VINCENT GOOSSAERT

Heavenly Masters

Two Thousand Years of the Daoist State



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道教文化研究中心

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Heavenly Masters: Two Thousand Years of the Daoist State
By Vincent Goossaert

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New Daoist Studies aims to publish exciting new scholarship on the Chinese religion of Daoism. The series was initiated by Professor Lai Chi Tim, director of the Centre for Studies of Daoist Culture (CSDC), The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK); and Professor Stephen R. Bokenkamp, Regents' Professor of Chinese, Arizona State University. It is supported by CSDC, which is itself a joint undertaking of CUHK and the Daoist temple Fung Ying Seen Koon. Since 2006 CSDC has developed into the world's most dynamic institution for learning about Daoism and for Daoist studies research and publishing. New Daoist Studies titles share the imprint of two presses: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press and University of Hawai'i Press. In the great spirit of Daoism, the series editors present this cooperative venture as a model for future collaborations.

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In loving memory of Kristofer M. Schipper (1934–2021)

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Series Editors' Preface

This book, by the eminent historian and scholar of Daoism Vincent Goossaert, is without doubt the most incisive and readable account of the two-thousand-year history of the Daoist church. Goossaert, a member of the department Sciences Religieuses of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, accomplishes this feat by focusing on the bureaucratic and liturgical organization at the center of the religion, the Tianshidao 天師道 (Heavenly Masters, also called the Celestial Masters). Goossaert traces the transformations of this organization in nine tightly argued and carefully documented chapters, from the mythical origin event to the Heavenly Masters' accommodations with modern systems of government in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He also provides the best account we have of how and why members of the Zhang family in the ninth century revived the myth of lineal descent from the founder, Zhang Daoling, to recreate a line of Heavenly Masters that has continued down to the present day.

Most importantly for our understanding of the elusive continuities in Daoist history, Goossaert shows that one of the factors leading to the ongoing success of the Heavenly Master supremacy is closely tied to its origin myth. Recounted in Daoist and secular histories alike, the legend maintains that the first Heavenly Master, Zhang Daoling, received a warrant from Heaven to save people from disorder by establishing correct relations with the celestial powers and by setting up strict systems of social organization. By reviving and breathing new life into the story of how celestial order was

brought to earth, the Heavenly Masters were able to perpetuate in evolving forms both the liturgy and the social organization of the earliest church. They thus, from at least the eleventh century onward, retained control of the Daoist ordination system charged with managing an empire-wide Daoist priesthood that stemmed from various liturgical lineages, worked to sustain Daoist relations with the imperial government, and continued to augment the prestige of their institution.

We also find in this book engaging accounts of the successive Heavenly Masters who were able to help make Daoism a central element of Chinese society for two thousand years. These figures—the Saint Augustines and Martin Luthers of Chinese history—will, through Goossaert's accounts, finally find their proper places in religious history.

Heavenly Masters, as Goossaert states, "is not the history of one specific Daoist school among others but of Daoism as a whole, through its most important, encompassing institution"—the Heavenly Masters. We are proud to offer this volume to the reading public and know that it will be a fixture in classrooms and invoked in discussions on Chinese religion for decades to come.

Acknowledgments

This book has received support from many corners, and I have incurred so many intellectual and personal debts that I expect (and in fact look forward) to repay them over several lives. Daniel Burton-Rose, John Lagerwey, and Sakai Norifumi have read the manuscript and kindly forced me to be clearer and more reader-friendly. Tao Jin has been offering help both in the field and in his studio. Wang Chien-ch'uan was with me on my first visit to Longhushan and has shared, with his legendary generosity, important material. Benjamin Penny has shared unpublished material. Vincent Micoud spent hours with me doing the maps, with gusto and spirited companionship. Lai Chi-tim and Steve Bokenkamp have created this superb series that was an obvious fit for this project, and made it a real home. The two reviewers have been very thorough and engaging. I have taught some of the material to the students in my graduate seminar, and they have endured it with cheerfulness. I have given presentations about this project in Beijing, Shanghai, Changsha, Taipei, Tokyo, Rochester, Vancouver, New Haven, Santa Barbara, Zürich, Genève, Arras, Aussois, and Paris and have always been hosted magnificently. Isa, Lou, and Jean have kept me a happy person during all these years, and I look forward to their smiles when I present them with this book.

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Abbreviations

Beitu	*Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*
Daozang	Title number in the Daoist canon, following Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon*
EOT	*Encyclopedia of Taoism*
NWF	Neiwufu 內務府 archives at Number One Historical Archives 第一歷史檔案館, Beijing
Shiliao huibian	*Jindai Zhang tianshi shiliao huibian* 近代張天師史料彙編
SKQS	*Siku quanshu*

Note: Local gazetteers are listed preceded by the era when they were compiled within parentheses: for example, *(Hongzhi) Changshu xianzhi* 弘治常熟縣志 is the gazetteer of Changshu County, compiled during the Hongzhi era.

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Introduction

Scholars of Daoist history agree that the origins of the modern Daoist liturgy and clerical organization can to a large extent be found in the Church of the Heavenly Master, Tianshidao 天師道, reputedly established by the mid-second century in Sichuan by Zhang Daoling 張道陵. In 142 CE, according to Daoist tradition, Zhang was visited by Taishang laojun 太上老君 who named him his vicar on Earth with the title of *tianshi* 天師, Heavenly Master.[1] The dispensation articulated an eschatological vision of saving the initiates—the pure, destined to become immortals, separated from the doomed—through enforcing a strict moral code and rejecting the blood sacrifices to dead humans common in the society around them. Between circa 191 and 215, the church was a large organization run as a semi-independent state centered in Hanzhong 漢中 under the leadership of the Heavenly Master's grandson, holding parish rolls and gathering all members at compulsory collective rituals. Its political autonomy came to an abrupt end in 215; dignitaries and ordinary members had to migrate to various parts of the Chinese territory, but this resulted in the fast expansion of the faith rather than its demise. Gradually during the medieval and Tang periods, the parishes of the Tianshidao transformed, becoming one among several overlapping types of local communities, either territorial or associational, rather than close-knit "sectarian" groups in tension with the outside environment; in the long run, their priests came to serve the temples of local saints and to negotiate their relationship with spirit mediums, Buddhists,

and other specialists. This clergy, however, maintained its theological and spiritual allegiance to the Tianshidao and its now divinized founder, Zhang Daoling. Under evolving forms, the religion created as Tianshidao has never ceased to be a central element of Chinese society. This book tells the story of this *longue durée* evolution from the perspective of religious leadership and authority as invested in the function of the Heavenly Master.

Later hagiography has it that Zhang Daoling's great-grandson, putatively the fourth Heavenly Master, moved to a distant location, Longhushan 龍虎山 (Dragon and Tiger Mountain, in what is now Jiangxi Province), where Zhang Daoling was said to have once practiced self-cultivation before he went to Sichuan and established the Tianshidao. There, the Zhang family settled and transmitted hereditarily the function of Heavenly Master, discreetly at first, for five centuries, and more and more publicly from the late Tang onward. Historical sources document the seemingly reliable genealogy from about the twentieth generation (ninth century) to the present contested 65th Heavenly Master living in Taiwan; some members of the family are now playing leading roles in mainland Daoism. Over at least twelve centuries, the Zhangs have turned Longhushan into a major holy site, a household name in the Chinese world, and a large administrative center for the bureaucratic management of Chinese society.

The foundation stone for that successful development of the Heavenly Masters at Longhushan was a claim of continuity from Zhang Daoling. In actual fact, the historical links of Longhushan with the founders of the Tianshidao are mythical. The institution of a Zhang family, claiming descent from Zhang Daoling, transmitting a hereditary position of authority within the Daoist clergy, and based at Longhushan can be historically ascertained only beginning with the ninth century. The notion that the title of Heavenly Master (Tianshi) conferred by Laozi upon Zhang Daoling was hereditary and instituted in perpetuity also seems to be this family's invention. Yet mythical foundations and radical innovation do not mean that claims of continuity are entirely empty or purely rhetorical. As we will see, the hereditary Heavenly Masters at Longhushan from the ninth century onward were in essential ways renewing the Tianshidao, and their identification with the heritage of Zhang Daoling was their single most important defining element.

This invention of hereditary Zhang Heavenly Masters based at Longhushan was a hugely successful one. It soon gained state recognition, and the stages of this alliance with the imperial state has marked the rise of the Longhushan Zhangs. Their first known official title was granted in the early eleventh century. The prestige and official patronage of the Zhangs and Longhushan reached new heights with the 30th Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126), arguably the most charismatic ever. By the Southern Song period, the Longhushan Zhangs were at the head of an empire-wide Daoist ordination system regulating—with full state support—the thousands of priests and their various traditions and liturgical ranks and privileges. As a consequence, from the Song to 1911 Longhushan continuously enjoyed imperial favors in both financial and political terms. The Western visitors who described China during the nineteenth and early twentieth century and discovered the importance of the Zhang Heavenly Master dubbed him the "Daoist Pope," and Longhushan its Vatican. Probably unwittingly, these visitors made a salient point: the "Daoist Pope" was not a mere religious dignitary appointed by the imperial state but a key actor, with full agency shaping social life after his own vision.

The research question

The comparison with the institution of the Catholic papacy, made by modern observers, is historiographically stimulating. That institution has been the topic of many books that dealt variously with the history of its institutional development, its role in European politics, state making and diplomacy, its doctrinal and cultural history, and its role in shaping church life, not to mention studies of individual popes. The present book explores all of the above questions, while attempting to integrate them into a larger question: why and how did so much of Chinese socioreligious life come to be managed by a religious bureaucracy run by hereditary Heavenly Masters? This question involves apparently contingent issues—Why at Longhushan of all places? Why did it emerge at this particular time?—and some more structural ones: what caused society and state to embrace the Longhushan Zhangs' vision of a centralized bureaucratic management of the initiation of the living,

protection from evil, and promotion of the dead? My telling of this history mingles the contingent and the structural. It tells of one family's long-term endeavors and success, putting their choices and innovations in a larger social, economic, and cultural context, while also outlining the coherence of their liturgy, spirituality, theology, social role, and political vision.

Like the papacy, the Heavenly Master institution is ancient, remarkably resilient through time, and yet has changed dramatically over more than a thousand years. To engage in *longue durée* history and keep track of key factors of change and continuity, we need clear definitions. The topic of this book is the history of the "Heavenly Master institution," in which I include the whole of the Longhushan Zhang lineage,[2] the Longhushan temples and residences, and their clerical personnel and liturgical services. This fascinating institution was a major, and in many ways unique, actor on the Chinese religious and political scenes from the ninth to the mid-twentieth century. I thus distinguish the "Heavenly Master church" (Tianshidao, that operated from the second century CE to approximately the end of the first millennium) from the "Heavenly Master institution" (that formed around the time that the church dissolved), while arguing for their fundamental continuity.

A third definition is necessary: "Daoist bureaucracy," which here means all the social and ritual consequences, as implemented by Daoists, of the idea that the world and its inhabitants are governed by knowable laws and due process. These laws and processes are implemented by officials both living (the Daoists) and divine, who are nominated and constantly assessed, promoted, or demoted according to merit by the highest gods. This idea informs Daoist ordinations, ranks, and titles; its morality; and its liturgy.[3] In the early church, the bureaucracy was largely symbolical (and yet, as such, deeply shaped social life): priests were seen as officials in a divine bureaucracy but were largely autonomous. The Heavenly Master institution continued the symbolical bureaucratic practices but added elements of actual this-worldly bureaucratic integration and control of priests, local communities, and gods. In other words, the Heavenly Master institution brought the Daoist bureaucracy invented in the Heavenly Master church one step further by building it up on earth.

This continuity between early church and later institution is not that claimed by Daoist historiography—the assertion that the Longhushan Zhangs actually descended from and carried on Zhang Daoling's practices.[4] Rather, I propose that the Heavenly Master institution not only carried on the liturgy of the medieval church—this is widely recognized—but also, more provocatively, something of its social organization. In the deeply changed context of early modern China that emerges between the tenth and twelfth centuries, the Heavenly Master institution gradually became the organizing center of the new form of the ancient church. The Heavenly Masters continued to manage, or attempt to manage, all aspects of social life, as had the leaders of the early church, but now within and as part of the imperial state—hence the subtitle of this book: "Two Thousand Years of the Daoist State." By "state" I mean here an institution that proclaims and enforces norms and laws that apply to the whole population, that taxes its registered subjects in order to support itself and its officers, and that wields violence against its enemies. Both the early Heavenly Master church and the modern Heavenly Master institution attempted to meet this definition, although in markedly different ways.

The Heavenly Master institution's management of society was variously realized, and often compromised, as it was in each place deeply embedded in local and regional socioreligious conditions. Yet the Heavenly Master institution's vision of society needs to be taken seriously, in its long-term continuity and adaptation to historical change. Such continuity was made possible by radical innovation. Many key elements in the Heavenly Master institution were entirely new—the monopoly of religious authority within a patriarchal line, its centralization in one bureaucratic center, the close alliance with the imperial state, and the recognition of local cults and exorcistic traditions. We need to understand the historical process of these innovations and their consolidation into an empire-wide bureaucracy in their larger historical context. At the same time that it boldly implemented such innovations, the Heavenly Master institution never offered a new dispensation, an explicit plan to return to the origins and reform the church, or a reformulation of its moral teachings: the Longhushan Zhangs just created a new type of religious

institution while quietly convincing everyone (local communities, priests, state agents) that it was carrying on the ancient tradition of the church. These claims to continuity are by no means hollow; this book thus starts its narrative in the second century CE.

Definitions

I work with etic categories: the Heavenly Master church and the Heavenly Master institution, because they allow me to clearly articulate change and continuity. By contrast, emic terms should be used with care lest we see only continuity. The most important such term is "Correct and Unified," Zhengyi 正一, used by both the church and the institution to refer to a set of texts that defined their practices and to an ordination level at which these texts and practices were acquired. But members of the church and later people affiliated with the Heavenly Master institution just called themselves Daoists—no local community or lay person ever claimed to belong to, even less believe in, something called "Zhengyi Daoism." This book aims to show that presupposing the existence of a separate Heavenly Master or Zhengyi school or movement within Daoism prevents us from understanding the transformation of the church into the Heavenly Master institution and the development of the latter. Furthermore, using the expression Zhengyipai 正一派 (Zhengyi lineage) to refer indiscriminately to the early church and the modern institution, as many scholars do, is misleading, not only by denying the transformation from Heavenly Master church into Heavenly Master institution but also by introducing a word (lineage, *pai* 派) that is anachronistic and irrelevant to the early church. For these reasons, I will explain the evolving meanings of the term "Zhengyi," but not use it as one of my defining categories.

Similar care should be exerted with the term "Tianshidao": while some scholars use it to denote a medieval organization that later disappeared for good,[5] others (especially in China) use it as a synonym of "Zhengyi" and thus as a label for most present-day Daoists. I note that the term is not often used as an autonym, and treat it as a synonym of the etic term for the Heav-

enly Master church. Finally, other categories that are found throughout the historiography (such as Shangqing 上清 and Lingbao 靈寶) also refer first and foremost to corpuses of texts, not to "schools." My book is not the history of one specific Daoist school among others but of Daoism as a whole, through its most important, encompassing institution.

Sources and historiography

To cover two thousand years of history, the source base, predictably, is huge and not easily manageable. Hardly anything is excluded: I use both Daoist sources, within and without the Daoist canon (*Daozang*), such as liturgical manuals, hagiography, scriptures, and temple gazetteers, but also non-Daoist ones, such as official and local histories, epigraphy, anecdotal literature, and, for the later periods, government archives and the press, in order to explore how Chinese people perceived and understood the Heavenly Master institution. While each of these sources provides only a one-sided view of the Heavenly Masters' activities, taken as a whole, they converge to form a coherent discourse. More details could be unearthed on the working of the institution seen from the inside, and unpublished archives and manuscripts, notably from Daoist families, have the potential to further expand the source base in the future.

Furthermore, the existing relevant scholarly literature on the history of the Heavenly Masters as a whole is still modest in size, the most important studies so far being those by Wang Chien-ch'uan 王見川, who has devoted a well-documented dissertation, now published, to the history of Heavenly Masters that is particularly strong on setting chronology right, and on the impact on popular culture.[6] Terry Kleeman has published an important synthesis on the early church but has left the issue of continuity largely aside.[7] Recently, a team of scholars directed by Gai Jianmin has published a five-volume series of biographies of all Heavenly Masters to the 63rd; unfortunately, its scholarly value is limited by confusion as well as numerous undocumented claims.[8] The institution itself is now busy anew writing its own history, as it has been doing for centuries, producing texts that are both

well documented and insightful and yet often need to be unpacked.[9] Paul Amato has written a study that provides a close analysis of the main history produced by the Heavenly Master institution, the *Han tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家, compared to its antecedents and sources.[10]

By contrast, there is a vast literature on specific aspects, such as individual Heavenly Masters or specific texts. The question of the chronology and reasons for the rise of the Longhushan Zhangs between the late Tang and late Song in particular have been energetically explored since the 2000s. The field of Daoist studies is growing quickly; I have attempted to keep track of all relevant publications, but new studies and material relevant to some aspect of the history of the Heavenly Master institution are coming out every week. I hope to contribute to this growing field by shedding new light on what sort of religious organization the Heavenly Master institution was. By piecing together all of the data and insights that are scattered in different subfields of Chinese history, I aim to show that the Heavenly Master institution was even more important to Chinese society than it appears to be in the current historiography.

Structure of the book

Such a project is necessarily both a history of an institution, its ideology and social role, and a succession of biographies, at least of those Heavenly Masters who marked the institution with their own personal talent and vision. The succession of sixty-five Heavenly Masters has seen the alternation of figures of hazy historicity (and among early generations, downright a-historicity), others who are mostly documented for their official role and do not afford us the possibility to write a biography, and, finally, a few who have made their mark, left a substantial record (both by themselves and their contemporaries), and who come across as strong individuals. The founder, Zhang Daoling, who is studied not as a historical figure but as a divine persona, has been the most important actor in our story. One key historical Heavenly Master is the thirtieth-generation holder, Zhang Jixian, who by virtue of his own charisma ushered his institution into a new era; another, maybe the best

documented, is the forty-third, Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410), who exerted unprecedented power. Others are the more tragic figures who had to face the political decline of their institution in the context of secular modernity: the 62nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxu 張元旭 (1862–1925), and 63rd Heavenly Master, Zhang Enpu 張恩溥 (1904–1969). This book is built around successive moments of change incarnated by these exceptional individuals, but does not follow a purely chronological structure.

Chapter 1, "Inventing the Founding Ancestor: The Lives of Zhang Daoling," narrates the story of Zhang Daoling as a divine persona. While a historical Zhang is highly elusive, and the earliest stages of the process of building his myth are clouded in debates on the dating of the sources, he gradually rises in the medieval period as both a powerful alchemist, revered together with his favorite disciples, and a founder of the Tianshidao institutions, which he bequeathed to his son. Zhang's aura was claimed by various groups, some of them asserting lineal descent, and others availing themselves of direct revelation. One of the many Zhang families that claimed descent and organized a local cult to him, located at Longhushan, eventually managed to reshape the Zhang Daoling myth to their exclusive advantage.

Chapter 2, "The Rise of Longhushan," explains why, of the many Zhang families who claimed descent from Zhang Daoling, the one that lived at Longhushan was uniquely successful. This success is to an important extent rooted in the particular location and history of this holy site. The chapter describes the geography of Longhushan and its layers of sanctity: the pre-Daoist traces, the first temple to Zhang Daoling, and the rise of a trading township-cum–military outpost that became during the latter half of the Tang period a place concentrating wealth and power, that the Zhangs were able to harness first on a local, then regional, and eventually empire-wide scale.

Chapter 3, "The Heavenly Masters in the History of Daoist Ordinations," continues the story of the rise of the Longhushan Zhangs by identifying their one expertise that drew the attention of Daoists, rulers, and laypeople throughout the empire: ordination. It argues that universal ordination, as the gateway to salvation, was at the core of the early Heavenly

Master church and was soon fully localized. By the Tang, the imperial state had favored the concentration of the right to ordain people in official monasteries, but these declined with the troubles of the late Tang period. From the ninth century at the latest, the Longhushan Zhangs eagerly took over this role, attracting from near and far both laypeople and priests for ordinations held collectively thrice a year. They also remodeled ordination ranks so as to give themselves a monopolistic right on ordinations. A specific historical conjuncture and liturgical innovation thus allowed the Longhushan Zhangs to build a unique center where salvation was available to all.

Chapter 4, "New Rituals and the Longhushan Synthesis of Modern Daoism," analyzes the close connections between the rise of the Heavenly Master institution at Longhushan and the deep transformations of early modern Daoist ritual, characterized by the appearance, success, and eventual integration of new exorcistic traditions, the *daofa* 道法. It shows that one important reason for the huge popularity of the Longhushan ordinations was that they welcomed the "popular," sometimes socially marginal, practitioners of the *daofa* and thus legitimized and licensed them, as well as their martial gods. By the twelfth century, Longhushan became a training and regulating center for all the *daofa,* and the Heavenly Master institution produced theological and liturgical texts that paved the way for a synthesis of all the *daofa* within a unified Daoist framework, thus creating modern Daoism as we know it.

Chapter 5, "The Mature Institution: Longhushan during the Song-Yuan Period," chronicles the gradual institutional construction from the tenth to the fourteenth century that resulted in the powerful organization described in the standard texts (which we almost all have in Ming editions) where it presents itself. It distinguishes and explains the interactions between the patriarchal line of the successive Heavenly Masters; the Zhang lineage; the Longhushan Daoists who formed a well-defined corps of elite Daoists running temples, schools, and residences at Longhushan and networks extending from there; and the avenues for state recognition of this complex institution.

Chapter 6, "The Most Powerful Heavenly Master Ever? The Lives of Zhang Yuchu," is a biography of the 43rd Heavenly Master, who occupies a unique place in the history of the institution. Zhang Yuchu was a prolific and authoritative writer, which allows us to explore both his private life in more detail than is possible for most other Heavenly Masters, and his coherent vision for Daoism that informed the way he shaped his institution.

Chapter 7, "The Institution under the Ming and the Qing," shows that following the rapid buildup during the Song and Yuan periods, the Heavenly Master institutional framework remained remarkably stable over the next five centuries. It explores the relations of the Heavenly Masters with the imperial state and court, their place and standing in society, the role of their elite priests serving as chaplains in court, and their relation with Daoists and temples throughout the country through the hierarchical network of the central temples allied with Longhushan.

Chapter 8, "The Heavenly Masters and Late Imperial Chinese Society," explores the role of the institution as described in the previous chapter in the making and control of local society in much of the empire. It argues that the institution maintained order through its armies of exorcistic gods; that it licensed many types of religious specialists, thus determining who could or could not perform rituals down to the village level; that it also licensed (by canonizing) local gods; that it served as a high court of justice for lawsuits instructed in local temples; and that it taxed local communities to support this bureaucratic apparatus. It thus operated as a full-fledged religious bureaucracy, in continuity with the early Heavenly Master church.

Finally, chapter 9, "The Predicaments of Modernity: The Heavenly Masters since the 1850s," tells the story of the radical transformations wrought on the Heavenly Master institutions starting with the destruction of Longhushan by the Taiping armies in 1858, followed by reconstruction and the presence of Christian missionaries, the end of the official status of the Heavenly Master with the founding of the Republic in 1912, and the travails of the Heavenly Master as he had to reinvent his role as a religious leader in the context of the 1910s and 1920s. My own narrative ends in 1949, even though the story of the Heavenly Masters is continuing to unfold before our eyes.

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Chapter One

Inventing the Founding Ancestor

The Lives of Zhang Daoling

For almost two thousand years, the historical construction of the Heavenly Master church, and then the Heavenly Master institution, has hinged on constant reference to and the divine presence of one person, the first Heavenly Master, Zhang Daoling. As the church and the institution developed through time, the founding figure has also evolved, taking on new traits and characteristics. Like all major religious traditions, the Heavenly Master institution is built upon a charter myth that carried over the earlier myth created by the church but added crucial new elements. It is this history that is told here—not that of a historical Zhang Daoling, whom, as we shall see shortly, is highly evasive, but the more important and interesting story of the divine Zhang Daoling, a persona we know infinitely more about, and in whose name a great many people claimed affiliation and salvation.

The founding moment: 142 AD

One of the earliest sources from within the Tianshidao, a short text titled *Yangpingzhi* 陽平治 (Yangping Parish), describes the founding moment of the church:

> On the first day of the fifth month of the Han'an reign period [11 June 142], I [Zhang Daoling] received the Dao from the divine pneuma of the August Thearch-King of the beginning of the Han. Taking five pecks

> of rice as a pledge of faith, I want to allow all worthy people capable of transcendence to ascend to salvation.[1]
>
> 吾以漢安元年五月一日，從漢始皇帝王神氣受道，以五斗米為信，欲令可仙之士皆得升度。

Another early text, the *Da daojia lingjie* 大道家令戒 (Precepts and commands of great Daoism), specifies:

> On the first day of the fifth month of the Han'an reign period, at Redstone Castle in Qu district of Linqiong County of Sichuan, the Dao created the Way of the Correct and Unitary Covenant with the powers in order to seal a contract with Heaven and Earth, establish the twenty-four parishes, and distribute the Mysterious, Primordial, and Inaugurating pneumas to govern the citizens.[2]
>
> 道以漢安元年五月一日，於蜀郡臨邛縣渠停赤石城造出正一盟威之道，與天地券要，立二十四治，分布玄元始氣治民。

Many later Daoist sources would provide details about this crucial moment and make clear that the deity who had come down from Heaven to enter into a covenant with Zhang Daoling was the Newly Appeared Most High Old Lord, Xinchu taishang laojun 新出太上老君. The exact place where this event reputedly took place has been the subject of debate, and several sites now vie for the honor, but they are all located near Chengdu. Later narratives tell of many subsequent revelations. The contents of the revelations also tend to become more specific and abundant when we read later accounts of the event: it thus fully qualifies as a myth. From the earliest sources, however, it is clear that the Lord conferred on Zhang Daoling the title of Heavenly Master.[3]

This title was not an invention; as an honorific term for one's master—and especially the emperor's (the son of Heaven's) master—it could be found in the *Zhuangzi* and other early texts.[4] In Tianshidao contexts, it can be related to another of Zhang Daoling's titles, Santian zhishi / fashi 三天之師 / 法師, master of the (pure gods) of the Three Heavens,[5] but also to his being imperial master, *guoshi* 國師.[6] So he is both sent down as a representative of Heaven and promoted as a master of Heavenly gods. A different title for him that appears by the early fifth century is Zhengyi zhenren 正一真人,

Transcendent Man of Correct Unity, that will later be adopted by the imperial state.

Furthermore, after 142, the term *tianshi* alone usually refers to Zhang Daoling, but it was also conferred on other prominent Daoists, such as Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365?–448) or Ye Fashan 葉法善 (631–720). Even in modern Daoist iconography and ritual, we see representations of the "Four great Heavenly masters," most often depicting Zhang Daoling, Ge Xuan 葛玄, Xu Xun 許遜, and Sa Shoujian 薩守堅. By the Song, the Longhushan Zhangs lobbied for the monopoly on the title, and the latest Daoist outside their patriarchal line to sport it, to my knowledge, is Song Defang 宋德方 (1183–1247), a leader of the Quanzhen 全真 order who was the chief editor of the 1244 Daoist canon.

So there were earlier and later Heavenly Masters other than Zhang Daoling, and yet the term always referred primarily to him (and much later, his descendants). Early on the term Tianshidao, Way of the Heavenly Master, that is, of Zhang Daoling, referred to the church reputedly created in 142 CE and was synonymous with the Way of the Covenant with the Powers of Correct Unity, Zhengyi mengwei zhidao 正一盟威之道.[7]

The Tianshidao appears in the historical record early in the third century, when historians deal with its political and military role, mostly in connection with the semi-independent state set up in Hanzhong (contemporary northern Sichuan and southern Shanxi) by Zhang Lu 張魯 (?–215 or 216), who claimed to be Zhang Daoling's grandson. This state lasted from around 191 to 215, when it had to surrender to the armies of Cao Cao.[8] This record matches certain, but not all, of the data found in internal texts, mixed to various degrees with misunderstandings and outright critical rejection of the church's doctrines, practices, and worldviews. By contrast, the internal record, consisting of a rather large amount of texts and passages contained in the 1445 Daoist canon, is more detailed but raises serious issues of dating, with scholars disagreeing sometimes by as much as two centuries about the date of key texts.

The common ground shared by these various sources is that the Tianshidao was a rather close-knit community of believers, all ordained at least

to the first degree (we discuss ordination registers and degrees in chapter 3), led by priests called libationers, *jijiu* 祭酒,[9] who performed healing rituals on their behalf and received from them a tithe (the five pecks of rice that was much commented upon by outsiders) as well as items in use for communal rituals (paper, ink, brushes, and so on). The community was strongly morally oriented: the moral code of the church served as its law; it was forgiving and lenient, as it placed an emphasis on repentance and self-reform, but also demanding; it strongly pushed for charity and contribution to the common good. It required complete rejection of blood sacrifice to local gods, and worship of only the pure gods of the Dao. It also had a strong eschatological orientation: adepts were expecting to become transcendents, *xian* 仙,[10] and live forever, while nonbelievers would die and fall into hell in the course of the upcoming apocalypse.

The community was organized into twenty-four parishes (sometimes translated as "dioceses," *zhi* 治), located around sacred sites in the Chengdu Plain. When Zhang Lu created his semi-independent state in Hanzhong around 191, large numbers of people, presumably from the area defined by the twenty-four parishes, moved to the Hanzhong region, and new parishes were established there. The dispersal of the Tianshidao community in 215 was followed by massive population transfers to various parts of North China under the control of the Wei regime (220–265). Far from causing the demise of the church, this facilitated its wide diffusion. We next see it entering regions south of the Yangzi following the Jin dynasty's (265–316) loss of North China to new regimes during the 300s and 310s and subsequent migrations of northerners to what is now the Jiangnan region.

In the following centuries, the Tianshidao served as the foundation for all other Daoist revelations, starting from the Shangqing and Lingbao in the fourth and fifth centuries. Far from being different "schools" or "sects," and in spite of their criticisms of certain of the practices they associated with the early Heavenly Master church (often in specific reference to the Hanzhong moment), the Shangqing and Lingbao traditions, and numerous others, were created by people who were initiated in the Tianshidao, practiced its liturgy, and respected its moral codes. Shangqing, Lingbao, and other texts presented

their revelations and practices as being of a higher level, but nonetheless revered Zhang Daoling as a key figure, detailing his high status as a transcendent official.[11]

Zhang Daoling as a historical figure

External sources (starting with the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, written between 260 and 280) do not refer to the 142 revelation, nor indeed (before the time of Kou Qianzhi) to the term "Tianshi," but, when discussing the Tianshidao of the Hanzhong period and later, say that its leader, Zhang Lu, succeeded his father, Zhang Heng 張衡 (about whom nothing is known, and the hagiographical tradition is utterly allusive), himself having succeeded his father and founder of the movement, Zhang Ling 張陵—another name for Zhang Daoling. These sources have thus hardly anything to say about Zhang Daoling. Neither do we have any text attributed to him—at least as a living human, by contrast to postascension revelations.[12] For this reason, historians interested in the early Tianshidao church have focused their attention on Zhang Lu; debates have been raging for decades on whether he entirely invented the Heavenly Master church or inherited it, but in all cases, he is the central figure. By contrast, for the later Heavenly Master institution, Zhang Lu is just the 3rd Heavenly Master and does not feature particularly prominently: it is Zhang Daoling who is the charismatic founding figure and the ever-present divine persona.

Problems start with identifying his name. The early sources tend to name him Zhang Ling, and consider Daoling as his sobriquet (*zi* 字); later sources tend to take Daoling as his name. Wang Chien-ch'uan has suggested that Daoling (as the original name) was found in a genealogy of texts linked to the Lingbao revelations—but it is found earlier, as in *Da daojia lingjie* and *Nüqing guilü* 女青鬼律. I adopt "Zhang Daoling" throughout this book for the sake of clarity.

Most Chinese historians tend to accept the historicity of the narrative crediting Zhang Daoling with the founding of the church. However, Liu Ts'un-yan, who wrote a long article provocatively titled "Was Zhang Daoling

a Historical Figure?,"[13] has suggested that it really was Zhang Lu who created the Tianshidao, retrospectively attributing it to his (putative) grand-father, Zhang Ling. This revisionist opinion was defended by some scholars, including Isabelle Robinet, who suggests that Zhang Daoling was an immortality seeker like many others, and had nothing to do with the Heavenly Master church created by his grandson.[14] The revisionist opinion is refuted by Terry Kleeman, primarily on the basis of the so-called Zhang Pu 張普 stele, dated 173 CE (a short and lacunary inscription, known only through a Song epigraphical treatise).[15] This inscription seems to prove the existence of the Tianshidao before Zhang Lu's time, and thus of an early founder, who may well be Zhang Daoling. In that case, the 142 event would be history as well as myth.

Early sources on Zhang Daoling depict him in different ways, notably as an alchemist and as a local protective saint. The earliest extant hagiography, an entry in Ge Hong's 葛洪 (284–343) *Shenxianzhuan* 神仙傳, depicts Zhang Daoling primarily as an alchemist.[16] The story is that Zhang was first a student at the imperial academy, who decided instead to study the alchemical arts of immortality and moved to Sichuan but lacked the means to acquire the ingredients (a theme found in other early stories on immortals). Then he obtained methods for healing people and organized his followers into a community, the Tianshidao—but the text does not use the term *tianshi,* nor does it mention his son, Zhang Heng, or his grandson, Zhang Lu. Healing people allowed him to buy the prized ingredients and compound the elixir. The core of the story concerns his testing his adepts and selecting the two worthiest ones, Wang Chang 王長 and Zhao Sheng 趙昇, who finally partake of his elixir on Yuntaishan 雲臺山 and rise to Heaven together with him.[17] While his story takes place in Sichuan, Ge Hong himself never visited there, but lived in Jiangnan, where traditions of Zhang Daoling's alchemical practices (with sites claiming to be traces of such practices) flourished from early medieval times down to the modern period.

The issue of Zhang's image in Ge Hong's writing is all the more complex, since the *Shenxianzhuan* must be reconstructed from later quotes, and the Zhang Daoling biography in particular, found in many different

later works, has been subjected to considerable editing and rewriting. It is thus hard to identify what exactly Ge Hong wrote about Zhang Daoling: it would seem that he presented the creation of the Tianshidao in passing, as something Zhang Daoling did while pursuing his higher goal of becoming an immortal. Ge does not mention the Tianshidao elsewhere in his writings, but he ascribes Zhang Daoling to the same alchemical tradition as his, namely the Taiqing 太清 (Great Clarity) tradition,[18] and for him this is the important thing about Zhang Daoling. However, Zhang Daoling's interest in alchemy was more than Ge Hong's private fantasy: it is also affirmed in an influential text, *Lingbao wufu xu* 靈寶五符序, that contains Han-period alchemical material but between the late third and early fifth centuries was rewritten and expanded in the Lingbao milieus, themselves close to the Ge family. The *Lingbao wufu xu* was later credited to Zhang Daoling himself by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536); indeed, a portion of this text that relates its origins features five instances where the author refers to himself as "Ling."[19] Kristofer Schipper has proposed that there were two different visions of Zhang Daoling worshipped by different Daoist traditions: the alchemist and the church founder, which only later converged into one composite divine persona.[20] Other scholars have also suggested that it was in southern China, after the 310s, that church members who also practiced alchemy and other immortality techniques ascribed such inclinations to Zhang Daoling.[21] While this is possible, I would like to suggest that immortality seeking (if not specific alchemical techniques) was a core element of Zhang Daoling's divine persona, possibly from the start, and in all milieus.

Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng, the two key figures in the alchemical story of Zhang Daoling, went on to have a career of their own as immortals; their hagiography appears in later collections, and some technical manuals were attributed to them. It is quite possible that there was an earlier cult to them in Han times that fed the Zhang Daoling hagiography, but we have no trace of it. The Tianshidao tradition tended over time to sideline them, to focus on the hereditary transmission to Zhang Heng and Zhang Lu, and, in much later texts, to subsequent generations. In early times, however, Zhao Sheng and Wang Chang were major figures in the Tianshidao: a text tentatively

dated to the Eastern Jin 317–420) purports to be the eschatological teachings, very much in line with Tianshidao lore, taught by Zhang Daoling to Zhao Sheng before they rose to Heaven in 157.[22] Zhao Sheng and Wang Chang were also recipients of a manual for the *heqi* 合氣, or sexual union rite, an important part of church practice.[23] Here then we have early texts in which the alchemical (dealing with individual transcendence, oriented toward disciples) and church (dealing with collective salvation, oriented toward family) facets of Zhang Daoling are intimately mixed. Later still, a scripture revealed by Zhang Daoling himself during the Tang explains that if Daoist adepts are assailed by demons, they should perform a Lingbao ritual and he will come, assisted by Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng, to exterminate these demons.[24] By the Northern Song, a temple was built to Zhao Sheng and Zhang Daoling near Putian (Fujian), far from the region of Zhao's original lore (Sichuan), and he is described as coming all the way from Hemingshan to Putian to help the local people.[25]

Another line of enquiry has been pursued by Franciscus Verellen, who has focused on Zhang Daoling's lore associated with the salt wells in the Chengdu basin, notably those at Lingjing 陵井, some eighty kilometers south of Chengdu.[26] These wells were a major source of salt for inland China, and thus of government revenue; Zhang Daoling was credited with opening them (by forcing twelve Jade Maidens to stay in the wells and help production) and was thus a local god. As a consequence, in the sixth century the whole prefecture was renamed Lingzhou 陵州 after him. Verellen argues that the many stories circulating about the wells and the role of Zhang Daoling cast the latter as a typical civilizing hero of the Sichuan region, and he highlights parallels with other founding figures of this region. The question remains of the historical origins of this cult: stories about it become numerous during the Tang period, but we have no trace from earlier times. Thus, the idea that Zhang was a local culture hero and god before he was adopted as the founder of the Tianshidao is tantalizing but cannot be proved conclusively. In any case, this element of Zhang Daoling lore was adopted as a full-fledged part of his divine persona, as shown by later hagiographies, including those produced by the Heavenly Master institution, that as a rule include the salt well story.

The history of the myth

Pending new discoveries, the early evidence concerning Zhang Daoling as a historical figure has been gathered and closely examined by scholars and is inconclusive. More interesting than his historicity is the history of his myth. As we have seen, the earliest strata of the myth mingle the 142 revelation and founding of the church, and his alchemical immortality.

Full-fledged hagiographies of Zhang Daoling were very slow to emerge from within the Tianshidao (at least in the extant record). A brief biographical sketch, in a text on the twenty-four parishes and quoted in an early Tang encyclopedia, suggests to what extent Zhang's life was not yet standardized by the seventh century: the sketch describes an official career under the Han before the 142 revelation, something that other hagiographies do not include.[27] The earliest full-fledged lives of Zhang Daoling from within the movement, briefly quoted in various later sources under titles such as private or unofficial biographies, *neizhuan* 內傳, *jiazhuan* 家傳, and *biezhuan* 別傳, are lost (they may have served as sources for the late thirteenth-century *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑, juan 18–19); we have to wait until as late as the Ming to have an authoritative extant biography of him (in *Han tianshi shijia*). Also, dates of birth and ascension appear late: the first mentions of his date of birth in 34 CE are found in Song sources, while his ascending to Heaven in 156 or 157 was mentioned in a medieval text (the *Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經, ca. 420, which some authors describe as the doctrine of a dissident branch of the Tianshidao) but not included in biographies before the Song.

And yet Zhang Daoling was intensely present in the church: he was visualized everyday by adepts during the audience (*chao* 朝) rite and was worshipped by Tianshidao members in many of their common rituals as the first of the "three masters," *sanshi* 三師 (Zhang Daoling as *tianshi,* Zhang Heng as *sishi* 嗣師 [succeeding master], and Zhang Lu as *xishi* 系師 [inheriting master]), and their wives, who were also worshipped and petitioned. Little is said about these three women in early sources, but the *Santian neijie jing* claims Zhang Daoling's wife rose to Heaven with him. Their lore developed later, with hagiographies for Zhang's wife as well as the late invention of his

daughter.[28] The central ritual of the Heavenly Master church, the presentation of the petition (*zhang* 章) to the gods by the priest, involves him: the priest when ascending to Heaven meets Zhang Daoling, who forwards the petition to the highest gods.[29]

An important point made by Kleeman is that from its earliest days, and continuously during the subsequent centuries, Tianshidao church members practiced spirit revelations, even though the precise modalities are nowhere described.[30] Among the church offices listed in Tianshidao documents, several were apparently assigned with verifying and authenticating such revelations. Texts such as the *Yangpingzhi* and *Da daojia lingjie* mentioned above were apparently revealed by Zhang Daoling (or Zhang Lu) through mediums. Kleeman even suggests that a seat was left empty for Zhang Daoling at ritual banquets.[31] Such revelations certainly contributed to the elaboration and definition of Zhang's divine persona, which thus becomes more and more precise as we move forward in time.

Several major innovations gradually appear in Zhang Daoling's hagiography between the medieval and the Tang periods. First is his pedigree: starting in the fifth century, he is described as a descendant of Zhang Liang 張良 (262–189 BCE), a general who helped Liu Bang 劉邦 (256–195 BCE) establish the Han dynasty in 202 BCE, and soon became a divinized hero and then an immortal. In his biography in the *Shiji* 史記,[32] the young Zhang Liang meets a mysterious old man (who will be later known as Lord Yellow Stone 黃石公) who tests him and eventually gives him a book on strategy, *Taigong bingfa* 太公兵法, which later helps him become the top general in the realm. After he has helped establish the Han, Zhang becomes interested in techniques of immortality. Later hagiographies (including those produced at Longhushan) will not add substantially to this story.

Zhang Liang appears in the Tianshidao narratives early on; in the *Da daojia lingjie,* Laozi incarnates himself as Lord Yellow Stone, Zhang Liang's master, before he comes down again in 142; in the short biographical sketch quoted in an early Tang encyclopedia, Zhang Liang is among the gods and transcendents who come down in 142. The actual claim that Zhang Liang was his ancestor (the number of generations in between varies according to

sources[33]) first appears around 420 in the *Santian neijie jing*.[34] The reasons for this innovation can only be guessed, but they certainly have to do with connections between Daoism and the military, and the combined role of both in establishing state power. Zhang Liang had received from Lord Yellow Stone a book on strategy, and from the Han (when the *Sunzi bingfa* was listed among Daoist books) down to the early modern period this genre retained a close connection with Daoism; also, the military, likely in early times, and most certainly from the Song onward, had a closer connection with Daoism than the civil bureaucracy. Another reason for the claim on Zhang Liang is genealogy building, an exercise on which a great number of families embarked during medieval times: the Zhangs needed a genealogy going back to a major family in antiquity, and thus claimed to be part of the Liuhou shijia 留侯世家 (the lineage descending from the Marquis of Liu, Zhang Liang's title). This claim was maintained over time—in the early eighteenth century, the 54th Heavenly Master claimed that he was also the fifty-fourth holder of the Marquis of Liu title (even though this was no longer recognized by the imperial state).[35]

Another key element to appear in later tales is Zhang Daoling's sword, which by the Song has become a key element in his iconography. As Wang Chien-ch'uan and Wu Zhen have both shown, the theme of Zhang Daoling handing down his sword to his successor appeared only in the tenth century, in Du Guangting's 杜光庭 (850–933) stories.[36] Earlier Daoist sources have a rich sword lore, with a large variety of Daoists represented as using swords for exorcism, or casting swords for emperors; the notion of a Zhang Daoling sword appears late in the history of his myth, however. We will return to the sword as one element of regalia transmitted to the successive Heavenly Masters; let us focus for now on its exorcistic functions.

By the Song period, in connection with the rise of the Heavenly Master institution at Longhushan and the rise of the exorcistic *daofa* 道法 traditions claiming him as their creator, Zhang Daoling had become primarily an exorcist. Naturally, stories about Zhang Daoling as a local hero subduing local deities so as to open salt wells carry an exorcistic element, and the 142 revelation was meant to put a stop to wanton mayhem and destructions by demons.

But these texts do not evoke actual battles between Zhang Daoling and these demons. Exorcism becomes more prominent in later stories, notably Zhang Daoling's battles with demon armies at Qingchengshan 青城山, one of the early Tianshidao sacred sites on the edge of the Chengdu Plain (but not the seat of one of the original twenty-four parishes[37]). Zhang Daoling is said to have waged war against the demon armies that had set up a demon camp (*guicheng* 鬼城), or market (*guishi* 鬼市) on this mountain; after having won the battle, he coerced the remaining demons into an oath that they should not harm humans anymore. This story became a central element of Zhang Daoling's lore by Song times, but I have not found any evidence of it prior to the Song.[38] It also became an important narrative element in *daofa* movements; the 30th Heavenly Master is said to have waged battle anew there, helped by a martial deity (Marshal Wen 溫元帥) against the remnants of the Qingchengshan demons once vanquished by Zhang Daoling.[39] From this time on, Zhang Daoling comes up often in stories about demons; the latter are sometimes said to swear that they fear only Zhang Daoling (or, as a variant, that they fear no one, not even Zhang Daoling).[40] Matsumoto Kōichi has even argued that it was the 30th Heavenly Master's exorcistic feats that caused Zhang Daoling to become an exorcist in turn.[41] While there is indeed a strong resonance between the two myths, this claim might be a bit exaggerated, as it is rather the whole Heavenly Master institution's association with exorcistic traditions that shaped Zhang Daoling's new persona.

Unfortunately we do not seem to have early examples of Zhang Daoling's iconography. The late imperial images of him studied by Noelle Giuffrida show combinations of three types of representation: as immortal, as patriarch, and as exorcist.[42] In paintings and illustrated hagiographies, we often find him in a flowing robe, amid clouds. By contrast, images sold as talismans, as well as liturgical paintings used in ritual settings, show him in a fierce pose, riding a tiger, wielding his sword and seal. Certain hybrid images show him in dignified poses, not in fierce exorcistic action, but nonetheless holding a *lingpai* 靈牌 (a wooden tablet wielding authority over divine soldiers) for commanding thunder, and with his overabundant hair turned upward, reminiscent of Thunder deities. A fascinating painting dating from



Figure 1. Portrait of Zhang Daoling in *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu* 留侯天師世家張氏宗譜, 1890 original edition, prefatory matter.

the sixteenth century shows him reclining, and surrounded by four Thunder marshals.

Zhang Daoling's descendants and worshippers

Who are the authors of the successive additions to the Zhang Daoling myth between the fourth and thirteenth centuries? A significant part of them claimed to be his descendants (天師子孫). The Tianshidao church recognized a status for the descendants of Zhang Daoling. We must be careful to distinguish between the idea that the title and function of *tianshi* were transmitted within the family, and the vaguer respect for the descendants of the saint (which was a common notion throughout medieval society). The first idea was explicitly rejected by some texts, such as the *Santian neijie jing:*

"The descendants of the master have faded into powerless obscurity."[43] I have not found any claim to such a succession before the rise of the Longhushan Zhangs in the late ninth century. The idea of hereditary succession was clearly present within the church: debates about such succession to positions of priest (*jijiu*) abound in the sources, and heredity apparently prevailed by late medieval times.[44] But a hereditary leader of the church as a whole, and even more, a hereditary *tianshi*, was quite another matter.

Yet many Zhangs claimed descent from Zhang Daoling, including Zhang Daoyu 張道裕 (fl. 503–515) and Zhang Bian 張辯 (first half of sixth century), who were both quite prominent but were not considered (in their lifetime, or by later historians) to have been Heavenly Master.[45] Zhang Daoyu had moved in 503 to Yushan 虞山, a sacred hill near Changshu (modern Jiangsu Province), where the emperor Liang Wudi had a temple built for him. The inscription commemorating this temple (written by the emperor Liang Jianwen) describes Zhang as "the Daoist Zhang Daoyu, *zi* Hongzhen, from Pei [indeed, Zhang Daoling's homeplace in most hagiographies], who was a twelfth-generation descendant of [Zhang] Ling, the Heavenly Master of the Han dynasty."[46] Similarly, Zhang Bian, who wrote a description of the church's parish system, signs himself as "thirteenth-generation descendant [of the Heavenly Master], Zhang Bian, adjutant in the princely estate of Wuling, under the Liang dynasty."[47] He counts the number of generations but does not claim to be a Heavenly Master, and furthermore gives a military rather than religious rank. These are just two examples of many Zhangs claiming descent from Zhang Daoling; Wang Chien-ch'uan has documented various cases of such Zhang families in various parts of the country during the Tang period.[48] Female descendants were also noted; for instance, in the Hanzhong region there was lore concerning Zhang Yulan 張玉蘭, Zhang Lu's sister, as well as a cult dedicated to her.

One reason these Zhangs mentioned their genealogical link is that during the medieval and Tang periods, the descendants of Zhang Daoling were accorded a certain prestige, and some (largely honorific) privileges. One description of the buildings that all the Tianshidao parishes should have mentions one site where Zhang Daoling and his descendants are worshipped

(朝禮天師子孫).[49] And Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406–477) mentions that during ordination, a memorial was sent to the descendants of Zhang Daoling 表天師子孫.[50] The Zhang descendants were also entitled to certain church titles, notably controller of the Yangping Parish (陽平治). Yangping was the first parish, originally located to the north of the Chengdu Plain, later relocated to Hanzhong, reputedly headed by Zhang Daoling himself, then Zhang Heng, then Zhang Lu.[51]

Honors for Zhang Daoling and his descendants were further enhanced when he was canonized by the Tang state in 747 or 748, with the title *taishi* 太師, together with Yang Xi 楊羲 (330–ca. 386), the Xus, and Tao Hongjing, all key Shangqing figures; the edict also provided for temples for all these figures to be built and funded by the state.[52] A further canonization in 884 supposedly granted Zhang Daoling the title Santian fujiao dafashi 三天扶教大法師 (Grand Ritual Master Who Upholds the Teachings of the Three Heavens).[53] Thus these canonizations did not give him the title of *tianshi,* but nonetheless Tang emperors composed "encomia for the Heavenly Master" (*zan tianshi* 贊天師).[54]

In addition to his being visualized, invoked, and worshipped by Tianshidao adepts, and honored by (supposed) descendants and by the state, Zhang Daoling became the center of a popular cult. Du Guangting devotes a whole chapter of his anthology of Daoist miracles to Zhang Daoling.[55] Apart from the story of the salt well, discussed above, the nine other stories related by Du pertain to different contexts: Zhang Daoling is worshipped by, appears to, and performs miracles for laymen or Daoist priests (but nowhere is ordination or affiliation with the Tianshidao mentioned) in different parts of the empire. He may be worshipped as a statue or a painting within Daoist temples or private homes. In all cases, he is effectively present: he appears to his devotees, sometimes in dreams, but sometimes physically, and talks with them at length. This suggests that Kleeman's hypothesis that Zhang Daoling appeared and revealed texts to early church members may be true in a larger context, and that his propensity to appear and talk may have continued in other forms. During the course of the Tang dynasty, revelations from Zhang Daoling accelerated rather than diminished. One example is the *Wushang*

santian fashi shuo yinyu zhongsheng miaojing 無上三天法師說蔭育眾生妙經 (Marvelous Scripture on the Invisible Nurturance Given to All Beings, Spoken by the Supreme Ritual Master of the Three Heavens), which most likely dates to the latter half of the Tang period. There, apotheosized Zhang Daoling descends on Yuntaishan and reveals a Daoist scripture explaining how to combat demons by performing Lingbao retreats and promising that if people do so, he will come down and exterminate the demons.[56] Such Tang revelations from Zhang Daoling provide a background to how new Daoist ritual traditions from the tenth century onward could claim to have been similarly revealed by him.

The anecdotes by Du Guangting, as well as other pieces of evidence (including stele inscriptions), also show that by Tang times, there existed a good number of Zhang Daoling temples, variously named Tianshimiao 天師廟 or Tianshitang 天師堂, throughout the empire. Some of these were quite old, such as a temple within Hanzhong, on the spot where Zhang Lu had been head of the Yangping Parish.[57] Very likely, many of these temples, like the one at Longhushan, were established and maintained by Zhang families claiming descent from Zhang Daoling. Indeed, one of the things these many Zhangs could do to bolster their local prestige and income was to develop their own local cult of their ancestor. In one anecdote, Du Guangting mentions that the famous portrait of Zhang Daoling at the salt well in Lingzhou was considered unsatisfactory "because it was not transmitted by his descendants" (非世代子孫所傳).[58] By the Tang, then, many Zhangs were contesting each other's claims to have a true 真 portrait before the Longhushan Zhangs developed a much bolder claim.

Competition between families was also a competition between sacred places. A good number of places claimed that Zhang Daoling had practiced there, most of which failed to establish a larger reputation, cult, or income stream. As Franciscus Verellen has noted, the twenty-four original parishes of the Heavenly Master church (and those that were later added to the list) were both sites of earlier sacrality, and places of significance in Zhang Daoling's career.[59] But still other sites, often far away from the Sichuan, also claimed him. The early hagiographies (starting with the *Shenxianzhuan*) only

mention that Zhang Daoling hailed from Pei 沛 (northern Jiangsu), practiced in places in northern China, and then moved to Sichuan. I am not aware of a cult in Pei. Cults in various sites in Sichuan started early and have continued to the present day. But another story, that Zhang Daoling was born in or had also practiced at Tianmushan 天目山 (near Hangzhou, another *dongtian* 洞天 [grotto-Heaven] sacred site), then retreated to practice alchemy at Longhushan, and finally went to Sichuan, does not feature in the early sources but appears in Song hagiographies. At the same time, Daoist temples in the Hangzhou area claim to be Zhang Daoling's birth site or the school where he was born and raised. It is likely that local Zhang families pushed these claims, but we have little record of this.[60]

Other sites tried to insert themselves in the story. For instance, the *Xuxianzhuan* 續仙傳 (Supplement to the Lives of the Immortals; mid-tenth century) tells the story of a Daoist who settled in a mountain in central Zhejiang, where Zhang Daoling and Ye Fashan had reputedly practiced; he set up icons of these two and worshipped them, and they both descended and initiated him.[61] After this initial attempt however, the cult apparently failed to develop. Earlier sacred sites in northern China (possibly developed by Tianshidao communities that settled there after 215) were already claiming to have hosted the great man, notably Songshan 嵩山 (Central Peak). Zhang Daoling's retreat on Songshan is mentioned in a remaining fragment of his biography in the *Daoxuezhuan* 道學傳 (Lives of the Adepts of the Dao; end of the sixth century), and is included in most later hagiographies.[62] But by the early modern period, little trace remained of a Zhang family or a Zhang Daoling cult there. Longhushan was one such place where a Zhang family developed a cult to Zhang Daoling and spread stories about his visit and feats there. That family and their place succeeded beyond all expectation and relegated competitors to near oblivion—not by suppressing other temples but by imposing their version of the myth and thus their hierarchy of places. In fact, the Longhushan Zhangs built Zhang Daoling temples elsewhere.[63] In modern times, Zhang Daoling temples in distant places still maintained a close relationship with Longhushan.[64] Before we turn to the story of Longhushan, let us look at what Zhang Daoling had finally become.

The mature myth: The modern Zhang Daoling

The rise of the Longhushan Zhangs implied a rewriting of Zhang Daoling's story, first to explain his connection with Longhushan, but also more generally to make him the creator of their own vision of Daoism. This rewriting began as early as the tenth century (if not before), but it took time to impose itself: a good number of concurrent versions presumably issuing from various Zhang families continued to circulate for several centuries. The lengthy biography of Zhang Daoling included in the late thirteenth-century hagiographic compendium *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* is a remarkably incoherent patchwork of the many versions of the myth. All the various stories are woven together, not seamlessly at all: Zhang Daoling travels back and forth between the various places that claim him (Tianmushan, Songshan, Sichuan—but *not* Longhushan[65]); he has the 142 revelation and builds the Tianshidao church, and transmits the registers to his son Zhang Heng but also compounds the elixir with Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng and battles with demons at Qingchengshan, among many other feats. The 1314 gazetteer of Longhushan trims down the story, but it is still clearly a composite narrative.[66] It is only with the early Ming official Longhushan lives of the successive Heavenly Masters, the *Han tianshi shijia,* that we have a coherent, authoritative story—a stabilized myth.[67] Later hagiographies are numerous (notably in Ming- and Qing-period anthologies of the lives of saints and gods) but do not add much to the myth, and neither do many apparitions in novels and theater plays.[68] Similarly, the early eighteenth-century catechism by the 54th Heavenly Master, Zhang Jizong 張繼宗 (1666–1715, titled 1679), describes Zhang Daoling in words that are broadly similar to the *Han tianshi shijia,* even though he adds a few new elements.[69] The ritual invocations of him (notably the *baogao* 寶誥 [Precious Hymn], listing his titles and major attributes) that are found in great abundance in modern and contemporary liturgy, also all accord with this mature myth.[70]

In this final version, the most salient elements found in the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* are maintained, but many subplots have disappeared, so we have a more readable story. As any good biography, it starts with the

ancestors (Zhang Liang) and the parents (providing hitherto unknown information concerning his father), introduces Daoling as a divine person to start with (he is the incarnation of the Kui stars 魁星 from the Northern Dipper[71]), describes (and dates) his birth and provides details on his extraordinary physical appearance. He becomes an official before quitting to pursue immortality, and then receives the 142 revelation. The exorcistic sword, the *Yangpingzhi dugong* seal 陽平治都功印 (Seal of the Controller of Yangping Parish), and the Dugong register (see chapter 3) are now the core of this revelation, and of the transmission to his son. Exorcistic battles and subsequent adoption of martial gods are prominent in what unfolds between 142 and Zhang Daoling's ascent in 157. The seven tests imposed on Zhao Sheng are alluded to briefly, but he and Wang Chang nonetheless ascend to Heaven together with Zhang Daoling and his wife. The story ends with the successive canonizations during the Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties. This, then, is the Zhang Daoling that the Heavenly Master institution had elaborated for itself.

