

## 15. TAOISM AND THE *TAO-TSANG*

Sinologists have traditionally used the term Taoism to refer to the writings of a few ancient authors, chief among them Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. It was also extended to the authors of the Han text *Huai-nan Tzu*, the post-Han (as is now thought) *Lieh Tzu*, the *hsuan-hsueh* 玄學 or “Neo-Taoist” works of Wang Pi and Kuo Hsiang, and scattering of other lesser known texts. These texts comprise the basis of what is called “Philosophical Taoism,” and the best of them are important items in the canon of world-philosophical works. But apart from certain sections of the *Huai-nan Tzu*, these books have relatively little to do with the species of Taoism discussed in this section: the religious movement that gave rise to the massive *ts’ung-shu* known as the *Tao-tsang*.

The field of Taoist studies is particularly difficult to approach. Because religious Taoism was greatly understudied in the West, despite some early efforts by French sinologists such as Maspero and a few interested outsiders such as Waley, little of religious Taoism has entered the sinological field as common knowledge, and the study of Taoism remains unusually confined to specialists. The materials themselves present technical challenges comparable to Buddhist texts, but are in practical terms far more difficult to approach because nothing comparable to the long established field of Indian Buddhist studies exists to aid sinologists in the Taoist field. Moreover, there are issues of field definition more vexed than any other area of Chinese religious studies – the religion of Taoism is so closely aligned, in its early phase, with philosophical Taoism, popular hygiene and medical arts, *fang-shih* 方士 pseudo-science, traditional mantic practices, and other traditions, that it is often very difficult to delimit the boundaries of early religious Taoism as a phenomenon. Unlike Buddhism, it was only after several centuries that the various traditions we label Taoist came to recognize fully their generic coherence (a shared competition with the more clearly linked Buddhist schools helped give rise to that recognition). Moreover, throughout its history, Taoism has been periodically subject to syncretist trends and to the wholesale absorption of religious ideas, icons, and rites belonging to disparate local traditions of popular religion. These factors, among others, have made it quite difficult to determine precisely what religious Taoism is (and made it clear that demands for precision in the use of the term may in fact be counterproductive).

This section has four parts. In an introduction, it will very briefly summarize the background of Taoist sectarian development and outline the broad range of religious elements that Taoist studies considers. It will then note some major figures in Taoist history (which will include more detail for figures mentioned in the introduction) and then provide bibliography and online resource sections. The arrangement will be as follows:

- I. Introduction
- II. Selected historical figures
- III. Bibliography
  - A. General sources
  - B. Dictionaries
  - C. The *Tao-tsang*
- IV. Online Resources

## I. Introduction

*Early Taoist sects.* The antecedents of religious Taoism are clearly evident in the pre-Ch'in and early Han periods, in texts such as the *Tao te ching* and *Chuang Tzu* (which do reflect in parts some non-philosophical interests prefiguring the later religious tradition), and more clearly the *Huai-nan Tzu* and Huang-Lao texts, and also in phenomena such as the *fang-shih* arts, immortalist and various hygiene cults, and early Han schools of *Yi ching* interpretation.

What we now refer to as religious Taoism is usually dated from the creation, by Chang Tao-ling 張道陵, of the "Five Pecks of Rice" (Wu-tou-mi 五斗米) cult in Western China during the late second century, A.D. At virtually the same time, a somewhat similar movement in Eastern China, celebrating a utopian text called the *T'ai-p'ing ching* 太平經, arose under the leadership of Chang Chueh 張角. As Han political control began to slip, each of these movements became politically revolutionary. The T'ai-p'ing sect became the nucleus of the "Yellow Turban" rebellion, while in the West, Chang Tao-ling's grandson Chang Lu led a successful rebellion against Han authority that for a time gave him supreme control over a vast territory, control he ultimately yielded only to Ts'ao Ts'ao after negotiations that initially left his religious movement largely intact. These early forms of Taoism combined interests in healing, worship, and social organization, and were, relative to later Taoist schools, less concerned with the elaboration of complex forms of self-cultivation, based on various concepts of alchemical self-transformation.

During the period of the Six Dynasties, when the dispersion of political power reinforced natural geographical barriers, religious Taoism developed in a variety of forms, and many of diverse ritual, alchemical, and sexual practices that later enriched Taoist practice grew in different proportions in different Taoist centers. A notable example of consolidation and reform occurred during the mid-fifth century, when a master named K'ou Ch'ien-chih 寇謙之 persuaded the non-Chinese rulers of the T'o-pa Wei state in the North to adopt Taoism as a state ideology. K'ou's Taoism was descended from Chang Tao-ling's, which was commonly known as T'ien-shih Tao 天師道 (Celestial Masters Taoism), rather than Wu-tou-mi Tao, after the title that Chang and his successors bore. K'ou styled his new, more puritanical version "New Celestial Masters Taoism"; it later became known as the Northern School of T'ien-shih Tao. The more tolerant form of T'ien-shih Tao, the Southern School, was invigorated by the syncretist work of K'ou's contemporary, the Taoist scholar Lu Hsiu-ching 陸修靜, who was lavishly patronized by the Liu Sung court at Chien-k'ang (modern Nanking). Lu created a textual synthesis of various early Taoist traditions that an early core of the *Tao-tsang*.

The fifth century division of the Celestial Masters school followed the emergence, in the late fourth century, of two major new branches of what we now regard as the evolution of Taoism: Shang-ch'ing Tao 上清道 and Ling-pao Tao 靈寶道. These two Eastern schools originated very close together the Chien-k'ang region. There was, in fact, considerable overlap between them. Shang-ch'ing Taoism was the product of revelations granted to a young Taoist named Yang Hsi 楊羲, at his retreat on Mao-shan 茅山 (Shang-ch'ing Taoism is also referred to as the Mao-shan sect). Yang spread his gospel through intimate friendship with members of a

well-connected family, the Hsus of Chien-k'ang, who were related by marriage to the family of one of the leading Taoist thinkers of the early fourth century, Ko Hung 葛洪. It was Ko's nephew, Ko Ch'ao-fu 葛巢甫, who founded the Ling-pao school, which was a syncretic mixture that incorporated many aspects of Shang-ch'ing Taoism with original ideas and practices.

