



East
Asian
History

NUMBERS 13/14 · JUNE/DECEMBER 1997

Institute of Advanced Studies
Australian National University

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This double issue of *East Asian History*, 13/14, was printed in March 1999.

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Annual Subscription Australia A\$45 Overseas US\$45 (for two issues)

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Cover calligraphy Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿, Tang calligrapher and statesman

Cover illustration Herbert Allen Giles (source: *Gems of Chinese Literature* [Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1922])

THE DATE AND COMPILATION OF THE *FENGDAO KEJIE*, THE FIRST HANDBOOK OF MONASTIC DAOISM

史 Livia Kohn

Monasticism as a feature of medieval Daoism evolved under Buddhist influence and on the basis of an extended and increasingly specialized priesthood in the sixth century.¹ Its fundamental rules, organizational principles, and concrete establishments are first described in the *Sandong fengdao kejie* 三洞奉道科戒 or “Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao According to the Three Caverns,” today contained in the Daoist canon (DZ 1125)² and found in part in several Dunhuang manuscripts. Divided into six scrolls, it contains a total of eighteen sections that discuss the importance of karma and retribution, the physical creation of monastery buildings, sacred statues and scriptures, the kinds and makes of sacred utensils and ritual wear, the organization and structure of the ordination hierarchy, as well as a number of essential rituals, from the recitation of the scriptures to daily devotions and the formalities of ordination.

The *Fengdao kejie* is ascribed to and equipped with a preface by Jin Ming 金明, also known as Qizhenzi 七真子 or Master of the Seven Perfected [Stars of the Dipper], a Highest Clarity (Shangqing 上清) visionary who flourished around 550 CE. In addition to this ascription, it mentions the *Zhen'gao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected, DZ 1016) and the *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 (Secret Instructions on the Ascent to the Perfected, DZ 421) by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536) and was therefore written no earlier than the latter's lifetime. The text itself, moreover, is referred to in a fragment of the *Qubuo lun* 祛惑論 (On Removing Doubts) by the Louguan 樓觀 master Yin Wencao 尹文操 (622–688)³ and cited with several clearly identified passages in the *Miaomen youqi* 妙門由起 (Entrance to the Gate of all Wonders, DZ 1123). While the former is part of a Buddhist–Daoist debate, the latter is Zhang Wanfu's 張萬福 postface to a collection of glosses on the *Daodejing* 道德經 (Book of the Dao and its Virtue) which was sponsored

¹ See K. M. Schipper, “Le monachisme taoïste,” in *Incontro di religioni in Asia tra il terzo e il decimo secolo d. C.*, edited by Lionello Lanciotti (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1984), p.212.

² Numbers of texts in the Daoist Canon (*Daozang* 道藏, abbreviated DZ) are given according to K. M. Schipper, *Concordance du Tao Tsang: titres des ouvrages* (Paris: Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1975).

³ This fragment is found in the *Chuxue ji* 初學紀 [Record of Initial Learning], ch. 23, p.552. For the reference, see T. H. Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang: religion and empire during the golden age of Chinese history* (London: Wellsweep Press, 1996), p.34; idem, “The Feng-tao k'o and printing on paper in seventh-century China,” *Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Studies* 60.3 (1997): 539. For details on Yin Wencao, his biography and role in the Louguan school or the northern Celestial Masters, see L. Kohn, “Yin Xi: the Master at the beginning of the scripture,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 25 (1997).

Figure 1

Tao Hongjing (456–536), the author of the Zhen'gao (source: Youxiang liexian zhuan [Illustrated immortals' biographies], 3:3a)



⁴ For a detailed textual comparison between the last three scrolls of the *Daozang* edition and P. [Pelliot] 2337, see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* [Examinations of Daoist scriptures] (Tokyo: Dōkyō Kankōkai, 1955), pp.301–40.

⁵ Aside from his study of P.2337 (1955), he has a complete translation of the text: “Dōkyōgaku seiritsu no ichi kōsatsu” [A study in the formation of Daoism], *Taishō daigaku kenkyūjō kiyō* 48 (1963): 81–128. This is reprinted again together with a detailed review of various arguments on its date and compilation in volume three of *Dōkyō to bukkyō* [Daoism and Buddhism] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1976), pp.75–119.

a survey of scholarly views on the text, I will as a result of the study propose a gradual expansion of the *Fengdao kejie* from the mid-sixth century to the high Tang, which was followed by at least one re-edition that resulted in the text that we have in the Daoist canon today.

The Text Today

The *Fengdao kejie* as it is contained in the Daoist canon today consists of eighteen sections in six scrolls. The first ten sections in three scrolls describe the conceptual framework and concrete conditions of Daoist monastic practice, while the last eight sections, in three more scrolls, deal with specific rituals.

It begins, after a preface that deplors the lack of unity in Daoist practice

by Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 and completed in 713. From these references and citations, we know that the *Fengdao kejie* was present in the late seventh and well known in the early eighth century.

Within this period of roughly 150 years (from 536 to 688), then, scholars date the work to either about 550, accepting the ascription to Jin Ming as authentic, or to the early Tang, around the year 630, arguing on both philological and historical grounds for a compilation after unification and thereby proposing a rather later date for Daoist doctrinal integration and monasticism.

Now, about sixty percent or nine sections of the *Fengdao kejie* are also found in manuscripts from Dunhuang, with remnants of an additional five sections recovered from further manuscripts and citations in Tang works. Textual variants between the *Daozang* and Dunhuang editions are not so substantial that entire paragraphs or sentences are missing from one or the other, but tend to be technical and limited to the use of alternative characters or writing styles, with an occasional difference in nomenclature or syntax.⁴ Scroll numbers, on the other hand, vary considerably, giving rise to speculation about a process of early expansion and later condensation as well as loss of the text.

Examining the available data and using, but not always following, the extensive work on the text prepared by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊,⁵ in the following I will present a discussion of the date and compilation of the text, investigating the materials it cites and its remnants in Dunhuang manuscripts and citations as well as reviewing the available data on its alleged author. Concluding with

and expresses serious anxiety about the loss of proper modes of worship, with a discussion of karma and retribution in three sections:

1. Retribution of Sins (1:2a–8b);
2. Retribution of Good Deeds (1:8b–12a);
3. Comprehensive Structures (1:12ab).

The first two of these contain lists of karmic punishments and rewards, presenting an abbreviated version of sections 2 and 3 of the *Yinyuan jing* 因緣經 (Scripture of Karmic Retribution, DZ 336).⁶ The latter is a work in twenty-seven sections and ten scrolls that reports on the dialogue between the Perfected of Universal Rescue (Puji zhenren 普濟真人) and the Highest Lord of the Dao (Taishang daojun 太上道君) in front of a great celestial assembly located in the Heaven of Blissful Virtue. Answering the query of the Perfected, the Lord of the Dao describes the gory fate of people who harm the sacred objects or persons of the Dao and the never-ending bliss that awaits those of a more supportive disposition. The text articulates the standard Buddhist visions about retribution in this and future lives.

The third section of the *Fengdao kejie*, not based on the *Yinyuan jing*, consists of one short paragraph that deals with the method of karmic calculation, specifying the units of life-time that the heavenly administration subtracts for offenses and adds for virtuous conduct. The material on karma and retribution in these first three sections of the text serves to establish the overall conceptual and judicial framework of Daoist monasticism. Following this general outline, the text time and again appends notes to its rules that specify just how many days of life are subtracted for disobedience or “failure to comply.”

The next three sections of the text deal with the physical establishment of Daoist institutions:

4. Setting up Monasteries (1:12b–19b);
5. Making Sacred Images (2:1a–5b);
6. Copying Scriptures (2:5b–7a).

A Daoist monastery, patterned on its Buddhist counterpart, is not complete without a sanctuary to the highest deities, a hall for lecturing on the scriptures, and a series of special buildings for meditation, ecstatic excursions, memorial services, and the like. It also needs cells for the recluses and residences for the masters as well as the more practical facilities of daily life, such as a refectory, kitchen, bath house, stable, and vegetable garden. All these are described in some detail, with recommendations on their functional structures and adornments.

The same holds true for the making of sacred images and the preparation of the scriptures, without either of which a monastery cannot function properly. Images in particular are described for the entire pantheon, from the Heavenly Worthies (*tianzun* 天尊) through the many sages, perfected, and immortals, down to the jade lads and numinous guardian animals. Suitable

⁶ 2:1a–10a. A detailed comparison with the *Fengdao kejie* is found in Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, pp.117–33.

⁷ See Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, “Bukkyō jukai shisō no chūgokuteki shūyō” [The Chinese adaptation of the Buddhist notion of the ten precepts], *Shūkyō kenkyū* 35.1 (1961): 51–72; Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo dao jiaoshi* [A history of Chinese Daoism] (Shanghai: Renmin, 1990), pp.340–90; C. D. Benn, *The Cavern Mystery transmission: a Taoist ordination rite of AD 711* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), pp.72–9.

Figure 2

A Daoist clad in formal ritual vestments (source: Fengdao kejie, 5:5b)



materials, appropriate sizes, acceptable adornments, and numbers of statues are outlined, giving an indication of the rich artistic industry in the environment of medieval religious institutions. In a similar way, the text deals with the production and preservation of the sacred scriptures, specifying materials and scripts to be used as well as providing various options for copying and storage arrangements.

Section 7, “Conditions for Ordination” (2:7a–15a), switches back from the physical realm to karmic concerns regarding the kind of people suited to joining the Daoist community. Consisting of ten lists of up to thirty items each, the section describes what to look for (long-standing devotion, compassionate behavior) and whom to avoid (dismissed officials, adulterers) in selecting future monks and nuns.

Having thus established the physical basis and suitable inhabitants of the ideal Daoist monastery, the *Fengdao kejie* in the next three sections presents further details on relevant accoutrements:

8. Ritual Implements (3:1a–6a);
9. Ritual Vestments (3:6a–8b);
10. Residences (3:8b–10a).

Bells and gongs, banners and canopies, incense burners and scripture cases are discussed as are robes and capes, headdresses and kerchiefs, hairpins and shoes. The simple cell of a Daoist, moreover, should contain only a bench and a bed, a clothes chest and a scripture case, a lamp and a water pitcher, and be located conveniently close to the well, bath house, and privy. Monks and nuns are allowed to own two complete sets of eating utensils, one for outside use, the other only for the pure dining hall of the Dao. All utensils as well as ritual implements and vestments must be kept scrupulously clean at all times and be simple and not unduly luxurious.

Following this set of concrete instructions on the monastic establishment, the second half of the *Fengdao kejie* is divided into eight sections on ritual “observances” (*yi* 儀):

11. Reciting the Scriptures (4:1a–3a);
12. Lecturing on the Scriptures (4:3a–4b);
13. Ritual Ranks (4:4b–5:4a)
14. Illustrations of Ritual Vestments (5:4a–8a);
15. Daily Services (6:1a–4a);
16. The Noon Purification (6:4a–7a);
17. Memorial Assemblies (6:7a–9b);
18. Formal Ordinations (6:9b–12a).

Most of these, except for sections 13 and 14, describe the performance of specific ceremonies as well as the necessary hymns and incantations. Section 13 contains a detailed outline of the medieval Daoist ordination system and has as such served variously as the basis for its description in scholarly studies.⁷ Section 14 describes the formal robes worn by the masters of the

various ranks, with suitable illustrations and instructions on their proper care.

Altogether, the *Fengdao kejie* presents a detailed and inclusive picture of medieval Daoist monastic organization and practice, lacking only, and surprisingly, a discussion of administrative structures and the specific roles played by the various Daoist masters. Still, the life of the monastery is captured in bright and vivid colors, presenting the Daoists of medieval China in their concrete circumstances of life.

Materials Cited in the Text

Daoist texts cited in the *Fengdao kejie* divide into three groups: texts listed as part of the description of the ordination hierarchy in the section on “Ritual Ranks”; passages cited from ritual and precepts texts in the last several sections of the work; and texts cited by title in the first three sections. Although there are some materials that can be clearly dated to the sixth century, the cited texts only confirm that the *Fengdao kejie* could not have been compiled before Tao Hongjing’s lifetime but do not necessary place it later.