One must note that while the founding of a hereditary transmission of authority over the living and over spirits has become central in the mature myth, other earlier elements have not been erased. The connection to other sacred sites claiming Zhang Daoling has not been negated; quite the contrary, he is still said to have been born at Tianmushan, and several temples there are mentioned as being sites of his early activities. A significant part of the narrative is devoted to travels and exploits in various holy sites, a list of which almost perfectly matches that of the twenty-four parishes in Sichuan. In the *Han tianshi shijia* narrative, Zhang Daoling's alchemical quest and his favored relationship to his two disciples, Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng, still figure quite prominently, much more than would have been the case if the writers had felt that this was not something significant. Up until the modern period, Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng were worshipped on the side of Zhang Daoling in the latter's temple at Longhushan (the Zheng-yiguan 正一觀). Certainly, this part of Zhang Daoling's divine persona was too well known from literature, folklore, and art to be entirely dismissed, but it must also have made full sense to those who claimed to be his descendants and successors. Like all Daoists, Heavenly Masters were supposed to engage

in some sort of self-cultivation in order to purify and elevate themselves;[72] important Heavenly Masters, starting with Zhang Daoling, were prominent self-cultivators, and this is what attracted the highest gods to entrust them with the mission of managing the living and the spirits. Also, all Heavenly Masters had successors from among their kin, but also disciples, unrelated by blood—and that is why Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng have always remained important in the myth.

From early on, a key element of Zhang Daoling's divine persona was that he successfully practiced immortality methods. What changed over time was the specific content of these methods: Taiqing alchemy is clearly described in the earliest texts (such as Ge Hong's hagiography), and other techniques appear in later narratives, including meditation and visualization. The Longhushan Zhangs appropriated Zhang Daoling by claiming that he had practiced alchemy there, rather than building the Heavenly Master church from there, and later on (in the *Han tianshi shijia*) asserting that he did so thanks to an alliance with a martial god, Zhao Gongming 趙公明. The Longhushan institution inherited a Zhang Daoling who was already an exorcist, a demon fighter, together with an alchemist-turned-immortal, and a church builder; what it really brought to his myth is one story, anchoring the myth at Longhushan, and one idea: that Zhang Daoling created a hereditary patriarchy. The cult of Zhang Daoling and the innumerable popular stories about him in the vernacular literature and oral traditions in many parts of the Chinese world attest to the living myth in the twenty-first century.[73] Local variations notwithstanding, the master narrative had been fixed at Longhushan.

Chapter Two

The Rise of Longhushan

In the middle of the eighth century, the court Daoist and Shangqing adept Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647–735) compiled a comprehensive list of the Daoist sacred sites. It comprised the ten major grotto-heavens (*dongtian* 大洞天), thirty-six *dongtian,* and seventy-two blessed lands (*fudi* 福地). In that list, the thirty-second *fudi* is Longhushan 龍虎山, briefly introduced as follows: "Located in Guixi County, Xin Prefecture; it is directed by the transcendent Zhang Jujun" (在信州貴溪縣，仙人張巨君主之).[1] This is to the best of my knowledge the earliest mention of Longhushan, if indeed they are more or less Sima Chengzhen's words.[2] The list is preserved only in an early Song version (in *Yunji qiqian,* juan 27), and it is quite possible it was later modified, at some point before circa 1025.[3]

The site that would become one of the most famous religious centers in China, the headquarters of the "Daoist Pope," the hereditary Zhang Heavenly Masters, thus first appears in the records relatively late (by comparison with many major sacred mountains) and as a middle-ranking item in an authoritative list of sacred sites. How and why this is so is the topic of this chapter. The rise of Longhushan as a sacred site was linked to the rise of the local Zhang family as claimant to an ecclesiastical monopoly, but the former is documented earlier than the later by at least a century.

By pursuing these questions, I am walking in the footsteps of earlier scholars, notably Kristofer Schipper, Timothy Barrett, and Wang Chien-ch'uan.[4] These scholars have already identified and discussed most of the

extant source material; my contribution here will consist in building on their work and attempting to offer a more comprehensive interpretation of the historical development of the site and its promoters.

Layers of sanctity at Longhushan

Longhushan is a chain of low hills (maximum 247 meters above sea level) in eastern Jiangxi that form the westernmost foothills of the Wuyi 武夷 range extending into Fujian Province (see map 1). The various temples and residences that made up Longhushan as an institution were actually spread over a rather large area and located either on the hills or in nearby villages.[5] This area is crossed by a river, now called Shangqinghe / xi 上清河/溪 or Baitahe 白塔河 (formerly also known as Yixi 沂溪) that springs in the Wuyi chain, joins with the Xinjiang 信江 when it arrives in the north Jiangxi plains a few kilometers downstream from Longhushan, flows into Poyang Lake 鄱陽湖, and from there moves toward the Yangzi. Also, turning east following the Xinjiang upstream instead of downstream to the north, one can easily travel along a corridor between two mountainous areas that goes through Shangrao and Jinhua into Zhejiang Province, Hangzhou, and the Grand Canal. That was, as much as the itinerary through Poyang Lake and the Yangzi, the main route followed by the Longhushan Zhangs through the centuries when they traveled to the centers of powers in Jiangnan or Beijing.[6] In other words, Longhushan sits on the edge of a large mountain range just above the fertile Poyang plain and at the intersection of two major axes of communication.

The Shangqing River itself has long been an important trading route, plied by bamboo rafts that carry products from the mountains (bamboo, wood, paper, and products from Fujian) into the populous Jiangxi plains. The fact that this river valley was an old route between the Yangzi region and the southern provinces of Fujian and Guangdong was confirmed when the railway line from Nanchang into southern Fujian was built there during the 1950s. Yet the area, like all *dongtian fudi,* was a nature preserve, in the sense that both religious and state-enforced rules protected its fauna and flora: by the Yuan (and certainly before), it was forbidden to fish in the river.[7]

This valley was long an outpost of the empire. As such, a military garrison, called Xiongshizhen 雄石鎮, was established in 625 very close to the present main settlement of the area, Shangqingzhen 上清鎮.[8] This garrison once had over a thousand soldiers; its commandants were local potentates, especially during the troubles of the late Tang, when the whole of society and the power structure went through a process of militarization. One of them, a certain Ni Ya 倪亞, played a major role in maintaining Tang rule in this area; he retired there, and what is now called Shangqingzhen was once known as Niwangshi 倪王市 (Market Town of Prince Ni). It was only in 975, when Song rule was established with the conquest of the Southern Tang 南唐 (937–976), that the local population came under the control of the civil administration of Guixi County 貴溪縣 (established in 765), the county seat being some forty kilometers to the northeast in the Xinjiang valley.[9] A new garrison was established there again in the troubled years of the late Ming and early Qing. We do not know what was the connection between the Tang-period garrison commanders, the local traders, and the Zhang family; no document survives from this period. We can only suppose that the three developed in close connection.

The area now called Longhushan comprises several distinct zones. Let us evoke the three main sites starting downriver and progressing upriver. Probably the earliest sacred site in the whole area is the Immortals' Cliffs (*xianyan* 仙岩), now as then a favorite with visitors for the beauty of the vertical cliffs on both sides of the river.[10] There, as in many similar places throughout Southeast China (and, indeed, Southeast Asia), locals used to lay their dead within boat-shaped coffins placed in, and protruding from, grottoes up the steep cliffs. A popular theory is that this was a practice of indigenous people from before Han colonization.[11] Delphine Ziegler, who has studied a similar situation at Wuyishan 武夷山 (not far to the east), shows that the Daoists as they settled in the area appropriated the earlier burial sites and invested them with new meanings: what were coffins were now described as the remnants of Daoists who had cultivated there and transformed to become immortals, leaving behind discarded bones that became the object of worship.[12] One of these caves, the Biludong 壁魯洞, close to the Zhang Daoling temple (see

below), was particularly associated with an earlier immortal, Liu Gen 劉根, reputed to have transmitted texts to Zhang Daoling.[13]

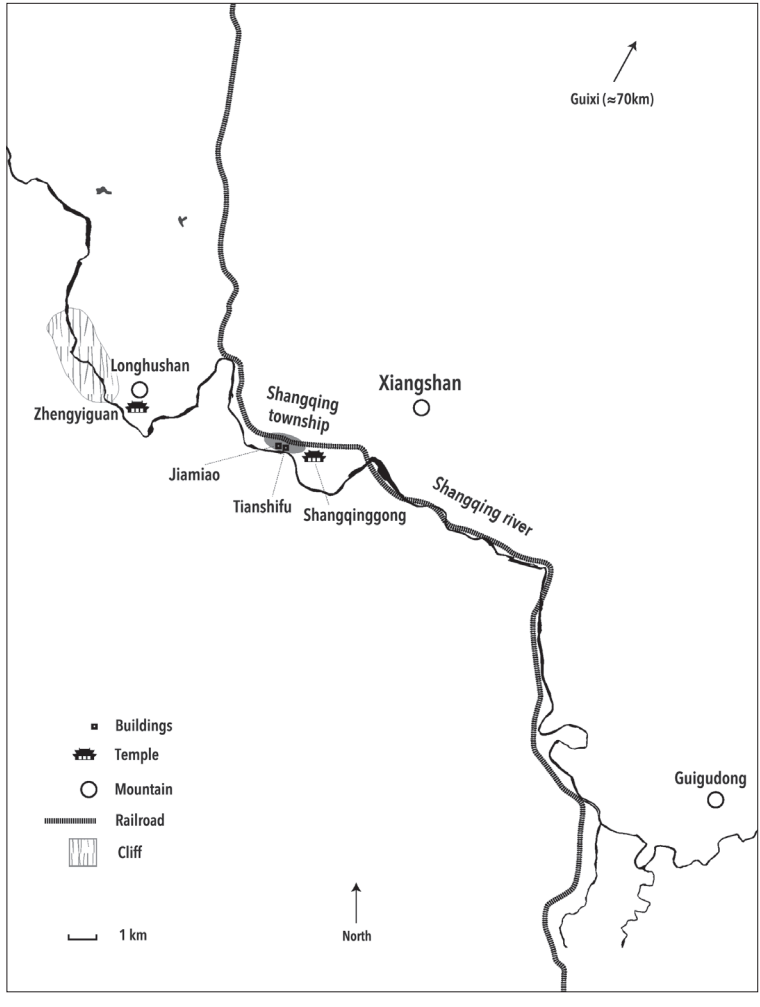
A few kilometers upriver stands one of the earliest built Daoist sites of the whole area, the temple to Zhang Daoling, which still exists. The earliest source is an inscription dated 950 by Chen Qiao 陳喬 (died 975) and preserved in the later Longhushan gazetteers.[14] This stele inscription waxes eloquent on the support given to the temple by the imperial family of the Southern Tang, which at the time controlled the whole of present-day Jiangxi. The name Longhushan originates here: above the river-facing temple stand two hills in the shape of a dragon and a tiger. Song hagiographies explain that Zhang Daoling refined the Dragon and Tiger Elixir (龍虎丹) there, and that when it was completed, a dragon and a tiger appeared.[15] This double hill is Longhushan in the stricter sense, but the name is more commonly applied to the larger area. The 30th Heavenly Master obtained the title of Yanfaguan 演法觀 for the temple in 1105, and it was later renamed Zhengyiguan. The 950 stele does not explain the origin of the name Longhushan nor give any hint of an earlier name for the site, and the later Longhushan gazetteers do not add new information either. We therefore do not know whether the place was called Longhushan of old and the story of Zhang Daoling created to fit it, or if there was an earlier name (now lost) that was replaced by Longhushan when the story of Zhang Daoling practicing alchemy there took hold.

About ten kilometers upriver from the temple is Shangqing Township, which during the Northern Song developed as the real center of the Zhang Heavenly Master institution. In the middle of what was already a thriving trading township and garrison town by the Tang is the residence, *fu* 府 (which I also translate as "office"), of the Zhang Heavenly Master, the Tianshifu 天師府—renamed Zhenrenfu 真人府 after 1368.[16] Next to the residence is a "family temple," Jiamiao 家廟, which is the ancestral temple of the Zhang lineage.[17] About a kilometer away from the township is the largest temple in the area, Shangqinggong 上清宮, which, until destruction caused by the building of the railway in the 1950s, was surrounded by residences (*daoyuan* 道院) of the Daoists (by the Yuan period, these residences numbered thirty,

and by the Ming, thirty-six). Originally named Zhenxianguan 真仙觀 (a name reputedly granted by the Tang emperor during the Huichang reign [841–846], but there is no external evidence for this), it was eventually moved to the present location in 1105, definitely settling the commercial and religious power of the Zhangs away from the original temple.[18]

All around the hills and villages in the surroundings are many hermitages and temples; the later gazetteers list them in detail, as well as the lore and miracle tales associated with them, but all of them are connected to successive Heavenly Masters and other prominent Daoists (in some cases, Buddhist monks and spirit mediums as well), and none seems to be reliably datable from before the Song. I have not found any substantial evidence for the existence of an earlier local cult. The dense religious landscape described by Zhang Yuchu, the 43rd Heavenly Master, who has written most abundantly on his beloved Longhushan, and by the gazetteers, is inhabited by deities introduced by the Heavenly Masters, notably Zhao Gongming, and other gods from the outside, such as the Five Powers, Wutong 五通, one of the most widespread possession cults in central and southern China from the Song period onward. Earlier cults, if they had existed, seem to have been erased by the Zhangs. They have also dotted the whole area with their tombs, some within walking distance of their residence, but others further away, in some cases in neighboring counties.

One note in a Southern Song hagiographic work mentions that the site's original name was Yunjinshan 雲錦山.[19] There are many places named Yunjinshan in various parts of China. The earliest mention of Yunjinshan in connection with the Zhang Heavenly Master is an anecdote by Du Guangting,[20] but it possibly refers to a place in Sichuan.[21] In that case, Song interpretations of Yunjinshan as an early name for Longhushan are just trying to "repatriate" Du Guangting's earlier story to Longhushan. Note, however, that the Yuan-period Longhushan gazetteer described a Yunjin rock (雲錦石) and a Yunjin temple below it.[22] In any case, even if we accept all identifications of Yunjinshan as Longhushan, which is doubtful, this does not shed much new light on the early history of Longhushan.



Map 1. The Longhushan area.
© Vincent Goossaert and Vincent Micoud.

In a nutshell, then, the history of the site has moved upstream, from the pre-Han burial grounds in the cliffs to the first Zhang Daoling temple to the commercial, military, and ecclesiastical center of Shangqingzhen. By contrast with so many other sacred sites, it never became a pilgrimage site *stricto sensu:* people came to see a living person (the Heavenly Master), not a god.

Accordingly, it never was a mass destination, as mostly priests, merchants, and members of the gentry came to be ordained, and representatives of local communities came to obtain a title for their god.

The Zhang Daoling temple

Longhushan's rise to prominence was associated with its temple to Zhang Daoling. When a temple was first established is unclear. As mentioned above, the earliest known source is the inscription by Chen Qiao, dated 950. This inscription clearly states that this temple was a new one, sponsored by the Southern Tang imperial family, but mentions that there existed an earlier temple (location unknown). It suggests that Zhang Daoling and his sword may have served as protectors of the dynasty. A later inscription explains that this imperial patronage was due to Zhang Daoling's saving the prince's life.[23] The later Longhushan gazetteers (the earliest extant version dating from the Yuan) do not adduce much detail. The 950 stele adds that Longhushan is a *dongtian fudi,* communicating with Maoshan 茅山 and Luofushan 羅浮山; it mentions Zhang Bingyi 張秉一 as a descendant of Zhang Daoling (in later sources he will be listed as the 21st Heavenly Master), thus showing how the cult was linked to the rising claims of the Longhushan Zhangs as hereditary patriarchs.

The question would thus seem to be how and why the Zhang Daoling temple at Longhushan emerged and was recognized as preeminent. Was Longhushan first recognized as a *fudi* because of earlier cults (perhaps linked to the Immortals' Cliffs), and then the Zhangs established a Zhang Daoling temple and appropriated an already sacred site? Or was the Zhang Daoling temple already a major site by the mid-Tang, and the listing of Longhushan as *fudi* merely recognized this status?

Extant sources make it difficult to decide. The entry on Longhushan by Sima Chengzhen does not mention the Zhang Daoling cult, but does not mention cults for other sacred sites either, so there is no sure indication one way or another. Later lists of *dongtian fudi* do mention the Zhang Daoling cult, notably the list as edited by Du Guangting: "Longhushan, in Guixi County,

Xin Prefecture: it is the residence of the Heavenly Master" (龍虎山，在信州貴溪縣，天師宅).[24] This residence is most likely to be understood as a temple of Zhang Daoling, purported to be his former home when he practiced self-cultivation there.[25] Less clearly, but still unambiguously linking the sacredness of Longhushan with Zhang Daoling, the *Dongyuanji* 洞淵集 (compiled ca. 1050, using a different numbering of the *fudi*) says, "Longhushan, 29th blessed land, [is the place of] Zhang Heavenly Master, it is located in Xin Prefecture" (第二十九福地龍虎山，張天師，在信州).[26] I consider it likely that Longhushan was first included in the list because the Zhang Daoling temple there was considered significant by Sima Chengzhen (even though we do not hear of it from other sources for at least a century). Yet it remains possible that other factors behind the place's sanctity played a role, and were later erased by the Zhangs, who rewrote the place's history by overtaking it entirely. Longhushan was not the only site associated with Zhang Daoling included in the list of *dongtian fudi:* putting aside the list of the twenty-four parishes strongly linked to his lore in Sichuan, the early Song *Dongyuanji* mentions two other sites linked to Zhang Daoling, both close, and related to Longhushan: Guigushan 鬼谷山 and Gezaoshan 閣皂山 (see below). There was in northern Jiangxi a concentration of sacred sites claiming to have hosted Zhang Daoling, reinforcing as much as competing with each other.

What is sure is that hagiographies of Zhang Daoling and his descendants were rewritten to include Longhushan and thus justify the prominence of this particular temple and the fact that Zhang Daoling's descendants lived there. The story that the 4th Heavenly Master, Zhang Sheng 盛, returned to Longhushan and settled there is first found in the standard history of the institution dating from the Ming, the *Han tianshi shijia,* and is obviously a late invention.[27] As Kristofer Schipper noted early on, early historical sources mention Zhang Fu 富 as Zhang Lu's elder son and Zhang Guang 廣 as the second, and do not name other siblings. Furthermore, a late thirteenth-century variant of this story, found in *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* explains that Zhang Sheng was only the 3rd Heavenly Master's third son.[28] Schipper suggests that at that time the Longhushan branch was thus still considered a junior branch of the Zhang genealogy,[29] even though the story relates that

both elder brothers had "liberated through their corpse" (尸解) and become immortals without having been married, and that Zhang Sheng was thus the legitimate heir. Also, early sources (such as the Chen Qiao inscription and the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*) say that Zhang Sheng moved to Longhushan during the Yongjia (307–313) era, that is, in the chaotic context of invasion in the north that caused many northern families (including many Tianshidao adepts) to move to Jiangnan. That a Zhang family belonging to the Heavenly Master church moved south at that time and eventually found its way to Longhushan is perfectly plausible. By contrast, the *Han tianshi shijia* suggests that Zhang Sheng came directly from the Cao Cao court. In short, we first have a story of a Zhang moving to Longhushan grafted onto existing narratives about other descendants of Zhang Daoling, and then, with the Ming-period hegemony of the Longhushan Zhangs, the editing out of these other preexisting narratives.

Even more important to the making of Longhushan than the relocation of the 4th Heavenly Master is the fact that Zhang Daoling himself had originally lived there. According to the revised hagiographies, Zhang Daoling had practiced self-cultivation at Longhushan before going to Sichuan. This rewriting happened gradually, but had begun by 950, when the story was included in the stele inscription written that year. The earliest narrative I have identified that tells of Zhang Daoling's passage in Longhushan is the story of his wife, Ms. Sun 孫, told by Du Guangting in his collection of female Daoists' lives, *Yongcheng jixianlu* 墉城集仙錄 (this is copied in *Taiping guangji,* and is the only mention of Longhushan in the whole of the *Taiping guangji;* note also that she is not mentioned in the early hagiographies of Zhang Daoling).[30] This story tells that Ms. Sun accompanied Zhang to practice self-cultivation together at Longhushan. The story is then related in the 950 inscription but still does not find its way into most Song hagiographies: even the late thirteenth-century *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (juan 18), which offers a long and composite account of Zhang Daoling's life, does not mention Longhushan in this context—but it does mention the location in relation to his fourth-generation descendant.[31] The earliest hagiography of Zhang Daoling that I am aware of that relates his visit to Longhushan is

Hunyuan shengji 混元聖紀, compiled in 1193.[32] This shows that the Longhushan version of Zhang Daoling's story took many centuries to become standard. Nonetheless, ever since Du Guangting's time, the idea that Zhang Daoling had been to Longhushan was well circulated. By the first decades of the Song, this is well attested in both Daoist sources,[33] and in imperially sponsored encyclopedias.[34]

Dating the emergence of the Longhushan Zhangs

Du Guangting is also, as Timothy Barrett has noted, the first author to firmly document the activities at Longhushan of the Zhangs, and their claiming descent from Zhang Daoling and establishing a genealogy that, with some modifications, fit with the orthodox history of the Heavenly Master institution as it was fixed during the early Ming.[35] Indeed, Du's own master, Ying Yijie 應夷節 (810–894), apparently visited the / an eighteenth descendant at Longhushan in 828: "At eighteen, I visited Longhushan, and received an ordination as *dadugong* of the third rank from [Zhang] Shaoren, eighteenth-generation descendant of the Heavenly Master" (十八詣龍虎山，係天師十八代孫少任，受三品大都功).[36] This is the earliest credible date for the Heavenly Master institution. Du himself, in addition to the story of Ms. Sun, the note concerning his master Ying Yijie, and his mention of Longhushan in his list of blessed lands, has two other stories documenting the Longhushan Zhangs, which we will examine below, as they focus on the myth of Zhang Daoling creating a patriarchal line rather than contemporary (ninth-century) events.

Besides the writings of Du Guangting, the only two other reliable documents discussing Longhushan before the tenth century are first an ordination tablet dated 897 and discovered in 2016 (discussed in the next chapter), and a poem dedicated to the Longhushan Zhang Heavenly Master, "Xian Longhushan Zhang tianshi 獻龍虎山張天師," found in Dunhuang, that can be approximately dated to the 870s, even though its authorship and date are debated.[37] It, too, deals primarily with the Longhushan Zhangs' power to ordain and save all humans:

The direct descendants of the Heavenly Master of the Eastern Han
Have long maintained the Mystic school by adherence to liturgy and precepts.
In this world they have their rightful place, and those who meet them bow;
Everyone pays them utmost respect.
The clerks and soldiers of the Three Arcanes withdraw and kowtow to them,
While the demons and oddities of the six [subterranean] palaces see their souls dissolve in darkness [in their presence].
They can bestow on you the ordination registers of eternal life,
But your flesh will be marked for countless eons if you dare renege on due gratitude.

東漢天師直下孫，久依科戒住玄門。
寰中有位逢皆拜，世上無人見不尊。
三洞吏兵潛稽首，六宮魔幻暗銷魂。
可能授與長生籙，浩劫銘肌敢忘恩。

When did the Longhushan Zhangs emerge? Clearly, the *Han tianshi shijia,* for the first generations after the historical Tianshidao leader Zhang Lu—from the fourth to about the seventeenth—are later inventions. As has been already eloquently stated in earlier scholarship, the names are not documented elsewhere in historical records, nor are the accounts themselves credible, with some generations lasting a good century. Most plausibly, by about the mid-Tang, a Zhang family at Longhushan (with or without any actual blood link to Zhang Lu; this is not provable one way or the other) started to claim descent and gradually acquired legitimacy. The earliest Zhang in the standard genealogy (fixed by the Yuan period; see chapter 5) who is documented in other sources is, as we saw above, the 21st Heavenly Master, Zhang Bingyi.[38] Several scholars have worked hard to compare the *Han tianshi shijia* and the earlier historical record, and thus draw a line between the mythical stage in the Zhang genealogy and the stage at which the *shijia* discusses actual Zhangs who were recognized as descendants of Zhang Daoling by their contemporaries.[39] Desirable as such a neat dividing line may be, we would rather seem, as in many Chinese genealogies, to have a grey transition zone, extending from maybe the tenth or twelfth generation to the eighteenth. Even more shrouded in mystery are those people other than the

successive Heavenly Masters, within or around the Zhang family, who built this success story.

A first factor to be considered when discussing the rise of the Longhushan Zhangs—and one that has been largely neglected in the current historiography—is when the very idea of a line of hereditary successors appeared in the first place. There is much confusion in the scholarly literature between different types of religious kinship, often conflated under the term "lineage" used in an abusively broad sense. I distinguish between four types: family, line of descent, patriarchal line, and full-fledged lineage. A family is a unit that can transmit authority and knowledge from master to disciple; it does not necessarily (and indeed often does not) keep records beyond three generations. This type has been common since late antiquity, and the Zhang family (Zhang Daoling, Zhang Heng, and Zhang Lu as described in early texts) is a good example. A line of descent records transmission of knowledge or authority over a longer period of time, but it can jump generations, and does not imply exclusivity or monopolies. Medieval Buddhism and Daoism both provide examples of such lines that legitimize a given teacher by tracing his ascendance back to an ancient authoritative figure. A patriarchal line has only one authoritative holder by generation (and generations are thus numbered); at any given moment, there is only one patriarch, and he transmits this power to the next. This notion first appeared in Chinese history in the early eighth century with specific Chan claims that would meet with considerable success. I see the Longhushan Zhangs as the first Daoists to have applied this model, around a century later. Finally, a full-fledged lineage includes all initiated members in a comprehensive genealogy, which implies common property (symbolic and possibly material) and ancestor worship. Lineages developed gradually within Buddhist circles from the last years of the Tang, and slightly later within Daoism as well. I will return to this issue in chapter 5, but suffice it to say here that the idea of a patriarchal line, like the Longhushan Zhangs, was unlikely to be thinkable before the mid-Tang. Most probably, the Longhushan Zhangs were already actively promoting the Zhang Daoling cult before they latched on to the idea of claiming a patriarchal line, and thus differentiate

themselves from other Zhang families elsewhere, who did not. It is possible, as Terry Kleeman argues, that some sort of central authority over the Heavenly Master church continued to exist after Zhang Lu, as Zhangs held the title of controller of the Yangping Parish and were given tithes. Yet this supposed central authority, if it existed, must have been of a different nature from what was invented at Longhushan. The idea of a patriarchal line as defined here is nowhere mentioned before the Longhushan Zhangs proposed it, and when the latter published their genealogy, they apparently had no record of historical predecessors to draw from since they came up with an obviously mythical list of early patriarchs.

Explaining the rise of the Longhushan Zhangs

So far we have established that by 750 Sima Chengzhen likely recognized the sanctity of Longhushan as a site associated with Zhang Daoling, and that by the ninth century the Zhangs there were promoting the cult and their own status as his heirs. The question remains as to why they succeeded on both counts in the face of so much competition. Why did the Longhushan Zhangs, and not other Zhangs based in Sichuan or elsewhere, manage to monopolize claims over the Zhang Daoling inheritance? They proved most successful in pushing their own version of the Zhang Daoling myth, creating a genealogy, and building a position for themselves within the Daoist ordination system. From the Song onward, we do not hear of other Zhangs making a claim similar to theirs. Indeed, one early thirteenth-century author writes, "The descendants of Zhang Daoling are scattered and are not known; only in Longhushan in Xinzhou there is a lineage which thrives remarkably; in each generation there is one of them who inherits [Daoling's] title and his seal."[40]

Four factors have been used by historians to explain the rise of Longhushan: state support, the Zhangs' connection with the rise of the Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法 (Correct Rites of the Heart of Heaven) new ritual tradition, the wealth of the Longhushan Zhangs, and the success of the ordination system that they organized. Let us now examine these four factors in turn.

First, the factor of state support: later, Ming-period orthodox Longhushan ecclesiology would make much of the Tang court support for the Longhushan Zhangs. None of it, however, can be substantiated. Indeed, Timothy Barrett has proposed that the Tang, who claimed direct descent from Laojun, could hardly recognize the heirs of Laojun's representative on Earth.[41] The first unambiguous sign of imperial support is the Southern Tang construction of the new Zhang Daoling temple in 950. Chen Qiao, who wrote the inscription on this occasion, was a high official of that state.[42] The only serious hint of state interest in Longhushan before that is a mention that the emperor of the Wu 吳 dynasty (902–937) that preceded the Southern Tang had sent a Daoist to perform an offering (*jiao* 醮) at Longhushan around 920.[43]

Shortly thereafter, the Southern Tang imperial house also sponsored another sacred site close by, the Guigushan, which ranks higher than Longhushan in sacred geography, as it is the fifteenth *dongtian.* The place is now known as Guigudong 鬼谷洞 and is located some twenty-five kilometers upriver from Shangqingzhen; it has a visible cave but no active temple. In 953, a local reported to the throne that this sacred site, associated with the elusive pre-Han saint Guigu xiansheng 鬼谷先生, was long dilapidated; the court sent Daoists who celebrated a *jiao* and restored the temple.[44] It is thus quite possible that Guigushan was the major Daoist center in the area before Longhushan overcame it by the late tenth century; it has since then been considered as one of many sacred spots within the Longhushan area.[45] An early Song list of *dongtian fudi* claims that Guigushan was also a place where Zhang Daoling had practiced, although this is not echoed in other sources, except late references in the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元, the early Ming compendium of exorcistic rites.[46]

State support for the Longhushan area as a major sacred site then began with southern states: the Wu and, more markedly, the Southern Tang; an earlier history is possible but entirely undocumented. Powerful people in the garrison town of Xiongshizhen might have had access to these two courts and pushed for Guigushan or Longhushan to be recognized as one of the

southern empire's holiest sites. I have found no direct evidence for this, but the Southern Tang, which had high claims to being the true inheritor of the Tang, did not have access to most of the sacred sites of their predecessors located in the territories of the northern dynasties, and had to develop new ones.[47] Besides, the rise of families such as the Ni and the Zhang, both based at Longhushan, is typical of a larger phenomenon: when the aristocracy that formed the backbone of the Tang state declined and eventually collapsed during the ninth and tenth centuries, new elites, most importantly in the more stable and economically dynamic south (the Southern Tang was the longest-lived regime of that period), rose to take their place.[48] These new elites, which continued to appear in the Song and later, included military men (and their Daoist networks), merchants, and clerical experts from humble backgrounds. The Zhangs qualified in all three categories. What is true of the political elites in general is also true of the religious ones; as the great monasteries in the former Tang centers of power suffered badly from turmoil and dwindling state funding—much more so than nature sites such as the grotto-heavens and blessed lands—new religious institutions, notably lineages, took a leading role; this is true of both Chan lineages and Daoist upstarts such as the Longhushan Zhangs.[49]

As is so often the case, then, state support followed rather than preceded the advent of Longhushan as a major sacred site, but the social and political conditions of the Southern Tang facilitated and created the conditions of possibility for a state recognition of this new institution and sacred site. State recognition of the Zhang patriarchal line as such would come in the Song (this is discussed in the section on Zhengyi lineages in chapter 5).

The second was the Tianxin zhengfa. At the same time as the Southern Tang court recognized Longhushan and the Zhang family in their 950 inscription, Tan Zixiao 譚紫霄, one of the founders of the Tianxin tradition, was active at the Min 閩 court (909–945) in Fuzhou 福州, and then, when the Southern Tang had conquered Min, at Lushan 盧山 (some 250 kilometers north of Longhushan). The Tianxin zhengfa liturgy claims direct transmission from Zhang Daoling, through exorcistic talismans hidden by

Zhang, found by a prominent spirit medium named Chen Shouyuan 陳守元 and deciphered by Tan Zixiao.[50] The successful Tianxin tradition thus powerfully promoted the cult of Zhang Daoling as an exorcist; it had deep affinities with the Zhang Heavenly Masters and the Zhengyi ordinations (more on this in the section of chapter 4 titled "Longhushan and the rise of the *daofa*"). However, the texts of the Tianxin zhengfa do not, to the best of my knowledge, mention Longhushan. Rather, it is closely associated with another sacred site, Huagaishan 華蓋山 (some 120 kilometers southwest of Longhushan), because Tan Zixiao's disciple, Rao Dongtian 饒洞天 (fl. 994), lived and received further revelations there.[51] While the *daofa,* and the Tianxin zhengfa in particular, are related to the Heavenly Master institution through ordinations from the tenth century onward, there is no explicit promotion of Longhushan in their texts during that period, and even less for the Tang times.[52] Therefore, any causal relationship between the rise of the Tianxin and other *daofa,* and that of Longhushan is hard to prove, other than the high likelihood of Tianxin zhengfa adepts being ordained at Longhushan early on.

The third factor is that this particular temple to Zhang Daoling and the related Zhang (self-claimed) descendants rise to success, eclipsing other similar temples and families, may be linked to these Zhangs' trading success and growing wealth. The Zhangs were major traders during later periods (the Ming and Qing), when most branches of their vast lineage were involved in business rather than Daoism. It is tempting, yet risky, to project this phenomenon back in time: Longhushan during the Tang and the tenth century is not well enough documented. But a link certainly existed then between the Zhangs, the large garrison at Longhushan, and the growing trade between the Yangzi valley and Fujian and Guangdong (going up the Shangqing River valley, crossing the Wuyi range, and down river valleys into coastal Fujian).[53] One intriguing case concerns the Ni family, which, as we have seen above, dominated the garrison and probably the trading township during the turn of the tenth century. One Ni Yansong 倪彥松 from Guixi (most likely a Ni from Niwangshi, an early name for the Shangqing Township),

who lived during the late Tang, was said to be from a family who had learned "the rituals of the Heavenly Master" (天師法) at Longhushan generation after generation and to have gone on to a successful religious career in other parts of northern Jiangxi.[54] If indeed the Zhangs were the religious teachers of the successful local traders and military men, as well as traders and military men themselves, then the whole early story of Longhushan begins to make more sense.

The fourth factor is linked to the previous point: the Zhangs' trading wealth also came with success in liturgical innovation—or what is described in sociology as "religious entrepreneurship." All the contemporary (ninth-century to early Song) sources that mention Longhushan and the Zhangs connect them with innovative ordination practices. I will develop this question in detail in the next chapter, but suffice it to say here that the Longhushan Zhangs met with both success (being invited to run ordination ceremonies) and resistance from Northern Song officials appalled by the scale of their operations. Clearly, the Heavenly Master institution had by then gone way beyond the practice of local temples ordaining local people. Instead of having purely local transmissions (which by the late Tang was controlled by elite temples), it proposed ordinations to all, especially at the first levels, and attracted people from far away—which takes us back to our initial observation that Longhushan was felicitously located at a sacred site easily accessible through major trading arteries.

Longhushan in the sacred geography of northeastern Jiangxi

We return to our initial question: how did Longhushan enter the list of blessed lands? All four factors we have just surveyed came into action some time after 750 and the recognition of Longhushan as a *fudi,* so we are faced with a chicken-and-egg question, or rather, with a situation in which multiple causes were at work, mutually influencing each other, with no clear chronological precedence. The most likely scenario is that the Longhushan Zhangs claimed to be descendants of Zhang Daoling and built a temple to

him, much like many other Zhangs throughout the Tang Empire. Theirs proved more successful than other similar ventures; in the eighth century they obtained for the place a listing among the *fudi*, and then, eventually, by the tenth century, state support. At the same time, they were growing rich from trade and their association with the local potentates but also from innovative ordination practices, attracting many priests and rich laypersons who visited Longhushan to obtain these prized ordinations.

There seem to be both contingent and long-term causes at work in this story. Their interplay can come into better focus if we put the story of Longhushan in its regional context. One cannot but discern that a substantial number of sacred sites in this region appear in the records as they entered the list of *dongtian fudi* and rose to prominence at about the same time as Longhushan.

While the Xishan 西山 center dedicated to the worship of Xu Xun 許遜 (well within the north Jiangxi plain) was already well established by the mid-Tang,[55] and Lushan, further north, had long been a major sacred site, the mountains around the southern rim of the Poyang basin (including Longhushan) are rarely if ever mentioned in extant sources before the mid-Tang. They appear in the sources when this region developed strongly after the eighth century, with Han colonization and agricultural and mining exploitation of the hilly areas. They include (besides Longhushan and Guigushan) Lingshan 靈山 (33rd *fudi*), Magushan 麻姑山 (28th *dongtian*), Huagaishan (18th *dongtian*), Gezaoshan (36th *fudi*), and Yusishan 玉笥山 (17th *dongtian*). These are the newly recognized sacred sites listed by court Daoists (such as Sima Chengzhen and Du Guangting). As shown on map 2, most of them are found in the areas just above the Poyang plain and in the major river valleys (Gan, Xinjiang, Shangqing) rather than further away in the higher mountain ranges. This type of location (in the hills just above the plains and near major communication axes) is typical of Daoist sacred sites, including the original Heavenly Master church parishes.[56]

One particularly interesting parallel is Gezaoshan, situated on the other side of the Gan valley, and, like Longhushan, found in the hills overlooking the fertile plains. Like Longhushan, Gezaoshan was graced with a new, larger



Map 2. Sacred geography of northern Jiangxi with Song-period prefectures and county seats.
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temple funded by the Southern Tang court.[57] Heralded from the Song period onward as the place where Ge Xuan had practiced, Gezaoshan became a major ordination center of the Lingbao tradition. By the eleventh century,

Gezaoshan, along with Longhushan and Maoshan, became one of the three officially recognized Daoist ordination centers, or *sanshan* 三山 (a category discussed in the next chapter). Yet in its list of *dongtian fudi,* the early Song *Dongyuanji* connects Gezaoshan not with Ge Xuan but with Zhang Daoling:

> The 33rd blessed land Gezaoshan is where Heavenly Master Zhang observed a precious vapor cover the sky; [looking for its source,] he discovered the entry of a grotto in which there was a jade statue of a Heavenly Worthy. He placed it at the entrance of the grotto [for worship]. It is located in Xin'gan County, Linjiang commandery.
>
> 第三十三福地閣皂山，張天師觀寶炁浮天，發洞穴獲玉像天尊，因立洞穴，在臨江軍新淦縣。[58]

This does not mean Ge Xuan was late to be grafted onto the religious culture of northern Jiangxi; further east, in the Shangrao area, Ge Xuan is a popular saint, and has an ancient and still-thriving pilgrimage site at Gexianshan 葛仙山 (some eighty kilometers east of Longhushan).[59] The cult of Ge Xuan and Zhang Daoling, among those of other saints in this region, is certainly older than the rise of Longhushan and Gezaoshan.

Gezaoshan is hardly mentioned in Tang sources, and certainly not in connection with the hagiography of either Ge Xuan or Zhang Daoling. Very likely, there too entrepreneurial Daoists, helped by the flourishing local economy, appropriated a key religious figure (both Ge Xuan and Zhang Daoling had temples in the region) and built their own temple as a major regional center during the political reconfigurations of the tenth century and the Song—even though Gezaoshan seems to have developed later than Longhushan. One difference between Gezaoshan and Longhushan is that the former was managed not by a Ge family but by Daoists transmitting their knowledge from master to disciple. Both were part of a local religious culture in northern Jiangxi about which we still know too little, but which came by the Song to shape the course of Daoism in the whole empire.

Chapter Three

The Heavenly Masters in the History of Daoist Ordinations

One became a member of the Heavenly Master church through ordination, that is, receiving a register, *lu* 籙. In this book I translate *shoulu* 受籙 (receiving registers) as "ordination" and *lu* as "ordination register"; I am aware this is not a literal translation, as there exist other forms of religious ordination in the Chinese context that do not involve registers, but the term clearly expresses *shoulu*'s core meaning: obtaining a title and status in the divine hierarchy. Such an ordination gave the recipient specific powers (effected through the spirits enlisted in the register) but also duties: worshipping and controlling the register spirits, and observing the moral rules received during the ordination procedure.

A register was originally a list of all the corvée- and tax-paying subjects of a kingdom or fief that a lord received on acceding to power, together with the chart of his land, *tu* 圖. The notion was adapted within Daoism, while keeping most of its symbolic and practical functions: it became the list of the spirits that a person initiated at a given level received at his/her service.[1] These spirits ranged all the way from the lowly souls of the dead to the high celestial gods, just as the various registers themselves were ranked on a scale. Many of these spirits, especially for the more common, lower-ranking registers, were dead souls enlisted in the service of the Dao. They were collectively described as *libing* 吏兵, clerks and soldiers, in the two branches of the administration, civil and military, respectively. Regiments of dead souls, kept under control so that they did not become wayward demons, were assigned

as ghostly soldiers and generals to initiates to guard, protect, and assist them. Once they were enlisted in a register and enrolled in the service of someone, these spirits belonged to the same administration as the ordained person; they shared the same destiny, which means they were promoted when the person did good but were also coresponsible in case of a crime. The person holding the register and the spirits contained therein were thus under each other's surveillance. The register listed these spirits' secret names, and sometimes drawings of their appearance, so that the adept could visualize and thus summon them from within his/her body. Someone who had received a register should carry it at his/her belt (*pei* 佩) and regularly review (*yue* 閱) the spirits contained therein; the Daoist canon has a number of detailed liturgical instructions to that effect.

Ordination entailed the conferral of a set of documents: scriptures 經, moral rules 戒, liturgical instructions 法, and registers. As is known from contemporary documents and practice, the *lu* register itself was actually a small part of the documents transmitted, that also included large amounts of divine paperwork, such as certificates, requests, contracts, and edicts that detailed among other things the divine title and rank of the ordinee; these documents were all collectively described as a *lu* in the extended sense. They also had to be filled in with all the personal details of the ordinee, a long, complex, and secret process.[2]

Throughout the course of Daoist history, most new revelations produced their own registers, which featured the deities proper to the new dispensation, together with the revealed scriptures, rules, and ritual manuals. The earliest sets of registers were those of the Tianshidao, and their creation was universally attributed to Zhang Daoling. They were called collectively Zhengyilu 正一籙, a term that has remained in use to the present day, even though the list of these registers kept changing and expanding, and the earliest registers are now known in only later, revised versions. The history of the Heavenly Master institution is inseparable from that of the Zhengyi registers. This chapter will therefore present these registers and explore how they were used during the first millennium before telling the story of how the Longhushan Zhangs inherited and modified their transmission and eventually acquired

a monopoly on them that is the foundation of the Heavenly Master institution's power and prestige.

The Zhengyi registers

The earliest sources on the Tianshidao do not mention the registers, but they must have been a key element early on. The church organization was based on a system of ordinations, in which all members of the community, starting from age seven, received registers at various stages of their lives. The list, gradation, and procedures for the successive ordinations are provided in a substantial number of sources in the Daoist canon, which show not only historical change but also a large variety at any point in history. John Lagerwey, who has provided the most detailed study of these Zhengyi registers from their inception to the Tang period, shows that there never was one unified system, but rather a large number of local Zhengyi traditions that shared fundamental ideas and practices but all elaborated their own ordination procedures.[3] Various lists of ordination registers exist, some of which mention registers not known elsewhere.

As a number of new Daoist traditions emerged over the following centuries around revelations of new texts, they created their own registers for initiation into their tradition. In many, and probably most, cases the original Zhengyi registers continued to form the basis of the ordination practices, with new revelations adding their own registers at a superior level. This logic dictated a grand synthesis around the sixth century, when a scheme emerged with seven levels of ordination, corresponding in part to the seven parts of the Daoist canon. The original Zhengyi register formed the first (lowest) level—yet that was recognized as sufficient to hold a position in the Heavenly bureaucracy, and thus to officiate at rituals and present memorials to the highest gods.[4] Above this were ranks and registers related to other dispensations, with the Lingbao and Shangqing registers occupying the second-highest and highest position, respectively. This means that people having undergone Shangqing or Lingbao ordination had previously received the Zhengyi registers. While prestigious (and extremely costly, including in terms

of the pledges of faith, *xinwu* 信物, that had to be offered by the ordinee) high-level registers are rather well documented, as they were conferred upon emperors, princesses, and high officials, ordinary people were content with ordinary Zhengyi ordinations, and these are our focus here.

We can summarize the basic features of a shared framework among Zhengyi ordination practices as follows: the children first received the *Tongzilu* 童子籙, then the one general register 一將軍籙, the ten generals register, and eventually the seventy-five generals register. When they married as young adults, the bride and groom merged their registers to form the 150 generals register. According to one reading of the admittedly ambiguous sources, this took place through the *guodu* 過度 or *heqi* sexual union rituals.[5] The 150 generals register qualifies one to be a libationer; in the early church, the libationer kept a list of the persons he had ordained and collected tithes from them, but this practice latter seemed to disappear. This was, according to a number of sources, the last register for most people; registers above that qualified one as master (*shi* 師) and granted him or her higher leadership and ritual capacity. Ranking above the 150 generals were more registers, many of which served specific liturgical functions, notably exorcistic and thaumaturgic. By the Tang period, a list had stabilized of twenty-four registers, collectively called *Zhengyi mengweilu* 正一盟威籙 in twenty-four degrees 二十四階.[6]

A distinction was observed in certain texts (to what extent these terms were widely used is unclear) between the "external" *wailu* 外籙, and the higher-level, "internal" *neilu* 內籙 registers.[7] The latter were for professional priests and advanced practitioners (including members of the imperial family and other elites who engaged in intense self-cultivation practices). By contrast, the *wailu* could be conferred on all members of the community, typically not in view of starting a career as a religious professional or ascetic, but as a means toward one's own salvation. Another but largely overlapping distinction in medieval texts distinguishes *fulu* 符籙, that is, registers in which a central element is the talismans that allow the bearer to call on the corresponding deity, from *tulu* 圖籙, which carry more elaborate charts of the gods. Some scholars have suggested that the first kind were merely talismans

that could be bought to obtain divine protection. I would, however, in light of the discussion below, suggest that they still qualify as ordination, providing the recipient with a permanent rank and title in the divine bureaucracy, rather than a one-off instance of divine help.

The conferral of a register and therefore the status of "practitioner of the register," *lusheng* 籙生, even at a low level, gives one a place and standing in the organization of the universe, and some training in ritual, and thus henceforth one is protected by gods and immune to attacks from demons while alive, and to manhandling at the hands of the minions of hell after death.[8] Ordination serves *both* this-worldly immediate purposes and hopes of salvation.[9] For the same reason, taking of precepts, *jie* 戒, and ordination as a monk, or adoption by a god or a powerful religious figure—all practices common in early modern, modern, and contemporary China—are seen as ways to protect oneself.[10]

This structure of ordinations, including laypeople and priests at different levels, was part of the Tianshidao from the start, and continued down to the present day to be at the core of the organization of Daoism. I hasten to add that the distinction between what we may term "lay" and "priestly" registers is merely heuristic, especially in the early church, which was organized along a continuum of succeeding degrees of apprenticeship and initiation. Not only does the threshold between the two (at what level of ordination one may perform which rituals) appear to vary in different sources, but the aim and obligation of the ordinee is in all cases to practice self-cultivation and honor the spirits of his register, not to perform rituals, and there are people who do not perform rituals for others or live as a priest and yet obtain high-ranking ordinations.

Ordination practices in premodern China

While the above system of ordination ranks is well described in the scholarly literature, based on normative texts in the Daoist canon, much less is known about its deployment in society through time. Biographies of Daoist priests shed light on the upper echelons of the ordination system; however, I am

particularly interested here in the lay registers and the ordination of ordinary people as well as the first ranks of priestly registers, because this is the area in which the Heavenly Master institution made the most important impact.

In the Tianshidao church, if we believe the normative sources in the Daoist canon (and I see no compelling reason not to do so), everybody was initiated, even though only certain members would go on to the higher levels and have a priestly-level register. Sources are lacking to document the fate of this organization, but it seems to have continued at least until the early Song, at least in some areas. Michel Strickmann famously advanced the thesis that the Yao populations of southern China (and Laos and Vietnam) who have maintained such universal ordination practices into the contemporary period adopted it from Han Chinese during the Song through the Tianxin zhengfa, and thus that the Chinese were still observing them at that time.[11]

The evidence as to how ordinations worked (what registers were available to whom, where, and how) is scattered. Mentions of people having been ordained are not numerous;[12] yet the ordination documents found in Dunhuang suggest that the practice was common during the Tang and tenth century.[13] Presumably, being ordained was too common or trivial to be mentioned in biographies. One text, however, brings much-needed light: the *Sandong xiudaoyi* 三洞修道儀. This early Song manual (dated 1003) describes the seven-level ordination system that is documented during the Tang, and that thus was still in operation in the early Song. The first level, titled "Rituals to Enter the Dao 初入道儀," deals with Zhengyi registers: it discusses the gradual progression from first ordination at age seven through the *heqi* ritual union and up to the twenty-four-fold *Mengweilu,* which allows one to present petitions to the gods (and become a priest).[14] It also mentions that this category includes various other registers and their attendant exorcistic and thaumaturgic rites, *fa* 法. In addition, the *Sandong xiudaoyi* does mention that the descendants of Zhang Daoling live at Longhushan: "The descendants of the Heavenly Master transmit [his position] to one of them in each generation: this is the Zhang family at Longhushan, Xin Prefecture" (天師之裔，世傳一人，即信州龍虎山張家也), but does not allude to a monopoly on ordinations that they would claim.[15]

The *Sandong xiudaoyi* gives a clear sense of the meaning of Zhengyi as a category and its being closely linked to the descendants of Zhang Daoling at Longhushan. It denotes the registers as well as related texts that constitute the first level of ordination in the system that worked throughout the Tang, and continuing in the early Song: it is not a school, or sect, or separate tradition. I agree with Kobayashi Masayoshi that the Heavenly Master church (and its Zhengyi ordinations) formed the bedrock of Daoism during that period (and later) and therefore did not constitute a separate tradition: it was the shared foundation upon which various traditions thrived, not in opposition to the Heavenly Master church and its Zhengyi texts but in elaboration of it.[16] Lü Pengzhi has offered a spirited critique of this thesis, pointing out how Daoists ordained at higher levels were sometimes dismissive of "Zhengyi Daoists."[17] I read such comments, however, especially from the late medieval period onward, not as one school rejecting another school but as the voices of advanced practitioners (engaging in self-cultivation) dismissing coarse, lower-level ones, especially when the latter engaged in the controversial *guodu* rites. For these reasons, I do not think it makes sense to talk of a separate "Zhengyi school" during this time — nor indeed, during any period. During the medieval period and still in the early Song, the term "Zhengyi Daoist" meant a Daoist who had received the *Zhengyi mengwei* registers (and, presumably, no higher-level register).

If the liturgical system described by the *Sandong xiudaoyi* is clear, what the text describes in terms of social context is much less evident. Were communal organizations, where all children and young adults were ordained with the first levels of the Zhengyi registers, still operating in certain parts of the country? Or does this text describe only devoted, identifiably "Daoist" families in which this tradition was observed? The introduction laments the ruin of the ordination system after the wars of the tenth century and the difficulty the author had in gaining access to ordination, so perhaps the second option is more likely. We know too little about village-level religious organization during this period, and the same is true of regional variation. Possibly, in the Chinese world, there existed at the same time and in different places close-knit communities still practicing universal ordination

(ordaining all young people) in direct continuity with the early Tianshidao, local religious cultures where only devoted, self-identified Daoist families practiced ordination, and yet other areas where ordinations were offered by temples or Daoist families to members of voluntary associations. In many cases, liturgical texts suggest (by lamenting) that things were not happening exactly as scripted: adults received the children's ordination, and people had a higher-ranking ordination without ever having been ordained at the lower ranks. That is the lot of all churches: a well-designed model and endless local adaptation. One major trend is that priestly ordinations became ever rarer for women; lay registers, however, continued to be sought by both sexes.

Narrative sources provide extremely valuable evidence on the practice of ordinations. Among the many stories told by the great scholar, ritualist, and literatus Du Guangting, there are several miracle tales related to the divine protection enjoyed by laypeople who had undergone ordination.[18] For instance, the tale of a certain Jia Qiong 賈瓊 tells how this boy was ordained with the *Tongzilu* when his mother happened to chance upon a large Daoist temple in the Tang capital, Chang'an, where a crowd of people were attending a collective retreat and being ordained.[19] Ten years later, the boy's sister fell ill and a spirit medium was called to help; he was tasked with finding out the cause of her illness as well as any potential issue with her siblings. The medium eventually came back from the other world, telling the family that since the boy had been ordained, he was henceforth part of the divine bureaucracy and no longer on the rosters of the dead. This language is similar to that found in liturgical texts, but further documents the currency of the idea that ordination, even at the preliminary level, granted salvation.[20]

Du Guangting sheds light on two crucial aspects of lay ordinations in his time, which is the period of change between the Tang and the tenth century when modern Daoism starts to develop. First, large monasteries (*guan* 觀) appear as key centers organizing ordinations for laypeople, on a voluntary basis, likely based on lay associations—as opposed to close-knit local communities with a *daoshi* in their midst. One certainly does not exclude the other, but at least we see from the Tang onward laypeople who at a certain moment decide to join a Daoist temple and be part of collective ordinations.

The Tang state recognition and attempts at control of Daoism was based on a network of official monasteries, which were given privileges to ordain people.[21] This certainly affected medieval practice, where ordination was as a rule conducted within a local community. The monastery-centered ordinations certainly worked well until these monasteries ran into physical, political, and economical difficulties, as suggested by the *Sandong xiudaoyi.*

Second, Du insists in all his stories about registers on the fact that, even for low-ranking ones, the recipient is inscribed on the lists of the gods and is therefore protected. Indeed, seeking divine protection either prophylactically or at a time of crisis (such as an illness) appears as a major motivation for seeking ordination. This was encouraged in some of the new Daoist ritual traditions that emerged at about the same time. The Tianxin zhengfa tradition that appears during the tenth century encouraged its practitioners to confer ordinations on laypeople. Its basic regulations (which we have in two Northern Song versions) propose to ordain all those who face problems: "In all cases where ordinary people live in an inauspicious place, suffer from unbalanced *yin* and *yang* [in their body], from conflict between [the destinies] of senior and junior [family members], from severe and chronic illnesses, or from long-standing feelings of tiredness and loss, then you must ordain them with proper registers" (諸應世人所居不利，陰陽不和，上下尅害，連年困篤，累歲迍邅者，授之以正籙).[22] This, again, suggests a model somewhat different from the original Tianshidao communities, where everyone was ordained anyhow, but it points at Daoist efforts to at least make ordination available to all.

One also finds other mentions of laypeople undergoing ordinations during the Tang and the Song, notably in biographies and in anecdotes. Unfortunately, such sources rarely list the precise registers received: most commonly we just read, "s/he received registers." Sometimes the generic *Zhengyilu* are mentioned (which may be the whole twenty-four-fold *Mengweilu,* or any subset), much more rarely a specific register. For instance, Du Guangting mentions someone who had obtained "eight degrees of the *Zhengyilu,*" presumably the first eight.[23] This story features a local official of the Kaicheng era (836–840) who finds himself summoned to the other world

and is called "Daoist Zhao"; very surprised, he answers that he is actually a civil official, but the divine official reminds him that he received the ordination when he was ill as a child, and chides him, "How can you be content with being just a this-worldly official 俗官?" Zhao is sent back to the world of the living with instructions to be a good civil official but also to practice by worshipping the gods on his registers—and indeed he practices and undergoes further ordinations. This shows how by the late Tang, officials, among other people, could be ordained, but while some people took their ordination seriously and practiced, others did not. The fact that officials were ordained continued under the Song;[24] this shows that ordination was not only a village-level tradition but was also part of elite culture.

Narrative sources for the Song period do not offer a markedly different picture from what emerges from narratives such as the tales by Du Guangting. We see people seeking ordination, often because they are facing a difficulty and seek divine protection. The one major difference from earlier stories is that they now often travel to major ordination centers rather than visit their local Daoist temple—and, as we will see shortly, the favored destination was Longhushan. Thus, the Heavenly Master institution at Longhushan did not invent ordination procedures; it carried on and developed ordination practices for laypeople, as well as for priests, that were already popular in the Tang period.

Meanwhile, new types of registers for laypeople kept appearing, and, as we will see, they bear close connection with the Heavenly Master institution at Longhushan. Most of these registers are intended for laypeople, and bring divine help in this world, as well as a position in the divine bureaucracy. The Daoist canon has seven of these registers, dating from the Song period, and all explicitly linked to Longhushan; doubtless, this is just a fraction of the number of registers that existed.[25] One well-documented and important example is the Wenchang register, *Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu* 高上大洞文昌司祿紫陽寶籙. This register was revealed during the twelfth century within the spirit-writing (here, *feiluan* 飛鸞) group that produced Wenchang scriptures, hagiography, and eschatological teachings;[26] it opens with saying that the register must be conferred by the Heavenly

Master in person, and tells how the 30th Heavenly Master was the first to confer it. There also existed registers specifically for women, such as the *Xuehulu* 血湖籙;[27] this ordination saves women from hellish punishment in the "blood lake" to which they are condemned for letting impure blood fall on the earth and pollute it in the course of childbirth (this notion of Buddhist origin motivates numerous Buddhist and Daoist rituals that children have performed on their mother's behalf).