Lu Hsiu-ching, who recreated Celestial Masters Taoism in the South, lived in the same greater metropolitan area as the Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao founders, and this explains his awareness of their teachings and, perhaps, his desire to coopt them by building them into a syncretic textual corpus under his control. It was Lu who created the organization characteristic of all versions of the *Tao-tsang* (discussed in more detail below). His basic innovation was to borrow from Ling-pao Taoism the concept of three distinct storehouses of revelation and build them into his compendium of Taoist texts. These three are known as the *San-tung* 三洞 (three caverns). In the *Tao-tsang*, they bear the names *Tung-chen* 洞真, *Tung-hsuan* 洞玄, and *Tung-shen* 洞神. These three parts were not conceived so much as three different traditions; rather, they collected revelations from three different divine sources, the San-ch'ing 三清 (the three [dwelling in] purity; the extant *Tao-tsang* is far more mixed than this report of the early tradition suggests). The *Tung-chen* section included the revelations of Yuan-shih T'ien-tsun 元始天尊 (also called T'ien-pao tsun 天寶君), the original source of Shang-ch'ing revelation; the *Tung-hsuan* section included the revelations of T'ai-shang Tao-tsun 太上道君 (Ling-pao tsun 靈寶君), the source of Ling-pao revelation; the *Tung-shen* section included the revelations of Tao-te T'ien-tsun 道德天尊 (T'ai-shang Lao-chün 太上老君 or Shen-pao chün 神寶君 -- known to his friends as Lao Tzu).

*Mid-Imperial Taoism.* During the T'ang Dynasty, Taoism thrived under special treatment by the court. The T'ang emperors, being descendants of Lao Tzu (wink), looked kindly upon Taoism and promoted it even beyond their support of Buddhism, particularly prior to the An Lu-shan Rebellion of 755. Although all the early T'ang rulers patronized Taoism, the most energetic to do so was Hsuan-tsung (r. 712-55), who was himself ordained in the Taoist order. During this period, sectarian variety in Taoism flourished and a wealth of texts and traditions were generated, reinforcing the breadth and diversity of the taoist tradition. (Although a set of Taoist exams were developed, the religion was exuberant enough to resist their effects, and no consolidated tradition of lifeless scholasticism emerged from them.) During the late T'ang, Taoism continued to exert a strong influence, but its engagement with political power became a two-edged sword: for example, Taoist encouragement of Wu-tsung's savage Buddhist suppression of 845, led, after the emperor's death in 846, to the execution of the most celebrated court Taoist of the age.

Still, Taoism maintained its strength and influence in Chinese society through the Sung and Yuan periods. Throughout the period from the T'ang through the early Ming, leading members of the literati establishment treated Taoism as an important path of inquiry and practice. Men prominent in Confucian circles, most famously Su Shih, felt licensed to study and master aspects of Taoist doctrine and practice, and the influence of religious Taoism in the realms of

literature, art, and, of course, religion, became too deeply engrained to be effaced during later eras less friendly towards Taoism.

During the Sung and Yuan, Imperial patronage led to the creation of major new lineages of Taoist tradition. Most notable among these was the founding, by Lin Ling-su, of the Shen-hsiao 神霄 tradition, under the patronage of the Sung Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 (r. 1101-25), and the establishment of the Ch'üan-chen 全真 school by Wang Che 王嘉 a few decades later. These two new schools laid emphasis on different aspects of the Taoist tradition, Shen-hsiao Taoism being more concerned with talismanic and devotional elements, while Ch'üan-chen Taoism made inner alchemic meditation the focus of its attention.

During the early 13th century, the Ch'üan-chen school benefitted greatly by the successful mission of Wang Che's disciple Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 邱處機 to the Mongol court of Genghis Khan. Ch'iu earned pre-conquest patronage of the Yuan rulers by his timely mission, which enhanced the stature of Ch'üan-chen during the course of the next half-century. Unfortunately for all Taoist groups, the post-conquest Yuan did not maintain an enthusiasm for Taoism, particularly after Buddhist-Taoist debates at court failed to demonstrate the intellectual superiority of Taoism.

The Ch'üan-chen school ultimately split into Northern and Southern branches. The Northern school traced its roots to Wang Che; the major founder of the Southern school was Chang Po-tuan 張伯端, who actually lived a century earlier than Wang. His status, and that of other early patriarchs of the Southern school, was retrospective.

Ultimately, the successes of the meditation-centered Ch'üan-chen school produced an alignment among the other major schools, including T'ien-shih, Ling-pao, Shang-ch'ing, and Shen-hsiao traditions. All of these schools had come to ascribe far greater importance to matters of physical esoterica, liturgy, and ceremonials than did Ch'üan-chen Taoists, and in time, they became aligned under the generic name of Cheng-yi 正一 Taoism. (This generalization does not mean that aspects of the multiplicity of Taoist concerns were not important in all schools, nor can it serve to characterize the various Cheng-yi components during earlier eras; these, after all, provided the basis on which the Ch'üan-chen sects were formed.)

