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THE MYSTERIOUS GATE: DAOIST MONASTIC LITURGY
IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I argue that in order to understand Daoist monasticism we must understand their daily liturgy. As one of the few practices shared by members of a religious order spread over a large geographical area, the liturgy represents the most basic set of views and practices its members shared. As chanted text, liturgy also represents textual doctrine 'in action,' by examining the contents of that liturgy we gain greater insight into the nature of Daoist monasticism. I begin by reviewing the history of the Daoist monastic school known as the Quanzhen 全真. In the second chapter I examine the social and soteriological roles of liturgy according to the most dominant order of the Quanzhen, the Longmen 龍門, by relying on liturgical and normative texts. In the third chapter I analyze an influential Longmen liturgical manual. Finally, I compare the structure of Daoist liturgy with the daily liturgy of Chinese Buddhist monasteries. I also contrast the Daoist monastic liturgy with other forms of Daoist ritual in order to demonstrate the unique nature of Daoist monastic liturgy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Daomen Gongke</i>	<i>Qingwei Hongfan Daomen Gongke</i> 清微宏範道門功課
DZ	<i>Zhengtong Daozang</i> 正統道藏
DZJY	<i>Daozang Jiyao</i> 道藏輯要
<i>Fengdao</i>	<i>Dongxuan Lingbao Sandong Fengdao Kejie</i> 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒
<i>Quanzhen Gongke</i>	<i>Taishang Quanzhen Zaowantan Gongke Jing</i> 太上全真早晚壇功課經
<i>Santan Dajie</i>	<i>Santan Yuanman Tianxian Dajie</i> 三壇圓滿天仙大戒
T	<i>Taisho Shinshu Daizōkyō</i> 太正新修大藏經
<i>Wudangshan Yinyue</i>	<i>Zhongguo Wudangshan Daojiao Yinyue</i> 中國武當山道教音樂
<i>Xuanmen Gongke</i>	<i>Taishang Xuanmen Zaowantan Gongke Jing</i> 太上玄門早晚壇功課經
ZWDS	<i>Zangwai Daoshu</i> 藏外道書

INTRODUCTION

In the last several decades much has been written about Daoist ritual. These and other developments in Daoist scholarship have largely been the result of two factors. First, the 1976 reprint of the Daoist canon (*Daozang* 道藏) has made Daoist scripture and historical materials widely available to the scholarly community. Second, research conducted on the living tradition of Daoist ritual in Taiwan has helped scholars gain a much clearer understanding of the tradition presented in the Canon. With few exceptions these ritual studies have focused on the rituals of the *Zhengyi* 正一 [Orthodox Unity], a loosely organized, non-monastic group of Daoist priests. There are several reasons for this, *Zhengyi* is the oldest Daoist ritual tradition and the large number of rituals performed by the *Zhengyi* priesthood make them an interesting topic of study. Moreover, many of these rituals correspond with those readily available for study in the *Daozang*. Additionally, until the last decade and a half *Zhengyi* Daoism has been a more accessible object of study than monastic forms of Daoism. From the late 1940's until the late 1980's it was much more difficult (when not impossible) for scholars to travel to mainland China than to travel to Taiwan where, until very recently, monastic Daoism has not been represented. There are other forms of Daoism and Daoist ritual than those practiced by the *Zhengyi*, and the subject of this thesis is a ritual unique to just such a group—the Quanzhen 全真 [Complete Perfection] school of monastic Daoism.

Until the last few years, scholarship on the Quanzhen has focused primarily on two main aspects of the institution. The first is the Quanzhen's practice of Daoist inner alchemy (*neidan* 內丹), a practice embraced and developed by the Quanzhen school but

not invented by them, nor unique to that school. The other aspect of the Quanzhen school that has received a lot of attention is the history of the institution itself. With the exception of recent work by Vincent Goossaert and Monica Esposito, this scholarship has tended to focus on what the institution says about itself in euhemeristic lineage records.

In this study I take my departure from previous Daoist ritual studies to examine the daily liturgy of the Quanzhen monastic institution (in particular that of the dominant order of the Quanzhen, the Longmen 龍門), which has not yet been the subject of lengthy examination in a western language. I also rely upon recent scholarship on the Quanzhen to place the ritual within the context of the institution. I argue that in order to fully understand monastic Daoism we must understand this liturgy, as it includes the soteriology, pantheon, cosmology, and ethics of the institution. Such an understanding may prevent us from seeing beyond certain misconceptions that arise occur when we look only at the philosophical texts of a religious institution. One example of this is the important place that compassion and the salvation of others, often associated only with Buddhism, have in Daoist monastic practice. More shall be said about this in the conclusion.

Structure of This Study

In the first chapter I summarize the history of the Longmen order of the Quanzhen school of Daoism. Relying on modern scholarship, I attempt to bring to light some of the earliest known traces of Daoist monastic culture, followed by an examination of Wang Zhe 王喆 (Daoist appellation Chongyang 重陽, 1113-1170) and the rise of the Quanzhen

during the late Song dynasty and its subsequent decline under the Yuan and Ming. This is followed by a look at Wang Changyue 王常月 (Kunyang 崑陽, d. 1680) and his reforms which led to the dominance of the Longmen order during the Qing dynasty.

The daily liturgy of the Quanzhen school of Daoism is called *gongke* 功課. The definition of this term shall be more fully discussed in chapter 2, however it roughly means ‘arrangement of merit.’ The *gongke* is divided into morning and evening services, the *zaotan* 早壇 [Early or Morning Altar] and the *wantan* 晚壇 [Late or Evening Altar]. These two liturgies are performed every morning and evening at Quanzhen monasteries and are central elements in the ritual life of Daoist monastics. In chapter 2, I construct a picture of how the Longmen institution viewed the *gongke* and its role in the training of the monastics. I examine the order’s understanding of the role and function of the *gongke* as presented in their own normative writings and in the preface to one of their liturgical manuals.

Chapter 3 is the heart of the thesis in which I outline the general structures of the *zaotan* and the *wantan*, relying on available texts to provide a step-by-step summary of the liturgy. For this study I follow Schipper’s description of ritual structure:

Ritual (Chinese: *i*, lit. “rule”) here is understood as a sequence of rites (*fa*, lit. “model.” “to conform”, “law”). A rite, the unit from which rituals are built, is a prescribed action or an obligatory combination of actions... A number of rituals performed in sequence constitutes a service (*hui*, lit. “assembly”). Services can also be called *chai* (retreat) or *chiao* (sacrifice), or by a combination of these terms... Ritual in its social function, that

is, as liturgy, is called *k'o*. This word originally means “measure” or “class.” The liturgical tradition of Taoism is called *k'o-chiao*, that is, “teaching embodied in ritual.”¹

Rather than providing a complete translation in chapter 3, I present a general picture of the nature of the ritual. Therefore, apart from several key scriptures recited during the course of the ritual (which I have translated in Appendix B), I have left the bulk of the *gongke* un-translated except when necessary.

In chapter 4, the unique features of the Quanzhen *gongke* are highlighted through comparison with the similarly structured daily liturgy of the Chinese Buddhist Monastic institution. The *gongke* is also compared and contrasted with other forms of classical Daoist ritual.

Sources for the Study of Longmen *Gongke*

This study focuses on the daily liturgies used by the Longmen order during the late Qing dynasty (1644-1911) because no liturgy belonging specifically to the Quanzhen school from before the Qing is extant. The only set of pre-Qing Quanzhen monastic regulations, the *Quanzhen Qinggui* 全真清規 [Pure Regulations of Quanzhen] of the Song Dynasty,² make no reference to daily liturgy. Some scholars believe that there was a daily liturgy in practice as early as the Yuan, but no records of that liturgy are extant.³ It is difficult to speak of ‘Quanzhen liturgy,’ prior to the rise of the Longmen in the early

¹ Schipper (1995), p. 99.

² DZ 989.

³ Vincent Goossaert. Personal communication, November, 2002.

Qing. Until further information comes to light, the study of distinctly Quanzhen liturgy must continue to focus on the Qing.

The most important sources for the study of Daoist ritual, when actual performances or priests are unavailable, are ritual manuals. These manuals are of essential importance in the performance of many forms of Daoist *gongke* as they determine the order and the sometimes secret, vocal portions of ritual.⁴ However, Daoist rituals also include many physical actions, i.e. hand gestures, stylized paces, numerous bows, the presentation of offerings, etc., that are not necessarily outlined in ritual manuals. As a result, for a full study of a ritual it is preferable that one examines not only the manuals of the ritual, but also its live performance. However, despite recommendations from my thesis committee that I travel to China in order to attend contemporary performances of the *gongke*, due to financial limitations and time constraints I was not able to do so during the writing of this thesis. Instead, I draw on written studies of the modern form of the Longmen *gongke* in order to flesh out those parts of the ritual not outlined in available manuals. I discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using these modern sources as I introduce them below, but first I shall begin with the older manuals that I use to reconstruct the *gongke*.

To my knowledge there are only two extant manuals of Quanzhen *gongke* dating from the Qing dynasty, the *Qingwei Hongfan Daomen Gongke* 清微宏範道門功課 [The Qingwei Great Standard Daoist Liturgy] (*Daomen Gongke*), and the *Taishang Xuanmen Zaowantan Gongke Jing* 太上玄門早晚壇功課經 [The Morning and Evening Altars

⁴ During the course of a Daoist ritual the Head Priest (*gaogong* 高功) will often utter various portions of the liturgy under his breath. Instructions as to how to perform these parts of the ritual would be written in guarded 'secret manuals' 密訣, or may not be written down at all.

Liturgical Scripture of the Supreme Mysterious Gate] (*Xuanmen Gongke*).⁵ The *Daomen Gongke* was composed prior to 1812 and it contains three liturgies—*zaotan*, *wutan* 午壇 [noon altar], and *wantan*. The *Xuanmen Gongke* on the other hand, contains only *zaotan* and *wantan*. Both are located in Zhangji 張集 1 of the *Chongkan Daozang Jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 [Reprint of the Compiled Essentials of the Daoist Canon], a compilation of Quanzhen writings including texts (most of which are related to neidan) from the *Daozang* 道藏 as well as from private collections, libraries, and temples. The dates of these texts range from the Ming to the Qing. The *Daozang Jiyao* used in this study is the 1906 reprint edited by Abbot Yan Yonghe 閻永和 based on a version stored at his hermitage, Erxian An 二仙庵, in present-day Chengdu 成都.⁶ The original text was most likely compiled a century earlier by Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲 (1755-1819) between 1806 and 1812.⁷ Jiang Yupu was a member of a group that worshipped the immortal Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and by most accounts the *Daozang Jiyao* was compiled on Jiang's own spirit altar which was dedicated to that figure.⁸

According to MORI Yuria, the *Xuanmen Gongke* was not present in Jiang's version of the *Daozang Jiyao*, rather the first mention of the *Xuanmen Gongke* is in the 1906 reprint.⁹ The *Daomen Gongke* however, is present in Jiang's version of the *Daozang Jiyao*, indicating that it was composed prior to 1812 at the latest. It is probable that the *Daomen Gongke* is the older of the two liturgies but this is not certain. Even if

⁵ For this study I have used the version of the *Xuanmen Gongke* found in *Daozang Jiyao* (DZJY in notes) Zhangji 1. This collection is also found in ZWDS 29.466, 475. (Komjathy.)

⁶ Esposito (2000), pp. 634-5.

⁷ Mori, p. 48.

⁸ Mori, p. 36.

⁹ Mori, p. 35.

the *Xuanmen Gongke* was composed later than the *Daomen Gongke*, it draws on elements that are at least as old as the *Daomen Gongke*. I examined another ritual text that is extant in the *Daozang Jiyao* compiled by Jiang and found many similarities between it and the *Xuanmen Gongke*. Large sections of the opening and ending rites of the *Sanyuan Zhenjing* 三元真經 [True Scripture of the Three Primes]¹⁰ are identical with those found in the *Xuanmen Gongke*. It is possible these sections of the *Xuanmen Gongke* were based on the *Sanyuan Zhenjing*. It could also mean that both texts were composed at the same time, possibly based on some earlier source, and that the *Xuanmen Gongke* was simply not included in Jiang's *Daozang Jiyao*. With these explanations open to us we cannot say anything conclusive about the date of the *Xuanmen Gongke*. However, the similarity between the *Xuanmen Gongke* and the *Sanyuan Zhenjing* supports the theory that the *gongke* is an enlarged form of Daoist scripture recitation rites. (See Chapter 4.)

Because the *Daomen Gongke* and the *Xuanmen Gongke* are not the same, in undertaking this study I chose to focus on only one of them. In making this choice I compared the two liturgies with early twentieth century and contemporary sources on Longmen life and liturgy. All of these sources match closely with the *Xuanmen Gongke* and with one another. The *Daomen Gongke*, on the other hand, shows many differences. For example, this text does not include the invocation of deities (*gao* 誥) in either evening or morning liturgies. It does include a series of 64 invocations of deities¹¹ in the noontime service (*wutan gongke* 午壇功課) that is not included in any of the other texts. Additionally, the order and titles of the scriptures recited in the morning and evening

¹⁰ DZJY Zhangji 1.

¹¹ This list includes an invocation of the very man said to have compiled the text in the first place. DZJY Zhangji 1, p.33b.

gongke of the *Daomen Gongke* is different from all other texts, which share a common list.

Because of its correspondence with modern sources and an apparently greater geographical dispersion, I chose to focus on the *Xuanmen Gongke* in this study. To supplement the information available in the *Xuanmen Gongke* itself, I rely on several modern sources, including a modern *gongke* manual, the *Taishang Quanzhen Zaowantan Gongke Jing* 太上全真早晚壇功課經 [Liturgical Scripture of the Supreme Quanzhen's Morning and Evening Altars] (Hereafter *Quanzhen Gongke*), published under the auspices of the Chinese Daoist Association.

I have also looked at a modern commentary on the *gongke* compiled by the Daoist monastic and head of the Chinese Daoist Association (*Zhongguo Daojiao Xiehui* 中國道教協會) MIN Zhiting 閔智亭, the *Xuanmen Risong Zaowantan Gongke Jing Zhu* 玄門早晚壇功課經注 [Commentary on the Morning and Evening Altars Liturgical Scripture of the Mysterious Gate]. Surprisingly, the texts that most closely match the *gongke* in his book are not those found in the *Quanzhen Gongke* (published by his own organization in 1988) but rather the *Xuanmen Gongke*, which probably dates from the late 18th or early 19th centuries. Unfortunately, MIN does not give us specific information so as to allow us to make geographical or sectarian comparisons.

A modern study that I shall be relying on is *Zhongguo Wudangshan Daojiao Yinyue* 中國武當山道教音樂 [The Daoist Music of China's Wudang Mountain] (Hereafter *Wudangshan Yinyue*) by SHI Xinmin 史新民. This book, written from the perspective of ethno-musicology, contains detailed descriptions of the music and lyrics of

the *gongke* at a Longmen monastery on Wudang Mountain, long an important center of Quanzhen activity.

Two other modern sources I have used that contain a great deal of information about the Quanzhen institution in the early 20th century are *Dōkyō Sūrin – Taisekyu Shi* 道教叢林 - 太清宮志 [A Daoist Public Monastery – Gazetteer of Taiqing Monastery] by IGARASHI Kenryū 五十嵐賢隆 and *Dōkyō no Kenkyū* 道教の研究 [Daoist Research] by YOSHIOKA Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊. The former work is an in depth study of Taiqing Monastery 太清宮 in Qingdao 青島, while the latter deals with the Baiyun Guan 白雲觀 in Beijing, for many centuries the official center of the Longmen institution. Using these sources I examine Longmen *gongke* of the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the present.

Although relying on modern sources to create a picture of *gongke* two centuries previous does pose some problems in terms of historical accuracy I believe the benefits outweigh the methodological difficulties it may create. In order to see how great the differences were between the liturgies from these three time periods I made a careful comparison of the structure of the liturgies presented. What I found is that, for the most part, the structure of these liturgies is almost identical.¹² Although there are some minor differences, such as in the order of the deities invited, the evening and morning *gongke* all share a common format. From the sources available it appears that, at least by the beginning on the 20th century, the major monasteries of the Longmen order used a common *gongke*.

¹² This information is collected in Appendix A.

CHAPTER 1

Pre-Quanzhen Monastic Daoism

In considering the history of the Quanzhen school it is important to first look at the broader field of Daoist monasticism in China so as to give proper weight to the innovations of the two Wangs. While it is true that the development of the Quanzhen school (and later the Longmen order) was based on the new interpretations of Daoism offered by these men, we must not neglect the debt that these movements owe to earlier forms of Daoism and Buddhism.

“Almost all Ch’üan-chen practices and techniques can be traced to earlier Taoist sects, some of which were reformative in nature and had elaborated doctrines in contradiction to that of the orthodox “Heavenly Masters” sect. For example Mao-shan Taoists practiced celibacy and did not consider sexual techniques as a viable method of self-cultivation.”¹³

Some of the first known traces of Daoist monasticism are from Mao Shan 茅山, home of the Shangqing 上清 revelations. Prior to the appearance of monastic communities on the mountain in the fourth century C.E. there were male and female hermits practicing religious exercises that can be labeled Daoist. However, from the fourth century C.E. on, these hermits began to incorporate into monastic organizations. For example, in 420 a woman living on Mao Shan attracted a group of female followers, who eventual formed a monastery. This monastery received imperial funding in 480 and after that other monasteries (*guan* 觀) were established on the mountain with government

support.¹⁴ As these monasteries were clearly Daoist in nature we can assume that ritual played an important role. This assumption is supported by several remarks made by Tao Hongjing 陶宏景, one of the key figures in the systemization of the Shangqing 上清 school, who said “they only practice Lingbao 靈寶 ritual, write charms and petitions, but don’t practice Shangqing.”¹⁵ Although these remarks do not indicate a daily liturgy *per se* (such as this paper focuses on), it does indicate that Daoist monastic communities have a long history of using Lingbao ritual, a pattern we shall see repeated in the Quanzhen communities of the Yuan and Ming.

Tao need not have been so displeased with the activities of religious communities on Mao Shan, however, because by 522 he had succeeded in gaining control over virtually all of the monasteries on Mao Shan, with the help of the government. Government patronage of and involvement in Daoist monastic life would continue up until the present. Indeed, it was often through the direct actions of the government that major changes took place in Daoist monastic institutions. In 637 the government published the *Daoseng Ke* 道僧科,¹⁶ a rulebook written for the purpose of establishing government control over the growing number of Buddhist and Daoist monastics in the empire. There was a resultant response, as there would be during the Qing, of an autonomous standardization of Daoist monastic practice to enforce celibacy and stricter a rule.¹⁷ Such standardizations were often carried out in order to curry governmental favor as governmental support often meant large economic and political gains, often over rival

¹³ Yao (1980), p. 233.

¹⁴ Bumbacher, pp. 149-153.

¹⁵ Bumbacher, p. 151.

¹⁶ I have been unable to locate this text and Livia Kohn does not cite her source.

¹⁷ Kohn (2001), p. 154.

religious groups or rival factions within one's own group. This pattern of government-led standardization of religious institutions has been a common theme throughout China's history and it is especially important when considering the history of the Quanzhen school as both its founding and major reformation were the result of government sponsorship in the former, or an attempt to gain it in the latter.

The rules created as a result of the reformations of the 7th century were compiled in rulebooks such as the *Dongxuan Lingbao Sandong Fengdao Keijie* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒 [Ritual Precepts of the Mysterious-Cavern Numinous Treasure's Three Cavern Offering to the Dao] (hereafter *Fengdao*), which dates from the 7th or 8th centuries.¹⁸ By looking at this text several things become apparent. The first is that there was a strong system of rule in place in Daoist monasteries by the 8th century with laws governing all aspects of monastic life, including dress, behavior, economics, etc.

The *Fengdao* is also one of the first places we see evidence of daily liturgies in Daoist monasteries. These liturgies (*chang chaoyi* 常朝儀, constant rites of the court) were performed every morning and evening by the entire community.¹⁹ We will see below in Chapter 3 how the basic structure of two daily monastic liturgies—one in the morning and one in the evening—was conserved even up to the Longmen liturgies of the Qing. According to the basic program of the liturgy described in the *Fengdao*, the Daoists clean themselves and enter the hall. After offering incense they pay obeisance to the ten directions and thrice ask that their guilt be eliminated, kowtowing to the Orthodox Perfected Three Treasures of the Ten Directions (*shifang zhengzhen sanbao*

十方正真三寶). After this they recite twelve 'wishes' (*yuan* 願) for the country, their spiritual ancestors, etc. This service ends with a verse that exhorts those present to practice Daoism.²⁰

Another rulebook from the Tang dynasty that includes more concrete rules for the day to day behavior of monastics is the *Xuanmen Shishi Weiyi* 玄門十事威儀 [Solemn Rites of the Mysterious Gate's Ten Affairs] (Hereafter *Shishi Weiyi*). This text sets forth rules regarding hygiene and other common but important aspects of monastic life. Similar rules about hygiene and behavior would become part of the basic precepts given to virtually all Daoist monastics formulated by Wang Chongyang at the start of the Qing. In addition to regulations on hygiene and eating habits, there are several passages in the *Shishi Weiyi* that describe the daily liturgy of monasteries at that time. Although the day was divided into six four-hour periods of worship, as with the liturgies outlined in the *Fengdao*, the text only mentions morning and evening services.²¹ These services were solemn affairs and the monastics were not allowed to rise during the recitation of the scriptures.²² This rule against rising during the recitation of scriptures appears again over 1000 years later in a Longmen primer of monastic life the *Qingui Xuanmiao* 清規玄妙 [Mysterious Wondrousness of the Pure Regulations] (Hereafter QGXM).²³

¹⁸ DZ 1125.

¹⁹ For the complete ritual see DZ 1125: 6.1a-4a. For a summary see Reiter (1998), pp. 164-8.

²⁰ There are several parallels between this daily liturgy and the Longmen *gongke*, as outlined in Chapter 3, even though they are separated by nearly a millennium. However a comparison of these two liturgies falls outside the scope of the present study.

²¹ Kohn (2001), pp. 179-180.

²² Kohn (2001), p. 180.

²³ ZWDS 10.602a

The Rise of the Quanzhen School

In 1159, and again in 1160, a middle-aged ex-soldier well versed in the Confucian classics received two revelations. Following these revelations the man would change his name to Wang Zhe (Daoist appellation Chongyang 重陽) and begin living a highly erratic life. At one point he dug himself a grave-like pit and lived in it for three years.²⁴ In 1167, after he had moved out of the grave he burned down his own hut while dancing around.²⁵ He preached a life of wandering devoted to cultivation, and the unification of the three doctrines (*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一) of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism. Tradition sees this man as the founder of the Quanzhen school of monastic Daoism and the seven disciples that gathered around him went on to found what would quickly develop into the organized institution of Quanzhen.

As others have written extensively on the origins of the Quanzhen school I shall not repeat in detail what they have said here.²⁶ However, it is important to consider several points when discussing the actual role Wang Chongyang played in the founding the Quanzhen school. Scholarship to date has tended to agree with the traditional view of Wang Chongyang as the founder of the Quanzhen, and he certainly did set in motion the process out of which the school appeared. Florian Reiter has stated that, “The available materials suggest that he founded a new ‘Taoist church’ or religious society with distinct rituals of its own.”²⁷ It is important to remember, however, that the society to which Reiter was referring was not Quanzhen, but something very different in character. The

²⁴ Yao (2000), p. 568.

²⁵ Yao (1980), p. 47.

²⁶ See, for example Yao (1980) and Yoshioka (1952).

self-conscious identification as Quanzhen or even Daoist, and the formal monastic structure that would soon become hallmarks of the Quanzhen school were not major features of Wang Chongyang's writings. For example, if we look at the only normative text which he left behind, the *Chongyang Lijiao Shiwu Lun* 重陽立教十五論 [Chongyang's Fifteen Treatises for Establishing the Teachings] DZ 1233, we see that the only time he mentions temples as places for cultivation is to ridicule them. In chapter five of that work he says, "Great shrines and high temples, how could this be the life of a man of the Dao?"²⁸ As an alternative to this unacceptable monastic life, he explicitly advocates the life of a wanderer in chapters two and five. The wandering life is an assumed context throughout his discourse.

Another important point when considering the nature of Wang Chongyang's teachings was that he was consciously syncretic in his writings. As mentioned above he stressed the unification of the three doctrines and it is clear that this concept held an important place in his thought. We can assume from the names of the communities he founded that he was not teaching what he would call Daoism. The names of the first five congregations he founded in Shandong all began with the expression 'three teachings' (*sanjiao* 三教), and there is nothing in the rest of their titles to indicate there was anything particularly Daoist about them, *per se*.²⁹ In his writings he does not quote only Daoist texts, as one would expect of someone promoting a new 'Daoist' religion, rather he quotes Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian texts.³⁰ Wang Chongyang's writings also

²⁷ Reiter (1984), p. 37.