Ordinations and the rise of the Longhushan Zhangs

We have seen that by the tenth century, ordination for all was still, as in the early church, widely considered desirable, even if not universally practiced. The state-sponsored monasteries of the Tang served that purpose, but they were largely ruined by the tenth century. There was a space to fill, and the Longhushan Zhangs, while certainly not the only ones to try to fill it, proved the most apt. This was indeed their raison d'être. Almost all of the early (ninth to twelfth century) sources on the Longhushan Zhangs deal with ordinations. By the early Song, such references multiply. Mentions of people going to Longhushan to obtain ordination during the Song are scattered and unsystematic, but revealing. One Daoist priest is described in a stele inscription as going all the way from his home in northern Jiangsu to obtain it; another inscription tells of a gentry couple who were both ordained as lay practitioners; both documents are dated to the end of the eleventh century.[28] Yet another story tells of the spouse of a rich merchant who had been ordained at Longhushan who tried to use her register to protect herself against demons.[29] Indeed, from the earliest extant story about ordinations at Longhushan (the story of Liu Qian 劉遷, told by Du Guangting and discussed below), laypeople—and merchants and officials in particular—feature quite prominently. In all the above cases, we have ordination patterns different from local systems in which priests or laypeople are ordained in their local temple; from the earliest cases the Longhushan ordinations draw people from far away. To what extent the attraction of Longhushan might be connected to economic networks is hard to ascertain.

It is quite clear that the rise of Longhushan was closely connected to the way the Zhangs there practiced ordinations. What, then was original about these ordination practices? Two elements stand out from the records: the invention of a new mandatory register, and the opening of ordinations to all and sundry, from near and far. First, the Longhushan Zhangs invented a new ordination register that soon became fundamental in the structure of the Daoist clergy: the *(Sanwu) Dugonglu* (三五) 都功籙. The *Dugonglu* is not included in the Daoist canon but is known from contemporary documents; it is composed of elements extracted from the *Mengweilu.* It is therefore neither a new revelation nor a theological innovation; rather its novelty consists in justifying a Longhushan monopoly. The name of this register does not appear in sources before the ninth century and is not part of the elaborate and comprehensive descriptions of the ordination system dating from the Tang.[30]

But this innovation was not without a canonical foundation. In the early church, as the master progressed in his/her career and received higher ordinations, s/he also received higher titles. One major title was that of "inspector of merits," *dugong* 都功, which was one of the officers staffing each of the twenty-four parishes. Because the parishes had ceased to be actual territorial entities after the disbanding of the Tianshidao state in 215, and had become cosmological, abstract entities (themselves ranked),[31] the promotion to the status of *dugong* of such-and-such a parish was a question of hierarchical rank rather than actual function in a given place. The promotion to the status of *dugong* entailed one's obtaining a court tablet, *ban* 版, and also the "parish register," *zhilu* 治籙.[32] I propose that this *zhilu* is the same thing as the *Taishang ershisizhi qilu* 太上二十四治氣籙, one of the twenty-four registers of *Taishang Zhengyi mengwei falu,* and clearly destined for a *dugong.*[33] It is possible that the *Dugonglu* evolved from the *Taishang ershisizhi qilu* (both registers list the spirits that oversee the twenty-four parishes), but they cannot be the same: the latter is part of the *Mengweilu* set of registers, and the former is distinct from and precedes the *Mengweilu.* Why then invent a new, separate register for the *dugong?*

Several texts remind us that the title of *dugong* for the highest-ranking parish, Yangpingzhi 陽平治 (which was reputedly Zhang Daoling's own parish in his lifetime), was reserved to a descendant of Zhang Daoling.[34] This is logical: early on, the higher-ranking functions, such as *dugong,* became hereditary and also progressively excluded women. The Longhushan Zhangs' innovation was to jump from the already-recognized monopoly of the Zhangs to themselves have the rank of Yangpingzhi *dugong* to their new monopoly to confer the rank of *dugong* on others (by ordaining people with the *Dugonglu*).

The earliest source to mention the *Dugonglu* is signed, again, by Du Guangting. In this story, a layman (a rich merchant named Liu Qian) goes to Longhushan together with two relatives, a local official and a Daoist priest, to receive the *Dugonglu* ordination in 868.[35] He gives lavish pledges of faith (as befits his status of wealthy merchant) but is also admirably observant. He later falls ill, dies, and is summoned to the other world. There he learns that since he has been ordained, he is now part of the Heavenly bureaucracy and is also granted thirty extra years of life. While this story is similar to other stories mentioned above about the salvific effect of ordination, Du adds a history of the *Dugonglu.* It was created by Zhang Daoling, who transmitted it to Zhang Heng before ascending to Heaven, saying that it should henceforth be the privilege of the Zhang line to confer it. To further sell this innovation, writes Du Guangting, the Zhangs compiled a collection titled *Dugonglu yan* 都功籙驗, of over seventy miracles from which people having been ordained thus had benefited. Unfortunately, this collection does not exist anymore, nor does it seem to be quoted anywhere. But this story, the earliest description of ordinations at Longhushan, already says it all: the Longhushan Zhangs possess a hereditary monopoly on a powerful document that grants salvation, the *Dugonglu,* and they are more than willing to confer it, during collective ordinations, to whomever is interested, including economic and political elites (who are welcome to bring lavish gifts).

The 13th Heavenly Master, Du Guangting adds, found that "granting the [*dugong*] register inscribed on the court tablet" was too cumbersome, and

devised *dugong* registers on paper or silk, which allowed for a wider diffusion.[36] While this most likely does not describe actual chronology, it does document how the Longhushan Zhangs themselves explained the formation of their invented *Dugonglu* as replacing the medieval ritual of granting a court tablet to a Daoist promoted to the rank of *dugong.*

A recent discovery shows that the *ban* court tablets for Daoists ordained as *dugong* actually continued to be used in the late Tang (they were apparently discontinued under the Song and replaced with the certificate of appointment to an office, *zhidie* 職牒); they were indeed given at Longhushan. In the tomb of Kang Zhou 康周 (858–924), a Daoist buried near Yangzhou (Jiangsu Province), archeologists found in 2016 a *dugongban* conferred in 897 by the Longhushan twentieth-generation descendant 系天師二十代孫 (no name).[37] There is no way of knowing whether Kang Zhou also received the *Dugonglu;* the transition from court tablet to paper (or silk) *Dugonglu* register was likely gradual, and both practices may have overlapped. In any case, this document confirms the role of Longhushan in conferring ordinations at the rank of *dugong* during the last years of the Tang.

A third early source to discuss the *Dugonglu* is an undated stele inscription, which tells of the career of Deng Qixia 鄧啟霞 (848–932), a Daoist from Maoshan.[38] Deng was first trained as a *daoshi* in a temple on Maoshan, and visited Longhushan in 871 to receive the *Dugong Zhengyi falu* 都功正一法籙 before returning to Maoshan, receiving higher ordinations, and pursuing a successful career there. Let us also note that Ying Yijie, Du Guangting's master at Tiantaishan, had been ordained at Longhushan in 828 and received the rank of *dugong* 受三品大都功 (even though the *Dugonglu* is not explicitly mentioned here).[39]

By the early Song period, sources discussing the *Dugonglu* multiply rapidly. Many of these are linked to new *daofa* traditions, notably the Tianxin zhengfa and then the Shenxiao 神霄: the Heavenly codes (*guilü* 鬼律, *tianlü* 天律) of these traditions specify that without having received the *Dugonglu,* one is not qualified to perform a ritual. We do not find this explicitly stated in the earliest Tianxin texts (Northern Song), but codes (probably dating from the Song) included in the early Ming *Daofa huiyuan* say in no uncertain terms that without the *Dugonglu* one cannot send petitions to the gods.[40]

The idea only gradually gained traction: the early Song *Sandong xiudaoyi,* which recognizes the Longhushan Zhangs, does not mention the *Dugonglu.* Apparently, the *Dugonglu* ordination became a universal norm only by the Southern Song. The important compendium *Wushang huanglu dazhai lichengyi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 (postface 1223) notes that without having received the *Dugonglu* and then the *Mengweilu* ordination, one just cannot be a fully qualified priest, *gaogong fashi* 高功法師;[41] importantly, this compendium was compiled by Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔輿 (1162–1223), a disciple of Liu Yongguang 留用光 (1134–1206), one of the most important Daoists from Longhushan of the Song period. The other Lingbao liturgical compendia of this period know and mention the *Dugonglu* but are not so clear about its absolute necessity. One can hardly avoid the sense that the Longhushan institution gradually imposed its ordination practices (and its monopoly) on other Daoists. By the thirteenth century, the cause was won. In modern practice, one receives first the *Dugonglu,* then the *Mengweilu,* then might go on to obtain higher Lingbao and Shangqing registers.

In brief, then, the Longhushan Zhangs invented the *Dugonglu* by the early ninth century and then gradually imposed the double idea that (1) one must receive the *Dugonglu* to be a proper Daoist priest and communicate with the higher gods, and (2) the Longhushan Zhangs have the monopoly to grant this ordination, presumably because they built on the idea (that was current and accepted already by the medieval and Tang periods, as seen above) that only the descendants of Zhang Daoling could be *dugong* of Yangping Parish, and thus ordain the *dugong* of the other parishes.[42]

The seal and the sword

One key element in this invention was the seal of the Longhushan Heavenly Master, with which he authenticated all ordination documents, and which reads, "Seal of the controller of Yangping Parish" (Yangpingzhi dugong yin 陽平治都功印). It was transmitted from one Heavenly Master to the next, appearing with the sword as a key element of the modern Zhang Daoling iconography. I have not found any mention of this seal before the tenth century, but by the Song it becomes an important part of Daoist lore, famous

throughout the empire and discussed in countless jottings and historical notes by literati—even Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) discussed it.[43] It was supposed to have been given by Laozi to Zhang Daoling during the 142 revelation, but another similar seal was carved by Emperor Shenzong (r. 1067–1085), and later given by Huizong to the 30th Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian.[44] The 54th Heavenly Master has detailed stories about the seals, which he taught to Daoists he had ordained: a second *Yangpingzhi dugong yin* seal was carved by Zhang Heng from the same block of jade used for the Han imperial seal and inherited from Zhang Liang.[45] In theory, because the *dugong*s of Yangping Parish were always Zhangs, this seal could have existed earlier and could have been used by Zhangs. But the real import of this seal was the monopoly on *dugong* ordinations, and thus the seal appeared at the same time as the *Dugonglu*—by the ninth century.

As has been noted already, the other piece of regalia that legitimized a Longhushan Heavenly Master, Zhang Daoling's exorcistic sword, also appeared shortly before this, probably after the mid-Tang. The story that stages Zhang Daoling entrusting his seal and his sword as well as the *Dugonglu* to his heirs (and insisting that no one else should use them) first appears in two stories by Du Guangting,[46] and then during the Song it becomes part of the Zhang Daoling myth as revised at Longhushan. The reason Du Guangting is the first witness to this major change is not so much because he was a prolific writer and a well-informed man but because his own master, Ying Yijie, had been ordained at Longhushan in 828 (at a time when this was not yet so common), and so he knew more about this than most of his contemporaries. Yet it is likely that Du never went to Longhushan nor met the Heavenly Master he discusses.

The two stories by Du Guangting stage this formal oath by Zhang Daoling, just before he rises to Heaven, in similar terms, whereby he swears that his descendants will transmit his sword and seal to one heir per generation. One of the two stories adds an important detail that will also become part of Longhushan lore: this chosen heir will have a tuft of red hair on the top of his head, a sign of his election (*xiang* 相—the same term used to describe the Buddha's distinctive physical signs, *laksana*).[47] These stories are extremely significant, as they constitute the first clear statement of what the

Heavenly Master institution is: a patriarchal line possessing a monopolistic right to ordain (and thus save) the living and the dead. The 950 stele inscription at Longhushan also alludes to Zhang Daoling's seal and sword.

So, the advent of the *Dugonglu* was not just the invention of a new register, because this happened all the time: it was the key liturgical piece in a major change from a highly decentralized system in which ordinations were managed locally by masters and temples, to a (at least notionally) centralized system—soon to be linked to the imperial state—in which ordinations were managed by a center that enjoyed monopolies. In medieval and Tang ordination rituals, the candidate worshipped Zhang Daoling as a distant, divine guarantor of his promotion and informed Zhang's descendants by burning a ritual document. By the Song, the candidate needed the actual seal of Zhang Daoling's heir on his documents, affixed by its one legitimate successor.

Ordination for all

The question remains of how the Longhushan Zhangs managed to convince other Daoists that they could henceforth enjoy a monopoly over ordinations that were heretofore a matter left to local traditions. Explanations can only be speculative, but I surmise that ordinations (at least above the basic registers for laypeople) may not have been widely available, either because of the low numbers of advanced Daoists who could perform them, or because the trend (already apparent in medieval times) toward heredity and professionalization among the clergy closed access to ordinations for outsiders. Indeed, the ossification of the Daoist clerical establishment between the late Tang and twelfth centuries can explain many new developments, including the rise of new movements open to all, such as the Quanzhen that formed from the 1160s onward.[48] A number of people who acted as Daoists had no register, and thus no proper ordination. One admittedly late (thirteenth century) but tantalizing anecdote tells of a Lingbao association 靈寶會 whose leaders hired a *daoshi* to perform a *zhai* 齋 retreat for them, then realized that he had not been ordained, and forced him to travel to another county to undergo ordination (to receive the Mengwei registers).[49]

In that kind of context, I suggest that the Heavenly Master institution opened new possibilities for ordination (which, counterintuitively, is linked to their idea of a monopoly) and offered to ordain all those who wanted to practice Daoism but had no access to ordination in their home region. Because Longhushan had gained empire-wide recognition as the sacred site where Zhang Daoling had practiced and as the residence of his heirs, this ordination could have legitimacy even far away. I am aware that there is a risk of a circular argument here: Longhushan became famous because of its open ordinations, and its ordinations were attractive because Longhushan was famous. What I want to suggest is rather that the fame of the sacred place, the influence of the Zhang family, and the attractiveness of its ordinations were all mutually reinforcing, but other external factors were also at work, such as the ordination practices in other places, state policy, and the cult of Zhang Daoling.

By the eleventh century, we read mentions of Daoists "who have traveled to Longhushan to obtain the ordination registers of the Heavenly Master," signifying that this was prestigious enough to be mentioned.[50] One of the first reliable texts we have from a historical Heavenly Master (the 30th Heavenly Master, from 1100 to 1126; see the "Zhang Jixian" section in the next chapter) features a sermon given to the adepts who had come to Longhushan from all corners of the empire so as to be ordained. There the Heavenly Master explains how the ordination he confers cleanses them of their sins and ensures their salvation, on the condition that they henceforth honor the precepts and practice sincerely. He vividly describes the long trip to Longhushan:

> You have left your home country to come in person to meet your master, walking all the way carrying your umbrella, facing frost and snow and yet always sincere and earnest. Now you can contemplate the transcendent style of Laozi's teachings, offer your pledges and enlist your name, and reverently receive the secret registers of the Heavenly Master.
>
> 汝去父母國，來親師匠門，躡蹻擔簦，衝霜冒雨，傾肝滌膽，來瞻太上之真風，賚信投名，拜受天師之祕錄。[51]

One category of candidates for ordination in particular was targeted by Longhushan and responded enthusiastically: the *fashi* 法師, exorcists and

ritual specialists of the new *daofa* traditions. These vernacular priests, typically considered low-level practitioners by the established *daoshi,* accessed the ranks of the *daoshi* by undergoing ordination from the Heavenly Master (notably with the *Dugonglu* register). We will come back in the next chapter to the connection between Longhushan and the *daofa;* let us note here that, even though records of ordinations at Longhushan during the Song are not numerous and systematic enough to allow for quantification, a good number concern precisely such *fashi.* Consider for instance the story, told by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202), of a certain Jiang Anshi 江安世, who had received the registers at Longhushan and the *fa* at Nanyue.[52]

This is the second aspect of the Longhushan innovations in ordination: being open to many different kinds of people. Hints of the novelty of the Longhushan ordinations and their attractiveness are provided by the reactions of the Song state, which did not fail to notice and react to the rise of Longhushan as an ordination center drawing large numbers of candidates. Such reactions fall into two different categories: on the one hand, a number of officials disapproved of the Zhangs' religious entrepreneurship and tried to ban their ordinations. On the other, several Song emperors took a keen interest in them and invited the Zhangs to participate in the imperial reorganization of Daoism and take charge of ordinations for them and for the Daoist clergy. Let us see these two contrasting reactions in turn, starting with the negative ones.

The earliest official protest about Longhushan ordinations I am aware of is dated 1054 and concerns a certain Wang Shouhe 王守和, a *daoshi* from Longhushan. A high official wrote a memorial saying that this Wang had settled in a Daoist temple in the capital (Kaifeng) and had gathered over two hundred people, officials and ordinary people, men and women, to confer on them registers ("*fulu* and spirit soldiers").[53] This practice had become hugely popular, complains the author, and Wang was going to conduct another mass ordination on 10/15 (the *xiayuan* 下元 day) and collect donations. The memorial condemns this as distasteful and heterodox and requires that it be banned and Wang sent back home.

At about the same time, the 26th Heavenly Master, Zhang Sizong 張嗣宗, encountered similar trouble with an official called Lin Ji 林績 (*jinshi* 1046).

Lin, a magistrate posted in northern Fujian, takes offense that Zhang Sizong is traveling around the country and offering ordinations authenticated by his "Yangpingzhi dugong yin" seal; everywhere he goes, people flock to him.[54] Lin, adopting the traditional reaction of literati hostile to the Heavenly Master institution, claims that they are but the heirs of Zhang Lu, who is described in official histories as a bandit, and that this should be banned. He destroys Zhang Sizong's seal and petitions the emperor, asking that honors given to the Zhangs be stopped—something the emperor declined, as he gave a title to the 26th Heavenly Master shortly thereafter.

These descriptions, notwithstanding their deprecatory tone, are fully consistent with other records of ordinations, whether at Longhushan or at traveling altars organized by the Heavenly Master himself or other Daoists on his staff. In both cases, the Longhushan Daoists held collective ordinations with many laypeople, including women—which was one point of contention with officials. Very often, as in the case of Wang Shouhe, ordinations were held on the Three Primes 三元 (1/15, 7/15, 10/15)—the three moments of communal gathering in the early Heavenly Master church. At Longhushan, there were ordinations on the Three Primes every year: the origins of this practice of ordinations on the Three Primes were said in Longhushan lore to date back to the (legendary) 4th Heavenly Master.[55] This is confirmed by Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194–1229?) in his poem of praise for the 19th Heavenly Master, Zhang Xiu 張修.[56] Yet this habit of holding ordinations on the Three Primes is not unique to Longhushan; they are also held at other places, and create a clear element of continuity with early Tianshidao practice.[57] Laws of the Yuan dynasty confirm that ordinations were taking place at Longhushan on the Three Primes and at Gezaoshan on the First Prime.[58]

Another piece of evidence must be adduced at this point: that provided by the Longhushan historiographers themselves. The genealogy they invented is known to us only though a Ming version, the *Han tianshi shijia.* This text, which provides a biography for each Heavenly Master from Zhang Daoling down to the forty-ninth, is often used as the main primary source for the history of the institution. Such usage is problematic, because it is a Ming discourse on an institution that had by then achieved dominance over the

whole of Daoism, and presented its own history in such a way as to justify this position. I will therefore use it with much caution. I consider, however, that the *Han tianshi shijia* narrative gives us a reliable clue as to why Longhushan achieved prominence: the story it tells is of one family focused on transmitting the registers on a large scale. Even if dates, names, and facts cannot all be taken at face value, I am convinced that the basic storyline is accurate. The biographies of the 2nd and 3rd Heavenly Master, neglecting other historical dimensions, are entirely focused on how they further developed the ritual framework for ordination first set up by Zhang Daoling. The biography of the 4th Heavenly Master, Zhang Sheng (most likely a mythical figure), tells us how he returned from Sichuan to Longhushan, looking for the place where his great-grandfather had practiced alchemy and, after having settled there, started granting *lu* registers thrice a year, on the Three Primes. Subsequent generations' Heavenly Masters are described under three main rubrics: (1) their own self-cultivation practices, which varied from one Heavenly Master to the other, thus giving them individual identities as well as disciples outside the family line; (2) ordination activities; and (3) connection with the state. Several are said to have declined state employment or honors, until they came to accept them by the Song—which suggests they were actually not connected with the state until the Song. Other recurrent subthemes are the successful performance of rituals, the Heavenly Masters' extraordinary physical signs, and the holy sites associated with them (including their graves).

Let us look at the second of these three rubrics. Several Heavenly Masters are said to have introduced innovations into the ordination practices: the fourth established the ordination altar at Longhushan and ordained thousands of adepts. Under the ninth, the ordination registers were extremely popular, and people flocked to him to request ordination. The tenth had a meeting with the god of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue 東嶽), who asked him to disseminate the *fulu* so as to bring order back to the world, and as a result he sent his disciple on missionary tours. The thirteenth introduced paper registers (instead of wooden court tablets), which allowed for even larger-scale transmissions. The fourteenth and eighteenth both retreated into the mountains

and only came back to Longhushan on the Three Primes to preside over ordinations. The fifteenth was supposedly invited by Tang emperor Xuanzong to perform ordination in the capital. The nineteenth used the money offered by ordinees to engage in charity. The twenty-third had rings (*xinwu* that symbolized the contractual alliance forged during ordination) cast in iron for his many ordinees. To sum up: when narrating its own history, the Heavenly Master institution constantly stresses the success of its ordinations.[59]

That the Zhangs themselves drew so much attention to the history of their mass ordinations is due first and foremost to the fact that it was their main activity; it was also (but this remains implicit) a major source of their wealth. As is so often the case, a key informant on the economic aspect of ordinations is Du Guangting. In his important story about Liu Qian, the merchant ordained at Longhushan in 868, Du mentions that, being rich, Liu could give extremely valuable pledges (*xinwu*). Yet, in another story, Du tells of a Daoist named Zhang Rong who actually sells talismans and ordination registers, treats them (and the gods contained therein) without respect, and suffers abject punishment as a result. Zhang recovers only when he pledges "never to sell registers again."[60] So, in a nutshell, ordination was costly, but priests could not be motivated by greed. This continued to be a theme in the discussions around Longhushan throughout its history, and we will return to it. Suffice it for now to say that around the ninth century the Zhangs started to accumulate the pledges of the rich people that they ordained and gradually built vast estates and well-staffed institutions on this basis.

The Song state cooptation

Even though some officials were hostile to the large-scale organization of ordinations by the Longhushan Zhangs, the Song gradually grew more and more supportive. It first welcomed and supported the Zhangs' ordinations, especially in the capital, and then granted them that ultimate grail: state-sanctioned monopoly. Hagiographical records mention invitations made to Heavenly Masters to perform ordinations in the capital as early as 1015, but I find no corroboration in non-Daoist sources; such an event, while possible, is not solidly historical.[61] Such mentions become more numerous and plausible

for the Southern Song: according to the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* when Zhang Keda 張可大 (1218–1263) became 35th Heavenly Master in 1230, "people came from all parts of the empire to receive ordination registers by the tens of thousands; his dissemination of Daoism was extremely successful" (四方參受法籙者，動數萬計，道化盛行). And yet, instead of curbing such massive religious activities, the emperor sponsored them: "In 1236, he granted an imperial edict allocating money (to the Heavenly Master) so that he could recarve the printing blocks used to print the ordination registers, originally given under a previous reign" (端平三年，奉聖旨賜錢，重刊先朝元賜籙板).[62]

The Three Mountains

Much more important than mere support was the state's promulgation of monopolies. The idea of a monopoly on ordinations was built upon a new notion, that of the "registers and talismans of the Three Mountains" (*sanshan fulu* 三山符籙). This refers to Zhengyi ordinations at Longhushan, Lingbao ordinations at Gezaoshan, and Shangqing ordinations at Maoshan. The notion first appears in records related to the 25th Shangqing patriarch, Liu Hunkang 劉混康 (1035–1108). The later Maoshan gazetteer claims that in 1097 (shortly before the Daoist-bureaucratic policies of Huizong), an imperial decree addressed to Liu declared that the patriarchal ordination altar (*zongtan* 宗壇) of Maoshan was on the same level at those of Longhushan and Gezaoshan, as all three were supporting the empire.[63] The (admittedly incomplete) Song state records do not echo this. The same gazetteer also attributed to a Maoshan dignitary, Huang Cheng 黃澄, who lived during the Huizong reign, the "unification" of the ordination procedures of the Three Mountains: henceforth, Longhushan and Gezaoshan could also confer the full ordination (including Shangqing).[64] Some decades later, we have a stele inscription for Gezaoshan by Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126–1204), claiming that the Three Mountains enjoyed monopolies for their respective ordinations.[65] More texts during the thirteenth century confirm that these three ordinations centers were widely recognized as enjoying monopolistic rights.[66]

The Three Mountains are also called the ancestral altars of the Three Arcanes 三洞宗壇. We will come back in chapter 5 to the notions of patriarchal line and ancestral altar that justify this monopoly on ordinations; let us focus here on the notion of the Three Arcanes. The seven-level hierarchical system (shown in table 1) that dictated ordination procedures under the Tang and was still described in the early Song *Sandong xiudaoyi* had given way to a simpler three- or four-level system, because some of the levels had simply disappeared as living traditions, and even as texts. The Taiqing, the Taiping, and the Dongshen had just ceased to be, and the Taixuan (the *Daodejing*) was not subject to ordinations anymore—it was in open circulation. As a result, the Zhengyi was henceforth assimilated to the Dongshen level (whereas it was formerly distinct and four levels down).[67] The Three Arcanes of the medieval period were reinvented and now assimilated to three ordination centers.

Table 1. The hierarchy of ordination levels in the Tang and the Song

Tang ordination ranks	Structure of the Daoist canon	Song ordination ranks (center)
1. Zhengyi 正一 (Tianshidao)	*Zhengyi*	
	Taiping 太平 : Taiping	
2. Shenzhou 神咒		
	Taiqing 太清 : alchemy	
3. Gaoxuan 高玄 (*Daodejing*)	*Taixuan* 太玄 : *Daodejing*	
4. Dongshen 洞神 (Sanhuang 三皇)	*Dongshen*	Dongshen = Zhengyi (Longhushan)
5. Shengxuan 昇玄		
		Shenxiao
6. Dongxuan 洞玄 (Lingbao)	*Dongxuan*	Lingbao (Gezaoshan)
7. Dongzhen 洞真 (Shangqing) Sandong 三洞	*Dongzhen*	Shangqing (Maoshan)

At the same time as the system simplified (with the disappearance of several ancient traditions), it also complexified, with the emergence during the Song of many new traditions, with their scriptures, registers, and rules. This emergence soon provoked a movement of consolidation and synthesis during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, similar to the late medieval–early Tang synthesis that had created the seven-level system. Some influential traditions managed to be recognized at rather high levels in this new synthesis, notably the Shenxiao, which had its own registers (*Shenxiaolu* 神霄籙).[68] The messianic Shenxiao revelations appear in the records during Huizong's reign (1100–1126), and the registers were conferred on the emperor, imperial kinsmen, and high officials, who were all recognized as human avatars of high gods descended on earth to save humanity—in that context, one easily understands why they should be considered as high ranking. The Shenxiao Thunder rituals for saving the dead and exorcising the living that are documented in the Daoist canon date from later periods, bearing the hand of Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153), Bai Yuchan, and later codifiers, but they maintain a high position in the overall hierarchy of Daoist ordinations. One late Song Shenxiao compendium offers such a new synthesis, in which ordination ranks, titles, and registers basically adhere to the following ascending order: Zhengyi (four levels: *Tongzilu,* exorcistic registers, *Dugonglu, Mengweilu*), Shenxiao, Lingbao, Shangqing.[69]

In this new synthesis, the three other of the four appendices (*sifu* 四輔) of the medieval synthesis (Taiqing, Taixuan, and Taiping), as well as Dongshen, disappear, absorbed into Zhengyi, and Shenxiao is inserted just before Lingbao. Other texts make it clear that for the Longhushan codifiers, Zhengyi had absorbed the other three appendices and Dongshen: for instance, an undated text (which could perhaps be Song or Yuan) develops a three-tiered hierarchy: Dongshen and Zhengyi (including Thunder ritual registers), then Lingbao, and finally Shangqing.[70] In the next stage (between the Yuan and early Ming), the Lingbao registers would be absorbed by the Shenxiao, the two merging to finally evolve into the modern ordination system (not counting the lay registers): *Dugonglu, Mengweilu,* Shenxiao, Shangqing.[71] As we will see in chapter 8, this has remained to the present day

the four-level architecture for priestly ordinations. To sum up: in the Tang system, the Zhengyi ordinations were the first level of a seven-level hierarchy. As a result of an evolution that unfolded between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, they became the first level of the three- or four-level system, gaining much prominence in the process.

Centralization versus localization

The emergence of the three ordination centers enjoying monopolistic rights for the three levels, first documented under Huizong's reign, is clearly a part of the state-building efforts, particularly linked to Wang Anshi's 王安石 (1021–1086) new policies and their later iterations. This built on earlier policies on setting quotas for ordinations and granting ordinations certificates, to both Buddhists and Daoists, through either examinations or sale. In the case of Buddhism, the right to grant ordinations was limited to officially supported central monasteries in the prefectures but was never monopolized by a few centers at the empire level the way it was for Daoism. Huizong also tried to control access to Daoist ordination (and thus divinization) by building an ordination office, the Baolugong 寶籙宮, in the capital, but (by contrast to the Three Mountains system), this proved short-lived.

One may wonder why and how such a state control over ordinations was accepted by Daoists who were used to local, uncontrolled ordinations. A large part of the answer lies with another key innovation of this period: the decoupling of ordination from actual training into ritual practice. In medieval and Tang times, initiation into the ritual, *fa,* was part of the same ordination procedure as receiving the registers. By the Song onward, we see a new procedure: in theory, adepts first visit one of the three ordination centers to receive their registers and the rank, *jie* 階, that goes with it. Then, from a master (usually in their home region), they are initiated into a *fa* and receive a divine official title: this is called "to petition the gods and be appointed to an office," *zouzhi* 奏職 (the term, common in modern times, first appears in Song sources). Furthermore, there are many different offices corresponding to a given rank, and one is promoted to higher offices according to merit,

without having to receive new registers; also, one can be simultaneously initiated into different *fa.*

Descriptions of the Lingbao ordination by both eminent codifiers Ning Quanzhen 寧全真 (1101–1181) and Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1225) make this point clear: they tersely mention that the adept first obtains his (in that tradition very rarely "her") registers from the "ancestral altar" (meaning Gezaoshan in this context); then they describe in loving detail the ritual in which the adept receives his divine office from his master in his particular *daofa* tradition (in this example, the Lingbao dafa 靈寶大法).[72] Ning Quanzhen writes:

> In olden times, one was ordained by a master who had been ordained (to that level) before. Then, in later antiquity [actually, Song times], the ancestral altars were established and private ordinations were forbidden. Therefore, to be transmitted scriptures and be ordained, all must take the ancestral altar as master.
>
> 而古者傳籙，則有以有籙者為師。中古以後建立宗壇，不容私度，故傳經受籙，合以宗壇為師。[73]

But then elsewhere he describes the separate initiation into Lingbao dafa. It is also apparent that Gezaoshan, like Longhushan, did not ignore what their ordinees went on to practice but tried to bring some sort of unity to the various local Lingbao dafa traditions.[74]

In other words, the state and its allied institutions controlled the first stage of the ordination process, but the empowerment of adepts in a specific ritual tradition still lay with local masters. As a consequence, the titles used by Daoists from the Song on are clearly divided into two parts: first the ordination rank xxx籙法師 (above the *Dugonglu* level, which entitles them to petition the gods), followed by their office in the divine administration of a *daofa.* As Sakai Norifumi has shown, the Southern Song–period titles we can find in the sources are for Daoists having received the *Dugonglu* or *Mengweilu* (presumably at Longhushan) and an office linked to Tianxin zhengfa or other new exorcistic traditions (discussed in the next chapter); or for Daoists having received the Lingbao registers (the *Zhongmenglu* 中盟籙, presumably at Gezaoshan) and practicing the Lingbao dafa; or, in a few cases, for Shangqing-levels ranks and offices.[75]

To what extent did adepts really all go to Longhushan, Gezaoshan, or Maoshan to be ordained? In late imperial times, and almost certainly in Song times as well, most did not, as ordination registers originally acquired at Longhushan were subsequently transmitted locally from master to disciple, and a ritual announcement to Longhushan was done from afar (*daixiang yuankou* 代香遠叩); but the pretense was respected.[76] It was also common that the Heavenly Master or other Longhushan Daoists traveled around the country and organized ordinations in other provinces (we have already seen early Song cases), but I have no evidence that Gezaoshan and Maoshan Daoists did the same. In this way, the Three Mountains (and later, Longhushan alone, when it had taken over the other two) served as accreditation institutions on behalf of the state—which is certainly not to say that they played only a formal, superficial role.

We do not have much detail regarding what kind of ordinations were taking place at Maoshan and Gezaoshan. There are mentions of both clerics and laypeople ordained at Maoshan during the Song[77]—but not much earlier. The evidence for Gezaoshan is scantier.[78] No evidence known to me proves or disproves that Gezaoshan and Maoshan could confer Zhengyi ordinations. Presumably, a Daoist was supposed to travel first to Longhushan for his Zhengyi ordination, then to Gezaoshan for Lingbao ordination, and eventually to Maoshan for Shangqing ordination. We see this type of trajectory first described in ninth-century texts,[79] but it becomes an official norm (or rather an ideal) by the Huizong reign onward. It is affirmed, among other authors, by Jiang Shuyu, a Longhushan dignitary in the early thirteenth century,[80] yet it is highly unlikely it was common practice.

The hierarchy of mountains (ordination centers) followed that of the registers. Indeed, in Huizong's time, Maoshan and its dignitaries were far above the Longhushan Zhangs in the pecking order at court. It was Maoshan Daoists who ordained members of the imperial family during the Tang and Northern Song.[81] Yet, although the sources do not allow us to prove this conclusively, my impression is that Maoshan followed rather than preceded Longhushan in its development as a large-scale ordination center and, concurrently, as a patriarchal line. Gezaoshan clearly followed the other two chronologically. The formation of this system of Three Mountains is thus

rather unclear; they are a heterogeneous group (Maoshan having been prominent since the fourth century, while the other two emerged only during the mid-Tang; and Maoshan also having been a popular pilgrimage center, which the other two never became). Longhushan was instrumental, through its original ordination practices, in defining the very notion of a central, monopolistic ordination center that was institutionalized by creating three centers to match the Three Arcanes.

From Three Mountains to One Mountain

By the late Song, the idea of the Three Mountains had further developed, and the monopoly taken on a new meaning. Now the Heavenly Master was in command of the whole system, and Longhushan could transmit *all* registers (not just the Zhengyi ones). This came about in 1254, when the Song emperor named the 35th Heavenly Master, Zhang Keda, "Intendant of the Ordinations of the Three Mountains, and of All the Daoist Temples in the Direct Service of the Emperor" (提舉三山符錄兼御前諸宮觀教門公事).[82] The long and influential tenure of Zhang Keda was thus a turning point in the institutional history of Daoism. Keda regularly officiated for the Song court and is credited with a number of miracles, such as quelling tidal waves and bringing an end to a drought; he is thus the first Heavenly Master to have been the dominant Daoist figure at court.[83] This is also the first instance of the Heavenly Masters' control over the management of imperially sponsored Daoist temples in the capital and elsewhere, a policy that continued under the following dynasties.

The momentous decision to give Longhushan control over all ordinations (not only Zhengyi-level ones) likely confirmed developments that had begun earlier: it had become an officially sanctioned norm by 1250. As a result, Gezaoshan and Maoshan would soon rapidly decline as ordination centers: Longhushan had become the one-stop shop for the whole of Daoism. The Yuan state still regulated ordinations at Gezaoshan and Maoshan (thus confirming that ordinations were taking place), and the Ming state posted a Daoist official at both places, with a lower rank than the one posted at Longhushan.[84] But these were mere remnants of an earlier

period. By the early eighteenth century, the 54th Heavenly Master insisted that the ordinations at Maoshan and Gezaoshan were long discontinued traditions, and that there was no ordination conceivable anywhere outside Longhushan.[85] Indeed, all late imperial ordination documents I have seen start by calling the recipient "a disciple of the Heavenly Master" (*tianshi menxia* 天師門下). Also, among the extant contemporary ordination registers, we find portraits of all successive Heavenly Masters, from Zhang Daoling to the one who personally conferred the register (or in whose name it was conferred), as well as their wives, thus clearly putting the Heavenly Master patriarchal line as the one and only source of salvation.[86]

As a result, the meaning of the term "Zhengyi Daoist" became more encompassing: from referring to a Daoist who had received only the Zhengyi registers, it came to refer to a Daoist who had received the Zhengyi registers and possibly the higher ones as well. By the late Song period, we could still find people (such as Jin Yunzhong, who is an important witness of the rise of the Heavenly Master institution) who fully recognized and respected the Heavenly Master institution but discussed it from a position outside and above it. From the Yuan period onward (with the exception of the Quanzhen order) we do not find any such voice.

In any case, the reality of a Longhushan monopoly over ordinations had by the mid-thirteenth century become a reality. The most comprehensive testimony to the fact is a legal case, included in the well-known casebook *Minggong shupan Qingmingji* 名公書判清明集 compiled in 1261.[87] In a section devoted to legal cases involving Buddhist or Daoist clerics, one judgment is titled "None Other Than the Heavenly Master Heir to (the Position of Patriarch of the Daoist) Teaching, Even if Belonging to the Honored (Zhang Lineage) Is Allowed to Transgress (the Monopoly) and Confer Ordinations" (非嗣教天師雖尊屬亦不當攙越出給符籙).[88] This undated judgment actually deals with a certain Zhang Xi 張希, the uncle of the Heavenly Master (note that this legal document calls him Heavenly Master) who was jailed (at the Heavenly Master's demand?) for wrongfully issuing ordination registers with a faked seal. Zhang Xi got off the hook by accusing and ensuring the condemnation of the craftsman who had made the seal and the woodblocks

(for printing the registers, presumably). This state-supported obsession of the Zhangs with their monopoly over ordinations to the point of suing their own kin, and their fear of fake seals, would continue unabated until the twentieth century.

It might seem surprising at first that the Song state granted such a sweeping (and lucrative) monopoly over ordinations to an institution that did not have a particularly long pedigree. This makes more sense if we consider the Song state's long-running urge to centralize and rationalize the management of religious affairs. The Longhushan Zhangs had consistently proved devoted, reliable, well organized, and well connected: perfect allies for an expanding state.

Ordinations and the transformations of the Heavenly Master church

We have followed the Longhushan Zhangs from their early days to the point that they controlled Daoist ordinations throughout the realm. Whereas they first emerged as one of many Zhang families claiming descent and authority from Zhang Daoling, they eventually embarked upon and completed a much more ambitious project: to refashion the whole Heavenly Master church. This raises the question of what the situation of the church was in the period when they gradually asserted control over it, between the mid-Tang and the late Song.

Surprisingly few scholars have researched the Heavenly Master church during this time period. In his book on the early church, Terry Kleeman advances the thesis that the communal church organization gradually dissolved, but that the priesthood and their liturgy remained in place: those who were once community leaders became freelance ritual specialists.[89] While Kleeman proves conclusively that the territorial parish system as defined in the earliest texts disappeared during the medieval period (the original parishes having become a cosmic, abstract affiliation decided by one's date of birth), and that many priests were left to their own devices to find parishioners, it remains difficult to understand how the clerical and liturgical

elements of a religion can continue unchanged when its social basis disappears. Recently, Franciscus Verellen has drawn a more vibrant picture of the church as it operated until at least the late Tang.

The difficulty is compounded by the fact that the search for church communities in the sources is elusive, for they did not use highly specific affiliation terms. Indeed, "Zhengyi" was used to qualify texts and ordinations, and turns up in descriptions of the career of priests but not of their parishioners. The term "Tianshidao" itself was in fact extremely rarely used in Daoist texts and used hardly more often by others to describe church communities. Instead the members of the communities were just devotees of the Dao—using the same language as many other kinds of Daoist groups. One rare example is provided by an anecdote dating from the early Southern Song:

> Huang Xingzhi, the elder brother of Huang Zhengzhi from Jian'an, was staying in Tonglu [modern central Zhejiang]. He was killed by the bandits during the Fang La rebellion (1120–1121). After the rebellion was quelled, as Zhengzhi was a follower of Tianshidao, he gathered Daoists and the people from his area to organize a Yellow register ritual, and save the souls of all those who had been killed when fighting the rebels. For all of them the gods gave a favorable response (promoting their souls among the saved). Zhengzhi had a dream where his brother told him: "Because I cursed the rebels and did not submit to them, I was killed; Shangdi rewarded me, and I have now been appointed as a transcendent official. You need not worry about me."
>
> 建安黃正之之兄行之，客寄桐廬。方臘之亂，為賊所害。賊平，正之素奉天師道，即集道侶與邑人啟建黃籙道場，追薦殺賊之眾，俱有報應。而正之特夢其兄告之曰：「我以罵賊不屈而死，上帝見賞，已補仙職矣。汝無憂也。」[90]

Here, this family of followers of the church of the Heavenly Master—in this early modern context, certainly meaning professional priests—organizes a classical Lingbao communal ritual for the salvation and deification of the dead, like many other local communities throughout the realm. These priests are part of a local community that celebrates Lingbao rituals for its members,

living and dead. We know from both historical and ethnographic evidence that this requires considerable communal commitment (funds, participation, and observance of purity rules by all). In the story above and in many other Song descriptions, Daoist ritual shapes local social order, even though it is certainly not hegemonic in that role. We do not know enough about religious communal organization in the premodern period, but proving the absence of any Daoist community (where people were born into the community and observed its daily practices and moral norms), and proving that Daoism was limited to freelance priests offering ad hoc services to the laity, would be a difficult task indeed. There is no compelling reason to suppose the members of the community that organized the Lingbao ritual started to act ritually and morally in a Daoist way on the first day of the ritual and stopped on the last day. The burden of proof would lie with those who suppose the communal religion of the Heavenly Master church entirely disappeared with no successor.

A hypothesis other than the mere disappearance of the Heavenly Master church social organization was sketched by Kristofer Schipper, who has suggested that the parishes of the Heavenly Master church did not vanish but rather transformed into associations for local gods, *shenhui* 神會, which often, but not necessarily, built their own temples.[91] In modern times, these associations, even though they may employ other ritual specialists, typically require a *jiao* offering performed by a *daoshi* in order to connect them to the Pure gods of the Dao. Such an evolution was made possible by the integration of local gods within the Daoist pantheon from the tenth century onward. These local gods received ordinations from the Heavenly Master institution (see the discussion of canonization in chapter 8), and thus served priestly functions for their registered devotees. The moral worldview of the early church was carried over in the modern temple cults; registration (a key element in the early church) was now made through the local gods (rather than directly with the Dao), and salvation was thus accessible through them.

This is not to deny the important differences between the medieval Heavenly Master church and the early modern associations for local gods, even though these differences are also dependent on the very different

source material we have on them, with precious little descriptive, as opposed to prescriptive, data for the former. In the early church, the leader was a member of the community with a high-level ordination giving him priestly functions. In the modern associations, leaders tend to be elders and gentry who hire priests—but nonetheless themselves perform liturgical roles during rituals. The early church parishes were, if we believe the prescriptive canonical sources, exclusive, with clear boundaries separating members from nonmembers; the modern associations are inclusive, since members, as long as they deliver their contribution to the community, can also be part of other religious groups. Furthermore, the continuity hypothesis does not necessarily indicate linear evolution from the one into the other; rather it points to common functions and logic shared by the two.

This hypothesis remains to be fleshed out with chronology, evidence, and details. Yet it offers what seems to me the most convincing way of explaining the continuities between the medieval Heavenly Master church and modern practices. The scenario might look like this: membership in associational or territorial communities (variously called *hui* 會, *yi* 邑, *she* 社, and other terms that can, according to context, refer to village communities or Buddhist-oriented associations) was gradually considered as an equivalent or at least as a first step toward ordination as practiced in the Heavenly Master church: both opened the way to immediate divine protection and eventual salvation. Being a registered member of such a community was like having received a first-level *lu* register. The fact that membership in Buddhist associations (where people were also often ordained with precepts for lay practitioners and taught to practice daily and meet communally at certain dates) worked on the same principle greatly contributed to the success of this idea. Membership in a community did not replace Daoist ordinations conferring a higher *lu* register, which remained an ideal; but it provided the same benefits as first-level ordination (membership in the church) to all and sundry.

Historical records discussed at the beginning of this chapter document groups of people being ordained together, presumably because they were part of a voluntary association that was committed to Daoist ritual and morality. The Lingbao liturgy, which became dominant by the sixth century, is

largely geared toward groups rather than individuals, and we find numerous instances of associations called Lingbaohui, especially from the Song period. Such groups might also engage in Buddhist and other activities, hence the numerous stele inscriptions we have that mix Buddhist and Daoist elements from the sixth century onward. When "monasteries" (*guan* or *gong*)—that is, retreat and training centers associated with prominent masters and often state-supported—developed from the sixth century onward, such associations affiliated with them. The massive rise of temples to local gods, and the recognition of such gods by Daoists, which started in the mid-Tang and accelerated in the tenth century, further opened the institutional space for such associations. They now organized and registered with the high gods of the Dao via their local god (which required that the Daoists recognize their god), which did not change the basic meaning of membership understood as entry-level ordination.

In the countryside, such monasteries and temples were still few and far between until the eleventh century. There the vehicle for the transmission of the Heavenly Master church could only be village territorial communities. Because Daoist ritual had adopted and given a role to the Earth God in its liturgy by the fourth century, such communities centered on the village's Earth God could work with the *daoshi* and request their ritual services. What radically changed was the sense of exclusivity: medieval church regulations stipulating that one could not marry—or even share food—with a nonbeliever largely disappeared. But that does not mean that the church completely lost its social structure.

In both the ideal types just outlined (associations and territorial communities), people hired the ritual services of the Daoist priests on a regular basis (rather than freelance) and insisted that these priests were ordained at a higher level (such as in the story of the Lingbao association discussed in the section above titled "Ordination practices in premodern China."). They likely were not all ordained themselves, but thought that by taking part regularly in Daoist rituals such as *zhai* and *jiao* (and being thereby registered members of the community, who were listed in the ritual documents), they were bona fide registered members of the community of the Dao, like the *daomin* 道民 of the

medieval church. A paid-up member of an association, or a village community, probably did not have to be ordained with a *lu* to take part in the communal Daoist ritual. We have seen above that there are hints that the transmission of ordination was controlled by local temples and families, and thus restricted; texts such as the *Sandong xiudaoyi* lament the difficulty of gaining access to ordination. Yet the ideal lived on: for many people, being ordained was a plus, both for immediate divine help and for eventual salvation.

In this scenario, the Longhushan Heavenly Master institution plays a role that can be described as continuing the project of the early Heavenly Master church by new means. First, it adapted and developed the ordination system to make it widely available to all those who so desired: the promise of salvation, through affiliation with the divine bureaucracy that made the appeal of the early church, was thus upheld. It opened wide the priestly ordinations to local specialists (through the masterful invention of the *Dugonglu,* a license they convinced others was both necessary and their exclusive property), and promoted mass lay ordinations at lower levels. Second, it recruited the local gods (in the name of whom the associations and communities organized) as agents of the Dao (and thus their parishioners as subjects of the Dao) by giving them ranks and titles—a process we discuss in detail in chapter 8; it thereby included all members of these local communities in its purview. In both cases, the Heavenly Master institution certainly always opposed whatever form of action can be described as "freelance" or an unregulated religious market: it set about registering, ranking, and licensing both living and dead souls with a bureaucratic zeal that has few equivalents in Chinese history.

Conclusion

When the Longhushan Zhangs began to organize large-scale ordinations open to all is unclear; it was possibly around the mid-Tang. This chapter has described how this institution, which was organized around the ideal of ordination for all, in the name of continuing Zhang Daoling's mission of saving the whole of humanity, gradually rose from a local center to the

officially recognized state agency enjoying a monopoly over Daoist ordinations throughout the empire. Yet this success story cannot be fully explained if we do not look more closely at the contents of these ordinations. For this we must now turn to the intimate link between Longhushan and the new ritual traditions that appeared and flourished during the same period.

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Chapter Four

New Rituals and the Longhushan Synthesis of Modern Daoism

The most important innovation of Song Daoism is the rise of new ritual traditions. The liturgy of these traditions, called *fa* 法, or *daofa* 道法, was considered distinct from the classical *zhai* and *jiao* liturgy that had coalesced during the late medieval period. It was essentially exorcistic and apotropaic, and involved in some cases spirit possession, the cult of meat-eating, and violent, impure deities (some of them local gods of demonic origin), who, once they had submitted to Daoist law, could act as powerful enforcers of this law against malevolent spirits. Some of these traditions developed at the margins of institutional Daoism, in a zone shared with some vernacular Buddhist specialists. Their practitioners, as studied in detail by Edward Davis, were called *fashi* 法師, and at least some *fashi* were not ordained *daoshi*, and considered as ranking beneath them.[1] The most important element in the practice of a *daofa* was the knowledge and mastery of talismans, *fu* 符, used to summon martial gods who exorcise, heal, and generally do the work of the *fashi*. The manipulation of violent martial spirits was already part of early Heavenly Master church liturgy, but the *daofa* developed an intense personal bond between the priest and his allied divine warrior.

So the rhetorical opposition found in Song and later texts is that of Daoist classical ritual (*ke* 科) versus martial *fa* ritual, *daoshi* versus *fashi*, and ordination register versus talismans. Apparently, the *daoshi*, who performed pure (nonviolent, without sacrifice) rituals in classical language, and the *fashi*, who engaged in sacrifices and used vernacular-language liturgy, stood

in stark contrast.[2] Yet this opposition did not normally lead to exclusion and confrontation; rather, it usually entailed accommodation and synthesis. As many *daofa* arose during the Song and their rituals became highly popular, the two traditions merged in all sorts of ways. Two main modes of interaction were at work.

First, numerous elements of the *daofa* were gradually (sometimes controversially) integrated into the classical liturgy, as is evidenced by the huge Southern Song liturgical compendia found in the Daoist canon; several of these *daofa* developed their own version of a full-fledged classical liturgy—this is notably the case of the Lingbao dafa detailed in several compendia of the thirteenth century. The most successful such *daofa*, notably the Shenxiao (formed during the early eleventh century), the Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝, and the later Qingwei 清微, that emerged in Fujian during the thirteenth century, eventually became universally recognized, with their own version of the classical Lingbao liturgy, as the highest form of Daoism. As a result of this process, most modern *daoshi* are also qualified as *fashi*; they control and summon fierce Thunder generals and heal and exorcize with their help, all the while conducting the most literate forms of court rituals.[3] Many if not most of the *fashi* described in historical sources are actually prestigious *daoshi* discussed in the context of their performing *daofa* rites, which were more spectacular and thus more often discussed in historical sources than the classical liturgy.

Second, in local religious cultures as observed in the field today, the two types of rituals are often still distinct and considered as two separate teachings, one civil (文), one martial (武; the latter is in some cases called *wujiao* 巫教, which means not "shamanistic teaching" but rather "local vernacular liturgy"). But in some areas, people practiced both, being separately ordained as *daoshi* and as *fashi*: this is still a common pattern in contemporary Daoism.[4] The very same persons performed *daoshi* and *fashi* rituals: they literally changed hats between the two. We have just said that most but not all *daoshi* are also *fashi*, the opposite is also true; some *fashi* are also *daoshi*, and others are not. But interestingly, it is in many cases as *fashi* (rather than as *daoshi*) that prominent Daoists are remembered and worshipped as local gods.

This entire process—the renewal of Daoism by integration of local ritual traditions and cults—is at the core of the Heavenly Master history, as this chapter shows. The *daofa* were the most dynamic aspect of Song Daoism, and the Longhushan institution worked closely with them to integrate them at the core of the Daoist establishment. The pivotal role of the Heavenly Master institution was that it both gained recognition as part of the establishment and managed ordinations at the Zhengyi level—that is, largely, for popular exorcists.

Longhushan and the rise of the *daofa*

According to the *Sandong xiudaoyi* (the handbook on ordination ranks discussed in the previous chapter), all the exorcistic *daofa* belong to the Zhengyi textual canon (Zhengyibu 正一部) and thus correspond to Zhengyi-level ordinations because they are low-level rites that do not require advanced self-cultivation.[5] Writing in the thirteenth century about the ordination system, the eminent liturgist Jin Yunzhong writes,

> The Dongshen canon developed during the Eastern Han. All the various registers below and up to the level of the *Mengweilu* are all conferred by the Zhengyi (ordination) altar.[6] The Tianxin zhengfa, the various Five Thunders rites, the texts on summoning and interrogating (demons), and the exorcistic techniques all belong to (this ordination level).
>
> 洞神部盛於東漢，盟威籙以下諸階雜籙，悉總於正一壇。天心正法，五雷諸法，考召之文，書禁之術，莫不隸焉。[7]

For this reason, all these rites are sometimes generically called *zhengyifa*, while in other contexts *zhengyifa* is rather a specific subset of the larger category of exorcistic rites.[8]

This does not mean that Zhengyi was a separate "school" focused on exorcism and other small rites (by contrast with collective rites of salvation based on the Lingbao canon); it means that ordination at this level was considered sufficient to practice such rites. Some of these ritual traditions had their own specific registers, but the Zhengyi registers were more prestigious

and widely recognized. This was already apparent in a vast early anthology of exorcistic rites, the *Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 金鎖流珠引, probably dating from the eighth century, that presents the Zhengyi ordinations (also called *sanwu* 三五) as the foundation of Daoism, and the precondition for practicing these rites. So, by the early Song, when the Longhushan Zhangs came to be considered as managing all ordinations at the Zhengyi level, they were naturally associated with exorcistic rites, both the ones already established in Tang times (such as rites associated with the Dipper or the Northern Emperor, Beidi 北帝, or those in the *Jinsuo liuzhu yin*) and the numerous new *daofa* developing by the tenth century onward.[9] Descriptions of Song-period exorcists sometimes mention that they had received the Zhengyi registers.[10]

Also, by the late Tang, a connection was firmly established between Zhang Daoling and exorcistic rites—a fact that also explains the appearance of the sword in his lore and iconography and stories such as his battle with demons at Qingchengshan. For instance, the *Jinsuo liuzhu yin* has many rites revealed by Zhang Daoling. This compendium of exorcistic rites discusses how Zhang Daoling executed demons in Sichuan and received his unique sword.[11] A key case of exorcistic rites linked to Zhang Daoling and categorized as Zhengyi-level is the Tianxin zhengfa, the earliest well-documented new ritual tradition, which we have already encountered. As Poul Andersen has pointed out, possibly the earliest mention of Tianxin exorcistic rites, in the *Jinsuo liuzhu yin*, calls them *Tianxin zhengyi zhi fa* 天心正一之法.[12] Jin Yunzhong also writes that "Tianxin zhengfa originated with the Zhengyi lineage created by Zhang Daoling" 自漢天師宏正一之宗，而天心正法出焉.[13] A tenth-century anecdote tells of local exorcists in Sichuan having received Sire Thunder registers 雷公籙, separate from the standard registers, used only for exorcisms, and originally created by Zhang Heng.[14]

Tianxin zhengfa formed during the tenth century first in Fujian and then in northern Jiangxi. According to Tianxin self-history (narrated in the early twelfth century), the movement began in the 930s when Chen Shouyuan discovered talismans that Zhang Daoling had hidden. Zhang was thus considered the founding patriarch (*zongshi* 宗師) of the movement.

Indeed, in Tianxin zhengfa liturgy, the priest transforms himself (*bianshen* 變身) into Zhang Daoling when performing a ritual.[15]

The idea of direct transmission from Zhang Daoling was taken up by other *daofa*: the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* biography of Shenxiao leader Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1076–1120) claims that he also had revelations of lost Shenxiao Thunder manuals from Zhang Daoling, and was also visited by Daoling's disciple Zhao Sheng.[16] A key Thunder rite scripture, the *Tiantongjing* 天童經, was also described as a revelation to Zhang Daoling. Yet another important *daofa*, the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 (revealed at Maoshan in 1120), claimed Zhao Sheng as its main revealing deity.[17] Note also that during initiation in many *fa*, the adept received a seal and a sword, as Zhang Daoling did in modern lore.

There thus seems to be a systemic connection between the *daofa*, Zhengyi ordinations, and Zhang Daoling. Yet this connection does not seem to have initially involved Longhushan.[18] The Tianxin zhengfa was considered as a major, if not *the* major, living form of Zhengyi, and took Zhang Daoling as its founding patriarch; it was also particularly associated with a place (Huagaishan, near Fuzhou 撫州) close to Longhushan. Yet, in spite of this, its texts do not mention Longhushan.[19] This is possibly due to the fact that when it emerged, the Longhushan Zhangs' monopoly was not yet firmly installed. It is likely that many Tianxin zhengfa *fashi* were ordained at Longhushan but saw no need to write about it. It is even conceivable that Tianxin zhengfa and Longhushan, between the tenth and eleventh centuries, were competing institutions (both claiming to represent the legacy of Zhang Daoling and Zhengyi rites)—before the latter absorbed the former.

In short, during the first stage of its development up to the late eleventh century, the Heavenly Master institution accompanied the rise of new ritual traditions by providing Zhengyi ordinations to their adepts (the *fashi*) but without playing an active role in the development of their liturgy and theology. This changed dramatically during the Huizong reign (1100–1126), and the short but momentous tenure of the 30th Heavenly Master: it is with Zhang Jixian that we see Longhushan taking an active role in the development

and integration of the *daofa*. Therefore, we will first look at his life and writings before assessing the historical link between Longhushan and the *daofa*.

Zhang Jixian

Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126) is a major figure in Daoist history, yet much of his life became shrouded in legends and hagiography soon after his death.[20] The first truly charismatic leader of the Heavenly Master patriarchal line (as far as we can judge from the record), he was among the Daoists honored by the emperor Song Huizong,[21] and was associated with other figures of the then-emerging Shenxiao and other Thunder rites traditions, such as Lin Lingsu and Wang Wenqing.[22] He is also the only Heavenly Master to be commonly referred to by his Daoist name (*hao*), Xujing 虛靖.[23] Some scholars go so far as to claim that he was the real builder of the Heavenly Master institution, which is exaggerated, but his successors certainly never failed to capitalize on his enduring prestige.