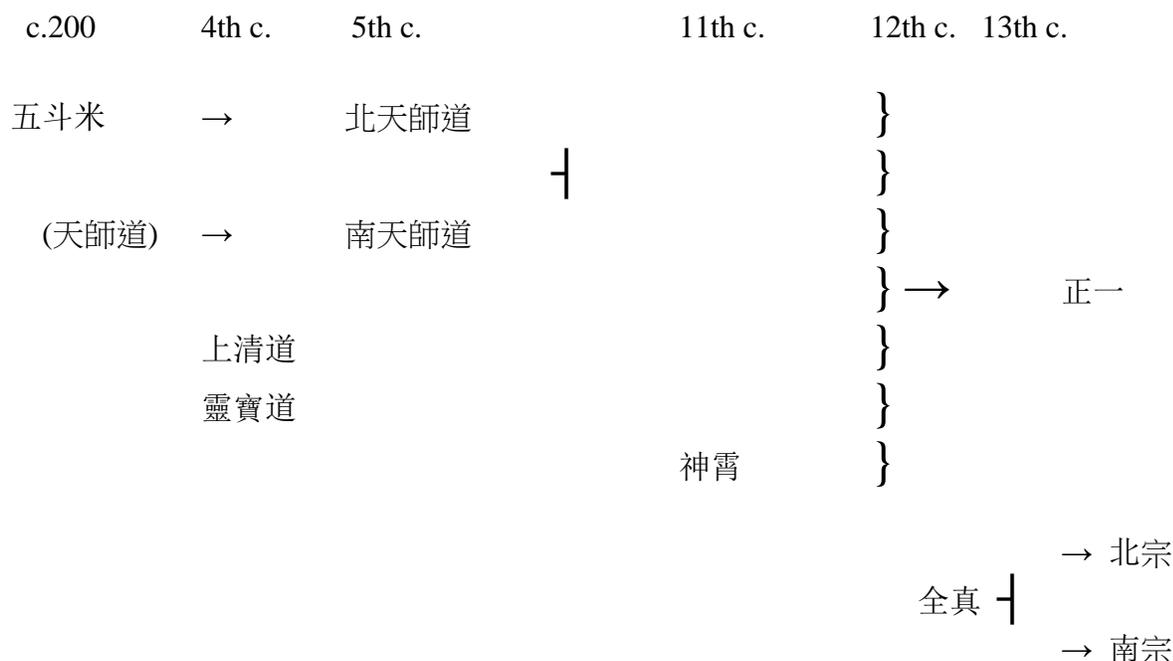
*Late Imperial decline.* Taoism failed to flourish under the Ming and Ch'ing as it had in previous eras. No new sect arose with enough momentum to alter the dominant Ch'üan-chen / Cheng-yi sectarian structure that had formed during the Yuan, and perhaps the most notable new feature that briefly appeared was the effort of the Ming Taoist Lin Chao-en 林兆恩 to construct a master-syncretism of Confucianism and Buddhism with Taoism. Over time, however, the Cheng-yi lineage drew a greater balance of support from the Imperial court. It was the Cheng-yi masters who edited the version of the *Tao-tsang* we use today, and through their power of organization over the canon, placed an indelible stamp on our primary tool for understanding traditional Taoism.

The most noteworthy achievement of the Late Imperial Taoism was the publication of the *Tao-tsang*, a project that was commissioned by the Ming emperor Ch'eng-tsu (r. 1403-24) and completed in 1444; in 1607, a supplement was added.

During the Ch'ing Dynasty, there is considerable evidence that Taoism and the secret societies with which it was widely connected were associated with elements of anti-Manchu ideology that spawned such apparently non-Taoist movements as the White Lotus and Nien Rebellions. Taoist disaffection with a court as explicitly Confucian as the Ch'ing was natural. Thus it is ironic that the last important role Taoism seems to have played in Imperial China was as a component of Boxer ideology, which was so eagerly endorsed by the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi.



The following chart summarizes the progress of the most dominant sectarian structures of Taoism as discussed in this introduction (the T'ai-p'ing Tao did not have a direct successor school, although its scriptural center, the *T'ai-p'ing ching* retained an important place among Taoist teachings):



This picture is not quite complete. The *Tao-chiao wen-hua tz'u-tien* (listed under III. B below) lists 105 schools in its section on Taoist sectarianism. This somewhat exceeds the ten or so listed here.

*Aspects of Taoist studies.* The cursory account just given focuses on two basic issues: the sectarian structure of Taoism and those individuals the historical development of Taoism as a cultural institution. Because Taoism is so complex a topic, it seems useful to indicate, in outline form, the range of religious and cultural aspects that are objects of scholarly study in Taoism. The lists below are meant only to point to the breadth of the field.

ORIGINS: The study of Taoism includes those intellectual currents, religious practices, and mantic, hygienic, or magical traditions that appear to prefigure elements characteristic of the traditions established by the various sects of the late Han and early Six Dynasties. For that reason, the study of *Yi-ching* exegesis, non-ancestral devotional religion (both state and popular), *fang-shih* arts, numerology, calendrics, popular festivals, sexology texts, and, most particularly, medical traditions, all fall within the sphere of Taoist studies (though ancient and Ch'in-Han cultural studies will, of course, make use of the same materials).

TECHNICAL ARTS: The technical arts associated with Taoism (though, in some cases having non-Taoist aspects as well) fall into two general overlapping categories: mantic and magical arts and immortalist self-transformation arts. Mantic and magical arts include such things as geomancy, a wide variety of *Yi* divination techniques, wind-angle reading, astrology, phrenology, spells, talismans, etc. Immortalist arts include the concoction of outer alchemic (*wai-tan* 外丹) elixirs, the regimens of inner alchemic (*nei-tan* 内丹) and inner gods meditational regimens (which involve complex physiological models), and so forth.

HYGIENIC PRACTICES: These would include a variety of special dietary practices (vegetarianism, grain taboos, bean taboos, and so forth), *ch'i* 氣 cultivation techniques (meditational and kinetic--the latter leading towards martial arts traditions), medical diagnostics, pharmacological knowledge, massage therapy, sexual hygiene (that is, the arts of sex practiced to enhance bodily powers), and other related practices.

THEOLOGY: The complexity of the Taoist pantheon includes evolving models of an upper pantheon, divine asterisms, populations of mediating, local, or personal spirits, bureaucratic models of spirit-world structures, alignments of spirit-world maps against earthly topographies, populations of immortals of different degrees of divinity, relationships between gods constructed through revelatory traditions and popular spirits, and so forth.

REVELATION MATERIALS: This category would include the study of talismanic scripts, esoteric diagrams, and special vocabulary associated with revelation texts.

RITUAL AND MONASTIC ASPECTS: This would include the regimens of ordinary renunciant life, purification rituals and fasting, monastic rules, the bureaucracy of Taoist sectarian organization, sacred architecture, liturgy, music, rituals of magical efficacy, grand public rites like the *chiao* 醮 ceremonies, iconography, funeral rites, gods' birthday festivals, seasonal festivals, vestments and their significance, altar objects, and so forth.