²⁸ 大殿高堂，豈是道人之活？

²⁹ Yoshioka (1952), p. 182.

³⁰ The Scripture of Clarity and Tranquility (*qingjing jing* 清靜經), The Heart Sūtra (*xin jing* 心經), and Classic of Filial Piety (*xiao jing* 孝經) respectively. Yoshioka (1952), p. 182.

show a heavy influence from the Chan 禪 school of Buddhism that was prominent at the time. Because of the ecumenical orientations held by its stipulative founder, some may question whether Quanzhen is Daoism at all. I would say that Quanzhen is Daoist because it says it is. Despite the influence it received from other systems of thought at the time of its inception, the Quanzhen school still characterizes itself as a Daoist institution. Although there are different interpretations of Wang Chongyang's role in the founding of what later became the 'Quanzhen,' within a few years of its appearance, his nascent school received imperial patronage, lifting it into an unexpected position of power almost overnight. This forced the actual founders of the 'Quanzhen' school, Wang Chongyang's disciples, to adapt his teachings to a monastic model as the school organized into a more coherent institution. Through these circumstances his teachings became widely disseminated, and though he was not solely responsible for its creation, there is some reason for calling Wang Chongyang a founder of Quanzhen.

One of the first instances in which the nascent Quanzhen school had dealings with the government was seventeen years after the death of Wang Chongyang. In 1187, one of his original seven disciples (the Seven Perfected Ones, *qizhen* 七真), Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142-1217), went to the Jin capital several times in order to teach the Emperor methods for preserving life.³¹ The rulers were very impressed by the immortality techniques of the Daoists and were inviting many people to teach them their secrets. The major turning point in the history of this early school, however, was thirty-two years later when another of Wang Chongyang's seven disciples Qiu Chuji 邱處機, (1148-1227) accepted an invitation to teach Chinggis Khan at his court in the Hindu Kush. Qiu had

met Wang Chongyang forty-five years earlier in 1174 and moved to Longmen Mountain 龍門山 (located at Mao Shan) in 1180. The Longmen order would later take its name from these mountains just as they would claim descent from Qiu.

An impressive record remains of Qiu's three-year trip to visit the Khan and the teachings he gave there.³² Although he had been invited to teach the Khan methods for cultivating physical immortality, Qiu instead emphasized the teachings of his master, who called for spiritual immortality gained through 'seeing into one's nature.' Qiu so impressed the Khan that his organization was given tax exemption and he was given control over all religion in the then recently conquered China.³³ The nascent Quanzhen school, which by this point had already begun organizing itself into a monastic institution,³⁴ suddenly achieved immense economic and political power. With this power the school began to attract a great number of followers and the need for a more coherent structure became apparent. The school was so successful at attracting followers that by the Jin and Yuan dynasties, the vast majority of all Daoists in China were Quanzhen Daoists.³⁵ During this period the Quanzhen was flourishing in more ways than membership, as there was a correspondingly prolific production of texts as well. There are over sixty texts written by Quanzhen authors preserved in the *Daozang* that date from the Jin and Yuan.³⁶

³¹ Yao (2000), p. 571.

³² For an English translation see Waley.

³³ Despite the importance of Qiu's visit to the Mongol court, recent scholarship is suggesting that the traditional account of Qiu as being the most important figure in the success of the Quanzhen institution may be overstated. See Marsone.

³⁴ Reiter (1984), p. 37.

³⁵ Yao (1980), p. 145.

³⁶ Goossaert (2001), p. 121.

Another reason for the continued success of the Quanzhen school has recently been suggested by scholars that would explain the persistence of the Quanzhen during the periods when they lacked government sponsorship. It appears that very early in its development the Quanzhen school began to develop a pantheon different from other Daoist schools. This pantheon proved the legitimacy of the Quanzhen school. JING Anning describes the changes this way:

The pantheon presents the Quanzhen masters as the pupils of the Three Pure Ones. Through these innovations, the pantheon shed its political theme [The inclusion of Daoist deities related to the imperial family.] for the first time since the unified Daoist pantheon under the Three Pure Ones in the second half of the eighth century. The revised theme of the pantheon is the transmission of the orthodox Daoist teachings from the Three Pure Ones through Lü Yan to Wang Zhe and his disciples.³⁷

In addition to reorienting the pantheon in this way, the Quanzhen also incorporated many immortals worshipped by the common people. Localized worship of immortals has been an important element of religious life in China and cults to immortals abound among all levels of society. The most notable example of this type of absorption was the above-mentioned adoption of the immortal and popular cult figure Lü Yan 呂巖 [Lü Dongbin] in the Jin dynasty as one of the patriarchs of the Quanzhen school.³⁸ In adopting more universally worshipped figures into their pantheons the Quanzhen school

³⁷ Jing, pp. 320-2.

³⁸ Katz, p. 80.

was better able to secure patronage at the local level.³⁹ This helped bolster the position of the school though in many ways they remained dependent on government approval.

This 'golden age' of Quanzhen's government-sponsored prosperity did not last long. In 1225 a Buddhist monastic accused the Quanzhen school of stealing Buddhist temples, thereby initiating a series of conflicts between the two religions known as the Buddhist–Daoist Struggles of the Yuan. One such clash took the form of a theological debate presided over by Qublai Khan at the imperial court in 1258, which was attended by over five hundred Buddhist and Daoist monastics, as well as scholars with other affiliations.⁴⁰ At the end of these debates the Daoists lost and were forced to return many temples to the Buddhists. In 1281, after another debate attended by all schools of Daoism, the Khan ordered the burning of all Daoist books except the *Daode Jing* 道德經, and the returning of all Daoist monastics to lay life. Along with their loss of imperial support the order also began to lose vitality.⁴¹ It did not disappear however, and it even made a short-lived comeback in the early 14th century.⁴²

During the Ming dynasty the government began to favor Daoists of the *Zhengyi* tradition (also known as the Way of the Celestial Masters, *tianshi dao* 天師道), over Daoists associated with Quanzhen.⁴³ The *Zhengyi* was much less institutionalized than the Quanzhen and Daoists of this tradition lived non-monastic life styles. Its priesthood could marry and most did, with hereditary transmission of priestly qualifications from father to son being the norm. Ritual is the defining characteristic of the *Zhengyi* tradition

³⁹ Katz, p. 71.

⁴⁰ Yao (1980), pp. 160-2.

⁴¹ Yao (2000), pp. 572-3.

⁴² Yao(1980), p. 169.

⁴³ Chen Bing (1988), p. 84.

and by the Ming the liturgical practices of the *Zhengyi* tradition had been unified and subsumed under the label 'Qingwei Lingbao' 清微靈寶.⁴⁴ Many maintain that by the Ming there were basically two schools of Daoism, the Quanzhen and the *Zhengyi*, with the Quanzhen producing ascetics and the *Zhengyi* producing ritualists for both elite and folk ritual.

Despite the claim that it was responsible for 'supplying the ascetics' during the Ming dynasty, traditional scholarship tends to paint a dim picture of the overall state of the Quanzhen during the Ming. It is often repeated that during this period the Quanzhen school had fallen into 'disrepair and corruption.'⁴⁵ This may reflect trends in sinology which tends to ignore the study of Daoism and Buddhism under the Ming and Qing by stating that during those periods those religions did not undergo significant development. This trend has been influenced by past Japanese scholarship, which often studied China only up to Song dynasty, the period that saw the last great transfer of Chinese culture to Japan. In the case of Buddhism, the Ming and Qing were very fruitful times in terms of the spread of Buddhism across China and the same is true of Quanzhen, which despite its apparent state of decline, survived during the Ming. One could even argue that it flourished, as it was during this period that it began to spread steadily into southern China. CHEN Bing 陳兵 maintains that the Northeast, Northwest, and Southwest regions of China all show evidence of Quanzhen activity by the beginning of the Qing.⁴⁶

The situation changed radically with the conquest of China by the Manchurian Qing dynasty and their subsequent patronage of the Quanzhen Longmen order. When

⁴⁴ Davis, p. 30.

⁴⁵ Chen Bing (1988), p. 84.

⁴⁶ Chen Bing (1988), p. 86, and Goossaert (2000), p. 35.

they first conquered China, the Manchurian Qing tended to keep Chinese forms of religion at a distance.⁴⁷ Rather, coming from Mongolian cultural areas, they continued to follow their own form of Mahayana Buddhism similar to that of the Tibetans. Thus, though there were no new restrictions placed on religious activity, there was little government support of Chinese religion at the start of the Qing. Over time, however, the Manchurian Qing began to inadvertently *and* self-consciously assimilate into Chinese culture. For example, many have argued that the almost fanatical manner in which the Qing embraced Confucianism and the worship of Confucius was partly an attempt to win the loyalty of their subjects.⁴⁸ As we shall see below, the Qings' strict interpretation of Confucian morals and the doctrine of 'ritual propriety' (*li* 禮) would later have an effect on their decision to patronize the reformed Longmen order.

The fall of the Ming dynasty also caused many Chinese intellectuals to cross the divide between Confucians and Daoists. It was difficult for many of the literati to accept that their country had fallen into the hands of foreign 'barbarians,' and many scholars joined sides with the Quanzhen school, both as a protest against the Qing and as a sign of their Chinese-ness.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Chen Bing (1990), p. 628.

⁴⁸ Esposito (2000), p. 645.

⁴⁹ Esposito (2000), p. 627.

The Longmen Pai 龍門派 and its Rise to Dominance.

According to tradition, each of Wang Chongyang's seven disciples founded a separate order or 'branch' (*pai* 派). Qiu Chuji is said to have founded the Longmen order, which takes its name from a mountain of the same name where he lived.⁵⁰ Current scholarship sees the origins of the Longmen as more complex. Vincent Goossaert argues that a unified Longmen order really only began four centuries after Qiu Chuji, with reforms led by Wang Changyue 王常月 (1520-1680) abbot of the Baiyun Guan in Beijing.⁵¹ However, Monica Esposito has shown that there was a group in Shaanxi that called itself Longmen prior to Wang Changyue. This group practiced different traditions of Daoist neidan.⁵² However, it was not the practice of neidan that led to the Qing dynasty dominance of the Longmen over all other orders of the Quanzhen, but rather it was the Longmen order's status as a precepts' lineage (*liuzong* 律宗) whose followers practiced strict observance of Quanzhen's ethical and moral rules that helped the order rise to prominence.⁵³ This status was the result of Wang Changyue's reforms.

The following account of the early career and conversion of Wang Changyue comes from CHEN Bing who relies heavily on traditional hagiographies.⁵⁴ Wang Changyue was first exposed to Daoism as a child when he was sent by his family for Daoist training, in order to help him overcome his weak constitution. When he was older

⁵⁰ Chen Bing (1988), p. 84.

⁵¹ Goossaert (2000).

⁵² Esposito (2000), p. 628.

⁵³ Chen Bing (1988), p. 84.

⁵⁴ Chen Bing (1988), p. 85.

he traveled for ten years to various Daoist sites, during which time he visited over fifty different teachers in more than twenty different places. He received the Daoist precepts from the sixth Longmen master Zhao Zhensong 趙真嵩 (Daoist appellation Fuyang 復陽, n.d.) on Wangwu Shan 王屋山. At that time Zhao said to him that these were the original precepts of the Quanzhen school but they had been hidden for four hundred years during which time their practice had fallen into disorder. He then charged Wang with *once again propagating them, which is precisely what he did.*

One of the most important aspects of the religious thought of Wang Changyue was his emphasis on the practice of precepts. Wang's teachings differed from earlier Quanzhen teachings in that he claimed that the precepts were the first and foremost practice of the Quanzhen. To Wang Changyue, Quanzhen monastics must first perfect their observance of the monastic precepts before engaging in other forms of spiritual practice. (This is not to say that he separated precepts from practice, in his mind precepts were the practice.) He believed that the precepts were the highest method for awakening, because by following the precepts monastics would simultaneously cultivate their *behavior and their minds.*⁵⁵ *The cultivation of mind was another important element of Wang Changyue's thought. In the *Biyuan Tanjing* 碧苑壇經 [Platform Scripture of the Jade Garden], he says:*

Worldly methods (*shifa* 世法) and methods of leaving the world (*chushifa* 出世法) are only in the one mind. [It is] how the mind is used to go against or accord with [the teachings of Daoism] that is not the same.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Chen Bing (1988), p. 88.

⁵⁶ *Biyuan Tanjing* ZWDS 10.174a.

What is important then is the use of mind, which is an essential element of Longmen pedagogy. This type of discourse shows similarity with that of Chan Buddhism, which is not surprising as the founder of Quanzhen Wang Chongyang himself drew heavily on Chan terminology in his syncretic approach to Daoism. It is clear that Wang Changyue and his followers continued in this tradition. In the *Biyuan Tanjing* he repeatedly uses the term ‘Sages, Worthies, Immortals, and Buddhas’ (*sheng xian xian fo* 聖賢仙佛) to refer to those who have successfully cultivated the way, taking the Buddhas as exemplary beings akin to the Immortals. Even the name of that text mimics that of the influential *Liuzu Tanjing* 六祖壇經 [Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch], attributed to Hui Neng 慧能, the sixth patriarch of Chan Buddhism.⁵⁷

Wang’s views on ethical conduct were highly amenable to the moralistic Qing, especially because he, like many religious thinkers at the time, equated the ethical system of his own religion with Confucian virtues (such as filial piety, loyalty, and faithfulness) at a time when many groups, religious and otherwise, were consciously attempting to bring their doctrine in line with Confucianism.⁵⁸ Despite his equation of Daoist ethics with Confucian morality, he continued to claim that *Daoism is the highest teaching*. He emphasized that the methods of Daoism (*daofa* 道法) are the ultimate teachings and support all worldly teachings such as Confucianism.⁵⁹

Wang Changyue clearly favored the practice of precepts and was highly critical of neidan and other common Daoist practices.⁶⁰ He labeled practices such as the recitation

⁵⁷ T 2008.48. Most scholars now agree that this work was likely composed by his disciple, Shenhui 神會.

⁵⁸ Esposito (2000), p. 628.

⁵⁹ Chen Bing (1988), p. 88.

⁶⁰ See for example, the *Biyuan Tanjing* ZWDS 10.177a.

of scripture, prostration, 'crossing the hidden world of death,' breath practice, and alchemical, medicinal, and dietary techniques as 'not urgent matters' (*bujizhi fu* 不急之服),⁶¹ claiming that his teachings were orthodox Quanzhen. His emphasis on precepts and his criticism of other practices fits with two general intellectual trends of the Ming and Qing: First, there was an overwhelming emphasis on a morality based in Confucian ethics. Second, there was a simplification of many esoteric techniques, in order to make them comprehensible to the common person, which Monica Esposito has referred to in the context of Daoism as the 'dumbing down of alchemical practices.'⁶²

Wang Changyue's teachings were so appealing to the government, and so successful was he in lobbying for a precepts-based reform of the Quanzhen order that the Longmen order, headquartered at the Baiyun Guan, was granted a monopoly over all Quanzhen ordinations in China.⁶³ Thus, from the time of Wang Changyue to the present, if one wished to be ordained into the Quanzhen school one had to take ordination at one of the Longmen orders ordination platforms, which were almost always held in Beijing at the Baiyun Guan. During these ordinations monastics would receive the *Santan Yuanman Tianxian Dajie* 三壇圓滿天仙大戒 [Three Altar Complete Great Precepts of Heavenly Immortals] (Hereafter *Santan Dajie*).⁶⁴ These precepts are divided into three parts, the *Chuzhen Jie* 初真戒 [Precepts of the Beginning Perfected], *Zhongji Jie* 中極戒

⁶¹ Chen Bing (1988), p. 88.

⁶² Esposito (2000), p. 65.

⁶³ Yoshioka (1952), p. 79. The centralization of ordination has occurred numerous times in East Asian religious history. It was most often done by the government in order to maintain control over religious institutions and there is no reason that this was not also the reason behind the centralization of Quanzhen ordination.

⁶⁴ DZJY Zhangji 張集 7 (f. 228).

[Intermediate Precepts], and *Tianxian Jie* 天仙戒 [Precepts of the Heavenly Immortals].⁶⁵

It is believed that Wang Changyue, in addition to compiling the *Santan Dajie*, composed the *Tianxian Jie* himself.⁶⁶ (The 300 Intermediate Precepts, which were originally modeled after the Buddhist precepts, have been in use since the Six Dynasties.)⁶⁷ Wang was not only personally responsible for the unification of Quanzhen ordination and precepts, but he also ordained thousands of monastics during the course of his life in Beijing, Nanjing, and Hangzhou.⁶⁸

These disciples continued his tradition by taking over older monasteries and founding new ones throughout China. For example, in 1688 Du Yangdong 杜陽棟, a grand-disciple of Wang, became the Abbot of Yuanmiao Guguan 元妙古觀 in West Lake (*Xihu* 西湖), developing it into the second ever Quanzhen monastery in Guangdong (Canton).⁶⁹ Another important Longmen monastery, the Taiqing Gong 太清宮 was founded by another of Wang Changyue's disciples in 1780.⁷⁰ This monastery would become the center for all Longmen Quanzhen activities in Northeast China and is important for the present study in that one of the most detailed descriptions of life in a Longmen monastery available to us is the *Dōkyō Sūrin – Taisekyu Shi* 道教叢林 - 太清宮志, by IGARASHI Kenryū 五十嵐賢隆, which dates from the Republican period.

⁶⁵ These precepts correspond respectively to the Śramanera, Bhikṣu, and Bodhisattva precepts of Mahayana Buddhism.

⁶⁶ Chen Bing (1988), p. 88.

⁶⁷ Esposito (2001), p. 195.

⁶⁸ Esposito (2000), p. 630.

⁶⁹ Chen Bing (1988), p. 86.

⁷⁰ Chen Bing, p. 86.

Situation of the Longmen Monasteries Under the Qing⁷¹

In Daoist monasticism, as in Chinese Buddhism, there are two types of monasteries (in Daoism either type may be referred to as *guan* 觀 or *gong* 宮). There are the large public monasteries (*shifang conglin* 十方叢林), such as the Baiyun Guan, which rely on government support and generally house communities of one hundred males or more.⁷² At public monasteries, the abbacy need not be filled by a monastic from a specific branch within the order, but is open to all officially ordained Quanzhen monastics. This is not the case at the other type of monastery, the smaller ‘private’ monastery, which belongs to a specific lineage with only members of that group being allowed to serve as abbot.⁷³ It was usually at these smaller monasteries that monastics received their first initiation, though they still had to go to a public monastery to receive full ordination.

Despite the existence of many public Longmen monasteries, the majority of Longmen monastics lived in the smaller monasteries and would only travel to the former to receive ordination or during the wandering pilgrimage that was commonly undertaken directly after ordination. The smaller monasteries usually only had one or two ordained

⁷¹ For much of the following account of Longmen monasteries during the Qing I shall summarize the work of Vincent Goossaert who is currently conducting extensive research into the social structure of the Quanzhen school during that period.

⁷² Despite the absence of any public monasteries devoted to female monastics, there were parts of China where female monastics predominated in the second type of monastery, far outnumbering the one-third of Longmen monastic population they represented. Goossaert (2000), p. 23.

⁷³ Although the smaller monasteries may be called *guan* or *gong*, they may also be called a hermitage (*an* 菴), a term shared with Buddhism.

monastics who most often served the needs of the laity.⁷⁴ These were scattered throughout the Empire and did not always have good contact with one another. Adding to the relative independence of the smaller monasteries was the fact that, although all monastics were expected to follow the same precepts (*jie* 戒), not all monasteries were expected to follow the same set of regulations (*gui* 規).⁷⁵ In Daoism, precepts are the rules that govern the personal conduct of the monastics. They are moral in nature and regulate the actions that individual monastics take. The regulations, on the other hand, are focused on the institution of the monastery and are more practical in nature, dealing with the economic, political, and social structure of the monastery. They were also usually site specific, and varied by location. Like the precepts the regulations include rules that govern the conduct of the monastics. Unlike the precepts, however, they also describe the punishments for breaking of any of those rules.⁷⁶ The purposes of the two sets of rules are different. While the precepts are primarily for the purpose of aiding the monastic in personal cultivation, the purpose of the regulations is more related to social harmony and the smooth running of the monastic institution. Despite the universal importance of these regulations, however, there was no universal set of regulations observed by all Longmen monasteries such as there was in Buddhist monasteries.⁷⁷ Because of the relative isolation of many of the Quanzhen monasteries and the lack of common regulations, the precepts, and the conferring of precepts, became a key element in establishing and maintaining a unified Quanzhen institution.

⁷⁴ Goossaert (2000), p. 8.

⁷⁵ Goossaert (2000), p. 29.

⁷⁶ These punishments could include kneeling for the time it takes an incense stick to burn, serving tea to the community, or a public confession before the monastics.

By the late imperial period Quanzhen was very urban in character, with many of its private monasteries existing in urban or suburban areas. Quanzhen monastics also began to move in large numbers to more southern cities such as Shanghai and Hong Kong to found temples.⁷⁸ However in the south, they were considered outsiders and though they founded monasteries, the Quanzhen order left most ritual duties to local, non-monastic clergy who practiced Qingwei Lingbao ritual.⁷⁹

After Wang Changyue, the Quanzhen school, and specifically the Longmen order, remained the dominant form of monastic Daoism through the end of the Qing dynasty and even into the present day. Due to the official monopoly the Longmen held (and holds) on ordination, all officially recognized Quanzhen monastics were at least minimally trained in the rules and practices of the Longmen order. This point is especially important when attempting to assess how widespread the daily liturgy of the Longmen was, and how unified it was. This situation continues today as Quanzhen Daoism has again become the only form of Daoism officially recognized by the government of China.

⁷⁷ The earliest and most carefully studied are the *Chanyuan Qinggui* 禪苑清規 ZZ 111.438. See Foulk and Yifa.

⁷⁸ Goossaert (2000), p. 40.

⁷⁹ Goossaert (2000), p. 41.

CHAPTER 2

The Longmen View of the *Gongke*

In discussing the role of liturgy in the daily life of the Longmen we shall look first at the writings of the order's virtual founder, Wang Changyue. His thoughts on monastic life have been recorded in the *Biyuan Tanjing*, a collection of sermons he gave to new monastics during an ordination session he presided over.⁸⁰ (Also extant as the *Longmen Xinfu* 龍門心法 [Heart Methods of the Longmen].)⁸¹ Although *gongke* is not one of the topics he addresses directly in either work, he does mention it twice in the *Biyuan Tanjing*, first while discussing the Three Refuges (*San Guiyi* 三皈依). The Three Refuges is a rite that occurs in both the ordination ritual and the *gongke*, by which the monastics proclaim their belief in and reliance on the Three Treasures of Daoism (*San Bao* 三寶). In the *Biyuan Tanjing*, Wang defines the three treasures as follows:

The Three Treasures are Dao 道, the Scripture (*jing* 經) and the Teachers (*shi* 師). Dao is originally empty. Without form and without name. If not for the scriptures, Dao cannot be understood. Dao is in the scriptures, mysterious, deep, miraculous and wondrous. If not for the Teachers, its principle cannot be obtained. If one does not take refuge in the Three Treasures, he shall certainly sink into the waves of heretical ways.⁸²

⁸⁰ ZWDS 10.158.

⁸¹ ZWDS 6.

⁸² ZWDS 10.159b12. Wang Chongyang defined both internal and external Three Treasures in the *Chongyang Zhenren Shou Danyang Ershisi Jue*, where he defines the external Three Treasures as Wang Changyue does. The internal Three Treasures he defines as *jing* 精 [essence], *qi* 氣 [pneuma], and *shen* 神 [spirit]. DZ 1158.2a. These three are the three important ingredients in *neidan*, see for example, the *Gaoshang Yuhuang Xinyin Miaojing* recited during the *zaotan* (see Chapter 3 and the Appendix).

We see here that the Three Treasures are of paramount importance to the soteriology. Without the guidance of the scriptures and the teachers one is not able to attain Dao. By means of the Three Refuges, a rite performed daily, the monastic submits and apprentices himself to the teachers and their teachings. In the *Biyuan Tanjing* Wang expands the rite of Refuge Taking, beyond the rite itself, encouraging the monastics to remain 'in refuge' throughout their days.

You must take refuge in the true Three Treasures. Why is this? Assembled congregation! Take the Three Refuges like [you have done] today. See that they are recalled constantly. After reciting and paying obeisance before the images of the sages in the morning and the evening, do not break the ultimate goal of the Three Refuges.⁸³

By underscoring the link between the fundamental practice of the Three Refuges and the *gongke* he reinforces the importance of both in daily life. One cannot properly perform the *gongke* without sincerely accepting and submitting to all aspects of the Daoist path. At the same time, *gongke* is one of the places where the efficacy of refuge-taking can manifests itself. We also see, from the above passages, that at the time of Wang's reforms in the early Qing, morning and evening liturgies were already being performed daily in Longmen monasteries.