The thirtieth is probably the most intriguing in the long succession of Heavenly Masters. Unlike most of his successors and predecessors, Zhang Jixian quickly became a popular hero. His feats, essentially exorcistic, are found in many stories, plays, and novels: he is the hero of a Mongol-period theater play, *Guan Yunchang dapo Chi You* 關雲長大破蚩尤 (relating the exorcistic feats of Guan Yu 關羽, discussed below), and he appears at the beginning of the late-sixteenth-century novel *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳—which has in turn further contributed to the renown of the 30th Heavenly Master and Longhushan.[24] Yet we have few historical documents about him. He was the scion of a junior branch of the lineage (his father was a local official). He became Heavenly Master at the age of nine and died young, at the age of thirty-four; he never married (his successor was his nephew),[25] thus cutting a highly atypical figure for a patriarch. Indeed all the portraits we have of him show him without facial hair, in stark contrast to Zhang Daoling (with whom he is often paired), who in late imperial times was typically represented with overabundant, almost barbaric-like hair, mustache, and beard.[26] In his eighteenth-century catechism for Daoists, the 54th Heavenly Master, Zhang



Figure 2. Portrait of Zhang Jixian in *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu* 留侯天師世家張氏宗譜, 1890 original edition, prefatory matter.

Jizong, insists that his ancestor "became an adept while still a child and in a state of youthful perfection, and thus was able to let out his transcendent embryo" (以童真入道，是為仙胎示).[27] And yet, the hagiographies of Zhang Daoling and Zhang Jixian have many parallels (battles with demons, a strong connection to Qingchengshan), hinting at complex processes of reciprocal influence in hagiographical construction.

Apart from terse mentions in the official records, the earliest documents we have discuss Zhang Jixian's exorcistic feats and his feigned death.[28] Hagiographies came later, by the early Mongol period. Their narratives build on these two core elements while adding an ever-increasing number of other miracles and stories.[29]

The most important exorcistic story recounts how Emperor Huizong summoned Zhang Jixian (at a date that is variously listed as 1103, 1104, 1105, or 1106) to deal with a demon who was hampering production at

the Salt Lake of Xiezhou 解州 (present-day southern Shanxi). Jixian did so by enlisting the help of a martial god, Guan Yu (who was reputedly born in Xiezhou).[30] Zhang Jixian identified the demon as Chi You 蚩尤, summoned Guan Yu to subdue it, and then promoted him as recompense. As a result, Huizong gave titles to both Zhang Jixian and Guan Yu. This story started circulating shortly after Jixian's death and soon became popular, to the point that it was retold about other Daoists (including later Heavenly Masters). It offers yet another parallel with the myth of Zhang Daoling, who also used his exorcistic powers to ensure continued production at the salt wells, making it particularly difficult to establish which one of the two most influenced the other's divine persona. Several other stories about Zhang Jixian's exorcistic exploits circulated; Hong Mai (who was born shortly before Zhang Jixian's death) recounts two other cases in great detail, one of them featuring a scene in which he starts with summoning all the local gods, a scene that would become common lore in the Heavenly Master institution.[31]

Official records confirm that Zhang Jixian was summoned to Huizong's court and obtained the title Xujing xiansheng 虛靖先生 for himself, as well as *xiansheng* (Daoist master) titles for his deceased father and grandfather, and a canonization title as *zhenjun* 真君 for Zhang Daoling. He was not as close to the emperor as Liu Hunkang,[32] the elderly Shangqing patriarch who was Huizong's closest Daoist advisor in his early reign and until his death in 1108, nor as Lin Lingsu, who, during the 1116–1119 period, convinced Huizong he was the messianic manifestation of the Shenxiao god Changsheng dadi 長生大帝. Unlike these two dominant Daoist figures of the Huizong reign, Zhang Jixian did not stay at court but was merely summoned for several brief visits. We do not know to what extent he was involved in the compilation of the Daoist canon (1119–1125) or in the liturgical reforms that marked Huizong's reign.

Zhang Jixian is said in most sources to have predicted the fall of Kaifeng to the Jurchen invaders and the demise of the Song in northern China, and to have retreated to Longhushan ahead of these events; when summoned to the embattled court, he died in Sizhou 泗州 on his way to the capital, or rather feigned to. All his hagiographies insist that his grave was later found

empty; he had "liberated from his corpse" and was said to roam in Sichuan (notably at Qingchengshan) and Luofushan, where Daoists met him—notably Sa Shoujian. In the whole Longhushan hagiographical tradition, this makes Zhang Jixian the only other Heavenly Master (with Zhang Daoling) to have ascended to Heaven with his body, which is often considered a superior form of apotheosis to merely leaving one's body in the grave and becoming an immortal with a subtle body. The catechism written much later by the 54th Heavenly Master made much of that feat, mentioning also that other future Heavenly Masters are prophesized to become immortals in the flesh.[33]

All this lore fostered a cult of the youthful yet fearsome Heavenly Master. His own hermitage at Longhushan was soon turned into a temple, Jingtong'an 靖通庵 (located just behind the Shangqinggong), that attracted many visitors who wrote much poetry about the place and its famed founder.

Textual legacy

Zhang Jixian is the first Heavenly Master from whom we have texts. Yet these texts and their history tell us as much about the institution's canonization work as about the author himself. The *Recorded Sayings of the 30th Heavenly Master, True Lord Xujing* (*Sanshidai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄) is an anthology of his writings, compiled by the 43rd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410), who was in charge of the compilation of the Daoist canon from 1406 onward. It is one of several Zhang Yuchu works included in the canon (see chapter 6), and one of only two individual anthologies of a Heavenly Master in the canon, together with Zhang Yuchu's own (*Xianquanji* 峴泉集).[34] Clearly, Zhang Yuchu desired to promote the legacy of one of his most famous ancestors, and thereby to further enhance the intellectual profile of the Heavenly Master patriarchal line. In his preface dated 1395, Zhang Yuchu explains that he had gathered the texts from various temple and monastic libraries.

Some of the texts are certainly from Zhang Jixian's hand and can be found in other, earlier collections: the *Xinshuo* 心說 and the *Dadaoge* 大道歌

are mentioned elsewhere and proved influential as mystical visions that integrated *dao* and *fa*, the classical theology and the exorcistic rites—an intellectual endeavor that will be brilliantly taken up by Bai Yuchan a couple of generations later.[35] However, some pieces are later fabrications, such as the poem Zhang wrote "after he had died and appeared in a new body on Qingchengshan" and dedicated to Sa Shoujian.[36] Some poems circulating under Zhang Jixian's name during the Yuan and early Ming were not included in the anthology, likely because Zhang Yuchu considered them spurious. This is notably the case of *Mingzhen po wangzhang song* 明真破妄章頌, a long didactic poem on liturgy that articulates the theory and practice of Thunder rites and inner alchemy (*neidan* 內丹, a self-cultivation practice that emerges at the end of the first millennium).[37] Similarly, several Yuan-period texts in the Daoist canon quote Zhang Jixian, and these quotes cannot be found in the *Recorded Sayings*.

Despite mention in the title of "recorded sayings" (*yulu*), an otherwise well-established genre in the Daoist canon, this text does not contain any actual oral teaching or dialogue—except a sermon to the candidates for ordinations, already mentioned. Rather, it is a classical literary anthology of prose (letters, memorials) and, mostly, poetry. This is quite typical of the literary production of Song literati, and indeed, some of the poems do not have a pronounced Daoist orientation: there are pieces of circumstance about visits to scenic places and temples, or flowers, wine, and the like, and some of them reflect poetic exchanges with officials. A few pieces are linked to ritual performance; many are in the *daoqing* 道情 or other mystical styles, extolling eremitic and detached lifestyles, and finally a number of poems discuss inner alchemical self-cultivation. Despite Zhang Jixian's fame as an exorcist and Thunder ritual expert, there are actually few texts in the anthology that relate directly to these aspects. One set of poems (22b–25a, not known elsewhere in the Daoist canon) is devoted to eleven of the parishes of the Tianshidao. A great number of pieces are linked to (dedicated to or cowritten with) Shi Yuangui 石元規 (*zi* Zifang 自方); Zhang Jixian's biography in *Han tianshi shijia* (3.4b) mentions his discussions with Shi without providing more details on the latter's identity. Shi was actually a Daoist from Poyang 鄱陽 (not

far from Longhushan), who became Zhang Jixian's disciple, traveled with him to the Huizong court, and then became the abbot of Dongxiaogong 洞霄宮, a major temple in Hangzhou.[38]

In short, with the 30th Heavenly Master the patriarchal line entered the world of distinguished writers. His texts provide hints that he contributed to the elevation and legitimation of the *daofa* by a theology that established these *daofa* as manifestations of the *dao*, linked to its most sophisticated self-cultivation techniques. Yet, while some of his texts on the topic seem authentic, others do not; later attributions are proof of the stature he has acquired as patriarch.

Zhang Jixian as putative founder of *daofa*

Even more than these writings, what lionized Zhang Jixian was his being designated as a brilliant exorcist and the founder of several *daofa*. A good number of late Song and Yuan texts in the Daoist canon honor him as ancestor and founder of various traditions, including branches of Shenxiao Thunder rituals and Tianxin *zhengyifa* 天心正一法.[39] One of the ritual traditions that claim Zhang Jixian as its founder is the Diqifa 地祇法, the rites of the office of terrestrial spirits 地祇司. This tradition centers on the figure of Wen Qiong 溫瓊 (a local deity originating in the Wenzhou area), often referred to as Grand Guardian Wen 溫太保, or Marshal Wen 溫元帥, after two of his divine titles. This tradition is well documented, with both liturgical texts (in the *Daofa huiyuan*, the huge early Ming compendium of *daofa* liturgies) and a remarkable hagiography of Wen's career that has been commented on by several scholars.[40] These texts date from the last decades of the Southern Song (the hagiography is dated 1274), some 150 years after Zhang Jixian's death.

Wen Qiong's hagiography begins with his redemption from being an outlaw and goes on to relate his becoming a *fashi* in the service of the temple of the Eastern Peak Emperor, his divinization, and his career as an exorcistic deity. The first step in this career consists in creating a divine office from which Wen Qiong can recruit other dead martial heroes and put them in the

service of the priests. As the hagiographer narrates, Zhang Jixian arrives at Taishan to meet the Eastern Peak Emperor and discuss Wen Qiong, and then creates the office, Wen's talismans, seal, and incantations—that is, all that priests need to summon him. The hagiography goes on to tell the story of the successive patriarchs of the lineage that transmits this tradition. A key episode in the story takes places at Qingchengshan, where Zhang Jixian battles with the demons that had remained there after Zhang Daoling had first subdued them, and vanquishes them with Wen Qiong's help. Indeed, Zhang Jixian was closely associated with Qingchengshan, where he was reputedly spotted after his supposed death. Several later ritualists claimed to have been initiated in their ritual tradition by Zhang Jixian himself (after his "death") when they met him at Qingchengshan.[41] How and why the connection between the Zhangs and Qingchengshan was reinforced during the tenure of the 30th Heavenly Master is unknown, but it remained strong into the contemporary period.[42]

Whether Zhang Jixian actually created these various *daofa* ritual traditions is moot; he certainly practiced some *daofa* rituals, made important intellectual contributions to their theorization, and came to be honored in subsequent generations as an ancestor; probably in some cases such traditions embellished the connection to tap the legitimacy and prestige of Zhang Jixian and the Longhushan institution. A plausible scenario is that Zhang Jixian, like his predecessors, ordained large numbers of *fashi* who came to Longhushan to receive the Zhengyi registers—maybe especially large numbers because his connections to the Huizong court and prominent masters such as Wang Wenqing attracted many *fashi*. But, more than his predecessors, he proved charismatic and inspiring; he mastered some of the *daofa* himself and also had powerful things to say about their theological and spiritual underpinnings and their connection to self-cultivation. These anonymous *fashi* returned home throughout the empire and spread his reputation; Zhang Jixian's early death in a dramatic moment (concurrent with the fall of northern China to the Jurchen) was soon followed by stories of his having attained "liberation through the corpse," thereby making him available for a career as a divine persona, who then instructed more adepts.

In addition to the liturgical texts found in the Daoist canon, local records also document various ritual traditions claiming descent from Zhang Jixian. An excellent case is the Longxingguan 龍興觀, a temple in Yizhou 易州 (present-day Hebei Province). A stele erected there in 1351 details the lineage of this temple's Daoists and explains that it was created when the founder traveled to Longhushan (over two centuries earlier), studied with the 30th Heavenly Master, then returned to Yizhou to practice "the Zhengyi rituals established by Zhang Daoling of the Han dynasty, supplemented by Tianxin correct rituals" (漢天師正一之法，濟之以天心正法).[43]

After Zhang Jixian, we do not find another Heavenly Master who created (or is credited with the creation of) a new *daofa*, but the relation between the *daofa* and Longhushan was established and would stay. The other Heavenly Master who is present in the *Daofa huiyuan* is the 36th Heavenly Master, Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (1244–1291).[44] Anecdotal stories tell us about other Longhushan Daoists who perform exorcisms and master various *daofa*. For instance, Hong Mai's *Yijianzhi* introduces such a Daoist during the Xuanhe era (1119–1126) who is called to heal a member of the palace staff after an official Daoist from the capital had failed. He succeeds and finds out that the offending demon was a deceased Longhushan Daoist![45] We also read stories in which families afflicted with demonic possession send someone to travel all the way to Longhushan to request help.[46]

In brief then, Zhang Jixian's historical role was not to have invented a connection between the *daofa* and Longhushan, or with Zhengyi-level Daoists, as is sometimes claimed—these connections preexisted him. Nor is it to have turned his ancestor Zhang Daoling into a sword-wielding fierce exorcist; this also already existed. It is to have turned Longhushan from an ordination or licensing center for exorcists into an active and soon a hegemonic player in the field of theorization and codification of exorcistic ritual.

Zhang Jixian and Bai Yuchan

The importance of Longhushan for the practitioners of the new *daofa* traditions can also be seen in the writings of Bai Yuchan. Bai, arguably one

of the most important figures in early modern Daoism, started as a socially marginal figure (from neither a scholarly nor a Daoist background) who lost his father at a young age and was adopted into his mother's second husband's family in the southernmost part of the empire. His life is not well documented, but his stellar rise in the literati milieu of Fujian and southern Zhejiang (hotbeds of the Thunder rites) soon gave him a large audience. His many writings integrating inner-alchemical self-cultivation, Thunder rites, and devotional traditions have had a massive impact down to the present day.[47]

Bai, then a young apprentice based at Wuyishan, first visited Longhushan, as he tells us himself in a poem, and demanded to be accepted as a resident of Shangqinggong but was kicked out by the guest prefect for his shabby appearance.[48] A few years later, however, in 1214, Bai Yuchan, now a respected Daoist, came back and was well received: he was ordained with the Shangqing registers and was invited to preside over a highly efficacious rain-making ritual. In the words of Peng Si 彭耜 (fl. 1217–1251), one of Bai's leading disciples, "People thought he was an incarnation of Zhang Jixian" (人疑為虛靖後身).[49] This is a strong claim, linking two enigmatic figures of the *daofa* who were both celibate and died young). It mutually reinforced the prestige of Longhushan and that of the brilliant outsider that Bai was. Bai returned the honor, not only writing poems and inscriptions for Zhang Jixian but also including in one of his anthologies poems in praise of the successive Heavenly Masters up to his time—a strong endorsement of the Longhushan institution and its claims.[50]

Longhushan as a training center for *daofa*

With the rise of *daofa* claiming to originate directly from Zhang Jixian, Longhushan did not merely provide ordinations for the practitioners of *daofa*; it also trained some of them. Other Longhushan Daoists than the Heavenly Masters themselves also trained outsiders into major *daofa*. Jin Yunzhong writes that his master had been initiated into Lingbao dafa by "Jiang Shuyu of the Zhengyi ancestral altar" in the early thirteenth century.[51] The fact that the region of northeastern Jiangxi was a hotbed of *daofa* certainly

contributed to this phenomenon; both Tianxin zhengfa and Shenxiao (through Wang Wenqing) were associated with Fuzhou, close to Longhushan to the west, and the earliest text discussing the Yufu 玉府 Five Thunders mentions the very prefecture where Longhushan is located.

From about the mid-Song onward appears the theme of going to Longhushan to study *fa* (*xuefa* 學法) and be initiated (*shoufa* 受法), and occurrences of people "obtaining the transmission of talismans (*fu*)" from Longhushan.[52] Already in the early church, we find occurrences of the term "Zhengyi fulu," the talismans and registers of the Zhengyi canon; talismans were part of the register documents initiates received along with scriptures and precepts. But the notion that at Longhushan one could obtain the transmission of exorcistic *fu* to be used in healing people (thus, acquiring mastery in a *fa*), is distinct and appears during the twelfth century. In one story told by Hong Mai, the ordinations proposed by the Heavenly Master and the training in rites are opposed, and in tension:

> Longhushan, Guixi County, Xinzhou Prefecture is the place where generation after generation the Zhang Heavenly Master transmits the teaching and registers of Zhengyi; on the back of this mountain are vernacular ritualists who practice what is called "southern rites." These are deviant techniques.
>
> 信州貴溪龍虎山，世為張天師傳正一教籙之地，而後山巫祝所習，謂之南法，乃邪術也。[53]

This term "southern rites" is more specific than it looks. Du Guangting already used it in reference to a tradition in Hunan, created by a mid-Tang Daoist (titled Heavenly Master!) and consisting of exorcisms of the Three and Five 三五禁呪之法—that is, at the Zhengyi level.[54] But we get to the core of the matter with later texts that explicitly link these exorcistic "southern" healing rites with the divinized Han-period physician Zhao Bing 趙炳. Zhao's cult in his home region in central Zhejiang, and the exorcistic and thaumaturgic rituals linked to him, have a continuous history since medieval times.[55] They had developed to the point that there existed specific ordination registers, called *Zhaohoulu* 趙侯籙, for their practitioners.[56] Zhao Bing registers and *fa* existed independently, probably before the rise of Longhushan,

but they were adopted, maintained, and transmitted there from the Southern Song at the latest. Later sources provide more evidence; for instance, a Yuan gazetteer explains that the exorcistic and thaumaturgic rituals linked to Zhao Bing were transmitted at Longhushan.[57] Yet the Longhushan source mentioning the Zhao Bing registers and rites also warns us that whereas the registers and rites they transmitted are correct 正法, there also existed fake, deviant ones. While Hong Mai's depiction of a specific place for practicing such rites "at the back" of Longhushan is not corroborated anywhere else and looks like the product of imagination, the story from *Yijianzhi* nonetheless refers to the same ambivalence.

The example of the southern rites, among many other local *fa* traditions, shows how their gradual linkage with Longhushan was a complex negotiation. The rites were popular and also, to some extent, debated and polemical. Bai Yuchan himself, a major *daofa* codifier, engaged at length in polemics against certain *daofa* he considered heterodox.[58] Longhushan first welcomed their practitioners, the *fashi*, for ordinations, and then took a more active role in the training in the *fa* themselves; in so doing, they claimed that what they trained and ordained people in were the correct, proper forms of these rituals, in contrast to other, deviant forms. Authors such as Hong Mai only partially accepted such claims. At the same time as they brought ambivalence, the *daofa* also brought a power of attraction. Longhushan was now a place to learn precious secrets. This established the Heavenly Master institution as a center of authority on deciding which among the *fa* were correct (正), and which deviant (邪); it became a licensing agency for local traditions—a role that it actively maintained until the contemporary period, as we will see in chapter 8. The Heavenly Master institution enthusiastically promoted to the apex of Daoism some *daofa* (Tianxin, Shenxiao, Qingwei) that had merged with the classical liturgy and produced elaborate self-cultivational and theological texts, while it maintained a more distant, controlling attitude toward less developed *daofa*, traditions that were the province of *fashi* who were not *daoshi*. Yet all of this is a continuum, as well as a debated and ever-transforming field.

The archetypal story of training in *daofa* at Longhushan is that of Sa Shoujian. In his biography in the early Yuan hagiographical compendium *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, we learn that Sa was a doctor who had involuntarily killed a patient by prescribing the wrong drug.[59] He escaped, resolved to save lives to offset his sin, and became a Daoist. Unfortunately, he could find no master who would accept him as a disciple—this echoes the theme of the closed world of elite priesthood we mentioned before. Sa decided to look for the 30th Heavenly Master as well as Lin Lingsu and Wang Wenqing. On the road he met three Daoists (Zhang, Lin, and Wang in disguise) and asked how far Longhushan was. The three Daoists told him that Zhang Jixian had died but that "the new Heavenly Master's ritual skills are also high" (今天師道法亦高)—note how the story uses the prestige of the 30th Heavenly Master to legitimate his successors. They gave him a letter of introduction to the Heavenly Master and taught him ritual skills (for healing and exorcism) that would sustain him along the way. When he finally arrived at Longhushan, everyone realized that the letter was written by none other than Zhang Jixian, and Sa completed his training there as a ritual master. The second part of the story has Sa, now a recognized exorcist, subjugate a local god and eventually promote him as a Thunder marshal, best known as Wang lingguan 王靈官.

This story is so archetypal that it may actually be just that. I doubt there ever existed a historical figure named Sa Shoujian. The earliest versions of Sa's story provide no anchor (places, times, names of disciples) and appear as a pure myth. Li Fengmao, who has studied Sa in great detail, does not claim he was legendary, but does not provide historical evidence for his existence either.[60] Sa was by the Yuan period on treated as a revered figure and creator of many *fa* rituals,[61] especially in connection with Wang lingguan, as well as a hero in theater plays and, later on, novels. How and why the Sa Shoujian myth was created remains opaque, but the fact that Zhang Jixian was chosen as his master speaks to the latter's prestige and charisma among *fashi*. The myth actually articulates two stories: the second, about how a Daoist subjugates a demon and turns him into a powerful divine general in the service of the Dao, is a paradigm shared by all the *daofa* traditions; the first, which

explains how Sa Shoujian can accomplish such a subjugation, links it to his training with the Heavenly Master and his ordination at Longhushan. The message is that poor, unconnected, but brilliant and devoted aspiring Daoists can become living gods and masters of the spirits—if they first come to Longhushan to be trained and ordained. The parallel between the ordination of Sa and the promotion of Wang lingguan by Sa is particularly apparent in the second-oldest version of the story, dating from the late Mongol period.[62] This myth is thus pure Longhushan propaganda, and it, along with the story linking Zhang Daoling and Zhao Gongming, counts as one of the most important founding myths of the Heavenly Master institution. The two stories are closely parallel; in many pantheons, the "Four Great Heavenly Masters" appear above the "Four Great (Thunder) Marshals," with Zhang Daoling and Sa Shoujian among the first category, and Zhao Gongming and Wang lingguan among the second.[63]

By the Southern Song and early Yuan, the Heavenly Master institution thus claimed to be the sole agency to license people qualified to canonize and promote gods; the next step, taken in the fourteenth century, would be that the Heavenly Master alone could canonize gods (we will return to that question shortly and again in chapter 8). A remarkable story (found in a late county gazetteer) tells of a local official (who was probably also a *fashi*) in Yudu 雩都 (southern Jiangxi) who performs miracles thanks to the divine help of two deceased brothers; in 1314 he travels to Longhushan to request the 38th Heavenly Master to promote them, and the Heavenly Master obliges, obtaining an edict from the Jade Emperor granting them *jiangjun* 將軍 titles and a military function in the divine bureaucracy.[64]

Longhushan and the martial gods

Not only did living practitioners of *daofa* patronize Longhushan but so did their divine counterparts. One consequence of the developments outlined above was the close association with Longhushan of martial gods at the core of various *daofa*. As the Heavenly Masters came to teach and transmit the *daofa*, and thus enforce the Heavenly codes of law (*tianlü*), they emerged as

controllers and punishers of the gods, a theme that became prevalent in their lore by late imperial times. To control, promote, and punish the myriad gods, they relied on fierce divine marshals—and one in particular.

Another name for the Longhushan ordination altar is Xuantan 玄壇. This is also the name of a powerful god who has since the Song been acting as the most important protector of Longhushan, Zhao Gongming.[65] Zhao has a long pedigree: he is one of the demon-kings of early Daoist demonology; in the *Nüqing guilü* (a key text of the early Heavenly Master church), he is a general commanding the plague demons.[66] In a Song version of the hagiography of Zhang Daoling, Zhang subdues Zhao and makes him serve the Dao.[67] We thus see how an ancient demonic deity, whose cult certainly had a long and continuous (but poorly documented) history, became associated with Zhang Daoling when the latter emerged as a prominent exorcistic god. In yet later tellings of the story of Zhang and Zhao, the alliance is grounded at Longhushan: when Zhang arrives at Longhushan to practice alchemy, Zhao appears and swears to protect him during the final stages of his transformation.[68]

Zhao Gongming is the core deity in a series of exorcistic and healing rites that have been collected in the *Daofa huiyuan* (juan 232–240). He also appears as a deity in various series of four divine marshals (in one common list, he appears together with Wen Qiong, Huaguang 華光, and Yin Jiao 殷郊). While such liturgical texts are always hard to date, they were probably composed during the Southern Song. Most of them are not eloquent about Zhao's earlier life as a plague demon (one of them instead paints him as an ascetic who was promoted by the Jade Emperor to his divine status[69]), but always insist on how he entered into an alliance with Zhang Daoling and pledged to protect him, both in his own alchemical endeavors, and then in his mission to conquer demons and restore order to humanity. The same story was told in Longhushan's official hagiography of Zhang Daoling.[70] He was thus given the title of Marshal of the Dark Altar of Zhengyi (ordinations), Zhengyi xuantan yuanshuai 正一玄壇元帥. One text adds that he was entrusted with the role of controlling all those who underwent ordination at Longhushan and recording their deeds.[71] This is a major responsibility indeed; the equivalent

for the Quanzhen ordinations is held by another *daofa* fierce deity, Wang lingguan, whom we have already met.[72] As a result, Zhao Gongming temples in various parts of China maintained concrete links with Longhushan; stories from these places describe Zhao being regularly called back from his temple to Longhushan.[73] It is likely that some at least of these temples were established by Daoists who had been ordained at Longhushan.

Another case where the Longhushan Zhangs promoted a martial deity is that of Guan Yu. The loyal general in the service of the would-be Han emperor Liu Bei, who was traitorously murdered in 220 CE, was in the subsequent centuries one of the countless "defeated generals" worshipped and feared by the people as a powerful demon, and rejected by state and clerics alike. His career took a turn when Zhang Jixian was summoned by Emperor Huizong to quell the demon at the Xiezhou Salt Lake. From then on, Guan Yu became one of the most popular divine generals in the *daofa* pantheons. As Gao Zhenhong has remarked, the list of four divine marshals fixed by the Qingwei traditions contains three (Wen Qiong, Guan Yu, and Zhao Gongming) who have a particular connection to Longhushan and, in the case of the first two, to Zhang Jixian in particular.[74] Yet another case is Zhang Wulang 張五郎, the deity controlling the fierce demon-soldiers in various southern *daofa* traditions.[75] Even more prominent is Zhenwu 真武, who rises from the status of a frightful exorcist god in the tenth century to become the exalted protector of the Ming dynasty and maintains a close affiliation with Longhushan all the while. In the fourteenth-century compilation of his miracles, Zhenwu appears to an official he saves in the middle of a storm and tells him he was sent by the Heavenly Master; the official then repays the favor by rebuilding a temple at Longhushan.[76] The ordination register for lay adepts of Zhenwu, extant in the Daoist canon, was conferred at Longhushan.[77]

A somewhat different situation developed in the case of a local god, Ziming shanshen 自鳴山神, who dwelled at Zimingshan, a sacred site situated in the north of Guixi County, not far from Longhushan, but not part of it (on the other side of the Xinjiang valley). As studied in great detail by Wu Xiaohong, this local god developed into a regional cult under the Song,

and obtained many successive state canonizations; so he was already a proper god (*zhengshen* 正神) when the Heavenly Master institution took an interest in him.[78] But the Heavenly Masters promoted him as well; in one version of the Salt Lake exorcism, the 30th Heavenly Master succeeds with the help of both Guan Yu and Ziming shanshen and promotes them both. The two gods appear again in accounts of miracles performed by the 35th Heavenly Master, by Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248–1321), and by the 38th Heavenly Master.[79]

Longhushan and the new ritual movements: A scenario

The ordination altar at Longhushan was eventually called Wanfa zongtan 萬法宗壇, patriarchal altar of all exorcistic traditions—a term that seems to appear in the late Yuan, and is a cognate of "Zhengyi zongtan," which from the early twelfth century on denotes the official status of Longhushan as the center for Zhengyi-level ordinations.[80] The name Wanfa zongtan is an explicit statement as to what Longhushan did: centralize in one place the ordination procedures for all the different *daofa* existing in the country. This means that the Longhushan institution worked as a clearinghouse for ritual traditions that originally emerged independently of it but eventually came to be closely associated with it.

Let us now return to our initial question: what was the connection between the rise of the *daofa* and that of Longhushan? There were many concurrent factors, and it is extremely difficult to identify clear, monocausal relationships. I would like to propose a plausible scenario: by the mid- to late Tang, Zhang Daoling had developed into a potent exorcistic deity; Heavenly Master church communities (where Zhang was worshipped, visualized, and experienced as a physical presence), and Zhang Daoling temples, often run by his (claimed) descendants, contributed powerfully to this development. As a result, exorcistic rites claiming him as a founder flourished, probably as early as the eighth century. Practitioners of these rites sought ordination at the Zhengyi level. Longhushan, built around a temple to Zhang Daoling and offering Zhengyi-level ordinations, attracted many such people. So when the

daofa proliferated from the tenth century onward, their practitioners came in droves to Longhushan—but their connection to Zhengyi and Zhang Daoling predated their contact with Longhushan. That is what we might call the first stage of the interaction.

A second stage ensued around the turn of the twelfth century when the Longhushan institution (which we discuss in the next chapter, with its ever larger and better-staffed temples and residences, supported by ordination fees) became a training center; some *daofa* practitioners stayed longer, and Longhushan Daoists became adept at many different local *daofa* traditions, providing them with synthesis and codification. The 30th Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian, epitomizes this development, and he certainly played a major role through his charisma and his intellectual innovations, but he must also stand for a whole group of people at Longhushan who were collectively developing a strong, original, and convincing vision of Daoism in which the *daofa* occupied a large place.

As a result, Longhushan was now shaping the codification of both earlier and new *daofa*, as well as training adepts in their practice. Key exorcistic deities, notably Zhao Gongming, were anchored at Longhushan; *daofa* liturgical manuals honored Zhang Jixian or Sa Shoujian as their founders (their practitioners thus being their disciples); *daofa* texts were compiled or revised by Longhushan Daoists. The exorcistic priests through the Chinese world were now not only claiming Zhang Daoling as their patriarch, and Zhengyi ordination as their credential (as they were already doing in the earlier phase), but also claiming direct affiliation with Longhushan. With the *fashi* affiliated to Longhushan, the Heavenly Master institution could now move on to organizing and controlling them—the monopoly over ordinations granted by the Song state during the thirteenth century fully legitimized this enterprise. It did so in pure bureaucratic manner, by issuing a code that dictated precisely who could perform what ritual, with what rank and title. We will turn to that code in a moment; before we do so, let me reiterate that this is not the story of a "school" that gains preeminence over other "schools," or "sects"; it is the story of successful, gradual bureaucratic institution building. The historical relationship between Longhushan and the *daofa* is thus a complex, two-way

process: the *daofa* adepts contributed to the rise of Longhushan by patronizing its Zhengyi-level ordinations; and, in a second phase, Longhushan in turn adopted and came to control and shape the *daofa*, further expanding its China-wide networks and power base.

It is in this context that we can understand how, from the late Song onward, Longhushan became a crucial actor in the development of Daoism in the frontier areas. In the central parts of the empire, the Heavenly Master institution had made compromises, built alliances, and presumably also met with some resistance from the local Daoist elites based in the largest state-supported temples and monasteries. In large parts of the south, the story was quite different. Before the Song, when large southward movements of populations radically changed the scene, such official elite presence was quite patchy. Vernacular traditions, in various degrees of hybridization with the better-known *daofa* (Tianxin zhengfa, Shenxiao, Qingwei), and in contexts of ethnic formation,[81] were the dominant actors in local religion. Some of the *fashi* of these southern vernacular traditions went to Longhushan to be ordained and further trained and came back with prestige and authority. Such people typically founded the first officially recognized Daoist temple in their area that served as a local ordination, training, licensing, regulating (and taxing) center, and often continued to do so down to the twentieth century. Even though the link with Longhushan might have been more or less well maintained over the centuries, the original Longhushan connection was a founding act. In a good number of southern local gazetteers (of which we will see examples in a moment), in the section of Daoist biographies, we thus often find the first (sometimes only) entry to be dedicated to a person who had been to Longhushan during the late Song, Yuan, or Ming period.

These *fashi* revered as founding patriarchs of local religious traditions are also widely worshipped as local gods—the divinization of *fashi* being another key element of the founding myths of exemplary *fashi* such as Sa Shoujian and Wen Qiong, both being disciples of the 30th Heavenly Master. Divinization of charismatic *fashi* existed before the Heavenly Master institution had acquired a dominant position, but the Heavenly Master institution systematized it and tried to control the process—and used the divinization of

Zhang Daoling as a paradigm. Indeed, these myths also undergird the Heavenly Master's claims to exclusive power to canonize gods, claims that fully developed in later periods. Divinization of *fashi* was particularly important in the southern borderlands, but was in no way absent in the heartland; in 1684, villagers near Jiashan (in the heart of Jiangnan) asked and obtained from the Heavenly Master the canonization as Earth God (with its Daoist title, 土地真官) of their deceased Daoist who had been a famed exorcist.[82]

To give just three examples of such southern *fashi* who became patriarchs and gods after their visit to Longhushan: Zhang Fazhen 張法真 was a Daoist from Xuzhou 敘州 (southern Sichuan), who went to be ordained and learn "secret methods" at Longhushan during the Yanyou reign (1314–1321). He then returned home and became successful as a healer and exorcist, and a temple was later built to pray to him.[83] In Xinhua, central-western Hunan, where a local *daofa* tradition (variously called Meishan 梅山 and Yuanhuang 元皇) was and is dominant, the one important Daoist temple (devoted to Zhenwu) that registered and controlled all local Daoists until the mid-twentieth century, named Yuxugong 玉虛宮, was reputedly founded by a Daoist with links to Longhushan and was considered as its local branch.[84] In yet another region, in mountainous southwestern Fujian, Daoists claim that the first altar (that is, the house of the first *daoshi*) was a Zhang Daoling temple. All Daoist altars have names given from Longhushan, and all local Daoists still celebrate Zhang Daoling's birthday together; the first patriarch of the local Zhengyi lineage was, according to local tradition, ordained at Longhushan.[85]

Similar mentions are numerous in late imperial local gazetteers, as well as genealogies and manuscript documents found in the field. When we have a more comprehensive corpus of such records, we will be able to date and map more precisely than is now possible the process of the Heavenly Master institution's assertion of effective control over local religious systems and ritual traditions. By contrast to having simply some local Daoists coming to acquire credentials through ordination at Longhushan (that had already started in the ninth century) and stable connections between Longhushan and major temples in prefectural cities (that was in place during the Southern Song), what I call "effective control" implied, among other things, the Heavenly

Master sending his officials to the locales, gathering and checking the credentials of the *fashi*, and taxing them in the process (we will see in chapter 8 how this worked in late imperial times). From the evidence I have seen, it would seem that, depending on the region and the pace of Han colonization southward and integration of new areas into the empire, this process took place between the late Song and the mid-Ming, with the Mongol period marked by particularly rapid progress.

The grand Longhushan synthesis: The *Tiantan yuge*

We have seen in the previous chapter that Longhushan thrived on the large-scale performance of Zhengyi-level ordinations, and just now that it also initiated adepts in the new *daofa* rites. Were these two different lines of business? By no means. The gist of the Longhushan success was to combine these two activities into one by integrating the *daofa* into the system of ordinations.

The Tianxin zhengfa did not create its own registers; its practitioners were apparently initiated with existing Zhengyi registers. Although this is not mentioned in the earliest (Northern Song) extant Tianxin texts, later regulations, notably the *Tiantan yuge* discussed just below, state clearly that to practice the Tianxin zhengfa, one must have received the *Dugonglu*—which, as we have seen, was the new register invented at Longhushan during the late Tang.[86] By contrast, several other, later *daofa* invented their own registers—we have already met the case of the Zhao Bing healing rites. Most importantly, this is the case of the Shenxiao tradition of Thunder rites: the *Shenxiaolu* appears in the records from Huizong's reign onward. In any case, regulations insist that the *fa* and the *lu* (and its attendant rank) must match: that is, one can learn a *fa*, but it will not work if one is not also ordained with the *lu* register of the same level. While many exorcistic and thaumaturgic *fa* were considered to be of the Zhengyi level (*Dugonglu* or *Mengweilu* being enough), some *daofa* (Shenxiao, Jingming zhongxiao, Yutang, and Lingbao dafa notably) claimed higher status and required either their own newly created *lu*, or (such as for the Lingbao dafa) the Lingbao *lu*.

We have seen in the previous chapter how by the Song, ordination, which hitherto conferred together rank, register, liturgical training, and divine office, were now decoupled from training. Adepts were supposed to first receive a rank with their register, *lu*, and then be initiated in a *fa* ritual tradition of that rank. Presumably, the three official ordination centers (first and foremost, Longhushan) were in charge of stipulating which *fa* corresponded to the level of each *lu*—this is what the *Tiantan yuge* does. Not everyone agreed on these tables, or followed the procedures, and Song and post-Song Daoist texts are full of complaints about adepts whose *lu* do not match their *fa*, or who have achieved a higher *lu* without having first received the lower ones. We must not take normative texts on ordinations as descriptions of everyday reality; but even if people made arrangements with the norms, it remains that the logic of this system was widely accepted, and this very fact gave the institution that produced the norms—Longhushan—huge prestige, power, and influence.

This normative synthesis emerged in the form of a text, maybe the one text most closely associated with Longhushan and the Heavenly Masters, but widely used throughout China since at least the Ming: the *Tiantan yuge* 天壇玉格 (Jade Rules for the Heavenly Altar).[87] The accelerated institutional buildup during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries entrenched the connection between local ritual traditions and Longhushan: Daoists based at one of its many temples and residences (some claiming a transmission line going back to Zhang Jixian) trained visitors in the various *daofa* and inner-alchemical self-cultivation methods (which were key to certain *daofa* traditions).[88] With so many *daofa* coexisting, the *Tiantan yuge* developed as an institutional framework to place them all in a coherent hierarchical scheme.

The *Tiantan yuge* is not a liturgical text prescribing the performance of ordination ritual; rather, it provides regulations on the ordination process and various types of information necessary to prepare this ritual, such as how to determine ordination ranks and titles, and how to write petitions sent to the gods in the course of the ordination. In terms of classification of texts, it straddles the categories of models (*wenjian* 文檢) and regulations (*jielü* 戒律); it was apparently a text in open circulation, not restricted to transmission to

ordained adepts only—even though some Daoists now consider it as secret. It has been in circulation since at least the early fifteenth century, and it is still used today for ordination at Longhushan.[89] The *Tiantan yuge* expresses attempts, at various historical stages, to unite all the various local Daoist ritual traditions into a coherent whole and to build a bureaucratic apparatus centered on the Heavenly Master administration at Longhushan devoted to supervising these traditions. Such attempts were formulated in the same language, and with the same ideological underpinnings, as those of the imperial bureaucracy.

The text of the *Tiantan yuge* and its different versions

The *Tiantan yuge* is a highly composite text that exists in several significantly different versions. Each of these versions' compilers selected from earlier Daoist liturgical compendia material that he found useful or significant enough to be added. Yet some versions seem to have been, if not authoritative, at least particularly widely distributed, notably one that was linked with the early Qing reestablishment of Longhushan authority over the Daoist clergy. I will first briefly introduce the various versions of the *Tiantan yuge* I have used for the present study, before comparing their contents by analyzing them in five broad categories. This will allow me to propose some hypotheses as to the historical evolution of the text itself, and the ordination system that it documents.

The title *Tiantan yuge*, although explained nowhere to my knowledge, appears to refer to the court of the Jade Emperor 玉皇 (that is, Heaven), who plays a central role in ordination rituals. The use of the term *tiantan* for an ordination altar is particularly associated with the Shenxiao tradition of Thunder rituals.[90] *Yuge*, "Jade rules," refers to the text's nature as a bureaucratic procedural code; the term seems to originate in the Northern Song Tianxin zhengfa codification.[91] The text is firmly linked to the Song-period new exorcistic ritual traditions, a fact that is amply confirmed by an analysis of its contents. Some version of it was probably already in existence during the early thirteenth century; in 1218 Bai Yuchan, in a memorial that was

the final act of an ordination of several of his disciples, wrote that their titles were given according to the Jade rules.[92]

I have been able to locate nine different versions of the *Tiantan yuge*, presented in appendix 2 and lettered from A to H: one dates from the late Song or Yuan period; three date from the early Qing; and the others date from the late Qing or Republican period. A is the earliest known version, and the only one present in the Daoist canon. It was likely an independent text existing prior to its inclusion in the vast anthology *Daofa huiyuan*, which seems to have been compiled in the early fifteenth century. The only early quotation of it I know of is found in another regulatory text also included in the *Daofa huiyuan*.[93] A Yuan, or even late Song, date is therefore possible, but not proven.

Part of the same material was also embedded, albeit without the *Tiantan yuge* title, in another early Ming Daoist reference work, the *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* 天皇至道太清玉冊. This Daoist encyclopedia was compiled in 1444 by Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378–1448), the seventeenth son of Ming Taizu, who was, like most Ming princes, a Daoist adept and closely linked to the Heavenly Master establishment.[94] Its chapter on textual classification, "Tianhuang longwen zhang" 天皇龍文章, first describes the structure of the Daoist canon, then lists all the various registers, *Zhengyi zhupin lu* 正一諸品籙, and scriptures, *Zhengyi zhupin xianjing* 正一諸品仙經, that can be conferred on adepts, and then includes the contents of the first part of version A (the four rosters of titles, and the set of regulations) with the addition of a set of ranks for female adepts 女階仙秩 (which corresponds to the 神霄女品 in the later Suzhou version). Because this is an incomplete section and does not carry the title *Tiantan yuge*, I have not listed it among the versions above, but it bears witness to the circulation and authoritative status of the *Tiantan yuge* among elite Daoists during the Ming period.

The B, C, and D versions are actually variants of the same basic text; the most complete is the copy kept at the Beijing University library, B, of which C and C* are manuscript copies with some errors and abridgments. A and B are the only printed versions of the text in our corpus. D is apparently a section (the first part, listing the ranks and titles) of B that was hand-copied

into a Daoist encyclopedia. This family of texts represents the early Qing new version of the *Tiantan yuge* as edited by the eminent Suzhou Daoist Shi Daoyuan 施道淵 (1616–1678), and I call it the Suzhou version.

E, F, G, and H are all manuscript copies of the late Qing and Republican periods, and attest to the appropriation and use of the *Tiantan yuge* in local Daoist circles during the modern period and in various parts of central and eastern China. Many more versions exist; nonetheless, I hope that, on the basis on the above nine different versions, we can already define a preliminary framework for analyzing the text's history and its main contents.

Contents

Our nine versions vary to a great extent. Apparently, compilers felt the need for different types of information to fulfill the text's ultimate purpose, that is, providing a general regulatory framework for ordinations. What they have in common is that they chart all the various types of ordination into one coherent framework. They therefore do not go into the details of each ritual tradition and each register, nor do they provide all the information needed for performing an ordination, for which there are specific manuals. By contrast, texts for specific registers on the one hand, and general liturgical compendia as well as specific liturgical manuals for ordinations on the other, do not list the various registers, titles, and ranks that exist; instead, they detail the ordination procedures, including talismans, secret names, and other information needed to "fill in" (*tianlu* 填籙) a blank register printed from woodblocks for an individual, and without which the register and the *Tiantan yuge* are all worthless. This distinction—the *Tiantan yuge* as a general framework versus specific ordination liturgies, the former open and the latter secret—becomes less and less clear with more recent versions of the *Tiantan yuge*, however, as these modern manuscript versions tend to include more and more secret elements of ordination liturgy.

In addition to prefaces, I have summarized the contents of the nine versions of the *Tiantan yuge* under five general categories: (1) lists of ordination ranks, by ritual tradition; (2) tables determining an ordinee's ritual identity

according to his date of birth; 3) models for petitions (*wenjian*); 4) rules; and 5) lineages. Such categorization amounts to a considerable rearrangement of the versions' contents, as they do not always appear in that order, and indeed the different categories can be spread out in different sections within one version.

1. List of ordination ranks, by ritual tradition

The lists of ordination ranks, *pinzhi* 品秩, provide the administrative titles of office, *zhi* 職, granted to ordinees at each of the nine ranks of the spiritual hierarchy for each specific ritual tradition, such as immortal minister, *xianqing* 仙卿, or transcendent official, *zhenguan* 真官. In some cases, the *Tiantan yuge* versions mention the exact name of the register to be received along with a specific title, but this is far from systematic. More often, registers are not linked to a specific ritual tradition. Most registers can be given to ordinees at a certain rank in any tradition; this is detailed in the procedural rules (see category 4) included in versions A, B, and C, as well as (with many variants) in version E (pages 9–12, 44). The basic rule is that the *Dugonglu* register is conferred with first ordinations at ranks eight and nine; the *Mengweilu* register is conferred with ordination at ranks six and seven, and so on up to the *Dadonglu* register 大洞籙 for the highest-ranking ordination. The *Tiantan yuge* thus maps an equivalence between the ancient registers and the new ranking system introduced by the Song-period exorcistic traditions, allowing *fashi* to be *daoshi* and conversely. It stands in contrast to Song-period Lingbao codifications that clearly differentiated between Lingbao ordination titles and those of the exorcistic traditions, relegated to a much lower level.[95]

A number of registers, titles, and ranks listed in the *Tiantan yuge* are explicitly for children (notably the *Tongzilu*), or women (such as the *Xuehulu*), or for laypersons in general (notably the *Taishang zhengyi yangsheng hushen jinglu* 太上正一延生護身經籙), or the dead (such as the *Bawang dahuanglu* 拔亡大黃籙).[96] Versions G and H provide lists (similar but not identical) of hells and punishments that recipients of such registers can avoid.

In all our texts but one (H), the ordination titles, with some exceptions, are arranged along the same model as the imperial bureaucracy, that

is, in nine ranks (品), each divided into upper (正) and lower (從) grades, in ascending order, from 從九品 (9b) up to 正一品 (1a). This ranking system has been in use in the imperial administration from the third century CE. While hierarchical lists of ordination titles have been a key feature of Daoist liturgy from early on, and were organized under the Tang period in a seven-rank hierarchy, the nine-rank system copied from the imperial bureaucracy appears in Daoist sources with our A version and one other text, a Shenxiao codification that must be roughly contemporary with it.[97] It therefore seems that it is the new ritual traditions that introduced the nine-rank bureaucratic system to the Daoist priesthood. This system progressively applied to other ritual traditions, until by the early Qing, most major ritual traditions were presented in this way. This did not amount to introducing a bureaucratic paradigm—it was always there—but to equating it with that of the state. One text in our corpus, E, also adds salaries according to each rank (expressed in actual amounts of grain, but presumably to be accrued to other-worldly accounts)—something I have not yet found in any other Daoist source and that draws the *Tiantan yuge* even closer to an administrative regulation. The nine-rank system, like the medieval Zhengyi ordination systems, also implies continuous promotion rather than one-off ordination.

If the principle driving the first category in the *Tiantan yuge* is the same in all versions but one—classifying ordination titles of all known ritual traditions according to the same nine-rank schema—the list of ritual traditions thus classified varies considerably between our nine versions. The earliest of our texts, version A, listed just four: the Tianshuyuan 天樞院 (a ritual tradition linked to the Jingming); the Beiji quxieyuan 北極驅邪院 (that is, the Tianxin zhengfa); the Yufu Five Thunders rites; and the Shenxiao (the last two are closely related). The first two provide civil ranks, and the last two martial ones, and the rules clearly state that one can hold concurrent ranks in different administrations. All of them formed during the Song period.[98] The Qingwei tradition had not yet then been inserted into the list, which argues for a pre-Yuan date.

These four traditions are found in all but one (H) of the subsequent versions of the *Tiantan yuge*—at least those known to me—even though the

order in which they are listed, their names, and the exact roster of titles and ranks within each ritual tradition may all vary to a significant extent. Such variations were caused by the evolutions of the *daofa* themselves between the Song and the twentieth century, a topic that is still hardly studied. In addition, later versions of the *Tiantan yuge* added many more: up to twenty in the Suzhou version. One important early addition was Qingwei, whose ordination ranks and titles are already known from late Song or Yuan texts. This tradition, like most other *daofa*, claimed Zhang Daoling as one of its founding ancestors;[99] it gained prominence during the Yuan period, and was eventually adopted by the Heavenly Master institution as a top-level ritual tradition and lineage by the fourteenth century, when important Qingwei practitioners, such as Zhang Shouqing 張守清 (1254–1336) and Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真 (?–1382), developed a close collaboration with Longhushan.

Such additions were the result of various types of circumstances. In the Suzhou version, the titles for the then-dominant Qingwei and Lingbao (*daofa*) ritual traditions are listed first,[100] then come four new traditions, followed by the original four exorcistic ritual traditions already found in the earlier *Daofa huiyuan*, and finally a roster of ten other traditions. This expresses clearly the process from the Ming period onward whereby the Heavenly Master institution brought local ritual traditions under its own umbrella while establishing Qingwei and Lingbao as the dominant ritual traditions, and a combined name for them (Qingwei Lingbao 清微靈寶) as a marker of elite Daoists. This, when compared to the earliest synthesis (late Song? Yuan?) as reflected in version A, represents a new (and so far final) stage of the Heavenly Master institution's attempt to reorganize ritual traditions, with Qingwei Lingbao now a category equated with the highest status to be obtained at Longhushan. When the Qing state conducted an empire-wide licensing campaign of Buddhist and Daoist clerics in 1736–1739, the Daoist clerics were registered in one of three categories: Quanzhen, Qingwei Lingbao, and a lower category designed for delicensing nonelite priests.[101]

Some other additions in versions B through G seem to be combinations of several preexisting ritual traditions merged into a new list (such as 元始一炁金闕品秩及南北二院上相玉府 in text F). In some cases, they add

regional traditions that may have been ignored by other compilers. Much more work needs to be done to understand what these traditions are, and why they were included. Interestingly, the Jingming zhongxiao is listed in the Suzhou version, but Quanzhen appears nowhere—even though Quanzhen Daoists were ordained at Longhushan.[102] One Taiwanese version even mentions Buddhist titles 僧職 (E, page 77). These lists reveal to what extent compilers were in contact with various local ritual traditions; it is logical that the Suzhou version, which reflects Longhushan practice (where many Daoists from different regions came to be ordained), lists many more ritual traditions than versions that seem to have been used only in a regional context (such as Shanghai and Fujian-Taiwan). Even then, though, the Suzhou version does not provide a full picture of the variety of Daoist ritual traditions throughout the Qing Empire.

In brief, continuously from the Song to the modern period, the Longhushan bureaucracy engaged in certifying and integrating certain, but not all, *daofa* ritual traditions, and at different levels. In addition to the *Tiantan yuge*, another trace of this process is a list of thirty-nine major *daofa* 道法三十九階 included in the early Ming *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* encyclopedia[103]—that also includes a version of *Tiantan yuge*, so presumably the list of thirty-nine *daofa* also originated from Longhushan codification. In his eighteenth-century catechism, the 54th Heavenly Master lists eight major *fa*.[104] In brief, the list evolved over time, but the principle remained the same: the Heavenly Master institution decides and promulgates which ritual traditions are valid (and train and ordain adepts in them), and which are not.

Table 2 summarizes the various ritual traditions for which eight versions of the *Tiantan yuge* list the ranks:

Table 2. Ritual traditions listed in the various versions of *Tiantan yuge*

	A	B-C-D	E	F	G
天樞院	x	x	x	x	x
(北極)驅邪院	x	x	x	x	x
玉府(雷司)	x	x	x	x	x
神霄	x	x	x	x	x

Table 2 (continued)

	A	B-C-D	E	F	G
清微(無極/上三天內)		x	x	x	
靈寶(煉度)		x			
混元		x	x		
洞玄		x			
雷門忠孝(高空山正派)		x	x		
社令烈雷(神霄六職)		x			
璇璣		x			
西瑤府		x			
大洞		x			
淨明忠孝		x			
玉樞		x			
神霄 女		x			
上清三洞九華內		x		x	
九霄		x	x		
太極玉格		x			
三景仙階		x			
南曹					x
五符					x
女職					x
(上清天壇仙品玉格)				x	
元始一炁金闕品秩及南北二院上相玉府				x	
金闕玉章				x	

The only exception to that framework of listing ritual traditions and their use of the same nine-rank scale is H. This version of the *Tiantan yuge* from Hunan is close to an ordination liturgy, with many secret elements, and does not carry much of the original regulatory framework of the early *Tiantan yuge*. There, ordination titles are listed by register, and no reference is made to ranks.

2. Tables determining an ordinee's ritual identity according to his date of birth

Ordination documents (petitions, certificates, memoirs, and so on) detail the ordinee's ritual identity through a list of attributes determined according to his or her birth year's cyclical designation. Some of these attributes are common, are also attested in earlier Daoist sources, and are found in all versions (but A) of our text: the (Heavenly) Meditation room, *jing* 靖; the altar name *(lei)tan* (雷)壇; the one of the Tianshidao's original twenty-four parishes to which the ordinee is assigned as well as the corresponding energy, *qi* 炁 (this feature was already present in medieval ordinations). Other attributes, mainly deities responsible for the ordinee's ritual practice and his personal fate, are listed in some of our texts only: the stellar lord (星君), the merit officer (功曹), the twelve rulers of destiny (十二生命), the transcendents of original destiny (元命真人), the master (先生), and the emissary carrying the talismans (符使). Version A did not contain these tables; presumably, at the time, the information could be found in some other separate text, even though I have so far not been able to find any such text in the Daoist canon.[105] From the early Qing on, These tables became a standard feature of all *Tiantan yuge* versions.[106]

3. Models for petitions (*wenjian*)

Although the *Tiantan yuge* is not a liturgical manual, it contains models for ritual documents to be sent to the Heavenly bureaucracy in order to register and effectuate the ordinee's promotion to a new rank. The earliest of our texts, as found in the *Daofa huiyuan*, contained two such shorts texts, *Baoguan zhuangshi* 保官狀式 and *Chenqi baoguan zhuangshi* 陳乞保官狀式, which are respectively a petition for a first ordination and one for a subsequent promotion. The Suzhou version carried over these two texts and added two more: a petition expressing the ordinee's intent in undergoing ordination, titled *Kaidu qingyi* 開度情意 (also included in G), as well as the contract, *zhuandu baoquan* 轉度寶券 with the talisman that validates it

(contracts have always been part of the Zhengyi ordination ritual); C* has yet one more petition, listing all the ritual objects received by the ordinee.

Later versions dramatically increased the scope of this category, incorporating many models that are otherwise also found in ordination liturgical manuals. I have not listed them here, but G as well as one Taiwanese version (F) are particularly noteworthy for including many such texts, as well as models for envelopes used to dispatch the documents to the Heavenly bureaucracy. They also provide details on how to fill in information for separate registers, such as *Xuehulu* or *Dadonglu*, talismans used, and how to write the secret names (*xinyin* 心印) of the ordinee and his master.[107] This information was—by contrast with most of the contents of the *Tiantan yuge*—for initiates only, not for open distribution. It is also found in a manuscript copied at Longhushan by a lay adept ordained there in 1912.[108]

4. Rules

The *Tiantan yuge* includes two types of regulatory documents. The first covers the procedures, detailing how to carry out promotions to higher ranks in the Heavenly bureaucracy, taking into account both the ordaining master and the ordinee's merits (功) and demerits (過) as well as the length of time between two promotions. A short, rather straightforward list of such procedures, titled *Lun qianzhuan gonglao geshi* 論遷轉功勞格式, was included in the *Daofa huiyuan* text; it was copied over into the Suzhou version (with, interestingly, an addition concerning the Lingbao ordinations) and G. This text is not found in the other versions, but two of them (F, pages 9–14; and H) offer by way of introduction texts of comparable scope and intent, while E (pages 98–100) has a simplified table of the number of merits necessary for each promotion.

A second type of rule is that dictating the everyday behavior of ordained Daoists. The second part (*Daofa huiyuan,* juan 250) of version A was composed of such a prescriptive list, dictating moral norms and rules of ritual purity that all ordained Daoists should observe and practice. The text following *Tiantan yuge* in the *Daofa huiyuan* is also a similar code, titled *Taishang hundong chiwen Nüqing zhaoshu tianlü* 太上混洞赤文女青詔書天律, which carries specific

rules for priests, ordinary humans, and various categories of gods. While such codes found their origin in medieval Daoism, they were much favored by the Song-period ritual traditions such as Tianxin zhengfa.[109] None of the subsequent *Tiantan yuge* versions include them, but it is noteworthy that the gazetteer of Qionglongshan 穹窿山, which is by and large devoted to celebrating Shi Daoyuan and his ritual legacy, contains a text titled *Chiwen tianlü* 赤文天律 (preface 1651) that is (accurately) presented as Shi's updated version of the earlier code.[110] There is thus ample ground to suppose that this code was written and disseminated as part of the same process that also produced Shi's revised *Tiantan yuge* version, even though the two texts ended up being published separately. Together they provide the highly bureaucratic framework in which Shi Daoyuan and his fellow elite Daoists saw their vocation of regulating humans and spirits with a penal code (*Chiwen tianlü*) and a bureaucratic procedural manual (*Tiantan yuge*).