CULTURAL INFLUENCE: The study of Taoist influence on literature (popular, elite, and mixed genres, such as *chih-kuai* 志怪), art, superstition, customs, and education, temple landowning patterns, tax exemption, personal status of renunciants, etc. The well-established linkage between Taoism, secret societies, and politically subversive movements is one of the least explored and most significant historical subjects of the entire Imperial era.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The recovery, classification, and interpretation of texts is a major aspect of Taoist studies that we will discuss further in section III.

## II. Selected Historical Figures in Taoism

*Some unsystematic references are made to easily located English language materials; see the bibliography sections below.*

### *Later Han*

Wei Po-yang 魏伯陽. The putative author of the *Chou-yi ts'an-t'ung-ch'i* 周易參同契, an alchemical text based on the *Yi-ching*. This text marks the absorption of an important element of mainstream elite culture into the emerging Taoist religion.

Chang Tao-ling 張道陵 (d. 156; a.k.a. Chang Ling). The founder of the Wu-tou-mi 五斗米 (five pecks of rice was his school's "tithe") School of Taoism. Recorded as a Confucian master early in his career, Chang combined scripture creation with hygiene techniques, incantations, moral codes, and faith healing to attract a sizable following in Ssu-ch'uan. He is often held to have been the creator of religious Taoism. He was known as T'ien-shih 天師 (the Celestial Master), and his school evolved into the T'ien-shih Tao.

Chang Chueh 張角 (d. 184). The founder of the T'ai-p'ing Tao 太平道 sect and leader of the Yellow Turban Uprising. Chang's influence in spreading Taoism in Eastern China was comparable to the influence of Chang Tao-ling in the South and West. The major text of his school was the *T'ai-p'ing ching*, which had been recorded as a presentation of the master Kung Ch'ung 宮崇 (received from his teacher Yü Chi 于吉 [alt. Kan Chi 干吉]) to the Han emperor in the early second century. Although Chang's teachings did not form the basis of an enduring independent school, his political movement created a model for future Taoist political insurrections and the *T'ai-p'ing ching* became a central part of the Taoist canon. [See Kaltenmark's essay on the *T'ai-p'ing ching* in Welch and Seidel.]

Chang Lu 張魯 (d. 216). Grandson of Chang Tao-ling. Chang Lu was the leader of a successful late Han rebellion in the West, under the banner of Wu-tou-mi Taoism. He ultimately negotiated his group's surrender to Ts'ao Ts'ao in 215, and the terms of this agreement brought him, his family, and his movement privileged status in the West.

### *Wei-Chin Nan-Pei Ch'ao*

Ko Hung 葛洪 (283-343). Author of the *Pao-p'u Tzu* 抱朴子 ("the master who embraces simplicity"), Ko retreated to a Taoist career after great successes as a young Confucian scholar and general. Alchemic and medical interests are prominent in his broad ranging main work, and also created increased ground for Confucian-oriented people to feel licensed to pursue Taoist interests. The "Hsia-lan p'ien 遐覽篇 of the *Pao-p'u Tzu* represents the earliest bibliography of Taoism. [See his entry in William Nienhauser, ed., *Indiana Companion to Chinese Literature*; note the uneven translation of *Pao-p'u Tzu* by Ware.]

Wang Fou 王浮 (c. 300). Reputed author of *Lao Tzu Hua-Hu ching*, one of the better known pieces of anti-Buddhist propaganda.

Yang Hsi 楊羲 (330-c. 386), Hsu Mi 許謐 (303-73), and Hsu Hui 許翮 (341-c. 370). Yang Hsi was the original source of Shang-ch'ing School revelations during the 360s. Yang had retired as a young man to Mao-shan 茅山, where he had many rendezvous with transcendents from Sh'ang-ch'ing T'ien; the scriptures bestowed on him by these visitors he passed on to the Hsus, who represented a well connected family of Chien-k'ang, the capital of the Eastern Chin. Shang-ch'ing texts were focused on processes of "inner alchemy," self-transformation through meditative interaction with transcendent powers and self-projection through the cosmos.

Sun En 孫恩 (d. 402). Leader of a major Taoist-led rebellion against the Eastern Chin. [See the essay on Sun's rebellion by Miyakawa in Welch and Seidel.]

Ko Ch'ao-fu 葛巢甫 (fl. 400). The creator of Ling-pao Taoism. Ko, a nephew of Ko Hung who lived in the same city as the Shang-ch'ing founders (Chü-jung 句容, near modern Nanking), created a body of scripture that syncretized Shang-ch'ing and a type of meditation tradition known as T'ai-ch'ing 太清 (a Southern precursor of the Shang-ch'ing tradition) and added new liturgies, ceremonies, and cosmological models. [See his entry in the *Indiana Companion*.]

Lu Hsiu-ching 陸修靜 (406-477). Richly honored by the Liu Sung rulers, Lu was the most celebrated Taoist master of his day. After a youth spent in Confucian bibliophilia, Lu retired to a life of Taoism and became a Taoist bibliophile. His *San-tung ching-shu mu-lu* 三洞經書目錄 is the earliest true bibliography of Taoism. He was a Ling-pao adherent, and a specialist in ritual and monastic codes.

T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (456-536). T'ao was a Shang-ch'ing patriarch and scholar who assembled much of the Shang-ch'ing canon in his reclusion on Mao-shan. He was himself a noted alchemist and pharmacologist. He is best known for his *Chen-kao* 真誥, which is an annotated compendium of Shang-ch'ing scripture and other materials. T'ao is also known for his vision of a Taoist-Buddhist rapprochement, which led him to construct Buddhist shrines on Mao-shan and to himself receive Buddhist ordination. [See Strickmann's long article on T'ao in Welch and Seidel.]

K'ou Ch'ien-chih 寇謙之 (d. 448). K'ou brought to fruition the first full state patronage of Taoism, by the T'o-pa Wei dynasty of fifth century Northern China. A syncretist trained by Buddhist masters, K'ou created a blend of Confucian ethical precepts and Buddho-Taoist spiritual ideas that was formulated as a plan for a Taoist social utopia, and that served as an ideological blueprint for the Wei emperor. [See the essay on K'ou by Mather in Welch and Seidel.]