As regards the first group, the *Fengdao kejie* lists a total of 253 texts, including scriptures, registers, talismans, tallies, and “transmission tablets,” under a heading of twenty-five ranks that reach from male and female followers to the preceptors of the highest three caverns.⁸ The order of scriptures in relation to schools is Right Perfection (Zhengyi 正一, i.e., Celestial Masters), Divine Incantations (Shenzhou 神咒), Eminent Mystery (Gaoxuan 高玄, i.e., Laozi 老子 followers), Three Sovereigns (Sanhuang 三皇), Ascension to the Mystery (Shengxuan 昇玄), Numinous Treasure (Lingbao 靈寶), and Highest Clarity (Shangqing 上清). The scriptures listed for the last two coincide in both title and order with those found in standard catalogues and described in academic studies⁹; scriptures for the other ranks, too, match what is known about the preferences and canons of the various schools. Most of the texts listed date from the fifth century, with only a few exceptions which can be placed in the sixth. Among them are, most prominently, Tao Hongjing’s *Zhen’gao* and his *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣, written in the early decades of the century. In addition, there are the *Shengxuanjing* 昇玄經 (Scripture of Ascension to the Mystery) and the *Guanling neizhuan* 關令內傳 (Essential Biography of the Guardian of the Pass), both compiled in the first half of the sixth century and cited in Zhen Luan’s 醜鸞 anti-Daoist polemic *Xiaodao lun* 笑道論 (Laughing at the Dao) of the year 570.¹⁰ Whereas this overall tendency to list early scriptures may be interpreted to imply a sixth-century date of the *Fengdao kejie* itself, its list yet represents the standard ordination pattern of the high Tang as indicated in the various works of Zhang Wanfu. Unlike texts revealed or compiled in the fifth and sixth centuries, materials from the early Tang never attained quite the same

⁸ *Fengdao kejie* 4:5a–5:2b. A translation is found in Benn, *Cavern Mystery*, pp.72–98.

⁹ On early catalogues of the Lingbao and Shangqing scriptures, see Ōfuchi Ninji, “On *KuLing-pao ching*,” *Acta Asiatica* 27 (1974): 33–56; S. R. Bokenkamp, “Sources of the Ling-pao scriptures,” in *Tantric and Taoist studies*, edited by M. Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1983), vol.2, pp.434–86; I. Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l’histoire du taoïsme*, 2 vols. (Paris: Publications de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1984).

¹⁰ The *Shengxuan jing* has survived in a number of Dunhuang manuscripts, reprinted in Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkei: zuroku ben* [Daoist texts from Dunhuang: texts and materials] (Tokyo: Kokubu Shoten, 1979), pp.151–90; and also in Yamada Takashi, *Kobon Shōgenkyō* [The old *Shengxuan jing*] (Sendai: Tōhoku Daigaku, 1992). The *Guanling neizhuan* is identical with the *Wenshi neizhuan* 文始內傳 and is found in scattered fragments and citations, the longest of which is contained in chapter 9 of the seventh-century encyclopedia *Sandong zhubang* 三洞珠囊 [A Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns, DZ 1139]. For more on the text, see Kohn, “Yin Xi.” The *Xiaodao lun* is found in the Buddhist canon, *Taishō daizōkyō* 大正藏經 edition, no. 2103, vol.52, pp.143c–152c. It is translated and discussed in L. Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: debates among Buddhists and Taoists in medieval China* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995).

¹¹ *Fengdao kejie* 6:2b-3a; *Dajie shangpin* 7b-8a. For a translation and discussion of the chant's role in modern ritual, see J. Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), p.137. For details on the Lingbao scripture, see Bokenkamp, "Ling-pao Scriptures," p.484. The text also remains among Dunhuang manuscripts; see Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, pp.77–85. For more on the text, see also Kusuyama Haruki, "Dōkyō ni okeru jukai" [The ten precepts in Daoism], *Bungaku kenkyūkai kiyō* 28 (1982): 55–72; Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng, eds., *Daozang tiyao* [Catalogue of the Daoist canon] (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1991), pp. 260–1.

¹² See Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual*, pp.137–9, 141–2. The *Laojun jiejing* is discussed and translated in L. Kohn, "The five precepts of the venerable lord," *Monumenta Serica* 42 (1994): 171–215.

¹³ Daoist monasteries developed gradually from hermitages and centers sponsored by aristocrats. For a preliminary study see Stephan Peter Bumbacher, "The fragments of the *Daoxue zhuani*" (PhD diss., University of Heidelberg, 1995), pp.459–518.

¹⁴ *Yaouxu keyi* 4:9ab. The manuscripts are S. [Stein] 6454, P. 2347, P.2350, P.3770, P.3417; reprinted in Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, pp.191–201. For more on the *Shijie jing*, see also Fukui Kojun, *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* [Fundamental studies in Daoism] (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1952), p.197; Kusuyama, "Dōkyō ni okeru jukai"; and Ren and Zhong, *Daozang tiyao*, p.341. The *Yaouxu keyi* dates from the early eighth century. For details, see Ren and Zhong, *Daozang tiyao*, p.344; Zhu Yueli, *Daojiao yaoji gailun* [Discussion of essential Daoist scriptures] (Beijing: Yanshan Chubanshe, 1992), p.111.

¹⁵ *Dingzhi jing*, p.7b. On the text, see Bokenkamp, "Ling-pao scriptures," p.481. Among Dunhuang texts, it appears in P. 5563, P.3022, reprinted in Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, pp.53–5. The text is also cited in *Wushang biyao* 13:9, 34:9, 46:7. For more, see Kusuyama, "Dōkyō ni okeru jukai"; Ren and Zhong, *Daozang tiyao*, p.243.

¹⁶ The Harvard-Yenching index lists a total of twenty-five texts beginning with the title "Zhengyi fawen," nine of which are extant. See Wang Dujian, *Combined indices to the authors and titles of books in two collections*

status of orthodoxy and did not become part of formal ordinations. On the other hand, this particular integration of schools, joining both northern and southern traditions into one organized system, is hard to envision before unification. Still, this is not proof, and the texts and ordination steps listed in the section on "Ritual Ranks" do not offer a conclusive solution to the problem of the text's date.

The second group of materials cited includes passages from ritual and precept texts in the last several sections. Two examples stand out here. First, the second chant in the section on "Daily Services," which introduces the scripture recitation and is otherwise known as the "Hymn to the Scriptures," is taken from the *Zhibui benyuan dajie shangpin* 智慧本願大戒上品 (Great Precepts of Highest Rank for Wisdom and the Original Vow, DZ 344), one among the old Numinous Treasure scriptures of the early fifth century that is also found in Dunhuang manuscripts.¹¹ The same text reappears as the introductory verse of a northern Celestial Masters (Louguan) work on the five basic precepts, which is dated to the late fifth century and known as the *Laojun jiejing* 老君戒經 (Precepts of the Venerable Lord, DZ 784). The very same chant is, moreover, still actively used in Daoist services today.¹² It therefore appears to have been a standard chant that was commonly used in daily services at Daoist institutions, from the early Numinous Treasure communities to the center of Louguan and fully established monasteries.¹³

The other text cited is the *Shijie jing* 十戒經 (The Ten Precepts, DZ 459), a short text that contains a speech of the Heavenly Worthy to encourage new ordinands together with ten basic precepts and fourteen so-called principles of self-control. The bulk of the text, with the exception of the fourteen principles, is cited verbatim in the *Fengdao kejie* section on "Formal Ordinations." In its entirety it appears several times in Dunhuang manuscripts, showing its popularity in the Tang, when it is also cited in the *Yaouxu keyi* 要脩科儀 (Essential Rules and Observances, DZ 463).¹⁴ As regards their origin, the ten precepts that form the center of the text appear first in the *Zhibui dingzhi jing* 智慧定志經 (Scripture on Wisdom and the Firming Up of Determination, DZ 325), another of the early Numinous Treasure texts that is also found in Dunhuang.¹⁵ They, like the "Hymn to the Scriptures" discussed above, seem to have been of widespread use in basic Daoist ritual and to have given a standard of behavior to initial ordinands, those achieving the rank of "disciple of pure faith." They reconfirm the nature of the *Fengdao kejie* as an elementary and highly standardizing text but do not help with its dating.

The third group of materials in the text consists of three works cited in the first three sections that deal with karma and retribution and the rules for the subtraction of days from the lifespan for offenses committed. They are the *Yinyuan jing*, the *Xuandu liuwen* 玄都律文 (The Statutes of Mystery Metropolis, DZ 188), and the *Zhengyi fawen* 正一法文 (Code of Right Unity, lost). All three are dated somewhere in the sixth century, with only the first having possibly a Sui 隋 dating and thus indicating a post-unification date for the *Fengdao kejie*.

To begin with the last, the *Zhengyi fawen* was a long and extensive collection of the rules and rites of the Celestial Masters that was probably begun under the Liu-Song 劉宋 in the fifth century and continued well into the sixth. In its heyday consisting of a total of sixty scrolls, it was later divided into separate documents and for the most part lost. Fragments remain today in the Daoist canon, with no traces recovered from Dunhuang.¹⁶ Citations begin with the *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 (Esoteric Essentials of the Most High, DZ 1138) of the year 574 and continue into the early Song, but are not very numerous.¹⁷ One of the remaining texts, the *Zhengyi fawen jing* 正一法文經 (Scripture of the Code of Right Unity, DZ 1204), has the Highest Lord recommend that people pursue devotional activities, such as performing rites of repentance, burning incense, giving charity, sponsoring monasteries, making sacred images, and so on.¹⁸ While this sounds like the *Fengdao kejie* in general phrasing and outlook, neither this text nor other fragments or citations of the *Zhengyi fawen* contain the specific information on the subtraction of lifespan days that is attributed to the text in the *Fengdao kejie*.

The second work cited in the same context, the *Xuandu liuwen*, like the *Zhengyi fawen* is addressed to the priesthood of the Celestial Masters. It contains six sets of statutes governing concrete Daoist behavior, the fifth of which specifies, as indicated in the *Fengdao kejie*, subtractions of periods (*ji* 紀) from the lifespan for various improper actions. The latter include not

/of Taoist literature (Beijing: Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series no.25, 1935), p.67. On the history of the text, see Kobayashi Masayoshi, *Rikuchō dōkyōshi kenkyū* [Studies in Six Dynasties' Daoism] (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1990), pp.328–56.

¹⁷ For a study of the *Wushang biyao*, see J. Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao: somme taoïste du VI^e siècle* (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981). In the early Song, the text is cited in the encyclopedias *Yunjiqiqian* 雲笈七籤 and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽. For a complete list of citations, see Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako, *Dōkyō tenseki mokuroku sakuin* [Index and concordance to citations of Daoist scriptures] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1988), p.592.

¹⁸ DZ 1204, 1b–2a.

Figure 3

The Dunhuang MS P.3682, describing good deeds that will add to the lifespan (source: Ōfuchi, Tonkō dōkei, p.220)

科日凡在路同法相逢於尊者下路犯禮同
 筆但挹而已若女官見道士不問老少但下
 路過不須致禮皆不得率尔直過違奪
 算一百廿
 科日凡道士女官受施皆合掌祝日願施主
 當當來生獲福无量違減算一百卅
 科日凡同時出家未受經試計年為長若
 受經試計法尊卑為長凡有七種第一大
 洞第二洞真第三洞玄第四洞神第五高
 玄第六錄生第七清信即清信不得與錄生
 同座錄生不得與高玄同座以此例之洞玄不得
 與洞真同座若出家在先受經法居後或年
 雖長而法位卑皆在下坐具依下科中違三
 官考魂減算一千六百
 科日凡道士女官經法具身或未具法但天
 尊法服在身雖父母帝王之親嚴皆當列
 位列席不得與同座及居出家人上倚立違
 五帝伐魂減算一千二百

¹⁹ On the text and its date, see Kobayashi, *Rikuchō*, pp.206–7; Ren and Zhong, *Daozang tiyao*, p.137; Robinet, *La révélation*, vol.2, p.280; Noguchi Tetsurō, Sakade Yoshinobu, Fukui Fumimasa, and Yamada Toshiaki, eds, *Dōkyō jiten* [Encyclopedia of Daoism] (Tokyo: Hirakawa, 1994), p.132.

²⁰ This group of deities imitates the Buddhist bodhisattva Ksitigarbha (Dizang) and his continuous effort at saving people.