Within the Longmen writings that discuss *gongke* directly, a term commonly used is that of sincerity. Therefore a proper understanding of the nature of sincerity and its application to *gongke* can help us understand the purposes and effects of the Longmen *gongke*. The Chinese term *cheng* 誠 can be translated as sincerity or truthfulness of intention, but it also includes the idea of respect. Generally speaking, it can be said that sincerity means that there is no conflict between behavior and attitude. Sincerity is

essential when dealing with the deities as the sincere mind, by virtue of its wholeness and lack of contradiction, does not create a boundary between the deity and the monastic. In Longmen pedagogy, sincere performance of *gongke* can be used to bring one's mind into accord with one's actions, i.e. the performance itself. Sincere performance of ritual can lead to the harmonization of one's actions and one's inner mental state. As an element of spiritual training, the practice of sincerity can produce certain states of mind. The creative aspect of sincerity is also discussed by David Hall and Roger Ames in the introduction to their translation of the *Daode Jing*, in which they translate *cheng* 誠 as 'creativity':

“Sincerity” as affective tone is the ground of growth in mutual relationships, and “integrity” is the “becoming one” that occurs as we become intimate. The deepening of these relationships that in sum constitute us as a person is a profoundly co-creative process of “doing and undergoing,” of shaping and being shaped.⁸⁴

Although I do not necessarily agree in their translation of *cheng* as 'creativity,' I do believe that in the context of the Longmen *gongke* it certainly appears that it is only through sincerity of mind that the soteriological effects of the *gongke* can be 'created,' or realized. Training in sincerity is thus one type of the mental training important to the Longmen institution. An undivided use of the mind was seen as essential for the advancement of one's practice.

Wang Changyue highlights the importance of the sincerity during the *gongke* when he writes about the Repentance Writs (*chanhui wen* 懺悔文) used in the *gongke*. After a general listing of 'violations of the primary and middle precepts,' Wang states

⁸³ ZWDS 10.160a9.

that one of the violations important enough to merit specific mention is reciting the scriptures ‘as empty sentences without one’s mind being present.’⁸⁵ Wang Changyue placed importance on the manner in which the scriptures are recited rather than focusing on the mere fact that they were recited. His insistence on the mindful recitation of scriptures fits well with his soteriology, according to which, the fundamental goal of the Daoist monastic path is seeing the mind with the mind. In the training of the mind, every action demands careful attention, even more so does the *gongke*, when one stands before deities, immortals, and patriarchs.

Another important source for Wang Changyue’s teachings, and the model against which every Longmen monastic was supposedly instructed, are the *Santan Dajie*. As the only normative texts shared by all Longmen monastics, they are one of the most informative sources we have for examining the order’s practice of liturgy.

In reference to Daoist scriptures in general, the precepts and other normative writings all prohibit the study or recitation of scriptures before a novice has received the precepts.⁸⁶ Novices are warned against ‘stealing a listen’ when their master is lecturing or chanting scripture.⁸⁷ Here it is important to remember that most novices lived in the smaller private monasteries (see chapter 1) with only one or two ordained clerics. Their postulancy would often last over a year during which time they were supposed to study the precepts rather than scripture, reinforcing the centrality of the precepts in the training of the Longmen monastic. The prohibition against novitiate study of Daoist scripture was not absolute, however, as the novices would be required to attend and even participate in

⁸⁴ Ames and Hall, p. 19.

⁸⁵ ZWDS 6.732; 8b.

⁸⁶ *Santan Dajie* DZJY Zhangji 1, p. 47a.

the *gongke*. On those occasions they would have the opportunity to hear the scriptures included in the *gongke*.

During ordination all Longmen monastics received the same set of precepts, but little is said specifically about *gongke*, though there are several passages that give us an indication of the general manner in which it was to be performed. The *Chuzhen Jie* 初真戒 [Precepts of the Beginning Perfected], which are the first level of precepts taken by novices during their three-part ordination, command the monastic to recite the five grave precepts (against killing, theft, sex, drinking, and lying.) while burning incense every morning.⁸⁸ This practice is attested to in the *Xuanmen Gongke*, which includes a recitation of these five precepts near the end of the *zaotan*, after the recitation of scriptures (see chapter 3).

Although there is no further mention made in the precepts about daily liturgical activities, there is some time spent on explaining the manner in which the monastic is to relate to the various kinds of non-Daoist spiritual beings that are encountered outside the context of Daoist ritual. In the *Intermediate Precepts* the monastic is prohibited from bowing to ghosts (*gui* 鬼) or deities (*shen* 神) or reciting incantations (*zhou* 咒) or vows (*shi* 誓) before them.⁸⁹ The monastics are told, however, not to be haughty before the ghosts and deities, but to be respectful of them.⁹⁰ This indicates that, though the monastic was operating in a different hierarchy than the ghosts and spirits of the more ‘popular’ pantheon, they did not reject those beings or the need to treat them with respect. We

⁸⁷ QGXM ZWDS 10.602a.

⁸⁸ *Santan Dajie* DZJY Zhangji 1, p. 35a.

⁸⁹ *Santan Dajie* DZJY Zhangji 1, pp. 70a-b, 74a. For a discussion on the daily use of incantations in Longmen monasticism see chapter 3.

shall see in the next chapter how the Earth God (*Tudi Gong* 土地公), a figure prominent in popular Chinese religion, is called upon last in the morning liturgy of the *Xuanmen Gongke* to ensure that the merits of the monastery are duly reported to the celestial bureaucracy of the Jade Emperor.

Another normative text of Quanzhen monastic life is the *Qinggui Xuanmiao* 清規玄妙 [Mysterious Wondrousness of the Pure Regulations]⁹¹ published by Min Yide 閔一得 at Jin'gai Shan 金蓋山 in Zhejiang Province. This work was written in the very late eighteenth century (around the time of the compilation of the first *Daozang Jiyao*), but the latter half consists of a compilation of earlier writings on monastic life, some dating to the 13th century. There is also reason to believe that the first half itself was not entirely new material either, but rather a summary of other writings. Because of the author's reliance on earlier materials and the fact that this text appears to have had wide distribution (it was found at Lao Shan and in Guangdong, among other places) we can take it to be fairly representative of the Longmen order as a whole.⁹² The *Qinggui Xuanmiao* paints a picture of the ideal life of a Longmen monastery and contains rules on virtually every aspect of monastic life, from the color of the clothes worn during specific ceremonies to the proper mental attitude with which one should serve one's teacher. In this text we also find information regarding *gongke* in Longmen monasteries.

In the section entitled "Recitation of Scripture" we find a description of the attitude that a monastic should have when reciting scripture. Although this passage is not referring to *gongke* specifically, there are scriptures recited during the *gongke* and there is

⁹⁰ This passage is reminiscent of the famous line in the *Analects* in which Confucius says, "Respect the spirits, but keep them at a distance." 敬鬼神而遠之. 論語 6.22.

no reason to believe that the following guidelines were not also seen as suitable for such recitation.

When a Quanzhen recites scripture, harmony is most appropriate, and the goal is sincerity (*cheng* 誠). [Recite] with one mind, not [divided into] two [purposes], as though the body has entered into the bright moon; empty and vast. Do not [try to] look and do not [try to] listen. Each character, each sentence, all come forth from the mind, as though [you are] not producing [any] sound at all. Quietly gaze at the scripture, each character coming forth from the seal of the Heavenly Eye (*tianmu* 天目). Do it in accordance with the rules. Carelessly reciting in some [random] tune so as to cause passersby who hear you to ask what lineage the melody is, is certainly not a way to uphold the Quanzhen [standard of] behavior.⁹³

In this passage we again see an emphasis on the need for sincerity and undivided attention in the recitation of scripture. We will see these sentiments repeated in the preface of the *Xuanmen Gongke* translated below. It is interesting to note that the mind is identified here as the origin of the scripture during recitation. This is appropriate given Wang Changyue's statement that 'all teachings of leaving the world are only in the one mind' (see chapter 1). It should be noted, however, that the idea of the scriptures coming from the mind itself is something peculiar to Quanzhen (and possibly but less likely, only to MIN's sub-branch of the Longmen order) that is not seen in other forms of Daoism. The identification in this passage of lineage with melody is another point that deserves attention. The implication of the final lines is that lineages have their own fixed melodies for scriptural recitation, which were an important element in the practice of scriptural recitation and thus *gongke* as well. One question this raises is the manner in which the

⁹¹ ZWDS 10.

⁹² Goossaert (2000), p. 27.

⁹³ ZWDS 10.601a.

monastics learned these melodies. In the case of wandering Longmen monastics, knowledge of the *gongke* was not only useful, it was mandatory if one was going to get a place to stay for the night.

Looking at the treatment of wandering monastics by the Longmen institution is one of the clearest ways in which one can examine the overall unity of that institution. How was the Longmen order able to maintain a standard of practice that would allow for the integration of monastics from different regions of China as they moved from place to place? After ordination, many monastics would go on pilgrimage to various Daoist monasteries before either returning to their home monastery or settling down somewhere else. It also appears that some monastics continued to pursue the life of the wandering ascetic throughout their careers, and the wandering ascetic remained a respected figure within the Quanzhen institution throughout the Qing. During their travels, monastics would stay overnight at whatever monastery they happened to come across along the way. Without a system for checking identity, the arrival of wandering monastics could have been the source of considerable trouble at Longmen monasteries. In the worst case, the strangers could have been beggars, frauds, and/or criminals. However, if they were indeed real monastics, they had to prove that they could fit into the daily life of the monastery. In order to deal with the potentially disruptive situation of having strangers joining the rigid life of the monastic community at a moments notice, the Longmen institution created specific rules that governed both the admission of wandering monastics and their behavior while guests in a monastery. This admission procedure mirrors similar Buddhist practices, and it requires a great deal of ceremony, including a scripted interview between the monastic requesting admission and the Guest Prefect

(*zhike* 知客), the monastic who's job it was to look after guests at the monastery.⁹⁴ This procedure assumes an orthodox institution on several levels. First, it assumes that the wandering monastic will know the proper phrases to say when first meeting the Guest Prefect. Second, he is required to recite his lineage and where he is from, thus identifying himself as part of the Longmen order. The final part of the entrance procedure is a test of the wanderer's knowledge of what we can assume by its inclusion to be a central aspect of monastic life—recitation of the *gongke*. It is only after this entire procedure is successfully repeated twice with two different officers of the monastery, that the wanderer is given permission to stay at the monastery. The monastic thus identifies himself as a member of the order explicitly and implicitly by means of his lineage and his knowledge of liturgy.⁹⁵

Once the wanderer has been admitted, he joins the larger community and is expected to follow the regulations (*gui* 規) of the monastery at all times. He is also required to wait two or three days before participating in any assemblies (*hui* 會) at the monastery. No mention is made, however, of waiting before taking part in *gongke*, which I believe are not included in the category of assemblies. Rather, it seems that the *gongke* was an essential duty of daily life for all members of the community. In the *Changchun Zhenren Zhishibang* 長春真人執事榜 [Perfect One Changchun's⁹⁶ Announcement on Upholding the Affairs of the Monastery], one of the writings found in the second half of the *Qinggui Xuanmiao*, it says, “The congregation should personally have public debates on truth, they ought to uphold the two-hall *Gongke*, and they should not be lazy about the

⁹⁴ ZWDS 10.599a.

⁹⁵ These practices were still in practice during the Republican period. Igarashi, pp. 195-6.

five categories of imperial scripture.”⁹⁷ Thus the custom of a twice-daily *gongke* is again attested to by textual evidence, which, if the attribution to Qiu Chuji is correct, dates back to the beginning of the Quanzhen order. In another text from that same section of the *Qinggui Xuanmiao*, the *Qingguibang* 清規榜 [Announcement on the Pure Regulations], it states that unless one has some public business, the punishment for missing the morning or evening *gongke* is kneeling for one stick of incense. Although this is the mildest form of punishment, absence at the morning or evening *gongke* was nevertheless a punishable offense. This statement also indicates that the less experienced monastics, who would not often hold a position that would cause them to miss either *gongke*, would be present for most *gongke*.

The most detailed instructions for the performance of the *gongke* can be found in the prefaces to the *gongke* themselves. By studying the prefaces to the *gongke*, one may see the ways that the texts had been framed by the Longmen order itself. The prefaces to the *Daomen Gongke* and the *Xuanmen Gongke* show a great deal of overlap but as I have, for reasons made clear in the introduction, chosen to focus on the *Xuanmen Gongke* in this study what follows is my translation of its preface.

Xuanmen Zaowantan Gongke Xu 玄門早晚壇功課序 [Preface to the Daily Liturgies of the Mysterious Gate]⁹⁸

I humbly venture to take the gold writings and the jade bookcase as the gate of entering Dao. [For the humble] subject, chanting scripture and reciting incantations (*zhou* 咒) is the path of cultivating immortality. If you can enter into the gate of Dao, you can return to your primordial nature. If you can attain cultivation of the path of the

⁹⁶ Changchun 長春 was the Daoist pseudonym of Qiu Chuji, see chapter 1.

⁹⁷ ZWDS 10.612a.

⁹⁸ DZJY Zhangji 1. It is clear that the preface of the *Xuanmen Gongke* is an enlargement of the preface to the *Daomen Gongke*. I have illustrated this fact by indicating in boldface those sections that are only included in the *Xuanmen Gongke*.

immortals, you can know the natural mind. For this reason Daoists living in the public monasteries 'burn the incense fires' diligently within the twelve hours of each of the 3000 days without rest. In the morning and evening honor the statues of the sages. You ought to convey personal sincerity. With the highest degree of diligence, pray for the regulation of the country's prosperity. **You will attain the blessing of ascending to immortality. Now what is the *gongke*? *Gongke* is taking part in a session of merit[-making].⁹⁹ Taking part in a session [for] one's own merit is cultivating one's own Dao. Cultivating one's own Dao is to depend on the canon of the prior sages. Reciting the gold writings and the jade invocations (*hao* 號) of the supreme sages illuminates your own original nature and true mind (*zhenxin* 真心). If not for the organized teachings (*kejiao* 科教), you cannot propagate the great Dao. If not for taking part in a session of recitation (*kesong* 課誦) you will be without anything to protect and nourish Original Harmony. The scriptures are the mind tradition of the previous sages. Incantations are the methods of the ancient immortals. If one recites them sincerely (*cheng* 誠) then the scriptures are illuminated (*jingming* 經明). If one practices them with sincerity then the methods will become efficacious (*fayan* 法驗). If the scriptures are illuminated then Dao will unite within [the monastic]. If the methods are efficacious, then techniques will manifest externally. Scriptural illumination and the efficacy of methods are both complete. Inner work and outer practice are both present. **They are the standards of those living in public monasteries, the ladder of those who ascend as immortals. If it were not for the public monastery, there would be nothing to refine the virtue and nature of the community. If not for the ladder [of the immortals,] how can you hope to seek the perfected immortality of leaving the world (*chushi* 出世)? Suppose you are willing to cultivate Dao with a sincere mind. Within the 'two sixes' (the twelve hours of the day), in each moment arouse attention, and at all times check over [things]. In the very midst of the world you can leave the world. Dwelling in the dusts [of the world] you can separate from dust. [You] turn to leave via the Gate of Right and Wrong (*shifeizhi men* 是非之門); proceeding directly on the path of wu-wei 無爲; wandering leisurely through space; exiting and entering emptiness, free and independent; without production and without annihilation. In your heart not one****

⁹⁹ In this passage the author has defined *gongke* by simply reversing the constituent characters of *gongke*, making *ke* 課 into a verb and *gong* 功 its object. 功課者課功也. This is a highly unusual usage. See the

[mote of] dust is established. With wondrous function you directly pass over the three borders.¹⁰⁰ **If one does this [he can] understand the sincerity of one thought of the natural mind, leave the sufferings of the three roads (*santu* 三途)¹⁰¹ [that exist] in the world. [He] treads the path of immortality and escapes from the ford of delusion of the sea of sufferings. [He is] without former transgression to repent of and also has no future transgressions to repent of. Being without former transgression to repent of is the rectification of mind. Being without future transgressions to repent of is the sincerity of thought. If the mind is correct there will be no evil karma (*eye* 惡業). If the thoughts are sincere, what calamities will there be? If there is no evil karma then you immediately arrive at the Celestial Halls (*tiantang* 天堂). If there are no calamities, then [you] will desert hell, [your] virtue [will be] as high as space and [your] merit will join with Emperor of Vacuity. **If you pray for the aversion of disaster, then the disaster will be dispelled; pray for good fortune and good fortune will arrive. Without seeking there is no response. If there is stimulus, in every [case it there will be] attainment. Take part in a session to recite all the scriptures of the immortals and the precious invocations (*baohao* 寶號) of the multitude Perfected. Hence, in purifying the mind, purifying the mouth, and purifying the body, all have their incantations. In pacifying heaven, pacifying earth, and pacifying the spirits, there are the writs (*zhang* 章). They all have a fixed sequence, none should be skipped. Still, following the *gongke* of the hall, truly perform prayers for the great plans of the Nation. In morning and night recite and chant. At dawn and dusk forget your exhaustion. **Continue until the three thousand merits are fulfilled and the eight hundred practices are complete. When it is thus, this is the highest service of those who have left home. It is the Dao and *de* 德 of the gentleman. In the torrent of wax candles, see the gathered collection of Catalpa-wood scripture blocks. Make an offering to the four directions and cause all [in] the Daoist congregation under heaven to obey and take refuge in the session (*ke* 課) teachings, and to faithfully receive and put them into practice. This serves as the Preface.******

Whenever one recites the scriptures, one must observe the fasts and precepts. Solemnly arranging clothing and headgear, make the mind sincere and

following discussion.

¹⁰⁰ 三際. The realms of past, present, and future. Also called the three times.

stabilize the *qi*. Knock the teeth to produce a sound.¹⁰² After that, clearly recite, carefully, not loosely or slowly, [do it as if] speaking in an interview. Serve in extreme solemnity, each thought without opposition [to the Dao]. Pray according to [your] wishes (*yuan* 願) and naturally there will be sympathetic response¹⁰³ (*ganying* 感應).

From the *Preface to the Daily Liturgies of the Mysterious Teachings* (hereafter *Preface*), which serves as both an explanation and a caution, many things about the role of *gongke* in the Longmen monastery become apparent. There is an explanation of the purpose and efficacy of the various parts of the *gongke*, as well as cautions as to how the monastics are to perform them. The author equates the practice of liturgy, i.e., the recitation of the scriptures and incantations, with the ultimate spiritual aim of all Quanzhen monastics—the path to immortality. The monastics are urged to participate at all times with diligence as the *gongke* is seen as one of the central tasks of their daily lives.

Personal sincerity is also stressed in the *Preface*. Even though the *gongke* would only have been performed by four monastics (or eight on the twice-monthly feast days), every member of the community would be in attendance and were still expected to ‘convey personal sincerity’ as they stood before the sages.¹⁰⁴ The focus on the personal nature of participation in the *gongke* is different from other types of Daoist liturgy as the monastics are encouraged to cultivate their own personal Dao through performance of the *gongke*.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Roads to the three hells of fire (*huotu* 火途), blood (*xietu* 血途), and knives (*daotu* 刀途).

¹⁰² Knocking, or grinding of teeth is a common Daoist practice, performed not only before the recitation of scripture but also before meditation. There are various ways of grinding the teeth that serve to either drive away evil influences or summon celestial spirits. Robinet, p. 38.

¹⁰³ For a discussion of this important Chinese cosmological concept see Sharf, pp. 77-133.

¹⁰⁴ Igarashi, p. 187.

¹⁰⁵ For a comparison of the *gongke* and classical Daoist liturgy see chapter 4.

The *Preface* also emphasizes the structural function of the *gongke*. The author uses *ke* 課 twice as a verb, an unusual usage that I have translated rather verbosely as ‘taking part in a session.’ *Ke* implies a specified period of time in which one performs/practices an ordered activity. Due to these associations, in modern Chinese *ke* has come to mean a class, as in one class or class period. The meaning here is slightly different from the modern meaning, however. In an earlier attempt at translating this term I had used ‘taking part in a lesson of merit,’ but as Dr. Tao-chung Yao has pointed out to me this implies a teacher and this is not the case during the *gongke*. What the monastics are doing by performing the *gongke* is performing a structured activity for the purpose of making spiritual merit. That being the case, the arrangement of the *gongke* is integral to its spiritual efficacy, not merely a product of logistics. “If not for the organized teachings, you cannot propagate the great Dao. If not for the sessions of recitation you will be without anything to protect and nourish Original Harmony.” The *gongke* is a session of merit-making and it serves as a patterned spiritual practice. This is not to say that the organization itself is the merit, rather the *gongke* is a method by which the monastics could be assured of acquiring some spiritual merit every day. It is the highly structured nature of *gongke* that makes it possible for the monastics to reap the full benefits of its contents. These benefits are in the form of the merit necessary for the attainment of immortality, the ultimate soteriological goal of the monastics.

The *gongke* also works to establish communal structure in another way. The results of the practice of *gongke*, spiritual illumination and efficacy of methods, are identified as “the standards of those living in public monasteries.” The *gongke* is important because it is foundational to the monastic institution, an institution without

which “there would be nothing to refine the virtue and nature of the community.” The *gongke* reinforces the monastic community spiritually and structurally.

It has already been noted that much of the daily lives of Longmen monastics was spent in private spiritual practice. One notable exception is the *gongke* in which the monastics performed communally (and with sincerity) a highly structured form of spiritual practice, one that was widespread, if not universal, within the Longmen institution of China.

CHAPTER 3

Structure of the *Gongke*

I. Daoist Incantations or *zhou* 咒: Ritualizing Ordinary Actions

Quanzhen monastics rise each day at an early hour (3 in the summer, 5 in the winter), comb their hair, wash their hands, rinse their mouths, and don their hats and vestments prior to participating in the *zaotan*.¹⁰⁶ Each of these actions is accompanied by the recitation of an appropriate incantation, which demonstrates the importance and significance of each act in terms of Daoist cosmology and soteriology.¹⁰⁷ The *Incantation of Washing Hands and Face*, for example, indicates how the simple action of washing one's hands serves the greater function of spiritual cultivation:

洗手面咒 *Incantation of Washing Hands and Face*

除垢神廷 Removing impurities from the spiritual palace
凝真不散 Congealed Perfection does not scatter.¹⁰⁸

These incantations are performed throughout the day, and at the end of the day the monastic is even expected to say an incantation when laying down in bed. This incantation calls upon various Daoist deities to protect the monastic while asleep.

¹⁰⁶ Igarashi, p. 187.

¹⁰⁷ *Santan Dajie* DZJY Zhangji 7, pp. 42a-b.

¹⁰⁸ *Chuzhen Jie* , p. 42b.

臨臥時咒 **Incantation When About to Lie Down**

大真玉女	Jade Maidens of the Great Perfected
侍真衛魂	Serve Perfection and guard the <i>hun</i> -souls
三宮金童	Golden Lads of the three palaces
來守生門	Come guard the gate of life ¹⁰⁹

In all, the *Precepts of the Beginning Perfected* lists 30 incantations for the various activities a Daoist monastic performs during a typical day, from the offering of incense to seemingly mundane actions such as getting out of bed and drinking water. The practice of these incantations would fall into the general training program envisioned by Wang Changyue and his promotion of the precepts as the foremost practice of Quanzhen monastics. By maintaining the awareness of actions required to correctly perform all the incantations, the monastic would learn to maintain a constant state of mindfulness. These incantations also serve the purpose of ritualizing the everyday world by linking each of the monastic's actions into the larger cosmology. Thus, incantations remind the monastic of the purpose of each action within the context of monastic training, while at the same time vivifying those actions by connecting them to the transcendent.

¹⁰⁹ *Santan Dajie* DZJY Zhangji 7, pp. 44b-45a. The Gate of Life is located three inches below the navel. Bokenkamp, p. 284.

II. Morning Gongke: Zaotan 早壇

A. Entrance Rites. According to IGARASHI, on normal days at the Baiyun Guan the *gongke* were performed in the Hall of the Supreme Lord Lao 太上老君殿 by only four monastics¹¹⁰ even though the entire community was in attendance.¹¹¹

i. Purification Verse (*chengqing yun* 澄清韻)¹¹²

According to the *Xuanmen Gongke*, the community ascends to the altar and divides into groups and remains standing, at which point the chief cantor (*jingzhu* 經主) intones the beginning of the verse, which consists of ten, four character lines. (The *Wudangshan Yinyue* states the chief cantor sings the first two lines before being joined by the community.) This verse opens the ritual, describing and creating what is happening at the beginning of the ritual. It describes the beautiful music of the ritual rising and spreading in all directions through an idealized landscape and acting as an invitation the host of immortals (*qunxian* 群仙) to gather and take part in the ritual. Finally it describes the purity of heaven and earth and the subtlety and penetrating clarity of wisdom. Here, at the beginning of the *zaotan*, we see the establishing of the cosmos, the world as it exists for the duration of the ritual is described and thus brought into existence. A

¹¹⁰ In this way the *gongke* differs from classical Daoist rituals, including those performed by the Quanzhen themselves (see, for example *Tieguan Shishi* 鐵罐施食 [Food Offering of the Iron Bowl], videocassette.), the standard number of priests is five.