*T'ang*

Li Shih-min 李世民 (T'ang T'ai-tsung, 599-649). The T'ang founder's sympathy for Taoism and restrictions on Buddhism established the pattern of Imperial patronage enjoyed by Taoism in the early T'ang.

Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen 司馬承禎 (647-735). Fifth patriarch of Shang-ch'ing Taoism, he became the most favored Taoist of the early T'ang court, ministering to Empress Wu, Jui-tsung, and ultimately in 721 ordaining Hsuan-tsung as a Taoist. His celebrity profile (he was a skilled painter and author of many texts) was a high point of T'ang Taoism.

Chao Kuei-chen 趙歸真 (d. 846). A master alchemist whose elixirs may have shortened the life of his great patron Wu-tsung, Chao's influence helped instigate Wu-tsung's violent purge of Buddhism in 845. After the emperor's death the following year, Chao was flogged to death under the kinder, gentler new regime.

Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850-933). A prolific late T'ang Taoist author and historian of Taoism, who was influential in maintaining Taoist influence in the post-T'ang kingdom of Shu. [See the detailed entry in the *Indiana Companion*.]

*Sung*

Chang Po-tuan 張伯端 (984-1082). Chang is best known as the founder of the Southern branch of Ch'üan-chen Taoism, but this is a retrospective attribution, since Ch'üan-chen was not established until decades after his death. Although Chang was initially skilled in various mantic arts, his mature doctrines were focused on the view of the body as a universal microcosm and the arts of inner alchemy.

Chang Chün-fang 張君房 (fl. 1008-1025). Author of the *Yun-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 雲笈七籤, an encyclopaedic anthology of Taoist works, which Chang apparently composed in the process of compiling an Imperially commissioned Sung edition of the *Tao-tsang*. [Note Schipper's *Index du Yunji qiqian* (O.R. BL 1900 .A1 Y8337 1981 2 vols.) and his entry on the text in the *Indiana Companion*.]

Lin Ling-su 林靈素 (1076-1120). The founder of the Shen-hsiao 神霄 tradition of Taoism. The favored Taoist master of the Sung Hui-tsung 徽宗 (r. 1101-25), Lin helped secure the lavish patronage of the emperor by celebrating him as the reincarnation of the highest Shen-hsiao deity.

Tseng Tsao 曾慥 (1131-1193). The compiler of the *Tao-shu* 道樞, an encyclopaedia (that is, a classified anthology) of Taoism with a broad range of interests, but emphasis on *nei-tan* traditions.

*Chin-Yuan*

Wang Che 王嘉 (1112-70). The founder of the Ch'üan-chen 全真 school of Taoism, which he derived from his teacher, Lü Yen 呂晷 (Lü Tung-pin 洞賓). (Lü, one of the famous Eight Immortals, was born c. 798, and would not have been able to teach Wang so energetically had he not been immortal.)

Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 邱處機 (1148-1227; also known as Ch'ang-ch'un Tzu 長春子). Ch'iu was a patriarch of the Ch'üan-chen school and a disciple of Wang Che. In 1222, well before the Mongol conquest of China, Ch'iu was received in audience by Genghis Khan, and preached the doctrines of the Ch'üan-chen school. He succeeded in gaining patronage that became increasingly valuable to his school as Mongol power grew. Ultimately, however, the post-conquest Yuan court decided to patronize Buddhism over Taoism.

*Ming*

Ming Ch'eng-tsu 明成祖 (r. 1403-24). Ch'eng-tsu's major contribution to Taoism was the commissioning of the compilation and publication of the *Tao-tsang*.

Chang Yü-ch'u 張宇初 (1361-1410). The original editor of the bibliographic project that resulted in the *Ta-Ming Tao-tsang* (5318 *chüan*), completed after Chang's death in 1444 (known as *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang*). Chang was a Cheng-yi school patriarch.

Lin Chao-en 林兆恩 (1517-1598). One of the syncretists of Chinese history, Lin created a new religion, which he called "San-yi chiao" 三一教: Three-in-one. Born to a Confucian family (his father's friend Wang Yang-ming predicted he would fail the exams but have a unique career), Lin turned to his unique career after failing the exams. The philosophically complex syncretic system he developed was inventive and attracted a significant initial following, but did not have lasting influence. [See Judith Berling's monographic study of Lin (not listed below).]

Ming Shih-tsung 明世宗 (r. 1522-67). Shih-tsung stands as the last strong Imperial patron of Taoism, and as such closes this list.

**III. Bibliography****A. General sources**

Stephen Bokenkamp and Judith M. Boltz, "Taoist Literature," in William Nienhauser, ed., *The Indiana Companion to Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 138-74

Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley: Institute for East Asian Studies, 1987) [O.R. BL 1920 .B653 1987]

Ch'ing Hsi-t'ai 卿希泰, *Chung-kuo Tao-chiao* 中國道教 (Shanghai: Chih-shih ch'u-pan-she, 1994 4 vols.) [O.C. BL .C58 1994] [*Ch'ing Hsi-t'ai has recently published no fewer than four full length surveys of the history of Taoism.*]

John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* (New York: Macmillan, 1987)

Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., trans. (University of Massachusetts, 1981; originally *Le Taoïsme et les religions chinoises*, 1971)

Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5, pts. 2-3 (Cambridge, 1974, 1976) [*These sections of Needham's series are devoted to science relating to alchemy and the search for elixirs of immortality.*]

Isabelle Robinet, *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity*, J. Pas and N. Gorardot, trans. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993)

Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1983)

Holmes Welch, *Taoism: The Parting of the Way* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), pp. 88-163 [*This is a general study for a non-specialist audience; it is perhaps the most accessible overview of religious Taoism, but neither rigorous nor up to date.*]

Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, ed., *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979)

Note: For articles in Western languages on Taoism, consult the journals *Taoist Resources*, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, and *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*.

## B. Dictionaries & Reference Works

The following dictionaries and reference works are not the only ones available in the IU collection, but they appear to be the best available.