²¹ The two texts share much information and many technical expressions. See Akizuki Kan'ei, "Sairon sangen shisō no keisei" [A second discussion of the formation of the idea of the Three Primes], *Hirosaki Daigaku bunkyō ronshō* 1 (1965): 57, 61–2. For discussions of the text and its date, see Nakajima Ryūzō, "Taijō gyohō ingenkyō ni okeru ōhōron" [The doctrine of karma and retribution in the *Yinyuan jing*], in *Makio Ryōkai bakase sboju kinen ronshū Chūgoku no shūkyō to kagaku* [Chinese religion and science: in honor of Professor Makio Ryōkai] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1984), pp.335–54; L. Kohn, "Steal holy food and come back as a viper: conceptions of karma and rebirth in medieval Daoism," *Early Medieval China* 4 (1998). Short notes on the text are also found in Kobayashi, *Rikuchō*, pp.236, 240; Ren and Zhong, *Daozang tiyao*, pp.254–5; Noguchi et al., *Dōkyō jiten*, p.177.

²² Section 7 of the *Yinyuan jing* matches pp.14b–15b of the *Xuanmen dayi*.

²³ See Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, p.133. The Dunhuang manuscripts are reprinted in Ōfuchi, *Tōnkō dōkei*, pp.147–73.

following inheritance procedures when taking over teaching from one's father, squabbling over transmission after the death of a master, failure to attend assemblies or pay the right amount of tax, seeking fast promotion, making mistakes in setting out banquets, creating disturbances during the Three Meetings, failure to worship properly, at the right times, or in a state of uncleanness, and so on. All these are punishable by a subtraction of anywhere from 200 days to three periods from a lifespan.

While the offenses listed here clearly describe problems that would occur in a communal, non-monastic organization, they yet have an obvious impact on the system of the *Fengdao kejie*, which frequently gives exact numbers of days to be deducted for specific offenses. Still, the text with its rules is commonly dated to the late fifth or early sixth centuries,¹⁹ so that, although it may illuminate the development of Daoist monasticism from rules originally written for lay practitioners, it does not help with the date of its first organized rules.

The *Yinyuan jing*, finally, is a long text in ten scrolls on the laws of karma and retribution, the second and third sections of which, as noted above, are cited at great length in the *Fengdao kejie*. Besides outlining the karmic results of good and bad deeds, the *Yinyuan jing*, which primarily addresses lay followers, urges its readers to attend rites of repentance, receive and honor the precepts, hold purifications, chant the scriptures, and sponsor or perform rites to the Dao. They are to develop a cheerful attitude and give amply in charity, so that specialized practitioners in the monasteries can do their best to improve the karma of the world. Nurturing compassionate attitudes, all should worship the Ten Worthies Who Save From Suffering (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊).²⁰

The date of the *Yinyuan jing* has usually been determined in connection with that of the *Fengdao kejie*, scholars agreeing that the two texts date back to the same lineage of compilers and are about twenty years apart, with the *Yinyuan jing* being the earlier.²¹ Agreement also exists on its *terminus post quem non*, which is the Sui dynasty. This dating is reached on the basis of a citation of the text in a fragment of the *Xuanmen dayi* 玄門大義 (Great Meaning of the Gate of All Wonders, DZ 1124), with which it also shares a section on purification ceremonies.²² Because the *Xuanmen dayi* was compiled in the Sui, the *Yinyuan jing* must have been available then. Scholars, moreover, are certain of the importance of the text in the Tang dynasty, a supposition supported by the large number of Dunhuang manuscripts of it recovered.²³

Within this framework, the *Yinyuan jing*, like that of the *Fengdao kejie*, is placed either in the Liang 梁 or after unification. While there is no mention of historical facts or citation of materials that would indicate either dating, there are a number of doctrinal features that are mentioned in the *Yinyuan jing* but only become prominent in the Tang, and are therefore not likely to have been in circulation in the early sixth century. Among them are the use

of a bodhisattva-like figure as the main interlocutor of the deity, a feature typically found in Daoist texts of the Tang; the belief in the Ten Worthies Who Save From Suffering, which is documented only since the Tang and developed most fully in the Song; and the practice of the so-called ten days of uprightness (*shizhi* 十直), monthly days of purification adopted from a similar Buddhist practice, that does not gain currency until the Tang.²⁴ These, of course, constitute only circumstantial evidence; there is no reliable way of dating the *Yinyuan jing* to either period.

The materials cited in the *Fengdao kejie* thus reveal it as a highly standardizing and integrating work that reflects Daoist practice as it was commonly undertaken in the early Tang dynasty, but may nevertheless go back to an earlier period. There is no firm evidence found in the cited texts that would date the *Fengdao kejie* to either the mid-sixth or the early seventh century. Regarding its compilation, too, the materials only show a highly developed state of integration of both southern and northern traditions, but do not pinpoint the one or the other area, tradition, or compiler.

The Text in Dunhuang Manuscripts

Among the eighteen sections of the *Fengdao kejie* as it stands today the last eight are the best documented. Not only mentioned in the preface as the “eight sections on observances,” they are also completely preserved in a Dunhuang manuscript (P.2337)²⁵ where, however, they appear in one single scroll instead of three. More than that, this scroll is numbered “five” at both the beginning and the end of the manuscript, conflicting with the preserved *Daozang* edition, where the material is in scrolls four to six, as well as with the preface, which states that the entire text consisted of only three scrolls.

Yoshioka assumes that this “five” is a copyist’s error for “three” and that the eight sections on observances constituted the last third of the original text. From this he concludes that the present *Daozang* edition is a truncated version of the old text, which consisted of three rather longer scrolls of about thirty Chinese pages each. This compares with today’s scroll lengths of 19, 15, 10, 10, 8, and 12 pages respectively. The total text should therefore have consisted of about 90 pages as opposed to the 74 pages surviving in the *Daozang*, about one-sixth of the text thus having been lost.²⁶

While Yoshioka’s estimate of the amount of loss may or may not be correct, his suggestion of a copying error is certainly wrong. Not only is the word “five” clearly legible at both the beginning and the end of the manuscript, but another Dunhuang source (P.3682),²⁷ of which he was as yet unaware, contains the last portion and concluding note of scroll 3—presenting, however, two sections of the text that are not found in the *Daozang* version. To complicate matters further, the one complete section in this manuscript, entitled “Compassionate Attitudes,”²⁸ is numbered “24,” indicating

²⁴ On the Ten Worthies and their cult, see Yūsa Noboru, “Tōdai ni mirareru kyūkuten-son shinkō ni tsuite” [The cult of the Ten Worthies Who Save from Suffering as apparent in the Tang dynasty], *Tōbōshūkyō* 73 (1989): 19–40. A discussion of the ten days is found in M. Soymié, “Les dix jours du jeune taoïste,” in *Yoshioka Yoshitoyo bakase kanri kinen Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū* [Collection of studies on Daoism in honor of Dr. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kanōkai, 1977), p.3.

²⁵ *Fengdao kejie* 1:1b. The manuscript is reproduced in Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, pp.223–42; a reprinted and punctuated edition appears in Yoshioka, *Dōkyō kyōten shiron*, pp.311–40 together with textual notes comparing it with the *Daozang* edition. The manuscript also names Jin Ming as its author. See Liu Tsun-yan, “Sandong fengdao kejie yifan juan diwu: P.2337 zhong Jin Ming Qizhen yici zhi tuice” [The *Fengdao kejie* yifan, chapter 5: speculations on the name Jin Ming Qizhen in P.2337], *Hanxue yanjiu* 4.2 (1986): 509–31.

²⁶ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō kyōten shiron*, p.307.

²⁷ The text is reproduced in Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, pp.219–21. A punctuated reprint is found in *Tonkō kōza* [Dunhuang Lecture Series], ed., *Tonkō to Chūgoku dōkyō* [Dunhuang and Chinese Daoism] (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1983), pp.174–6.

²⁸ This title is identical with that of section 14 of the *Yinyuan jing* (6:1a–3a), which however contains anecdotes and not lists of rules about compassionate behavior.

²⁹ Both citations are found in Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, p.220.

³⁰ *Fengdao kejie* 1:1b.

that at least six sections of the total are missing or, if we place scroll 3 where it is today, that the first ten sections are either a minor remnant of what used to be there before or that they were subdivided into about twice as many shorter sections as we have today. Aside from the problem of numbering, the manuscript is consistent in style and content with the established text of the *Fengdao kejie*, giving as it does precise instructions on how to deal with ordinary people and what kind of mental attitude to develop in the religious life. For example:

The *Rules* say: All Daoists, whether male or female, whenever they have ordinary people coming to pay respectful obeisance to them, should join their palms [at chest level] and return the bow, invoking the Three Treasures to dissolve all [the ordinary folk's] immeasurable sins and give them good fortune without measure. Under no circumstances must they be arrogant or boastful. Failure to comply carries a subtraction of 120 [days of life].

or:

The *Rules* say: All Daoists, whether male or female, whenever in conditions of severe heat, should always be mindful and develop the good intention that they should set up free juice [stands] everywhere to give freely to all [beings], allowing them to avoid the disaster of [dying from] thirst. May they all attain good fortune without measure! This attitude carries an addition of 220 [days of life].²⁹

The major difference between this latter section and the *Daozang* text is that it speaks of mental attitudes rather than physical organization and that here alone, among the many rules, numerical values are given for rewards, i.e., days added to the life-span, rather than punishments or subtractions from life.

It is my contention that this manuscript as well as the various other extant passages not contained in today's text are part of a high-Tang elaboration of the work, which succeeded the creation of the *Fengdao kejie* and its various precursors in the sixth and seventh centuries. This probably vast compendium was later re-edited into a shorter and more concise version, from which the present *Daozang* text is derived. The particular sections found in this manuscript on interaction with ordinary people and compassionate attitudes were taken out because they were so unlike the main body of the text, which overall shows a remarkable coherence and consistency in structure, diction, and outlook.

The notion of an expansion and later condensation of the text is further borne out by the various titles referred to. First, there is the title *Sandong fengdao kejie*, which I have used, with slight abbreviation, in my discussion; it is found in the preface and probably refers to a core version that we no longer have.³⁰ Then, there is the title *Sandong fengdao kejie jing*, found in both Dunhuang manuscripts that contain the end of a scroll, adding the word "Scripture"; this indicates the text as it existed in the high Tang, a goodly portion of which has survived in the Daoist canon. Next, there is the addition *yifan* 儀範 or "*Observances*" in the title of the long manuscript on the eight

observances. It appears at the beginning, but not the end of the work, indicating that the sections on the eight observances were considered a significantly separate portion of the whole work. It may well be suspected that other scrolls had similar additions in their initial titles to show at a glance which particular rules and precepts were being discussed. The *Daozang* version, finally, is called *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始 or “Practical Introduction to the Rules and Precepts ... of the Mystery Cavern of Numinous Treasure.” This shows not only that the text was placed in the Lingbao section of the canon, but also that the editors were conscious of possessing a shorter and more elementary version, something that gives an indication of, but is not identical to, the full “Scripture” with its longer scrolls and more separate sections.

Another indication of the vagaries of the text’s development is the fact that the preface speaks of “520 entries” (*tiao* 條), which are impossible to identify. If one counts items introduced with “The Rules say” (*ke yue* 科曰), as suggested by P.3682 which mentions in a note that section 24 consisted of “19 entries,” there are only about 120 in the *Daozang* text, with an additional 35 found in manuscripts and citations. If one adds the “Scripture” items on karmic retribution in the first two sections, the number rises to about 250, which is more than doubled when one counts every single entry that is itemized and could thus be considered a *tiao*. In no case does one get close to 520, having either not enough or too many, leaving the riddle open as to what exactly the preface refers.³¹

There are two further Dunhuang manuscripts that were probably part of the extensive “Scripture” of the Tang. First, there is S.3863, which contains a portion of the second half of section 4, “Setting up Monasteries,” describing the concrete establishment of various buildings, from terraces over gates, carriage houses and guest quarters, to corridors.³² The text is close to the *Daozang* version, containing character variants, such as *beng* 恆 (constant) for *ding* 定 (fixed), and a few differences in names or terms, such as, for example, using the expression “female officer” (*nüguan* 女官) instead of “female hat” (*nüguan* 女冠)—so designated because the only way a lady Daoist’s attire differed from that of her male counterpart was in the headdress—and calling the “ascension building” (*shengxia yuan* 昇遐院) the “immortality transformation building” (*qianhua yuan* 遷化院). Only in one case does it give an alternative syntax, describing the gate of the monastery as being “comparable to the mouth in the human body, to the eyes in the human face” and thus clarifying the meaning of the *Daozang* version, which does not have the words “compared to the mouth” and thus lacks the clear parallelism.