¹¹¹ Igarashi, p. 187.

¹¹² According to Min, the Purification Verse used here is quoted from the *Yuanshi Wuliang Duren Shangpin Miaojing* 元始無量度人上品妙經 [Supreme Artifact Wondrous Scripture of the Primordial

preliminary invitation has also been made to the immortals, though not to any deity in particular.

ii. *Offering to the Celestial Worthies* (*feng tianzun* 奉天尊), *tigang* 提綱 and *diaogua* 吊掛

At this point in the *Xuanmen Gongke* the monastics, by way of *feng Tianzun* (Making offerings to the Celestial Worthies), bow to the Three Treasure Celestial Worthies of the Great Veil Heaven¹¹³ (*Daluó Sanbào Tianzun* 大羅三寶天尊) and recite two additional verses, a *tigang* and a *diaogua*. In the *tigang*, which acts as an introduction to the liturgy, the monastics ask for numinous sounds to come and remove any sins committed by those present as well as asking/stating that when the deities are invoked they dispel any disasters. It finally states that, as the monastics are now 'opening the altar' (*kaitan* 開壇), the multitude of spirits should respond.

The *diaogua* is a type of melody that can be used whenever scripture are recited. In the Daoist context, *diao* 吊 can have the meaning of extreme, or good. In this case it indicates an extremely good verse.¹¹⁴ In this verse the monastics requests that by performing the morning *zhai* 齋¹¹⁵ and burning incense, the country and all the people will be happy and at peace.¹¹⁶ This portion of the *Xuanmen Gongke* is not included in any of the other sources. However, modern sources such as the *Quanzhen Gongke* and

Beginning's Immeasurable Salvation of Humans] DZ 1. However, I have been unable to find the exact passage. Min (2000), p.2.

¹¹³ The Great Veil Heaven is the highest of the thirty-six Daoist heavens. Min (2000), p. 6.

¹¹⁴ Min (2000), p. 9.

¹¹⁵ Literally 'fast.' This can refer to a type of Daoist ritual or the meals taken by Daoist or Buddhist monastics. It is not clear in which sense it is being used here.

the *Wudangshan Yinyue* both list a separate verse of incense offering made *after* the next *feng Tianzun* and the *diaogua*. It seems that at some point the verse of incense offering was placed after the prostrations and *diaogua* directed to the Ever-clean and Ever-clear Celestial Worthies (*Changjing Changqing Tianzun* 常淨常清天尊), who often appear in those portions of Daoist rituals that deal with purification.

iii. Greater and Smaller Verses of Opening and Invitation (*da qiqing yun* 大啓請韻 and *xiao qiqing yun* 小啓請韻).

After the third prostration of the *feng Tianzun* the chief cantor sings the first half of the Greater Verse of Opening and Invitation unaccompanied, while the second half is sung by all the officiating priests. It begins with a praise of the Dao, likening it to the jeweled moon in the sky, sweeping clean all clouds of ignorance. The second half is distinctly alchemical in nature, as the monastics praise the “highest medicines within the body, spirit, *qi*, and essence,”¹¹⁷ and their prevalence in all beings. The last two lines end on a soteriological note, stating the alchemical implications of being able to understand the way of unitive fusion through the whirlwind.¹¹⁸ In the *Quanzhen Gongke* and the *Wudangshan Yinyue*, incense and water are now offered to the Ever-clean and Ever-clear Celestial Worthies accompanied by a verse that describes the ascent of the incense clouds, and asks for longevity of the emperors and kings.

¹¹⁶ It may seem as little surprise that the *zaotan* is referred to as a *zhai* in this verse, however it is possibly the only place in which the morning service is called a *zhai* rather than a *gongke*.

¹¹⁷ *Shangyao shenzhong shen qi jing* 上藥身中神氣精.

¹¹⁸ Here I have follow Robinet’s translation of 混合迴風. To prevent death one must unite the spirits and the body, returning to the original state of chaos in order to be reborn in immortality. The whirlwind, as the primordial breath is “the artisan of unitive fusion.” It circulates through both the macrocosmic body of the universe, as well as the microcosmic body of the practitioner. Robinet, pp. 104-109.

Here we see a preliminary offering and a request for the worldly benefits of longevity and peace. Despite the specificity of this request, at this point in the ritual the monastics are still dealing with Dao as an undifferentiated form--the cosmos. Quanzhen soteriology has also been alluded to but nothing specific has yet been mentioned.

This last section of the Entrance marks the end of the preliminary phase of the ritual and the beginning of the *zaotan* proper as the chief cantor recites the Smaller Verse of Opening and Invitation, which says, “Each person in the congregation of the area of Dao respectfully revere and respectfully face the Emperor [and as you stand] before [him] recite the scriptures according to the rule.”¹¹⁹

Now the *zaotan* has been opened through preliminary invocations and the monastics begin to recite incantations, scripture, and invocations. According to a recording of modern chanting, these three sections (subdivided below as B, C, and D) are chanted by the entire community accompanied by a regular beat played on the wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚, an instrument also found in Chinese Buddhism). None of the titles of the individual sections is chanted. The incantations and scriptures are chanted together as one unbroken whole. Although this chanting is roughly divided into eight character phrases of descending pitch, there is no fixed melody to the recitation. Instead, the monastics follow a form of ‘free chanting’ used also in Buddhist monasteries, in which the monastics are expected to chant, in harmony, according the spirit of the moment.¹²⁰ The recitation of invocations is also accompanied by the hand bell (*yingqing* 引磬) and

¹¹⁹道場眾等, 人各恭敬恭對, 帝前諷經如法. *Xuanmen Gongke Zaotan*, p. 3a.

¹²⁰ For an extended treatment of this style of chanting see Chen, Pi-yen.

follows a more fixed melody that seems to correspond to the assumed punctuation of the text, for the most part being composed of four character phrases.

B. Recitation of Incantations

In virtually all Daoist rituals the ritual area must be purified before it can be used.¹²¹ The Quanzhen *gongke* are no exception to this rule, and even though it occurs on a daily basis in the same place, the hall must be ritually purified prior to every *zaotan*. After entering the hall and making the preliminary invocations and offerings it is time for the monastics to purify and prepare the area. Purification is accomplished through the recitation of four incantations in an order agreed upon by all texts I examined. This is followed by four more incantations culminating in the *Incantation of Opening the Scriptures*, which I shall examine here as it is in the same genre. I have checked the first five incantations as they appear in the *Xuanmen Gongke* and the *Daomen Gongke* against similar Qingwei incantations found in ŌFUCHI Ninji's work on Chinese ritual and found that they match almost exactly.¹²² This reflects the debt that the Longmen *gongke* owes to the larger corpus of Daoist ritual. The sixth and seventh incantation in the *gongke* do not, however, appear at all in ŌFUCHI's work and the eighth incantation, *Incantation of Opening the Scriptures*, is entirely different.

¹²¹ Lagerwey, p. 107.

¹²² Ofuchi, p. 704. It should be pointed out that in researching this work, Ofuchi did most of his fieldwork in Taiwan where there has never been any significant Quanzhen activity.

i-iii. *Spiritual Incantations for Cleansing the Mind, Mouth, and Body* (*jingxin shenzhou* 淨心神咒, *jingkou shenzhou* 淨口神咒, and *jingshen shenzhou* 淨身神咒)

These three incantations purify and protect the mind, body, and mouth. The first incantation pacifies the mind; commands the longevity of the three *hun* 魂 souls, and forbids the *po* 魄 souls from getting lost. The second incantation deals with the spirits of microcosm of the monastic's body, commanding the spirit of the mouth to vomit out impurities, the spirit of the tongue to act righteously, the spirits of the ten-thousand teeth to guard against heresy, as well as ordering other spirits connected with alchemical refinement to do their duties. The third incantation, asks the secondary primordial deity of Daoism, *Lingbao Tianzun* 靈寶天尊, to make the souls and five viscera of the disciple peaceful. It also asks the mysterious Green Dragon (*qinglong* 青龍) and White Tiger (*baihu* 白虎) and their armies to disperse to patrol, as well as summoning the Red Bird (*chinhiao* 赤鳥) and the Mysterious Warrior (*xuanwu* 玄武) to guard his body.¹²³

iv. *Incantation for Pacifying the Earth* (*antudi zhou* 安土地咒)

In this incantation, the highest deity of the Daoist pantheon, the Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning 元始天尊, is called upon to make the villages and palaces peaceful. It includes the Gods of Earth and Grain in the supplication and generally commands that everything in the world, homes, etc. to be protected by Dao.

¹²³ In the last two lines of the incantation the monastics have thus called upon the deities of the four cardinal directions, specifically, the Green Dragon of the East, the White Tiger of the West, the Red Bird of

v. *Incantation for Purifying Heaven and Earth (jingtiandi zhou 淨天地咒)*

More abstract than the previous incantations, this incantation generally asks for the removal of pollution and the transmission of penetrating light to cause the monastic to become natural (*ziran* 自然). It says “The talismans are announced widely to the nine heavens and many people hear and know about the teachings. Many people are saved as well.” It ends by asking for the eternal presence of the *qi* of Dao (*daoqi* 道氣).

vi. *Incantation for Consecrating the Incense (zhuxiang zhou 祝香咒)*

This incantation, which would presumably be accompanied by the offering of incense, states that the incense will transmit their sincere determination to study Dao to the gates of heaven. Incense is used in this context to communicate with the heavens.

vii. *Divine Incantation of the Golden Light (jin'guang shenzhou 金光神咒)*

An invocation common in all types of Daoist ritual, in this invocation the monastics ask for the descent of the ‘golden light.’ According to LAGERWEY, “The golden light is thus the light of the “honored one,” the “root of the myriad energies”: The Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning.”¹²⁴ Thus the monastics ask the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning to infuse them with spiritual energy and protect them. MIN’s definition is not as narrow as LAGERWEY’s and he states that the ‘golden

the South, and the Mysterious Warrior of the North. The Mysterious Warrior is the subject of his own invocation in the *wantan*.

¹²⁴ Lagerwey, p. 86. See also for a full translation of the incantation.

light' is the spiritual light (*shenguang* 神光) of all three of the Three Pure Ones (*San Qing* 三清).¹²⁵

viii. *Mysteriously Gathered Incantation of Opening the Scriptures* (*kaijing xuanyun zhou* 開經玄蘊咒)¹²⁶

This incantation sets the stage for the recitation of the scriptures that follow it by explaining the effectiveness of the scriptures, thus justifying their presence and reminding those participating of their power. The incantation relates the history of the scriptures, starting with the vast emptiness of the first era and how the scriptures and talismans (*fu* 符) were first written by the Heavenly Perfected Sovereign. The true writings became widely used after *Yuanshi Tianzun* 元始天尊 [Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning] handed them down to the earth. It ends by declaring how, by now depending on the scriptures, the monastics are able to ascend to the city of the immortals.

In analyzing the transition that occurs during the incantation portion of the *zaotan* we see first a purification of the ritual area. This purification follows a logical progression from the interior to exterior. Beginning with their minds, the monastics then purify their mouths, then bodies, then the whole physical world around them, commanding all the spirits connected with these different aspects along the way. All incantations with the standard formula 'act quickly according to this command' (*jiji*

¹²⁵ Min (2000), p. 31.

¹²⁶ 'Mysteriously gathered' refers here to the wondrous and hidden meanings of the scriptures. Min (2000), p. 37. This type of incantation has long been used in Daoism where it is chanted before passages of scripture. For, example, a similar incantation performs a similar function at the beginning of the *Dadong Zhenjing* 大洞真經, a central text of the Shangqing 上清 school revealed to Yang Xi 楊羲 between the years 363 and 365 C.E. DZ 6.1.3a.

ruliuling 急急如律令), which commands the spirits to quickly fulfill their duties. After being cleansed the monastics are now ready to begin communication with the deities using the *Incantation for Consecrating the Incense*. By looking at the content of this communication, the intention of the monastics have for performing the *gongke* begins to become clear, that is, to study *Dao with the help* of the celestial deities. After proclaiming their realization in the penultimate incantation, the monastics proclaim the power of the scriptures they are about to recite.

Before discussing the scriptures recited by the monastics during the *gongke*, there are several points it is important to mention about the Buddhist influence of Daoism. When discussing the scriptures I often note Buddhist influence, however long before the appearance of the Quanzhen school in the 11th century C.E. this influence had already become part of the Daoist textual tradition and should be viewed as such. From the late-Han, Buddhist sūtras began to be translated into Chinese and the ideas contained in them began to appear in Chinese writings (such as Daoist scripture). These borrowings continued until the early sixth century and “that the vast majority of [D]aoist scriptures of the period saw signs of influence cannot be doubted.”¹²⁷ Erik Zürcher has revealed some of the Buddhist influences on Daoist scripture, such as in spatial and temporal descriptions of the cosmos, and views of morality and karmic retribution.¹²⁸ This is not to say that only Daoism borrowed from Buddhism, these borrowings occurred in both traditions as Buddhism was adapted to fit the Chinese cultural milieu. Furthermore, even after that period of initial influence, Buddhism and Daoism have continued to mutually

¹²⁷ Zürcher, pp. 84-5.

influence one another up to the present day. This shall become especially clear when we compare the structure and contents of Daoist and Buddhist morning liturgies in chapter 4. The liturgical traditions of Daoism all depend on the Lingbao tradition, which adopted *many Buddhist ideas*. According to Stephen Bokenkamp, “Syncretism in the Ling-Pao scriptures is a conscious technique. It is employed to synthesize from various system a single, comprehensive account of the cosmos and the life of man within it.”¹²⁹ With such a unified view it becomes less appropriate to use the term syncretism at all. Very early on the so-called ‘syncretism’ of Daoism became the norm.

C. Recitation of Scripture

Together with the incantations and invocations, the recitation of scripture serves as the body of the *zaotan* and is included in one form or another, in all versions. All of the scriptures recited during the *zantan* and *wantan* can be found in the *Daozang*, meaning that there were no texts written specifically by the Longmen order for their liturgies, rather they drew on the great body of Daoist scripture to produce their liturgy.

¹²⁸ Zürcher, pp. 121-141.

¹²⁹ Bokenkamp (1983), p. 435.

Among the 18 scriptures recommended for study in the QGXM, only one, the *Qingjing Jing*, is recited in the either *zaotan* or *wantan*.¹³⁰ As the scriptures recited in the *zaotan* and the *wantan* are very short it could be that most of the other scriptures were simply too long for inclusion. Below I shall attempt to interpret the texts used in the recitation and their function in the *gongke* as a whole. I shall only briefly summarize the contents of these texts here but I have included complete translations in Appendix B.

i. *Taishang Laojun Shuo Qingjing Jing* 太上老君說常清淨經 [The Scripture of the Eternally Clear and Tranquil, Spoken by the Supreme Lord Lao].¹³¹

This *Qingjing Jing* is narrated by the Supreme Lord Lao (*Taishang Laojun* 太上老君) and begins with a definition of the universe in terms of yin-yang theory. He describes aspects of the universe as polar opposites such as clarity and turbidity; male and female; and movement and stillness. Despite the balanced picture painted by the text of these various aspects of reality, it nevertheless places value on clarity and stillness. After defining ideal modes of being, the text goes on to describe the reason why human beings

¹³⁰ The texts recommended are recommended for Internal study and External study respectively. They are Internal: 五經: 陰符經, 道德經, 黃庭經, 清靜經, 龍虎經. 四書: 參同契, 悟真篇, 三皇玉訣, 青華秘文. External: 五經: 玉皇經, 度人經, 玉樞經, 三官經, 斗母經. 四書: 生神章, 祭煉科, 祈禱儀, 千金方. DZWS 10.600a-b.

¹³¹ Not extant in the *Daozang* as a separate text, it exists imbedded in seven different commentaries. (DZ 749-755:352-533). According to the *Daozang Tiyao*, all but one of these dates from the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368). The one exception is *Taishang Laojun Shuo Changqingjing Jingzhu* 太上老君說常清淨經註 DZ 753 which is generally believed to date from two centuries earlier, as it bears an introduction by a man who also wrote an introduction to another text dated during the reign of the Jin Emperor Shizong at 1182. (Ren, pp. 541-544.) The *Qingjing Jing* was also quoted several times by Wang Chongyang himself. Including in the *Chongyang Zhenren Shou Danyang Ershisi Jue* 真人四 [Twenty-Four Treatises Bestowed on Danyang by the Perfected One Chongyang] DZ 1158.3b. It has thus been in use among Quanzhen adherents since the very beginning of the movement.

fail to live this way. That reason is desire rooted in ignorance. The scripture does not stop there, however, just as we will see when we examine the second and third scriptures of the *zaotan* this scripture provides a prescription as well as a diagnosis. The problem with desire is that it is attached to a reality that is not really existent. It is this ignorance that produces the desires that lead the mind out of the preferred state of tranquility into motion. Therefore, what is required for liberation is the correction of one's ontological understanding. The text then outlines the correct ontological understanding by explaining the non-existent nature of reality through a series of negations. This section bears striking resemblance to similar passages in the Buddhist *Heart Sūtra* as well as Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (The Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way).

After describing the results of achieving the proper ontological understanding the text then brings up several 'testimonials.' Three separate immortals, including Ge Xuan 葛玄,¹³² are quoted regarding the salvific effects of reciting the *Qingjing Jing*. As we shall see in the following scriptures (and in most Daoist and Buddhist scripture), the *Qingjing Jing* ends by describing its own efficacy.

¹³² Ge Xuan is an important figure in the history of Daoist scriptural revelation. A semi-historical figure, it is said he was the first to have received revelation of the Lingbao scriptures. From him it was transmitted within his family before finally being written down by his great-grandnephew Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫 around 400 C.E. The Ge clan also included Ge Hong 葛洪, whose writings on *neidan* had a 'demonstrable effect' on certain Shangqing texts. Bokenkamp (1997), p. 7.

ii. *Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Shengxuan Xiaozai Huming Miaojing*

太上洞玄靈寶昇玄消災護命妙經 [The Wondrous Scripture for Ascending to Mystery, Dispelling Disaster, and Protecting Life of the Supreme Cavern Mystery Numinous Treasure].¹³³

In the ritual texts, this scripture includes a brief verse not included in the version in *Daozang*. This verse describes the devotion of the monastics as they stand before Dao and its wisdom. The *Huming Miaojing* itself is clearly written on the model of Buddhist sūtras, beginning with the phrase “At that time the Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning dwelt in such an such a place with such a such a multitude of great...” and a description of the locale where this scripture was first preached. The Heaven-Honored One speaks and immediately begins describing the countless beings trapped in ontological ignorance. Whereas the *Qingjing Jing* deals with the problem of the desire produced by this ignorance, the *Huming Miaojing* deals only with the question of existence itself. It explains the true nature of reality in a series of parallelly-developing four-character lines. These lines are highly repetitive, only using about eight characters in different combinations to produce the lines of its discourse. We can only imagine the effect that hearing or reciting this type of hypnotic prose had on the monastics during their morning services.

¹³³ DZ 19. According to the *Daozang Tiyaao*, a preface written to the work by Sima Ziwei 司馬子微 of Tang allows us to date this text to before the Tang dynasty. This makes it the oldest text used in the morning service. From the fact that this text was included in the encyclopedic *Yunji Qiqian* 雲笈七籤, we can tell it was a fairly popular text. The existence of two copies of this text in the collections at Dun Huang also indicates that this text had a wide arena of use. (Ren, pp. 20.) For the date of Sima Ziwei as well as a

After exhaustively settling the issue of ontology, the *Huming Miaojing* describes the wonderful powers one will gain upon attaining that state of knowledge. The Celestial also enumerates the various kinds of spirit beings that will protect those who uphold and recite this text. It concludes with a short *gatha*, or Buddhist-style verse, about the unobservable nature of Dao.

iii. *Taishang Lingbaotianzun Shuo Rangzai Due Zhenjing*

太上靈寶天尊說禳災度厄真經 [The True Scripture for Dispelling Disasters and Saving From Calamities, Spoken by the Supreme Celestial Worthy Numinous Treasure].¹³⁴

Although this text is similar in structure to the preceding text, it takes as its subject worldly disaster rather than ignorance. After an exhaustive list of the kinds of disasters that a “good son or daughter” might encounter,¹³⁵ the Heaven-Honored One vows that anyone who recites this scripture will be saved from all of them. Not only that, but they shall also have all they desire.

iv. *Gaoshang Yuhuang Xinyin Miaojing* 高上玉皇心印妙經 [Wondrous Scripture of the Mind-Seal of the Most High Jade Emperor].¹³⁶

list of his other works, see Livia Kohn. *Seven Steps to the Tao*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XX. Steyler-Verlag: Netherlands, 1987.

¹³⁴ DZ 356.

¹³⁵ Also found in Buddhist literature as a mis-translation of a Sanskrit phrase meaning sons and daughters of nobility. In this case, it means followers of Dao.

¹³⁶ DZ 13. This text summarizes some of the fundamental points of *neidan* and as such, it was subject to several commentaries in the DZJY. The *Daozang Tiyao* concurs that this is one of the texts used in Taoist

This scripture consists of 48, four-character verses. It outlines some of the basics of *neidan*. It deals specifically with the three classes or things (*sanpin* 三品), which are spirit, *qi*, and essence (*shen* 神, *qi* 氣, *jing* 精), and how they are to be controlled. Like the previously recited scriptures it also asks to be recited, promising that if one recites it completely ten thousand times the “subtle principle will naturally become illuminated,” that is, one will become liberated.

D. Recitation of *Gao* 誥

Once the recitation of scriptures is complete the monastics recite twelve *gao* 誥. This type of rite is common in classical Daoist ritual they are more commonly referred to as *hao* 號 [title/name]. The term *gao* is used in the *Xuanmen Gongke* and *Daomen Gongke*, but not in the more recent *Quanzhen Gongke* where they are referred with the more standard term *hao*. According to the oldest Chinese dictionary the *Shuowen* 說文, Chinese word *gao* means for a superior to inform or order a subordinate.¹³⁷ *Gao* is often used in this way even in Daoism, such as in the *Zhen'gao* 真誥 [Declarations of the Perfected] DZ 1016, a Shangqing text compiled by Tao Hongjing from the revelations received by Yang Xi 楊羲 on Mao Shan between 363 and 365 C.E. This text is a collection of directives for the student of Daoism transmitted by the Celestial Worthies. Here (as in many other places in Daoism) *gao* is a command from a divine superior to the

morning rituals of the post-Ming period. Although the date of this work is also unknown, its presence in the *Daozang* indicates it was written before 1444. (Ren, pp. 15-16.)

subordinate mortal practitioner. However, this is not an accurate description of the relationship between the reciting monastics and the beings they are addressing in the *Xuanmen Gongke*. The purpose of the monastics' recitation of the *gao* is not to be informed by the being in question, but to name that figure and invite/command the presence that being to the ritual area. Therefore, in the context of this study I shall treat *gao* as synonymous with the more commonly used *hao*, glossing it as 'a title of praise and invocation.'

Included in the *gao* of the *zaotan* and *wantan* are deities, immortals, and Daoist patriarchs. It is therefore important to make a few comments regarding the nature of the relationships between Daoists and those beings, relationships which are not all unique to monastic Daoism. In Daoism the deities are important for several reasons, besides the ability to dispel disasters and bring good fortune, the deities and immortals are also essential in that they are the intermediaries through whom humanity receives the sacred texts that serve as the basis for all Daoist practices. Monastic patriarchs serve a similar function in that, having received the revelation of text, they transmit it to their disciples on earth. The recitation of *gao* can be seen as serving a dual purpose for Daoists. First it remembers (and enacts) previous transmissions. Indeed many of the *gao* mention specifically the transmission of text (*jing* 經) or teaching (*jiao* 教). Second, by maintaining proper relationships with the deities, immortals, and patriarchs, the monastics put themselves in a position to receive further teachings themselves.¹³⁷ In the *zaotan* the monastics begin by praising the Three Pure Ones, the highest deities of the

¹³⁷ For this discussion of the various meanings of *gao* I must acknowledge my debt to Dr. Tao-chung Yao and his knowledge of both Daoism and Chinese linguistics.

¹³⁸ Katz, pp. 75-6.

Daoist pantheon, which include *Laozi* 老子. Each of these three *gao* consists of a brief cosmological account of the deity, what their abilities are, and what they have done for the world, noting their teaching activities.

