhu is therefore an interesting observation, to say at the least. How much of this distribution represents a shift from pre-Tang times and how much of this is in fact a re-distribution made by Du Guangting are topics for further studies.

A new addition in the Daoist sacred geography of the Tang is the inclusion of the Five Sacred Peaks, Auxiliary Mountains, and many appending mountains and rivers. It is very conspicuous that the majority of these sites are located predominantly in northern China, including the provinces Shandong, Anhui, Hebei, Henan,

⁵³ Nanchang is also the location of Xishan 西山, a famous mountain associated since pre-Tang times with a cult to Xu Xun 許遜 (239–374). Du Guangting mentions Xishan as one of the Hermitages but does not mention Xu Xun. For Xu Xun and his cult, see Li Fengmao (Lee Fong-mao) 李豐楙, *Xu Xun yu Sa Shoujian: Deng Zhimo daojiao xiaoshuo yanjiu* 許遜與薩守堅：鄧志謨道教小說研究 (Taipei: Taibei xuesheng shuju, 1997).

Shanxi, and Shaanxi in the central plains, while also occupying peripheral provinces, such as Guangdong, as well as Liaoning and Gansu. As mentioned before, the Five Sacred Peaks and their many subsidiary mountains were not part of the official Daoist sacred geography in pre-Tang times constituted by the Grotto-Heavens, Blessed Grounds, or Dioceses, even though they do have their antecedents in Lingbao texts and their predecessors, and their inclusion in the mid-Tang forms an official merger between the imperial state cult (that worshiped the Five Sacred Peaks) and Daoism, or more precisely, the Daoist Lingbao tradition.

Seen as a schematic picture of the distribution of Daoist traditions and orders in China at the beginning of the tenth century, the sacred sites become a tantalizing representation of Daoist internal relations and their territorial distribution. The examples of some overlap notwithstanding, the general picture of the distribution of sacred sites when linked to their Daoist affiliation reveals a very interesting phenomenon for late Tang Daoist religion and politics. Namely, the distribution of sites shows a stark bifurcation between northern and southern China, roughly following the great rivers of the Yellow River and Yangtze River. The Lingbao tradition, even though it had originated and developed in the south, had sacred sites occupying the north, while the Heavenly Master order and Shangqing tradition, which by then seem to have been closely integrated, occupied the south. This division seemingly also follows political lines because of the close association between the sites of the Lingbao tradition and those of the state cult which it incorporated, but this remains a topic for further research.⁵⁴ Du Guangting, nonetheless, gives them all an equal standing in his synthesis of Daoist sacred geography.

Lastly, it is also interesting to see which provinces, perhaps unexpectedly, are underrepresented or excluded in Du Guangting's

⁵⁴ Importantly, this theory of a political division in Tang Daoism between Heavenly Master order and Shangqing tradition on the one hand, and the Lingbao tradition related to the Tang court (and therefore also Buddhism) on the other, has similarly been put forward by Jan de Meyer in his study of the Tang Daoist poet Wu Yun 吴筠 (d. 778); see Jan de Meyer, *Wu Yun's Way: Life and Works of an Eighth-Century Daoist Master* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), especially the conclusion.

distribution and synthesis. The most glaring example is Hebei province. It has two mentions which are basically one and the same site, the Northern Sacred Peak Mt. Heng 恆山 (present-day Mt. Chang 常山), which is included first as a Sacred Peak introduced by Du Guangting, and then once more as a Grotto-Heaven, already introduced by Sima Chengzhen (see above). Because all sacred sites are in some way cultic sites dedicated to former immortals or other legendary Daoist persons, it is strange that, in the time of Du Guangting and before him at least, Hebei province apparently could not boost this kind of heritage and therefore Daoism may have lacked a geographical presence in this area. It must be said that Shandong is also rather underrepresented, as is Shanxi, which together are traditionally the homeland of Confucian states in pre-Han times, and which in post-Han times had a strong Buddhist presence (and interestingly after the Song dynasty saw the rise of the Quanzhen order), but whether the Confucian and Buddhist dominance has somehow influenced Daoist presence in this geographical area or that Daoism was present but not active or in decline in the time of Du Guangting remains a question for future researchers to ponder.

VIII. Later Works on Sacred Geography

The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* remains the standard text on Daoist sacred geography. Two other texts are known to have been compiled on the same topic and collected in the Ming Daoist Canon but evidently have never achieved the same status. They are also much less complete and miss the overarching structure and ideology.