The other manuscript is S.809,³³ which appears to be a supplement to section 18, “Formal Ordinations,” as it specifies details of the transmission procedure. It speaks of the kinds of rituals to be used for the different ordinations and of the immense efforts needed to attain “the one encounter when, once in ten thousand kalpas [of successive lives], a master or perfected one transmits the Dao.” It also specifies the necessary purifications and good

³¹ A discussion of the 520 entries, including the various ways of counting them, is found in Tonkō Kōza, *Tonkō to Chūgoku dōkyō*, pp.169–70.

³² The text matches *Fengdao kejie* 1:16b7–18a6. It is reprinted in Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, p.219.

³³ The text is found in Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, p.222 as well as, in a punctuated version, in Tonkō Kōza, *Tonkō to Chūgoku dōkyō*, p.176.

Figure 4

A lady Daoist in the distinctive 'female hat' (source: Fengdao kejie 5:6b)



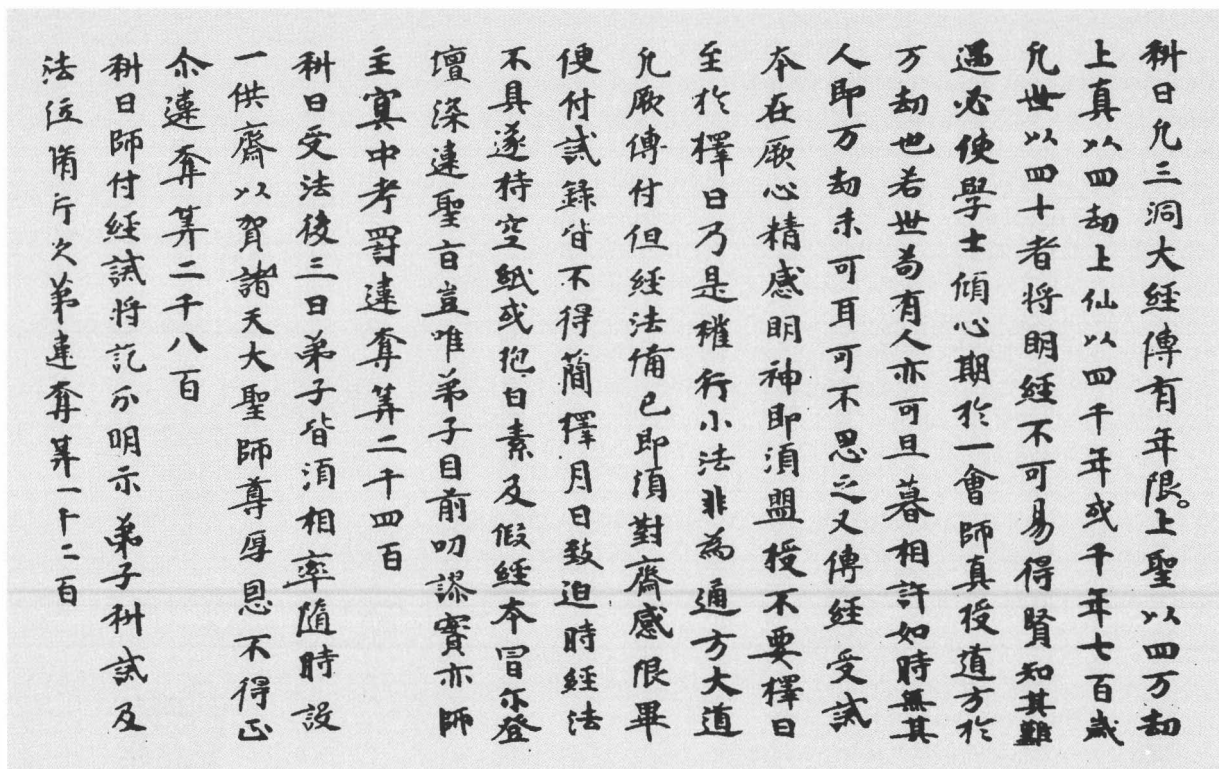


Figure 5

The Dunbuang manuscript S.809, describing the requirements for proper ordination (source: Tonkō dōkei, p.222)

omens, and warns seriously against yielding to the pressures of scheduling so that, when the scriptures are not yet ready, “ordinands receive some blank sheets of paper or a roll of plain silk.” This, the text scolds, “is an insult to the sacred scriptures and a major fraud, a faked ascent to the altar!” In addition, after the event, the text insists, ordinands must

choose an appropriate time and prepare an offering as a present to the great sages, masters, and worthies of the various heavens. This is to thank them for their enfolding grace without which the transmission could not have taken place. Failure to comply carries a subtraction of 2,800 [days of life].³⁴

This text, in diction and content, is well matched with the rest of the *Fengdao kejie* and probably formed part of it in the mid-Tang.

Tang and Song Citations

³⁵ See Ōfuchi and Ishii, *Dōkyō tenseki*, p.550.

Four texts contain citations of the *Fengdao kejie*.³⁵ First, there is *Miaomen youqi* 妙門由起 by the great ritual master Zhang Wanfu, who not only cited the text in his work but also wrote a treatise to supplement its information on ritual dates and summarized it in his discussion of the ordination hierarchy, notably in his *Chuanshou lieshuo* 傳授略說 (Synopsis of Trans-

³⁴ Ōfuchi, *Tonkō dōkei*, p.222.

mission, DZ 1241) and his *Sanshi wen* 三師文 (Text on the Three Masters, DZ 445).³⁶

Zhang's *Miaomen youqi* is thus the work of a man who knew the *Fengdao kejie* well and used it frequently. Dated to the year 713, it has three passages of citation: one corresponding to the beginning of section 4, "Setting up Monasteries"; another that matches the central part of section 16, "Illustration of Ritual Vestments"; and a third not found in the *Daozang* edition that describes different kinds of Daoists.³⁷

While the first two passages show character variants, such as *li* 理 (control) for *zhi* 治 (govern), but no changes in syntax or meaning, the third passage is different in content from the rest of the *Fengdao kejie* in that it presents a division of Daoists into six types, from heavenly perfected through spirit immortals, mountain recluses, ordained monks and devout householders to libationers, including both ordained and lay practitioners and in each case specifying their respective merits and preoccupations. For example:

3. Mountain recluses are free from deliberate action and free from desire, guarding only the Dao and preserving their own inner essence. Their energy is crowned by the hazy empyrean, while their minds are concentrated in utter serenity. They are personages like Xu You and Chao Fu.³⁸

Each of the six types is described in a similar fashion, including two concrete examples, the interesting feature of which is the selection of Louguan patriarchs for both the spirit immortals and the ordained monks. This indicates a certain closeness of the text to the northern Celestial Masters with their center at Louguan, which rose to state-wide importance after Laozi was recognized as the ancestor of the Tang ruling house and became the divine sponsor of the new dynasty,³⁹ thus suggesting an early Tang date for at least this citation.

Another citation from the *Fengdao kejie*, not matching anything in the *Daozang* edition, occurs in the *Zhaijie lu* 齋戒錄 (Record of Purifications and Precepts, DZ 464) and again in the *Zhiyan zong* 至言總 (Comprehensive Perfect Words, DZ 1033).⁴⁰ As Yoshioka has shown, these two texts are closely related, the latter being about a century later and making heavy use of the former.⁴¹

The passage from the *Fengdao kejie* specifies the *zhai* 齋 or purification ceremonies to be held throughout the year. For example:

on the eighth day of the fourth month, one holds the purification ceremony to pray for [a good] summer. On the fifth day of the fifth month, one holds the purification ceremony for long life. On the sixth day of the sixth month, one holds the purification ceremony for a clear hot season.⁴²

It also describes necessary attitudes of sincerity and humility, indicates taboos and prohibitions, such as the avoidance of "men in deep mourning and women after parturition or during menstruation," and forbids unruly behavior, such as "climbing to the sacred hall in an irregular manner," in order that pardon may be obtained as quickly as possible.

³⁶ On these works by Zhang Wanfu, see Benn, *Cavern Mystery*, p.2; Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, pp.91–4; K. M. Schipper, "Taoist ordination ranks in the Tunhuang manuscripts," in *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger*, edited by G. Naundorf, K. H. Pohl, and H. H. Schmidt (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1985), p.129.

³⁷ The three passages are found in *Miaomen youqi* 14ab (= *Fengdao kejie* 1:12b–13a); 19b–20a (= 5:4a–6a); and 17b–18b. They are reprinted with punctuation in Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, pp.95–7. The third passage is partially translated and discussed in Ōzaki Masaharu, "The Taoist priesthood," in *Religion and family in East Asia*, edited by G. DeVos and T. Sofue (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1984), pp.100–3.

³⁸ *Miaomen youqi* 18a.

³⁹ For more on this school, see Kohn, "Yin Xi."

⁴⁰ *Zhaijie lu* 9a and *Zhiyan zong* 1:4b–5b. The passage is also found in the *Yunji qiqian* (DZ 1032, 37:10ab). For a punctuated reprint and a discussion of its variants, see Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, pp.97–9. A study of the *Zhaijie lu* is found in R. Malek, *Das Chai-chieh-lu* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Würzburger Sino-Japonica, no.14, 1985).

⁴¹ Yoshioka dates the *Zhaijie lu* to the first half of the eighth century because it cites the *Xuanmen dayi* [Great Meaning of the Gate of All Wonders] and the *Daomen dalun* 道門大論 [Great Treatise on the Gate of the Dao], which were lost under Xuanzong (r.713–55) and recovered only in parts (DZ 1124). The *Zhiyan zong* he places into the ninth century with the help of the list of karmic rewards and punishments contained in scroll 5. It is later than the *Yaoxiu keyi* of the early eighth and comes before Du Guangting's 杜光庭 *Yongcheng jixian lu* 壙城集仙錄 [Record of the Assembled Immortals in the Heavenly Walled City, DZ 783], written about the year 900. From this he concludes a ninth-century date for the *Zhiyan zong*. See Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "Zaikairoku to Chigonsō" [Zhaijie lu and Zhiyan zong] *Taishō Daigaku kenkyūjo kiyō* 52 (1967): 283–302.

⁴² *Zhaijie lu*, p.9a.

⁴³ Ch.4, p.11a.

⁴⁴ On this text, see Ren and Zhong, *Daozang tiyao*, pp.981–2; Benn, *Cavern.Mystery*, p.84.

⁴⁵ *Zeri li*, p.8b; Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkō*, p.93.

⁴⁶ *Shishi weiyi*, pp.10a, 11a. In addition, a series of chants appear equally in the *Shishi weiyi* (10a–11b) and the *Fengdao kejie* (6.6a–7a).

The citation does accord with the *Fengdao kejie* only insofar as its outline of the annual purification schedule appears also, with some variation, in the *Yinyuan jing*.⁴³ On the other hand, it probably did not appear in the seventh-century version of the text, because Zhang Wanfu specifically mentions that he compiled his *Zeri li* 擇日曆 (Selecting Proper Days, DZ 1240),⁴⁴ a ritual calendar of suitable days for the transmission of Daoist scriptures and precepts, as a supplement to the *Fengdao kejie*, which does not deal with proper days or the ritual schedule at all. In his own words:

As the Daoist rules of Jin Ming deal mostly with ritual utensils [and procedures] and do not clarify the selection of proper days for purification ceremonies and announcements to the gods, I have here concentrated on the latter.⁴⁵

Zhang Wanfu mentions specifically that the *Fengdao kejie* did not deal with dates, either for ordinations or purification ceremonies, which is precisely what the *Zhaijie lu* citation does. It is therefore quite possible that the passage was not actually part of the *Fengdao kejie* even in the early eighth century, but either appeared in a later expansion or originated with the *Zhaijie lu*, which chose the *Fengdao kejie* as a prestigious source of attribution.