Following this are four *gao* dedicated to the assistants of the Three Pure Ones, the Four Imperial Attendants (*Si Yu* 四御).¹³⁹ These four *gao* consist of descriptions of the deities they invoke. They begin by stating where the deity resides in the celestial cosmology, and after locating it, praise the great compassion, vows, sageliness, and mercy of each deity.

Once these deities have been invoked, the Celestial Worthy of Long Life of Extreme South is called upon in the Invocation of the Divine Empyrean (*Shenxiao Gao* 神霄誥).¹⁴⁰ This *gao* follows a similar pattern to those listed above except it specifically mentions this deity's use of talismans (*fu* 符) to save suffering beings.

The next three *gao* praise important figures from Daoist history. The *Gao of the Five Northern Patriarchs* (of Quanzhen) is dedicated to Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫, Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, Lü Dongbin, Liu Haichan 劉海蟾, and Wang Chongyang.¹⁴¹ The *Gao of the Five Southern Patriarchs* (of Quanzhen) are dedicated to Zhang Ziyang 張紫陽, Shi

¹³⁹ They are 1) *Haotian Jinque Zhizun Yuhuang Dadi* 昊天金闕至尊玉皇大帝 [Supreme Worthy Jade Great Emperor of the Golden Porte of Heaven], 2) *Zhongtian Ziwei Beiji Taihuang Dadi* 中天紫微北極太皇大帝 [Northern Pole Grand Thearch Great Emperor of Purple Tenuity of the idle Heavens], 3) *Gouchen Shanggong Nanji Tianhuang Dadi* 勾陳上宮南極天皇大帝 [Southern Pole Celestial Thearch Great Emperor of the Spread-out Supreme Palace], 4) *Chengtian Xiaofu Houtu Huangdi Qi* 承天效法后土皇地祇 [Lord of the Earth, Sovereign Earth God of the Efficacious Teachings of the Received Heavens].

¹⁴⁰ The Divine Empyrean, as an element of the Daoist liturgical tradition, began as a movement in the Song dynasty. In the cosmology of this movement the Divine Empyrean was seen as the highest heaven, higher than those of previous Daoist scriptural traditions, such as the Shangqing and Lingbao. This realm was ruled over by the son of the Jade Emperor, the Celestial Worthy of Long Life of Extreme South, who was identified during the Song as Emperor Huizong 徽宗. Strickmann (1978), pp. 336-7.

¹⁴¹ Min (2000), p. 127.

Tai 石泰, Bi Daoguang 薛道光, Chen Nan 陳(木+南), and Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾.¹⁴² The Seven perfected Ones (the original disciples of Wang Chongyang) are recalled in the *Gao of the Seven Perfected*.

The final *gao* is to the Celestial Worthy of the (Power of) Thunder-peal Universal Transformation (*Leisheng Puhua Tianzun* 雷聲普化天尊). The inclusion of this *gao* illustrates the connection between the Quanzhen *gongke* and Daoist liturgy as a whole. The aforementioned Celestial Worthy is connected with the thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法), a generic Daoist practice adopted by a variety of sects during the late Song dynasty.¹⁴³ By the thirteenth century such techniques and various other methods belonging to the Divine Empyrean movement (see note above) and Tantric Buddhism came to be synthesized as Qingwei 清微 liturgy in which thunder rites remained prominent. According to the philosophy behind these rites, thunder represents cosmic power, particularly that of the transformative power of yin and yang.¹⁴⁴ The invocation of Celestial Worthy of the Power of Thunder-peal Universal Transformation can thus be seen as an invocation of the very spiritual transformation the monastics are working for.

¹⁴² Min (2000), p. 135.

¹⁴³ Davis, p. 26.

¹⁴⁴ Davis, pp. 24-30.

As with the order of the incantations, there is an obvious progression in the list of *gao*. Apart from the final *gao*, this section of the *gongke* begins by praising the more abstract and more powerful *Three Pure Ones*, moving to their attendants and then on the more concrete and historical beings. This is a logical progression, of course, which reflects the ranks of the various deities—one would certainly not invite the servant before the master.

E. Closing Rites

i. *Chanted Verse of Knowing the Announcement* (*zhibiao yinjie* 知表吟偈)

At the completion of the final *gao* the Head Priest (*gaogong* 高功) recites the following lines:¹⁴⁵

人心多散亂	The human mind has many disturbances
一念皆純真	[But] in one thought, all is pure and perfect.
欲求無上道	Desiring to seek the unsurpassed Dao
大眾轉天尊	The congregation turns to the Heaven-Honored Ones.

The congregation then performs *zhuannian* 轉念 [revolving recitation], in which the monastics circumambulate a plaque bearing the name *Leisheng Puhua Tianzun* while chanting his name.¹⁴⁶ This rite concludes with the monastics making three prostrations.

¹⁴⁵ Min (1995), p. 10.

¹⁴⁶ This is born out by a similar section in a videotape of a modern Quanzhen ritual, in which a similar activity is performed while processing to the area in front of his image and on the way back as well. *Tieguan Shishi*, videocassette.

ii. *Praise in the Hall* (*zhongtang zan* 中堂贊)

After returning to the main altar the monastics kneel and recite the *Praise in the Hall*:

“Now we have recited the scriptures, every thought preserves sincerity
The thousand Perfected listen reverently, the ten thousand sages transmit their efficacy.
Responding to the original and infinite breaths, the Universally Transforming One
divides his form. The Nine Heavens have a command and the three worlds obey.
Dispelling calamities and repenting of sins, please grant us fortune and extend our lives.
Our virtue perfect and our behavior complete, the great Dao ratifies this covenant.”

iii. *Ancestor Qiu's Repentance Writ* (*Qiu zu chan wen* 邱祖懺文)

An important element in all Daoist liturgies, a repentance rite is virtually always carried out in the course of Daoist ritual. It serves to cleanse the participants of the karmic pollution caused by past misdeeds. This repentance begins with the four-line verse:

經功浩力不思譯	The vast power of the merit of these scriptures is unthinkable
回向十方諸聖眾	We turn to face ¹⁴⁷ the multitude Sages of the ten directions
願見真心求懺悔	Vowing to see the Perfected Mind, we seek to repent
河沙罪障悉消除	The hindrance of past sins, numberless as the sands of the river, are all dissolved. ¹⁴⁸

In the actual rite of repentance that follows this (attributed to Qiu Chuji), the monastics repent of all the sins committed out of the desires produced from having physical form

¹⁴⁷ The phrase *huixiang* 回向 could also be rendered as ‘transfer [the merit of reciting the scriptures].’ This concept is not often seen in Daoism. It must be pointed out, however, that a very similar passage does occur at a similar place within the daily liturgy of Chinese Buddhist monasteries. For a more detailed comparison see chapter 4.

and being desirous of the sensual. These sins include being unfilial to one's parents, not respecting one's teachers, etc.¹⁴⁹ The text also proclaims the origin of these sins in discriminating thoughts. The monastics then repent of these sins before the sages and Perfected ones, seeking pardon, and freedom from demonic hindrances. Next they ask to hear and practice Dao, cultivate ten kinds of good, and to accept and uphold the Dao of the supreme vehicle.

The repentance is followed by twenty-two vows/wishes 願, in verse form, said to the Emperor of the Void (*xu huang* 虛皇). These begin with prayers for peace in the nation and proceed to prayers for the awakening of teachers and friends. The main precepts of not eating meat, drinking, engaging in sexual behavior, or killing are also vowed,¹⁵⁰ followed finally by prayers for contact with the spiritual and the vow to liberate sentient beings. These vows are repeated three times. The Ultimate Perfected Three Treasures Unsurpassed Emperors of the Void (*Wushang Xuhuang Zhizhen San Bao* 無上虛皇至真三寶) are then invoked.

iv. *Ultimate Hopes* (*duan wang* 端望)

Following the repentance and vows there is a verse list of the twelve things the monastics are thankful for, the first ten of which number as many as their number in the verse. For example, "First, a single [=each] person has something to celebrate." And, "Seventh, the seven stars [of the dipper] shine on down." The monastics then prostrate

¹⁴⁸ *Xuanmen Gongke Zaotan*, p. 13a.

¹⁴⁹ The Confucian themes here are obvious. This list of sins is one clear example of the influence the Zeitgeist of the Qing dynasty had on the formation of Longmen *gongke*.

¹⁵⁰ As mentioned in chapter 2 the daily repetition of these vows is called for in the *Santan Dajie*.

three times while reciting the following verse, which shows the effect of reciting the scriptures:

一切神光普照 All Spiritual radiances universally shine
一切眾聖留恩 All multitude sages hand down kindness
一切有情賴善 All those with sentience rely on good [merits]
一切正果成真 All those [with] the true fruit attain perfection
普天均樂 Throughout the world all are equally pleased
四海同春 Within the four seas it is the same spring (the season)
聞經悟道 Hearing the scriptures and awakening to Dao
叩列南宮 We look up in line to the Southern Palace¹⁵¹

v. *Smaller Verse of Praise* (*xiao zan* 小贊)

According to the *Wudangshan Yinyue*, the monastics lower their heads to the ground as they recite the Smaller Verse of Praise.¹⁵² In this verse the monastics once again praise the merit of scriptural recitation and the compassionate nature of Dao, as well as asking for longevity for the emperor. They then promise to always think of this merit and never be lazy and, taking mercy and compassion as their guide, they promise to always protect and embrace the Law and Perfected Numinosity.

vi. *Incantations* (*zhou* 咒)

On full moon and new moon days (the first and fifteenth of the lunar month) the monastics will directly follow the *Smaller Verse of Praise* by first invoking the Thunder-peal Responsively Transforming Celestial Worthy of Great Unity (*Taiyi Leisheng*

¹⁵¹ *Xuanmen Gongke Zaotan*, p. 15a. The Southern Palace is the palace of immortality.

¹⁵² *Wudangshan Yinyue*, p. 41.

Yinghua Tianzun 太乙雷聲應化天尊) and then chant the *Lingguan Zhou* 靈官咒 [Incantation of the Numinous Official], a incantation dedicated to the deity who protects Quanzhen monasteries. This is followed by the *Tudi Zhou* 土地咒 [Earth God Incantation]. The Earth God is a by far the most common community deity in China and although his is the lowest position in the celestial bureaucracy, he is responsible for reporting the affairs of his locale to the heavenly officials. Each community in China has at least one Earth God of its own and the community of a Longmen monastery is no exception. However as the first line of the incantation make clear, unlike other Earth Gods, the monastery's Earth God is the 'most efficacious.'¹⁵³ He is asked not tarry at the gates but carry a report of the good deeds done at the monastery up to the heavens. In return he is promised that on the day of achieving this merit his name will be inscribed in the registers of the *Shangqing* 上清 [Supreme Clarity] Heavens. Thus, even though Longmen monastics place more emphasis on their dealings with the more powerful Three Pure Ones, they nevertheless expect the Earth God to help them maintain and increase their status in the Celestial Bureaucracy of the Jade Emperor. (This is the norm in classical Daoist ritual in general.)

¹⁵³ In the *Xuanmen Gongke* he is identified as the God of the Scriptural altar. 經壇土地神之最靈. *Xuanmen Gongke Zaotan*, p. 15b. In all others he is identified more broadly as the "God of this place." 此間土地神之最靈

vii. *The Three Refuges* (*san guiyi* 三皈依)

The three refuges begins with the *Verse Closing the Scriptures* (*jiejing jie* 結經偈):

向來誦經功德上奉	We always offer up the merit of reciting the scriptures
高真上保平安	The High Perfected Worthies protects the peace
賜福消災	Granting fortune and dispelling disaster
同賴善功	At the same time, relying on our good merits
證無上道	To confirm the Unsurpassed Dao
一切信禮	With all faith and ceremony,
志心稱念	And with intent minds we proclaim
常清常靜天尊	The Eternally Pure and Tranquil Celestial Worthies'
不可思議功德	Incalculable merit

The monastics then pay homage to, and take refuge in, the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶) of Daoism.¹⁵⁴ Each of these treasures is identified with one of the Three Pure Ones,¹⁵⁵ showing clearly that through the Three Refuges the monastics are simultaneously paying homage to the Three Treasures and the Three Pure Ones. After the monastics have recited the three refuges, each accompanied by a prostration, the *zaotan* is completed.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ For a discussion of the Three Treasures and their importance to the Longmen, see chapter 2.

¹⁵⁵ The Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning (*yuanshi tianzun* 元始天尊), the Celestial Worthy Numinous Treasure (*lingbao tianzun* 靈寶天尊), and the Celestial Worthy of Dao and De (*daode tianzun* 道德天尊, that is, the deified Laozi 老子) respectively. *Xuanmen Gongke Zaoan*, p. 16b.

¹⁵⁶ *Wudangshan Yinyue*, p. 41.

By looking at the structure of the *gongke* we can observe the following general pattern. First the ritual is announced and the area purified through magic spells, progressing from the mind of the monastic out his mouth and into the physical realm of the land, and finally into the realm of spirit. Once this has been accomplished and the area has been prepared the scriptures are recited. It is important to note that the recitation of scriptures occurs *before* the deities have been invoked, indicating that the recitation is not really for the deities but for the monastics themselves. This idea is reinforced by the pedagogical tone of the first three scriptures. Through the power of the incantations and the recitation of the scriptures the ritual reaches its most celestial point and it becomes time to also report to the deities, progressing in descending order from the most supreme deities and their assistants to historical and more human figures.

In the final section the monastics cleanse themselves through the repentance ritual. This cleansing differs from the opening purifications in that the goal of the final repentance is the removal of the contamination caused by misdeeds on the part of the monastics in order to improve their spiritual condition, whereas the goal of the opening purification is to prepare the area for the arrival of the deities.¹⁵⁷ This is the usual way of ending Daoist rituals. Through recitation of these verses, the monastics expiate their sins and are once again cleansed, they are then able to proceed with the spiritual practices that take up much of their day.

¹⁵⁷ It can be argued that as many Daoist spiritual and health practices are based on the theory of the proper nourishing and control of the deities of the body the two goals of outer and inner purification are actually the same.

III. Evening Gongke: *Wantan* 晚壇

A. Entrance Rites. The overall structure of the *wantan* is similar to that of the *zantan*. The entrance rites that lead up to the recitation of the incantations follow the same format as the *zaotan*, even as to the lengths of the individual verses, though the verses are different.

i. *Pacing the Void* (*buxu* 步虛)

As in the *zaotan*, the *wantan* begins with the community ascending the altar and dividing into two groups. Here the chief cantor (*jingzhu* 經主) intones the beginning of a verse of ten, four character lines set to a standard form of Daoist melody known as a *buxu*.¹⁵⁸ Unlike the verse in the opening section of the *zaotan*, this one does not discuss the ritual that will follow, or invite immortals to participate, instead the monastics mention the soteriological goal of ‘attaining a diamond body that surpasses the three worlds.’¹⁵⁹ The cosmological elements of the purification verse of the *zaotan* are absent, it is liberation from suffering which takes the more prominent role in the verse of purification, as it does throughout the entire *wantan*. For example, the presiding deities of the *zaotan* are the Ever-clean Ever-clear Celestial Worthies and the Thunder-peal Responsively Transforming Celestial Worthy, associated with purification and spiritual transformation respectively. Conversely, the presiding deities of the *wantan* are the

¹⁵⁸ *Buxu* are Daoist liturgical hymns, which date from the Six Dynasties, used in the Lingbao ritual tradition. (Andersen (1989-90), p. 39.) Originally the title of a *fu* 賦 [lyric] of Yue 越, *buxu* (pacing the void) became a common title for many Daoistic poems during the Tang dynasty. These poems generally depict ecstatic journeys to transcendental realms, for example Wu Jun 吳筠 (A Tang poet and friend of Li Bo 李白), wrote a series of ten poems collectively titled *Buxu*. (Schafer, pp. 1, 244-5.)

Saving From Suffering Celestial Worthies (*Jiuku Tianzun* 救苦天尊), whose purpose needs no additional comment as it is aptly stated by his title.

ii. *Offering to the Celestial Worthies* (*feng tianzun* 奉天尊) and the [Verse of] the Boat Descending the Waters (*xiashui chuan* 下水船).

Here the monastics do not bow to the Three Treasure Celestial Worthies of the Great Veil Heaven, they bow instead to the Grand Unity Saving From Suffering Celestial Worthies (*Taiyi Jiuku Tianzun* 太乙救苦天尊) who is the presiding deity of the *wantan*. The monastics then recite two verses, the first of which is the same verse as that recited in the *zaotan*. The second verse, known as the Verse of the Boat Descending the Waters, praises the Saving From Suffering Celestial Worthies, and describes the use of a sweet dew-filled saucer and willow branch which would presumably be used during the rite (as they are in both Daoist and Buddhist purification rites). The monastics then proclaim the effect of reciting the scriptures in liberating orphaned and lost souls. Incense is offered to the Saving From Suffering Celestial Worthies of the Ten Directions, rather than to the Ever-clean and Ever-clear Celestial Worthies of the *zaotan*.

iii. *Greater and Smaller Verses of Opening and Invitation*

Once again, on the third prostration of the *feng Tianzun*, the chief cantor sings the first half of the Greater Verse of Opening and Invitation unaccompanied, the second half is then sung by the community. This verse deals with the roots of suffering and states that by relying on the sword of wisdom and awesome spiritual powers, they can be

¹⁵⁹ *Cheng jingangti, chaodu san jie* 成金剛體, 超度三界. *Xuanmen Gongke Wantan*, p.1a.

overcome. It ends by honoring the wisdom of the sages and stating that the monastics will be reborn in heaven as Daoists.

Just as in the *zaotan*, the chief cantor recites the Shorter Verse of Opening and Invitation, exhorting the community to recite according to the rule.

B. Recitation (of Incantation)

i. Verse of Opening the Scripture (*kaijing ji* 開經偈)

The major structural difference between the *wantan* and the *zaotan* is that there are no incantations recited in the *wantan*. What follows the entrance rites in the *wantan* is a verse that praises the teachings of Daoism, explaining how one can be born from a lotus and join the immortals, if one can fathom its darkness. This serves as an introduction to the scriptures that the monastics then recite.

C. Recitation of Scripture

i. *Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Jiuku Miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶救苦妙經 [The Wondrous Scripture of Saving From Suffering of the Supreme Cavern Mystery Numinous Treasure].¹⁶⁰

In this scripture the Celestial Worthy Who Saves From Suffering describes a method of neidan cultivation, in which the body is made light by fixing the *qi*. One of the results of his preaching this scripture is that ‘Hell is without the cries’ of suffering. Despite the fact that this scripture is narrated by the Celestial Worthy Who Saves From Suffering, the scripture focuses on neidan techniques, rather than the salvation of others, such as in the *True Scripture for Dispelling Disasters and Passing Over Calamities, Spoken by the Supreme Numinous Treasure Celestial Worthy* recited in the *zaotan*.

ii. *Yuanshi Tianzun Shuo Shengtian Dedao Zhenjing* 元始天尊說生天得道真經 [True Scripture of Nourishing Heaven and Attaining Dao, Spoken by The Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning].¹⁶¹

This scripture does not deal with any one aspect of Daoist practice specifically, rather the Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning narrates the effects, both bodily and spiritually, of following the Daoist path. Two things found in this scripture, which

¹⁶⁰ DZ 374.

¹⁶¹ DZ 24.

are only found in one other scripture are the fasts and precepts (*zhaijie* 齋戒) as an aid to cultivation. They are mentioned at the beginning of a list of various Daoist practices, including inward perception (*neiguan* 內觀), and methods of entering tranquility (*rujing* 入靜).¹⁶² The scripture ends with a short verse praising Dao.

iii. *Taishang Daojun Shuo Jieyuan Bazui Miaojing* 太上道君說解冤拔罪妙經 [The Wondrous Scripture of Dispelling Oppressions and Dragging Out of Suffering, Spoken by the Supreme Lord Dao].¹⁶³

This scripture fits most closely with the overall theme of the *wantan*, which is salvation from suffering. In this scripture the Supreme Lord Lao reveals the sufferings of all those souls that are currently in Hell. After being asked by the Perfected One Wide Faith, he explains the types of sins that led them to that fate. The majority of the sins he enumerates are not specific to Daoism, but would be applicable to followers of a more Confucian type of morality as well. Although the nature of the sins might be more universally Chinese, the ultimate solution to suffering is still the recitation of this Daoist scripture and the following of Daoist fasts and precepts (as mentioned above). Through its colorful description of hell, this scripture sets the stage for the latter portion of the *wantan*, which is concerned with the salvation of suffering souls.

¹⁶² A method of *neidan* cultivation (*lianyang* 煉養). It originally referred to the adept's entering the meditation room. The term was later expanded to indicate, in general, methods for pacifying the consciousness. Techniques of the gradual teachings (*jianfa* 漸法), include visualization (*cunsi* 存思 or *cunxiang* 存想). The technique of the sudden teachings (*dunfa* 頓法) is called guarding the one (*shouyi* 守一). The goal of the both types of methods is the stabilization of mind by keeping outside disturbances out, and preventing inner disturbances from causing problems.

¹⁶³ DZ 371.

D. Recitation of Gao 誥

The *Xuanmen Gongke* lists eight *gao* for the *wantan*, all different from the twelve found in the *zaotan*. It is here that the unique character of the Quanzhen pantheon becomes apparent. Instead of calling on the standard deities found in the hierarchical pantheon of classical Daoist liturgy (as is done in the *zaotan*), the monastics call on a variety of deities and patriarchs. All of these beings are connected with Daoism even though their relation to one another is not always entirely clear.

The first *gao* is dedicated to the Mother of the Dipper (*doumu* 斗母) who is the mother of the seven stars of the big dipper.¹⁶⁴ A deity also popular outside the context of Daoist ritual, she is associated with two techniques important to the monastics: astrology and the cultivation of elixirs of immortality.¹⁶⁵

Following the *Doumu Gao* 斗母誥 is the *gao* of the *San Guan* 三官 [Three Officers]. These deities, who serve as judges of human fate, are associated with heaven (*tian* 天), earth (*di* 地), and water (*shui* 水) respectively. Worship of the *San Guan* can be dated to the late Han period, thus predating the worship of the Three Pure Ones. They were also associated with the revelations received by Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (see below) and are thus included as part of the covenant that marked the beginning of the Way of the

¹⁶⁴ Although this deity did not gain prominence until the late imperial period, she became an important deity in the Quanzhen school. At the Baiyun Guan in Beijing there is still an entire shrine hall dedicated to her. Little, p. 283.

¹⁶⁵ Little, p. 283.

Celestial Masters (*tianshi dao* 天師道) school of Daoism, with which the Quanzhen themselves claims affiliation.¹⁶⁶

Next is the *Xuantian Gao* 玄天誥 [Invocation of the Mysterious Heaven] dedicated to the *Xuantian Shangdi Jinque Huashen Tangmo Tianzun* 玄天上帝金闕化身蕩魔天尊 [Mysterious Heaven Supreme Emperor Golden Porte Transforming-Body Vast Demon Celestial Worthy]. In this invocation he is credited with teaching rulers and transforming eighty-two times to act as the ancestral teacher of the three religions (*sanjiao* 三教). This deity is more commonly known as *Xuan Di* 玄帝 [The Mysterious Emperor], or *Zhen Wu* 真武 [The True Warrior] and just like the *Doumu*, he was a Chinese popular deity who also appeared in the context of Daoist ritual. Relying on the work of GROOTAERS, SEAMAN states that, “It would appear that the cult of the Dark Emperor had established widespread popularity in Northern China at least by early Ming times.”¹⁶⁷

The *Xuantian Gao* is followed by the *Tianshi Gao* 天師誥 [Invocation of the Celestial Master], dedicated to Zhang Daoling. One of the most important figures in Daoist history, Zhang founded the first large scale Daoist organization based on revelations he received from the deified Laozi 老子 in the 142 C.E.¹⁶⁸ Today all branches of the predominant non-monastic Daoist school, the *Zhengyi* trace their lineage back to this figure. His inclusion in the *gongke* reinforces the idea of the debt the Longmen owes other forms of Daoism, especially in terms of its liturgical tradition.

¹⁶⁶ Little, pp. 233-5.

¹⁶⁷ Seaman, p. 492.

¹⁶⁸ Bokenkamp, p. 2.

The next *gao*, the *Lüzü Gao* 呂祖誥 [Invocation of Ancestor Lü] deals with another figure important to Daoist history, Lü Dongbin. The historical origins of the cult of the immortal Lü Dongbin are obscure but it is known that by the Song dynasty he had become a popular cult figure and by the 1040's the government had organized search missions to find him.¹⁶⁹ Although he was worshipped by Buddhists, and by Daoists (as one of the Eight Immortals or *baxian* 八仙), for the Longmen he was revered as the teacher of Wang Chongyang. As an immortal, Lü serves as patriarch, instructor and role model for the monastics.¹⁷⁰ Additionally, as it was Lü who received the teachings of the Three Pure Ones and passed them on to Wang Chongyang, he also functions as a link between the Three Pure Ones and the Quanzhen school.