5. Lineages

Although this is not a quantitatively speaking large part of the *Tiantan yuge* in any version, the presence of lineage (*zongpai* 宗派) generational poems (that dictate the ordination name, *faming* 法名) and lists of patriarchs, *zushi* 祖師, is a significant type of information. Lineages were not found in version A, and indeed seem to be absent from the Daoist canon altogether, as they are probably Ming innovations (discussed below, in the "Zhengyi lineages" section of chapter 5).

Conclusion

Our corpus of nine *Tiantan yuge* versions spans at least seven centuries of Daoist history. While it is not possible to sketch a continuous history of its development over the whole period, I would like to briefly evoke three key moments in its development that match the history of the Heavenly Master institution's control over local ritual traditions. The first moment was the codification of the earliest known version, A, as included in the *Daofa huiyuan*. This codification was the result of the integration of pre-

Song Zhengyi ordination practices (focused on a series of independent registers) with the new exorcistic rituals that emerged during the Song and Yuan.[111] The idea was to retrieve a global coherence, not (as in the medieval system) by ranking all registers in one unique hierarchical list, but by establishing one scale (the nine-rank scale of the imperial civil service) in which different ritual traditions could all fit while remaining independent. As the regulations on ordination procedures make clear, version A attempts to build a comprehensive framework for all existing ritual traditions, while granting preeminence to Tianxin zhengfa. We do not know when *Tiantan yuge* was first written nor among what milieus it circulated. It is possible that it was first compiled and used outside of the Heavenly Master institution and only later adopted by it. I surmise it was in use at Longhushan during the late Southern Song and Yuan, but there is no definitive proof of that.[112] Regulations contained in version A make constant reference to the Zhengyi xuantan 正一玄壇 (the ordination altar at Longhushan) and the Tianshifu (the Heavenly Master's residence) as places where ordinations take place, which is otherwise not a common occurrence in Song or Yuan-period Daoist texts.

By the early Ming, the text had gained authoritative status among elite Daoists, as proven by its inclusion in the *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce,* and was included in the Daoist canon, in two separate forms: as part of the *Daofa huiyuan* and as part of the *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce*. This is the second moment in the history of the *Tiantan yuge* and its codification. The third would come at some point during the Ming, and finds its expression in the early Qing Suzhou version, with the rise of Qingwei and Lingbao as the top-ranking traditions and the introduction of lineages as the two most remarkable innovations.

Chapter Five

The Mature Institution

Longhushan during the Song-Yuan Period

The Zhang Heavenly Master institution first developed a holy site, Longhushan, and a unique salvation good: mass ordinations. On this firm basis, it then developed during the Song a full institutional apparatus that allowed it to deploy a bureaucratic management of Daoism throughout the empire and to implement its project of licensing and regulating all the living and the dead. This chapter is devoted to the institution as such and to the process of its construction. I identify five key elements that constituted the mature Heavenly Master institution as it operated in the late Song and Yuan periods: the patriarchal line of successive Heavenly Masters; the Zhang blood lineage; the Zhengyi religious lineages; the Longhushan temples and their staff; and the integration with the state. I examine each of them in turn, before looking at how the particular political conditions under Mongol rule allowed the Heavenly Master institution to achieve the greatest extent of its administrative power.

The invention of a patriarchal line

Just as crucial for the rise of the Heavenly Master institution as establishing Longhushan as the most important place in the story of Zhang Daoling, was to sell the idea that his succession was to take the form of a patriarchal line, in which only one Zhang in each generation was the heir. During the Tang, the idea was accepted that descendants of Zhang Daoling enjoyed special privileges, but it did not imply that such privileges were monopolized by

one line. A key turning point happened when the descendant was *himself* called Heavenly Master, rather than "the n-generation descendant of the Heavenly Master." The first known occurrence of such a designation is in Du Guangting's writings, in the early tenth century.[1] So the idea was there early at Longhushan, but it would take time to be accepted. For instance, the late thirteenth-century *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* even though it provides biographies for all the succeeding Heavenly Masters, does not call them *tianshi*.[2] The term would become standard only during the Yuan period, when it was used in official edicts (even though the Yuan emperor did not directly grant the *tianshi* title).

The key term that during the Song period recognized the Longhushan Zhangs' exclusive claims was "n-generation successor of the (first) Heavenly Master" (n代嗣天師), which made explicit that only one Zhang at a time enjoyed the privileges inherited from Zhang Daoling. It is the term used both by the late Song state and hagiographies, and indeed by the Heavenly Masters themselves. It is even used by a Buddhist source: the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, a major history of China from a Buddhist perspective, completed in 1269, has a short section titled *Tianshi shici* 天師世次.[3] It does not list the complete genealogy, but discusses Zhang Daoling as well as Zhang Sheng's move to Longhushan, and the official Song honors for the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, thirtieth, and thirty-second generations: they are all named "n代嗣天師."

The idea that authority was a monopoly owned by a descent line would have been unusual, maybe hardly thinkable, during the first centuries of the Heavenly Master church. Zhang Daoling, Zhang Heng, and Zhang Lu certainly succeeded (or were supposed to have succeeded) from father to son, but in early sources are never called "first generation," "second generation," or "third generation" master.

As mentioned in chapter 2, this idea of a monopoly became acceptable with the rise from the mid-Tang onward first of patriarchal lines, then of full-fledged lineages, both by blood and by initiation—the two being essentially the same social form, as adoption makes the master-disciple bond equal to the father-son one. I contend that the Heavenly Master institution made

much more sense to ninth- and tenth-century and later people than it would have earlier. Of course, early and medieval Daoists put great store by transmission and master-disciple relationships, but this family model does not imply a line of descent (tracing the transmission back to the origins), even less a patriarchal line—a numbered succession of patriarchs (*zongshi*), one per generation, holding exclusive rights—not to mention a full-fledged lineage, in which all past and living masters are listed in a genealogy, with numbered generations, noting precisely each one's rights. These four models (family, descent line, patriarchal line, and lineage) are in a logical and chronological sequence, because each presupposes the former, but does not necessarily evolve into the next—many traditions remained at one stage without ever developing into the next one.[4] What is crucial to our analysis then is how stage three (the patriarchal line) appeared on the historical scene (we will explore stage four, the lineage, further below).

That story is in fact well known: the idea of a patriarchal line formed during the early eighth century among Buddhist Chan communities, which built the concept that religious authority belonged to a line (*zong* 宗), and was transmitted from one patriarch (*zushi*) to the next, thus requiring compilation of precise patriarchal lines, such as the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (late eighth century). Shenhui 神會 (684–758), who fought for his master Huineng's 慧能 status as Chan's sixth patriarch, has made his mark on history through his strong assertion (which possibly another contender had come up with earlier) that only one patriarch can exist at a time, just like there is only one emperor, one *cakravartin* ruler, and one buddha at a time.[5] The claim was so well received that other claimants for the title of seventh patriarch emerged, leading to acute competition among rival patriarchal lines. The tension was eventually resolved by the building of large, inclusive Chan lineages in which these various lines all found a place (even if not necessarily at the dominant place they would have wished). The first genealogies to appear served that purpose: the partly lost *Baolinzhuan* 寶林傳 (801) and the more comprehensive *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (952) that are forerunners of the many Chan and Tiantai genealogies composed during the Song.[6] In Chan, as in new Daoist lineages of the Song period, a stronger emphasis than

before was laid on the role of the master (as opposed to texts) in accessing religious goods.

These innovations ushered in a rise of a shared model for understanding authority and transmission, adopted by various religious groups, Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian—even though the neo-Confucian idea of *daotong* 道通 transmission remained a line of descent rather than a full-fledged patriarchal line. I contend that the Chan model was a direct influence on the Longhushan Zhangs, and that the latter were probably the first Daoist group to successfully and durably adapt it. In other words, the Longhushan Zhangs formed the earliest Daoist patriarchal line. The transmission of paraphernalia (*fabao* 法寶) from one Heavenly Master to the next, notably Zhang Daoling's sword and seal, bears close parallel to Chan lineages' transmission of the founding patriarch's robe and bowl. The sword and seal lore looms large in stories about Longhushan and the Zhangs. Yet they seem to appear rather late in the history of Zhang Daoling's myth; they first appear as a symbol of hereditary transmission in Du Guangting's stories.[7] Other seals were later granted to Heavenly Masters by emperors and were added to their paraphernalia.[8] The use of such numinous objects as signs of both legitimacy (the proof of possession of the mandate of Heaven) and charisma (qualities that demonstrate one deserves this mandate) is an old tradition in which imperial and Daoist notions are deeply intertwined, and that fed into the much more recent idea of patriarchal succession.[9] Indeed, emperors of successive dynasties had a keen interest in these objects; Qubilai (r. 1260–1294) is said to have requested to see the Heavenly Master sword and to have sighed that it had been transmitted without interruption for much longer than any dynasty ever lasted.[10]

Before the emergence of the Zhang patriarchal line at the turn of the tenth century, we have texts that mention Daoist lines of transmission, but they do not amount to patriarchal lines. A testimony of such lines of descent is a short text called "Succession of Transcendents," *Zhenxi* 真系, composed in 805 by a certain Li Bo 李渤.[11] It deals with the textual transmission of Shangqing scriptures, starting from Yang Xi (the first recipient) and on down thirteen generations, but neither uses the term "patriarch" (*zongshi*)

nor numbers generations.[12] While there is only one name per generation, it does not imply that the person in question had exclusive authority. By contrast, the Shangqing patriarchal line we see emerging in the early Song lists patriarchs exerting real authority, controlling the temples at Maoshan, and enjoying a monopoly on ordinations. We also then see, in what is likely a simple imitation of Longhushan, Maoshan swords and seals transmitted as insignia from one Shangqing patriarch to the next.[13] What transformed a Shangqing line of descent into a Shangqing patriarchal line was the example set at Longhushan.

An intriguing case of patriarchal line invention during the same period, which apparently failed to continue and leave other traces, is documented in juan 4 of the early Song encyclopedia *Yunji qiqian.* This document titled "A Record of Succession of Daoism" (*Daojiao xiangcheng cidilu* 道教相承次第錄) lists a succession of masters (the term "patriarch," or *zongshi,* is not used here either) over forty-one generations—which, importantly, are numbered (第一代 and so on), transmitting alchemical practices first initiated by Laozi. Zhang Daoling is a key figure and sixth-generation master, and the source of this line is listed as an "Inner record of the Yuntai Parish" (雲臺治中內錄). What we have here then is a patriarchal line-building effort, also claiming Zhang Daoling as a patriarch and drawing on his lore about training disciples and becoming an immortal, but focused on self-cultivation rather than ordination and communal religion. The Longhushan standard hagiography of Zhang Daoling alludes to this document, thus nodding to the legitimacy of this other attempt at building a patriarchal line out of his prestige.[14]

In short, then, from the mid-Tang onward, we see efforts to note the transmission of Daoist authority generation by generation, first with just a line of descent, and then gradually with numbered generations, each having one master, eventually to be called patriarch. All such documented efforts up to the eleventh century relate to either Zhang Daoling or the Shangqing tradition; the model is then widely adopted by other Daoist traditions. So the Longhushan Zhangs were not alone as inventors of a patriarchal line, but they were precursors of what would become a widespread model. Writing in the thirteenth century, Jin Yunzhong vituperates against the many masters who

claim the title of *zongshi,* and writes that only the head of the three official ordination centers (the Three Mountains) should be allowed to use that title.[15]

That the Longhushan Zhangs were effective innovators is eloquently shown by later imitations of their patriarchal line model by other Daoist institutions, most importantly the two other Song-sponsored official ordination centers (patriarchal altars, or *zongtan*). Soon after the invention of a hereditary succession of Heavenly Masters, Shangqing patriarchs appeared at Maoshan. The well-known gazetteer of Maoshan published in 1329 by the forty-fifth patriarch, Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (fl. 1317–1328), features a list of all preceding patriarchs, from the first (actually a matriarch, Wei Huacun 魏華存) down to himself. Yet the first reliably dated document that uses such an expression concerns the twenty-third patriarch, Zhu Ziying 朱自英 (976–1029),[16] and thus is dated later than the first mention of a succession of Heavenly Masters in Du Guangting's early tenth-century stories. Later still, a line of Lingbao patriarchs at Gezaoshan was also invented, and is most probably just derivative of the Longhushan and Maoshan models; Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) wrote a text mentioning that by his time the sword and seal of the Lingbao patriarch had been transmitted to the fortieth successor, and a fifty-second patriarch is briefly mentioned during the Ming (the full patriarchal line is not even known any more).[17] When the Lingbao patriarchal line was invented, a whole new hagiographic development took place around Ge Xuan at Gezaoshan, closely parallel to that around Zhang Daoling at Longhushan: Ge Xuan was now said to have practiced alchemy there, and to have created an ordination altar, and transmitted his sword, seal, registers, and ritual methods (for saving the dead) to his chosen disciple.[18]

Why was this patriarchal line model so successful? Chan and Tiantai lines (soon developed into full-fledged lineages) and three Daoist patriarchal lines were sponsored by tenth-centuries dynasties, and then by the Song state. I assume that was so because they effectively centralized and controlled ordinations and access to clerical higher ranks, a service any dynasty would find extremely useful.

Listing the Heavenly Masters

To return to the Longhushan Zhangs, it may seem that their model of patriarchal line was already accepted, admired, and imitated by the tenth century. But the historical process may have been more drawn out: we have to wait three more centuries to see full records of their line in print.[19] Three distinct lists of Heavenly Masters generation by generation appear in the thirteenth century:

1. Poems by Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) praising them one by one, from Zhang Daoling to the thirty-second generation.[20] These poems allude to events in the lives of these Heavenly Masters found in later hagiography and that must have been part of Daoist lore by then.
2. *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記. This encyclopedia, first compiled by Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (1200–1266), is accessible only through later, expanded editions. A Ming edition, in its section on Daoism, lists a *Tianshi shixi* 天師世系 with the names and dates (but not biographies) of the first to 38th Heavenly Masters. It may thus be a fourteenth-century text rather than an updated version of a Song list.
3. *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* juan 19 (compiled ca. 1294), providing biographies from the second to the thirty-fifth generation. While no direct affiliation can be established between Longhushan and Zhao Daoyi 趙道一, a Daoist from central Jiangxi who compiled this mammoth hagiographical sum, the latter clearly held the former in high regard and treated it with a full chapter (juan 18) for Zhang Daoling, and another (juan 19) for his descendants. The biographies accord in general with Longhushan historiography (notably *Han tianshi shijia*) but vary in numerous aspects.

In addition, we have already seen a 1269 Buddhist history quoting from a *Tianshi shici* that must have been a similar list. Some of the above lists may have been produced by the Heavenly Master institution or directly derived from Longhushan documents, but there is no clear evidence thereof. A few decades later the first known list produced by the Longhushan institution itself appears: the 1314 Longhushan gazetteer, which provides very short

biographies for all Heavenly Masters to the forty-fifth (because our only copy of this gazetteer is a Ming revised edition with additions for post-1314 Heavenly Masters). Finally came the more detailed official genealogy, *Han tianshi shijia,* probably first composed during the last days of the Yuan dynasty, revised several times, and extant in an expanded late Ming version.

A name-by-name comparison of these genealogies shows some discrepancies for the early mythical generations (fourth through nineteenth), suggesting that variants circulated until the early Ming institution had its official genealogy printed and widely distributed, which then effectively became the norm.[21] What we observe then is a fascinating process extending over five centuries between the emergence of the notion of the Heavenly Master patriarchal line and the general acceptance of one unique version of this line.

The Zhang lineage

The case of the Longhushan Zhang was distinctive from other Buddhist and Daoist (Shangqing, Lingbao) patriarchal lines inasmuch as it was both a blood lineage and a religious line—the earliest such to my knowledge. Jin Yunzhong said as much when he stated that the *tianshi* were called *tianshi* and not *zongshi* (explicitly equating the two concepts) because they were a family (洞真洞玄宗壇，非本姓而以弟子傳教，故稱宗師).[22] The notion of the Heavenly Master patriarchal line rested on the idea that the Zhang inherited a genetic quality ("bones") that only one member per generation could express, as explained in vivid terms in the stories of Du Guangting, who tells of distinctive physical signs. But the Heavenly Master line and institution were also supported by the corporate political and economic clout of the whole Zhang blood lineage, many of whose members were not (primarily) engaged in Daoist ritual.

That the genetic quality was invested in the blood lineage is suggested by the fact that the rules of succession changed over time. By the Ming and up until the mid-twentieth century, the Heavenly Master was chosen by his predecessor, and was normally his eldest son; the state then confirmed the

nomination through an edict. When the successor was too young, a regent (often an uncle of the young successor) was named as the acting Heavenly Master. But in earlier times different rules had applied. Leaving aside the early, mythical generations, some Song Heavenly Masters were sons, but not the eldest son, of their predecessors; and during Yuan times, the rule was apparently that younger brothers would all succeed in turn before the mantle moved to the next generation. This idea continued to have some currency so that at two points during the Ming, a member of a different branch sued for his right to inherit the title over the son of the deceased Heavenly Master.[23] This created tension between the various and ever more numerous branches of the Zhang lineage. By the late Song, tensions were occasioned by other Zhangs' involvement in the ordination business.[24] In all these cases, the imperial state sided with the titled Heavenly Master and issued proclamations that curtailed the rights of the other branches.

However, not all Zhangs had their minds uniquely set on the title and ritual privileges of the Heavenly Master. Some became Daoist dignitaries and built their own temples and residences at Longhushan (two nephews of the 35th Heavenly Master did so). One of the junior branches of the lineage—likely a family that integrated the lineage by inventing a mutually agreed fictive genealogy—appears in the records in the thirteenth century with Zhang Wenshi 張聞詩, who was abbot of the Shangqinggong. This junior branch of the Zhang lineage, related to but distinct from the main branch that provided the Heavenly Masters, claimed to descend from Zhang Liang, but not Zhang Daoling (they had their own ancestral hall); it moved to the Longhushan area (they were based near Xiangshan 象山) in the early Song. This branch went on to foster several major dignitaries of the Heavenly Master institution, including Zhang Wenshi's grandson Zhang Liusun.[25]

By the Song period, we see the Zhang lineage also developing in different and mutually reinforcing directions, fostering merchants and officials. Like all lineages engaged in the process of institution building, at the same time as they created their myth (inventing the genealogy from Zhang Liang down to Zhang Daoling, and the succession of the Heavenly Masters from the fourth to around the nineteenth generation), they also accumulated wealth and land,

invested in education and trade, and developed strategies of alliance with other local elites. The various branches built their palatial estates around the residence of the Heavenly Master; many are still extant, with their front gates topped by a stone lintel reading "Residence of (the Descendants of) Zhang Liang, Marquis of Liu" (留侯第). We have traces of a genealogy in Zhang Yuchu's writings that went through many revisions, but we do not have any extant version before 1890.[26] That version (reconstituted after the destructions of the Taiping Civil War, 1851–1864) does not provide much information on the family before the early Ming. But we do have Song-period information on other prominent Zhangs at Longhushan who were not engaged in Daoism. For instance, the celebrated philosopher Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1193), whose school was barely ten kilometers from the Heavenly Master residence, wrote an epitaph for his contemporary, a certain Zhang Wan 張琬, whom he introduces as a descendant of Zhang Liang living at Longhushan, and who made a successful career as a military official.[27]

By the eleventh century, the Longhushan Zhangs had begun to invest in education and civil service examinations. Zhang Jingduan 張景端 (1049?–1100?), who descended from the 24th Heavenly Master, was a local magistrate when his distant cousin the 28th Heavenly Master died without a son, and he was called to take the succession. This was a pattern that would happen again several times in subsequent centuries. Zhang Jingduan even left an autobiographical poem telling of his transition from civil official to Heavenly Master.[28]

By the eleventh century, the Zhang lineage had built its own institutions and history, related to but not confused with that of the Heavenly Master patriarchal line. The counting of generations was different in the lineage and the patriarchal line; in the late Qing genealogy, the lineage generations are called *shi* 世, and the successions of Heavenly Master are called *dai* 代, and they are clearly distinguished. Similarly, the lineage considered Zhang Liang, not Zhang Daoling, as its founding ancestor. The compilers of the 1890 genealogy criticized their 1844 predecessors who had raised Zhang Daoling to the status of founding ancestor; they restored Zhang Liang, and titled Daoling "the ancestor who has first moved (to Longhushan)," *shiqianzu* 始遷

祖.[29] Such subtle debates suggest how the lineage struggled to maintain some independence from the person of the Heavenly Master.

Zhengyi lineages

A third, distinct type of kinship institution developed at Longhushan during the Song, separate from the Heavenly Master patriarchal line and the Zhang blood lineage: the master-disciple lineages (*zong* 宗, *pai* 派, or *fapai* 法派) of Daoists living or ordained there. This development is part of a larger phenomenon; following a model first developed by Buddhists, during the Song Daoists, both *daoshi* and *fashi,* widely adopted the lineage model to organize themselves and control access to temples, privileges, and ordination.[30] The lineage organization began to shape the way religion was taught, transmitted, and organized: to be recognized as a bona fide Daoist, and to have rights of residency and ritual performance in a given temple, one had to possess affiliation with the relevant lineage.[31] At the same time, the invitation of patriarchs and previous masters in one's lineage emerged as an important part of rituals. By the early Ming this had become the dominant model in both Buddhism and Daoism, lineages holding most of the property that financed temples and monasteries, including monopolistic rights over patrons and territories.[32]

In his writings, the 43rd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu, who was living at a time when the lineage mode of organization was consolidating within Daoism, sets forth his vision of this mode. For him, Daoism has basically one lineage, *zong,* that then divided into various smaller lineages and branches, *pai,* each linked to a specific revelation and ritual practice. He particularly discusses the *pai* as identified with the various *daofa* traditions current in his time (and that the Heavenly Master institution was busy licensing and regulating); while recognizing the validity of the most important of such lineages, he also cautions against excessive and continuous splitting into ever more sublineages and branches, a trend he sees as unnecessary and even harmful to the unity of Daoism.[33] By the early Ming, then, the authoritative voice of the Heavenly Master institution recognized the lineages

as the basic building blocks of Daoism, as well as his institution's role in controlling their development.

The first records of clerical lineages forming at Longhushan are linked to the residences (or colleges), *yuan* 院 or *daoyuan* 道院, clustered around the Shangqinggong, where Daoists lived and trained disciples.[34] This model was not unique to Longhushan: for instance, the Dongxiaogong Daoist temple near Hangzhou had by the early Yuan period eighteen residences, with one dominant lineage controlling fourteen of them.[35] Because there were such different clerical communities living together, there was no unified, standard, distinctive ritual style and music for Longhushan—a fact that is apparent in modern and contemporary records.[36]

There were already thirty such residences around Shangqinggong during the Yuan, and thirty-six by the early Ming, when they were all managed by independent Daoist lineages issuing from various masters, in many cases the master who had created the residence in the first place. Several of these masters who founded the earliest residences were disciples of the 30th Heavenly Master.[37] Yet the names (and explicit discussion) of such lineages appear late in the records; the earliest gazetteer—the 1314 *Longhushan zhi* 龍虎山志—does not mention them.[38] The late Ming gazetteer explains that the thirty-six residences were all equated with a branch of one of three Longhushan lineages: Ziweipai 紫微派, which claimed as its founder Hong Weisou 洪微叟 (Hong was abbot of the Shangqinggong in the mid-eleventh century, but the residence affiliated with him, and possibly the lineage as well, was established only later, during the 30th Heavenly Master's tenure, by one of his disciples); Xujing pai 虛靖派, which claimed the 30th Heavenly Master as its founder; and Lingyangpai 靈陽派, which was associated with Zhang Liusun and Wu Quanjie 吳全節 (1269–1346) and was probably established by them.[39] By the mid-Qing, there were only twenty-four residences; Lou Jinyuan 婁近垣 (1689–1776) merged the three lineages (which he claimed had no generational names) into one (with a poem for generational names), with himself as the first patriarch.[40] In brief, the various lineages of the Daoists residing at Longhushan began to form around the time of the 30th Heavenly Master, then continuously developed and evolved under the influence of successive leading dignitaries during the following centuries.

Another type of lineage also emerged at Longhushan: that of Daoists who had been ordained and trained at Longhushan and then returned to their home temples—these lineages were distinct from those of the Shangqinggong residences, but by no means exclusive of them, as many elite Daoists were affiliated with both. Important numbers of lineages and branches (often called Zhengyi pai 正一派, sometimes 正乙派, or names that include "Zhengyi" as well as a local marker) formed in various places; we have already seen the example of the Longxingguan in northern China that, according to late Yuan steles, belonged to a "Zhengyi lineage" (正一宗) that claimed descent from the 30th Heavenly Master. Some members of such lineages actually never went to Longhushan but derived legitimacy from the claim that their ancestor had; the lineage transmitted the authority conferred by the initial ordination (historical or mythical). This shows how Zhengyi ordinations placed priests not only in spiritual hierarchies but also, at the same time, in this-worldly clerical institutions. There was not one but many "Zhengyi lineages"—hence the rather problematic usage of "Zhengyi lineage" in the singular in so much of the scholarly literature.

Such lineages have different names in different places; they share a common affiliation with the Heavenly Master institution and basically similar liturgies, but they have developed within different local religious ecologies, and incorporate different local deities. In northeastern Jiangxi, close to the Longhushan area, they are called Lingbao, and thus the dominant Daoist ritual tradition there is known as Lingbaojiao 靈寶教.[41] This name in no way refers to a lineage and liturgy separate from "Zhengyi" and Longhushan; they are the very same thing.[42] As we have seen, the highest-ranking ritual traditions in which one could be ordained at Longhushan was Qingwei Lingbao. Daoists such as those in northeastern Jiangxi, who perform the grand *jiao* rituals for local communities, call themselves in various parts of China "Lingbao," "Qingwei Lingbao," "Zhengyi," "Zhengyi Qingwei," or other lineage names; they can also be referred to by outsiders (including contemporary scholars) by some other of these names, thereby adding no small amount of confusion. The baseline is that they are all Daoists organized in lineages that claim filiation with the Heavenly Master institution, and thus transmit ordination titles in the Qingwei Lingbao ritual tradition, and

share a similar liturgy. This shared liturgy often has "Lingbao" in the titles of its manuals, because it derives to an important extent from the late Song Lingbao dafa codification, one of whose major codifiers was the Longhushan dignitary Jiang Shuyu. I call such Daoists "Qingwei Lingbao" in the present book, because this term fits both their ordination titles and the status given to them by the Qing imperial state, but the reader should keep in mind that many scholars refer to them as "Zhengyi Daoists."

At some point, probably during the fourteenth or fifteenth century, a new development took place: the formation of lineage poems (*paishi* 派詩) used to give to all members a generational marker in their ordination names (*daohao* 道號 or *faming* 法名).[43] This usage (which had existed in blood lineages as early as the medieval period) developed rather late in religious lineages, both Buddhist and Daoist.[44] One such poem emerged at Longhushan to give ordination names to Daoists ordained there, and was transmitted in all parts of the Chinese world to the present day. These ordination names are common in areas where Daoists maintained close relations with Longhushan, notably Jiangnan and Fujian.

The lineage using this poem is known in Longhushan documents as the Sanshan dixue lineage 三山滴血派 (Blood Drops of the Three Mountains[45]); in other places and documents it is also called Zhengyi or Lingbao.[46] It is by far the most widespread and important of the many Zhengyi lineages (transmitting the Qingwei Lingbao ritual traditions), but not in an exclusive way, as elite Daoists who belonged to this lineage were often also part of local Zhengyi lineages. Its name and poem are first found in the Suzhou version of the *Tiantan yuge*.[47] In this regard, the *Tiantan yuge* bears full comparison with the Quanzhen ordination manuals from the late Qing period, which also listed lineages as a way to precisely define and identify bone fide ordained clerics from others.[48] Moreover, there was cross-recognition, since the major Zhengyi lineages listed in our *Tiantan yuge* texts are also included in the standard Quanzhen manuals, along with other local lineages also called *Zhengyipai*.[49]

The Sanshan dixue pai was not included in the earliest versions of the *Tiantan yuge,* and is not documented anywhere in the Daoist canon; it is

therefore most likely a product of the Ming period.[50] Its very name points to the exorcistic rituals as a key source of legitimacy for the Longhushan's control over Daoist ordinations: the lineage is attributed to the legendary Thunder ritual patriarch Sa Shoujian, purportedly a disciple of the 30th Heavenly Master, and the "dripping blood" in its name alludes to the use of a rooster's blood for binding martial deities with an oath.

There exists a number of variants of this extremely widespread lineage poem. Versions C, C*, and H of *Tiantan yuge,* besides a few variant characters, provide a fifty-character version:

守道明仁德　全真復太和　至誠宣玉典　忠[51]正演金科
沖漢通元[52]蘊　高宏鼎大羅　武當與[53]興振　福海啟洪波
穹窿揚妙法　寰宇證仙都

This differs from another version in forty characters that is also attested in various parts of China.[54] The data on lineages in the *Tiantan yuge,* then, like the lists of ritual traditions, bears witness to the efforts of the Heavenly Master institution's efforts to define and impose one common framework for ordaining and giving names, titles, and ranks to all Daoists. These efforts gradually bore fruit between the Song and the late Qing; they were never entirely successful, as new lineages continued to emerge and local accommodations knew endless variations, but they nonetheless succeeded in shaping a relatively homogeneous Daoist elite (with supralocal lineages and liturgies) in large parts of the empire.

Building up Longhushan

We have already seen in chapter 2 how the whole Longhushan area was gradually built up by Daoists: first the temple to Zhang Daoling, where the blessed land (*fudi*) was centered, during the late Tang, and then, during the Song, the Shangqinggong and the Heavenly Master residence, coupled with the Zhang "family temple" in the township upriver. From the time of the 30th Heavenly Master onward, the pace of construction accelerated. The Yuan gazetteer lists eight other temples (觀) and thirteen hermitages (庵).

From the Song on, there were also a few Buddhist temples near Longhushan, but they apparently never played an important role.

By the Song period, the Shangqinggong had become the dominant temple in the whole area and was graced with several imperially bestowed names by the Song and Yuan dynasties until it was officially called Da Shangqing zhengyi wanshougong 大上清正一萬壽宮 in 1304. Liu Yongguang, the noted ritualist who served as abbot, in about 1200 led an important fund-raising drive among people ordained there, and established an endowment to sustain the temple's clerics, with the imperial state granting tax-exempt status.[55] A 1264 inscription, written by a local official, tells about the construction of a new gate to the temple complex, organized by a successor of Liu Yongguang, Zhang Wenshi. The temple had then, he claims, a history of two hundred years.[56]

As noted above, one major constituent element of the Shangqinggong was the residences (or colleges) clustered around it, where Daoists lived and trained disciples. These residences seem to start appearing during the early Southern Song; they were already thirty in number during the Yuan, and thirty-six by the early Ming. They were apparently not differentiated by geographical origin, but may have had different "specialties" in terms of training offered to their residents: Lingbao dafa liturgy, various other *daofa,* alchemy and *neidan,* and so on. They could enroll young people from the Longhushan area but also adult Daoists from throughout the empire. This configuration of the Shangqinggong as an extensive temple surrounded by some thirty-six residences remained intact until the late nineteenth century, when it entered into financial crisis and structural decline. The residences were destroyed in the process of building a railway line in the 1950s, but large-scale archeological investigations in 2014–2017 have provided a better sense of their history. Archeologists claim this was the largest imperial-style temple that ever existed.[57]

By the eleventh century we begin to see mentions of "Longhushan Daoists" 龍虎山道士. Obviously, the expression was used with different meanings in different types of sources, but it referred typically to Daoists with a fixed, formal position in one of the temples and residences associated

with the Heavenly Master institution (by contrast with those on short visits for training and ordination). We see them traveling, and sometimes settling elsewhere, building temples that presumably maintained links with Longhushan and contributed to the extension of its networks.[58] Such mentions continue to come up in various sources (such as local gazetteers and epigraphy) ever more often during the Southern Song, the Yuan, and the Ming. Often, the Heavenly Master would give inscriptions from his own hand for temples established by "Longhushan Daoists," and facilitate their obtention of official status and subsidies. Being formally recognized as a Longhushan Daoist carried honors and privileges.

A key issue for Daoists interacting with the Heavenly Master institution was thus to obtain formal affiliation with one of the residences of the Shangqinggong and become a "Longhushan Daoist"; one early Ming text mentions an outsider (山外), presumably a Daoist on a short stay without such an affiliation.[59] Obvious prestige accrued to long-established Longhushan families, such as the one running the Ziweiyuan 紫微院, one of the residences, which in the early Ming claimed that its ancestor, a Daoist from Zhejiang, had come to Longhushan during the Northern Song and had been an assistant to the 30th Heavenly Master; his family had managed the residence ever since.[60] The most successful among the many Daoists from the residences built their own temples, hermitages, or self-cultivation retreats in the vicinity (presumably paid for from the income of their ritual practice); they also often concurrently endowed or managed temples, schools, ancestral shrines, and other facilities in their home county.

During the same period, we also see elite Daoist families running major temples elsewhere in the empire and sending some of their sons to Longhushan to train there, a sign that the institution had become large, highly respected, and open to all Daoists.[61] It also became possible for outside Daoists to build their own small temples and hermitages in the neighboring areas, thus further expanding a second circle of affiliated training and retreat institutions.[62]

Few of the Longhushan Daoists who ran the temples, residences, and ordinations are known before the Southern Song; by then we begin to have

detailed biographies and reports, notably in the successive Longhushan gazetteers, but also in other sources. The earliest Longhushan Daoist listed in the gazetteers is Wang Daojian 王道堅, a disciple of both the 30th Heavenly Master and Hong Weisou, and indeed many if not most of the Daoists active at Longhushan and opening residences or temples during the Southern Song are linked to the 30th Heavenly Master. Wang Daojian was also present at the Huizong court and participated in the compilation of the Daoist canon there.

One prominent example of these Daoists who made Longhushan is Liu Yongguang (a third-generation disciple of Wang Daojian). Liu and his disciple Jiang Shuyu are the first Daoists from Longhushan not related to the Zhang lineage to make a major impact on an empire-wide level and leave significant traces in the Daoist canon: the liturgical manual *Wushang huanglu dazhai lichengyi* (a Lingbao dafa liturgy, interestingly), compiled by Jiang with many elements attributed to Liu, and completed in 1223, is the first dated liturgical text clearly linked to Longhushan. This text ends with a chapter containing detailed biographical elements on Liu and Jiang, which deserve some attention.[63]

Liu was a native of the Longhushan area, where his family had settled several generations earlier: his father and mother had been ordained (拜籙) by the Heavenly Master (apparently as lay adepts), and the mother had had a vision of Zhang Daoling, who promised her that her son would become immortal, whereupon she became pregnant with Yongguang. Liu entered the Shangqinggong as a youngster and became a disciple of Cai Yuanjiu 蔡元久, a former official at Huizong's court who had become a Daoist and an expert on Thunder rites. Liu quickly became a noted ritualist, performing "yellow register" (*huanglu* 黃籙) salvation rituals for the dead as well as exorcisms, healing, and rainmaking rites, and attracted the attention of provincial officials and then the Southern Song court. Successive miracles earned him a high-ranking appointment in the Daoist administration in the capital, Hangzhou. His disciple Jiang Shuyu, who edited Liu's *huanglu* liturgy, is described as a neo-Confucian scholar from the Wenzhou area and a virtuous local official who turned to Daoist liturgy.[64] He is a good example of those Song

officials who actively practiced Daoist ritual as part of their civilizing and order-maintaining duties, and who actively supported the Heavenly Master institution.[65]

Liu is the first prominent case of a type of Daoist who would subsequently become a key element of the Heavenly Master institution: a full-fledged member of the empire-level elites, honored by the emperors, respected by high-ranking officials and cultural stars as a ritualist but also as a literary person, capable of building powerful networks and leveraging considerable resources (including financial ones—Liu's biography delves into the value of gifts and donations that flowed to him) for the benefit of the Heavenly Master institution. Prior to the Huizong reign, we find no trace of such elite Daoists at Longhushan, by contrast with Maoshan. The new social visibility of the 30th Heavenly Master and his disciples, themselves poets and sometimes state officials, was a turning point—which should be understood as a result, rather than the cause, of Longhushan's success as an empire-wide ordination center. The acceptance of Liu Yongguang in this closed privileged milieu around the 1180s marked, as much as the honors given to the successive Heavenly Masters themselves, the coming of age of Longhushan as a major institution within Chinese society, which drew talent from beyond its immediate vicinity.[66] This was helped by the fact that, with the loss of northern China to the Jin (and the eventual takeover of northern monasteries and temples by Quanzhen Daoists during the thirteenth centuries), a new space for attracting, training, and providing the court with elite clerics opened for Longhushan (as well as Gezaoshan).

Others quickly followed in Liu's footsteps.[67] This type of high-flying Daoist staffing the Heavenly Master institution continued in the following centuries to play an essential role in its good operation and influence, even when young or less gifted Heavenly Masters presided. In return, the institution could provide them with considerable resources, authority, and direct access to the higher echelons of the state. The list of Longhushan Daoists who made a mark in Chinese cultural and artistic history is quite long, and I will mention only two here: the eminent geographer Zhu Siben 朱思本 (1273–1337), and the painter Fang Congyi 方從義 (ca. 1302–1393).

State recognition

In the Heavenly Master institution, state recognition and granting of titles are absolutely central. This clearly distinguishes it from the early Tianshidao, which was not state-sanctioned. The Ming-period official history of the institution, *Han tianshi shijia,* makes much of state honors (some of them declined) to successive Heavenly Masters. The first reliable official title on record was given to the 24th Heavenly Master, Zhang Zhengsui 張正隨, who was given the title Zhenjing xiansheng 真靜先生, perhaps in 1015. Later sources suggest he was invited to court by the famous minister Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962–1025, who had close connections to Daoism) and asked to take charge of a temple devoted to Daoist ordinations, Shouluyuan 授籙院.[68] In 1030, his son and successor, the 25th Heavenly Master, Zhang Qianyao 張乾曜, was also called to court, given a *xiansheng* title, and asked to perform an ordination. This is the first title given to a Longhushan Zhang to be recorded in Song official sources.[69] It is quite possible that the first ever title was given then, in 1030, and that on this occasion the 25th Heavenly Master also asked for a (posthumous) title for his father, a common procedure from that time onward. The 26th Heavenly Master was also granted a *xiansheng* title.[70]

Thus, starting in 1015 or 1030, the Song state gave titles to the Zhangs, but not yet titles as Heavenly Master. Indeed, the process of official recognition was gradual. For the first two centuries of the Song, the titles given, *xx xiansheng,* were still relatively modest and did not, by far, reach the levels enjoyed by some other Daoist dignitaries, such as the patriarchs of Maoshan. Not every generation was honored; the twenty-sixth was, but not the twenty-seventh; the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth were apparently given posthumous titles upon request by the thirtieth. The Heavenly Masters titled by the Song state are mostly not well known, and have only short biographies and no known epitaph. While the presence of the 30th Heavenly Master at Huizong's court was clearly a turning point in the history of the institution, Zhang Jixian's titles and honors still ranked below those lavished on other court Daoists, such as Liu Hunkang, twenty-fifth Shangqing patriarch, or Wang Wenqing. Furthermore, three successors of Zhang Jixian (the thirty-first, thirty-third, and thirty-fourth) were not given titles.

A new stage began with the 35th Heavenly Master, Zhang Keda, when henceforth each new Heavenly Master was, shortly after the death of his predecessor, given a title as the "nth"-generation successor. They were recognized by the state as members of a patriarchal line and not only as individuals, making the Longhushan patriarchy a permanent fixture of the imperial state. Yet they were not titled Heavenly Master themselves; and I have found no record that they were until the early Mongol period, over three centuries after a Daoist source (by Du Guangting) for the first time used the term *tianshi* to qualify a living Zhang. This shows how the imperial state recognized established situations rather than created them.

Such a sense of the gradual rise of the Heavenly Master institution during the Song was shared by writers of the time. Writing in the early Yuan his epitaph for the 36th Heavenly Master, Zhang Zongyan, Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁 (1232–1297) begins to note that all the families issuing from the divinized heroes of antiquity have gone extinct, except the Longhushan Zhangs, who continue to transmit the sword and seal first bequeathed by Zhang Liang. He then traces their rise through the first title given in 1015, the growing popularity of ordinations under the thirtieth, and the prestige at court of the thirty-fifth, resulting in Longhushan having become "the most eminent sacred site"; he describes throngs of visitors bringing gifts.[71]

Why did the Song state choose to recognize the Longhushan Zhangs? There is no direct sign in the extant historical record that it wanted to support the Zhangs' project of making ordinations widely available to all, even though it eventually condoned this project by granting Longhushan a monopoly over ordinations. One part of the answer, but only a rather small part, lies with the ritual services the Zhangs provided the Song court. Both the *Han tianshi shijia* and other sources document a steadily increasing participation of the Zhangs in Daoist rituals at court over the course of the Song. Zhang Jixian performed exorcisms; later Heavenly Masters mostly performed *zhai* funerals and *jiao* offerings. By the last decades of the Southern Song, this had become common. A glimpse of this is offered by the *Cuishanlu* 萃善錄—a text in the Daoist canon that gathers ritual memorials on occasions when the Heavenly Master performed for the court, but also for individuals.[72] Yet the Zhangs (and other Longhushan Daoists) were not alone

in that role. I suspect the Song emperors invited the Zhangs to perform rituals because they supported the latter's overall religious project, rather than the other way around.

At first, during the early eleventh century, the Song state simply recognized an established local religious institution, claiming descent from a recognized Daoist saint, as it had other institutions such as the Jingming cult of Xu Xun. Then, gradually, it saw at Longhushan the potential to bring all of Daoism into one unified, bureaucratic organization, a vision that meshed with its own state-building project of unifying all the living under a unified bureaucratic system, and all the gods (and the temples and clerics serving them) into a unified state pantheon. I see parallel and mutually reinforcing processes that developed in a society of *min* 民 (subjects) who require personal direct registration with a dependable administration, both this- and other-worldly.

The modern pantheon, from the Jade Emperor on top through the Eastern Peak and the territorial administration of City Gods (Chenghuang 城隍) and Earth Gods, was a joint creation of the Song state and the Daoist bureaucracy, and the Heavenly Master soon came to nominate the dead to all the divine positions of City and Earth Gods (as we will see in chapter 8, the earliest explicit evidence for this dates from the Yuan period). Just as the Song state took a much keener interest in local cults than its predecessors, the Heavenly Master institution engaged much more intensively with local gods and ritual traditions than the medieval and Tang Daoist elites; both state and institution developed elaborate bureaucratic and judicial processes to transform all living and dead into correct gods, *zhengshen,* and to annihilate those who would resist such a process. The rise of the Heavenly Master institution must be understood in the framework of the rise of modern Chinese religion with Daoist, Buddhist, and state institutions intimately connected to local temple cults.[73]

The Song officials and emperors saw this potential because they were witness to (and often active participants in) the new ritual traditions (*daofa*) that Longhushan was busy bringing under its umbrella. So the Song state

did not create Longhushan, as the latter developed earlier and under its own initiative, but it was only when the state fully endorsed and supported this project that it could fully realize itself. This took place during the mid-thirteenth century, with the imperial state granting Longhushan a monopoly on ordinations. This, much more than honorary titles given during the previous centuries to individual Zhangs, constituted the foundation of the alliance between the imperial state and Longhushan.

The Mongol period

Although he was a long-serving dignitary of the Song regime, the 35th Heavenly Master, Zhang Keda, was said in *Han tianshi shijia* to have predicted to Qubilai (r. 1260–1294) his eventual victory.[74] But it was his son, Zhang Zongyan (1244–1291), titled the 36th Heavenly Master in 1263, who secured the alliance of his institution with the victorious Mongol regime. A noted ritualist, Zongyan also proved an astute player in the political game. In 1276 (three years before the final fall of the Song), he traveled to Beijing, where he met and pledged allegiance to the Mongol emperor Qubilai, and received early in the next year (1277) an edict, extant in the 1314 Longhushan gazetteer (and presumably authentic), that named him 36th Heavenly Master heir of the (founder during the) Han (嗣漢三十六代天師).[75] This edict discusses his mastery over the *Zhengyi mengweilu,* his command over gods and spirits, and his exorcistic feats, and also confers on him a six-character *zhenren* title. Zhang Zongyan was in Beijing again several times. After he had passed away, he was granted in 1304 a *zhenjun* title (the first Heavenly Master to receive such a title after Zhang Daoling).[76] The author of his epitaph grants him considerable merit in turning Longhushan into a haven during the chaos of Mongol conquest and protecting large numbers of people; he also discusses the many miracle tales that surrounded him.[77] His successors during the Yuan were less personally prestigious, but the function had gained considerable power and aura. For instance, a revised edition of the revealed divine autobiography of Lord Wenchang, on the occasion of his canonization

by the Yuan state in 1316, claimed that the god himself had incarnated as the 37th Heavenly Master, Zhang Yudi 張與棣 (?–1294), so as to save humanity from apocalyptic disasters through "Zhengyi ritual teachings" (正一科教).[78]

The Yuan regime's recognition of the Heavenly Master institution continued the Southern Song precedents, but it also introduced something new: it gave Longhushan direct, operational control over Daoism, including temples, rather than a monopoly over ordinations only. The Mongol state had an altogether different concept of managing religion, based on much greater autonomy for various religious traditions: several Buddhist and Daoist traditions were recognized as autonomous then for the first and last time, and were granted a self-governing status, with patriarchs having wide powers to give titles, to nominate, and to promote clerics. As a consequence, the Mongol state continued its recognition of the Heavenly Master authority over ordinations but extended it to a new realm: that of controlling monasteries and temples and appointing their abbots and dignitaries. This gave the Longhushan institution an altogether new area of power. Such authority is subsumed in a new title given to them (similar titles were given to the leaders of other recognized religious institutions): managers of all Daoist affairs, *zhang daojiao shi* 掌道教事. It is also with the Yuan that the living Heavenly Master began to be called "head of the Zhengyi teachings," Zhengyi jiaozhu 正一教主, a title previously used to invoke the divinized Zhang Daoling (this usage would continue under the Ming). Such a title—and its corollary in terms of control, even if partial and shared with local authorities, clerical and lay, over official monasteries—would continue to be used during the Ming and Qing dynasties, demonstrating that the Mongol Yuan was a major moment for defining religious policy over the long term, rather than an "alien" parenthesis soon closed and forgotten. The Heavenly Master's capacity to give titles to Daoist monasteries and dignitaries seems, by the late Yuan period, to have extended to local temples and gods,[79] inaugurating some sort of official endorsement of his role in canonizing gods (as we will see in detail in chapter 8).

The Mongols introduced a second, related innovation: a permanent representation of the religious institutions at court—in our case, a Longhushan

dignitary living close to the emperor.[80] This position was first created for Zhang Liusun, designated by the 36th Heavenly Master to become the chaplain of Qubilai. Zhang was from a junior branch of the Zhang lineage that provided several Longhushan dignitaries—we have already met his grandfather, Zhang Wenshi, who had been abbot of the Shangqinggong. He was only twenty-eight when, in 1276, he accompanied Zhang Zongyan to an audience with Qubilai. At that time the emperor had entered Jiangnan in a campaign to annihilate the Song Empire that would take three more years to complete. Zhang Zongyan was invited to stay at court, like the patriarchs of other religious orders recognized and granted autonomy by the Mongols. However, Zhang Zongyan disliked the climate of Beijing and returned to Longhushan in 1277, leaving Liusun as his delegate. The imperial family took a strong liking to the young Daoist, and after he cured Qubilai's mother, he rose to a position of prestige that he was never to abandon. The official *Yuan history* notes that he performed this healing miracle helped by the divine generals on his ordination register, directed by Zhang Daoling himself.[81] Several more miracles performed for Qubilai and the next four emperors augmented his aura and helped to maintain his political advisory role. He became a dominant religious figure in the capital; he initiated the founding the Eastern Peak Temple 東嶽廟 that his successor, Wu Quanjie, completed and that has remained until the twentieth century one of the two largest and most popular Daoist temples in the city.[82] The emperor offered to make him Heavenly Master, but he declined firmly; he was then made the first patriarch of a newly created institution (established 1278), the Mystic Teachings, Xuanjiao 玄教.[83]

The Xuanjiao had formal control over Daoism, and more specifically over temples and appointments, in parts of southern China in an apparently smooth cooperation with the Longhushan administration. The latter controlled temples and appointments in the other half of southern China, while remaining primarily devoted to controlling ordinations and ritual matters.[84] The Xuanjiao was headed by a patriarch (*Xuanjiao dazongshi* 玄教大宗師) who had a leading role at the Jixianyuan 集賢院 (Academy of Gathered Worthies), an institution that, among other things, managed the

Daoist clergy throughout the empire.[85] The management was actually collective—a typical feature of the Yuan administration—since other institutions, most notably Quanzhen, also had permanent seats in the academy, and each enjoyed great autonomy until the end of Mongol rule in 1368. The Xuanjiao, therefore, was not a genuine religious order: it does not seem to have had any scriptures, liturgical texts, or ordination registers. Its patriarchal line was ex post facto assimilated to the specific Zhengyi lineage of Zhang Liusun (extending back eight generations), which in no way compares to the Heavenly Master patriarchal line.[86] It served as a means of communication, and some official documents carved in stone indicate that it mainly channeled paperwork between Longhushan and the imperial court.

Zhang Liusun was both the first Xuanjiao patriarch and the first Longhushan Daoist to serve as the personal permanent priest, or chaplain, of the emperor, *yuqian fashi* 御前法師, a position that many other Longhushan Daoists would fill in the following decades and centuries, under the Yuan, Ming, and Qing regimes. His disciple Wu Quanjie succeeded him in his position as chaplain to the emperor and rose even higher in terms of political and social prestige. Wu was from a family in Anren, just north of Longhushan, and had entered one of the residences of the Shangqinggong at the age of twelve. Wu proved to be both an astute political animal and an inspiring religious leader and practitioner; he was apparently a noted adept of inner alchemy.[87] Tributes to his talents can be found in considerable numbers of essays and poems written by the scholars and officials of his time—it is most regrettable that we do not have any extant work by him. Indeed, Wu reached a level of cultural capital without precedent in the history of Longhushan. After his death, his disciple Xia Wenyong 夏文泳 (1277–1349) was designated as the third patriarch, and three years later he was succeeded by Zhang Delong 張德隆, another member of the branch of the Zhang lineage to which his forebears Zhang Wenshi and Zhang Liusun also belonged. They all divided their time between personal service to the emperor and his relatives, performing official rituals throughout the country, and maintaining their headquarters at the Chongzhengong 崇真宮 in Beijing.

The direct control enjoyed by both Xuanjiao and Longhushan leaders over Daoist temples and clerics explains why, by the Mongol period, the epigraphical evidence about the Heavenly Master institution becomes extremely abundant, whereas up to the end of the Song it had remained rather modest. We have hundreds of stele inscriptions from that period mentioning the Heavenly Master and the connections between local Daoists and Longhushan.[88] This also marks a new stage in the assertion of control by the Heavenly Master institution over leading Daoist temples in the various parts of the empire; not only did Daoists from those temples obtain ordination at Longhushan, but in many cases Longhushan Daoists were sent to these temples to assume abbotships; some of them also established new temples with lavish official support.

Another major element of institution building that developed during Mongol rule was the compilation and printing of official histories of Longhushan and the Zhang patriarchal line by their own members—in other words, the appearance of official church histories. This trend must have started during the Song, but we have little evidence for it; apparently texts such as the *Tianshi neizhuan* (which dealt not only with Zhang Daoling but also successive Heavenly Masters) circulated, as they are quoted in extant Song sources, but it is difficult to ascertain their dates, authorship, or contents.[89] Most of the official histories of the Heavenly Master institution we now have bear the heavy imprint of the early Ming Heavenly Masters, particularly the 43rd, Zhang Yuchu (discussed in the next chapter). The making of the official history had begun earlier than the Ming, however. The first extant full-fledged self-history of Longhushan, including biographies of all successive Heavenly Masters from Zhang Daoling down to the time of compilation, is the gazetteer *Longhushan zhi.*[90]

This earliest foundation of the massive paper edifice around Longhushan was laid in 1314, edited under the direction of Wu Quanjie and the statesman Yuan Mingshan 元明善 (1269–1322). It is also an early example of the genre of mountain gazetteer.[91] It was compiled in the context of court support for Longhushan and the Heavenly Master institution.[92] It documents

the geography and history of the site and its buildings, and the biographies of the successive Heavenly Masters, as well as literary evidence (such as inscriptions and poems) and imperial edicts. We do not have any extant original edition of that work, but a mid-fifteenth-century reprint, with some additions by Zhou Zhao 周召 (d.u.), is apparently faithful to the 1314 edition, and constitutes a reliable source for Longhushan before the advent of the Ming.[93] Several editions followed during the subsequent centuries; two (not counting the fragments in the *Yongle dadian*) survive: one dated around 1626 that uses material from the Yuan gazetteer but adds considerable Ming-period documentation, and one, much more widely circulated, by the leading Longhushan dignitary Lou Jinyuan, published in 1740 (and itself slightly expanded in 1832). In parallel, genealogies of the Zhang lineage were being compiled. Most of this historiography was taken up by Zhang Yuchu, as we will see in the next chapter. From the earliest documents down to late Qing ones, these histories feature prominently the question of state support for the institution, services provided by Heavenly Masters to emperors and the state, and honors given in return, which has led modern-day historians to also devote much of their attention to these questions. However, as this book hopes to demonstrate, state support was a consequence of the Heavenly Master institution's success rather than its cause.

Chapter Six

The Most Powerful Heavenly Master Ever?

The Lives of Zhang Yuchu

In the middle of the long historical development of the Heavenly Master institution, one Heavenly Master stands out who can be seen as basking in the glory of the institution's apex: the 43rd, Zhang Yuchu.[1] His successors certainly recognized him as one of the most prominent in the patriarchal line: many of his texts are anthologized in later editions of the Longhushan gazetteer and Zhang genealogy. Indeed, the 1890 edition of this genealogy, the *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu* 留侯天師世家張氏宗譜, has four portraits, of Zhang Liang, Zhang Daoling, the 30th Heavenly Master, and the 43rd Heavenly Master.

Zhang Yuchu is remarkable, and deserves a biography, for several reasons. Consolidating the groundwork laid by his father, the 42nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (1335–1378, titled in 1359), he was the builder of the close alliance between the Heavenly Master institution and the Ming dynasty that allowed for the greatest development of that institution ever. Among other results, this alliance yielded the Daoist canon—the 1445 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, which Zhang Yuchu was entrusted to compile—that is, the source on which we (as twenty-first-century scholars) base our understanding of Daoism. On a more personal level, he is also uniquely distinguished as a scholar and poet: he is the only Heavenly Master in history to have a complete literary anthology published and still extant today—and indeed, included in both the Daoist canon and the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (compiled 1773–1782); one can hardly find a better symbol of



Figure 3. Portrait of Zhang Yuchu in *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu* 留侯天師世家張氏宗譜, 1890 original edition, prefatory matter.

his being recognized in the two domains called Confucian and Daoist. This anthology, the *Xianquanji* 峴泉集 (Works from the Mountainous Spring [Resort], the name of his own retreat at Longhushan) contains both prose essays in many genres, and poetry; it opens a window on Zhang Yuchu's activities, proclivities, and social networks, even if it hardly discloses his intimate world and subjectivity.

One would expect that source materials for such a powerful, well-connected figure would be overabundant. This is only partially true. There actually are very few biographies of Zhang Yuchu. The main one is his entry in the biographies of the Heavenly Masters, *Han tianshi shijia,*[2] which Zhang Yuchu himself compiled following a first draft by his father, and which his descendant, the 50th Heavenly Master, Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 (1552–1611, first titled 1566), completed and published as part of the 1607 supplement to the Daoist canon. I will thoroughly use this rather short biography, but

the fact is that it tells us much about his career and his official standing, and little about everything else. His mention in the *Mingshi* 明史 is short but interesting, as it sheds light on aspects that Zhang Guoxiang preferred to ignore.[3] Other later works (including anthologies of poets and painters, local gazetteers, and the Zhang genealogy) seem largely derivative and offer only the simplest vitae. Besides that, surprising as it may seem, we do not have any epitaph or other unofficial biography of him. Interestingly, in contrast there is a biography of his wife.[4]

Scholarship on Zhang Yuchu has so far both noticed the prominence of his writings and thought (he has been a favorite of those who like Daoism so far as it seems Confucian) and been hampered by the (apparent) limitations of the source materials on his actual life and activities.[5] An early study by Sun Kekuan (1905–1993) has set the parameters of this approach; more recent studies have broadly followed the same path.[6] In their introduction to the *Historical Companion to the Daozang,* Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen pointed out the extent to which Zhang Yuchu's vision is key to understanding the Daoist canon, but what this vision was remains to be explored in detail.[7]

My way of making sense of the source material (primarily Zhang Yuchu's own writings, as well as other records: gazetteers, Daoist and official historiography, epigraphy, and literary miscellanies) is not to follow a chronology. Rather, I look at his training and the milieu that made him, and then explore four different aspects of his life and activities: his duties as the Heavenly Master; his intense scholarly life and written legacy; his self-cultivation practices; and his presiding over an empire-wide ordination system.[8] These, of course, are only "four lives" rhetorically. Never does he nor do his contemporaries oppose them, as they are closely intertwined in both theory and practice. Yet, in his own *Daomen shigui* 道門十規 (Ten principles of Daoism), Zhang lays out the different key aspects of Daoism, including ritual, self-cultivation, scriptural study, and institutional management. I will conclude with an overview of his vision of Daoism as exposed in *Daomen shigui* and other works. It is a measure of Zhang Yuchu's successful Daoist life that he could excel in all these dimensions.