A third citation of the *Fengdao kejie*, not found in the *Daozang* edition, appears in the *Xuanmen shishi weiyi* 玄門十事威儀 (Ten Items of Dignified Observances of the Gate to the Mystery, DZ 791), a text on ritual instruction transmitted by the Highest Venerable Lord (Taishang laojun 太上老君) to the Perfected of No-Thought (Wuxiang zhenren 無想真人) and divided into ten sections. It, too, like Zhang Wanfu's *Zeri li*, is a supplement to the *Fengdao kejie*, covering similar ground but focusing on the concrete activities of Daoists rather than their material surroundings. For example, the *Xuanmen shishi weiyi* has a detailed section on the performance of obeisances (sect. 2), describing exactly how far, with what body parts, and how many times to bow or knock the head in what situation, a feature taken entirely for granted in the *Fengdao kejie*.

In two places, moreover, the text refers to the *Fengdao kejie* for the text of an incantation that is part of the rite it describes, but which it does not spell out in full.⁴⁶ The one citation it has from the text is in its last section on “Protecting and Guarding.” It says:

1. In general, scriptures and sacred images are of the same kind and [treated] without distinction. As the “Precepts for Worshipping the Dao” says:

Wherever scriptures and sacred images are housed, the place must be well protected and sparkling clean. They should be surrounded and properly separated by bamboo railings. If you leave them even for a short time, always take a clean cloth to cover them.

At those times when practitioners study and read the scriptures, they must not unroll them more than three times in a row. Once they are finished, they should use the nearest hand to roll the scripture back up. If the scroll has

not been read completely, never leave it unrolled even for an instant. Should there be an urgent affair [to interrupt the reading], then start the scroll again later from the very beginning while uttering the proper expressions of repentance.⁴⁷

This citation, which might well fit into section 6, “Copying the Scriptures,” together with the two references, as well as the entire tone of the text, show that the compiler of the *Xuanmenshibi weiyi* was aware of the *Fengdao kejie* and viewed his work as a supplement to it, relying on the information already in the text and focusing largely on the behavioral details it left out. The two texts thus stood in close mutual relation, with the *Fengdao kejie* the earlier and more fundamental compilation. Yoshioka places them in the sixth century, with the *Xuanmen shishi weiyi* of Sui origin.⁴⁸ However, the text’s title and structure, notably the link between the number ten and the term *xuanmen* 玄門, indicate a later date, especially also because the latter plays a prominent role in seventh-century Buddhism, where it occurs in the Huayan 華嚴 school and is found as the “Ten Gates to the Mystery” in Fazang’s 法藏 (643–712) *Jin shizi zhang* 金獅子章 (Treatise on the Golden Lion).⁴⁹ The *Xuanmen shishi weiyi*, therefore, appears to have been a technical supplement to the *Fengdao kejie*, written in the late seventh or early eighth century, almost contemporaneous with the work of Zhang Wanfu.

The last, and rather brief, citation of the *Fengdao kejie*, which is not found in the *Daozang* edition either, is from the eleventh-century encyclopedia *Yunji qiqian*. It says:

The “Rules for Worshipping the Dao According to the Three Caverns” says: Before combing the hair, first wash your hands and your face, and only then comb it. Under no circumstances let this be observed by anyone else. This activity carries an addition of 820 days of life.⁵⁰

The passage continues with further instructions on how to dispose of hair and nails (bury them but don’t put them into water or fire) and describes various exorcistic rituals and visualizations to aid in their proper disposal. Yoshioka doubts that this is still part of the citation,⁵¹ and indeed both format and content are rather untypical of the *Fengdao kejie*.

Even the short first citation does not entirely fit the text, as it speaks of the act of combing rather than the forms and materials of which combs might be made. Placing it in the present text is thus rather hard: it could be part of section 9, “Ritual Vestments,” which mentions hairpins but describes their make and not their application; or it could be located in section 14, “Illustration of Ritual Vestments,” which has a more practical tone and mentions that one should, for instance, place shoes on racks rather than directly on the floor.⁵² Still, this section does not contain taboos about personal hygiene, either, and there is certainly no place where the *Fengdao kejie* describes exorcistic rituals for the disposal of bodily waste.

Then again, the passage specifies a reward for the activity in the form of an increased life expectancy rather than using the more typical formula that

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.14a.

⁴⁸ *Dōkyō to bukkō*, pp.99–100.

⁴⁹ The text is found in the Buddhist canon, no. 1880, vol.45, pp.663–7. For a translation and comment on the term, see Wing-tsit Chan, *A source book in Chinese philosophy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963) p.411.

⁵⁰ *Yunji qiqian* 47:2a. See Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkō*, p.99.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.99.

⁵² The two passages are in *Fengdao kejie* 3:7b and 5:8a.

⁵³ Jin Ming's agnomen is explained in the *Sanbailiusbiuwu yuanlu* (DZ 1388), p.24a. See Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, p.103. A detailed study examining the three key texts surrounding Jin Ming is found in Liu, "Sandong fengdao." He concludes that nothing of solid historical value is known about the personage and speculates that the name may even indicate more than one person (p.513). Also, he concludes that the "seven perfected" may or may not refer to the stars of the Dipper, possibly indicating a group of major Daoist deities (p.528). He accepts Jin Ming as a figure of the 550s (p.512) but does not comment on the date of the *Fengdao kejie*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1a.

outlines punishments for "failure to comply." It was, therefore, probably not contained in the *Fengdao kejie* as it existed in the early Tang but appeared as part of a later amplification.

The various Dunhuang manuscripts and citations of the *Fengdao kejie* thus show a text that was a great deal longer and more complex in the high Tang than either before or after. Highly prominent in the early eighth century, it attracted various supplements, and probably also certain expansion, so that the basic compendium on monastic establishments and observances seems surrounded by a forest of related materials. The work, then known as the "Scripture of Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao," was a long text of at least five scrolls, the last of which contained all the observances contained today in scrolls four to six. Its first three scrolls, moreover, consisted of altogether twenty-four sections of rules regarding Daoist monastic organization and proper behavior, only ten of which are still present in the first three scrolls today, but which probably also included the section on "Kinds of Daoists" recovered from the *Miaomen youqi*. We know nothing about the old scroll four, but a sixth scroll, possibly created in the eighth century and not yet available to Zhang Wanfu, might have contained

the passage cited in the *Zhaijie lu* and the section partially found in S.809, since they both seem supplementary to the observances described toward the end of the text (sections 17 and 18). This long and complex work, then, of which the *Daozang* text is a reliable remnant, reflects the practice of monastic Daoism under the Tang.

Figure 6

The seven stars of the Dipper protecting a meditating Daoist (source: Wudou sanyi tujue [Illustrated Instructions on the Five Dippers and Three Ones], p.16b)



The Alleged Author: Life and Works

The *Fengdao kejie* contains a preface ascribed to, and is occasionally referred to as stemming from, a personage named Jin Ming. Also known as Qizhenzi or "Master of the Seven Perfected," a term which refers to the seven stars of the Dipper, he was a powerful visionary in south China, who received various revelations from Highest Clarity deities.⁵³ The first of these is dated to the year 543, when he was given the Numinous Register of Highest Prime by the Highest Lord of Jade Dawn, the central deity of Highest Clarity.

Then, nine years later, after, as he says, he "used the precious register to concentrate my spirit and energy, never allowing the sacred text to be defiled or despoiled,"⁵⁴ he had another divine encounter. This is documented fully in the *Sanbai liusbiwu bu yuanlu* 三百六十五部元錄 (Primordial Register of the 365 Division [Generals], DZ 1388). Here we have:

Then, this year, the fifth year of the era Great Clarity [Taiqing 太清], with the year star in *xinwei* 辛未 [551], at noon of the

first day of the fifth month, I was again visited by the Most Eminent Jade Emperor of Heavenly Treasure, who descended to the jasper palace on the Dai peak to transmit to me the Mysterious Register of Perfect Numen of the Highest Prime of the Nine Heavens. Through this, I was confirmed in the rank and title of an official general [of heaven].⁵⁵

The reference to the year by the era “Great Clarity,” the last reign title of Emperor Wu 武帝 of the Liang, indicates that Jin Ming was writing under that dynasty in the south of China. In addition, it shows that he was either so far removed from political events that he was unaware of the emperor’s death in the third year of that period,⁵⁶ or that, as Yoshioka suggests, he wrote after Emperor Yuan 元帝 had ascended the throne in 552 and rewritten history to the exclusion of the intervening Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝.⁵⁷

In addition to this evidence of a southern origin of the text, the revealing deities mentioned are clearly of Highest Clarity provenance, thus placing Jin Ming in the environment of southern Daoism after the death of Tao Hongjing. The register he received, on the other hand, has a distinctly Celestial Masters flavor. It contains the names and competencies of the 365 division leaders or brigadier generals who serve under the thirty-six perfected emperors (*zhenhuang* 真皇) of heaven and control 100,000 troops each. Created from the “pure energy of Highest Prime,” the top section of the celestial realm, and born from “the numinous and wondrous energy in perfect accordance with spontaneity,” they obtained the physical form of *vajras* or diamond gods and appeared thirty thousand feet tall and clad in five-colored robes of pure celestial power. Their number of 365 matches, of course, the number of days in the year but also corresponds to the cycles of heaven and the planetary movements.⁵⁸

Their might is tremendous: above, they control the right energy of heaven and earth in its various movements; in the middle, they aid the celestial emperors to order the universe; and below, they make the divine law of perfection available to all suffering beings in the Three Worlds (of Desire, Form, and Formlessness). They are agents of salvation and rescue from pain, they prevent disasters and eliminate dangers, they preserve good fortune and heal diseases. “There is nothing their merit does not encompass; they help all beings, human and celestial.”⁵⁹

Receiving this register with a list of the generals’ names and powers as well as instructions for the necessary rites to activate them, Jin Ming himself became a powerful official of heaven who was the master of the seven stars of the Dipper and could rescue and save people with his might. The revelation also made him into the founder of a new lineage of practice that focused specifically on the invocation and activation of the 365 generals, and it was to this end that he compiled the text, outlining the revelation and supplementing it with details of procedures and rules.⁶⁰

Already established as a powerful visionary, Jin Ming had yet another revelation in the following year (552, referred to only by cyclical characters), when on the full moon day of the tenth month, around 3 a.m., the Jade

⁵⁵ Ibid. See Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, p.103.

⁵⁶ A contemporary example for the political unawareness of recluses is mentioned in Bill Porter’s work on hermits in mainland China, where he came across one old man who, when asked how he felt about communist rule under Mao Tse-tung, asked “Mao who?” See B. Porter, *The road to heaven: encounters with Chinese hermits* (San Francisco: Mercury House, 1993).

⁵⁷ *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, p.104.

⁵⁸ *Sanbai liushiwu bu yuanlu*, p.1b.

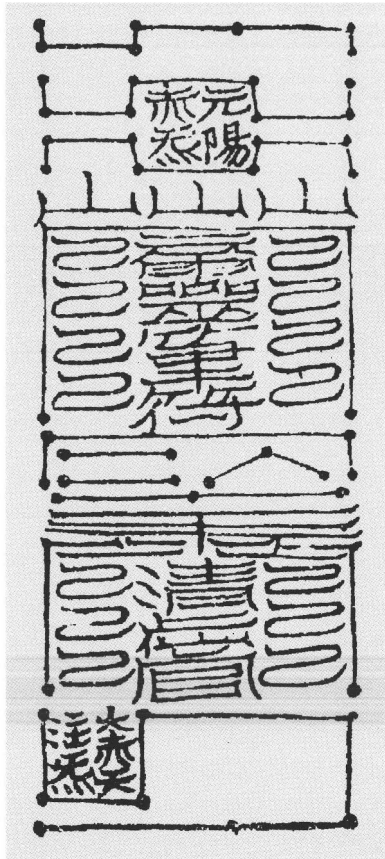
⁵⁹ Ibid., pp.2ab.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.24a.

⁶¹ *Zhenzbai linglu*, p.1a. See Yoshioka, *Dōkyōto bukkyō*, p.105. A completely different text of a very similar title, *Zhenzbai lingfu* 真宅靈符 [Numinous Talisman for the Protection of Residences], which deals with geomantic ways of building and securing houses, has been found at Dunhuang (S.6094) and appears variously in Song-dynasty materials in the Daoist canon. For a discussion, see Yūsa Noboru, “Tonkō bunseki yori mita Tō Godai ni okeru minkan shinkō no ichisokumen” [One aspect of popular religion of the Tang and Five Dynasties periods as found in materials from Dunhuang], *Tōbō shūkyō* 57 (1981): 55–70.