Next the *Sa Zhenjun Gao* 薩真君誥 [Invocation of the Perfected Lord Sa] is recited. This *Gao* is dedicated to Sa Shoujian 薩守堅, a Daoist and doctor of the Song dynasty. He was an important figure in the development of neidan techniques as well as the above-mentioned thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法).¹⁷¹ The *Sa Zhenjun Gao* is followed by a *Wang Lingguan Gao* 王靈官誥 [Invocation of Monarchal Numinous Official] which is different from the *Lingguan Zhou* recited during the full and new moon days during the *zaotan*. As mentioned above, *Lingguan* is the protector deity of Quanzhen monasteries.

Just as in the *zaotan*, the recitation of *gao* ends with an invocation of the deity who presides over the greater part of the ritual. In this case of the *wantan*, it is the Saving From Distress Celestial Worthy.

¹⁶⁹ Katz, p. 57.

¹⁷⁰ Katz, p. 79.

¹⁷¹ Min (2000), p. 240.

E. Closing Rites

i. *Chanted Verse of Knowing the Announcement* (*zhibiao yinjie* 知表吟偈)

As in the *zaotan*, at the completion of the final *gao* the Head Priest recites a four line verse, the final line of which is the same in both the *zaotan* and *wantan*.

愛河千層浪	The river of desire [has] thousand-tiered waves
苦海萬丈深	The sea of suffering is ten thousand meters deep
欲色輪回苦	Desiring form, [we] revolve around in [the world of] suffering
大眾轉天尊	The congregation [now] turns to the Heaven-Honored Ones.

The congregation then performs *zhuannian* 轉念 [revolving recitation (or circumambulation)], but in the *wantan* the monastics recite the name of the Saving From Distress Celestial Worthy of Great Unity (rather than of *Leisheng Puhua Tianzun*). Additionally, during the *wantan zhuannian*, the monastics offer food to orphan souls (*guhun* 孤魂). This rite concludes with the monastics making three prostrations.

ii. *Praise in the Hall* (*zhongtang zan* 中堂贊)

After returning to the main altar they kneel and recite a verse. Whereas in the *zaotan* the subject of this verse is the recitation of scripture that the monastics had just performed, in the *wantan* this verse is more cosmological in character as the monastics praise the Celestial Worthy Who Saves From Suffering of Grand Unity. In the *zaotan* this is followed by the rite of repentance, however in the *wantan* the monastics recite a chant that calls upon various Daoist deities to remove the difficulties of specific regions

under their control. For example, the *San Guan* are called upon to dispel the difficulties of their respective regions of heaven, earth, and water.

iii. *Invocation of Rewarded Kindnesses (Bao'en Gao 報恩誥)*

The Verse of praise in the Hall is followed by the *Invocation of Rewarded Kindnesses*, in which the monastics give thanks for the kindness of their parents and spiritual teachers. The Celestial Worthy Who Saves from Suffering is then invoked. This is followed by a verse list of the twelve wishes (*shier yuan* 十二願), which are similar to those used in the *zaotan*. Here the monastics ask for a variety of things from seasonality of the rains, to attainment of the Dao through study. The monastics then recite the following verse while prostrating three times:

一切飛禽走獸	All flying birds and walking beasts
一切螻蟻蛇蟲	All crickets, ants, snakes, and vermin
一切冤家債主	All enemies and creditors
一切男女孤魂	All men, women, and orphan souls
四生六道	[Within] the four kinds of births ¹⁷² and the six modes of existence ¹⁷³
一切寒林	And all within the cold forests [of hell]
聞經聽法	Listen to the scriptures and hear the teachings
早得超昇	Attaining transcendence early.

¹⁷² Born from a womb, an egg, from moisture, or through transformation.

¹⁷³ To exist as a human, deity, angry god, animal, ghost, or in hell.

Here they have extended the salvific powers of their scriptural recitation to all beings. As with so many rites in the *wantan*, the beings listed here are more terrestrial in nature than those listed in the *zaotan*, which deals with deities and practitioners. In this verse the *wantan* is more universal in its requests and application of merit than the *zaotan*.

iii. *Smaller Verse of Praise (xiao zan 小贊)*

This verse is identical to that of the *zaotan* except here the monastics praise the merits of the Saving From Distress Celestial Worthy in addition to those of scriptural recitation, and the compassionate nature of Dao.

iv. *Incantations (zhou 咒)*

At this point in the *wantan* the monastics recite the *Tudi Zhou* 土地咒 [Earth God Incantation]. In the *zaotan* the monastics recite this incantation only on full and new moon days, at which time they also recite the *Lingguan Zhou* 靈官咒 [Incantation of the Numinous Official].

v. *Refuges (guiyi 皈依)*

The *Verse of Closing the Scriptures* that begins the Refuges section of the *wantan* is identical to that of the *zaotan* except it invokes the Celestial Worthy Who Saves From Suffering of Grand Unity rather than the Eternally Pure and Tranquil Celestial Worthies. This is followed by a long recitation in which the monastics are exhorted to understand the meaning (*yi* 義) of the scriptures and watch their own minds. They are also

encouraged to be vigorous in their efforts to pacify their wills and eliminate greed, hatred, and ignorance. Many of the ideas in this sections parallel those found in the *Preface to the Xuanmen Gongke* (translated in chapter 2) and is a direct statement of the duties expected of followers of Daoism. The monastics then pay homage to the Sage of Blue-green Florescence (*Qinghua Sheng* 青華聖) and all other sages, asking them to guide the Daoists and respond with compassion to their prayers.

In the final rite the monastics bow once each to the Celestial Worthy Who Saves From Suffering of Grand Unity, *Shifang Lingbao Tianzun* 十方靈寶天尊 [Numinous Treasure Celestial Worthy of the Ten Directions], and *Suiyuan Wangsheng Tianzun* 隨願往生天尊 [The Celestial Worthy of Rebirth According to One's Wishes]. After this the congregation bows three more times and departs.

Although the *Xuanmen Gongke* states clearly that that this final rite ends the *wantan*, the *Xuanmen Gongke* includes two other rituals after the *wantan*. The first is a food offering ritual that parallels those used by Buddhist monastics during meals. The second ritual is a form of the Universal Salvation (*pudu* 普度) ritual performed for the deliverance of restless ghosts. Although these rituals deserve closer attention, especially with regards to their similarities to other Buddhist and Daoist rituals, I have chosen not to include them in this study. There are no clear statements in the text about when and where these two rituals would be performed, making it unclear whether they are even part of the *gongke* proper. Furthermore, MIN, IGARASHI, and YOSHIOKA do not mention either of these rituals in their discussions of the *gongke* either at the early part of the twentieth century or now. Because of this lack of concrete reference to the performance of these rituals I have not included either of these two final rituals in my analysis.

As we have seen the *wantan*, in contrast to the *zaotan*, places emphasis on saving the beings of the world from suffering. Helen Baroni has suggested to me that this could be due to the fact the lay people were more likely to attend the *wantan* than *zaotan*. This possibility is also reflected in the choice of *gao* recited in the *wantan* which tend to emphasize those deities in the pantheon that were most likely worshipped by non-monastics. I have been told that currently non-monastics are not permitted to attend the *gongke* but this could be a new development.

CHAPTER 4

Comparison of the *Gongke* With Other Liturgies

Although the Longmen order clearly identifies itself as Daoist there are many similarities in the overall structures of the daily liturgies of Buddhist and Daoist monasteries in China. Nevertheless, the content of the Longmen's *gongke* remains very Daoist in character. Here I shall compare the similar structures of two types of monastic liturgy, Buddhist and Daoist, before contrasting the *gongke* with other Daoist ritual.

Daoist and Buddhist Monastic Liturgies

Concerning the history of Chinese Buddhist ritual in general, Daniel STEVENSON has argued that the basic structure of Chinese Buddhist ritual was in place by the sixth century C.E.

Parallels between Three Stages liturgies of Hsin-hsing and those of Chih-I—overall structure and nomenclature for liturgical phases, litanies such as the incense offering, verses of praise, three refuge formula, the Four and Five Penances, etc.—suggest that a shared/standard stock of liturgical forms and structures was certainly in evidence by late sixth century.¹⁷⁴

These liturgical forms and structures were likely based, in part, on two fifth century Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. These texts, which both contain outlines of Indian Buddhist ritual forms are the *Shizhu Bibosha Lun* 十住毘波沙論 [Treatise on the Ten

Stages of Illumination] translated by Kumarajiva, and the *Fo Shuo Guanfo Sanmeihai Jing* 佛說觀佛三昧海經 [Samadhi Ocean Sūtra of Visualizing the Buddha Spoken by the Buddha], translated by Buddhahadra.¹⁷⁵ By examining these sources, STEVENSON has elucidated the basic ritual model that Chinese Buddhists adopted from India. This structure (which was probably influenced by Chinese ritual traditions, such as Daoism) served as the basis for all Buddhist rituals, including daily monastic liturgy.

For the following comparison I will rely on two models of Buddhist ritual. The first is STEVENSON's general model of Chinese Buddhist ritual, the second is the structure of the daily liturgy of modern Chinese monasteries presented by Pi-yen CHEN in his doctoral thesis *Morning and Evening Service: The Practice of Ritual, Music, and Doctrine in the Chinese Buddhist Monastic Community*. 'Modern' here refers to the daily liturgy that has been in practice since the late-Ming. CHEN states:

The contemporary liturgy of the daily service has been practiced at least from the late Ming dynasty, when the monk Zhu-hong published the oldest available version of the Recitation Book in 1600.¹⁷⁶

He further says, that certainly by the Ming the liturgy was already complete in the form in which it exists today, though the same liturgy could have been in practice since the Song dynasty.¹⁷⁷ As the goal in comparing Daoist and Buddhist liturgies is not to determine historical precedence, but rather to see what the Daoist monastic liturgy of the *Xuanmen Gongke* has in common with other Chinese traditions outside of Daoism, it will suffice to say that these two forms of liturgy are contemporary. Furthermore, for the

¹⁷⁴ Stevenson, pp. 460-1.

¹⁷⁵ Stevenson, p. 459.

¹⁷⁶ Chen, Pi-Yen, p. 79.

¹⁷⁷ Chen, Pi-Yen, p. 79.

purposes of this comparison I am assuming a single Buddhist monastic daily liturgy. Although Buddhist monastic liturgy differs somewhat by location, there seems to be little in the way of sectarian variation, rather the daily liturgies used in Chinese Buddhist monasteries seem to be remarkably identical.¹⁷⁸

Although in this section I will be focusing on a structural comparison of the two types of liturgies, there are a few non-structural points brought up in Chapter 3 worth mentioning again. The first point concerns instrumentation. Daoist and Buddhist monastics use the same instruments in their daily liturgies. For long recitation (such as of scripture and invocations) time is kept by the steady one-strike-per-beat rhythm of the wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚).¹⁷⁹ The hand bell (*yinqing* 弓[磬]) is struck on the first of each measure, and is also used to signal prostrations. Both types of liturgies also use the large bell (*daqing* 大磬) and cymbals (*tongbo* 銅鈸) at regular intervals to mark time.

Another point of commonality between the two types of liturgies is their use of free chanting mentioned in Chapter 3. This is a vaguely repetitive but mostly melody-less form of chanting in which the monastics spontaneously harmonize with one another, creating new melodies during each session of the liturgy.

The *gongke* contains a greater variety of rites than the Buddhist monastic liturgy, though they both follow a similar progression. Here I shall only go into detail comparing the morning liturgies, taking only a brief look at the main sections of the evening liturgies. There are many similarities in the opening sections of the morning liturgies, though their structures are not identical. First, each community enters and bows to their

¹⁷⁸ Chen, Pi-Yen, p. 80.

¹⁷⁹ Although the history of this instrument is unclear, it seems to have come into use in Buddhist communities between the Yuan and late Ming. Personal communication with Dr. Baroni, 2/11/03.

respective deities¹⁸⁰ followed in each by a verse that initiates the liturgy. The Daoist monastics ask for the removal of sins and the response of heavenly spirits, while in the Buddhist verse there is an exhortation to study the dharma.¹⁸¹ At this point the Daoist monastics communally offer incense and praise the Daoist deities. In the Buddhist morning liturgy, the cantor offers incense prior to the arrival of the community.

After the liturgy has been thus initiated both communities chant a series of incantations.¹⁸² As shown above, in the *zaotan* these eight incantations are used for purification and to call on the spiritual power of various deities to pacify the land. There is also a praise of Daoist talismans that occurs in the fifth incantation the *Incantation for Purifying Heaven and Earth* 淨天地咒. The incantations contain references to all of the various forms of Daoist spiritual efficacy and are written in (fairly) comprehensible liturgical Chinese. Like the incantations recited in the *zaotan*, most of the twelve Buddhist incantations are used to channel the spiritual efficacy of specific deities. For example, the *Qifo Miezui Zhenyan* 七佛滅罪真言 [Sin Dispelling Incantation of the

¹⁸⁰ For the sake of simplicity I have used the term ‘deities’ in this chapter to refer to both Daoist deities and the Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the Buddhists, which, though technically not deities, serve a function similar to that of the Daoist deities.

¹⁸¹ 若人欲了知 三世一切佛 應觀法界性 一切唯心造. “If there is someone who wishes to know all Buddhas of past, present, and future. She should view the nature of all *dharmadhatus* as being created by the mind alone.”

¹⁸² Chanting invocations as part of Buddhist ritual in China dates back to at least the late fifth, early sixth century. (Stevenson, p. 456.) There are two Sanskrit terms for these incantations, *dhāraṇī* and *mantra*. According to Michel Strickmann, “It is well known that *dhāraṇī* are supposed to have been unique to Buddhism. They were said to encapsulate vast quantities of doctrine in concentrated form, and their recitation is found described as a mnemonic as well as means of protection. Mantras, in contrast, are shared by Buddhism with other Indian religions. They exhibit a remarkable linguistic spectrum, ranging from directly intelligible phrases to seemingly meaningless single syllables; structurally they may resemble birdsong, music, baby talk, or utterances of the insane.” (Strickmann (1997), pp. 80-1.) There are several analogous terms used to translate both terms into Chinese. The first is *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼, a phonetic rendering of *dhāraṇī* is often used. A less common literal translation of that same term is *zhenyan* 真言, or true words. Just as often they use the word *zhou* 咒 (incantation), or its variation *shenzhou* 神咒 (divine incantation), which is the same term used for Daoist and other magical incantations. All three terms are used in daily Buddhist liturgy.

Seven Buddhas] and *Guanyin Lingyan Zhenyan* 觀音靈驗真言 [Incantation of the Miraculous Power of Guanyin] rely on Buddhas and Guanyin Bodhisattva (*Guanyin pusa* 觀音菩薩) to expiate sins and cultivate spiritual fruits respectively.¹⁸³ These Buddhist incantations, unlike their counterparts in the *zaotan*, are incomprehensible transliterations of Sanskrit originals. In the context of Buddhist ritual comprehension is not an issue however, as incantations do not need to be intelligible to be effective. In Chinese Buddhism it was held that it is the sound of the incantations that contain their power, the meaning is secondary, if it is important at all.¹⁸⁴ The titles of these incantations are translated, however, and there are some themes that appear which are similar to those of the *zaotan*. These incantations also appear in the Buddhist canon in *sūtras*, which explain their meanings. Upon examining both the titles of the Buddhist incantations and the *sūtras* that explain them, we find that Daoists and Buddhists both use incantations in order to purify the body and mind, and to protect the country.¹⁸⁵

After incantations, both liturgies call for the recitation of scripture. While the *zaotan* includes four short scriptures the Buddhist morning liturgy includes only one, the Heart Sūtra (*Xin Jing* 心經). This text bears some resemblance to both the first and second scriptures recited in the *zaotan*, but as the Heart Sūtra is well known, I shall not go into detail about it here. One point worth mentioning is that Jan Nattier has shown that the Heart Sūtra may have actually been composed in China as a magical text.¹⁸⁶ That is, it was possibly composed in order to fulfill a magical function that texts serve in Chinese ritual, and if that is the case, it is also possible that it was composed during the

¹⁸³ Chen, Pi-Yen, p. 103.

¹⁸⁴ As noted above, this type of understanding in India was limited to *mantra*.

¹⁸⁵ Chen, Pi-Yen, pp. 91-105.

process whereby elements of Daoist ritual were adopted by Buddhist communities. This is highly speculative, however, and it would require more research.

A major difference between the *zaotan* and Buddhist morning liturgies is the absence in the latter of invocations. In the *zaotan*, directly after the recitation of scripture, twelve invocations are recited to invoke deities and sages of the Daoist tradition. This rite is also included in most Indian and early medieval Chinese Buddhist ritual texts.¹⁸⁷ However, in Buddhist morning liturgy there is only one such invocation, dedicated to Amitābha Buddha (*Omituofu* 阿彌陀佛).

Similar rites are used to end both forms of the morning liturgy, albeit in slightly different orders. First a central spiritual being is praised. In the case of the *gongke*, this is the Celestial Worthy of the Thunder-peal Universal Transformation. In the Buddhist liturgy Amitābha is invoked. These beings serve similar roles in their respective pantheons as both are connected with the transforming effects of spiritual practice. They are beings that can assist the monastics in spiritual advancement, either in this life for Daoists, or in the next for Buddhists. In both liturgies the monastics follow their invocations or praises by circumambulating the altar while chanting the name of that deity/Buddha. According to Yifa, the rites of offering incense and circumambulation were longstanding practices in India before Buddhism came to China, appearing in both the Vinaya and the earliest Indian sutras. She adds that Chinese Buddhist monks such as Daoan 道安 (312-385) had adopted the practice as early as the 4th century C.E.,¹⁸⁸ suggesting that even if the Quanzhen circumambulation is based on early Daoist

¹⁸⁶ See Nattier.

¹⁸⁷ Stevenson, p. 456.

¹⁸⁸ Yifa, p. 10.

practices, it is likely that these practices had themselves been the result of Buddhist influence.

In both liturgies there is a rite in which the monastics reflect upon the merit of reciting the scriptures. The first four lines of the Buddhist version closely parallel those found in the *gongke*. In the Buddhist liturgy, the monks perform a merit transference rite (*punya-parināmanā*), in which the monastics turn over (lit. *huixiang* 回向) their merit to all beings. In Buddhism the transfer of merit is one of the main activities of the Bodhisattva. Through spiritual practices, such as the recitation of liturgy and performance of good deeds, Bodhisattvas build up a stock of merit which they then transfer or ‘turn over’ to sentient beings in order to help them. In the *gongke*, the monastics also direct their attention towards (*huixiang* 回向) all the sages.¹⁸⁹ Although it could be a coincidence that both verses contain the same phrase, it is also possible that Buddhist ideas of merit transference had some impact on the formulation of this portion of the rite in the *gongke*, and the Daoist monastics are actually “transferring their merit to the multitude Sages of the ten directions.”

This verse is followed in the *gongke* by a rite of repentance (*chanhui* 懺悔) that has no analogy in modern Buddhist daily liturgy, but does figure prominently in earlier Buddhist ritual (where it occurs earlier than in the Daoist liturgy, directly following invocations and visualizations).¹⁹⁰ Why the repentance rite was dropped from the Buddhist daily liturgy is unclear. Both liturgies then include a list of vows, ten for

¹⁸⁹ *Xuanmen Gongke Zaotan*, p. 13a.

¹⁹⁰ Stevenson, p. 456. The practice of repentance is suggested and explained in many of the earliest translations of sūtras in Chinese and appears widely in indigenous Buddhist writings as well. Mibu, pp. 81-82.

Buddhists,¹⁹¹ twelve in the *gongke*, each followed by a sixteen-character verse, which although different, express similar ideas.¹⁹² Both state that all beings universally attain liberation.

Both liturgies conclude with different versions of the Three Refuges, a crucial rite in both Daoist and Buddhist traditions. In both Daoist and Buddhist monasteries there are final invocations connected with Three Refuges that are performed on full and new moon days. These invocations are similar in that they are both recited for the purpose of summoning protector deities to safeguard the monastery. In the Buddhist liturgy, the invocation is dedicated to *Weituo* 韋陀 [*Veda], a former prince whose image is now found in virtually all Chinese Buddhist temples, it is his responsibility protect the Buddhist teachings (Dharma) and its practitioners from evil influences. The Daoists recite the *Lingbao Guan Zhou* 靈寶官咒 [Incantation of the Numinous Treasure Official] to invoke *Lingbao Guan* 靈寶官 [the Numinous Treasure Official], the Daoist deity who performs a similar function. In the *gongke*, the Daoists also invoke the Earth God to keep the monastery in touch with the celestial bureaucracy by dutifully reporting the monastics' good deeds to Heaven, thus ensuring the proper treatment of the monastery by the celestial government.

The evening liturgies are each organized into three main parts. The first part is the liturgy proper, which includes a long section of scriptural recitation. Whereas the *gongke* calls for the recitation of three smaller scriptures, the Buddhists recite the *Smaller*

¹⁹¹ These ten vows are attributed to the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*puxian pusa* 普賢菩薩) and are derived from chapter 36 of the *Huayan Jing* 華嚴經 [Avatamsaka Sūtra] T 279.10.257c-261a.

¹⁹² Xingyun, p. 63 and *Xuanmen Gongke Zaotan*, p. 14b.

Sukhāvāṭi-vūyha Sūtra (*Amituo Jing* 阿彌陀經).¹⁹³ There are certain themes that predominate in both evening services, such as sin, hell, and vows. The theme of sin appears even more strongly in the second section of both evening liturgies—offering to the hungry ghosts. Offering nourishment to hungry spirits has long been a part of Chinese religion. The Chinese idea of ghosts as hungry was so strong that when the Sanskrit term *preta*, which simply means ghost, was translated into Chinese, it was rendered as hungry ghost (*egui* 餓鬼). The Buddhist ritual of Universal Salvation was widely adopted by Chinese Buddhists and later by Daoists. Through this ritual the monastics are able to universally deliver all ghosts from their suffering. It is an abbreviated form of this ritual, which appears in the evening liturgies of both Buddhist and Daoist monasteries.

The third and final sections of both evening liturgies are fairly different and I shall not go into those differences here. Despite a difference in the final section of the evening liturgy, it is clear from the above summary that the structures of the Buddhist and Longmen daily liturgies show many commonalities. Further research could indicate the extent to which they influenced one another's development. In 1382 by government decree Chinese Buddhism was separated into three parts, *Chan* 禪 [meditation], *Jing* 經 [doctrinal study], and *Jiao* 醮 [ritual performance].¹⁹⁴ The last category is derived from Daoism and the question of what lasting impact this use of a Daoist category had on the development of Buddhist liturgy should be studied further.

¹⁹³ T 366.12.346b.

¹⁹⁴ Chen, Pi-Yen, p. 225.

The *Gongke* vs. (Classical) Daoist Ritual

The Quanzhen school relied heavily on the broader Daoist ritual tradition in constructing its rituals. In the formative period of the Quanzhen most monastics learned ritual from non-Quanzhen priests. Vincent Goossaert states:

It appears that during the first generation Quanzhen adepts learned the liturgy with non-Quanzhen Daoists (who are never named precisely in the biographies), and that only at a later stage did the liturgical training take place normally within the larger Quanzhen education.¹⁹⁵

There is no evidence to suggest that the Quanzhen school developed its own liturgical identity distinct from Daoism in general during its formative years. In fact, there are no known ritual texts in the whole Daoist corpus that can be traced back to specifically Quanzhen sources prior to the Qing.¹⁹⁶ It would be reasonable to expect that the Longmen *gongke* would have much in common with Classical Daoist ritual as a whole.

I shall only attempt a general comparison in order to see which rites and structures within the *gongke* are unique to monastic Daoism, and which are simply a part of the greater lexicon of classical Daoist ritual. In making this comparison, however, one is faced with the problem that there is no standard Daoist ritual. As it is impossible to posit any one Daoist ritual or ritual tradition as orthodox, we must speak in generalities. Therefore, I shall identify those rites found in the *gongke* that are common to most forms of Daoist ritual as well as mention common rites that do not appear in the *gongke*.

¹⁹⁵ Goossaert (2001), p. 119.

¹⁹⁶ Goossaert (2001), p. 119.

There are basically two types of classical Daoist ritual, the *jiao* 醮 and the *zhai* 齋 (for offering and purification respectively). The *gongke* has its own structure, and though it makes use of many common elements of Daoist ritual, it cannot be treated as either a *jiao* or a *zhai*. The *gongke* also has a different orientation and this is one of the greatest differences between the *gongke* and the *jiao* and *zhai*. Whereas the *jiao* and *zhai* are conducted by Daoists for the benefit of a community (though also for families or individuals on occasion), the *gongke* is performed by the Daoists for their own benefit. Although performance of ritual for one's own benefit does occur in non-monastic Daoist schools, the daily performance of ritual for one's own benefit is a special characteristic of the Quanzhen.