*Tao-chiao ta tz'u-tien* 道教大辭典 (Peking: Hua-hsia ch'u-pan-she, 1994) [O.R. BL 1923 .T36 C58 1994]

The largest dictionary of Taoism to date, this work suffers needlessly from poor organization. Although the dictionary is arranged by stroke count, with stroke type order within characters of equal counts, the second characters appear to be ordered randomly, which makes the work hard to use. Fortunately, compounds are grouped by number of characters, mitigating the problem.

*Tao-chiao wen-hua tz'u-tien* 道教文化辭典 (Shanghai: Chiang-su ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1994) [O.R. BL 1920 .T277 1994]

Although somewhat smaller than the last dictionary, this book's encyclopaedic arrangement makes it more accessible. It is organized in ten major topical sections with multiple subsections; within these entries are listed by stroke-count and type, with compounds separated according to number of elements. Unfortunately, the categories and subcategories are nowhere listed outside the 150-page contents section, making the book more cumbersome to use than it should be. A general stroke-order index appears at the back. A 70-page general bibliography of Taoist studies in China, 1900-1991 begins on p. 1214.

The major categories in which the work is arranged are: General issues and vocabulary of cultural and religious studies; Taoist sectarian structure; Historical figures in Taoism; Spirits and transcendents; Texts; Mantic arts, hygiene, magic, and alchemy; Fasting and public ceremonies; Popular customs associated with Taoism; Literary and artistic products; Geography and the spirit world.

*Tao-tsang t'i-yao* 道藏提要, Jen Chi-yü 任繼愈, ed. (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsueh ch'u-pan-she, 1995) [O.R. BL 1900 .A1 T268 1995]

Includes commentary précis for 1473 items, numbered in accord with the Han-fen-lou 涵芬樓 edition of the *Tao-tsang*. Each item records the title, number of *chuan*, and author, followed below by designation of which section (among the *san-tung* or *ssu-fu*) the text belongs to, followed by its *ch'ien-tzu wen* character designation (see the description of the *Tao-tsang* organization below). Author and title indexes appear at the end of this very useful volume. For a review of this work, see: Boltz, Judith M. 1994. "Notes on the *Daozang tiyao*," *China Review International* 1.2: 1-33.

*Chung-hua tao-hsueh t'ung-tien* 中華道學通典, Wu Feng 吳楓 and Sung Yi-fu 宋一夫, eds. (Hai-k'ou: Nan-hai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1994) [O.C. BL 1910 .C564 1994]

This encyclopaedic book consists of standard, double-column entries, resembling a dictionary, but is more like a reader's guide to Taoism. It is divided into three parts: I) Text explications: chapter-by-chapter commentary to thirteen major texts, including the *Tao te ching* 道德經, *T'ai-p'ing ching* 太平經, *Pao-p'u Tzu* 抱朴子, and so forth (pp. 3-848); II) People and doctrine: including entries for individuals, texts (chronologically arranged), sects, sites (mountains, temples, etc., arranged by region) (pp. 850-1351); III) Terms, etc., arranged by topic (natural terms, social terms, ethical terms, doctrinal terms, self-cultivation terms) (pp. 1355-2030). A detailed chronology of Taoism appears on pages 2-33-87 (up to 1913). A stroke-order index is included at the end of the work.

*The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, Fabrizio Pregadio, ed. (London, NY: Routledge, 2007), 2 vols. [R.R. BL1920 .E539 2008]

The website of the editor (<http://www.stanford.edu/~pregadio/eot.html>) provides the following summary descriptions: The book contains about 800 entries arranged in alphabetical order, and about 500,000 words including an appendix, two bibliographies, and other front and back matter. With few exceptions, entries range between 250 and 2,000 words. The entries are concerned with the following subjects: 1) Surveys of major topics; 2) Schools and traditions; 3) Persons; 4) Texts; 5) Terms (including ritual and self-cultivation practices); 6) Divinities and immortals; 7) Temples; 8) Mountains. Through a broad use of cross-references, marked by asterisks, each entry leads to other entries. A list of closely related entries is also found at the end of each entry, and the final index – which concerns personal names (including deities), texts, place names, and subjects – serve as a further tool for finding information.

### C. The *Tao-tsang*

The work we now refer to as the *Tao-tsang* consists of two Ming period works: the *Ta-Ming Tao-tsang ching* 大明道藏經 (commissioned in 1407, completed in 1444), now universally known as the *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang* 正統道藏, and a supplementary collectanea originally titled *Hsu Tao-tang ching* 續道藏經 (sometimes prefaced by the reign period of its compilation, Wan-li 萬曆), completed in 1607 and now appended to the *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang*. The blocks for this edition were destroyed during the Boxer Uprising and subsequent Allied military response of 1900.

The modern edition of the *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang* was published by the Commercial Press (1923-26) in 1200 *ts'e*, under the guidance of Chang Yuan-chi. The edition that was reprinted had been stored in the Pai-yun kuan 白雲觀 monastery in Peking, and its republication was a major cultural event (prefaces were supplied by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, not always understood to be patrons of religious Taoism). It is not certain that the Pai-yun kuan copy was complete; it was said that certain items had been lost over time, but had been recopied from other sources. (The only other extant edition was a less complete copy in the Imperial Household Library in Tokyo.) The edition is also known as the Han-fen-lou 涵芬樓 edition, named after the Commercial Press building in which it was produced (a structure later destroyed by Japanese bombing raids). The edition the IU Library holds is a Taipei reprint of the Commercial Press edition, produced in 1962 by the Yi-wen yin-shu-kuan.

### Earlier *Tao-tsang* collections

The earliest compendia of Taoist texts were Six Dynasty compilations, gathered by great bibliographers such as Lu Hsiu-ching and T'ao Hung-ching, discussed above. Their catalogues still survive. However, compendia that resemble the extant *Tao-tsang* in scope were first assembled under Imperial commissions in the T'ang.