Early years

Zhang Yuchu was the first son of the marriage between Zhang Zhengchang and Lady Bao 包氏, a fifth-generation descendant of Bao Hui 包恢 (1182–1268) of Nancheng 南城 (Jiangxi); he had three brothers and two sisters.[9] The second brother, Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (1364–1427), would succeed him as 44th Heavenly Master when Yuchu died without a son in 1410. Yuqing benefited from the same education as his elder brother and was also known as a poet and painter, although he apparently was not considered to have reached the same level. We do not know what became of his two other brothers, except that one was active as a Daoist priest.[10]

When Zhang Yuchu came into this world in 1361, both the Heavenly Master institution and China as a whole were undergoing a sea change. This very year, one of the contending warlords who were carving out their own kingdoms at the Mongols' and each other's expense, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398), called on Zhang Zhengchang for spiritual help and summoned him to his capital, which he had set up just the previous year (1360) in Nanjing. Zhengchang, who had himself just inherited the Heavenly Master title from his cousin, the 41st Heavenly Master, Zhang Zhengyan 張正言 (1325–1359), accepted; he probably did not have much choice. His lines of communication with the Mongol capital were cut by the rebellions, and he had to be inaugurated from afar, unlike his predecessors, who all traveled to the Mongol court on their appointment.[11] Zhang Zhengchang first sent an emissary to plead allegiance to the future emperor and went in audience in person in 1365 and 1366,[12] and again after his coronation in 1368, when he became the first Ming emperor (posthumously named Taizu). He was consistently favored with titles, honors, and grants, but he was the last one (to date) to be officially titled *tianshi* (the term remaining common in nonofficial texts until the twentieth century), his new title as given by Taizu in 1368 being Zhengyi sijiao zhenren 正一嗣教真人.[13]

Maybe as a result of the early alliance with Zhu Yuanzhang (which would have erased from the records any possible previous dealing between the Zhangs and competing warlords), and maybe also thanks to the self-defense militia set up by Zhang Zhengchang,[14] Longhushan emerged from the war

relatively unscathed—something that cannot be said of much of the rest of China, even in the central Jiangxi area. This is a significant factor explaining how rapidly and easily the Heavenly Master institution set itself up as the religious arm of the new Ming Empire: it had a well-entrenched rich aristocratic family with powerful connections and cultural capital, large physical infrastructures, a highly qualified staff, an empire-wide network, and libraries, schools, archives—everything it needed to take care of the living and the dead of the new empire. In other words, the Heavenly Master institution Zhang Yuchu inherited had managed, by both cunning and chance, to benefit hugely from the Mongol policy of granting large autonomy to religious institutions and yet (by contrast with most other religious institutions) to continue along the same lines under the Ming.

The situation at Longhushan during Zhang Yuchu's early years is not known by an exactly contemporary record, but it can be reconstructed based on a number of sources, which include Zhang Yuchu's own writings, various inscriptions, and the gazetteer first compiled in 1314.[15] As mentioned above, the fact that relatively limited destruction took place at Longhushan between the early Yuan and the Taiping Civil War allowed for strong institutional and physical continuity.[16] Zhang Yuchu refers frequently to this area as "our home" (吾里), and there is no mistaking his deep love for and attachment to it.[17]

When Zhang Yuchu, shortly after 1391, built his own hermitage, named Xianquan jingshe 峴泉精舍 (of which nothing remains), on a beautiful nature spot not far from his official residence, he was simply following a well-set pattern he had actively observed from his youth.[18] Indeed, having one's own hermitage at Longhushan at which to meditate and host refined guests was an absolute must for a top-ranking Daoist, and Zhang Yuchu wasted no time in having his. He repeatedly waxes eloquent, in both prose and poetry, on mountain life and retreats far away from civilization, but the fact is that his hermitage was a short distance from his huge residence and his tens if not hundreds of staff and servants. This is typical of late imperial (and earlier) elite Daoists: partaking in a culture that values an apparently eremitic lifestyle (living in a simple mountain hermitage, writing poetry, painting landscapes, and meditating) while at the same being actively involved in the management of large institutions.

An impressive institutional buildup, based on a continuous accumulation of money and land, had taken place at Longhushan since the eleventh century, and accelerated under Mongol rule. Nowhere in Zhang Yuchu's writings can one detect any hint that the Yuan was a bad time (except, of course, the chaos of the final years). One crucial element in this buildup was the schools: there was an academy (書院) within the Zhang residence.[19] The rich, aristocratic Zhang had long invested in the education of their offspring, and Zhang Yuchu proved to be the jewel in their crown. Lu Jiuyuan built his academy and taught from 1187 through 1191 at Xiangshan, which is within walking distance of the Heavenly Master residence (some ten kilometers east).[20] This is no coincidence. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the whole Zhang lineage was trained in, and took part in, cutting-edge neo-Confucian philosophy.[21] The 39th Heavenly Master, Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (?–1344?), wrote a commentary on the *Daodejing* inspired by neo-Confucian thinking.[22] Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249–1333), a leading inheritor of the Lu school, was a close associate of (and allied through marriage with) the Zhang lineage, and so was his disciple, the literary star Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348), who wrote many important inscriptions and other texts to celebrate the Heavenly Master institution; both were also close friends of Wu Quanjie.[23] Zhang Yuchu was born a few years too late to meet these towering scholars who spent time at Longhushan, but his father was familiar with them. One Longhushan dignitary for whom Zhang Yuchu wrote an epitaph was giving lectures on Lu Jiuyuan,[24] and Zhang himself repeatedly mentions Lu, his thought, and his past at Longhushan.

Zhang Yuchu describes his own education as having started with Confucian philosophy and having later expanded into literature and Daoist self-cultivation.[25] He also wrote specifically about two of his teachers, and mentions in passing a few more. One, Zhang Shuai 張率, was a member of a local scholarly family and a notable poet, who was briefly promoted to be a local official in the early Hongwu reign, before returning to the Longhushan area, opening his own school, and tutoring Zhang Yuchu.[26] The other, Peng Mengyue 彭孟悅, a retired scholar, taught him neo-Confucian philosophy for over ten years. Peng was promoted (possibly recommended by Zhang Yuchu

himself?) as educational official in the mid-Hongwu reign.[27] Zhang Yuchu lamented that Peng was not recognized as the great thinker he was because the world venerated only Zhu Xi and neglected the Lu Jiuyuan school. Zhang Yuchu later maintained friendships with several of his fellow students from local prominent families, most of whom made a career in Ming officialdom, or became teachers, and he wrote epitaphs[28] for them as well as inscriptions for their studios,[29] letters,[30] and prefaces and postfaces to their writings and calligraphies.[31] In these texts about literati friendship, Daoism remains mostly in the background but is certainly not out of the picture altogether. One of these friends, when impoverished, was invited to move into the Heavenly Master residence as a teacher, and Zhang Yuchu does not fail to mention that "his ascendants had trained with my family."[32] It seems from Zhang Yuchu's abundant writings (and his own tendency to provide long lists of "friends") that no scholar in central Jiangxi could stay outside his networks of master-disciple and friendship bonds. Yet to what extent all these people developed a sustained interest in Daoism is unclear.[33]

Besides philosophy and literature, Zhang Yuchu also learned to play the *qin* 琴, and there again claims, with typical aplomb, that he could satisfy himself only with the best musician under Heaven.[34] A true polymath, he also notes in passing he had studied geomancy.[35] The only skill he does not claim for himself is medicine.[36] This Zhang tradition of training with the greatest local philosophers and writers continued: Zhang Yuchu hired his friend Yang Mengxu 楊孟頊, whom he describes as a great poet (and a scion of a major literati family from central Jiangxi), to be his nephews' preceptor.[37]

This is the Confucian side to Zhang Yuchu's upbringing. But, of course, there is another side. When his grandmother conceived his father, Zhengchang, she dreamt of the immortal Fuqiu 浮丘.[38] So Yuchu's father was actually an incarnation of this immortal. Fuqiu was the senior member of a triad of gods (with his disciples Wang 王 and Guo 郭), the Three Lords based at Huagaishan, some 120 kilometers southwest of Longhushan (see map 2). This triad was a major cult throughout the region and had its own shrines in the Longhushan area.[39] Furthermore, the Three Lords' cult had a close relationship with the emergence and development during the Northern Song

of the Tianxin zhengfa.[40] We lack direct evidence about how this local lore influenced Zhang Yuchu's youth, but it is obvious it was an important part of the context in which he grew up; he wrote that he had worshipped the lords of Huagaishan from his youth.[41]

The deep immersion of the Zhang lineage in central Jiangxi religious culture is repeatedly expressed in Yuchu's own writings, where he devotes numerous inscriptions and poems to the temples and saints of the region, and expounds his passion for the history of local sacred sites and their deities.[42] Most of his records for temples and shrines are devoted to the area along the Xu River 盱江, between Nanfeng 南豐 and Fuzhou 撫州 (some one hundred kilometers west from Longhushan), where he claims the superiority of this land and its gods, "the greatest concentration of blessed lands, *fudi* 福地."[43] He also visited and celebrated sacred places a bit further north, in and around present-day Nanchang. Indeed, Zhang Yuchu himself actually compiled the hagiographic record of the Three Lords (*Huagaishan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi*) for inclusion in the Daoist canon—in other words, he had the gods who were the object of his personal devotion included in the canon. He celebrated a *jiao* offering on the emperor's behalf at Huagaishan in 1392, saw apparitions of the lords when he went there again on his own initiative in 1389 and 1404, and successfully prayed them for his wife's recovery.[44] Other local saints visited by Zhang and celebrated in his writings include Xu Xun 許遜 (he went to his temple at Xishan) and other Jingming saints, also densely present in this area,[45] as well as Zhenwu,[46] and the (in)famous Wutong, whose temple in the shadows of his own residence Zhang Yuchu repaired.[47] Yet another local saint to whom Zhang Yuchu devoted much attention is Wang Wenqing, whom he considered as the most prominent patriarch of the Shenxiao tradition (and an associate of his ancestor the 30th Heavenly Master), but also a local saint who performed numerous miracles. In 1390 Zhang Yuchu visited the site of a temple to Wang in Nanfeng and had it rebuilt.[48]

A third facet of Zhang Yuchu's (as of any Heavenly Master's) training and background was his ritual education. At the same time, he studied the classics and literature with top-notch Confucian literati, young Yuchu was

also learning Daoist ritual. For this, he did not lack resources either. The temples of Longhushan, especially the Shangqinggong, were staffed by large numbers of elite Daoists; some were settled there, and constituted hereditary families as well as clerical lineages (some were celibate) of Daoists in the service of the Heavenly Master institution; others came from their own base, worked there for a while, or were sent as Daoist officials to all parts of the empire. This vast body of elite Daoists provided a pool of tutors to the scions of the Zhangs; they also formed the core of the Daoist administration of the Ming Empire. Doubtless, Zhang Yuchu studied with several masters, though he left few notes to this effect. Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381, Taizu's confident and historiographer[49]) writes that before dying, Zhang Zhengchang entrusted his son to the care of Fang Congyi 方從義 (*hao* Fanghu 方壺, ca. 1302–1393).[50] Fang is well known to history as a major landscape painter—indeed, Zhang Yuchu wrote many colophons for Fang's paintings.[51] He was also a Daoist ordained and residing at Shangqinggong in the 1330s, before he traveled to Beijing and other places in the late Yuan, returning to Longhushan in his later years. Fang had been the disciple of Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (*hao* Pengtou 蓬頭, 1276–1336) a Quanzhen master from Yongjia (Wenzhou) and second-generation disciple of Bai Yuchan. Zhang Yuchu wrote a biography of Jin Zhiyang, focusing on the years he spent at Longhushan until 1333, where he built a temple and worked as a successful healer.[52] Jin was a major influence at Longhushan during this period, as we often see him mentioned in the biographies of the Daoists of the next generation. Through this connection, Zhang Yuchu was thus trained in the Quanzhen tradition of self-cultivation, as well as painting and healing rituals. This shows to what extent the fourteenth-century Longhushan welcomed leading Daoists of all origins, traditions, and inclinations, and provided a congenial environment (and resources) for their setting up their own temple so that they could attract and train disciples there. For a pampered, talented, and ambitious young man like Zhang Yuchu, all kinds of prestigious knowledge could be readily acquired on-site.

The other of Zhang Yuchu's masters mentioned in official biographies[53] (not in Daoist sources) is Liu Yuanran 劉淵然 (1351–1432), the charismatic

Qingwei ritualist (and disciple of Zhao Yizhen, for whom Zhang Yuchu wrote a biography[54]) who made a stellar career under the Yongle and succeeding reigns. Mark Meulenbeld has dubbed him "the ultimate Court Daoist."[55] Liu hailed from southern Jiangxi, and apparently first came to reside at Longhushan in 1390, when he may have taught Zhang Yuchu. A curious twist to the relationship between these two towering figures is that, according to non-Daoist sources, the two fell out (did Zhang Yuchu at the apex of his power find his master's stature embarrassing?), and both men's reputation suffered as a result; Zhang is said to be behind the Yongle emperor's order to send Liu Yuanran into exile first at Longhushan and then in Yunnan,[56] where his legacy is still much in evidence in local Daoism.

Zhang Yuchu himself mentions substantial numbers of "his disciples" in his own writings. He is credited with training one of the most important authorities in Daoist ritual of the Ming period, Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451).[57] Zhou, who hailed from Hangzhou, subsequently moved on to be a leading court Daoist (and military advisor) to the Yongle emperor and his successor, and editor of an authoritative liturgical compendium, the *Shangqing Lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書.

In addition to his immediate masters and disciples, Zhang Yuchu was deeply embedded in a large group of elite Daoists staffing the Longhushan institution, and (after 1368) the two institutions housing Daoists performing for state and court, the Shenyueguan 神樂觀 and the Chaotiangong 朝天宮 in Nanjing. This group is well documented in Zhang Yuchu's writings: he composed four epitaphs for these dignitaries who were his close assistants and companions (they had often previously been his father's assistants), and whom he promoted to leading positions throughout the empire.[58] Indeed, Zhang Yuchu rarely failed to remind us who was in charge. He wrote in several instances, "I promoted him to the position of … 予擢之," even (especially?) when at the time he was in his twenties and the promoted Daoist was over fifty. He also made it clear that he provided the names of the Daoists to be nominated for office when Taizu set up the formal empire-wide Daoist administration, Daolusi 道錄司, in 1382. These texts, along with numerous other biographies and inscriptions, provide a wealth of detail (by and large

about official careers rather than personal lives) on these early Ming elite Daoists; rather than listing their curriculum vitae, which would cover pages on end (and provide great material for prosopography), it will suffice to point out a few commonalities. Some were from local Longhushan families, but many came from literati families elsewhere (present-day Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Jiangxi), and most often arrived at Longhushan as teenagers. Clearly, the literati background (in many cases, no earlier Daoist connection is mentioned, which does not mean it did not exist) was a condition for integration in a milieu where, like his forebears. Zhang Yuchu set high standards. Conversely, such high cultural standards likely helped convince literati families to give their teenage sons to the Heavenly Master institution. Many of them published their poetry (most of these works seem to be lost). One of them set up in his own village two academies, one Confucian and one Daoist (儒道二書院).[59] Obviously, Zhang Yuchu's own profile reflected, rather than stood out from, his larger milieu.

In short, then, Zhang Yuchu came of age embedded in a dense network of family ties (including matrimonial alliances) and master-disciple relationships (in Daoist ritual, self-cultivation, neo-Confucian philosophy, arts, and so on) all based in central Jiangxi, with its distinct literary, philosophical, and devotional culture, but with ramifications throughout the empire. These networks were the solid foundation upon which Zhang Yuchu built his later career and achievements.

Life 1: Being the Heavenly Master

Zhang Yuchu was only seventeen when his father died peacefully at home on 4 January 1378 in the grand residence at Longhushan, after having passed on to his son the Heavenly Master seal and sword. Various texts insist on the meaning of the succession; Zhang Guoxiang narrates an apparition of divine generals in the sky when father and son were alone, which prompted Zhang Zhengchang to transmit all his secrets to his son. Later that year, Yuchu would bury his father's crown and personal sword at a site near Longhushan. He was quickly nominated 43rd Heavenly Master and summoned to Nanjing,

where Taizu received him in audience. The scene is tersely described in the *Han tianshi shijia,* with Taizu looking young Zhang Yuchu up and down and saying, "You are of a very different kind from your father [絕類乃父]!"[60] The nomination edict we have, however, is dated 1380.[61]

Around the same time, Zhang Yuchu married, and the partnership tells us a lot about his status: the chosen bride was Kong Jingrou 孔靜柔 (1362–1411?),[62] the daughter of Kong Siyan 孔思言, a fifty-fourth generation descendant of Confucius in Qufu, brother of two successive heads of the Kong lineage (Yanshenggong 衍聖公), and a Hanlin official at the late Mongol court. In 1408, she was made a "primal lord," *yuanjun* 元君 (a divine title for female Daoists), as was common for the wives of Heavenly Masters. The extant epitaph for Kong Jingrou tells us that the high demands in terms of pedigree and education formed by both families made this the only union acceptable for the two parties.[63] Indeed, the Ming state recognized the heirs of Confucius and Zhang Daoling as the two most important hereditary families of the empire, ranking only below the imperial family itself.[64] Like the Longhushan Zhangs, the Kongs of Qufu were generously financed by the state and given titles, privileges, and a right to manage their heritage (temples and rites) but no spiritual authority to interpret the tradition they were incarnating: this was an imperial privilege, the emperor being the supreme religious authority in the empire and the head of both Daoism and Confucianism.[65]

So, when she arrived at Longhushan, Kong Jingrou already knew how to handle a large aristocratic family estate with hordes of servants and clerks, and a permanent flow of high-ranking visitors. Her epitaph praises her for being meticulous with family rituals and sacrifices, keeping a modest lifestyle, and teaching the *Lienüzhuan* and *Xiaojing* to her daughters. Elsewhere Zhang Yuchu flaunts his family's history of matrimonial alliances with other prominent families.[66]

His power at court, the status of his family, and his education all allowed for Zhang Yuchu's dense social life among the early Ming elites. Poetic and artistic exchanges with other eminent scholars are reflected in Zhang Yuchu's own *Xianquanji,* and in pieces dedicated to him found in other literary

anthologies of that period. Among his high-placed friends, one unsurprisingly finds members of the imperial family; as Richard Wang has shown, the Ming princes were deeply involved with Daoism.[67] The *Xianquanji* was prefaced and paid for by the Prince of Liao 遼王, Zhu Zhi 朱植 (1377–1424), Taizu's fifteenth son.[68] The claim of his descendant-cum-biographer, Zhang Guoxiang, that "among imperial kinsmen and scholar-officials, there was none who did not revere him,"[69] might not be so far off the mark.

Zhang Yuchu proved adept at using these wide connections to further strengthen his Longhushan home base. Between 1390 and 1393, he had the Shangqinggong lavishly restored. Since a fire in 1351, the main temple had lain half-repaired,[70] as his father had been able to rebuild only the main hall in 1367. The young Heavenly Master embarked on a massive empire-wide fundraising drive; a stele inscription, composed by a lay adept and official, tells us in loving detail how Zhang Yuchu sent thirty-eight senior Daoists throughout the country for one year to collect money from princes, officials, and other rich laypeople. Impressed by the effort, Taizu eventually contributed a large sum as well.[71] Few people in the empire had the symbolic capital to accomplish such a spectacular fund drive.

Zhang Yuchu's career as the head of the Daoist bureaucracy went through three stages. From 1378 to 1398, he worked with Taizu in a close relationship, yet one that was faithful to the model the Heavenly Masters had consistently adopted from the Song until 1911: keeping a distance, residing at Longhushan, and coming to the capital only for limited periods of time. During the twenty years we have records of only six visits to Nanjing, although the evidence is not comprehensive. As a result, we learn that the emperor and the Heavenly Master had a conversation on self-cultivation,[72] but likely he was much less intimate with the emperor than the latter was with the top-ranking Daoists at court (all of them themselves close to the Heavenly Master and owing him their appointment). Zhang Yuchu repeatedly states in his writings how he was living "in retirement" during most of his career; another reason is that he was presiding over ordination rituals at Longhushan several times a year, and thus could not be away for extended periods of time. Meanwhile, Zhang Yuchu not only sent trusted Longhushan Daoists to reside at the capital and serve as the emperor's

chaplains and advisors but also reorganized the whole institutional setup of Daoism, nominating abbots for major temples and monasteries throughout the empire, so that by late imperial times most major Daoist temples were run by lineages directly descending from members of Zhang Yuchu's inner circle.[73] One cannot but marvel at how the Heavenly Master managed to keep such a high-profile political position without being in the capital: this is the art of wielding power from afar to a high degree. As we will see, his three other "lives" had rather little to do with court or state. However, this did not entirely shield Zhang Yuchu from the horrors of court life—he alludes tersely to an episode shortly before 1396 when he had to travel to Nanjing because he had been "slandered";[74] he also mentions that there was a time where he was "dispensed from coming in audience," and relied on elite Daoists at court to maintain contact.[75]

The second period of Zhang Yuchu's official career is the brief but brutal interlude of the aborted Jianwen reign (1398–1402) and its dream of a Confucian empire. Apparently, the Jianwen emperor had decided that his program entailed de-Daoicizing the Ming regime and he cashiered Zhang Yuchu: "He was condemned for breaking the law, and his seals and titles were taken from him."[76] Not surprisingly, the *Han tianshi shijia* biography finesses the episode. Zhang Yuchu, who had mastered the art of talking about his yearning for simple mountain life, had no problem explaining how he spent life in retirement then.

With Zhu Di's bloody victory in his rebellion against his nephew the Jianwen emperor that resulted in the Yongle reign and his eventually becoming the "Accomplished Ancestor" Chengzu 成祖, the alliance between the Ming house and the Heavenly Master was renewed, and Zhang Yuchu was welcome back in the capital (soon to be moved northward; but apparently Zhang Yuchu never visited Beijing[77]), and showered with more honors than ever. I will not list all the honors (titles for himself and his parents, money for himself and his temples), requests, and ritual services that marked the relationship between Chengzu and Zhang Yuchu, as documented in both *Han tianshi shijia* and *Huang Ming enming shilu* 皇明恩命世錄 (another work compiled by Zhang Guoxiang, collecting the official documents issued by the Ming emperors in support of the Heavenly Master institution).

Zhang Yuchu regularly celebrated rituals at the emperor's behest: masses (likely, for the war dead), both funerals for and rituals for the health of imperial family members (including the empress[78]), and prayers for rain. These rituals mostly took place in Nanjing. Zhang Yuchu left various poems, as well as ritual texts (*zhaiyi* 齋意 and *qingci* 青詞) commemorating them.[79] In 1408, Chengzu ordered Zhang Yuchu to confer on him the *Taishang yanxilu* 太上延禧籙.[80] This ordination register is not well documented in the Daoist canon but clearly is the specific Daoist ordination conferred on Ming emperors; Zhang Zhengchang had earlier conferred it on (soon-to-be) Taizu, in 1367, one year before the founding of the Ming,[81] and succeeding Heavenly Masters would confer it on successive emperors.

One type of ritual is missing from the record of Zhang Yuchu's performances: exorcism. This is surprising, since spectacular martial exorcism was extremely popular among early Ming elite Daoists,[82] and records exist for his father, Zhang Zhengchang (he was crowded out by people asking for his talismans on his second visit to Nanjing in 1366),[83] his master Liu Yuanran, and his disciple Zhou Side. Zhang Yuchu himself notes that one of his younger brothers was skilled at exorcism and rainmaking rituals,[84] and also notes exorcisms for a good number of other Daoists he writes about. I would consider it extremely unlikely that Zhang Yuchu did not perform exorcisms; rather, I assume that the authors of his biographies, notably Zhang Guoxiang, purposefully chose not to discuss this aspect so as to better enhance Zhang Yuchu's unique status as a scholarly Heavenly Master. Anecdotal literature, however, has preserved traces of his exploits.[85]

Among the requests and honors Chengzu bestowed on Zhang Yuchu, one stands out as unusual: according to the *Han tianshi shijia,* Zhang was sent to go look for the elusive (and actually certainly phantasmatic) Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰—not once but twice, as an imperial decree ordering him to find the mysterious immortal was promulgated in 1408 and again in 1409.[86] Pierre-Henry de Bruyn, who has looked most thoroughly into the matter (and argued convincingly that there never was a flesh-and-bone Zhang Sanfeng), suspects that the orders themselves are later inventions.[87] He also adopts Sun Kekuan's suggestion that the search for Zhang Sanfeng (other ministers were sent on the elusive trail as well) was a cover-up for investigating rumors that

the Jianwen emperor had escaped and was traveling incognito.[88] In any case, the imperial orders were taken seriously by later Ming authors, who claim that Zhang Yuchu went to Wudangshan to find the elusive immortal and submitted a petition (*biao* 表) to ask for Zhenwu's help in his search (which, according to these authors, is to be found in a Wudangshan gazetteer).[89] This petition actually exists, but was signed in 1412 by Zhang Yuchu's brother and successor, Zhang Yuqing.[90] Zhang Yuchu himself never gave any hint that he had visited Wudangshan, except a poem that appears to have been written there,[91] yet one later biography claims he actually met Zhang Sanfeng on the mountain.[92] Shortly thereafter, in 1427, a stele inscription for a temple to Zhang Sanfeng near Chengdu claimed that he was a member of the Longhushan Zhang lineage.[93]

Indeed, Zhang Yuchu does not seem to have traveled much other than attending court at Nanjing and visiting sacred sites in central Jiangxi. The only other (undated) trace of travels in his writings concern Maoshan (close to Nanjing), Suzhou, and Hangzhou.[94] The other sacred sites that he cherished in imagination he never saw for himself. He, for instance, wrote a preface to a gazetteer of Wuyishan 武夷山, lamenting that he had never been there.[95] Many of his prefaces and essays about people and places were written when guests visited him at Longhushan rather than the other way around. Maybe he was careful to maintain his superior position as host; obviously he was also deeply attached to his home area, its landscape, its history, and its gods. In his writings Zhang Yuchu frequently points out that officials posted in Jiangxi (all the way from the county magistrate to the governor, censor, and generals) came to visit him at Longhushan.

Chengzu offered a large grant for Zhang Yuchu to restore his official residence at Longhushan (as we have seen, Zhang had already lavishly restored the Shangqinggong during the 1390s).[96] According to his wife's epitaph, Yuchu, who was already in poor health, exhausted himself managing the repairs, despite her advice to rest. He eventually died in early summer 1410, at the age of only fifty, and Kong Jingrou died of illness the next year.[97] They had five boys and three daughters (who married into prominent literati families), but the boys all died young, so the position of Heavenly

Master went to Yuchu's younger brother Yuqing. The couple adopted Zhang Yuqing's second son as their son, who worshipped them after their death, but he disappeared from the genealogy and history—he actually petitioned the emperor claiming the inheritance of the title after the 45th Heavenly Master's death in 1444, but failed, and so did his own grandson, who tried again in 1472.[98] Zhang Guoxiang's biography relates in detail the death scene—a must-have for any decent biography—with miracles attending the dying moments of the great man, his conferral of the sword and seal onto his brother, and a beautiful farewell poem. Chengzu sent special envoys to offer sacrifices, and Yuchu was buried next to his Xianquan hermitage.

Life 2: Zhang Yuchu the scholar

During the summer of 1406, Chengzu ordered Zhang Yuchu to start the compilation of Daoist books, toward a Daoist canon and possibly also the Daoist sections of the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典—a gigantic encyclopedic project that ran from 1403 to 1408.[99] Apparently, Zhang Yuchu directed the project from Longhushan, and called leading scholarly Daoists to join him. For instance, we learn about Lin Gangbo 林剛伯 (1365–1432), a scholar turned Daoist from Changshu, who first worked on the Daoist texts of the *Yongle dadian* at the capital, and then went to Longhushan to work on the Daoist canon and was much esteemed by Zhang Yuchu,[100] who wrote an inscription for Lin's home temple.[101]

On this occasion, Zhang Yuchu wrote a short and dense essay, *Daomen shigui,* explaining his vision of Daoism and its history, which informed the general structure of the Daoist canon; I will return to it in the last section of this chapter. This structure resolutely changed the contents of the canonical *sandong sifu* 三洞四輔 organization of earlier canons while keeping its outward architecture. Zhang Yuchu would work on this project for only four years before dying, and it would be completed thirty-five years later, under the supervision of Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (?–1462). Shao was a disciple of Liu Yuanran, and therefore a codisciple of Zhang Yuchu, even though we do not know to what extent they were familiar with each other. Nonetheless, Zhang

clearly made his mark on the canon, and therefore on the material shaping our picture of Daoism. The reason Chengzu entrusted him with the project is partly ex officio as Heavenly Master, but also due to his stature as a scholar who was already well established by 1406 through an impressive number of writings in many genres and styles. Indeed, few Daoists have proved so versatile, except maybe the great Du Guangting and Bai Yuchan.

Zhang's writings can be classified under three main categories. First, he was very active in compiling the records of his own family and institution. His father, Zhang Zhengchang, had drafted a biography for all preceding Heavenly Masters, titled *Han tianshi shijia,* and obtained a preface dated 1376 from Song Lian, the court historiographer.[102] Zhang Yuchu further revised and edited the book. What exactly was the contribution of Zhang Zhengchang, Song Lian, Zhang Yuchu, and two later editors, Zhang Yue 張鉞 and Zhang Guoxiang, is unclear from the extant text.[103] No edition of the book as published by Zhang Yuchu survives, but it was further continued by Zhang Guoxiang and included as such in the 1607 *Wanli xu Daozang* 萬曆續道藏. This remains a primary source for the history of the Heavenly Masters. Zhang Yuchu also revised and edited a gazetteer of Longhushan.[104] Again, this work is not extant, and this time the relationship to the extant *Longhushan zhi,* recompiled by Zhang Guoxiang and eventually published around 1626, is not entirely clear.[105] Furthermore, he also edited a new edition of the family genealogy, the *Zhangshi zongxi* 張氏宗系.[106] Last but not least, he gathered all extant writings associated with his prestigious ancestor, the 30th Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian, and published it in 1395 under the title *Sanshidai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu.* He also wrote a postface for a hagiography of Zhang Jixian, *Yinghualu* 應化錄,[107] unfortunately now lost. All in all, Zhang Yuchu devoted considerable energy to promoting Longhushan and the Heavenly Master institution and shaped most of the texts through which we now see them.

Second, Zhang Yuchu compiled or edited a significant number of Daoist texts. Some prefaces to such texts are dated from the Hongwu reign, before he was entrusted with compiling a new Daoist canon, so at least part of his work stemmed from his own lifelong interest rather than from his

duties as compiler. However, some of his prefaces to Daoist texts included in the canon do not feature in his anthology (because the *Xianquanji* was completed in 1407, and he kept editing texts for the canon until he died in 1410).

His longest work is a commentary on the fifth-century "Scripture of Salvation," *Durenjing:* the *Duren shangpin miaojing tongyi* 度人上品妙經通義. He therein anthologizes earlier commentaries that use both Thunder liturgy (*leifa*) and *neidan* inner alchemy in the interpretation of the most sacred Daoist scripture. He also compiled a collection of essential quotes on *neidan* self-cultivation, apparently lost, titled *Danzuanyao* 丹纂要.[108]

Other texts in the Daoist canon bear his name through prefaces or colophons that document his contribution as editor: the *Taishang hunyuan shilu* 太上混元實錄 (a hagiography of Laozi, written by a Longhushan dignitary);[109] and the hagiography of the three local saints so dear to his family, *Huagaishan Fuqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi* 華蓋山浮丘王郭三真君事實, which he compiled in 1407. Finally, he was invited to write prefaces to various works, Daoist and otherwise.[110]

Last but not least, Zhang Yuchu's prose and poetic efforts are anthologized in the *Xianquanji,* prefaced in 1407 and published before his death. As Sun Kekuan has remarked early on, the two well-known extant editions, in the Daoist canon and *Siku quanshu,* do not overlap entirely: each version has texts absent in the other. I use the *Daozang* version as the base edition, while referring to the *Siku quanshu* for texts (notably funerary inscriptions) that can only be found there. However, a recently published 1631 edition proves to be the most complete, with a large amount of poetry that is found in neither the *Daozang* nor the *Siku quanshu* edition.[111] His biographers have amply commented on Zhang Yuchu's literary talents, saying that he was truly "a Confucian among the immortals" (列仙之儒)[112] and had mastered the Three Teachings (which in the case of Buddhism might be a bit of an overstatement[113]). Indeed, his poetry is anthologized in a number of Ming and Qing collections. He was a painter, too, as befits a refined scholar of his stature and a disciple of Fang Congyi, and like his great-grandfather, the 38th Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (1264–1316). His paintings are

discussed in several Ming treatises and collections,[114] but I am not aware of any extant work. One landscape, titled *Xialin qingyin tu* 夏林清隱圖, is said to be in a collection in Japan.[115] Some of his original calligraphy is kept at the Palace Museum in Taipei.[116]

Zhang Yuchu's prose developed in many directions. Several essays on cosmology weave together neo-Confucian and Daoist sources,[117] and were judged perfectly orthodox by the demanding *Siku quanshu* editors. While Zhang Yuchu was certainly not the first to write along these lines, his prose proved to be an important contribution to Dao-Confucian philosophy. Epitaphs, biographies, and inscriptions document his position at the core of a network of elite clerics and local cults. Lyrical texts explain his love of the Longhushan landscape and local lore. A few other texts, discussed below, shed light on his life as an inner alchemist and supreme head of the empire-wide ordination system.

Life 3: Zhang Yuchu the self-cultivator

A substantial part of Zhang Yuchu's scholarly work deals with inner alchemy (compilations, prefaces, essays, and, to a lesser extent, poetry), and indeed he comes across as a keen self-cultivator highly engaged with *neidan* theory and practice from his youth to his last day. His interest lay primarily in his quest for transcendence but was also informed by his vision of Thunder rituals, which he described (along with other earlier and contemporary writers) as entirely based on the mastery of inner alchemy. His work features speculative essays on cosmology and *neidan* that explore practice in detail.[118] Such a triple focus on scholarship, ritual, and *neidan* is not unique to Zhang Yuchu; it characterizes the whole Longhushan elite, about whom we routinely find mentions of self-cultivation practice. Zhang Yuchu's own vision of self-cultivation was squarely within the tradition of what present-day scholars call Nanzong 南宗 (Zhang Yuchu himself hardly ever uses the term[119]). In several texts, he exposes his vision of *neidan* by foregrounding the tradition running from Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (eleventh century) to Bai Yuchan.[120] He was

particularly interested in *Yijing* numerology and its connection with *neidan* practice.

More specifically, Zhang Yuchu had a meditation enclosure (*huan* 圜) built for him at an unspecified location at Longhushan,[121] a practice closely associated with the Quanzhen order that he also discusses (and praises) in detail in his *Daomen shigui*.[122] Zhang Yuchu has not written in detail about his own meditation experiences, and we do not know whether he practiced the one-hundred-day enclosures that he discusses in his theoretical work. At the very least, he was witness to such practices; he also discusses another hermit who built himself a *huandu* at Longhushan.[123] This, and a general high regard for the Quanzhen tradition throughout his work,[124] show how artificial an opposition between Zhengyi and Quanzhen is in the context of the early Ming, and more generally in late imperial times. As we have seen, one of Zhang Yuchu's Daoist masters at Longhushan was Fang Congyi, himself a disciple of a Quanzhen master.

Zhang Yuchu's sustained self-cultivation practice apparently constituted an important part of his private life: he wrote, "My work is about scholarship [文史] but my pleasure is self-cultivation and the study of mind-and-body [性命]."[125] Elsewhere, in a context where he wrote in more Confucian terms (a letter to a literati friend), he claimed that since he had inherited his position as Heavenly Master he had had to devote his energy to Daoism, but his mind was still on self-cultivation, and here he mentioned mostly neo-Confucian philosophers.[126] I certainly do not read that to indicate a tension between Daoism and Confucianism (his essays are geared toward integrating neo-Confucian philosophy with inner alchemy), but rather a tension between his public and private life. Indeed, in his official biographies, there is almost no allusion to this aspect of his life, except in the poem he left as he died:

> My one spark of divine light
> Was never created nor extinguished.
> During the fifty years I have lived,
> It was neither perfect nor faulty.

This morning, I have broken through the great void,
And I can now penetrate the whole universe in all its three realms and ten directions.
一點靈明 本無生滅 五十年中 非圓非闕 今朝裂破大虛空 三界十方俱透徹。[127]

Life 4: Zhang Yuchu, head of an empire-wide ordination system

Being Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu was the head of a powerful clerical institution ordaining priestly and lay adepts on a massive scale. The reason I single out this aspect from "Life 1"—his service to the emperor and the state—is that he fulfilled this function at Longhushan, ministering to individuals quite independently of state intervention. In one short but important text, he reminds us that he was presiding over ordinations to both *daoshi* and lay devotees within a larger *zhai* retreat, thrice a year (on the Three Primes) at Longhushan.[128] His father, Zhengchang, was said to have been obliged to discontinue ordinations for ten years because of the chaos of the late Yuan period but to have eventually reinstated regular ordinations.[129] Indeed, when Taizu nominated him shortly after his coronation in 1368, Zhang Zhengchang asked not to be given any state salary, so that he could continue to sell talismans and ordinations: this clearly shows where the economic base and the priorities of the Heavenly Master institution lay.[130]

Zhang Yuchu claims that by his time, members of the prominent families throughout the empire thronged to Longhushan to be ordained, and the magnificent rituals of collective ordinations often prompted auspicious signs as responses from the gods. Zhang Yuchu's tenure is also the moment when a key piece of legislation (doubtless asked for by himself) was enacted in 1391: the imperial state guaranteed the Longhushan monopoly on ordinations (by outlawing any register that was not issued by the Heavenly Master himself).[131] This law would be repeatedly reconfirmed, and enforced to some degree (local officials took seriously complaints from the Heavenly Master or his representatives) until the last days of the empire in 1911. Taizu also gave Zhang Yuchu a new seal (reading "Zhengyi xuantan" 正一玄壇) that was to

authenticate the registers he issued. The Heavenly Master seals were objects of great fascination among literati, and this particular one is discussed in the literature.[132] We also learn that this seal was kept by the head of the Office (of Printing and Keeping the) Ordination Registers, Faluju 法籙局, one of the most senior and trusted among Zhang Yuchu's assistants, Hu Ju'an 胡矩菴 (1319–1392).[133] Before him, other leading Longhushan dignitaries were in charge of this office and the ordination registers, an indication of how crucial they were.[134]

What registers were conferred on applicants at Longhushan under Zhang Yuchu's supervision? The evidence is quite scattered and incomplete, but we do have in the Daoist canon a series of four registers that list (as in any ordination) the names and titles of the masters over three generations, Scripture, Registration, and Ordination master 經籍度三師.[135] In all these, the immediate master is Zhang Yuqing, the preceding one is Zhang Yuchu, and the first one is Zhang Zhengchang. Incidentally, these documents are the only ones that provide us with Zhang Yuchu's title in the divine bureaucracy: 上清三洞經籙，太極執法真宰，靈寶領教真人，都天大法主，嗣漢四十三代天師張宇初. This reflects the fact that the registers were included in the Daoist canon as they were at the time, during Yuqing's tenure as Heavenly Master. There is no doubt that the same registers (with just the list of the three masters one generation back) were used in the same way during Yuchu's time. We have few hints as to when these four specific registers were first codified, possibly as early as the Southern Song:

Gaoshang dadong Wenchang silu ziyang baolu 高上大洞文昌司祿紫陽寶籙
Taishang Beiji fumo shenzhou shagui lu 太上北極伏魔神咒殺鬼籙[136]
Taishang Zhengyi yansheng baoming lu 太上正一延生保命籙
Taishang Zhengyi jiewuyin zhouzu milu 太上正一解五音咒詛秘籙

These four registers are all primarily for laypeople, and provide a lowly title in the divine bureaucracy and protection from the gods against demonic attacks and manhandling at the hands of the clerks of the other world.[137] The first one, for inclusion in Wenchang's vast bureaucracy, was particularly popular with late imperial elites and was continuously conferred upon

scholars, officials, and rich merchants until the early twentieth century. Evidence for early Ming elites who came to Longhushan to be ordained by Zhang Yuchu (or his predecessors and successors) is conclusive albeit scattered.[138] A slightly earlier anecdote, from the late Yuan period, shows how these lay ordinations were taken seriously by their recipients: a woman from Shaowu (across the mountains in Fujian) sent by a Daoist of the local temple to Longhushan receives there the *Jiuzhen miaojie lu* 九真妙戒籙 (that ensures postmortem salvation) and worships it scrupulously. After she dies, she comes back to life and relates that she was taken by a god to Longhushan and met with the local Daoist who asked whether she had brought along her ordination register, which she has not. She is sent back to life, the register is burned, and she can die peacefully.[139]

One inscription, in extremely reverential language, tells us how Zhang Yuchu built himself a hall-cum-library to receive guests who came to be ordained,[140] on the west wing of his residence, where were also located the ordination altar, Wanfa zongtan, with its own shrines to Zhenwu and Zhao Gongming and many other icons, and the office of registers, Faluju.[141]

Zhang Yuchu wrote a number of prose pieces for members of the elite Ming families who built themselves meditation rooms;[142] presumably they were his ordinees. The master-disciple bond forged in the sacred, majestic ordination rituals certainly contributed to an important extent to establish Zhang Yuchu and his successors as dominant figures in Ming society. To what extent Zhang Yuchu also performed other rituals for these patrons is unknown, but the ritual memorials in his collected writings (*Xianquanji,* juan 6) include several pieces for funerals that apparently were not intended for the imperial family. In particular, in one long sermon Zhang Yuchu gave on the occasion of a *liandu* 煉度 salvation ritual, he mentions that this was paid for by an "association leader," *huishou* 會首.[143]

The lay registers just mentioned do not represent the whole range of ordinations conferred at Longhushan; also issued were the *Dugonglu* (conferred with first ordinations at ranks eight and nine), *Mengweilu* (conferred with ordination at ranks six and seven), and so on up to the *Shangqing Dadonglu* for the highest-ranking ordinations that were mostly destined for priests.[144]

This is made clear by Zhang Yuchu himself. We are fortunate to have three long and highly instructive sermons (*pushuo* 普說) he gave during large-scale rituals, one of which occurred during an ordination held on the Upper Prime of an unspecified year.[145] In this dense analysis of the history of Daoist ordinations, Zhang Yuchu details how his ancestor Zhang Daoling set up the system of ranked ordination registers that he claims then continued without interruption over forty-three generations of Heavenly Masters. He also mentions how one ordinee serves as a patron for the collective ritual (都壇首弟子; paying for the whole ceremony, apparently). All the ordinees receiving the various registers (太上諸品經錄), he writes, became transcendents, *zhenren* 真人.

Zhang Yuchu's vision for Daoism

We have records of both Zhang Yuchu's life and his vision of Daoism, as expressed in the *Daomen shigui* and other texts, and we can thus illuminate the one through the other, and conversely. The *Daomen shigui,* which Schipper and Verellen characterized as a "pastoral directive,"[146] has already been the subject of much attention but sometimes wrongly interpreted as a blueprint for "reform"; its rhetoric of decadence and its call for higher standards is actually commonplace in religious literature (Daoist or otherwise). Rather, this text is interesting because it shows Zhang Yuchu's efforts to account for all aspects of Daoism within one framework, focused on the adept's life course and activities. I cannot provide here a complete analysis of this vision but would merely like to point out a few elements particularly salient to our present purpose. First, Zhang sees Daoism as one unique tradition, going back to Laozi and his first apparition as Guangchengzi 廣成子, the Yellow Emperor's Daoist advisor—some texts seem to hint that he saw himself as a latter-day Guangchengzi in his role as Daoist advisor to the Ming emperors—one of his successors, the 48th Heavenly Master, Zhang Yanpian 張諺頫 (1490–1560, titled 1526), was publicly described as an incarnation of Guangchengzi, descended to earth like his predecessors to advise the emperor.[147] This tradition has various legitimate lineages (*zong*), and these lineages tend to endlessly subdivide into branches (*pai*), but Zhang repeatedly condemns a trend toward excessive division.

For him orthodoxy stems from two main sources: the primordial Lingbao revelations, which form the structure of its cosmology and human history, and the 142 AD revelations to Zhang Daoling, which established the ordination system that allows these revelations to work. For Zhang Yuchu, all legitimate Daoist lineages, texts, and practices derive from these two sources. While paying much respect to the Quanzhen tradition, as we have seen, he does not treat it as a separate lineage but rather considers it as the highest form of self-cultivation practice within the established lineages.

To describe the different lineages of Daoism as he knew (and managed) them, Zhang Yuchu has two different explanations: in *Daomen shigui,* he separates (and puts on the same level) the Lingbao classical tradition (he does not use the term *ke* 科 but consistently refers to this tradition as *zhaifa* 齋法) and the exorcistic *fa* (or *daofa*), epitomized by their two most important lineages, Qingwei and Shenxiao.[148] He also discusses the various branches (*pai*) associated with Lingbao *zhaifa,* claiming superiority for the Danyang 丹陽 (also called Nanchang 南昌) tradition of *liandu.*[149] In his long essay "Xuanwen" 玄問,[150] he takes a somewhat different tack, not positing a distinction between *zhaifa* and *daofa,* and listing the four major lineages as (in rather clear decreasing order of prestige) Qingwei, Lingbao, Shenxiao, and the Fengdu tradition (called Fengyue 酆岳). And, adopting yet another approach, in his sermon on ordinations, he presents Qingwei as including Lingbao.[151] In spite of their differences, these various texts collectively amount to an authoritative statement that the apex of orthodox Daoism is the Qingwei lineage, which represents the essence and the culmination of the venerable Lingbao tradition going back to the primeval revelations, while fully encompassing inner alchemy and exorcistic *fa.*

This meshes perfectly well with the ordination system run at Longhushan, the structure of which is described in the *Tiantan yuge.* As we have seen, in the earliest version of the *Tiantan yuge* (undated, but certainly preceding Zhang Yuchu by several generations), only four traditions are listed: Tianxin zhengfa,[152] Shenxiao (under two variants), and Tianshuyuan (linked to the Jingming). In later versions—the earliest we have was compiled by the 52nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yingjing 張應京 (?–1651, titled 1636),

but it may well be much earlier—other ordination lineages are added, with Qingwei on top. We do not know if or how Zhang Yuchu intervened himself in the codification of ordination ranks as reflected in the *Tiantan yuge,* but his vision exactly reflects ordination practices as codified in later Longhushan documents: a Daoist is someone ordained with registers going back to Zhang Daoling, practicing Lingbao dafa liturgy, and the most elite are those ordained in the Qingwei lineage, with Shenxiao an honorable second.

This is certainly not merely an abstruse question of ecclesiology. The high goals of ritual standardization that the early Ming state set for itself gave the Heavenly Master some leeway in changing ritual practice and in dealing with the Daoists who depended on him for ordination and promotion.[153] Zhang Yuchu was adamant that changes in liturgical texts could be effected only by people (like him) with high erudition and actual formal leadership.[154] The elevation of Shenxiao and Qingwei to the top level of the church affected ritual practice (at least in elite venues), the leadership of temples and monasteries throughout the empire, and perhaps more generally the social representation of an ideal Daoist. Zhang repeatedly expressed his admiration for the court Daoists around Song Huizong; his own ancestor the 30th Heavenly Master and Wang Wenqing (both of them Shenxiao patriarchs) in particular are the two Daoists he praises most often and eloquently, and presumably wanted to emulate. His attitude toward Lin Lingsu is more ambivalent, as he criticizes him once, but most often just lists him along with the other prestigious Shenxiao patriarchs. This should remind us that the Confucian opprobrium on the Huizong period was far from being shared by everybody, and that early Ming Daoists such as Zhang Yuchu saw themselves as continuators of this tradition of flamboyant court priests. Along with this came a vision of what an elite Daoist should be: an accomplished poet, calligrapher, and writer; a virtuoso inner alchemist; and a spectacular exorcist. Zhang Yuchu proved extremely good on at least the first two counts.

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Chapter Seven

The Institution under the Ming and the Qing

By 1410, the alliance of the Longhushan Zhangs with the imperial state had found an equilibrium and would remain mostly stable until the demise of the empire in 1911. When Zhang Yuchu passed away, all the key elements of the Heavenly Master institution's relation to the state for the next five centuries were in place: the official title "Great Transcendent Inheritor of the Teachings of Correct Unity" (Zhengyi sijiao dazhenren 正一嗣教大真人, as the term *tianshi* ceased to be used in official texts by decision of Zhu Yuanzhang) given to each successor shortly after the death of the previous one; occasional visits to the capital in audience or to perform special rituals, but a more permanent representation at court by Longhushan Daoists; a state-supported monopoly over ordinations; regular financial support for the Longhushan physical infrastructure; and a large and stable bureaucratic apparatus of elite Daoists, based at Longhushan, given official status, and working in cooperation with Daoist officials based in the counties and prefectures throughout the empire.

Compared to the rapid evolution of the institution during the previous five centuries, the second half of its millennium of existence proved much more stable. This justifies that I treat this period as a whole, even though there were ebbs and flows, and the Qing regime did not entirely follow Ming precedent in its approach to Daoism, as its alliance proved less close. Yet so many of the fundamentals remained in place that picturing a rupture or a decline, as is so common in the historiography, would be misleading. The Heavenly Master was still a high state dignitary, and there were still Longhushan

Daoists active at court in 1911, even if their numbers and status were not as high as they were in 1410.

This chapter describes the official Heavenly Master institution during the course of the Ming and the Qing, and the evolution of its political and economical configuration. I first analyze the relationship between the successive Heavenly Masters and the imperial state and court, evoke the personal status of the Heavenly Master in late imperial society, then focus on the Daoists around him who represented him at court and wove the network through which he interacted with both civil officials and Daoist temples, and I end this institutional analysis with the economic model on which the Heavenly Master institution could sustain itself. All this will lay out the infrastructure based on which the Heavenly Master could operate as a "deep state" managing society, which is the topic of the next chapter.

The Zhangs, the state, and the court, 1410–1911

The high level of honors granted to Zhang Yuchu was largely continued under his successors, even though none of them equaled him in political or literary talent.[1] Not only did the Ming emperors quickly nominate and regularly invite all Heavenly Masters from the 44th, Zhang Yuqing, to the 52nd, Zhang Yingjing, but they also arranged the marriages of the Zhangs with daughters of high officials.[2] Also, the court Daoists that formed a significant part of successive emperors' entourages and religious administrations were largely (although not solely) comprised of Longhushan Daoists. One of the most famous of these is Shao Yuanjie 邵元節 (1459–1539), who came from Anren (close to Longhushan) and entered one of the residences of Shangqinggong at the age of thirteen. He was presented at court in 1524 and became the Jiajing emperor's (r. 1522–1566) favorite Daoist advisor, during the early part of a reign that is often described, together with that of Song Huizong, as a peak of Daoist influence at court. He was succeeded in his role by his disciple Tao Zhongwen 陶仲文 (1475–1560), who was not himself a Longhushan Daoist.[3]

There is little doubt that the Ming court left considerable power and autonomy to the powerful Zhang lineage. Inevitably, this led to cases of

abuse. The 46th Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanji 張元吉 (1435–1475, titled 1445), was accused of theft, fraud, bullying, abducting children, and execution of some forty of his opponents in his private jails. Local complaints came to nothing until a member of the Zhang lineage went to court; the Heavenly Master was then jailed in 1469. He was eventually pardoned by the emperor, but it took over two decades to fully heal the rift between the court and Longhushan; characteristically, opponents were hardline Confucians, while those who talked in favor of the Heavenly Master institution were military men and eunuchs. It is difficult to ascertain the truth of the accusations against Zhang Yuanji, but clearly considerable violence accompanied tensions between different branches of the Zhang lineage over control of their resources.[4] Yet the Heavenly Master institution was resilient, influential, and organized enough to withstand a crisis caused by an abusive or incompetent pontiff. This was shown again when a much graver crisis came a century later, and for less clear reasons, when a zealously reformist young emperor took on the 50th Heavenly Master, Zhang Guoxiang.

Zhang Guoxiang and the *Huang Ming enming shilu*

The life and career of Zhang Guoxiang (1552–1611) mirror in many ways that of Zhang Yuchu.[5] He also inherited the title of Heavenly Master after a period of trouble and left a mark as a restorer of Longhushan prestige and compiler of historiographical works that loudly reaffirmed the preeminence of the Heavenly Master institution. Like Zhang Yuchu, who had been stripped of his title by the short-lived Jianwen emperor, Zhang Guoxiang went through a similar crisis: having been named Heavenly Master in 1565, he was in 1568 stripped of his high rank and demoted to a lowly position by the Longqing emperor (reign 1567–1572), to be reinstated in 1577 by the Wanli emperor (reign 1572–1620).[6]

Arguably not as accomplished a scholar as his ancestor—we do not have independent works by him—Guoxiang was nonetheless entrusted in 1585 by the Wanli emperor to compile a supplement to the Daoist canon, a task that he completed in 1607, when the *Wanli xu Daozang* was published. He was assisted by several editors, notably Zhou Xuanzhen 周玄貞 (1555–1627),

a Quanzhen Daoist influential at court, who may have had as much or more of an impact on the work as Zhang.[7] This supplement is comprised of merely fifty-six texts; even though its contents are very mixed, with works by prominent late Ming intellectuals (some of them not in favor at court) but also sectarian preachers, most of the texts are directly related to local cults thriving at that time, and provide the scriptures and liturgies that Daoists had composed for deities such as Mazu 媽祖, City Gods, Guandi 關帝 (i.e., Guan Yu), Huaguang, and Bixia yuanjun 碧霞元君.[8] Eleven of them carry Zhang Guoxiang's name as editor (but none has a full-fledged colophon by him).

In addition to being the chief editor of the supplement, Zhang Guoxiang was involved in revising, supplementing, and publishing works already published by Zhang Yuchu: the Longhushan gazetteer (to which is appended a collection of essays praising him, written by some of the most powerful officials and literary stars of the time),[9] the family genealogy, and an updated version of the collective biographies of the Heavenly Masters, *Han tianshi shijia*.[10] He was also the compiler of a new work: *Record of the Gracious Commands of the Imperial Ming, Generation by Generation, Huang Ming enming shilu* 皇明恩命世錄—an important source that merits detailed discussion, as it documents and showcases the late Ming Heavenly Master institution's view of its place in the Ming polity.

The *Record of the Gracious Commands* lists imperial edicts and proclamations documenting various aspects of the Ming patronage of the Zhang Heavenly Masters and their administration at Longhushan, from the early years of Zhu Yuanzhang's ascent to power down to the Wanli reign. It was clearly compiled for inclusion in the *Wanli xu Daozang*. As prefaces make clear, a first version of the text was compiled by 1593, at the latest, ending with the sacrificial prayer for the funeral of the 49th Heavenly Master, Zhang Yongxu 張永緒 (1539–1565), Zhang Guoxiang's uncle, was dated 1565.[11] Then the text underwent a later revision with added texts, dealing with Zhang Guoxiang himself, the latest of which, dated 1605, shortly antedates the publication of the *Wanli xu Daozang* in 1607.

The first juan consists of twenty poems of eulogy (*zan* 贊) for each of the first twenty Heavenly Masters, written by Zhu Yuanzhang.[12] The following

eight juan are each devoted to one Heavenly Master, from the forty-second, Zhang Zhengchang, to the forty-ninth, Zhang Yongxu. Each juan typically opens with the nomination edict (*gao* 誥) of the new Heavenly Master, and often ends with the sacrificial prayer offered by the emperor (or an imperial relative) for his funeral.[13] These texts deal with the following topics:

1. Titles given to the Heavenly Masters and their parents (wives, fathers, mothers), as well as various honors, gifts, and grants
2. Edicts affirming the Heavenly Masters' rights and privileges, notably their monopoly on the sale of talismans and registers
3. Requests for ritual services, notably the performance of large-scale *zhai* and *jiao* rituals (to be held in the palace or in various imperially sponsored temples in the capital or elsewhere) for the benefit of the emperor himself, his wife, his mother, or other relatives; for the safeguard of the empire, or for praying to major deities (notably Zhenwu); for exorcisms; and for the initiation of the newly enthroned emperor as a Daoist
4. More personal letters and cautionary words for the Zhang Heavenly Master to better choose his associates, to keep practicing self-cultivation, and for his relatives (especially in times of regency) to keep themselves to themselves. This material alludes to complex tensions and negotiations around the formidable power wielded by the Heavenly Master institution, and the influence of the Zhang lineage.

These texts are useful sources for understanding the close alliance and working relationship between the Ming regime and the Heavenly Master institution. Few of them are corroborated from other sources; most seem unique to the *Huang Ming enming shilu,* but there is no compelling reason to doubt their authenticity. The last decades of the Ming (1607–1644) are less well documented, but there is no reason to assume a major change occurred then in the close alliance between the Ming and the Heavenly Master institution. And yet the latter moved swiftly and efficiently to switch its allegiance to the new regime when it became apparent that the mandate of Heaven had changed hands.

The allegiance to the new Qing regime

During the Ming-Qing transition, the Zhangs again proved adept at offering their allegiance to the new regime in time; the latter in turn renewed the Heavenly Master's mandate to control the whole Daoist clergy.[14] The 52nd Heavenly Master, the last under the Ming, Zhang Yingjing (?–1651, titled 1636), presented forty talismans to the emperor (via the Jiangxi governor) in 1646 and was received at the Qing court in 1649; his son, the 53rd Heavenly Master, Zhang Hongren 張洪任 (1631–1667, titled 1651), was received in 1655 and 1658. The Zhang Heavenly Masters, like other religious dignitaries within the Qing Empire, such as the Dalai Lama, were installed through an imperial edict, and while the court meddled relatively little in the actual choice of the person,[15] it paid much attention to the nomination ritual and its implied meanings regarding the subordination of the dignitary to the emperor.