Despite this difference in orientation, the *gongke* resembles one rite that occurs in most Daoist ritual, such as the *jiao* and *zhai*. Poul ANDERSEN has suggested to me that the *gongke*, which focuses on the recitation of scripture, appears to have developed out of Daoist rites for the recitation of scripture, which it resembles. Scriptural recitation is a common element in all forms of classical Daoist ritual and the recitation of scripture is the central element of the *gongke*.¹⁹⁷

One set of rites common in classical Daoist ritual that are absent, or present only in truncated form in the *gongke*, are those connected with establishing the altar used in the ritual. In classical Daoist ritual Daoists will almost always use temporary altars erected as needed. This requires a series of rites such as the *Jintan* 禁壇 [Sealing the

¹⁹⁷ Scriptures commonly recited during classical Daoist ritual include the *Beidou Jing* 北斗經 [Scripture of the Dipper], *Yushu Jing* 玉樞經 [Scripture of the Jade Pivot], *Sanguan Jing* 三官經 [Scripture of the Three Officers], and *Yuhuang Jing* 玉皇經 [Scripture of the Jade Emperor] for *jiao*, and the *Duren Jing* 度人經 [Scripture of Salvation] for *zhai*.¹⁹⁷ However, as we have seen in chapter 3, none of these is included in the *gongke*.

Altar] and the *Suqi* 宿啓 [Nocturnal Invocation] to fix, purify, and empower the altar-space. As the Longmen monastics use a permanent altar-space for the performance of the *gongke*, it is unnecessary to perform many of these preparatory rites on a daily basis. The introit and exit of the Longmen Daoists is also much simpler in the *gongke* than the *jiao* and *zhai*, due to the more permanent nature of the ritual space used by the Longmen, as well as the much smaller scale of the *gongke*.¹⁹⁸ Longmen monastics do perform incantations of purification, a set of rites common in classical Daoist ritual, during the *gongke*. As seen in chapter 3, at the opening of the *gongke* the monastics recite a series of incantations drawn directly from the corpus of Daoist liturgy where they are used before the recitation of scripture.

Another common element of classic Daoist ritual that is absent from the *gongke* is the use of a written memorial (*shu* 疏). In classical Daoist ritual the written memorial presents the purpose and goals of the ritual along with information regarding the officiating Daoist and “is read by the Taoist priest as part of all the major rituals of the *jiao*.”¹⁹⁹ The reading of the memorial is the fundamental form of communication between the Daoists performing the ritual and the deities to whom the ritual is addressed. As the goal of most Daoist ritual is to affect change in the universe through requesting the intercession of deities, this communication is an indispensable part of classical Daoist ritual. The use of written memorials has a long history in Daoism. SCHIPPER writes:

The reading of the memorial, in this instance as in a great many others, may be taken as the hallmark of Taoist practice. The memorials are always written and always read by a Taoist priest.

¹⁹⁸ Lagerwey, pp. 111, 195.

¹⁹⁹ Andersen (1995), p. 187.

The evidence suggests that this has always been so. The *Wei-lieh*, one of the earliest official sources we have on the history of the Taoist church, gives few specific facts, but it does mention the salient particularity that the priests offered written memorials to the Agents of the Universe.²⁰⁰

No written memorial is used in the *gongke*, making the *gongke* fairly unique in the spectrum of Daoist liturgy unless we view it as an expanded scriptural recitation rite. Despite the absence of a written memorial, the monastics do make their intentions clear during the performance of the *gongke*. It is also clear that the monastics expect the *gongke* to be an effective method for communicating with the deities to whom most of the liturgy is directed.

Another rite present in many forms in Daoist ritual is the invocation of spiritual beings. The *gongke* includes two different lists of beings, one in the *zaotan* and one is the *wantan*. The list of deities invoked in the *zaotan* follows an order, albeit in a shortened form, which is fairly standard in classical Daoist ritual. The *gongke* follows the order and content of classical Daoist ritual for the first six of its invocations. First the Three Pure Ones are invoked, followed by the Four Imperial Attendants. This is followed by the invocation of several other deities and lords (*jun* 君). One difference between classical Daoist ritual and the *gongke* is the number of beings invoked. In classical Daoist ritual there are some 360 deities and spiritual beings invoked,²⁰¹ whereas after the preliminary invocation of eight deities the monastics invoke seventeen patriarchs, twelve of whom are not included in classical Daoist ritual. Unlike the *zaotan*, which generally follows more common patterns of invocation, the *wantan* follows a

²⁰⁰ Schipper (1974), p. 311.

different style. The short list of deities invoked in the *wantan* is a collection of cultic figures, deities and Quanzhen patriarchs, some of which are of fairly recent origin, such as the *Doumu*.²⁰² All of these figures, except Zhang Daoling, were popular in cults outside the context of Daoist ritual and many of them don't have hierarchical relationships with one another. Unlike in the *zaotan* or in classical Daoist ritual, the deities invoked in the *wantan* do not belong to a single hierarchy and reflect the new pantheon that was developed by the Quanzhen.²⁰³

Although a rite of repentance is included in the *zaotan* it occurs after both the recitation of scripture and the invocation of deities. In classical Daoist ritual repentance rites are generally carried out before *and* after recitation of scripture and invocations. The repentance rites of classical Daoist ritual often include repentance for incorrect performance of the ritual being performed. This is not mentioned in the repentance rite of the *zaotan*, which tends to focus on the sins caused by desire and delusion, and the suffering that results from those sins. The *wantan* does not include a repentance rite at all, which is unusual for Daoist ritual (and for Buddhist ritual as well).

Having made a brief comparison of the Daoist and Buddhist ritual forms, there are several points worth noting. The first is that it appears that the *gongke* is an extended form of the Daoist rite of scriptural recitation. The opening procedures of that rite in classic Daoist ritual are similar to (or as mentioned in the Introduction, in the case of the *Sanyuan Zhenjing*, identical with) those of the *gongke*. The sections added to the standard rite of scriptural recitation to create the *gongke* are Quanzhen in nature. For

²⁰¹ See for example *Wushang Huanglu Dazhai Lichengyi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 [Establishing Rites of the Unsurpassed Yellow Register Great Retreat] DZ 508.5b-19b. Katz, p. 147.

example, most of the invocations recited are dedicated to deities and patriarchs specifically important to the Quanzhen, and the repentance, *Ancestor Qiu's Repentance Writ*, is attributed to the Quanzhen patriarch Qiu Chuji.

The structure of the *gongke* presented in the *Xuanmen Gongke* also closely parallels classical forms of Buddhist ritual, which date from the late fifth and early sixth centuries. In terms of structure, the parallels are even greater between the *Xuanmen Gongke* and medieval Buddhist ritual than between the latter and contemporary Buddhist daily liturgy. It is clear that there has been a great deal of cross-fertilization between Daoist and Chinese Buddhist liturgical traditions and the history of these interactions needs to be studied further.

²⁰² As mentioned elsewhere, it is possible that the Quanzhen school owed much of its early popularity among the general population to the incorporation of folk deities into its pantheon.

²⁰³ See chapter 1.

CONCLUSION

In order to gain a clear understanding of any religious group, it is often necessary to examine the doctrinal foundations of that group. However a group's doctrines often present a one-sided understanding of that group. Issues such as polemics and assumed knowledge make the task of deriving a clear understanding of the identity of a religious group from its doctrine complicated, if not impossible. In addition to doctrine, religion also includes practice. Members of religious groups participate in practices that they associate with their religion. These practices are usually informed by the doctrine of the group but this influence is rarely unidirectional; practice informs doctrine as well. The activities of a religious group can alter that group's doctrinal understanding of their own religion as new interpretations are created to explain changes in practice. There are other elements besides doctrine and practice that constitute religion but I have chosen to focus on these two concepts here as they are often written of as being separate or competing ways of understanding religion.

In this study I have examined the text and context of the *gongke* of the Longmen order of monastic Daoism. Through studying this liturgy we can add an understanding of Longmen practice to the picture of the Longmen institution that has been created through previous textual studies. The study of liturgy affords us the opportunity to examine a practice that has been (and continues to be in the present day) at the very heart of the daily lives of Longmen monastics. Study of this practice allows us a great amount of insight into monastic culture because it is the practice of doctrinal text. Liturgy is text in practice, practical text. In the performance of liturgy, doctrine held in sacred text is

brought to life. The *gongke* is efficient and I have assumed that none of the rites it contains were included by chance. The composition of the contemporary *gongke* was done with purpose and its structure reflects the purpose of the institution that created it. Although we cannot know what the authors' exact intentions were beyond what we have seen in the *Preface to the Xuanmen Gongke*, we can look to the *gongke* to see what doctrines held an active role in the community. This may allow us to solve one of the problems created through an overemphasis on textual studies. The problem is that even though there is a text that says things should be a certain way (such as precepts texts) we do not always have the data to prove that anyone read, let alone followed, those texts. As we have seen, the practice of the *gongke* was widespread within the Longmen order, which allows us to take its contents as understood (if not necessarily followed) by Longmen monastics.

I place the functions and effects of the *gongke* into three basic categories: Educational, social, and spiritual. Despite the fact that I discuss them here as separate points, it is clear that there is a great deal of overlap between the three categories, for example education is important for both spiritual cultivation and the socialization of new monastics.

The *gongke* serves a clear pedagogical role in the lives of Longmen monastics. As we have seen above, the monastics participate in the *gongke* before they are allowed access to other Daoist scripture. In the *gongke*, new monastics have their first exposure to scripture and Daoist doctrine. On a more practical level it familiarizes the novice with the basic vocabulary of Longmen Daoism, such as the names and functions of the most important deities, as well as basic *neidan* terms. For example the *Gaoshang Yuhuang*

Xinyin Miaojing contains many terms central to the practice of *neidan*, which was one of the principal spiritual practices of Longmen monastics. The themes of the *gongke* are specific and distinguish the Daoist monastic from other Daoists, as the *gongke* contains several statements regarding Daoist monastic life specifically. Through daily participation in the *gongke* the monastics, from the newest novice to the oldest senior, are reminded of the aspirations, goals, and views of their school on a daily basis.

In addition to serving to educate the monastics, the *gongke* also helps to create and reinforce the strength of the monastic community. On the social level, performance of the *gongke* was one of few times in the monastics' day when they would act together. At that time they were reminded of the history of the larger institution of the Longmen, and their place within their community. From the recitation of invocations devoted to founding patriarchs, to the statement of wishes, participation in the *gongke* orients the monastics within the history and lineage of their community. They are reminded of the debt owed to the deities and teachers (and in some sense this may have inculcated in them a sense of responsibility). The *gongke* also reinforces the rules of behavior of the monastics by repeating the monastic position on ethics (such as in the *Taishang Daojun Shuo Jieyuan Bazui Miaojing*), which serves as the basis for morality within the community.

Another equally important aspect of the *gongke* is its spiritual function. Through the performance of the *gongke* the monastics establish and maintain their relationships with the deities of Daoism, deities without whose help little spiritual progress could be expected. In addition to establishing the proper relationship with the Daoist deities, the scriptures of the *gongke* set forth the path of spiritual practice and guarantee its efficacy.

One final note regarding the spiritual efficiency of the *gongke*, according to Longmen discourse, the *gongke* is first and foremost a spiritual practice undertaken in order to reach spiritual goals. An example of this is the scriptures of the *gongke*, which describe paths of spiritual practice that are often the very acts of their recitation.

The *gongke* operates on educational, social, and spiritual levels to promote and manifest Longmen monasticism and understanding the *gongke* brings us closer to understanding that institution, an institution that continues to maintain the centrality of the Daoist path to daily life. What is the nature of this path and does the Daoist path as it envisioned by the Longmen institution differ from what has previously been thought? It is clear from the *gongke* that for the Longmen the soteriological goal of the Daoist path is *ascendance to immortality* (*shengxian* 昇仙). This goal is reached through following a path handed down from divine beings in the embodied in the form of eternally existing scripture. There are two main elements to this path that appear repeatedly in the *gongke*. The first is the necessity of maintaining a pure life and repenting of all previous sins. The second is the proper manipulation of the three alchemical ingredients—spirit, *qi*, and essence—in order to make the body clear and light. It should be noted that neither of these ideas is unique to the Longmen order, or even monastic Daoism. Rather they are common in all forms of Daoism. The attainment of immortality has been central to Daoism for over two millennia, while the confession of sins was the central practice of the first organized Daoist group we know of, the Way of the Celestial Masters (2nd century C.E.) and was probably in practice even before that. The use of alchemical language and imagery is also not unusual as Daoist monastics have always been associated with those practices both in the West as well as in China.

What is unusual about the *gongke* is the importance it places on two concepts not often associated with Daoism: Compassion and the salvation of other beings. Usually considered a Buddhist idea, the term compassion or mercy (*ci* 慈 or *cibei* 慈悲) is used by the monastics to describe not only the deities they invoke but, as seen in the *Smaller Verse of Praise* recited in both the *zaotan* and the *wantan*, the Dao itself is described as being compassionate. Although Laozi (and many scholars of ancient Daoism) may not agree with such a characterization of the Dao, this phrase shows us that Longmen monastics have their own view of the Dao, one that appears to have great resonance with that held by the Buddhists.

The idea of the salvation of other beings appears in other Daoist contexts (such as in the *Pudu* rite performed by non-monastic Daoist priests), but it takes on added significance here because of its ubiquity in Longmen practice. The *Pudu* is performed at regular intervals by non-monastic Daoist priests, but not everyday. Longmen monastics, on the other hand, make prostrations to the Celestial Worthy Who Saves From Suffering every evening while chanting verse and scripture that describes/achieves the succor of those who suffer. As the salvation of beings is a dominant theme throughout the *wantan* (appearing in the *zaotan* as well) we can only conclude that it is an important part of the Daoist path as envisioned by the Longmen.

These two themes go against what is most often assumed to be the nature of Daoist monastic discourse and as such they call for a re-evaluation of the image we have of monastic Daoists, an image that has been based primarily on an understanding of alchemical texts and hagiographic lineage records.

APPENDIX A

Zaotan 早壇

近代武當山	全真早壇功課經	玄門功課早壇	Yoshioka	道門功課
澄清韻	←	← Insert Verse		Alternate
奉天尊	←	←		←
提綱	←	←		←
吊掛	no verse			
香供養	←			←
大啓請韻	←	←		←
小啓請韻		Alternate		Alternate
淨心神咒	←	←		←
淨口神咒	←	←		←
淨身神咒	←	←		←
安土地咒	←	←		←
淨天地咒	←	←		←
祝香咒	←	←		←
金光神咒	←	←		開經玄蘊咒
開經玄蘊咒	←	←		金光神咒
常清淨經	←	←	←	1. 護命妙經
護命妙經	←	←	←	2. 常清淨經
度厄真經	←	←	←	3. 心印妙經
心印妙經	←	←	←	4. 九天應元- 雷聲普化天尊- 就玉樞寶經
玉清誥	Listed as <i>hao</i>	←		
上清誥	號, not <i>gao</i> 誥	←		
太清誥	彌羅號	彌羅誥		
玉皇誥	←	←		
天皇誥	←	←		
星皇誥	←	←		
后土誥	←	←		No
南極誥	神宵誥	神宵誥		
北五祖誥	←	←		
南五祖誥	←	←		<i>Gao</i> 誥
七真誥	←	←		
普化誥	←	←		
知表吟偈	←	←		←
轉念	←	←		←
中堂贊	←	←		←
懺悔文	←	←		←
小贊	12 vows	12 vows		12 vows
三皈依	←	←		Alternate
	←	Alternate		Alternate

Wantan 晚壇

近代武當山	全真早壇功課經	玄門功課早壇	Yoshioka	道門功課
步虛	←	← Verse to 太乙救苦天尊		←
下水船	←	←		←
吊掛	←	←		←
香供養				
提綱	Alternate			
反八天	Alternate 1	大啓請韻		
提綱-2		小啓請韻		←
開經偈	←	←		←
救苦妙經	←	←	←	1. 得道真經
得道真經	←	←	←	2. 救苦妙經
拔罪妙經	←	←	←	3. 拔罪妙經
斗母誥	Listed as <i>hao</i>	←		4. 太上玄靈寶-
三官誥	號, not <i>gao</i> 誥	←		斗 大 君-
玄天誥	←	←		本命延生心經
祖天師誥	←	←		5. 天師心經
文昌誥	←			
呂祖誥	←	←		No
薩祖誥	←	薩真君誥		<i>Gao</i> 誥
靈寶官誥	←	←		
救苦誥.1	←	←		
轉念	Verse 1	知表吟偈		
中堂贊	←	←		
救苦誥.2	←	←		
報恩誥	←	←		
	十二願	←		十二願
	小贊	←		Alternate
唱讚	←	←		
Dedic. Verse	←	←		
	Merits of Recit.	←		
	Recite one 咒			
皈依	←	Alt. Version		←

APPENDIX B

Although there are versions of all the following Daoist scriptures extant in the *Daozang*, my translations are based on the versions contained in the *Xuanmen Gongke*. I have compared most of the scriptures from the *Xuanmen Gongke* with those found in the *Daozang* and found only minor variations.

I. Scriptures Recited During the *Zaotan*

A. The Scripture of the Eternally Clear and Tranquil,²⁰⁴ spoken by the Supreme Lord Lao.

Lord Lao said, “The great Dao is without form. It births and nourishes Heaven and Earth. The great Dao is without disposition. It conveys the sun and moon on their courses. The Great Dao has no name, long has it nourished the ten thousand things. I do not know its name. Forced to name it, I call it Dao.”²⁰⁵

In Dao there is that which is clear and that which is turbid, that which moves and that which is tranquil. Heaven is clear and Earth is turbid. Heaven moves and Earth is tranquil. Man is clear, woman turbid; man is movement and woman tranquility. Descending to the root and flowing to the branches it gives birth to the ten thousand things. Clarity is the origin of turbidity. Movement is the basis of tranquility. If humans can be eternally clear and tranquil, in Heaven and Earth all [things will] return.

²⁰⁴ Clear and tranquil (*qingjing* 清靜). Wang Chongyang glosses this term in the *Chongyang Zhenren Shou Danyang Ershisi Jue*: “There is internal and external *qingjing*. In internal *qingjing*, the mind does not give rise to sundry thoughts. In external *qingjing*, none of the dusts [of defilement] is attached to in a corrupt [way].” DZ 1158.2b.

The human spirit likes clarity, but the mind disturbs it. The human mind likes tranquility, but desires lead it [into motion]. If one can always abandon desires then the mind will naturally become tranquil. [If one can always] cleanse the mind, then the spirit will naturally become clear. Naturally, the six desires²⁰⁶ will not be produced and the three poisons²⁰⁷ will disappear. Therefore, [the mind] of one who is unable [to do this] has not yet been cleansed, and desires have not yet been abandoned. When the one who can abandon [desires] looks inside at the mind, [he finds that] mind is without mind. Looking outside at forms, [she finds that] body is without body. Looking from afar at material things, [he finds that] things are without things. When one has awakened to the three²⁰⁸ then one only look into emptiness. Perceive that emptiness is likewise empty [yet] emptiness is without that which is empty. Since that which is empty is non-existence, being without non-existence is likewise non-existent. Since being without non-existence is non-existent, it is incredibly profound and constantly quiescent. Quiescence is without that which is quiescent, so how can desires be produced? Desires having not been produced is true tranquility. The Truly Eternal²⁰⁹ responds (*ying* 應) to material things and the Truly Eternal attains nature. Always responding, always still; this is the Eternally Clear and Tranquil. If one is clear and tranquil like this, one gradually enters the true Dao. If you can enter the true Dao, it is called 'attaining the Dao.' Although it is called 'attaining the Dao,' in reality there is nothing that has been attained.

²⁰⁵ This is a quote from the *Daode Jing*, chapter 25.

²⁰⁶ The six sensual attachments resulting from color, form, behavior, speech, softness, and features.

²⁰⁷ Greed, hatred, and ignorance. Also used in Buddhism.

²⁰⁸ Mind (*xin* 心), form (*xing* 形), and things (*wu* 物). Min (2000), p. 49.

²⁰⁹ This is used in Buddhists literature as an epithet for Nirvana.

For the sake of transforming all beings it is called ‘attaining the Dao.’ Whoever can awaken to it can transmit the Dao of the sages.

Lord Lao said, “Superior persons are without contention, while lesser persons love to contend. Superior virtue is not virtuous, [those of] lesser virtue grasps at virtue.”²¹⁰ That which grasps is not called ‘*Dao* and *De*.’ As for the congregation [of beings], the reason they do not attain the true Dao [is because of] a deluded mind. Since the mind is deluded mind, it ‘startles their spirits (*jing qi hen* 驚其神).’ Since the spirit is startled,’ then [there is an] attachment to worldly things. Since [there is] attachment to worldly things, greed is produced, which is, precisely, the vexations (or defilements). The vexations delude the thoughts and cause trouble and suffering for the body and mind. Moreover, [causing] one to meet with turbidity and offense, flowing on the waves of birth and death, always sinking in the sea of suffering, and forever losing the true Dao. Awakening to the Dao of the Real and Eternal is naturally attained, and attaining awakening to the Dao is [because of] constant clarity and tranquility.

The immortal, Gentleman Ge²¹¹ said, “I attained the true Dao by reciting this scripture ten thousand times completely. This scripture is what the men of heaven practice and is not transmitted to lesser persons. In the past I received it from the Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence.²¹² The Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence received it from the Imperial Lord of the Golden Porte (*jinque* 金闕).²¹³ The Imperial

²¹⁰ *Daode Jing*, chapter 38.

²¹¹ Ge Xuan. See chapter 3.

²¹² This spirit was originally a man from the area that is now present-day Shandong 山東 who lived during the Han. He is also one of Quanzhen’s Five Northern Patriarchs. He often receives texts from the Heavenly Mother.

²¹³ The Golden Porte is the palace of Li Hong 李弘, but more importantly, the gateway from the Heavens of Highest Purity (*shangqing* 上清) to those of Jade Clarity (*yuqing* 玉清). Bokenkamp, p. 282.

Lord of the Golden Porte received it from the Queen Mother of the West. From the Queen Mother of the West it has been transmitted orally. It has not been recorded with letters. Now that I am in the world, I write it and record it. When superior persons awaken to it, they ascend, becoming Celestial Officials. When mediocre persons practice it, they join the ranks of the immortals of the Southern Palace. When lesser persons attain it, they live long lives in this world, then traveling in the three realms,²¹⁴ ascend and enter the Golden Gate.²¹⁵

The Perfected Man of the Left Mystery said, “The person who studies the Dao and unfalteringly recites this scripture will attain the good spirits of the ten heavens²¹⁶ who will embrace and protect his body. After this the jade registers (*yufu* 玉符) protect his spirits and the golden elixir²¹⁷ refines his body. When body and spirit are both wondrous and they join the Dao in perfection.”

The Perfected Man, Orthodox Unity²¹⁸ said, “Common people have this scripture and whoever understands it will not be subjected to in disaster. The multitude sages will guard his gate. His spirit ascends to the highest realm and pays obeisance at court to the highest Perfected Ones. When his merits are complete and his virtue is attained, he resonates with the Imperial Lords. If he recites [this scripture] unfalteringly and does not retreat, the body soars up on purple clouds.”

²¹⁴ The realms of desire, form, and formlessness.

²¹⁵ The gate of Heaven, located to the northwest.

²¹⁶ *Shitian* 十天. The eight points of the compass, up, and down.

²¹⁷ The elixir of immortality in *neidan*, which is created by mixing the *qi* of the kidneys and the heart, and then steaming that in the lungs.

²¹⁸ This is an epithet given to Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the founder of the Way of the Celestial Masters 天師, by Emperor Taizu 太祖 of Ming, in the year 1381.

B. The Wondrous Scripture for Ascending to Mystery, Dispelling Disaster, and Protecting Life of the Supreme Cavern Mystery Numinous Treasure.²¹⁹

Bowing our heads we take refuge in the multitude wondrous Dao,²²⁰
With utmost sincerity we honor and respect the two Mysterious Perfected Ones.
Now we set in motion that which we deliberate on with one mind
To recognize roughly what this scripture follows from
Empty form, and formed emptiness parallel nature,
Existent non-being, non-being existence, are the equal of form and emptiness.
The wind of wisdom comes forth from the power of the Celestial Worthy,
Sweeping clear the mind realm without leaving behind any dust [of worldly
 affairs].
Only wishing that the spiritual light will forever embrace and protect,
It is made evident today, to guard mind and man.
Today, guarding the mind, what is evidenced
Not losing the ordinary body, attaining the body of the Dao.