Figure 7

A talismanic register offering protection of the 365 generals
(source: Sanbai liushiwu bu yuanli, p.10a)



Emperor Lord of the Non-ultimate Great Dao descended to the many-tiered palace of Mount Kunlun and transmitted to him the “Numinous Register for the Protection of Residences,” today contained in a text of the same title (*Zhenzbai linglu* 真宅靈籙, DZ 674).⁶¹ The work, which also has a two-page author’s postface on the wonders of the Dao, records the encounter between the two, with Jin Ming knocking his head and asking humble questions and the god enfeoffing him with the seal of the Three Primes and bestowing on him the register’s powers.⁶² This register, like that of the 365 generals, is a major device for the exorcism of evil and protection of life that helps the right energy of heaven and earth in its various movements and establishes peace and harmony among the people. It, too, centers on the figures of divine generals, in this case three major military leaders of Upper Prime who control 360,000 troops each,⁶³ and one leader each of Middle and Lower Prime again with large numbers of soldiers at their disposal.⁶⁴ Each group is represented by a talisman that contains their numinous essence.⁶⁵

In addition, the text has a list of forty rules, in this case called “statutes of the right law” (*zhengfa lü* 正法律), which specify behavioral patterns that disciples of Jin Ming’s lineage should or should not engage in.⁶⁶ The statutes are varied in nature and do not appear in any particular order. Some contain categorical statements, such as “All officials and rulers who wish to create a peaceful country should worship this register”; or “All officials in heaven who wish to secure celestial order should worship this register.”⁶⁷ Then there are warnings about the abuse of the master-disciple relationship with dire underworld consequences attached to them. For example, “If a master receives an annual stipend in rice from a disciple and uses it for himself and his own family only, never improving the disciple’s fate with it, the punishing officers of the Nine Capitals will enter his name into the three ledgers of punishment where it will remain for the duration of five kalpas.”⁶⁸ Or “A master who, on the day of the Three Primes, does not establish merit on behalf of his disciple will be executed in this life and after death will have his name entered in the three ledgers of punishment.”⁶⁹

The statutes further specify that a possessor of the Numinous Register must activate it ritually as soon as he learns of a disaster in his area or of a case of sickness in a disciple’s family.⁷⁰ At the same time, he must not worship gods outside the register, must not engage in religious misconduct such as dancing, singing, and other forms of entertainment, must not betray his teacher but always support and aid him, while regularly observing the festivals of the Three Primes and performing the proper rites for the register.⁷¹ He must not steal from or otherwise harm people or treat the sacred text with contempt; he must protect all people and expel bad energy, and never reveal the text to outsiders or those not eligible to know it; he must strive continually to visualize the generals and other relevant deities in his mind; he must not engage in bartering with the goods he receives from his disciples or other faithful followers, and so on.⁷²

These statutes as given in the *Zhenzbai linglu* are of a rather vague and

uncoordinated nature, vacillating between rules concerning the relationship of master and disciple, behavioral guidelines in regard to society at large, and the right ways of treating the sacred text. In addition, they are strictly limited to the use and proper treatment of one particular register and the divine generals it controls, and as such address householders or followers who, if not entirely lay, still maintain active relations with their families. The statutes of the “Numinous Register” are therefore significantly different in nature, outlook, and organization to anything contained in the *Fengdao kejie*. Even the mode of underworld retribution differs—here an entry of the culprit’s name in the “ledger of punishment” for so-and-so many kalpas, there a subtraction of a specific number of days in this life and the threat of unfavorable rebirth later.

While Jin Ming was therefore undoubtedly a powerful visionary of the mid-sixth century whose teaching, based on Highest Clarity revelations and activating Celestial Masters-type registers, became quite prominent, he was, at least according to the materials that have survived from him directly, not the kind of integrative and systematic organizer who might have compiled the *Fengdao kejie*. More than that, his concern was limited to the proper treatment of specific registers and did not include the practice of all the teachings contained in the Three Caverns. Nor were his disciples primarily monks or otherwise ordained followers, but householders with concerns for family security and political peace.

The Alleged Author: Divine Status

Not the author of the *Fengdao kejie* himself, Jin Ming’s high status in the celestial hierarchy, enfeoffed as he was in 551 as an official general of heaven, and the fact that he laid down rules for his disciples in the form of “statutes” (a word, incidentally, that has a distinct Celestial Masters ring to it and does not occur once in the *Fengdao kejie*), made him a highly suitable candidate for a later attribution of authorship. In fact, even as early as the late sixth century, he was described as one of the “Three Worthies” of Highest Clarity and worshipped as a major heavenly figure.

This is first documented in the *Shangqing sanzun pulu* 上清三尊譜錄 (Genealogical Register of the Three Worthies of Highest Clarity, DZ 164), by the Perfected of Emptiness and Non-being (Xuwu zhenren 虛無真人), a disciple of Jin Ming who wrote the account at the order of his master.⁷³ The text consists of twelve pages and describes three major Highest Clarity “masters of salvation” (*dushi* 度師): the Perfected and Radiant Lord of the Dao of Highest Mystery, identified in a note as the Highest Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊), the senior lord of Numinous Treasure and increasingly of integrated Daoism⁷⁴; the All-Highest Mysterious Elder, identified as the high king of the Nine Heavens⁷⁵; and Jin Ming Qizhen, the patriarch of this particular lineage. The latter is described as follows:

⁶² *Zhenzai linglu*, p.1a. See Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, p.107.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.4a.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.5b–7a.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.5a, 6b, 8a.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.11b–21b.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.11b.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.12a.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.12b.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.12b–13a.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp.13b–15b.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp.16b–18a.

⁷³ *Shangqing sanzun pulu*, p.1a.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.1a–2a.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.2a–3a.

⁷⁶ These “names” of the god consist of several words put together and written as a single character.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.3ab.

⁷⁸ His divine stature is also emphasized in the *Zhuzhen shengbi* 諸真聖秘 [Sagely Esoterica of the Various Perfected, DZ 446], an account of the gods of Highest Clarity, dated to the mid-Tang. See Ren and Zhong, *Daozang tijiao*, pp.330–1. Here (7:11a) we find the information that Jin Ming was a resident of the celestial realm as described above, where he served specifically in the position of a minister of the rank of the ninth perfected.

The third master of salvation is known by his ritual name “Great King,” by his posthumous ritual name “Great Absorption,” and by his appellation “Great Radiance.”⁷⁶

His body is eighteen feet tall and radiates with a metallic sheen, a precious brightness that equally illuminates all the ten directions. Above his head a halo of the seven treasures is suspended; on his head he wears a jade headdress of golden radiance and flying essence that transforms a hundredfold. His body is clad in a robe of cloudy brocade, spontaneous and emitting a flowing radiance. He is covered with a precious cape of spontaneous great radiance that is studded with pearls of the flying forest.

On his belt he carries a shining pendant that matches the brightness of the sun and the moon together with a jade ribbon of flowing gold and fast lightning. Above he is covered by a precious canopy of nine-colored radiance, while his feet step on the threefold efflorescence of the flying mist of the jade-perfected Three Heavens.

He sits on a high seat of cloudy brocade and dragon-curling smoke. To his right and left, front and back, jade lads and jade maidens stand, together with 30,000 perfected. They continuously burn the hundred kinds of numinous incense that creates harmony and renews life; they constantly scatter blossoms that shine in nine colors and are like flying clouds. Waiting on his path, on all four sides, the utterly perfected of the ten directions are arranged in rank and file, a crowd truly without limits. They also wear robes of the flying celestials and, like him, sit on high seats of numinous flowers and renewing life.

The true body of Jin Ming resides always among the jade perfected of Highest Clarity. He is in the Jade Country of Golden Appearance and Copper Radiance in the Most Eminent Nine Heavens, more specifically in the village of Highest Luminescence and the Golden Wheel, in the county of Ninefold Perfection, in the divine prefecture of Unfolding Clarity, and the highest region on Cinnabar Numen.⁷⁷

This describes Jin Ming as much more than a mere visionary who had established a position among the celestials. Here he is a true god of highest divine proportions, with a huge body of metallic radiance, heavenly features and vestments, and a large company of celestial retainers and guards. A divine personage, residing in a specific celestial village and prefecture, he has the power of a true master of salvation, only slightly less in rank than the great lords of the Dao themselves.⁷⁸

As such Jin Ming had great powers of salvation and support. The text continues:

After you have visualized the perfected [Jin Ming] in this way, devote your heart to prayer and chant the following incantation:

I pray:

May the Three Worthies open salvation for me, so-and-so,
So that my millions of forebears and thousands of ancestors
All through history
May forever ascend to the world of bliss,

Their bodies receiving a radiant appearance,
 They themselves living eternally from kalpa to kalpa!
 May all those living in mountainous seclusion,
 All my fellow disciples who pursue perfection,
 Together with me attain the perfection of the Dao!
 May a cloudy chariot with green awnings
 Speedily descend to me, so-and-so.
 And on the day that I attain the Dao,
 Take us all to ascend and enter the formless realm!⁷⁹

⁷⁹ *Shangqing sanzun pulu*, p.4a.

Here Jin Ming is a superior divinity who, together with the other two worthies, can grant salvation to the disciple, exonerating him from the sins of his ancestors by transferring them into the heavens of the immortals and allowing him, in the company of his fellows, to ascend bodily into heaven. Jin Ming, the visionary and leader of a small community, has thus become a divine personage of high celestial standing, who, once Daoism was integrated and the Three Caverns organized into one system, could easily be seen as the divine sponsor of a synthesis that joined the teachings and practices of the different schools into one harmonious whole. The choice of Jin Ming as the alleged author of the *Fengdao kejie* is thus a significant one, given his visionary career, outline of statutes, and impressive divinization. The materials that survive from his living person, on the other hand, do not warrant the conclusion that he had anything to do with the compilation of the text as a matter of historical fact.

Arguments about the Date

This conclusion, reached through a detailed examination of the text, its citations and fragments, and Jin Ming's works and hagiography, is the exact opposite of what Yoshioka Yoshitoyo proposes in his discussion of the *Fengdao kejie*. He clearly accepts Jin Ming as the historical author of the work and places its date between the death of Tao Hongjing (536) and the end of the reign of Emperor Yuan (554), following the revelations to Jin Ming.⁸⁰ This is not his first conclusion, however, but a development from his initial position, which stated that the work played an active role in the integration of the Daoist teaching around the time of unification and could thus be placed in the Sui dynasty. Jin Ming, a divinity of some standing at the time, only served as a prestigious attribution.⁸¹

This first reading of Yoshioka's, not yet referring to any of the materials surrounding Jin Ming as a historical person but based entirely on an evaluation of the text and a detailed comparison with the Dunhuang version of the last three scrolls, was readily accepted by the Japanese scholarly community.⁸² Then, however, Yoshioka discovered the works of Jin Ming and changed his mind, considering him the original author of the *Fengdao kejie* and placing

⁸⁰ *Dōkyō to bukkyō*, p.148.

⁸¹ *Dōkyō kyōten shiron*, p.303.

⁸² See Akizuki Kan'ei, "Tonkōhakken Shinjin josetsu sangan igi kangyōkyō tanken to Dai bikuni sansen igi" [The fragments of the "Scripture of practices and rules of the Three Primes" discovered at Dunhuang and the "Great 3,000 rules for Buddhist nuns"], *Jinbun sbakai* 19 (1960): 1–26; Fukui Kōjun, "Jōseikyō ni tsuite" [The Shangqing scriptures], *Mikkyō bunka* 48–50 (1960): 5–18; Ōfuchi Ninji, "Sankōbun yori dōshinbu" [From the texts of the Three Sovereigns to the canon section of Spirit Cavern], *Sbigaku zasshi* 68.2 (1959): 119–58.

⁸³ See Akizuki Kan'ei, "Rikuchō dōkyō ni okeru ōhōsetsu no hatten" [The development of the doctrine of karma and retribution in Six Dynasties' Daoism], *Hirosaki Daigaku jinbun shakai* 33 (1964): 25–60; Akizuki, "Sairon sängen," pp.55–65; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū* [Studies in the history of Daoism] (Okayama: Chūgoku Insatsu, 1964), pp.254–8.

⁸⁴ *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū*, p.255.