The first is the *Dongyuan ji* 洞淵集 (Collections of the Grotto Abyss, DZ 1063) in nine chapters by the Jiangxi Daoist Li Sicong 李思聰.⁵⁵ The preface consists of memorials about Li Sicong presenting the text to Song Emperor Renzong 仁宗 in 1050. However, the table of contents in the memorial does not match the content of the scripture, which was therefore probably compiled

⁵⁵ Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 883–884.

after that date. Its chapters two to six list the Ten Greater Grotto-Heavens, the Thirty-Six Smaller Grotto-Heavens, the Nine Isles of the Blessed and Eight Continents, the Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds, Thirty-Six Seas and Rivers of the Three Water Departments (*shuifu* 水府), and the Twenty-Four Dioceses. Chapters seven and eight list the Eleven Luminaries (*yao* 曜; Sun, Moon, Five Planets, Ketu, Rahu, Ziqi, and Yuebo), the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper, and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. The ninth chapter deals with the Thirty-Two Heavens and the Three Realms. Although loosely based on the same division of Heaven, Water, and Earth (but in the present compilation in the wrong order), the contents differ starkly from earlier versions, and the entries on the Grotto-Heavens, for example, are more elaborate, introducing again for each Grotto-Heaven a presiding immortal. Most of these immortals are also different again, apparently eliminating many Shangqing patriarchs while introducing those of the Lingbao tradition. It is possible that the compilation of this new or expanded list of sacred sites, paying special attention now to rivers, is linked to the many floods in China during the Northern Song, suggesting further that these sites received state support as places of offerings, but this remains a topic for detailed research beyond the scope of the present study.

Another work is the *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* 天皇至道太清玉冊 (Ultimate Dao and Great Purity Jade Volumes of the Heavenly Sovereign, DZ 1483) of 1444,⁵⁶ which is an encyclopedic work providing bare listings of numerological categories comprising names and general locations of the Ten Great Grotto-Heavens, Ten Continents, Twenty-Four Dioceses, Thirty-Six Smaller Grotto-Heavens, and Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds. Despite its conciseness, this work shows that the basic framework of Daoist sacred geography was still firmly in place in the mid-fifteenth century.

Needless to say, the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* was incorporated in the Ming Daoist Canon, completed only one year later in 1445. Then, in the Jiaqing period (1796–1820), it was again

⁵⁶ *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* DZ 1483, j. 2.

incorporated in an unaltered state in the *Daozang jiyao* and reprinted in 1906.⁵⁷

IX. Afterword

Du Guangting's synthesis of Daoist geography has stood the test of time. The comprehensive cosmology of the Heavenly Master order has been instrumental in the longevity of the text, providing an overarching framework that has been able to include all traditions and even to align Daoism with the state cult. Du Guangting has established Daoist sacred geography not only as a theoretical or religious concept, or as a list of sacred sites where Daoist practitioners can cultivate themselves, find herbs and ingredients, or perform rituals, but also as natural sanctuaries protected and maintained in an agreement by the state and the sites' local Daoist communities. The landscape of the Dao was equivalent to the landscape of the Chinese empire, both of which had become part of the same Daoist sacred geography.

The situation of mutual cooperation and promotion of natural sanctuaries for the benefit of the state and local communities has remained more or less unchanged for over a thousand years. The protection of sacred sites, both as Daoist safe havens and as ecological sanctuaries, has, however, come under great pressure in the last century and especially during the past decade. Social, economic, and political changes have further severed the bonds between Daoism and the state. The work of Du Guangting and its underlying concepts, ideas, and traditions may prove helpful in navigating, and preserving, the Chinese sacred geography in the future.

⁵⁷ See notes 1 and 2.

Table 1 Distribution of Daoist sacred sites per province

	Sichuan	Zhejiang	Jiangxi	Shaanxi	Hunan	Jiangsu	Henan	Anhui	Shandong	Hubei	Shanxi	Guangdong	Fujian	Gansu	Guangxi	Hebei	Liaoning	Vietnam	Total
Five Sacred Peaks	4	2		3	1	1	4	2	3	3	3	1		2		1			30
Ten Great Grotto-Heavens	1	4		1		2	1					1							10
Five Auxiliary Mountains, Seas, and Marshes		1		4		1	3		2		1	1					1		14
Thirty-Six Hermitages	3	1	14	6	3	3	3	1		2									36
Thirty-Six Grotto-Heavens	1	9	5	2	6	2	1	1	1	1		1	2		3	1			36
Seventy-Two Blessed Grounds	5	17	9	3	12	8	3	4	2	1	3	1	1	1				1	71
Twenty-Four Dioceses	20			4															24
Total	34	34	28	23	22	17	15	8	8	7	7	5	3	3	3	2	1	1	221

道教聖地學的綜合 —— 杜光庭《洞天福地嶽瀆名山記》的經文分析

葛思康

摘要

《洞天福地嶽瀆名山記》由唐末著名道士杜光庭(850–933)編輯，並收入明《正統道藏》。本論文研究該道經的作者與序言、教派與文本來源、本性與含義、內容總結、聖地分布，以及後來版本等題目，認為杜光庭不僅綜合了唐以前天師道、上清派、靈寶派等的洞天福地，而且利用了天師道的三天(天地水)宇宙觀和不少新的有關天師道的聖地，來補充及代替唐以前的洞天福地。另外，因為唐以前的靈寶派聖地並未編成法典，杜光庭也加上了不少新的靈寶派聖地。正因為這些靈寶派聖地基本上包含所有國家崇拜的聖地，《洞天福地嶽瀆名山記》也就代表了道教與國家對聖地區分與管理的綜合，使得道教聖地都受到政府的支持和保護。自杜光庭把這些聖地綜合和法典化之後，沒有出現過其他類似的主要道經說明道教聖地觀，這表示《洞天福地嶽瀆名山記》在各朝代受到重視，到了現在已成為道教聖地觀的標準。

關鍵詞：洞天、福地、杜光庭、聖地、天師道