*T'ang*

*San-tung ch'iung-kang* 三洞瓊綱 A collection of approximately 3-5000 texts was compiled during the K'ai-yuan 開元 era (713-42) of the reign of Hsuan-tsung. A second copy was produced in 748. Both copies were, however, destroyed during the periods of the rebellions of An Lu-shan and Shih Ssu-ming (755-63). Another collection, including approximately 5000 works, was compiled during the Hsien-t'ung 咸通 era (860-74). This edition was destroyed during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao (874-84).

*Sung*

*Ta-Sung hsuan-tu pao-tsang* 大宋玄都寶藏, compiled and catalogued on Imperial commission of Chen-tsung (r. 997-1022) by Chang Chün-fang 張君房 under the supervision of Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若. Completed in 1019. This edition included 4,565 texts, and was expanded to 5,387 texts under Hui-tsung (r. 1110-26). The edition was to be printed as the Wan-shou Tao-tsang 萬壽道藏 (The Immortal Repository of the Tao), but the blocks were destroyed or stolen in the course of the Jürchen conquest before the printing was completed.

*Chin*

*Ta-Chin hsuan-tu pao-tsang* 大金玄都寶藏, compiled in 1164 by order of Shih-tsung 世宗 (r. 1161-89). This edition collected 6,455 works, many being printed from Sung edition blocks captured during the conquest of North China. In 1202, all the blocks were destroyed by fire.

*Yuan*

*Hsuan-tu pao-tsang* 玄都寶藏. This was a pre-conquest edition (1244). All of the blocks were subsequently burned upon Imperial orders in 1281. The collection included 7800 works, many of which were never recovered. This was particularly devastating to Ch'üan-chen Taoism, as it was under the auspices of that school that this collection was compiled, and many of the unrecovered works represented Ch'üan-chen texts. The extant *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang* was compiled under the supervision of Cheng-yi Celestial Masters.

**Works on the compilation of the *Tao-tsang***

Ch'en Kuo-fu 陳國符, *Tao-tsang yuan-liu k'ao* 道藏源流考 (Peking: Chung-hua shu chü, revised edition 1963, 2 vols.) [O.C. BL 1910 .C48 1985]

Ōfuchi Ninji [大淵忍爾], “The Formation of the Taoist Canon.” In Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, ed., *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 253-67

Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley: Institute for East Asian Studies, 1987), pp. 1-18

Schipper, Kristofer and Franciscus Verellen eds., *The Taoist canon: a historical companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

### Organization of the *Tao-tsang*

The *Tao-tsang* is printed in 1200 *ts'e*. In many cases, texts extend over several *ts'e*, in others, one *ts'e* includes several texts. This structure of organization is complemented by the helpful practice of dividing the entire collection into sections, generally two or three *ts'e* in length, indexed according to the words in the sixth century poem *Ch'ien-tzu wen* 千字文, which employs 1000 characters without repetition – a sensible index device; or, at least, a device as sensible as anything else in Taoism. But to move on, we should note that the common practice in citing texts from the *Tao-tsang* actually uses neither the *ts'e* number nor the *Ch'ien-tzu wen*, but rather cites texts according to index numbers provided in one of the two available indexes to the canon, on which, see the section below.

The basic structure of the collection is represented in the chart below. The “Three Caverns” (*San-tung* 三洞) compose the largest portion of the text, and replicate the divisions of Taoist canon first developed by Lu Hsiu-ching in the fifth century; the general nature of each of these divisions is noted below, but there are said to be many inconsistencies. Each of the Three Caverns is divided into 12 topical subsections. These divisions are followed by the “Four Supplements,” or *Ssu-fu* 四輔, which are integral parts of the *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang*. Each supplement collects texts with certain thematic links, as noted below. The last of the Four Supplements, which collects Celestial Masters texts, is longer than the other three combined, and seems to reflect the fact that the editing of the Ming *Tao-tsang* was under the direction of the Cheng-yi school. There are no subdivisions to the Four Supplements. The final section of texts is the truly supplementary Wan-li period *Hsu Tao-tsang ching*. That section, in the current edition, is preceded by a contents volume (*ts'e* number 1057) applying to both the *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang* and to the Wan-li supplement.

The *Tao-tsang* call number is O.C. BL 1920 .T17.

- I. The Three Caverns (*San-tung* 三洞) [HY = Harvard-Yenching Index Series #25, see below]
1. Tung-chen 洞真 (Shang-ch'ing texts) HY 1-316
  2. Tung-hsuan 洞玄 (Ling-pao texts) HY 317-619
  3. Tung-shen 洞神 (San-huang 三皇 texts) HY 620-981

-- 12 *pu* (subsections for the three Tung; translations from Boltz)

- |       |                  |    |                                 |
|-------|------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| i.    | <i>Pen-wen</i>   | 本文 | (original revelations)          |
| ii.   | <i>Shen-fu</i>   | 神符 | (divine talismans)              |
| iii.  | <i>Yü-chueh</i>  | 玉訣 | (exegeses)                      |
| iv.   | <i>Ling-t'u</i>  | 靈圖 | (sacred diagrams)               |
| v.    | <i>P'u-lu</i>    | 譜錄 | (history & genealogies)         |
| vi.   | <i>Chieh-lü</i>  | 戒律 | (codes)                         |
| vii.  | <i>Wei-yi</i>    | 威儀 | (ceremonials)                   |
| viii. | <i>Fang-fa</i>   | 方法 | (prescriptive rituals)          |
| ix.   | <i>Chung-shu</i> | 衆術 | (alchemy, geomancy, numerology) |
| x.    | <i>Chi-chuan</i> | 記傳 | (hagiography)                   |
| xi.   | <i>Tsan-sung</i> | 讚頌 | (hymns)                         |
| xii.  | <i>Piao-tsou</i> | 表奏 | (memorials)                     |

## II. The Four Supplements (*Ssu-fu* 四輔) HY 982-1421

1. T'ai-hsuan 太玄 HY 982-1092 – a supplement to the Tung-chen section  
texts associated with the *Lao Tzu*
2. T'ai-p'ing 太平 HY 1093-1158 – a supplement to the Tung-hsuan section  
Texts associated with the *T'ai-p'ing ching*
3. T'ai-ch'ing 太清 HY 1159-1182 – a supplement to the Tung-shen section  
alchemical texts
4. Cheng-yi t'ung kuan 正一通貫 HY 1183-1421 – an independent section  
Celestial Masters texts

## III. The Wan-li Supplement HY 1422-1476

### Indexes to the *Tao-tsang*

There are three indexes to the *Tao-tsang*:

*Tao-tsang tzu-mu yin-te* 道藏子目引得, Weng Tu-chien 翁獨健, comp. (Harvard-Yenching Index Series #25 [1935])

The earliest of the indexes, the numbers it assigns to the *Tao-tsang* texts continue to be standard for the field.