The Ming court and state had on the whole been generous patrons of the Heavenly Master institution. The Qing state at first continued the Ming policy toward the Zhang Heavenly Master and maintained his title and rank at their high Ming level (second rank). Under the Qianlong reign (1735–1795), however, it engaged in a trend toward reducing both his formal titles and privileges and his actual powers in supervising the Daoist clergy. In 1742, while confirmed as the 56th Heavenly Master, and having seen the emperor, Zhang Yulong 張遇隆 (1727–1764) was barred from further coming in formal audience to the court together with civil and military officials; he could still be received in personal audience (the same year, the Daoists staffing the Shenyueguan and officiating for the imperial sacrifices were dismissed and replaced by Confucian ritualists). In January 1748, his rank was lowered from second to fifth.[16] It would rise to the third rank in 1766 only when the newly enthroned 57th Heavenly Master, Zhang Cunyi 張存義 (1752–1779, titled 1766), had succeeded in obtaining rain on imperial request.[17] After forty-seven years of being banned from court audiences, the Heavenly Masters were granted one audience every five years between 1789 and 1819, only to be thereafter banned again and forever. According to one story, the 62nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxu, went to Beijing

in 1905 and tried to bribe an official to gain an audience with the empress dowager Cixi, but his request was turned down.[18]

On the whole, the official status of the Zhang Heavenly Master was significantly lower after 1742 than it had been up to the Yongzheng reign (1722–1735).[19] It received fewer state honors, probably because of growing hostility from hardline Confucians who objected to any Daoist presence in what they considered their exclusive preserve: state rituals and access to the emperor. However, the Heavenly Master institution was still present at court through its representatives on official duty for the emperor's liturgical service—the opposition between state and court being key to gaining a nuanced understanding of the relations between Longhushan and Beijing.

Ordination of emperors

Both the Ming and Qing courts continued—at varying levels—their support for the Heavenly Master institution as a core element in the state management of Daoism. One major reason for this long-term support was that it provided an essential ritual service: ordination of emperors, as well as imperial family members (empresses and princesses, brothers, and sons) as transcendent beings. Such ordinations have a long history going back to the fifth century; the Heavenly Masters become involved during the early Ming, and the practice continued under the Qing.[20] We have seen above that under the Ming newly enthroned emperors were initiated as Daoists through conferral of the *Taishang yanxilu.* Extant records do not allow us to claim with certainty that it was a systematic practice and that it continued under the Qing, but I would be inclined to think so; available sources are rather scattered.

The Ming princes were also often ordained, and indeed one of them wrote an important work on Daoist ordinations.[21] The best known evidence of ordination of imperial family members is the famed and impressive (over twenty-seven meters long) ordination scroll, painted and inscribed on paper, dated 1493 and documenting the ordination of Empress Zhang 張皇后 (1470–1541), the wife of the Hongzhi Emperor (r. 1488–1505). On the Upper Prime (1/15) day of that year—one of three yearly dates for ordination

in the Heavenly Master institution—Empress Zhang received from the 47th Heavenly Master, Zhang Xuanqing 張玄慶 (1463–1509, titled 1478), a full set of registers, from a simple register for laywomen all the way to the highest Shangqing registers. This painting, followed by records and inscriptions (including one by the hand of the Heavenly Master) has been studied in detail by Luk Yu-ping, who showed that the empress probably had both this-worldly and spiritual motivations for undertaking this grand ritual.[22]

Ordination of imperial family members continued under the Qing. The best documented example is that of Prince Yunmi 允祕親王 (1716–1773), an uncle of emperor Qianlong (he was Kangxi's twenty-fourth son), who was ordained in 1754 by the 57th Heavenly Master, Zhang Cunyi. A record of that ordination, including a list of the registers and a painting on paper, is preserved in the Tenri Library.[23] While much less luxurious an artifact than Empress Zhang's, Yunmi's ordination scroll is structurally similar. The image shows him in audience with the Jade Emperor, with the Heavenly Master standing beside the latter (Empress Zhang was depicted in a similar way, but with an impressive divine escort); the list of ritual documents shows that he also received the highest-ranking *sandong* Shangqing registers.

The Heavenly Master as doctrinal authority

The Heavenly Master institution took seriously its role in enforcing order and disciplining adepts. Furthermore, at least at certain moments, it also endeavored to disseminate a clearly articulated orthodoxy that laid out its vision of Daoist history, theology, and liturgy. We have seen in chapter 6 the role of the 43rd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu, during the early Ming, when his vision for Daoism (with himself as its head) as an integral part of the imperial state and the guardian of universal order was included in, and informed the compilation of, the state-sponsored Daoist canon. Some of his successors were also noted authors. An interesting case is the 51st Heavenly Master, Zhang Xianyong 張顯庸 (1582–1661, titled 1626), who abdicated in favor of his son after being Heavenly Master for ten years, and lived twenty-

five more years in a hermitage practicing self-cultivation with his disciples, and writing a number of books, which unfortunately appear to be lost.

Several of Zhang Yuchu's successors strove to fulfill their mission of disseminating Daoist orthodoxy. The most remarkable document in this regard is *Kongtong wenda* 崆峒問答, "Questions and Answers at Kongtong [Mountain]"—the mountain being the site of the legendary encounter between the Yellow Emperor and his master Guangchengzi. It is a set of some 328 answers by the 54th Heavenly Master, Zhang Jizong 張繼宗 (1666–1715, titled 1679), on a vast array of questions. This document apparently exists only in manuscript form, in several variants found in the collections of Daoist families in the greater Shanghai area.[24] Presumably, the document was noted down during an ordination given by Zhang Jizong to Daoists in that area, and it was later copied during ordinations within the lines of these Daoists. It bears some similarity to other manuscript texts explaining Daoist doctrine and history also found in private priestly collections, such as the *Daojiao yuanliu* 道教源流, even though it is more focused on early Tianshidao lore and theology, the Longhushan institution, and the Zhang lineage.[25]

Because it provides a convenient, easily legible, yet quite precise summary of essential Daoist knowledge, I call it a catechism, and it is with this term that I have mentioned it at several points in the present book. It indeed covers all the realms in which the Heavenly Master had authority: the history of the Zhang lineage, with special attention to the lives of Zhang Liang, Zhang Daoling (described as having mastered all the forms of Daoism), and the 30th Heavenly Master,[26] and to their present organization, wealth, insignia (notably the seals), state honors and titles, and rules of succession; the geography of Longhushan; the ordination registers, their use, and ranks; basic theological and cosmological concepts; morality, purity rules, and the afterlife; liturgy (types of rituals, with particular interest in rainmaking and Thunder rites, and technical vocabulary); the various ritual traditions and lineages and their orthodox or heterodox nature; the structure and main texts of the Daoist canon; self-cultivation practices; the identities of the gods and the structure of the pantheon; the status of practices such as spirit possession

and spirit-writing; and Daoism's relationship with other religions (including Buddhism and Christianity).

While confident in his assertions, the 54th Heavenly Master's discourse is also noteworthy for noting certain signs of decline (lost ritual traditions, lower numbers of active temples at Longhushan compared to earlier periods, and lost imperial presents), as well as his refutation of worried questions, such as the reliability of dire predictions regarding the future of the patriarchal line.[27] At the same time, his assertions of the Heavenly Master institution's direct continuity with the early Tianshidao church must be taken seriously: Zhang Jizong describes and analyzes in detail the parishes, the texts, and other features purportedly established by Zhang Daoling and their evolution down to his own times.

The Heavenly Master as a charismatic figure

Such political downturns as happened in 1568 and 1742 did not significantly affect the Heavenly Master institution's prestige with the Daoist clergy or the population at large. This prestige rested less on imperial recognition than on inherited legitimacy. Heavenly Masters visited the imperial court for audiences (except between 1568 and 1577, 1742 and 1789, and after 1819) but also frequently traveled, when invited by lay communities or rich individuals to perform rituals, hold ordinations, and select new Daoist officials, *faguan* 法官; they also sent their *faguan* on missions throughout China, something the state tried to curtail with mixed success. During the late imperial period, Heavenly Masters often visited the Jiangnan area; indeed, during the Republican period, they were more often in Shanghai than at Longhushan.[28] This is also the area where most *faguan* were from, and the links between the Heavenly Master and local Daoists were particularly intimate in Jiangnan and Jiangxi, more so than in most other parts of China.

The influence of the living Heavenly Master was not as widespread as the cult of Zhang Daoling, the prime exorcist under Heaven, who was throughout China worshiped as an icon, invoked during rituals, and eulogized in oral or written narratives.[29] Yet the charisma of the former fed on the

cult of the latter. Wherever the Zhang Heavenly Master went, usually accompanied by a retinue of *faguan,* he met with devout crowds, eager to see him and have a chance to receive his blessings.[30] One early Qing author described the travels of the 54th Heavenly Master as follows: "All those from near or far who were suffering from demon-possession, hearing that he had come [to Songjiang, from Suzhou], bathed and purified for three days and brought him their plea, prostrating in front of him as they awaited his command" (遠近被鬼祟者，聞其來，皆齋沐三日，激切祈請，叩頭待命).[31]

Western visitors from the early Jesuits down to the late nineteenth century would give similar descriptions, although often in a disgusted or horrified tone.[32] One of the earliest such descriptions is found in a letter published in 1703 by Emeric Langlois de Chavagnac (1670–1717), who tells of his sojourn in Fuzhou (Jiangxi) the previous year, where he met the 54th Heavenly Master:

> Tcham, chef des tao-ssée, qui se faisait appeler Tien-ssee ou le *Docteur céleste,* vint alors à Fou-tcheou. Ce beau nom est héréditaire à sa famille; en sorte que son fils, fût-il le plus ignorant et le plus stupide de tous les hommes, aura le nom de *Docteur céleste* comme son père. Celui qui gouverne aujourd'hui les tao-ssée est un homme d'environ trente ans, fort agréable et fort bien fait; il est superbement vêtu, et il se fait porter sur les épaules de huit hommes, dans une magnifique chaise. C'est ainsi qu'il parcourt de temps en temps toute la Chine pour visiter ses bonzes et pour faire une abondante récolte d'argent. Car, comme les tao-ssée dépendent de lui, ils sont obligés de lui faire des présents considérables pour recevoir son approbation et pour être maintenus dans leurs privilèges. Le tcham-tien-ssée vint donc à Fou-tcheou avec une suite nombreuse, et dans l'équipage dont je viens de parler. Les tao-ssée, fiers de l'arrivée de leur chef, firent courir le bruit par toute la ville que les prédicateurs de la loi chrétienne n'osaient paraître, et qu'ils avaient pris la fuite.… Tous les malades de Fou-tcheou, et tous ceux à qui il était arrivé quelque infortune, vinrent trouver le docteur céleste, pour être soulagés de leurs maux. Le docteur prononçait gravement ce peu de mots, *niamtching hoam tcha pao,* qui signifient: "Levez les yeux vers l'esprit tutélaire de votre ville, afin qu'il connaisse vos maux et qu'il m'en fasse son rapport."[33]

Then a family brings a young girl suffering from spirit possession: the Heavenly Master sells them a talisman but it proves useless, whereas a Christian successfully exorcizes her. This account is typical of many other later reports of foreigners: it describes the Heavenly Master in his travels in full pomp, the crowds of people that meet him, and his role as an exorcist—as well as the competition with the missionaries.

A century and a half later, we find similar wording among both Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Consider, for instance, this description by the Bishop of Jiangxi, François-Xavier-Timothée Danicourt (1806–1860), a French Lazarist who had been to Longhushan, and knew what he was writing about:

> De temps immémorial, les populations affluent à Long-hou-shan, c'est-à-dire, à la *Montagne des Dragons et des Tigres,* qui est le lieu de la résidence du *maître céleste,* pour lui demander secours contre les vexations des esprits mauvais, et lui offrir des sommes d'argent considérables. Ce qu'il reçoit d'hommages, de respects, de vénérations et de tribut est incroyable. Il n'y a, en Europe, ni prince, ni Pontife, ni saint à miracles qui soient l'objet d'un tel culte. C'est au point que, lorsque le *maître céleste* passe dans les rues, le peuple s'empresse de recueillir la poussière ou la boue que ses pieds ont foulées, comme un préservatif assuré contre tous les maléfices.[34]

Danicourt also discusses the sale of talismans, the Heavenly Master's travels and the gods coming in audience, the presence of over sixty *faguan* officials at the Heavenly Master residence, and his canonization of local gods; he is thus accurate at the same time as vitriolic, and, like Chinese accounts, focuses on the awe and devotion that Chinese of all classes direct to the Heavenly Master.

The attitude of the local officials could be more ambiguous. The Zhang Heavenly Master was an official of the Ming and Qing state, but after 1742 he was not allowed to travel for official business, which left magistrates ample room for choosing how to treat him according to their own convictions. Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–1798) suggests that local magistrates welcomed the traveling Heavenly Master as a rule.[35] When he was in Guangzhou in 1880, according to the British consular official E. H. Parker, "the Chinese officials

ignored him utterly."[36] Yet late nineteenth-century press articles describing respectful treatment by local officials suggest quite the opposite.[37] Moreover, a wealth of anecdotes shows that the gentry in general and officials in particular, including high-ranking ones, were actually major patrons of the Heavenly Masters' liturgical services.[38]

Even in the absence of a personally highly charismatic Heavenly Master, which was often the case during late imperial times, and in spite of the overall decline in state honors, the evidence points to the strong resilience of the Heavenly Master institution, and to the enduring prestige of the Heavenly Master ex officio. This can to a large extent be explained by the quality of the people around the Heavenly Master.

The Heavenly Master's staff: *Faguan*

If the whole Heavenly Master institution hinged on the divine status of one person, it relied for its actual working on a much larger set of persons: the Zhang lineage and the clerical officials.[39] The Zhangs were indeed wielding power and influence radiating from Longhushan and along networks of connections with other locally or nationally prominent families, Daoist or otherwise.[40] The well-educated Zhangs were not all full-time Daoists; some made careers in the civil bureaucracy, such as Zhang Qilong 張起隆 (1745–1799, titled 1780), who, before becoming the 58th Heavenly Master, had been a county vice-magistrate.[41] We have seen that this pattern began during the Song period; it continued through the early twentieth century.

Most crucially, the Heavenly Master institution was built on the expertise of a large retinue of elite Daoist priests serving as the Heavenly Master's officials. During the Ming and Qing, these priests were known collectively as *faguan* (sometimes *fayuan* 法員) and held official, if not paid, positions in the imperial bureaucracy. During the late Qing, there were twenty-six *faguan* positions at Longhushan.[42] The term *faguan* has various meanings in Daoist contexts; because *fa* usually refers to minor exorcistic rituals, by contrast to the grand classical liturgy (*keyi* 科儀), *faguan* is often synonymous with *fashi* 法師, a master of exorcistic rituals. However, in the context of the late imperial

Heavenly Master institution and state management of Daoism, *faguan* refers to those Daoists given official positions either directly by the state or through the Heavenly Master. They formed a close-knit milieu of elite Daoists constituted as a bureaucratic superstructure over the Daoist clergy and supporting the Heavenly Master in his function as the overseer of Daoist tradition and orthodoxy. Indeed, an eighteenth-century author even found that the Heavenly Master he met was just a "plain ordinary scholar," but his *faguan* were real wonder-making Daoists.[43]

Lou Jinyuan, the imperial chaplain from Longhushan

Through both the Ming and the Qing, the Zhang Heavenly Masters were often in contact with the court, but they were kept at a distance and did not serve as imperial chaplains, that is, priests in close and permanent attendance of the emperor. This role—as far as Daoism was concerned—was filled by other elite clerics, often sent to the court by the Heavenly Master institution for this purpose. In this regard, the Qing merely continued Yuan and Ming precedent. Although not the first Daoist to serve the Manchu court,[44] an important figure linking the early Qing court and Longhushan was the prominent Suzhou Daoist, Shi Daoyuan.[45] Shi's career is best described in the gazetteer of Qionglongshan, edited and published around 1674, four years before his death. Shi was a Suzhou man and became a Daoist at the Chaozhenguan 朝真觀 in that city.[46] When he was nineteen, he became a disciple of the Longhushan dignitary Xu Yanzhen 徐演真, with whom he studied Thunder rituals. He then embarked on a highly successful career as a healer and exorcist—the Qionglongshan gazetteer is full of striking descriptions of his exorcising local demons in the same manner as the Heavenly Masters themselves.

In 1650, together with local officials and the 52nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yingjing (traveling through Suzhou on his way to Beijing, and accompanied by his son Hongren), Shi Daoyuan vowed to reconstruct the Shangzhenguan 上真觀, the temple devoted to the Three Mao Brothers 三茅真君 atop Qionglongshan, the highest hill in the Suzhou area. The reconstruction

resulted in a huge temple complex that became a major center for Daoism throughout Jiangnan. In 1658, Zhang Yingjing, visiting again, obtained from the emperor a title for both the Shangzhenguan and Shi himself. He also presided over the reconstruction of the Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀 (the huge Daoist temple in the center of Suzhou), and was invited by officials to preside over *jiao* offerings throughout Jiangnan and all the way to Guangzhou. Shi Daoyuan first visited court together with the 52nd Heavenly Master in 1650, and later served as chaplain to the Kangxi emperor in 1676–1678; he then returned to his native Suzhou shortly before passing away. He also held titles in the Longhushan administration, with which he was close throughout his career.

We have seen that Shi Daoyuan collaborated with the 52nd and 53rd Heavenly Masters in editing the 1658 revised version of the *Tiantan yuge,* the manual providing a framework for ordination titles throughout the empire. They also compiled another book with an ambitious project of standardizing ritual, a collection of the hymns for all Daoist deities, *Yaotan baogao quanke* 瑤壇寶誥全科 (preface 1664).[47] Although the latter seems to have been less influential (I am aware only of a manuscript copy in a huge early Qing collection of Daoist material), it further illustrates the same project of standardizing Daoist practice through the collaboration of the Longhushan institutions and other leading Daoists in the empire.

The position of Longhushan Daoists at the Qing court was further institutionalized when the Kangxi emperor asked the 54th Heavenly Master to post three *faguan* at court, to be replaced after three years.[48] While charismatic figures such as Shi Daoyuan opened the way, without contest the greatest Daoist chaplain at the Qing court was Lou Jinyuan.[49] Although no full account of his life has been written as yet, the literature on Lou is quite extensive.[50] Lou's career is reminiscent, in many ways, of Zhang Liusun, delegated by the 36th Heavenly Master to become the chaplain of the Mongol emperor Qubilai, and it is likely that the comparison was in the minds of the eighteenth-century protagonists. Another major precedent was Shao Yuanjie at the Jiajing court.[51] Like Zhang, Lou was a young Daoist from a hereditary family of priests (from a place near present-day Shanghai); he was sent to

Longhushan as a youth and became a member of the Sanhuayuan 三華院 (one of the twenty-four residences of the Shangqinggong) as a disciple of Zhou Dajing 周大經, a noted ritualist.

Lou arrived at court in 1727 as the representative of the 55th Heavenly Master, Zhang Xilin 張錫麟 (1699–1727, titled 1716). The thirty-eight-year old Daoist was a member of the retinue accompanying Zhang Xilin on his way to the court, and, when Zhang died in Hangzhou, Lou unexpectedly found himself at the head of the delegation.[52] During the winter of 1730, Lou directed a *jiao* offering ritual that was successful in expelling from the palace demonic disturbances allegedly caused by the ghost of an unsuccessful healer, Jia Shifang 賈士芳, executed there shortly before. Yongzheng's health recovered as a result. Having gained the confidence of the emperor, Lou was now allowed to be in his personal attendance day and night. Lou would from then on remain in the immediate proximity of the emperor, leaving the court only twice, in 1734 and 1735, to oversee restoration work at Longhushan.

The Yongzheng emperor's familiarity with a number of eminent Buddhist monks is well known,[53] and his interest in Daoism has also been studied.[54] As his early poetry shows, Yongzheng developed early on a keen interest in Buddhist and Daoist mysticism and self-cultivation; he was a sincere Chan practitioner. As far as Daoism was concerned, he particularly esteemed Zhang Boduan's tradition of inner alchemy. The emperor, fancying himself as a master of religious doctrine, formed a congregation, *fahui* 法會, with eight disciples, including princes and sons (one of them being the future Qianlong emperor) and a few high-ranking officials.[55]

Yongzheng was keenly observing the Daoist figures of his time. He bestowed honors on various Daoist ascetics and healers.[56] He also appears to have engaged in alchemy, procured and himself experimented with large quantities of alchemical ingredients, ingested the results of his own experiments, and probably died as a result.[57] Yongzheng's relations with Lou Jinyuan, however, seem to have been of another nature. Although Lou did discuss mystical philosophy with the emperor[58] and offered advice on alchemy, he was primarily a provider of liturgical services.

In the first of a series of prestigious appointments, in early 1731 Lou was given the title of intendant (*tidian* 提點) of the Longhushan administration, with full fourth rank, and, more importantly, the position of manager of the Qin'andian 欽安殿, the most sacred Daoist shrine within the imperial palace.[59] Maybe because the housing of a cleric in the inner sanctum of the palace was problematic, an edict in 1733 made Lou abbot of the Da Guangmingdian 大光明殿 (a large Daoist temple just north of the palace, built under the Jiajing reign of the Ming), with the added favor of entrusting this important position to his hereditary succession. As such, Lou was in charge of conducting rituals for the good weather and peace of the nation. The same edict graced him with the title Miaozheng zhenren 妙正真人.[60] By 1733 the Da Guangmingdian was ready to receive its distinguished host, as well as the forty-eight Daoist priests, or *faguan,* under his supervision, for whom the court had opened formal positions.[61] Although this was not the first time Daoist officials from Longhushan served as court clerics, the opening of these forty-eight positions was an unprecedented step in both quantitative terms and in formal setup. The inauguration ritual was performed by a crowd of four hundred Daoists.

It is not clear, however, whether Lou and his acolytes were in permanent residence at the Da Guangmingdian, since the Yongzheng emperor also had a residence built for him, the Da Zhenrenfu 大真人府. Da Zhenrenfu is the proper name of the Zhang Heavenly Master's residence and his Daoist administration at Longhushan. A residence of the same name, being the traveling palace of the Heavenly Master when in Beijing for an audience with the emperor, has been in existence since at least the Yuan period. This Beijing residence as it existed up to the early Yongzheng reign, also used for the *faguan* in attendance, was rather small and run-down, or so says an inscription using highly formulaic wording. Therefore, the emperor had it moved and rebuilt on a larger scale outside Di'anmen: that is, just outside the Imperial City. The new Da Zhenrenfu, linked to a Daoist temple in existence since the early Ming, the Miaoyuanguan 妙緣觀,[62] was built between 1731 and 1734, and graced by a stele inscription erected in 1740.[63] A later

1756 inscription reminds the reader that the residence was under the direct supervision of Lou Jinyuan, even in absentia.[64]

The 1740 inscription, in spite of its flowery style and enumeration of official honors heaped on Lou Jinyuan and Longhushan, is ambiguous. It was authored by the acting Heavenly Master, Zhang Zhaolin 張昭麟, brother of the deceased fifty-fifth holder of the title and uncle of the future fifty-sixth, Zhang Yulong, who was still young and would not be proclaimed Heavenly Master until 1742—a long but not unprecedented fifteen years' regency.[65] Zhang Zhaolin did not mention the Heavenly Masters in his text, and the inscription reads as if the Da Zhenrenfu was just Lou Jinyuan's residence, Lou being indeed a *zhenren* by now, which would nonetheless smack of usurpation. The possibility of a direct competition between Lou and the Zhang Heavenly Master did not arise, since no Zhang Heavenly Master was welcomed in Beijing during that period. Nonetheless, the relationship between the two was not made totally clear in the stele inscriptions or other contemporary documents. Lou's titles remained below that of the Heavenly Master, but he definitely did not defer much to him.[66] This situation was a structural issue built into the dyadic relation between the Heavenly Master living at Longhushan and his representative at court, and was already apparent during the time of Zhang Liusun and Shao Yuanjie; it was the cost to pay for the Heavenly Master's living far away and being (relatively) sheltered from court politics.

Actually, Lou's ascendancy is linked to a power crisis in the Zhang lineage. After Zhang Xilin's death in 1727, his brother Zhang Qinglin 張慶麟 was named acting Heavenly Master. However, and for unexplained reasons but apparently in connection to an embezzlement scandal at Longhushan, he was replaced in 1731 with another brother, Zhang Zhaolin, a move that coincided with the bestowal of considerable palace funds for the restoration of both the Shangqinggong and the Heavenly Master residence at Longhushan.[67] Was Zhang Zhaolin in Lou's debt?[68] Possibly. But the operation had mixed consequences for the Longhushan establishment. While Lou was basking in imperial glory and the Longhushan buildings were repaired anew, the Heavenly Master's position was crippled by a contentious regency and,

right after Zhang Yulong's nomination in 1742, humiliated by a demotion in the empire's hierarchy.

Whatever his relations with the Zhang lineage, protector or usurper, Lou, although not the nominal head of the Daoist clergy, was in a position of effective leadership. One of his initiatives was to create a new lineage. As we saw in chapter 5, the Longhushan Daoists each belonged to one of three lineages but did not use generational names according to a lineage poem; Lou created a poem and had the three lineages share it henceforth.[69] Lou also used this lineage poem for his personal disciples. Symbolically at least, the whole Longhushan clergy became Lou's own disciples. Lou did not train disciples in Beijing, and his lineage did not take root in the capital; it would seem that in this matter, Lou used his position at court to make decisions pertaining mostly to the Longhushan institution and the other Daoist centers in Jiangnan closely related to it.

The Yongzheng emperor died on 8 October 1735. His successor, the young Qianlong emperor, was not nearly as keen on Daoism and alchemy, and he promptly sacked from the palace many of his father's confidants, both Buddhist and Daoist.[70] One of his first policies was to conduct a nationwide census of the clergy within an anticlerical framework. He also took some measures aimed at curtailing the Heavenly Master, notably sharply downgrading his rank in 1748. Lou, however, was retained at the palace—he had actually returned since he was at Longhushan at the time of Yongzheng's death. Qianlong must have considered that Lou was innocent of the alchemical suicide of his father. Furthermore, it is likely that Qianlong felt that Lou's ritual powers were still needed, and that Lou himself tried to remain close to the source of power and to save what could be saved. Indeed, as is suggested rather than explicitly stated in his 1740 *Longhushan zhi,* Lou managed to safeguard a measure of autonomy and protection for the Heavenly Master institution and clergy during the census procedures.[71] The young emperor actually bestowed new honors on his Daoist chaplain: he gave him the honorary title of Tongyi dafu 通議大夫, head of the Daolusi, and even conferred titles on Lou's parents and grandparents.[72] At the same time, Lou was appointed abbot of the Dongyuemiao, originally founded by Zhang

Liusun and now one of the largest and most affluent temples in Beijing.[73] Lou did not intend to reform Beijing Daoism: he mostly stayed at the Da Guangmingdian with other Jiangnan Daoists who would live only a few years in Beijing. When named abbot of the Dongyuemiao, he certainly left the Dongyuemiao Daoists to their own tradition and acted as an honorary abbot, coming when necessary and extending his protection to the temple from the palace.

We do not know when exactly, or under what circumstances, Lou Jinyuan finally left Beijing, but he was still in the emperor's service in 1744, nine years after Qianlong's enthronement.[74] His career after his return to Longhushan is hardly known. Qianlong kept Lou in gratitude, for he sent him presents and further honorary titles on his seventieth birthday in 1757. Lou left a number of works. The best known is his gazetteer of Longhushan, published in 1740. Included in this gazetteer are some selections of Lou's poetry.[75] Lou also authored an edition of the Qingwei Lingbao funerary liturgy, the *Taiji lingbao jilian keyi* 太極靈寶祭煉科儀,[76] and a liturgy for worshipping the Mother of the Dipper, *Dafan xiantian zougao xuanke* 大梵先天奏告玄科.[77] Both liturgical manuals were written on the request of an imperial prince, and copies were kept in palace collections, which suggests that they were used for rituals at court.

Lou Jinyuan was a well-known figure who appeared in several late eighteenth-century anecdotes. His reputation was apparently good in many circles; he was respected both as a Daoist upholding the great liturgical tradition and as a gentleman capable of discussing the Three Teachings with literati and developing a critical perspective on self-cultivation techniques.[78] The famous storyteller Yuan Mei wrote an anecdote casting Lou as a much shadier figure, and yet one crucial in saving Daoism. According to this story, Lou was raised by an uncle. Having been caught in an illegitimate relation with a servant, the young Lou ran away after stealing five hundred taels, a large sum of money. He took refuge at Longhushan and on his arrival was met by a Daoist who told him that in order to become a *faguan* there, he had to pay one thousand taels. The Daoist gave him the missing five hundred taels along with three documents to be opened only in case of extreme emergency. Lou was then duly accepted as *faguan,* on his payment of the one thousand taels,

and eventually found himself at the Yongzheng court. There the emperor told the Daoist delegation that if they failed to make it rain within ten days, he would annihilate Daoism. Using one of the three secret documents, Lou managed to obtain rain and thus "saved Daoism." The other two secret documents were used to exorcise Jia Shifang and to predict an earthquake. The Yongzheng emperor was then totally reconciled with Daoism and showered Lou with honors, but Lou's powers were now spent.[79]

This story probably mixed the atmosphere of the anti-Daoist reaction of the early Qianlong years with the story of Lou Jinyuan's ascendancy at court; in any case, it is remarkable that even though it did not cast Lou in a positive light, it credited him with saving Daoism in times of great political danger. This danger was certainly exaggerated in Yuan Mei's telling, and neither the Yongzheng nor the Qianlong emperor ever considered annihilating Daoism.[80] But this story certainly confirms that Lou was widely credited with maintaining the prestige and an institutional existence at court for Daoism in general and the Zhang Heavenly Master institution in particular throughout the late Qing period.

The social milieu of the *faguan*

Lou Jinyuan's story sheds light not only on the relationship between Longhushan and the late Qing court but also on the social milieu of the *faguan* who were the actors of this relationship. Beyond Lou's towering stature, I would now like to look more closely at his colleagues and successors and thereby learn more about the Longhushan clerical staff. Although their careers were intimately linked to the Heavenly Master and to Lou Jinyuan, their position was different inasmuch as it was not a lifetime one. A *faguan,* like a magistrate of the imperial administration, was a position one held for only a limited tenure. The lists of Longhushan *faguan* between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century provided by the local gazetteers suggest an average tenure of about seven years.[81]

In Beijing, Lou Jinyuan's lasting legacy was the group of *faguan* he instituted as the court Daoists and that continued until 1911. As the term *zhiji faguan* 值季法官 suggests,[82] these Daoists must have been in perpetual

personal attendance on the emperor by shifts, performing both regular rituals (*jiao* offerings for the emperor's birthday and other key dates on the palace's liturgical calendar) and on-demand services in case of a death or illness in the imperial family or a natural disaster. Up to the Yongzheng reign, there were two institutions staffed by Daoists with official appointments: the Longhushan administration and the Daolusi. The group of court Daoists around Lou Jinyuan, posted at the Da Guangmingdian and ten other affiliated temples in the imperial domain constituted the third.[83] After 1733, there were forty-eight *faguan* at the court, separate from the twenty-six *faguan* at Longhushan and the eight *daoguan* 道官 in the Daolusi.[84] Naturally, the same persons often occupied in turn or simultaneously these various positions in the three branches of the Daoist administration; all of these Daoist officials were chosen from among the same pool of clerics. In particular, the officials of the Daolusi were often chosen, either among the Jiangnan *faguan* working for the court or among the local Beijing Qingwei clerics (notably from the Dongyuemiao). One prominent case is Wang Kecheng 汪克誠, hitherto a dignitary at Longhushan, who was made head of the Daolusi in 1777 as well as manager of the Da Guangmingdian and Qin'andian, thus holding concurrently the two most important Daoist official positions in the capital.[85]

The three branches worked in close cooperation, the Daolusi being the court Daoists' main channel with civil and court officials. The *faguan* were assisted by other Daoists living in the eleven temples assigned to court Daoists and also receiving a monthly salary but apparently with no official title. Presumably, the *faguan* were from Longhushan or Jiangnan, whereas their subordinates were local Beijing men. The background and recruitment of the court Daoists does not seem to have changed significantly between Lou Jinyuan's heyday and the fall of the Qing Empire. Until the end the court administration itself insisted that Longhushan keep sending its best priests to the court, most of them originally from Jiangnan. During the nineteenth century, however, positions at court remained ever more often unfilled, with the Heavenly Master institution either unable or unwilling to send sufficient numbers of highly qualified priests.[86]

The Jiangnan Daoists mostly came to the court when still quite young. Lou himself was only thirty-eight when he arrived, and most of his acolytes joined in their thirties. The criterion for eminence in this milieu was not so much age or experience as prestigious filiation and training. The court Daoists all had pedigrees as prestigious as Lou's, and belonged to prominent Daoist families, some of which provided a *faguan* in each generation.[87] Today, several local Daoists in the Longhushan area claim that their forebears all trained at Longhushan, and some of them were hereditary *faguan* families.[88]

Late Qing court Daoists, then, were all elite clerics in their own right, working for the most prestigious patron on earth, the Qing emperor. Yet being named *faguan,* be it in the Da Guangmingdian for the court service or at Longhushan or at the Daolusi for the supervision of the Daoist clergy, was more an honor than a position of real influence or power. Such power could come only from personal charisma produced by extraordinary success in ritual performance. Some of the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Da Guangmingdian *faguan* gained the personal attention of the emperor, but none rose to the informal status of chaplain enjoyed by Lou Jinyuan or succeeded in inheriting his position and prestige at court. It would seem that Hui Yuanmo 惠遠謨 (1697–1771) was entrusted with Lou's succession, but we do not hear of him in Beijing sources. Most of Lou's acolytes had returned to their native Jiangnan at the same time as Lou; it looks like they considered their stay at court as an important stage in their career but not as its apex. They returned to become heads of their home temples and bask in local fame, possibly a more enjoyable and gratifying position than being an emperor's cleric.

The position of court cleric was less sought after during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than during Lou Jinyuan's heyday. The ancient procedure for replacing vacant *faguan* was for their head (the *zhangyin faguan* 掌印法官) to write to the Heavenly Master, who suggested names of Daoists to be promoted. This procedure did not work very well, apparently, for in 1807, eighteen positions were vacant, and the Heavenly Master had only four Daoists promoted.[89] An 1815 edict observing that half

of the forty-eight positions were vacant, announced a new quota of twenty-four. In 1819, an edict reported that a Longhushan *faguan* had been sent by the Heavenly Master to Jiangnan to recruit young Daoists for the Da Guangmingdian; this was forbidden, as the Heavenly Master could only send Daoists from his home mountain.[90] Still, the reduced Beijing *faguan* corps continued its mission. In 1879, a request was sent to the Heavenly Master through the Zhangyisi 掌儀司 (the office of the palace managing court ritual and religious specialists) and the governor of Jiangxi: there were only six *faguan* left at court. The Heavenly Master nominated and sent to Beijing four of his own staff.[91]

Why was the Longhushan administration so slow to fill the positions of court Daoists? It is possible that the Heavenly Master, who himself was barred from court audience and never went to Beijing (with a limited exception between 1789 and 1819), saw no need of depriving himself of his best Daoists to send them to the court. This might be a reason for the decline of the institution of court Daoists during the nineteenth century. Another reason might be internal dissension. An 1879 case in archival files evokes an acute conflict between the head of the Da Guangmingdian and his deputy, the first having managed to have the second expelled from Beijing and sent back to his native Jiangnan.[92]

An 1839 edict makes it clear that there were then still *faguan* at the Da Guangmingdian and that they performed regularly, notably at the Qin'andian.[93] But they did not enjoy the prestige and influence of the emperor's chaplain as Lou Jinyuan had. The Da Guangmingdian was burned down by the Allied powers in 1900, but the ten other temples remained in operation, with their court Daoists, until 1911.[94] In brief, the institution of court Daoists worked continuously from 1730 to 1911 but was affected by a progressive decline in both the scope of its activities and its prestige. While we might speculate on a possible lack of a later successor able to compare with Lou Jinyuan's charisma, it is also likely that the presence of a Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist chaplain, notably Rolpai Dorje (1717–1786), prevented the emergence of later Daoist chaplains.

The continued prestige and awe carried by the status of *faguan* provoked unintended consequences. First, it attracted imposters. Late Qing press reports provide examples of cases in which Daoists in the provinces claimed to be *faguan* sent from Longhushan or the court and collected donations from local officials and Daoists or sold registers or titles in the Heavenly bureaucracy. The Heavenly Master tried to track and denounce them, but his bureaucratic apparatus was too thinly spread to effectively prevent such abuse.[95] There were also cases of bona fide *faguan* who abused their power. An 1893 press report tells the story of the abbot of a rich Dongyue temple in Jiangnan who went to Longhushan, bought a title of *faguan,* and returned home boasting and demanding to be treated as a high official, with very limited success.[96]

Managing Daoism and its temples

During the Ming and Qing periods, the Zhang Heavenly Master's official task, as defined by his investiture edicts, was to control the orthodoxy of Daoism; however he was not in charge of managing Daoists throughout China, a mission entrusted to another type of state-appointed Daoist official, *daoguan,* with headquarters in the capital (Daolusi, with eight Daoist officials) and one or two Daoists in each prefecture and county seat.[97] It is likely that Daolusi officials in Beijing (who were in close contact if not identical with the Longhushan-sent court Daoists, as we have just seen) and in the provinces maintained a correspondence with the Heavenly Master administration, but as no extant archives from either is known and available, this can only remain a hypothesis. A hint of such correspondence is provided by the decision, carved on a stele, of the magistrate of Guanxian 灌縣, Sichuan Province, protecting Daoist monasteries and temples on Qingchengshan against excessive demands from pilgrims. The magistrate was thereby answering a formal request from the Zhenrenfu as well as local Daoists. It is most likely that the latter wrote to the former to enlist their help in this procedure. The strong links of Zhang Daoling with Qingchengshan, where several late imperial Heavenly Masters

paid a visit, certainly convinced the Heavenly Master to help, but it is possible that he would not turn down any request for administrative help from any Daoist.[98]

Longhushan's control over nominations in major Daoist monasteries and temples was certainly much more limited under the Qing than it had been under the Ming; it was local magistrates who had the power of nominating abbots, even though they rarely intervened and routinely endorsed decisions made within the community. The same was true for the process of issuing official clerical certificates (*dudie* 度牒); during the 1736–1739 census, the Heavenly Master institution was pointedly prevented from playing any role whatsoever.

Yet even though the Heavenly Master institution had no direct administrative control over temples and clerics, both sides were tied by close and continuous relations. For one thing, many of the Daoist lineages controlling the largest temples throughout the empire had been established in the first decades of the Ming by Daoists who had been nominated, and often dispatched, by the Heavenly Master institution. Second, prominent Daoist temples and lineages regularly sent young Daoists to be ordained at Longhushan but also to serve in the Heavenly Master administration; there, they processed a regular flow of requests for ordinations, canonizations for local gods, and appeals in cases of divine justice—all this in a bureaucratic format basically identical to (in some cases, entirely fused with) that of the imperial bureaucracy. Such flows of paperwork, as well as money (the Heavenly Master talismans were distributed and sold through Daoist temples) made the Heavenly Master institution and the large Daoist temples entirely dependent on each other for their social role. We will explore this bureaucratic management of local society in the next chapter; I would like here to focus on the institutions and networks that sustained it.

Late imperial Daoism was characterized, at least in Jiangnan, by a small clerical elite controlling one (or, rarely, several) central temple around which was built networks of home-based Daoists 火居道士 (for whom the central temple served as a training and ordination center) and lay groups that organized festivals and processions. The altars of these home-based Daoists

(with their documents, titles, and rights) were transmitted within their own line, recognized within local society, and durable. They needed no retraining with the central temple in each generation. Yet the connection was often mentioned in their documents.

Some of these central temples were remnants of the old Song- and Yuan-dynasty system of one official Daoist temple for each county, called Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀; others were the City God (Chenghuangmiao 城隍廟) or Eastern Peak Temples established under the Ming. Even when the central temple was called by another name, it often had the City God or (more often) the Eastern Peak as its most vibrant cult. These central temples were points of contact with Daoists in other provinces and with centers of authority, such as the Heavenly Master headquarters at Longhushan or great Quanzhen monasteries; they also were places of articulation with the state, since these were as a rule the institutions that housed the local branch of the Daolusi. In addition to their control over central temples and integration with the state (notably through titles of Daoist officials), Daoist elites, as I define them, were also characterized by a strong lineage organization, and elite culture—they hobnobbed with local officials and upper gentry members around tea, wine, poetry, flowers, and other literary pastimes. Their families often intermarried with those of local scholars and officials, but many of these elite Daoists were themselves celibate, as were many of the Longhushan Daoists.

A survey of the Buddhist and Daoist officials listed in the administrative geographical section of the *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (1725) shows that, of 1,582 documented jurisdictions (counties, prefectures), 497 had a functioning local Daoist official,[99] among whom 59 were located in City God Temples, and 20 in Eastern Peak Ton the work notes all numbered. This shows how the presence of the Daoist bureaucracy on the ground was unequal across the empire.[100] In the three provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Anhui, the proportion of jurisdictions with an acting Daoist official was much higher, at 119 out of 215.[101] Because the area was richer, elite clerics (Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian) were more numerous and organized there. For this reason, the network of elite Daoist temples and lineages

related to the Heavenly Master institution nominally extended over the whole empire, but was most dense and operative in the Jiangnan area, where a significant number of Daoist temples maintained close links with Longhushan from the Yuan into the twentieth century.[102]

One convenient entry point into the network of Daoist central temples connected to the Heavenly Master institution, as it operated in the eighteenth century, is to follow the *faguan* called to Beijing by Lou Jinyuan (himself from a Jiangnan Daoist lineage), and those who succeeded them up to 1911. The two most prominent temples among this group were the Xuanmiaoguan in Suzhou and the City God Temple in Hangzhou; the gazetteers of these temples provide biographical notices for some of the Qingwei Lingbao dignitaries who went to Beijing.

The connection between Longhushan and the Xuanmiaoguan in Suzhou had already been developed by Shi Daoyuan, so it was a natural pool of Daoist talent when Lou Jinyuan recruited court Daoists. Lou called on Pan Yuangui 潘元珪 (?–1735),[103] and on his disciple Hui Yuanmo.[104] Pan's reputation in Suzhou was already great before he went to Beijing. Hui had already been nominated by imperial edict among the Longhushan dignitaries in 1731 and was invited to court in 1733. He became a disciple of Lou but returned to Suzhou to mourn Pan, his first master. He returned to Beijing in 1744, apparently as Lou's successor as Qianlong's chaplain. However, he did not stay there long, and returned to Suzhou in 1750. Zhang Zili 張資理 (1712–1786) came in 1734 and stayed until 1749; he would later be named in the Longhushan administration.[105] Similar career patterns continued in the following generations, with court *faguan* such as Gu Shenji 顧神幾 (1710–1777) and Chen Quanying 陳全瑩 (1759–1823).[106] Gu arrived in Beijing in 1752 and returned to Suzhou in 1769. Chen was invited to the Da Guangmingdian in 1782, when he was only twenty-three, and underwent further training there under the head of the Daolusi, Zhou Xingchi 周星池. The Qianlong emperor once asked him to perform a Thunder ritual at the Yuanmingyuan. In 1789, he was made a dignitary at the Zhenrenfu at Longhushan, but presumably was still often at court, since he regularly prayed for rain for the emperor in Beijing. He was back in Suzhou in 1792.

From Hangzhou came Shi Yuan'en 施遠恩 (1699–1767), a member of a prominent family of Daoist priests, who had entered the Chenghuangmiao at the age of nine. He was invited to join Lou Jinyuan at court in 1732 and became one of his closest associates; he was distinguished by Yongzheng in 1735 and promoted in the Longhushan hierarchy. Like Hui Yuanmo, Shi Yuan'en's name bore the sign of his being a personal disciple of Lou Jinyuan (the *yuan* 遠 character being the second in the lineage poem instated by Lou). Shi then traveled around and worked at Longhushan before returning to his home temple in 1747. He does seem to have maintained relations with the court under the Qianlong reign.[107] Shi's temple, like the Xuanmiaoguan in Suzhou, was the dominant institution in a provincial capital. Located atop Wushan 吳山 (the hill within the Hangzhou walled city), the City God Temple was an impressive complex of shrines (the main building, now turned into a museum, is still a landmark) that featured prominently in all descriptions of Hangzhou urban life.[108] It was managed by an alliance of several Daoist lineages 房 (fifteen during the early Qing, but only eleven of them were still there by the late eighteenth century). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, each of these lineages would send one Daoist to serve on the Longhushan staff.[109] They were thus connected to other elite Daoists throughout China, by networks of crossed discipleship, intermarriage, scholarly friendships, and shared professional experience in Beijing, Longhushan, or elsewhere.

A similar situation obtained in Kunshan 昆山, another major Jiangnan city; the 1855 gazetteer of that City God Temple (written in between two destructions caused by the Taiping war) is also by and large devoted to the two Daoist lineages 房 that jointly managed the temple, in close connection with other Daoist temples of the city; the Daoists from this City God Temple had held positions at Longhushan or at court from the late Ming until the eighteenth century.[110] The Shanghai City God Temple also sent Daoists to Longhushan.

There is no denying the importance of Jiangnan in the empire-wide administrative network centered at Longhushan. We also know more about elite Daoists in Jiangnan than in other regions because of the wealth of

printed evidence, notably temple gazetteers. And yet a list of fifty-four Longhushan *faguan,* published in a late nineteenth-century local gazetteer, shows that most of them were from areas close to Longhushan, those from Jiangnan being a minority.[111] We still know little about how the Heavenly Master institution shaped Daoism in its own region, not to mention the channels through which it attracted Daoists from other parts of the empire and maintained connections with them. In any case, while Jiangnan was special in terms of the intensity of the connection, it did not constitute a unique pattern. What transpires then is that the Heavenly Master institution had lost since the fifteenth century the *formal* power of nominating the abbots of the Daoist central temples, which were recognized by both the state and local society as the organizers and regulators of local religious life. But it continued to be in constant contact with them and to train and promote their young clerics, so it actually maintained an informal but no less real center of authority over Daoism empire-wide.

The economic model of the Heavenly Master institution

The relations with the state, the court, and the central temples throughout the empire as we have just analyzed them provide the necessary framework for understanding the economy of the Heavenly Master institution. The latter was primarily composed of three distinct corporate entities—the Zhang lineage (based at the Jiamiao ancestral temple), the residence of the Heavenly Master, and the Shangqinggong—that each owned land and other resources, organized their own influx of income and redistribution, had their own leaders, and maintained their own buildings next to each other. They were three different types of entities (a lineage, a *yamen,* and a monastery) with their own institutional logic but that overlapped and had to cooperate.

First, the Zhang lineage was like other powerful lineages in the empire, a major landowner and economic actor, and so were several of its constituent branches; but its role in the operation of the Heavenly Master institution in religious terms was minimal, and I will not explore it further here.[112] The other main actors were first the residence of the Heavenly Master (Zhenrenfu),

that is, the household of the reigning Heavenly Master, and second the Shangqinggong, itself composed of separate residences-cum-lineages (*yuan,* also existing as distinct corporate entities). There were also other temples in the Longhushan area, each constituting an independent corporate entity, but their resources were extremely limited by contrast to the Zhenrenfu and the Shangqinggong. These two owned vast landed estates in Guixi and other surrounding counties and had to feed and pay their numerous staff, priestly and otherwise. To what extent they might have been in competition for resources is unclear, and our sources are silent about possible tensions, giving rather a sense that they cooperated and strove to maintain a balance.

The income of the corporate constituents of the Heavenly Master institution can be classified under three main rubrics: donations from the court, rent from the landed estates, and fees for ritual services. The first category was occasional and mostly linked to major construction work. State and court support for the physical infrastructure at Longhushan continued throughout the five centuries of the Ming and Qing period. While this infrastructure did not evolve significantly between the early Ming and the mid-nineteenth century—as we can see from both the 1740 Longhushan gazetteer and a late eighteenth-century painting of the site[113]—occasional repair and reconstruction were necessary. The regular income of the institution allowed for its operation, but liberalities from the court were involved in all the large-scale restorations (notably in 1390, 1506, 1526–1533, 1730–1735, and, finally, in 1867, when the damage caused by the Taipings was repaired) ensured that the major temples were kept in good condition until the destruction waged by the Nationalist and Communist armies during the 1930s.

The landed property of the Zhenrenfu and the Shangqinggong were both considerable, with much of the land given by the state over the centuries. In 1731, the Yongzheng emperor made a major donation (altogether in the range of forty *qing,* about 663 acres) to the estates of both the Shangqinggong and each of its twenty-four residences (the combined holdings of the twenty-four residences was slightly larger than that of the Shangqinggong), roughly doubling their earlier holdings. The 1740 gazetteer provides a detailed account of the landholdings, as well as documents about

fiscal exemptions from the Song period to the 1730s; it notes that the exemption given to the Shangqinggong estates was modeled on that already existing for the Zhenrenfu estate.[114] That type of estate compared favorably to the largest Buddhist monasteries in Jiangnan, the richest religious institutions in late imperial China.[115] Yet the institution was also costly to run: in his early eighteenth-century catechism, the 54th Heavenly Master claims that the fifty *qing* of land (about 828 acres) owned by the institution (the text is vague, but he probably adds Zhenrenfu and Shangqinggong estates) barely sufficed to pay the salaries of the staff and the organization of the thrice-yearly ordination rituals.[116] The official documents related to the 1731 donation of land also provided a dense liturgical calendar of rituals that the endowment was to pay for, including twenty-three *jiao* offerings a year, the largest (nine days) being for the emperor's birthday.[117] Either because some of the lands donated in 1740 were appropriated by tenants or others, or because the operating costs kept rising, in 1814 the 59th Heavenly Master, Zhang Yu 張鈺 (1770–1821, titled 1800), had to borrow a considerable sum (twenty thousand liang) from the emperor to pay for repairs to his residence; when he declared in 1819 he could not repay the loan, the emperor was not amused and canceled the Heavenly Master's right to five-yearly imperial audiences.[118]

Last but not least, income from fees and sales was an important aspect of the Longhushan economic model. First, the ordinees who came thrice a year paid fees, presumably to the Zhenrenfu (the ordination altar was situated there). In contrast to Quanzhen ordinations, which were collective and free in imitation of the Buddhist system,[119] Longhushan charged a contribution, even though these were (in the old Tianshidao tradition in which "the master does not receive payment" 師不受錢[120]) not called a fee but pledges of faith, *xinwu.* The 63rd Heavenly Master, Zhang Enpu 張恩溥 (1904–1969), denied the existence of ordination fees when asked by Holmes Welch,[121] but this was probably because of some misunderstanding, or because Zhang Enpu feared that such fees would not make sense to Westerners. Daoist ordinations, in contrast to Buddhist ordinations, are expensive, as the ordinee has to offer pledges to his master.[122] How much was charged is not clear but depended on the level of the ordination. Similarly, the Heavenly Master or

his *faguan,* when traveling in other counties and provinces, summoned all local Daoists and collected levies from them. Fees for canonizing local gods were quite hefty as well (and presumably also collected by the Zhenrenfu), as we will see in the next chapter. Fees for rituals performed by the Zhang Heavenly Master himself, or by the *faguan,* went into the budgets of the Zhenrenfu and Shangqinggong, respectively. And the sale of talismans must have provided a regular, dependable, and substantial addition to the account books, making a quite diversified and sustainable economic model.[123]

Conclusion

The Heavenly Master institution had by the Mongol and early Ming period built such solid social, political, economic, and ideological foundations that it proved remarkably stable and resilient through the five following centuries. It benefitted from an uninterrupted integration with the imperial state, even though the rank of the Heavenly Master and his *faguan* in the bureaucracy varied with time. It also had access to the court, directly and through court Daoists, with moments of exceptional proximity (which often coincided with the grant of considerable imperial funds for rebuilding the Longhushan physical infrastructure), but a large part of its income and support base was independent of the ups and downs in imperial favor, and indeed the Heavenly Master institution could not survive solely with court support.

Just as important as its relation to state and court, the Heavenly Master institution's empire-wide network of elite Daoists self-reproduced with little change over centuries, with the most important central temples, especially in Jiangnan, maintaining close relations with Longhushan from the early Ming to 1911. This ensured the continued flow to Longhushan of well-trained and highly capable Daoists, requests for ordinations and canonizations (often channeled by these networks of elite Daoists), and up-to-date information about new developments in Daoist liturgy, cults, revelations, and scriptures, as well as financial support (sales of talismans and request for rituals). What social function did this stable extensive institution serve? That is the topic of the next chapter.

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Chapter Eight

The Heavenly Masters and Late Imperial Chinese Society

The continued importance and wealth of the Heavenly Master institution at Longhushan was based on the large range of liturgical services that it offered to various constituencies, from the Daoist clergy to local lay communities, from individuals to the imperial court. To clerics, it offered training, ordination, and licensing, and to the court, it sent its best ritual performers as court chaplains. To lay communities it provided the whole range of Daoist rituals and, most importantly, canonization for their gods, and to individuals it offered security (through exorcism) and salvation (through ordination). This chapter discusses all of these services.

All of this might seem—and has usually been understood—as a range of ad hoc ritual tools available to those who could afford them. But it adds up to much more: a comprehensive project for ordering the whole society. The various roles and functions played by the Heavenly Master institution in late imperial society amounted to state administration: maintaining military order by means of exorcism and control over demons; bureaucratic control via the licensing of living priests and ritual specialists as well as management of the dead by canonization; justice by virtue of its judicial rituals; and taxation as a way of registering the living and the dead within a ritual and moral order.

Military force: Exorcism and talismans

Heavenly Masters—at least some of them—were trained in the full Daoist liturgical repertoire but lived differently from ordinary priests. They were occasionally summoned to perform for the person of the emperor or for the state; they were also regularly invited to perform *jiao* offerings and death rituals for individuals and communities.[1] The service that was by far most often mentioned, however, was exorcism. As we have seen in chapters 1 and 4, Zhang Daoling had emerged by the late Tang as an extremely popular exorcistic deity, and his heirs were considered as having inherited his powers of control over gods and demons. The 30th Heavenly Master in particular had built his own reputation as an exorcist. The function of protecting humans from malevolent spirits and controlling divine armies that maintained order and security that was at the core of the Tianshidao church was fully assumed by the Heavenly Master institution.

By the late imperial period, the simplest, and most common service offered by the Heavenly Master institution was the sale of talismans invoking the protection of Zhang Daoling, *tianshi fu* 天師符. These talismans were of extremely common use throughout China, notably during the apotropaic rites of the Duanwu 端午 festival during the fifth month, when, since antiquity, protection is taken against malevolent forces that reach the peak of their influence at this time.[2] The practice of manufacturing and selling portraits and talismans of Zhang Daoling for Duanwu started during the Song; possibly the earliest mention is a poem by Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112).[3] The manufacturing and sale of talismans, sometimes featuring a portrait of Zhang Daoling, on an industrial scale, was a major source of income for the Longhushan institution, which printed them from woodblocks held in the Heavenly Master residence, empowered them with the Heavenly Master seal, and sold them directly or through its network of Daoist central temples.[4]

A variety of Heavenly Master talismans was available for sale. They all summoned martial deities, such as Zhao Gongming and Guan Yu—whom we have seen to be closely associated with the Heavenly Master institution. Extant premodern talismans, and those still drawn at Longhushan today

share a similar style and are quite recognizable; they have a common pattern on top (representing the Northern Dipper), and the name of the specific divine general below; the characters "Heavenly Master" are printed on the side, the *Yangpingzhi dugong yin* is affixed in the middle, and other Heavenly Master seals appear on the sides. One such, titled "Talisman to Remove the Hundred Afflictions," *Baijiefu* 百解符, was carved in stone on Taishan in 1789, and apparently was also printed from woodblocks.[5]

Since at least the Song period, the state guaranteed the Zhang Heavenly Master's monopoly on issuing *tianshi fu* talismans; this was strongly reaffirmed by Ming imperial edicts and remained on the books until 1911. Late Qing officials took seriously the Heavenly Master's claim to be the guarantor of orthodox Daoism and his monopoly over talismans and other documents authenticated with his seals. When local Daoists in late nineteenth-century Shanghai offered (sometimes advertising through newspapers) cures by using Heavenly Master talismans and seals, the Heavenly Master sued them and the Shanghai magistrate arrested and condemned them for usurping his privilege.[6]

People bought a Heavenly Master talisman annually (notably at the time of Duanwu) as a preventive measure or in case of demonic disturbance. When this proved insufficient, and if local ritual resources were unable to offer a solution, they could turn to the Heavenly Master for direct action. A large amount of narrative material written during the late imperial period, particularly anecdotes, features the traveling Heavenly Master being called on to exorcise demons and sprites; in some cases patrons also wrote or came to Longhushan to bring their requests.[7] The Heavenly Master obliged, but at prices commensurate with his divine status.

In many of these anecdotes, the exorcistic ritual succeeds in restoring order; in others, the assaulting spirit proves itself to be pursuing a rightful vengeance, and the Heavenly Master cannot punish it, but this does not lessen his prestige or authority, which is rarely ever questioned in this kind of source.[8] For instance, several anecdotes in the Shanghai illustrated periodical *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (1884–1898) discuss cases in which people, usually literati or officials, call on him (with expensive gifts) to exorcise demons possessing their womenfolk, and the Heavenly Master does the job,

either himself or by sending a *faguan.*[9] The authority of the Heavenly Master even allowed him to confront popular local cults that he saw as demonic, a course of action the Tianshidao had pursued ever since its beginning during the second century CE.[10] Naturally, the Heavenly Master, like the whole Daoist tradition, conducted exorcisms within a judicial framework, applying Heavenly codes to the spirits, and his role as exorcist overlapped with his function as chief justice, as we will discuss in the section below titled "Longhushan as a court of justice." But in popular lore, he was first and foremost represented as the supreme commander of the divine armies rather than a judge.