At that time the Celestial Worthy, Primordial Beginning, was dwelling within the Forest of Seven Jewels, in the Palace of Five Radiances. Together with the limitless congregation of sages they all put forth a limitless bright radiance, which illuminated limitless worlds. [They] perceived the limitless beings, who receive limitless suffering

²¹⁹ The Title, *Supreme Cavern Mystery Numinous Treasure* 太上洞玄靈寶 indicates the section of the canon this work is from 洞玄, and its sectarian affiliation, 靈寶. Bokenkamp, p. 395n. 2.

and distress, turning forever through the world and the wheel of life and death,²²¹ floating on the waves of the river of desire, they flow and blow in the sea of desires, sinking into the stagnancy of sound and form, deluded about existence and non-existence. [They are deluded about the following:] Non-existent emptiness and existent emptiness; non-existent form and existent form; non-existent existence and non-existent non-existence; existent existence and non-existent existence. From beginning to end [they are caught in] the darkness [of ignorance]. They cannot become clear by themselves [and remain] deluded to the end.

The Celestial Worthy said, “All of you multitudinous beings, start from [the points] existence is in not being; non-being is in not non-being; form is in non-form; emptiness is in non-emptiness. That which is not existent constitutes existence, that which is not non-being constitutes non-being, that which is not form constitutes form, that which is not emptiness constitutes emptiness. Emptiness precisely, is emptiness. Emptiness is without fixed emptiness. Form precisely, is form. If form is without fixed form, then form is emptiness, and then emptiness is form. If you can know that emptiness is not empty, and know that form is not form, this is called illuminating understanding. [You] begin to penetrate the wondrous sounds, and recognize the Methods of Non-Existent Empty and see through without obstructions. Entering the Gate of the Multitude Wondrous.²²² You naturally awaken, remaining apart from all entanglements of doubt, not attaching to empty views. You clarify and cleanse the six

²²⁰ The first 12 lines are an invocation specific to this scripture’s use as a liturgical text and are not included in the version present in the *Daozang*.

²²¹ Buddhist use this term for *samsara*.

²²² *Daode Jing*, chapter 1.

roots²²³, cutting off all deviant obstructions. Now, for the sake of you, I speak this wondrous scripture. It is called “Protecting Life.” It saves all sentient beings. It is transmitted as a teaching in the world, being read and recited far and wide.

Now, there were Spirit Kings Who Fly to Heaven, Diamond Beings Who Destroy the Deviant, Numinous Boys Who Protect the Doctrine, Perfected Ones Who Save From Suffering, and Ferocious Animals of the Golden Essence, each a hundred-hundred million-ten-thousand (One-hundred trillion) in number. They attend and protect this scripture, following and obeying those who embrace²²⁴ and protect this scripture. Warding off disaster and aiding [in times of] sorrow, they liberate all sentient beings, removing [them from] all impure attachments.

At that time the Celestial Worthy then spoke this verse,

“Looking, [you] cannot see me,
Listening, you cannot hear [me],
Separate from every kind of limit,
My name is the Wondrous Dao.”

²²³ The six senses of Buddhism, sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and thought.

²²⁴ The version in the Daozang reads: “Those who make offerings (*gong* 供) [to] and protect it.”

**C. The True Scripture for Dispelling Disasters and Saving From Calamities,
Spoken by the Supreme Celestial Worthy Numinous Treasure.**

At that time the Celestial Worthy, dwelt in the country of *Chanla*²²⁵ with Perfected Immortals of the Great Dao, numbering ten thousand ten thousand great thousand (One-hundred billion) persons. All Celestial Worthies and also all of the heavenly dragons, ghosts, and spirits, came without remainder to gather at the assembly to receive my covenant.

Suppose if in the world there is a good son or good daughter²²⁶ who is beset by some annual disaster or monthly calamity; a calamity of red rodents; being surrounding by difficulties like ‘nets above and snares below’; the calamity of a short allotment of life that is nearly exhausted; serious illness; floods; tigers, wolves, or snakes; a calamity involving the appearance of water, fire, robbers, bandits, knives, or soldiers; in the woods or involving wood or the Gods of Earth or Grain; a calamity involving earth, stone, or bridges; or one involving poison, spells, or curses. [If they] only vow, then facing the Jade Emperor and the True Sages of the Great Dao, repenting to save themselves from disasters and the calamities within the body. Each [calamity] will be dispelled and scattered and there will not be any remaining difficulties. I command the Spirit Kings of All Heavens to hand down the power of the sages and the power of the Dao, and at the

²²⁵ This phrase is meant to imitate the Sanskrit place names found in the opening sections of Buddhist sutras. However, as this is only an improvised, Sanskrit-sounding Taoist construction that does not refer to an actual place I have left it in Chinese rather than try and construct an artificial Sanskrit equivalent. It refers to a Daoist heaven.

²²⁶ This is a stock phrase used in Chinese Buddhist texts, which was coined in China as a mistranslation of the Sanskrit meaning noblemen and women.

same bestow the power of this scripture and the power of mercy, to guard and protect disciples [of the Dao]. Having received and persistently recited this scripture, already the disasters of 'Yang 9' and 'One-hundred and Six'²²⁷ are dispelled. [As for] the calamities of the three sorrows, eight difficulties, nine unlucky occurrences, and five sufferings, as you seek and as you wish [to be saved from them], where you tread will be pacified, walking in secret while exiting and entering.²²⁸ As you seek benefit, what you desire will follow your heart.”

Then the multitude, upon hearing this scripture, were greatly overjoyed, faithfully received it and put it into practice.

D. Wondrous Scripture of the Mind-Seal of the Most High Jade Emperor.

Three kinds of superior medicine:
Spirit, *Qi*, and Essence,
Blurred and indistinct,
Dark and Mysterious.
Preserve non-being and guard being,
And in an instant you will attain completion.
[Cultivate] the unitive fusion of the whirlwind
In one hundred days your merit becomes effacious.
Silently hold court with the Supreme Emperor,

²²⁷ These two phrases refer to disaster that happen on a predictable, super-yearly cycle. In the Taiyi 太乙 school, the Yang 9 disasters occurred every 406 years and the One-hundred Six disasters occurred every 288 years.

And after twelve years [you will] fly aloft.
One who knows easily awakens,
For one who is dim-witted [it is] difficult to practice.
Treading upon the light of Heaven,
Breathe²²⁹ to cultivate purity,
Coming forth from the Mysterious, entering the feminine,
Perishing and remaining at the same time.
Continuously without stopping once,
[As] a strong stem has deep roots.
Each person has essence,
Essence joins his spirit,
Spirit joins his *qi*,
Qi joins with the perfection of the body.
If he does not attain his perfection,
All of these are provisional names.
The spirit can enter stone,
The spirit can cause the body to fly,
It can enter water and not drown,
It can enter fire and not burn.²³⁰
Spirit depends on the body to be born,
Essence depends on *qi* to flourish,

²²⁸ DZ inserts the phrase 常豪吉慶, “constantly fine and auspicious.”

²²⁹ In this case the specific breath-work utilized in *neidan* practices.

²³⁰ These lines are reminiscent of the *Zhuangzi*.

Not exhausted, not perished,
The pine and cypress²³¹ are deep green.
The three [kinds of medicine] are one principle,
Wondrous it cannot be heard.
When it is gathered it exists,
When it is scattered it is nothing.
[When the] seven orifices²³² are mutually penetrated
From each orifice there is a radiant light,
[Like a] sagely sun [or] a sagely moon
Illuminating brightly the golden courtyard.
Attain it once and you attain it forever
The body becomes light naturally,
And universal harmony²³³ is fulfilled,
Bones soften as cold jade.²³⁴
Attain the elixir and becoming numinous,
If you do not attain it, then [you] collapse.
This elixir is within the body,
It is not white, it is not blue-green,
Recite persistently [this scripture] ten thousand times completely,
And the wondrous principle will naturally become clear.

²³¹ Possibly refers to two varieties of medicine.

²³² Eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth.

²³³ The harmony of Yin and Yang. The essence of all things.

II. Scriptures Recited During the *Wantan*

A. The Wondrous Scripture of Saving From Suffering of the Supreme Cavern Mystery Numinous Treasure.

At that time the Celestial Worthy Who Saves From Suffering was completely pervading the worlds of the ten directions, constantly using [his] awesome spiritual powers to save and pull [out of hell] all sentient beings, and they get to leave their confused ways. “Sentient beings do not know or perceive, like the blind look at the sun and the moon. From within the Great Non-existence (*taiwu* 太無), I extract [them] and lead [them to] boundless regions. Auspicious clouds open the gate of life.²³⁵ Propitious smoke blocks up the door of death.²³⁶ In the beginning the three original *qi* (Mysterious, Primordial, and Prescient) in order to convey auspiciousness and influence the moving powers, saving [beings] from every kind of sin, and liberating [them] from all crimes. Boundless, [it] surpasses the origin of the immortals. Vast, it is naturally clear. All receive the power of the great Dao, using it to subdue all demonic spirits (*mojing* 魔精).

The ‘Empty Center (*kongzhong* 空中),²³⁷ how luminous! It is called the Muddy Pellet Immortal.²³⁸ Purple clouds cover the Yellow Thearch and Laozi.²³⁹ They are

²³⁴ Min says that this phrase indicates a feeling of total relaxation where the bones are loose and supple. Min, p. 90.

²³⁵ More commonly referred to as the Cinnabar Field 丹田, the Gate of Life is located three inches below the navel. Bokenkamp, p. 284.

²³⁶ These are openings in the human body where certain *qi* can enter, causing death.

²³⁷ Another name for the upper cinnabar field (*dantian* 丹天), it is also called the *xuanqiong* 玄窮, or the *niwan* (see the following note) and it is located in the brain.

²³⁸ The ‘muddy pellet,’ or *niwan* 泥丸, is an old transliteration of the Sanskrit word *nirvana*.

called the Lords of the Three Treasures.²⁴⁰ Restore and protect the *qi* of the Supreme Heaven, using it to restrain the cloudsouls of the Nine Heavens.²⁴¹ When all the spirits that save from suffering²⁴² are able to see and save from suffering in heaven they are chaotically without distinction. When the celestial *qi* returns to the one body, all become natural men.²⁴³ Naturally there is a division of bodies.²⁴⁴ The root is within the empty cavern. The [manifested] traces (*ji* 跡) of the empty cavern are not [manifested] traces and all bodies are completely empty. First, take charge of the establishing of *qi* (*weiqili* 委氣立). Second, follow the nourishing of *qi*. Third, attain the ten thousand methods. Fourth, produce a brilliant radiance.²⁴⁵ In heaven there are thirty-six.²⁴⁶ On earth there

²³⁹ 紫雲履黃老 (*ziyun lü huanglao*). This is an important method of cultivation in *neidan*. Purple clouds are the result of the transformation of the *qi*'s of water and fire. They are then combined with the *qi* of the spirits' dwellings, after which they rise to the muddy pellet to cover the Yellow Thearch and Laozi within the practitioner.

²⁴⁰ There are many possible definitions for the term Three Treasures, and given the polyvalent nature of Daoist texts, any of these definitions could be valid depending on how the text is being used. As a technical *neidan* term, the Three Treasures refers to the three cinnabar fields. I believe this reading best fits the alchemical discourse prevalent in this portion of the text. The Gentlemen of the Three Treasures would then be the spirits that rule to each of the three cinnabar fields.

²⁴¹ The term Nine Heavens (*jiutian* 九天) can refer to several different things. It can refer, externally to all of space, that is, the eight directions of the compass plus the center. It can also refer to nine heavens of the immortals. As a *neidan* technical term, the Nine Heavens can refer to the upper cinnabar field, the previously mentioned Muddy Pellet.

²⁴² These are the spirits within one's own body.

²⁴³ Just as earlier in the *gongke* we see that a return to original chaos is essential for salvation. See notes, Chapter 3.

²⁴⁴ According to the commentary of Zhang Xingfa 張興發, this 'division of bodies' refers to the different ability levels of *neidan* practitioners. Min (2000), p. 194.

²⁴⁵ Making the body luminous is an important practice in the techniques of immortality. The *Huangting Jingjing* 黃庭景經 [Scripture of Light of the Yellow Court] says that one should cause the various organs of the body to become illuminated as this light will attract the spirits who, when united with the body, prevent death. Robinet, pp. 58-60. These ideas appear again in the next scripture as well.

²⁴⁶ Thirty-six could refer to the thirty-six heavens or their respective generals. Zhang Xingfa states that here thirty-six refers to the thirty-six sections of the *Daozang*. Min (2000), p. 195.

are thirty-six.²⁴⁷ At the boundary of the Great Mystery, its wondrousness resides in the Great Cavern Scripture 大洞經.²⁴⁸

I take refuge in the Supreme Worthies who can dispel all sins:

The Sovereign Superior Celestial Worthy, Jade Treasure of the East

The Ten Thousand Fortunes Celestial Worthy, Mysterious Perfection of the
South

The Ultimate Celestial Worthy, Great Wondrous of the West

The Jade Sovereign Celestial Worthy, Mysterious Superior of the North

The Superior Sage Celestial Worthy, Saving Immortal of the Northeast

The Saving Destinies Celestial Worthy, Skillful Birthing of the Southeast

The Vacuous Sovereign Celestial Worthy, Great Numinous of the Southwest

The Great Florescent Celestial Worthy, Infinite of the Northwest

The Bright Sovereign Celestial Worthy, Jade Vacuity of the Upper Regions

The Cavern Spirit Celestial Worthy, Perfect Sovereign of the Lower Regions

The Dao (Laozi) says: All the Celestial Worthies of the ten directions, whose numbers are like fine dust, transform and move through the ten worlds, universally saving and liberating celestial people.²⁴⁹ Taking charge of the *qi* to gather merit, and with the same voice saving those who sin. [Since] those who sin are truly pitiable, I now preach this wondrous scripture. Intoning without rest, [I] return [the celestial *qi*] to my body, not for a moment. The Celestial Halls enjoy great fortune and the Earth Prisons

²⁴⁷ Possibly the thirty-six terrestrial emperors, I believe this refers to the thirty-six divisions of the *Daozang*, which have already been transmitted to this world.

²⁴⁸ Also known as the *Shangqing Dadong Zhenjing* 上清大洞經 [The Great Profound Scripture of Supreme Clarity] DZ 6, it is the central text of the Shangqing school of Daoism.

(hells) are without the sounds of suffering. The Hell of Flaming Concealment becomes clear warmth. The Hell of Sword-Trees is transformed into the Qian Forest (*qianlin* 鸞林).²⁵⁰ Above, [the *qi*] climbs to the Offices of the Red Hill (*chillingfu* 赤陵府).²⁵¹ Descending, it enters and opens the radiant gate. It crosses over the difficulties of the three worlds, taking the path up to the Heaven of the Primordial Beginning.

At this the Spirit King Who Fly to Heaven in unlimited numbers looked with reverence upon the face of the Worthy and recited, saying:

The Celestial Worthy preaches the scriptural teachings

Leading [it] into the fleeting world.

If you earnestly practice wu-wei

The Dao of awakening to perfection is naturally attained.

Not deluded, and likewise not wild

Without self, and likewise without name.

Recite well [these] verses of sins and fortune

Ten thousand times and the filth of the mind is cleansed.

At the time when the Spirit King Who Fly to Heaven and all the congregation of immortals finished reciting [this verse, they] kowtowed to the Celestial Worthy, respectfully took their leave and departed.

²⁴⁹ The celestial people are those who respect, support, and follow the Dao and its teachers. Min (2000), p. 198.

²⁵⁰ A verdant wooded park where the immortals dwell. Min (2000), p. 212.

²⁵¹ The Celestial palaces of the southern regions, or the heart. Min (2000), p. 201.

B. The True Scripture of Being Born in Heaven and Attaining Dao, Spoken by The Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning.

At that time the Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning was in the Jade Capital Mountain in the Great Veil Heaven. For the sake of the congregation of immortals he spoke this True Scripture of Being Born in Heaven and Attaining Dao, speaking to all the immortals, saying: “Now, for your sake, I carefully explain the body and mind, illuminating the essentials of the Dao. All the divine immortals of the ten directions who attain the Dao follow this scripture in practice and penetrate the subtle mystery. Good men and good women depend on the fasts and precepts (*zhaijie* 齋戒), in order to cross over.²⁵² All of these actions manifest all the ways of Perfection. Embodying the characteristics of these methods²⁵³ they can also receive and uphold [them]. If you can reject the whole host of secondary conditions,²⁵⁴ [you] will forever eliminate corrupting attachments. Outside thoughts do not enter, and inside thoughts are not produced.²⁵⁵ Within right thoughts [you] attain cleansing and cooling of the five viscera and harmonization of the six organs.²⁵⁶ All the stagnant obstructions within the

²⁵² Literally ‘fords and bridges.’ (*jinliang* 津梁).

²⁵³ 法相 was originally a Buddhist term indicating the characteristics of dharmas, or things. Here I interpret *fa* 法 as referring to the teachings contained in the present scripture.

²⁵⁴ Used in Buddhism as well, 緣 (Sanskrit: *pratyaya*) indicates secondary causes that lead to events. In Buddhism and Daoism 緣 is generally interpreted as negative causes that lead to detrimental events.

²⁵⁵ The regulation of internal thoughts and the guarding against outside thoughts in order to prevent disturbances in the mind of the adept is characteristic of methods of ‘entering tranquility (*rujing* 入靜).’ See footnote for the following scripture.

²⁵⁶ The five viscera (*wuzang* 五臟 -heart, kidneys, liver, spleen, and lungs) express several symbolic meanings. They correspond to the five phases, and thus the whole universe. They also serve as repositories (*zang* 藏, the words ‘organ’ and ‘repository’ are etymologically related), housing the five spirits of the body, and containing power. Robinet, p. 60. The six organs (*liufu* 六腑) are the intestines,

joints of the three hundred sixty bones, the karma of the ten evils,²⁵⁷ the karma of the one-hundred eight vexations, and the origins of the multitude sufferings and sins are all completely eliminated and pacified, leading the perfected *qi*²⁵⁸ of Great Harmony to irrigate the bodily fields, the five viscera, and the six organs. The mind's eye inwardly perceives (*neiguan* 內觀) all of the clear and tranquil brightness and vacant white bright radiance of the perfected *qi*.²⁵⁹ Obscure and mysterious, within and without there are no [troubling] affairs. Dark and vastly silent, correctly penetrating wu-wei. If, from the past until the present, [you] can hold completely to tranquil thoughts, from now [you] will awaken. The power of the Dao supports, and the medicine of the methods gives its aid. Still, be frugal in drink and food, drive out the ghostly corpse, pacify the six roots,²⁶⁰ still and illuminate the eight consciousnesses,²⁶¹ empty the five heaps,²⁶² actualize the wondrous Three Primes,²⁶³ attain the Dao, achieve perfection, and naturally transcend.”

At that time all the congregation of celestial immortals looked up and addressed the Celestial Worthy, saying: “From the beginning-less until today [we have] never

stomach, small intestines, colon (each a separate category from the intestines mentioned first), bladder, and the so-called ‘triple heater’ (*sanjiao* 三焦).

²⁵⁷ Killing, stealing, lying, adultery, lying, ‘double-tongued’ speech, coarse language, filthy language, covetousness, anger, and perverted views.

²⁵⁸ The true *qi* of the human body, particularly that of the kidneys.

²⁵⁹ Inner vision is an important practice related to techniques of making the body illuminated (as referred to above in the Wondrous Scripture of Saving From Suffering). By ‘looking inside’ at the five viscera and six organs the adept is able to establish them and fix their positions, also causing them to become bright and attract the spirits. Robinet, pp. 58-60.

²⁶⁰ See above.

²⁶¹ From Buddhism. They are the consciousnesses of hearing, smelling, tasting, physical sensations, thinking, discriminating, and the storehouse consciousness.

²⁶² In Buddhism, the five heaps are the aggregates that all things are composed of. These are form, feeling, perception, impulses, and consciousness. It should be noted that whereas in Buddhist texts the skandhas are usually *described* as empty, in this text empty is a verb, asking the monastic to actively *empty* the five skandhas.

²⁶³ 三元 The primal triad of heaven-earth-water formed from the condensation of the original primal *qi*. Bokenkamp, pp. 402n. 66, 403n. 66. The three primes can also refer to the three personifications of those breaths, *Yuanshi Tianzun* 元始天尊, *Lingbao Tianzun* 靈寶天尊, and *Daode Tianzun* 道德天尊 respectively.

heard [anything] like this scripture of the Great Vehicle. Our karmic conditions are now fortunate [for us to] attend this assembly.” [These conditions were fortunate] to the point where [they] reached complete illumination of all fruits of the Dao, and spoke a verse, saying:

“Mysterious, mysterious, clear and tranquil Dao

Dark and vastly silent, the footprints of Great Emptiness

Substance and nature are clear and endless, without any dwelling place

Form and mind are completely pacified, in the one perfect ancestry (*yi zhenzong*

—真宗).”

C. The Wondrous Scripture for Dispelling Grievances and Pulling Out of Sin, Spoken by the Supreme Lord of the Dao.

At that time the Supreme Lord of the Dao (Laozi) was with all the congregation of sages beneath the Forest of Eight *Qian* (*baiqian lin* 八竊林) on the Terrace of Seven Jewels. [All were] arranged with dignity. [He] unfolded the essentials of the Dao and, with joyful spirits [they] silence. Like the Jade Capital Mountain [they] emitted a radiance of seven jewels, illuminated the Auspicious Halls and Earth Prisons (hells). [The Lord Dao] perceived that the male and female good people within the Auspicious Hall were happily without action (*wu-wei*), wandering leisurely through space, and free and independent. Again [he] perceived that within the Earth Prison the hungry ghosts and exhausted cloudsouls, throughout the day and night receive all kinds of suffering and

torment. They all lack human form, and the five parts of the body²⁶⁴ are destroyed. They starve and eat violent fire, thirst and drink molten bronze. Their feet tread upon a mountain of swords, and their bodies succumb to the iron cane. Their whole bodies flow with blood, and their mournful cries pervade the heavens.

At that time within the assembly there was a Perfected One named Wide Faith. From his seat he arose, kowtowed, went forward, and respectfully spoke to the Lord Dao saying, I do not understand these cloudsouls, in life, what mistakes did they have so that they now receive [this] suffering?”

Lord Dao said, “Those that suffer [this] blame, when they were in the world they did not respect the Three Radiances,²⁶⁵ they turned their backs on the divine principles, [they committed] the ten evils and five disobediences.²⁶⁶ They were not loyal, not humane (*ren* 仁), not compassionate, and not filial. They damaged and harmed living things, and killed and injured sentient beings. [Now that] their fortunes are exhausted and their life spans have ended, it is right they receive this suffering.”

²⁶⁴ The five parts of the body with which one performs prostrations, i.e. knees, elbows, and head.

²⁶⁵ In the 同參契, this refers to the light of the sun, moon, and stars.

²⁶⁶ There are several versions of what the five disobediences are. The list that seems to fit best with this scripture includes lack of loyalty 忠, humaneness 仁, compassion 慈, harmoniousness 睦, and rightness 義.

At that time the heart of the Perfected One Wide Faith developed sadness and pity, and he desired [their] liberation and rescue. [He] hoped that the Lord Dao would apply his wondrous power and awesome radiance to allow and cause [the gates of the Earth Prison] to be opened, and to liberate [all those] suffering. He humbly received the Lord Dao who bestowed golden words,²⁶⁷ broadly establishing the essentials of the methods for the sake of all sentient beings, preaching this scripture called ‘Dispelling Grievances and Pulling Out of Sin.’ It is bestowed upon the world to benefit the living and the dead. Supposing there is a good man or woman who, with one mind and concentrated will, enters tranquility, upholds the fasts, burns incense, practices the Dao, and throughout the six times recites this scripture, I will, according to [their] wishes protect and aid that person, causing them to avail themselves of the [these] blessings to rid themselves of the grievances of former lives. [Also causing] the cloudsouls of the underworld with distressed vigor, to be able to each transcend.

The Perfected One Wide Faith was glad and bowed and with difficulty [he] explained the victorious causes (such as of attaining Dao), making [the following] recitation, saying:

“Grand indeed is the Great Lord Dao
Constant and universal [is his] infinite merit,
Boat and oar [upon] the sea of life and death,
Liberating and saving from Hell,²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ The phrase golden words (*jinyan* 金言) was used early on in China to indicate the teachings of the Buddha and it would not be unusual to find such an expression being used in Daoism as well. Tokuno in Buswell, p. 32.

²⁶⁸ *luofeng* 羅酆. The city of Feng (*fengdu* 酆都) is one of the regional offices of Hell located at Pingdu Shan 平都山 in Sichuan 四川. Another name for Pingdu Shan is Luo Shan 羅山.

Crimes are confronted and don't occur again,

Auspicious rewards are given with with secret transmission.

[His] use of the spiritual, how can it be fathomed?

Praise of him, how can it be exhausted?"

At that time, as the *Perfected One Wide Faith*, and all the congregation of sages finished hearing the teachings, each one kowtowed and took refuge, receiving [these teachings] with faith and put them into practice.

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