⁸⁵ "Sairon sängen," pp.437–42. Yoshioka first responded to this in a *festschrift* article, which places the festivals with their specific dates and nomenclature in the Liang dynasty, again basing his dating on the *Fengdao kejie* and the *Yinyuan jing*. See Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "Shichigatsu jūgo nichi chūgensetsu ni tsuite" [On the festival of the Middle Prime on the 15th day of the 7th month], in *Iwai bakase koseki kinen tenseki ronshū* [Collection of scriptural studies in honor of Professor Iwai] (Tokyo: Daian, 1964), pp. 793–9. For more on the festival of the Middle Prime as influenced by the Buddhist observance of Ullambana, see S. F. Teiser, *The Yü-lan-p'ei festival in medieval Chinese religion* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp.35–40.

⁸⁶ Akizuki, "Rikuchō dōkyō," pp.31–3; "Sairon sängen," pp.445–8. For details on the private property and tax situation of Buddhist institutions and clergy, see D. W. Twitchett, "Monastic estates in Tang China," *Asia Major*, n.s. 5 (1956): 123–46; idem, "The monasteries and China's economy in mediaeval China," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19 (1957): 526–49; K. Ch'en, *The Chinese transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 127–35; J. Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese society: an economic history from the fifth to the tenth centuries*, French original 1956, translated by Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995). For the use of stone mills in the Tang and in Buddhist institutions, see Ch'en, *The Chinese transformation*, pp.151–6.

the text in the mid-sixth century. He presented his new dating at the 37th annual meeting of the Japanese Society for Daoistic Research (Dōkyō Gakkai 道教學會) at Otani University in Kyoto. It unleashed a stream of protests and arguments in favor of a Sui/Tang date for the text.

The two main protagonists against this were Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月觀映 and Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾.⁸³ They both adduced the fact that the *Fengdao kejie* was not reliably cited before the early eighth century, that the *Yinyuan jing*, to which it is closely related, did not date from the early sixth century, that Jin Ming was divinized so quickly that he seemed a good candidate for authorship, and that the political terms used for administrative units in the text, such as "county" and "prefecture," reflected a usage only established after unification and the Sui reform of government in 593.

In addition, Ōfuchi emphasized the lack of citations of the *Fengdao kejie* and of the *Yinyuan jing* in the sixth-century encyclopedia *Wushang biyao*, and the rather vague appearance of the former in the *Sandong zhunang* and the *Shangqing daolei shixiang* 上清道類事相 (Daoist Affairs of Highest Clarity, DZ 1132) of the seventh century.⁸⁴ Akizuki, moreover, supplied three further arguments: (1) the festivals held on the days of the Three Bureaus (heaven, earth, and water) in the first, seventh, and tenth months, although part of Celestial Masters practice from an early time, were not called festivals of the Three Primes until the late sixth century, but appear as such in the *Fengdao kejie*⁸⁵; (2) private estates and water-powered stone mills, although occasionally mentioned in the texts, were not common before the Sui but appear as a standard feature of Daoist institutions in the *Fengdao kejie*, thus placing the text after the year 600⁸⁶; (3) the widespread production and formal worship of Daoist statues did not occur before the Tang, and although individual pieces existed earlier, they were primarily located in north China and did not depict, nor did their inscriptions describe, the Highest Worthy of Primordial Beginning as the first god of the Three Caverns.⁸⁷

Yoshioka's long discussion of the *Fengdao kejie* constitutes a detailed summary and refutation of these arguments.⁸⁸ In addition to interpreting the documents by Jin Ming as being indicative not of a visionary and worshipper of registers but of his strong tendency for leadership and his desire for order in the Daoist community, he argues that none of the items presented could be dated as definitely as Akizuki and Ōfuchi might believe and that they could all be found before the Sui.⁸⁹

Yoshioka also presents various additional Daoist texts that refer, in one way or another, to something like "Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao." One example of this is the *Xuanmen shishi lueyi* and its citation, already mentioned above, which he dates to the Sui, thus claiming an earlier date for the *Fengdao kejie*. Another is the *Zhengyi xiuzhen lueyi* 正一脩真略儀 (Summary of Right Unity Observances for the Cultivation of Perfection, DZ 1239), an outline of the major ranks of integrated Daoism as it began to emerge in the late Six Dynasties or Sui.⁹⁰ Focusing largely on the Celestial Masters' practice of keeping registers, the text presents a total of sixty ranks

with one or more registers each. Among the sixty, the first twenty-four belong to Right Unity or the Celestial Masters, then come six each of Cavern Spirit (Three Sovereigns) and Cavern Mystery (Numinous Treasure), culminating in twenty-four ranks of Cavern Perfection (Highest Clarity).

The Right Unity list contains a total of twenty-nine texts, eight of which are also mentioned in the *Fengdao kejie*, but in a completely different order and linked with different ritual ranks. The Cavern Spirit section, unlike the *Fengdao kejie* which clearly associates it with the schools of the Three Sovereigns, presents further materials of Celestial Masters background, including scriptures and works on observances.⁹¹ Three out of six are also listed in the *Fengdao kejie*. The Cavern Mystery section has ten texts, of which six are also found in the *Fengdao kejie*, while four form part of the ancient Lingbao canon.⁹² Again, they are not listed in the same order or even represent texts of the same ritual category. Only the top section of Highest Clarity with its twenty-four texts is fairly close to what is found in the *Fengdao kejie*, with twenty works being the same.⁹³ However, once again, the order is entirely different, and the *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* places a much greater emphasis on registers than on scriptures or observances.

At one point, after listing the works of Cavern Mystery, the text says that they “belong to the highest ritual and follow the list of rules for worshipping the Dao of the Three Caverns.” Yoshioka takes this as indicating the title of the *Fengdao kejie* and suggests a pre-Sui date for the text.⁹⁴ My own contention is that this phrase constitutes a generic reference to rudimentary rules of the Three Caverns that must have been in circulation at the time.

A similar situation applies to the single veiled reference to the *Fengdao kejie* in the *Sandong zhunang*, which says:

According to the “Precepts of the Three Caverns,” section 11, “Setting up Quiet [Chambers], Monasteries, Palaces, and Halls,” a common [follower’s] house [of worship] is called a quiet [chamber], while a master’s house [of worship] is called a governing [lodge]. It then cites the “Statutes,” which state:

A quiet [chamber] has to be erected in [the direction of] heavenly virtue. Heavenly virtue includes all places of [the cyclical signs] *jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *bing* 丙, and *ding* 丁. It should be eighteen feet long and sixteen feet wide. To be at peace [and practice properly] in either a quiet [chamber] or a governing [lodge], always wear your immortal talismans and registers [when entering].⁹⁵

As Ōfuchi points out, this must refer to a separate work on precepts current at the time, one in which section 11 was a comprehensive discussion of all kinds of buildings, both residential and devotional. It is unlike the *Fengdao kejie* which treats monasteries in section 4 and residences in section 10, and even there concentrates entirely on the monastic situation and does not refer to lay followers’ places in any way.⁹⁶ The outlook, as well as the phrasing, of the two texts is thus significantly different, making it impossible to regard this citation as proof for the existence of the *Fengdao kejie* before unification, quite apart from the fact that the *Sandong zhunang* was only compiled in the latter half of the seventh century.

⁸⁷ Akizuki, “Sairon sangen,” pp.449–52. For more on Daoist statues of the middle ages, see Kamitsuka Yoshiko, “Nanbokuchō jidai no dōkyō zōzō” [Daoist iconography in the North–South dynasties], in *Chūgoku chūsei no bunbutsu* [Archaeological materials of medieval China], edited by Tonami Mamoru (Kyoto: Kyoto University, Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1993), pp.225–89; A.J. Pontynen, “The early development of Taoist art,” PhD diss. (University of Iowa, 1983).

⁸⁸ *Dōkyō to bukkō*, pp.75–159.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.140–5.

⁹⁰ On this text, see Ren and Zhong, *Daozang tiyao*, p.980.

⁹¹ *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi*, p.11a.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp.11b–12a. The Lingbao texts are those numbered LB 1, 7, 19, and 20. See Bokenkamp, “Ling-pao scriptures,” pp.479–83.

⁹³ *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi*, pp.17b–18a; *Fengdao kejie* 5:1a–6:2b.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.12a. *Dōkyō to bukkō*, p.88.

⁹⁵ *Sandong zhunang* 6:13b. The same citation, with minor variants, is also found in the *Shangqing daolei shixiang* (1:1a). See F. C. Reiter, *Der Perlenbeutel aus den drei Höhlen: Arbeitsmaterialien zum Taoismus der frühen Tang-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), p.105.

⁹⁶ *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū*, p.255.

Figure 8

A talisman for the protection of residences against the wrath of dead ancestors (source: Zhenzhai lingyu, p.8a)



⁹⁷ See Tonkō Kōza, *Tonkōto Chūgoku dōkyō*, pp.169–70.

Overall, therefore, Yoshioka, with elaborate and detailed research, makes an argument for an early, Liang-dynasty, date for the *Fengdao kejie*, which has been rigorously debated in the scholarly community right from its inception. Many of the materials he adduces do indeed contribute information and add to our understanding of the text, but they are themselves not securely enough dated to warrant a mid-sixth-century compilation of the *Fengdao kejie*. In addition, historical arguments about the overall development and social situation of Daoist monasticism tend to tilt the scales toward a post-unification dating.

Current Views of the Text

As a result, most scholars today opt for an early Tang origin of the text, with only a few serious voices still placing it in the Liang dynasty. Underlying this remaining division, however, there is strong overall agreement on three points: (1) the *Fengdao kejie* is of central importance for our understanding of medieval Daoism, because it is the first, oldest, and most detailed text to articulate the organization of Daoist monasteries, their material and moral culture, and the ordination hierarchy of the religion. The date of the work therefore has tremendous value as evidence for where and exactly how the integration of Daoist teachings and monastic organization took place; (2) the text is closely related to the *Yinyuan jing* and was probably written by the same compiler or lineage of compilers within twenty years of the latter. Since the *Yinyuan jing*, being cited in fragments of the *Xuanmen dayi* which is clearly dated to the Sui, existed in Sui times, the date of both texts is limited to either the Sui/early Tang or the Liang; (3) there are three major editions of the *Fengdao kejie*, an early version in three scrolls (as described in the preface), a Dunhuang version, and the text contained today in the *Daozang*. The *Daozang* edition is a truncated and fragmentary version of that found in Dunhuang, but how close the Dunhuang edition and the earliest text are, or even whether they are identical, is open to debate.

The strongest proponent of a Liang date for the text is of course Yoshioka, whose key evidence lies in the biographical sources found about Jin Ming and the early citations of *Sandong ke* in various Sui-dynasty texts. His followers are the Dunhuang lecture group (Tonkō kōza 敦煌講座), Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美, Michel Strickmann, and Charles Benn.

The Dunhuang group examines the various manuscripts related to the text and reaches the following conclusions: 2337, which is called scroll 5 in the manuscript and contains the text of scrolls 4–6 of the *Daozang* edition, retains the original third scroll of Jin Ming's text; P.3682, which contains the end of scroll 3, corresponds to the end of Jin Ming's second scroll, of which a great deal was lost; S.809, on transmission details, represents a lost part of the *Daozang* section 3, "Comprehensive Structures," contained in the first scroll in all editions but again truncated in the *Daozang* version.⁹⁷

Kobayashi supports Yoshioka not only in an unpublished paper that specially examines the *Yinyuan jing*,⁹⁸ but also by adding the following argument to the dating of the *Fengdao kejie*: In the catalogue of Numinous Treasure scriptures compiled by Lu Xiuqing 陸脩靜 in 437 and discovered at Dunhuang,⁹⁹ fifteen scrolls of texts are marked “not yet revealed.” These texts appear as extant in catalogues compiled in the mid-sixth century, which are now lost but referred to in the anti-Daoist polemic *Xiaodao lun* of the year 570.¹⁰⁰ The *Fengdao kejie*, however, still uses the old Numinous Treasure list, disregarding the newly available texts, and must therefore have been written before 570.¹⁰¹

Aside from the fact that Kobayashi has since reconsidered his understanding,¹⁰² two lines of argument can be presented against his reasoning: If the various newly emerging Numinous Treasure texts had become standard after 570, they should have been supplemented by Zhang Wanfu in his version of the ordination system. However, whereas he has three tallies and scriptures not contained in the *Fengdao kejie*, the number of scrolls he supplies is identical to the those in the latter.¹⁰³ Also, the newly emerging texts were seriously criticized as forgeries in the *Xiaodao lun* and it is quite possible that they were never fully accepted as canonical, in the same way as various older Numinous Treasure works were purged of excessively Buddhist terms and concepts.¹⁰⁴

Michel Strickmann accepts Yoshioka's arguments and states that “there can be no doubt that the four texts just listed [the works of Jin Ming and the *Fengdao kejie*] are all of one piece.”¹⁰⁵ At the same time, he emphasizes that it would be “very wrong to think of [the Daoist community at] Mao Shan 茅山 as a truly ‘monastic’ centre” and points out that under Emperor Wu of the Liang many originally celibate Daoists were forced to return to lay status and that “the years from 517 to 549 are exceedingly meagre in regard to datable Daoist texts.”¹⁰⁶ With Daoist organization in such a haphazard state, he further says, new revelations, such as those experienced by Jin Ming, were needed to re-establish a strong Daoist presence in the country. Strickmann's findings about the state of the religion under the Liang flatly contradict his assertion of an early date for the *Fengdao kejie*. Following these arguments, it seems rather difficult, if not impossible, for the religion in such a state of recuperation from persecution to have had anything near the complex monastic organization and estates described in the *Fengdao kejie*.