Kristofer Schipper, *Concordance du Tao-tsang*, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, volume 102

*Hsin-pien Tao-tsang mu-lu* 新編道藏目錄, Chung Chao-p'eng 鍾肇鵬, ed. (Beijing: Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan ch'u-pan-she, 1999), 2 v. [O.R. BL 1900 .A1 T263 1999]

The first volume of this very useful handbook includes a detailed introductory account of the compilation and contents of the *Tao-tsang*, and a tabular arrangement of the items included, organized in six bibliographical categories: General works [*tsung-lei* 總類], Scripture and doctrinal works [*ching-lun* 經論], History and geography [*shih-ti* 史地], Masters texts [*chu-tzu* 諸子], Taoist techniques [*tao-shu* 道術], Miscellaneous. These are explained on pp. 29-30. The main table includes 1527 items, and provides alternative titles, number of sections, authors, and the location of each item within both the Han-fen-lou edition and a Taiwan reduced size edition (which does not appear to be the Yi-wen-kuan edition). The second volume includes author and title indexes to the table.

There are significant differences between these last two indexes. Weng's is a more powerful overall tool. It includes, in addition to a complete table of contents of the *Tao-tsang* and an index of titles, an index of author names, and an index of names of people significantly discussed in 77 historical and encyclopaedic texts included in the *Tao-tsang* (a numbered list that is the basis of index references appears on pp. xxi-xxiii). The general index includes cross references for commonly used but imprecise titles, and also includes missing texts. The table of contents provides Harvard-Yenching index numbers for all items in the collection. These numbers, along with *Ch'ien-tzu wen* characters, are the references used in the title index.

Weng's publication also includes a subject index of texts, which sorts texts by HY index number into 56 topical categories. This index is borrowed from Léon Wieger's catalogue of the *Tao-tsang*, published as *Taoïsme* in 1911, prior to the production of the Commercial Press edition. Wieger's work is admired for its pioneering nature, but not for its accuracy, and his subject index should not be viewed as anything but a system of possibly helpful hints.

Schipper's index represents an improvement over Weng in several respects. Weng's list of text, and consequently his index numbers, include instances of transpositions, and there are also differences between Schipper's analysis of the independent status of certain textual elements and that used by Weng. Schipper's concordance (which, though housed in the O.C. section next to the *Tao-tsang* is nevertheless non-circulating), provides a table of contents of the collection that matches texts against *ts'e* numbers (*ts'e* numbers are on the left; Schipper's index numbers for texts are to the right). The index proper is arranged by stroke count, and indexes texts both by their proper and by their popularly known titles (wherever useful, Schipper includes an entry beginning with that portion of the text's name most commonly referred to). Note that in the index portion, the text index number is on the left and the *ts'e* number is on the right.

For the first half of the *Tao-tsang*, the index numbers assigned by Weng and Schipper are identical, but subsequently the two diverge. This has led to a certain confusion in conventions of citation. Boltz discusses this divergence in her “Survey of Taoist Literature” book, where she proposes well-reasoned citation rules (p. 12), and she provides, in two appendices, both detailed discussions of the divergences and a comprehensive table correlating the two systems.

### *The Chung-hua Edition*

*Chung-hua Tao-tsang* 中華道藏, Chang Chi-yü 張繼禹, ed. (Peking: Hua-hsia ch’u-pan-she, 2004), 49 vols. [O.C. BL 1900 .A1 Z468 2004]

An entirely new edition of the *Tao-tsang*, rearranged, punctuated, and typeset. The arrangement presents first the texts of the major lineages, followed by other texts, sorted by literary type (e.g., ritual texts, biographies, commentaries). The final volume includes indexes. A chart on pages 4-60 provides correspondences between the Chung-hua and Han-fen-lou editions, a title index (stroke order) appears on pages 123-151, and there is a detailed index of book titles cited in the texts (pp. 155-456).

## *IV. Online Resources*

### *Taoist Studies in the World Wide Web*

maintained by Fabrizio Pregadio, Stanford University  
[http://www.stanford.edu/~pregadio/taoist\\_studies.html](http://www.stanford.edu/~pregadio/taoist_studies.html)

This list is part of an extensive site developed by the editor of the *Encyclopedia of Taoism* (listed in Section III). It includes many more items than are listed below, and is the best coordinating site I have found in English. The items listed below are linked from Pregadio’s site.

### *Tao-chiao wen-hua tzu-liao-k’u* 道教文化資料庫

maintained by the P’eng-Ying hsien-kuan 蓬瀛仙館 in Hong Kong  
<http://www.taoism.org.hk/default.htm>

This site constitutes an encyclopedia of Taoism. Click on the image to the left of the home page and the display will offer links arrayed around an yin-yang symbol. These are links to encyclopedia sections (overview, doctrines, texts, Taoism & civilization, etc.). The entries are generally brief but informative, and provide source notes and reference information (some appear in English on the English language version of the site). A valuable asset appears on the English language version, which can be accessed from the second-level page: Chinese-English and English-Chinese glossaries.

### *Tao-chiao hsueh-shu tzu-hsun wang-chan* 道教學術資訊網站

maintained by Hung Pai-chien 洪百堅 (Taiwan)

<http://www.ctcwri.idv.tw/godking.htm>

Turn off your sound before you visit. There appear to be many resources on the Chinese-language site, but the presentation is confusing and the links are often problematic. The major asset seems to be an online version of the *Tao-chiao ta tz'u-tien*, but even here, some of the internal links appear to be broken.