Finally, Charles Benn describes the text as a work of codification by Jin Ming from around 550 CE and uses it as the master source for his description of the Daoist ordination hierarchy as it existed under the Tang. He accordingly notes that “although changes occurred again in the intervening period, the state of the priesthood was basically the same in AD 711 as it had been in 550.”¹⁰⁷

This assumption of an early integration of the Daoist religion and of its institutional continuity despite cataclysmic political and social changes forms precisely the key argument of those who prefer an early Tang date for the

⁹⁸ This paper is referred to in Kobayashi, *Rikuchō dōkyōshi kenkyū*, p.99.

⁹⁹ On this catalogue, see Ōfuchi, “On *Ku ling-pao ching*,” Bokenkamp, “Ling-pao Scriptures.”

¹⁰⁰ See Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao*, p.136.

¹⁰¹ Kobayashi, *Rikuchō dōkyōshi kenkyū*, pp.97–100, n.8. He further supports the argument by identifying one scroll of Numinous Treasure texts that appeared in the sixth century as the *Tiandi yundu jing* 天地運度經 [Scripture on the Revolutions of Heaven and Earth, DZ 322], because it is mentioned in certain catalogues and lists of the time, while others claim that only fourteen scrolls of Numinous Treasure scriptures are still in the heavens (ibid, p.99). The issue is complicated, however, by Christine Mollier's identification of the same text as being of Jiangnan origin and from about 430. According to her, it is not a Numinous Treasure text at all, but a work enumerating pre-apocalyptic signs that is related to the *Shenzhou jing* 神咒經 [Scripture of Divine Incantations, DZ 335]. See C. Mollier, *Une apocalypse taoïste: le livre des grottes abyssales* (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1990), p.23.

¹⁰² Personal communication, December 1996.

¹⁰³ See Benn, *Cavern Mystery*, p.95.

¹⁰⁴ For a study of the re-editing process, see Maeda Shigeki, “Tonkōhon to Dōzōhon no sabetsu ni tsuite” [On the difference between texts in the Daoist canon and in Dunhuang manuscripts], *Tōbōshūkyō* 84 (1994): 1–19.

¹⁰⁵ M. Strickmann, “A Taoist confirmation of Liang Wu-ti's suppression of Taoism,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 98 (1978): 472, n.20.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp.471–2.

¹⁰⁷ *Cavern Mystery*, p.73.

¹⁰⁸ *Daozang tiyao*, pp.872–4; See also Zhang Zhizhe, *Daojiao wenhua cidian* [Dictionary of Daoist culture] (Jiangsu: Guji Chubanshe, 1994). p.571.

¹⁰⁹ Noguchi et al., *Dōkyō jiten*, pp.217 and 177. In Nakajima's case, this represents a revision of an earlier position, which used the Yoshioka dating of the *Fengdao kejie* to place the *Yinyuan jing* into the early sixth century. See Nakajima, "Taijō gyohō," p.335.

¹¹⁰ "The Taoist priesthood," p.100.

¹¹¹ F. C. Reiter, "The visible divinity: the sacred image in religious Taoism," *Nachrichten der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 144 (1988): 58. T. H. Barrett, too, accepts the possibility that the *Sandong zhubang* "refers to the same work." See "The *Feng-tao k'o*," p.538.

¹¹² "Le monachisme taoïste," p.212; "Taoist ordination ranks," p.131.

¹¹³ "Taoist ordination ranks," p.128.

¹¹⁴ "Le monachisme taoïste," pp.212–13.

text. Here we have first of all Yoshioka's major contenders Akizuki Kan'ei and Ōfuchi Ninji who, as described above, present both philological and philosophical arguments for a Sui/Tang date. More recently, Ren Jiyu 任繼俞 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬 cite Yoshioka but do not follow him, instead placing the text around the time of unification and no later than the early Tang, in other words, between 590 and 630.¹⁰⁸ The same policy is followed by the compilers of the Japanese encyclopedia of Daoism, in which both Yamada Toshiaki 山田利明 on the *Fengdao kejie* and Nakajima Ryūzō 中島陸藏 on the *Yinyuan jing* opt for a date around the period of dynastic unification.¹⁰⁹ Ozaki Masaharu 尾崎正治 similarly locates the text in the reign of the Tang emperor Taizong, i.e., between 626 and 649, without, however, explaining the reasons for his selection.¹¹⁰

Among Western scholars, Florian Reiter follows Ōfuchi's arguments and dates the text to the early Tang while emphasizing its incomplete nature yet accepting the *Sandong zhubang* reference as accurate.¹¹¹ Kristofer Schipper dates the *Fengdao kejie* clearly to the Tang and provides several sound arguments for this.¹¹² First, in discussing the establishment of the Four Supplements to the Three Caverns, he states that "the most remarkable feature of this evolution is the fundamental position rendered, in the beginning of the Tang period, to the liturgy of the Heavenly [Celestial] Masters. The latter is henceforward integrated into the unified Daoist system, of which it forms the basis and also the first step."¹¹³ As the seven parts are very prominent in the *Fengdao kejie*, a date before the Tang is out of the question. Also, in a discussion of the development of Daoist monasticism, Schipper finds that the Daoist monastic institution did not develop until the second half of the sixth century and only under the Tang was sponsored with imperial seriousness. Like various scriptures typical of the same period, the institution was strongly influenced by Buddhism and in a way distorted the originally communal inclination of the Daoist religion. As a result, the *Fengdao kejie*, with its detailed descriptions of physical layout and behavioral rules, was created in response to a situation that was characteristic of the Tang.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

My own contention follows these latter arguments, bolstered by a strong conviction that in the sixth century all Daoist texts were still largely determined by sectarian divisions. They might refer to the "Three Caverns" but would in all cases still place primary emphasis on the doctrines and practices of specific schools. Even the *Wushang biyao*, a monumental attempt to integrate the teachings which truly accomplished a highly unified picture, had its sectarian prejudices in that it ignored the figure of Laozi, the conversion of the barbarians, the texts relating to the *Daode jing*, and other trappings related to northern Celestial Masters' teachings. The reason for this is that the *Wushang biyao* was compiled on imperial order by Emperor Wu of the

Northern Zhou 北周 after his vision of a Daoist-inspired state orthodoxy with Laozi and northern Celestial Masters' doctrines at the center had been thoroughly criticized in 570 in the *Xiaodao lun*.¹¹⁵ Thus, even the most consciously integrative of works was still informed by a basically sectarian attitude.

Although this way of thinking continued even after unification, it was then overlaid by a trend toward real integration, one that was especially inspired by the strong Daoist tendencies of the Tang rulers who wished to put the teaching to political uses and had little patience for sectarian discrepancies. Also, the late sixth century was a period of great Buddhist expansion and philosophical emergence, with the strong emergence of the Tiantai 天台 school under Huisi 慧思 (517–77) and Zhiyi 智顛 (538–98), the new adaptation of Mādhyamika philosophy by Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) in his two-truths theory, and the beginnings of the Huayan school with Dushun 督順 (557–640). Here, as much as in Daoism, the political unification of the country went hand in hand with the doctrinal and organizational synthesis of the religion.¹¹⁶

These developments increased the urgency for the integration and systematization of the Daoist teaching, giving rise to several types of new Daoist scriptures typical of the period after unification. Among these are Buddhist-style sūtras with bodhisattva-like figures at the center (e.g., *Haikong jing* 海空經 and *Yuqing jing* 玉清經), to which also the *Yinyuan jing* belongs; philosophical scriptures that integrate Mādhyamika-style argumentation (*Benxiang jing* 本相經 and *Benji jing* 本際經, commentaries to the *Daode jing*); and encyclopedias that present a coherent and systematic overview of Daoist doctrines and practices (*Xuanmen dayi*, *Sandong zhunang* and *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞). The *Fengdao kejie*, in my view, belongs to the third group and represents a type of text that is truly encyclopedic in outlook and attempts to present an integrated structure and logical sequence on a specific topic, in this case, monastic organization.

As a result of this conviction and taking into account the various materials presented by Yoshioka and found at Dunhuang, I would conclude that the *Fengdao kejie* underwent a seven-stage development from the 550s to the compilation of the Daoist canon in 1445.¹¹⁷ These stages are:

(1) First, there was a collection of statutes on the proper behavior of Daoists who owned certain powerful registers, dated to the year 552. It was revealed to and compiled by Jin Ming, a Highest Clarity visionary, who was soon divinized as a master of salvation and became the inspiration for later collections of rules of the “Three Caverns.” (2) After unification and responding to the more active integration of the Daoist teaching, there appeared a rudimentary collection, already encyclopedic but not yet quite as well organized, of *Sandong ke* or “Precepts According to the Three Caverns.” This was referred to in several seventh-century works, such as the *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* and the *Sandong zhunang*. (3) Next, in the early Tang, these rudimentary rules were expanded and developed not only to accommodate

¹¹⁵ See Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao*, p.32.

¹¹⁶ On the role of the unification in Chinese Buddhism, see M. Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins: le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), p.132.

¹¹⁷ A tendency toward seeing the development of the *Fengdao kejie* in terms of a gradual expansion and later reduction is also indicated in Barrett, “The *Feng-tao k'o*,” pp.539–40.

¹¹⁸ See P. van der Loon, *Taoist books in the libraries of the Sung period* (London: Oxford Oriental Institute, 1984), p.85.

¹¹⁹ An example of a study on this editing process is found in Ozaki Masaharu, "Rekishi shinsen taidō zugen no tekisuto ni tsuite" [The text of the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*], *Tōhō shūkuyō* 88 (1996): 37–54.

the increasingly complex Daoist organization and ordination hierarchy but also to follow the overall trend toward greater systematization; they reflected the standard of actual Tang practice. The first text to be known as *Fengdao kejie*, this consisted of three scrolls as indicated in the preface. (4) By the mid-to-late-seventh century, as the Dunhuang manuscripts document, this work had grown to at least five scrolls and was known as the *Fengdao kejie jing* or "Scripture of Rules and Precepts." It was the key manual for monastic Daoist practice and as such was referred to by Yin Wencao as well as cited and supplemented by Zhang Wanfu and others of his time. (5) In the eighth century, the text continued to grow into a possible sixth scroll that included supplementary materials on the practice of purification ceremonies which remain, however fragmentary, in citations of Tang texts such as the *Zhaijie lu*, and in the Dunhuang manuscripts P.3682 and S.809. (6) By the Song there was a revised, and possibly already reduced, edition that again consisted of three scrolls and was listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 (Comprehensive Catalogue of Venerated Texts) of the year 1144.¹¹⁸ (7) In the early Ming this was complemented by other, similar materials and rearranged into the six-scroll edition that we have in the Daoist canon today under the title "Practical Introduction to the Rules and Precepts ..."; this happened in a process of editing that can be observed variously.¹¹⁹

The *Fengdao kejie* we still have today is thus a text of central importance, which is not complete but does in fact reflect Daoist monastic organization and practice in the early-to-high Tang. Not only complemented by manuscripts and citations but also surrounded by a number of supplementary texts that specify details it does not contain, it provides a vivid and detailed picture of the life in medieval Daoist monasteries.

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