Widespread lore, found in countless novels and stories, most famously in the late Ming novel *Shuihuzhuan,* has it that the Heavenly Master kept all the demons he had captured locked in jars in a room within the Shangqinggong, and some of the stories tell about the havoc caused by someone breaking them open. So widespread was that theme that in his catechism, the 54th Heavenly Master had to explain that it was largely an embellished legend.[11] Yet a late Qing magistrate for Guixi County claimed to have visited Longhushan and seen the jars in 1889.[12] It is said that they were destroyed again by the Communist general Peng Dehuai in 1931.[13]

The civil service: Ordinations and licensing

The most important function of the Heavenly Master institution since its appearance was that it served as a nation-wide training and ordination center with extensive monopolistic rights.[14] Ever since the Yuan dynasty, the Daoist clergy was officially and practically divided into two orders: the monastic, ascetic Quanzhen (with its own entirely separate ordination procedures, *chuanjie* 傳戒, based in large monasteries) and the Zhengyi.[15] To be recognized as a full-fledged Daoist by the state, other Daoists, and local society, one had to have ordination credentials from either a major monastery or a certificate with one's divine appointment (*zhidie*) in the name of the Heavenly Master.[16] Yet Quanzhen training and ordination were apparently also available at Longhushan. Lin Xiumei 林修梅, who stayed at Longhushan from 1886 to 1892, was trained in Quanzhen meditation and ordained by

monks from the Baiyunguan 白雲觀 in Beijing who had lately established a Quanzhen community there.[17] This is confirmed by other sources: a local Yunnan gazetteer documents the case of Xu Yangchen 許陽晨, who went to Longhushan in 1712 and underwent complete training there, including a Quanzhen ordination.[18] As it had since the beginning, the Heavenly Master institution also continued to grant ordinations to large numbers of laypeople. And indeed, besides clerics, we do have records of laypersons—mostly members of the imperial family, rich merchants, and gentry—receiving ordinations (with corresponding registers, titles, and ranks) throughout the Ming, Qing, and Republican periods.[19] Let us look at the case of Kong Yuben 孔毓本 (?–1798), a scholar from Hangzhou who worked as an advisor to local officials and was a member of the Jiangnan Kong clan claiming descent from Confucius. He was a Wenchang devotee and practiced the ritual performance of the *Dadong xianjing* 大洞仙經; in 1792 he became a vegetarian and vowed to perform it all his life for the salvation of humanity from the apocalypse. He went to Longhushan in 1796 to receive the Wenchang ordination registers, then returned to Hangzhou, where he built a new Wenchang temple and edited a comprehensive liturgy for the *Dadong xianjing*.[20]

The imperial state upheld until 1911 the Longhushan's exclusive right, first granted in the late Song, to confer ordination registers, and the Heavenly Master or his *faguan* regularly sued in court Daoists known to sell registers. In actual fact, most modern and contemporary priestly ordinations—and presumably earlier ones as well—did not involve the conferral of an actual physical register (these documents, printed from the Longhushan woodblocks, were expensive and quite rare); priests were most often given a title by their master while being physically or notionally transmitted a register that had been received earlier on in their lineage: this, at least in the Jiangnan area, is called *bazhi* 拔職, "to be promoted to (one's lineage) official appointment." The register itself in some cases did not exist anymore as a physical document; it had been burned (sent for safekeeping in Heaven) during the priest's funeral, or even just after the ordination.

The ordination rank once obtained from the Heavenly Master himself was usually transmitted locally within the ordinee's lineage, generation after generation, with a formal ritual announcement to Longhushan on each

occasion. Many Daoist families in southern China would mention a Longhushan ordination in their ancestry and count the number of generations since then. Such an inherited ordination was entirely tolerated, and considered completely different from selling ordination registers. Local Daoist elites might be authorized by the Heavenly Master to validate such transmissions on his behalf. For instance, during the late Qing two Daoist families in Tainan (southern Taiwan), the Chen 陳 and the Zeng 曾, whose members regularly went to Longhushan, had provided the prefectural Daoist official (*daoji*) since the 1850s and enjoyed the privilege to ordain local Daoists in the name of the Heavenly Master.[21] Such families had ordination liturgical manuals brought back from Longhushan, including *Tiantan yuge* and other documents.

Going to Longhushan to receive a new register—a costly proposition—or participating in an ordination organized during a tour of the Heavenly Master in the provinces was done occasionally to renew a Daoist lineage's status and prestige. The documents and oral recollections obtained through field research by anthropologists, without which it would be hard to make sense of the Heavenly Master institution's significance for Daoists, also show that ordinations at Longhushan were usually actually just a confirmation of a cleric's former ordination by his own master. However, the prestige brought by a trip to Longhushan was huge; it was like buying charisma. It could also imply acquiring new knowledge. One example is provided by the Lin family in Xinzhu, in northern Taiwan.[22] A scion of this wealthy elite family, Lin Rumei 林如梅 (1834–1894), who had long been practicing inner alchemy, went to Longhushan in 1886 with his brother Lin Xiumei. Lin Rumei stayed two years (and his brother six) and brought back a whole library of liturgical manuals; he then established a successful altar providing ritual services. Lin also brought back talismans and a title for the Xinzhu City God Temple; the Heavenly Master institution's licensing of elite priests and local gods were two facets of the same phenomenon.

The study of collections of liturgical manuscripts held by priests in various parts of the Chinese world, including some registers and ordination

manuals, have shed more light on the complex issue of modern Daoist ordinations: the work of Hsieh Tsung-hui and Lü Pengzhi in particular has unearthed important new material and resulted in considerably more detailed knowledge.[23] One important source is the collection of the Dai 戴 family of Daoist priests in Xiushui 修水, a hilly area some three hundred kilometers west of Longhushan, near the Hunan border in northwestern Jiangxi. This family has kept a complete copy of the *Dugonglu* register, and then acquired from other Daoists copies of other registers, recarved blocks to print new copies, and from 1980 ordained an important number of local and nonlocal priests and laypeople. They likely had the *Dugonglu* because their forebears had worked as *faguan* at Longhushan. These documents have been taken over and used by the Longhushan Daoists for their own ordinations from the 2000s onward. Because no original document had survived at Longhushan, the first ordinations there from 1991 onward were performed without actual registers.

Lü Pengzhi's study of the Dai family collection shows that the twenty-seven registers in use at their altar correspond largely to those mentioned in Yuan and early Ming sources discussed in chapters 3 and 4, and listed by the 54th Heavenly Master in the early eighteenth century.[24] Another important piece of evidence is the detailed record of registers obtainable at Longhushan in 1912 that shows a similar long list of registers, many of which were primarily for laypersons, and for various purposes. Some of these lay registers date from the medieval period and some are newer creations.[25]

In sum, the ordination system that formed around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a result of the Longhushan reorganization of Daoist ordination has remained stable for over five centuries. These twenty-seven registers comprise the four main registers for priests (*Dugonglu, Mengweilu, Wuleilu* 五雷籙—formerly known as *Shenxiaolu*—and *Dadonglu*) and many others for living or dead laypeople. Lü Pengzhi shows how the tradition of laypeople requesting ordination to be cured of an illness or be saved is still very much alive, and that some people receive different registers at the same time.[26]

Ordaining the vernacular priests

Lay ordinations were not polemical. The question of priestly ordinations and thus licensing raised specific and thornier questions. A key issue the Heavenly Master and his staff managing ordinations had to address was the question of the various types of priests it recognized, and especially the status it granted to the vernacular priests, known by late imperial and modern times by terms such as *fashi, shigong* 師公, and *duangong* 端公. The modern vernacular priests' liturgy and local traditions, such as Lüshan 閭山 (which is widespread in Southeast China) or Meishan (which is found throughout southwest China), seem to have emerged during the Song period, even though the precise links between the *daofa* described in Song texts and those known today remain to be clarified. These ritual traditions mix classical Daoist liturgy with spirit possession and cults of blood-consuming local deities to practice spectacular exorcisms. Originally, these new ritual techniques ran contrary to fundamental Daoist theological tenets, as they implied spirit possession of the priest and a deal with demonic beings, both things considered impure and forbidden to Daoists ever since the foundation of the Tianshidao. The *fashi* rituals are mostly exorcistic and linked to a local pantheon notably featuring martial exorcistic gods and local goddesses; by contrast, the *daoshi* rituals are mostly death rituals and community *jiao* offerings, and deal primarily with the pantheon of pure, abstract Daoist deities.

Yet, as we have seen in chapters 3 and 4, mainstream Daoism represented by the Heavenly Master institution managed to absorb a great deal of these exorcistic rituals and cults during the Song, and the reason Longhushan emerged as the ultimate source of authority in premodern Daoism is that its ordinations early on included registers needed to master the newly revealed thunder and exorcistic rituals of the *fashi* along with the classical Lingbao liturgy. Many *daoshi* are also *fashi,* and as *daoshi* they are entirely welcome to Longhushan as such. The question, ever since the Song period, has been how the Heavenly Master institution should deal with the vernacular priests who are not *daoshi.* A number of vernacular traditions were recognized (licensed) by the Heavenly Master institution over time, but not all. The adoption

of the exorcistic rituals could only go so far, and there always remained in the vernacular practices an unacceptable part, practices that elite Daoists described as "heterodox." Longhushan Daoists distinguished "correct" and "deviant" *daofa* as early as the Song; they carried on that task down to the modern and contemporary period, when we have documentation that sheds more light than earlier sources on this process of licensing and control.

The 1658 *Tiantan yuge*

A key text that lays out the rationale for the Heavenly Master ordination practices is the *Tiantan yuge,* already familiar to the reader; I would now like to take up this crucial text again in the Qing context. A key moment in the textual history of the *Tiantan yuge* is the early Qing revision that resulted in the Suzhou version. This version comes with a preface, authored by the 53rd Heavenly Master, Zhang Hongren, and dated 1658. The immediate historical context of this text is the recognition of the Heavenly Master institution by the new Qing regime that renewed the Heavenly Master's mandate to control the whole Daoist clergy. Zhang explains that he collaborated with Shi Daoyuan for producing and disseminating this work, and explains the rationale for doing so. Many people, he writes, grant themselves lofty titles and ranks without proper clerical supervision and without having received the corresponding register. He argues for the need to regulate and control such practices under the supervision of the Longhushan bureaucracy (among which Shi Daoyuan was a leading official, *faguan*). He insists that his initiative of ordering the ordination system runs closely parallel to the imperial enterprise of setting up a civil bureaucracy. In his words,

> The Jade Rules for the Heavenly Altar are the ranked hierarchy of the titles among the immortals that students of the Dao obtain when they successfully practice the techniques of transcendence. My ancestor the Heavenly Master had petitioned the (Jade) Emperor to request (the authorization to enact these rules); he followed (the cosmological order) of the stems and branches and allocated pneumas and parishes (in space), and he determined the hierarchy of ranks according to the contents of the

ordination registers, just like in the imperial civil service. There are gradations of exalted and humble, of noble and lowly, primary and subordinate; no (rank and function) can be made up (outside of these rules). Now, (Zhang Daoling) resides among the Three (Heavenly) Ministries and is in charge of appointments, just like in this world the Bureau of civil service manages the nomination of officials. Any selection (for a position among immortals) is processed by him.

Recently, some reckless people have taken to discarding the Jade rules and promoting adepts following only their whim, so that they have a high-ranking title even though their actual function is low-level, or a high nomination even though they only hold a low-level ordination. Such people care only for pleasing others and making nice-sounding announcements, but they are unaware that such actions are against all rules and that they will be personally held guilty for violating the Heavenly code. It is not just that their ordination and their appointment (in the Heavenly bureaucracy, under such flawed conditions) will actually not allow them to progress.

I have discussed this matter with Shi Tiezhu [Daoyuan], who is also deeply concerned by this decadence. We have thus collated and edited the Jade Rules for the Heavenly Altar, so as to make it widely available in the whole world and to establish it as an unchangeable standard for the generations to come. In this way, those who will be nominated to the various offices among the immortals will have titles that can be checked against the records, without any difference from the standards, just like the titles given to the nobles and ministers and the field officials posted in the various localities of the empire. Henceforth, whenever a Daoist ordains a disciple, he must know the hierarchies and ranks in Heaven, so that he can [effectively] make him an immortal official in the Heavenly administration; then he can promote him if he has accumulated merit or demote him if he has committed crimes. On this basis, a hundred years later, he will either have ascended or descended in the hierarchy—this is something to be ever cautious about. And if there are again reckless people who act whimsically, promote others to [unjustified higher] ranks, and elevate themselves in outrageous ways, not only will they carry titles that do not exist among the immortals, but [documents signed with] their names will not be received in Heaven. I have thus entrusted this book to [Shi] Tiezhu, asking him to correct it and then distribute it widely. The Daoists who transmit their liturgy to others must keep this carefully in mind!

嘗稽天壇玉格，是學道之士修真有得、列名仙籍之品格也。吾老祖天師奏請綸音，按支干而分治炁，照籙章以定品銜，猶朝廷設官，有等級高卑，有貴賤正副，毫釐不可假借者也。今位居三省，專司其事，即如世間銓部天下員職，皆從選出焉。近來好奇者不遵玉格，妄意僉補，或職微而品隆，或籙小而銜大，但知悅人觀聽，華美其辭，而不知違式犯禁，身干天憲，豈止受籙受職，無補於進道哉。茲特於養玄抱一宣教演化法師施鐵竹談及是事。鐵竹亦深慨流風澆陋，故以天壇玉格，互相考訂，蓋欲公諸天下，為萬世不易定規，使仙班列職，與今之三公九卿、郡邑宰牧，可按籍而考，無異同也。今而后，凡傳法授道者，當知列品瑤階，即為天都仙宰，有功即遷，有過則黜，百年之後，從此或上昇，亦從此或下墮，可不畏歟。奈世有好奇者，率意妄為，選職補銜，浸肰出我，不獨仙班斷無此職，即姓字亦難上達也。謹以是書手授鐵竹，付諸剞劂，以廣其傳。學道授法者，當自惕焉。[27]

This preface thus clearly puts the *Tiantan yuge* at the center of a revival of an older project, whereby the Heavenly Master headquarters at Longhushan would run a vast bureaucracy controlling and disciplining the whole Daoist clergy. It also betrays a high sensibility to Daoists usurping the Heavenly Master's authority and prerogatives over granting titles and ranks, just as the civil bureaucracy was highly concerned with usurpation, faked seals, and forged documents. It plays up an ideal of meritocracy that constitutes the shared vision of imperial and Daoist bureaucracies, and that has been at the core of the Zhengyi ordination system since the early medieval period—even though Longhushan, like the imperial state, actually sold titles.

The Longhushan dignitary behind this edition, Shi Daoyuan, was himself concerned with ordinations. His home monastery, atop Qionglongshan, was described in Shi's times as housing hundreds of Daoists; it clearly was a major ordination center. Furthermore, Shi was also famous for ordaining lay devotees; indeed, some of the Suzhou upper gentry and officials who became his personal disciples signed inscriptions and other documents with the ordination titles Shi conferred on them—titles that can be traced to the *Tiantan yuge*.[28] It would look like the Heavenly Masters' project of bringing all of Daoism into one coherent framework under their close bureaucratic supervision was translating into reality in early Qing Suzhou.

Yet a larger look at the later versions of the *Tiantan yuge* offers a sobering perspective on the Heavenly Masters' and Shi Daoyuan's project of unifying and disciplining ordination practices. The other versions (E, F, G, and H—see appendix B) I have perused were compiled, or at least copied, between the last decades of the Qing and the Republican period. Both Taiwanese (presumably originating in Fujian), as well as G (Shanghai), and H (Hunan) versions appear as fully independent; they do not carry the Zhang Hongren preface, the Qionglongshan lineage, or other features of the Suzhou 1658 version. One (F) carries a preface by Wang Jie 王玠, dated 1390, which does not mention Longhushan at all. While Wang Jie is a known figure, mostly for his inner alchemical writings, I have not found a trace of this preface anywhere else, and its authenticity is open to question. More generally, these versions seem to have evolved from version A (or a later variant of A) and not to have been much influenced by the Suzhou version, showing that if the very idea behind the early Qing project of standardizing ordination titles found an echo, the versions that actualized this project were themselves far from standardized. The idea that one text (*Tiantan yuge*) should be used throughout the Chinese world to put order into ordinations did catch on in many places, but local Daoists put varying contents under that shared title and idea—the gods are in the details, as it were.

These later variant versions of the *Tiantan yuge* certainly do not amount to a rejection of Longhushan authority over ordination, however. They do constantly refer to the Heavenly Masters and Longhushan, and G even provides a list of all Heavenly Masters from Zhang Daoling down to the sixty-third, Zhang Enpu 張恩溥 (1904–1969, titled 1924). This text is linked to the presence of the Heavenly Masters in Shanghai during the Republican period, when the 62nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxu, and then his son, Zhang Enpu, personally ordained large numbers of local Daoists.[29] Yet they also show that in modern Daoism, as ever, the ideal of belonging to a universal bureaucracy presided over by the Heavenly Master could be combined with a drive to decide everything locally. The process of standardization of Daoist ritual—of which ordination procedures reflected in the

Tiantan yuge are one aspect—may have had its own ebbs and flows, following the historical development of the Heavenly Master institution, but standardization and localization have always been simultaneously at work.

Carrot and stick

The *Tiantan yuge,* in spite of its many local variations, was not a mere empty declaration of principle. We have other sources documenting how its project was enforced, with Daoist officials from Longhushan on official missions to control local Daoists. Longhushan worked, by incentive rather than punitive methods, to maintain the relative purity of Daoist practice while being inclusive. The Heavenly Master's approach was not to suppress or to ban illicit practice, as he would have been unable to do so thoroughly, but to entice, with the prestige of ordinations, Daoists of local traditions to make their practice closer to orthodox standards. This approach was not unlike the state's policy of co-opting local cults in order to make them (look) more neo-Confucian. The Heavenly Master institution was ready to embrace and reform various types of local traditions, even including the Pu'an 普庵 tradition, a vernacular Buddhist liturgy popular in much of Jiangxi and adjoining areas.[30]

The Longhushan ordination logic of discriminating inclusiveness is spelled out most clearly in an ordination certificate obtained in 1704 by a Daoist priest, and still held to this day by his descendants. The document, granted by the 54th Heavenly Master, is titled "Tianshi fu zhishi ting gei Zhangxi tan Kang Sheng Yilang zhaopiao" 天師府知事廳給漳溪壇康勝一郎照票.[31] It opens by stating that the certificate is given in order to "eliminate the heterodox mediumistic rites," *du xie wu shi* 杜邪巫事. The Heavenly Master, it proceeds to say, was charged by imperial order to maintain Daoist orthodoxy, but the interdiction of mediumistic rites came to be ever more often disregarded. While traveling on their way to sacrifice to the five sacred Peaks, the Zhenrenfu officials witnessed that the mores in Hunan Province had lapsed to the point that orthodoxy and heterodoxy were hopelessly mingled.

So the Heavenly Master decided to send *faguan* to sort them out and give ordination certificates to bona fide Daoists, and secured the official approval of the Hunan governor for a ban on impure practitioners. The *faguan* would go in each village to "check the liturgical standards [of local Daoists], give an ordination certificate and initiate [the bona fide Daoists], and thereby ban heterodoxy and mediumnism" (*qingcha jiaodian, geidie chuandu, yi jin xiewu* 清查教典，給牒傳度，以禁邪巫). The certificate was given to Kang Sheng Yilang, a typical Hakka ordination name, from Guiyang 桂陽 County (present-day Hunan Province, near the borders with Guangdong and Jiangxi), who had declared he practiced orthodox Daoism and would not transgress Daoist rules. If Kang lapsed into deviant practices, the Longhushan officials would not fail to notice it, and the culprit would be turned over to provincial authorities for punishment.

This document envisioned a close cooperation between Daoist and state officials toward maintaining orthodox and pure religious practices. This was certainly a sincere hope on the Longhushan side, but one that came with time to be ever less supported by officialdom. If the whole late Qing officialdom agreed to ban (on paper, at least) exorcists, many officials disapproved of the interference of the Zhang Heavenly Master and his delegates in local religious affairs.

In any case, the 1704 certificate shows that while the Heavenly Master institution exalted the superiority of Qingwei Lingbao clerics, vernacular priests, far from being excluded from its ordinations, were indeed among their most active patrons, including the Hakka Daoists of Lüshan tradition.[32] This is further documented by other fieldwork reports and Daoist families' genealogies.[33] One Hakka genealogy even claims that formerly, not only priests but all Hakka people were ordained by the Zhang Heavenly Master.[34] This is linked to the fact that Lüshan Daoism, as practiced by the Hakka, gives ordination names to all humans, both living people and ancestors; like other *daofa* (such as Tianxin zhengfa, which some scholars think played a key role in the integration of southern peoples into the empire) and also, in different ways, like the Heavenly Master institution, it carries on the early Heavenly Master church's ideal of universal ordination and salvation.

Licensing and disciplining clerics

The inspection tour that resulted in the 1704 certificate was not an isolated case.[35] Ordinations conferred by the Heavenly Master as well as the selection of particularly promising young Daoists for internships at Longhushan and promotion to *faguan* positions did not necessarily take place at Longhushan, as either the Heavenly Master himself or prominent *faguan* also occasionally organized ordination tours in various provinces.[36] Throughout the Ming and Qing periods, Heavenly Masters traveled around the country and held ordinations along the way, a practice that the state often tried hard to curtail. Local officials had been concerned about such ordination tours since at least the first documented case in 1020, and they continued to be concerned. This became a recurring issue of contention between the Heavenly Master institution and the state: the latter wanted to limit the former's control to Longhushan only, whereas the Heavenly Master institution continued to see its role as the supervision of the whole of Daoism throughout China. Whatever the misgivings of local officials, the Heavenly Master institution's efforts at licensing and controlling vernacular clerics was based on its recognition by the Qing regime that renewed the Heavenly Master's mandate to control the whole Daoist clergy, as stated in their nomination edicts. From the Qianlong reign onward, the central state became more committed to banning the Heavenly Master's and his *faguan*'s travels, yet their tours never stopped.[37]

The evidence concerning the Heavenly Masters' supervision over vernacular Daoists, either directly or through his *faguan,* is extremely scattered and piecemeal, but a number of surviving documents, notably manuscripts in the collections of Daoists and archival records, shed light on these processes. Let us look at archives first. The Qing-period archives from Baxian 巴縣 (modern-day Chongqing City) have a set of pieces dated 1883 documenting the Heavenly Masters' efforts at licensing priests, and the resistance he met.[38] On that date, a circular was sent from Longhushan to all local Daoist officials, reaffirming Longhushan's ambition to control ordinations and root out heterodox practices and promotions among Daoists contrary to procedures. Following this circular, the prefectural Daoist official (*daoji* 道紀) reported to the magistrate, explaining how difficult this policy was to implement

in practice. In a following report he detailed why this request from the Heavenly Master landed him in trouble: the Heavenly Master considered all vernacular Daoists' appointments in the divine bureaucracy (*daozhi* 道職) as invalid and wanted all of them to undergo a new ordination, for a hefty fee. In yet another report to the magistrate, the prefectural Daoist official tells how the Heavenly Master's request for vernacular Daoists to undergo ordinations with him created violent reactions, with local Daoists adamantly rejecting the idea of paying the requested fee. One of the most fascinating aspects of these Baxian documents is that they show that the Heavenly Master exerted some sort of hierarchical authority not only above Daoists but also above *yinyang* masters 陰陽先生 (diviners), as they were involved along with the Daoists in this licensing policy. There exist other examples: an undated administrative letter, *zhawen* 札文, sent by the 62nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxu (titled 1904), to Shangrao (eastern Jiangxi) local officials asked them to investigate the status of local Daoists; his main concern was that some Daoists did not have a proper rank, *fazhi,* or one that did not fit with their register.[39]

It is possible to read these documents somewhat cynically, considering that the Heavenly Master was using his official status and his reputation to run an extortion racket. Some specific Heavenly Masters with a lower religious and moral standing may have behaved in such a way. But this was not just one person's decision; rather, it was an aspect of an entire religious administration. The concern of the Heavenly Master administration when licensing clerics was dual: theological (to ensure that all performing clerics were duly registered with Heavenly authorities) and financial (to ensure that they had paid their dues to Longhushan). Even if hostile reports focus on the latter and dismiss the former, while documents issued by the Daoists themselves do the opposite, Longhushan, like any serious religious bureaucracy, was pursuing both aims simultaneously.

When the Heavenly Master himself, or his *faguan,* were traveling around and arrived in a given county, they as a rule took up residence in the largest Daoist temple and summoned all Daoists in the area, checked their ordination documents, and requested all those deemed not to be in order to be reordained

with him (for a fee). Even when no ordination was needed, a payment from the local Daoists was expected, so that they remained on the lists. Some late nineteenth-century reports also mention that the Heavenly Master or his *faguan* were examining and taxing the *yinyang* masters at the same time[40]—even though it is not clear to what extent the Heavenly Master could force them to be ordained. *Faguan* sent on tours of inspection examined not only ordination documents but also the behavior of local Daoists, and could possibly even evict a Daoist from a temple; such a dispute is documented in 1880s Anhui.[41] In 1889, a *faguan* was sent from Longhushan to Shanghai to investigate whether novices were passing themselves off as fully ordained *fashi* and, if so, to sue them in court. The local Daoist official told him he was taking care of it and sent him off, suggesting tensions between Longhushan and the local Daoist officials.[42]

On occasion, unlicensed vernacular priests could be denounced to the Longhushan authorities. In 1902, the Heavenly Master wrote to the Shanghai magistrate asking him to take action against a Cantonese Daoist active in Shanghai who had not bought his title 不捐法衙 and appointment 不捐道職; even though this Cantonese priest protested that he was performing only in private settings, the magistrate nonetheless pressed the charge and forced him to pay.[43] Here, as was usually the case in modes of regulation of vernacular specialists, the right to perform rituals for a living was an asset that was purchased from clerical or lay leaders under certain conditions.

Buying a high-ranking title from the Heavenly Master institution could be a good protection, but it also brought more attention and higher standards. Consider, for instance, the case of Mao Fengchi 毛鳳池, a Shanghai Daoist who had a few years earlier bought a title of Daoist official from a Longhushan official and in 1880 found himself accused (in front of the mixed court of the Shanghai French concession) of "desecrating Daoism." This came about because, as a result of a dispute with fellow Daoists, the magistrate explored his position and found that he was affiliated with the Shengzhen daoyuan 昇真道院.[44] This *daoyuan,* said the magistrate, was just another name for a "Buddha shop," *fodian* 佛店, and *fodian* were illegal: Mao was ordered to close it down.

Fodian, a pejorative label, designated entrepreneurial ritual service centers, typically opened by a cleric or a spirit medium in a rented store or apartment. That category included many Daoist *daoyuan* 道院 and *daoguan* 道館, that is, private altars. They were illegal in Shanghai and presumably elsewhere but nonetheless extremely common. Lai Chi-tim has also documented the home-based Daoists in Guangzhou, called *namo xiansheng* 喃無先生: in 1936 these Daoists owned and ran over such 270 "shops," called *namo daoguan* 喃無道館, where patrons could meet the Daoists to organize a ritual.[45]

In Shanghai, it was assumed that the numerous clerics from outside of the city who moved in, along with other migrants, to serve the ever-expanding ritual needs of the city's many communities could not (at least at first) find a place in the city's existing temples and should work their way up in the ritual system by opening shop in a rented room. But that an established cleric, who was supposed to work from an officially recognized temple, should run one was considered blurring the lines of clerical hierarchies. And we see, both clerical (the Heavenly Master and clerical officials) and civil authorities committed to maintaining these hierarchies by keeping specialists firmly within their categories (elite, licensed vernacular, and outsider). In an 1894 story, we also see how standards and pressure on officially recognized clerics were high. A Daoist from a major temple in Hangzhou, who was also the county divination official 陰陽學, was expelled from his temple because of sexual misdemeanors. He opened a private branch temple on his own, and the county Daoist official denounced him to the magistrate. A mediator intervened and prevented this from turning into a full-fledged trial, but the Daoist had to forfeit his right to perform rituals in the city as a result.[46]

The detailed late Qing evidence shows how extensive and substantive the Heavenly Master institution's supervision over the Daoist clergy remained until the end of the empire. The Heavenly Master and his *faguan* did their utmost to continue ordaining people and thereby regulating moral behavior and social status. This task was accomplished in complex patterns of cooperation and tension with the civil bureaucracy and local Daoist elites, and resulted in widely varying effects across provinces and locales, but it was by no means ineffective.

Canonizations

As the Heavenly Master could nominate living humans within the spiritual hierarchy of the universe, so he could nominate gods: he ordered, disciplined, and saved the dead as he did the quick.[47] There was a belief throughout late imperial China that the Zhang Heavenly Master nominated all City Gods (Chenghuangshen) and Earth Gods (Tudigong).[48] Another related theme also common in narrative sources is that the Heavenly Master received all gods—his officials and appointees—in audience on New Year's Day.[49] This was no abstract concept: individuals and communities depended on the Heavenly Master to give a title and thereby recognize their god. I call this process "canonization." I am aware of the possible confusions and ambiguities carried by this term. While the Catholic practice of canonizing saints is certainly comparable to the practices discussed here—a religious authority going through a bureaucratic process to name a deceased human to a position in which he can legitimately be prayed to by people—the granting of ranks by the Heavenly Master uses a vocabulary that was also used in the imperial administration to grant titles to living beings. In such contexts, terms such as "ennoblement," "enfeoffment," "investiture," and "promotion" are more common. I keep "canonization" here to focus on the cultic implication of such processes.

To explore the history of canonizations by the Heavenly Master, I begin with an account of how the Heavenly Master canonized the controversial Wutong gods 五通 during the early Qing period, before taking a larger look at the procedure whereby Heavenly Masters, from the Yuan period onward, granted titles and ranks to local gods.

The Wutong revisited

A number of scholars, notably Ursula-Angelica Cedzich, Richard von Glahn, and Jiang Zhushan,[50] have explored in great detail the history of the Wutong cult. Their story is that the cult emerged during the Song period as that of powerful and malevolent nature spirits. The Wutong (the five brothers and their mother) were gods of sudden and undeserved wealth, who granted

money to husbands in exchange for their wives' favors. In contrast, Edward Davis argues that the cult was never demonic but merely fantasized as such by elite writers who despised the migrants and outsiders who worshipped these gods.[51] In any case, the cult evolved through a series of attempts at moralization, with "orthodox" versions of the cult being granted titles as early as the Song, but none of these attempts succeeded in eradicating or taming the less controllable aspects of the gods and their spirit mediums. As a result, the cult remained highly ambivalent, especially in Jiangnan, where it had become omnipresent by the Ming. Tang Bin 湯斌 (1627–1687), the governor of Jiangsu Province, undertook the destruction of the Wutong and Liu Mengjiang 劉猛將 temples in Suzhou, the provincial capital, and then throughout the entire province, with an aim to reforming local customs and practices. Upon taking up his functions as governor in 1685, Tang Bin immediately went to the Wutong temple on Shangfangshan 上方山 (by the sixteenth century the focal point for the cult in the Suzhou area[52]) to destroy the Wutong statues in person and to drive away the spirit mediums along with the Buddhists—the Wutong temple at Shangfangshan being part of a monastic complex.

What scholars have not noted so far is that shortly before the Tang Bin suppression, the Wutong were actually canonized by the Heavenly Master, through the agency of Shi Daoyuan, whose home temple, which still honors him today as its patriarch, sits atop Qionglongshan, some fifteen kilometers east of Shangfangshan. The gazetteer of Qionglongshan, published around 1674, has quite a lot to say about the Wutong spirits. In a first story, titled "Fushen xianhua" 福神顯化 and relating events that happened in 1666, we hear about a young lady who is possessed by the third of the Wutong brothers (上方三相公).[53] Her father writes to Shi Daoyuan, who in turn petitions the Wutong mother (上方聖母; colloquially called Taimu 太姥). The lady is healed as a result and proclaims with the voice of a divine emissary that the Wutongs mother has acceded to Master Shi's request and that the third brother will never come back. The emissary goes on to explain that Taimu's birthday is on 9/28 (indeed the date of the major Wutong festival in Jiangnan since the Song period) and that she should now be feted with vegetarian

offerings only. She (and her five sons) just the preceding year have obtained a canonization from the Jade Emperor through the Heavenly Master 天師教主; they are now Heavenly gods 天神, no longer mere earthly spirits.

Thus a gazetteer of a highly official Daoist center (where a good proportion of the local officials are listed as lay disciples of Master Shi) explains through the mouth of a spirit medium that the Heavenly Master has promoted to the ranks of high gods these so-called local demons. While the idea of a Daoist redemption and promotion of local demons[54]—and indeed the Wutong themselves, who had been reinvented as Daoist martial deities 元帥 in various ritual texts of the Yuan and Ming period[55]—is not new, the specifics here show how, at least in Jiangnan, the Heavenly Master had become an indispensable actor in the process, even when this role was merely ascribed to him.

Our gazetteer does not stop there. All in all, fifteen different stories feature the Wutong, either as possessing demons or as martial deities helping elite Daoists to control demons. The role of the Heavenly Master is mentioned again in one of them,[56] where we are told that the eldest of the Wutong brothers, Marquis Yongfu 永福侯,[57] was known to observe the "Heavenly Master's rules" 天師戒, and was recently discovered to have been promoted to the upper levels of the pantheon. The marquis explained through a spirit medium that he kept to a vegetarian diet and went regularly to Qionglongshan to recite the *Yuhuangjing* 玉皇經. As a result, Shi Daoyuan asked the Heavenly Master to petition the Jade Emperor to secure the god's promotion, which was done on 9 February 1665. Barely six weeks later, the medium was again summoned by the god on Shangfangshan, where he was told that the god had just been promoted to the post of censor in the Eastern Peak's administration (東嶽侍御), and witnessed the mother and five sons in full official insignia awaiting the nomination edict. The text ends with a note deploring the fact that in spite of this people persisted in bringing meat offerings to Shangfangshan.[58]

What impact did this canonization have on the cult? Apparently, not much, as repression at the hands of governor Tang Bin came twenty years later, a sign that the cult had failed to find its full place in the local sociopolitical

order. Yet I would not brush the canonization aside as irrelevant. The Heavenly Master was apparently called upon to exorcise one of the Wutong during yet another possession incident in 1685 and that caused Tang Bin to act.[59] And, according to a much later source, Tang Bin himself is reputed to have requested the help of the Heavenly Master in his campaign against the Wutong.[60] The story may of course be spurious, but it reflects the actual fact of the frequent collaboration between elite Daoists and state agents for the management of local gods. Furthermore, since the eighteenth century the Wutong have been integrated into local Daoist pantheons, feature in local Daoist liturgy, and have temples managed by local elite Daoists, all signs that clearly point to their full integration in the local religious system.[61]

The Heavenly Master canonization of local gods

The story of the Wutong in Qing-period Suzhou is a good example of how Daoist institutions recycle demons into exorcistic deities by "converting" and integrating them within the bureaucracy of orthodox gods. Similar processes were at work in countless parts of China from the Song (if not earlier) to this day. The Wutong case invites us to look at how the Daoist this-worldly bureaucracy and the Heavenly Master administration in particular worked and processed canonizations of local gods during the modern period. The most common pattern was for local gods to be placed under the authority of Daoist bureaucratic gods, notably the Eastern Peak and the City Gods, featuring as side deities in their temples and festivals, and drawing on their official status and legitimacy. Several scholars have discussed cases of such promotions under the aegis of Daoist higher deities.[62] The Heavenly Master also distributed to temples—presumably often in exchange for a donation—talismans, plaques, or other documents stamped with their seal.[63] But how exactly local gods came to be accepted as members of the Daoist bureaucracy has remained an open question. I contend that a canonization granted by the Heavenly Master was the major element of such acceptance.

The earliest mentions of canonizations linked to the Heavenly Master institution date from the Song period. By that time, we find numerous stories of Daoists linked to the Heavenly Master institution promoting dead

souls to positions as martial deities, often in the Thunder administration, to serve as generals in their *fa* rituals. As we have seen in chapter 4, Zhao Gongming, the patron deity of Longhushan, is one major example, and so are the myths of Wen Qiong and the 30th Heavenly Master, or Wang lingguan and Sa Shoujian. By the Yuan period, we begin to see cases of canonization of civil deities, that is, dead souls promoted as territorial guardian deities with a temple and authorized sacrifices. Such cases become much more frequent from the late Ming onward; stele inscriptions and local gazetteers, especially from the Jiangnan region, mention canonizations of local gods by the Heavenly Master, sometimes quoting the full canonization edict, and sometimes including anecdotes discussing how and why local temple communities obtained such a canonization.

Let us begin with liturgy. Canonization consisted in a ritual whereby the Heavenly Master conferred registers on the god, which automatically entailed the granting of a rank. One such register, *Shengshenlu* 昇神籙 (Register for being promoted [to a higher rank] among the gods), still exists.[64] This is laid out in detail in a remarkable painting, dated 1641, that records and illustrates the canonization edict for a local god from Shicheng 石城 (southern Jiangxi) named Li Zhong 李忠.[65] In this scroll the painting shows the newly canonized god going in audience to the Heavenly courts, where the Jade Emperor bestows titles and a rank on him; three colophons provide details on the god and the document. The last one records the names of the donors for a *jiao* organized in Li Zhong's honor in 1641, and the second one, written by a Ming prince posted in Shicheng, provides details on the cult;[66] like most Ming princes, he was well informed about Daoism and was connected with the Heavenly Master.[67] The god, writes our prince, had been granted the title of marquis under the Song (in 1157); now the Heavenly Master was conferring on him registers and a *zhenren* 真人 title. To celebrate this, a "Scroll showing our Sagely Marquis receiving his registers" (賢候 [侯] 受籙圖卷) was commissioned. The prince adds that gods, exactly like living officials, should receive their proper appointment(神受職于天，臣受職於君，其理一爾).

The first colophon, which is the canonization edict from the Jade Emperor, actually lists the registers conferred on the god by the 50th Heavenly Master, Zhang Guoxiang (玉清三洞含真體道昇仙經籙，上清三洞金真

玉光護神經籙，太清三洞通真合道保神經籙).[68] The registers were actually physically received by a proxy for the god, a man named Li Daoqing 李道清, most likely a local Daoist. The edict goes on to list the ranks and titles thus bestowed (三天金闕雷部尚書，保安顯應靈濟真人, and 提舉十二城隍事) that include a position in the Thunder Ministry, a title as transcendent, and an appointment among City Gods, and mentions that four martial deities under the command of the Eastern Peak are now dispatched to assist him in his duties. The first of these ranks, like that of censor in the Eastern Peak's administration conferred on the Wutong, is typical of ranks in the Daoist Heavenly bureaucracy conferred on those, both living humans and gods, who receive registers.[69]

Details on the liturgy of ordinations for gods are lacking, basically because nothing of the archives, manuscripts, or texts of Longhushan have survived the destructions of the twentieth century, and also because, by contrast with the ordination of living humans, the tradition is barely alive. Elements have been preserved elsewhere, however, and provide a few pieces of the puzzle. One such document is a ninety-nine-page untitled manuscript copied at Longhushan in 1912 by a Taiwanese lay Daoist and brought back to Taiwan, where it is now kept in a private collection. It details various aspects of the ordination procedures and documents, mostly for humans. One section (86a–87b) deals with gods; it is titled *Zhuoshenlu* 擢神籙, "Promoting a god to a (higher-ranking) register," and consists of a model edict by the Jade Emperor, delivered to Longhushan (降宗壇) and granting a new rank to a god as an answer to a request by a local community.[70] A note by the copyist explains that all territorial gods (*fuzhu* 福主) are entitled to request the *Sanwu dugonglu* register, and a certificate appointing them to (divine) office (*zhidie,* also called *Santian jingfeng chiming* 三天旌封敕命). The edict itself notes that all creatures (humans and gods) should have an appointment to an office, *zhi* 職, and that local gods must have a register so they can send the divine soldiers (listed in the register) to expel malignant spirits from the territory they have been assigned to manage. The appointment conferred is a promotion (*sheng zhiwei* 昇職位), which suggests that, like humans, gods are supposed to regularly receive new, higher registers—

according, in theory, to merit—and be promoted to higher office. The rank mentioned in this model document is a "feudal" one—in ascending order, count (*gong* 公), earl (*bo* 伯), marquis (*hou* 侯), and prince (*wang* 王).[71] I will return to this important question below.

In short, from at least the late Yuan and until the turn of the twentieth century, the Heavenly Master welcomed representatives of local communities who wanted a title and rank for their gods, and conferred registers on them, with a human representative serving as proxy for the god in this conferral. While the conferral of registers was an impressive and elaborate ritual, from the perspective of the local community it really was the rank being granted (in accordance with the level of the registers conferred) that mattered, and thus, in non-Daoist sources, we hear only of ranks and not of registers.

The rise of such canonizations seems linked to a larger process beginning in the Song period and coming to full fruition during the Ming, whereby a Daoist bureaucracy led by the Heavenly Master, one aligned with the imperial state and run along closely parallel bureaucratic hierarchies, set itself the task of managing both gods and priests along the civil service nine-rank ladder 九品階. The Song period also saw the rise of the idea that the whole otherworldly bureaucracy was under the orders of the Jade Emperor. The various codes for humans and demons (*tianlü* or *guilü*) produced by the new Song- and Yuan-period exorcistic ritual traditions, including Thunder rites—which form the liturgical and ideological background to the Daoist bureaucracy as it has worked since early modern times—state that proper gods (*zhengshen*) must have their nomination edict from the Jade Emperor or else they should be suppressed.[72] Local communities requesting the Heavenly Master to confer a rank on their god were basically simply giving practical expression to that Daoist theological imperative.

Local gods, Longhushan, and the imperial state

If we now turn our gaze from Daoist liturgical documents to the more numerous local historical sources, we find that, while registers are not much mentioned, the attendant ranks and titles conferred on gods by the Heavenly

Masters did attract a fair amount of attention from both local communities and the officials managing them. The records that are left allow us to understand better the historical development of the practice of canonization, and its role in local society, especially in Jiangnan.

Judging from the sources I have identified so far, it would seem that the process of Heavenly Master canonizations of local territorial deities (on request by such communities) began during the Yuan period. The earliest clear mention I know of is a 1346 stele inscription discussing a local god in highland central Zhejiang explaining that the Yuan emperor gave the Heavenly Master the privilege to canonize gods, and that the local community did take advantage of this avenue for promotion:

> After our Imperial Yuan regime had unified the world under its rule, the Zhengyi *zhenren* and Duke of Liu was entrusted with canonizing gods using talismans and giving them formal titles.[73] As a result, in 1312, local people submitted a report on the god's merit and virtue, and [the Heavenly Master] accordingly granted him the title Marquis of Awesome Power and Vast Benedictions.
>
> 皇元混一，命正一真人留國公得以符誥封鬼神。皇慶壬子，鄉之人狀神功惠以聞，封廣福威烈侯。[74]

The late Qing compiler of the epigraphic collection recording this inscription comments that this freedom given to the Heavenly Master may explain how it came to be that, by his time, all temple gods, even in tiny remote villages, have their own "feudal" titles. The inscription also mentions the title of general (*jiangjun* 將軍), granted by the Heavenly Master to relatives of the god; other such *jiangjun* titles are mentioned as granted by Yuan era Heavenly Masters in later sources, including in connection with the Wutong.

Other thirteenth-century inscriptions allude to similar canonizations granted by the Heavenly Master on request by local communities or powerful families. For instance, an inscription for a local god in Dexing 德興 (Jiangxi, not far north of Longhushan) mentions that "the god was titled Divine Lord of Awesome Power, as granted privately by the 38th Heavenly Master [Zhang Yucai, 1264–1316], who also gave him an honorific name" (神……曰威烈

神君者，漢三十八代天師仍私謚而致號者也).[75] This source and the previous one offer different views on the state's attitude toward such canonizations ("private" or officially recognized), but in any case, their validity and value were widely recognized within society. By the late Song, the 35th Heavenly Master was still asking the emperor for canonization titles for local gods;[76] a few decades later his successors could do it themselves.

Of course, Daoists had been granting titles to local gods long before that period, but the specific modern procedure appears then, a procedure whereby a local community, directly or through local Daoist elites, submits a request to the Heavenly Master, who sends a petition to the Jade Emperor and issues a canonization edict in the Jade Emperor's name. By Ming times, this procedure was familiar enough to be found in vernacular literature.[77]

Gods canonized by the Heavenly Master were mostly, but not exclusively—the Wutong being one exception—those of the territorial bureaucracy. There was a belief throughout late imperial China that the Zhang Heavenly Master nominated all City Gods and Earth Gods.[78] The Heavenly Master thus decided the identity of City Gods; but he nominated the person the local people indicated rather than deciding on his own who should be the City God for such and such a place; this is explicitly noted by one township gazetteer.[79] More than that, in cases of disagreement about temple jurisdictions, the Heavenly Master could be asked to adjudicate and say which temple and which god controlled which territorial unit. A 1721 stele inscription in a village near Suzhou tells us how a village that (because of frequent changes in local administrative geography) depended on one county for this-worldly affairs and on another for otherworldly administration, appealed to local authorities to settle the matter. It was the Heavenly Master who presided over the change of affiliation (of the Earth God) in the Heavenly bureaucracy. That this was a publicly recorded bureaucratic process involving local officials demonstrates how seriously the jurisdiction of Earth Gods was taken by everyone from villagers to prefect.[80] Proper registration with their territorial gods, and proper recognition of these gods as orthodox and official (*zhengshen*), were absolutely crucial matters for the people of Suzhou and elsewhere.

Cases of canonizations of City Gods and other territorial gods in Jiangnan by the Heavenly Masters can be found throughout the course of the Qing period in local gazetteers that mention "a nomination edict from the Heavenly Master Office" (天師府敕諭).[81] The few fully extant such documents appear as canonization edicts decreed by the Jade Emperor, issued by the Heavenly Master, and certified by the latter's seal, which the temple kept and possibly reproduced on stone. The following, a 1790 canonization edict for a township City God near Yangzhou 揚州, is a typical entry:

> On this site, the fellow villagers built a temple to worship the City God. In 1790, the Office of Zhang *zhenren* granted him by edict the title of Earl of Numinous Penetration. The canonization edict said: "Heavenly orders are impartial. Only utter sincerity can move Heaven; yet Heaven is also willing to listen to people's trivial words and grant their requests. We therefore, according to the laws governing the granting of benedictions, and not being parsimonious in Our bestowing of favors, grant this particular honor so that [the god] assists in maintaining eternal peace." At the end of the edict was the signature of *dazhenren* Zhang Qilong, fifty-eighth heir to the Zhengyi teachings.
>
> 里人以遺址建廟，祀城隍。乾隆五十五年張真人府奉勅封靈通伯。勅文有云：「天命無私，惟至誠而可格，細言亦納，遂民欲之所從。凡在福世之條，不惜分茅之寵。受茲殊貺，永輔昇平。」末署襲封五十八代正乙嗣教大真人張起隆。[82]

A similar slightly later text, for a village temple near Suzhou, quotes the entire edict:

> Canonization edict for the Prince of Powerful Charisma, issued by the Heavenly Master Office.
>
> We respectfully receive an imperial order [from the Jade Emperor] hand written in gold at the Ministry of the Mysterious Capital, which says: Gods in charge of territories who ensure peace within the community [in their jurisdiction] and grant blessings to humans, deserve to be promoted by our Imperial edicts. So [the god] of Jinshen temple 金神廟 located near the Yi dike in the Western part of the twenty-fifth ward in Fanyu County, Wujiang

> County, Suzhou Prefecture, is an orthodox god in charge of a territory who protects all those living in his jurisdiction and helps all inhabitants. He has accumulated numerous merits and should be honored. Therefore, We canonize this god with the rank of Prince of Powerful Charisma Protecting the Empire and Helping the Population, and gracefully grant him the present edict that raises him one rank higher among recognized gods…. Edict received and promulgated by Zhang Yu, 59th Heavenly Master, on the fourth month of Jiaqing 9 [1804].
>
> 真人府封威靈王勅文。泰元都省，恭奉玉旨金書，勅曰：凡守土之神，寧社福民，宜加勅詔。照得江南蘇州府吳江縣范隅鄉二十五都西依字圩地方金神廟守土正神，一方保障，眾姓咸庥，累積殊勳，亟膺褒獎，茲封爾神為護國佑民威靈王，頒賜恩勅，加增榮封。嘉慶九年四月日，正一嗣教五十九代大真人臣張鈺承詔奉行。[83]

The Jade Emperor edicts, similar to those of state canonizations, *guofeng* 國封,[84] emphasize the bureaucratic duties of the local god as responsible for law and order in his jurisdiction. What characterizes this process, when compared to cases in which Daoists or Buddhists granted titles to local gods, is its integration within the imperial bureaucracy. In state canonizations, local leaders petitioned the magistrate and built a case with documents about the god's identity, the cult history, and proofs of miracles performed for the public good, which magistrates forwarded up the ladder until the Ministry of Rites approved it and invited the emperor to sign an edict. In some cases, the process of state canonization and Daoist canonization (*daofeng* 道封 and sometimes *yufeng* 玉封[85]) were actually enmeshed. The term *yufeng* refers to the role of the Jade Emperor and is particularly prominent in late-Qing spirit-writing sources, where canonizations are granted by the gods to local communities without the intermediary of living Daoists (including the Heavenly Master).

One interesting case is that of the Xu brothers (Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhie 徐知諤), a cult flourishing in the Fuzhou (Fujian) area as early as the Song.[86] The cult was patronized by the Yongle emperor and was granted an imperial canonization in 1417. On this occasion, apparently, the Heavenly

Master also granted them a parallel canonization.[87] In one text (revealed through spirit-writing) the gods explain they went to Longhushan to receive registers and obtain their rank.[88]

What is noteworthy with the Xu brothers is that the titles seem separate; the emperor grants them "feudal" titles, while the Heavenly Master appoints them to an office in the Heavenly hierarchy, placed within the nine-rank system, commensurate with the registers transmitted, just as for living ordinees. The same observation can be made in the case of the Daoist canonizations of the Wutong and of Li Zhong. In the Daoist scripture devoted to the Wutong, which makes no allusion to the Heavenly Master or to the Jade Emperor, the five gods are listed with their Daoist rank as marshals *as well as* their state-given title of prince, granted by the Song emperor in 1213.[89] The two are parallel and distinct.

It is only in later sources (such as Qing-period local gazetteers and anecdotes) that we see the Heavenly Master systematically granting "feudal" titles—even though that was already the case in the 1346 inscription. In a remarkable document found in a temple gazetteer—that of the Guangfumiao 廣福廟 in Hangzhou, devoted to the three Jiang 蔣 brothers, who reputedly lived during the Song period—the three gods are granted a prince title by the emperor in 1808. The Ministry of Rites informs the Heavenly Master and requires him, "according to precedent," to also petition the Jade Emperor to confirm this *same* title. As a result, the gazetteer reproduces a canonization edict issued by the Heavenly Master.[90] I understand all this as meaning that, by the Qing period, the Heavenly Master had taken the habit of including a "feudal" title among the ranks and offices granted in the process of transmitting registers to local gods. The *Zhuoshenlu* copied at Longhushan in 1912 and discussed above certainly suggests as much. The "feudal" title came in addition to an appointment in the Heavenly bureaucracy, but for late imperial people in Jiangnan and certainly elsewhere as well, it was the count or marquis or prince title that made their god a proper god (*zhengshen*); appointments in the Thunder Ministry and the like did not suffice, and the Heavenly Master seemingly had to oblige.

In Song times, Buddhists and Daoists both promoted local cults by, among other things, promoting them in *their own* pantheon—the Wutong are a good example; other examples include Guandi. By Qing times, Buddhists were still (to a much lesser extent?) engaged in that line of business, but the Daoists were now promoting gods in the *state pantheon* of territorial gods as well as in their own. They were doing that in uneasy cooperation / competition with state agents—records of state canonizations in extant sources are more numerous than those of Daoist canonizations, but I suspect this may be no more than an effect of the bias of available sources. Some officials were certainly ready to acknowledge that the Heavenly Master was charged with appointing the gods: in a late Ming inscription for the Shangqinggong, one of them writes that this temple is "where the Heavenly Lord comes to order the offices given to all the gods" (天帝……之正百神受職之所).[91]

One reason for the systematic conferral of "feudal" titles among the titles and ranks granted to local gods in Qing times certainly is that the local communities, whose gods were positioned in local hierarchical systems according to their rank, placed great store on the level of nobility. By contrast, ranks in Heavenly bureaucracies probably did not mean much to them in actual social life.[92] A title conferred by the state (listing in the canon of sacrifices, *sidian* 祀典) was important, and brought official patronage, but apparently even more important than the temple's connection with the state was the connection with other temples. A village god who was a marquis had to pay homage to the god of a nearby village if the latter were a prince. This was a serious matter. Bao Shichen 包世臣 (1775–1855), writing about a Liu Mengjiang festival just south of Suzhou as observed during the early nineteenth century, noted,

> People in Jiangnan place great store by gods and spirits, and all villagers strive to ensure the highest status for their Earth Gods; this is a question of honor and reputation. They thus offer pricy gifts to Zhang *zhenren,* who by delegation from the Emperor enacts Jade edicts [of canonization][93]: the titles [requested] are all of the level of marquis or prince.
>
> 吳俗尚鬼，居民欲尊其土神，以為觀美，醵金餽張真人承制降玉勅，無不封侯王者。[94]

Other anecdotes tell about local communities that requested a title such as count, marquis, or prince so as to be able to place their god more advantageously in the local hierarchical pantheon. An anecdote told in a nineteenth-century collection suggests the extent of the prestige and significance of canonizations granted by the Heavenly Master. It tells the story of another Hangzhou temple, devoted to General Shi 施. The temple keeper (referred to as *miaogui* 廟鬼 in local Hangzhou parlance) was ashamed that the god, although enjoying a successful cult and handsome revenues, did not have any title. This lack of title seems to have prevented the temple from organizing a procession, because the untitled general could not be placed in the divine hierarchy that dictated the ritual greetings with the other temples visited during the procession. In 1829, the temple keeper thus sent somebody to the Heavenly Master residence-cum-office with a present of three hundred taels and asking for a title of earl, *bo* 伯; this was duly granted.[95]

The price paid was substantial; liturgical texts explain that ordinations and canonizations were based on merit, but they also involved payments. Yet in one rare case we are told that the Heavenly Master declined to grant the requested canonization: *yamen* staff in Suzhou were asking that Jin zongguan 金總管 (a major territorial god throughout the Suzhou-Shanghai area) be named in charge of the taxes in the prefecture; the Heavenly Master apparently felt that the requested rank was inappropriate for the god.[96]

By the Qing, the Heavenly Master was thus engaged in granting local gods "feudal" titles totally in line with those of the imperial state, in addition to appointments in the Heavenly bureaucracy. As a result, the division of labor between the imperial state and the Heavenly Master administration had become moot. As a result, some brief mentions in Qing local gazetteers are ambiguous, and can be understood as meaning either that the Heavenly Master petitioned the (living) emperor to obtain a title, or that he petitioned the Jade Emperor and issued a title in his name (or, possibly, both). Such is the complete convergence of language and procedures of the civil and Daoist bureaucracies by the Qing period. One example is a mention in an early Qing description of Suzhou that involves one Jin Kesheng 金可生, a Daoist who had become a Longhushan official under the 53rd Heavenly Master,

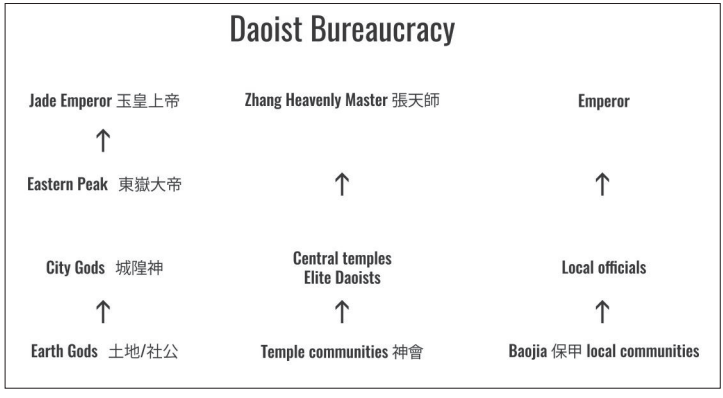


Figure 4. The three bureaucracies.
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and was later, in 1683, invited by the local gentry to run a temple. Jin asked the Heavenly Master to secure a canonization (Daoist? state? both?) for this temple's god: "The 54th Heavenly Master petitioned and obtained a canonization as Zhaoling guangyou prince" (五十四代天師具奏加封昭靈廣佑王).[97] As in the case of the Wutong, this points to the role of local Daoist elites in playing intermediaries with both the Heavenly Master and the state. Other gazetteers list in the same sentence successive canonizations by the Heavenly Master and the emperor.[98]

All this shows that processes of canonization implied flows of documents and resources along three analytically distinct but closely related types of bureaucratic hierarchies: that of the civil administration, from grassroots civilian communities to local officials to the emperor; that of the living Daoists, from local priests to central temples to the Heavenly Master; and that of the gods, from Earth Gods through their superiors all the way to the Jade Emperor. As shown in figure 4, flows between these bureaucracies worked up and down, but also horizontally between civil, Daoist, and divine officials, suggesting thus that we see the three hierarchies as different parts of one and the same bureaucracy rather than entirely separate bureaucracies.

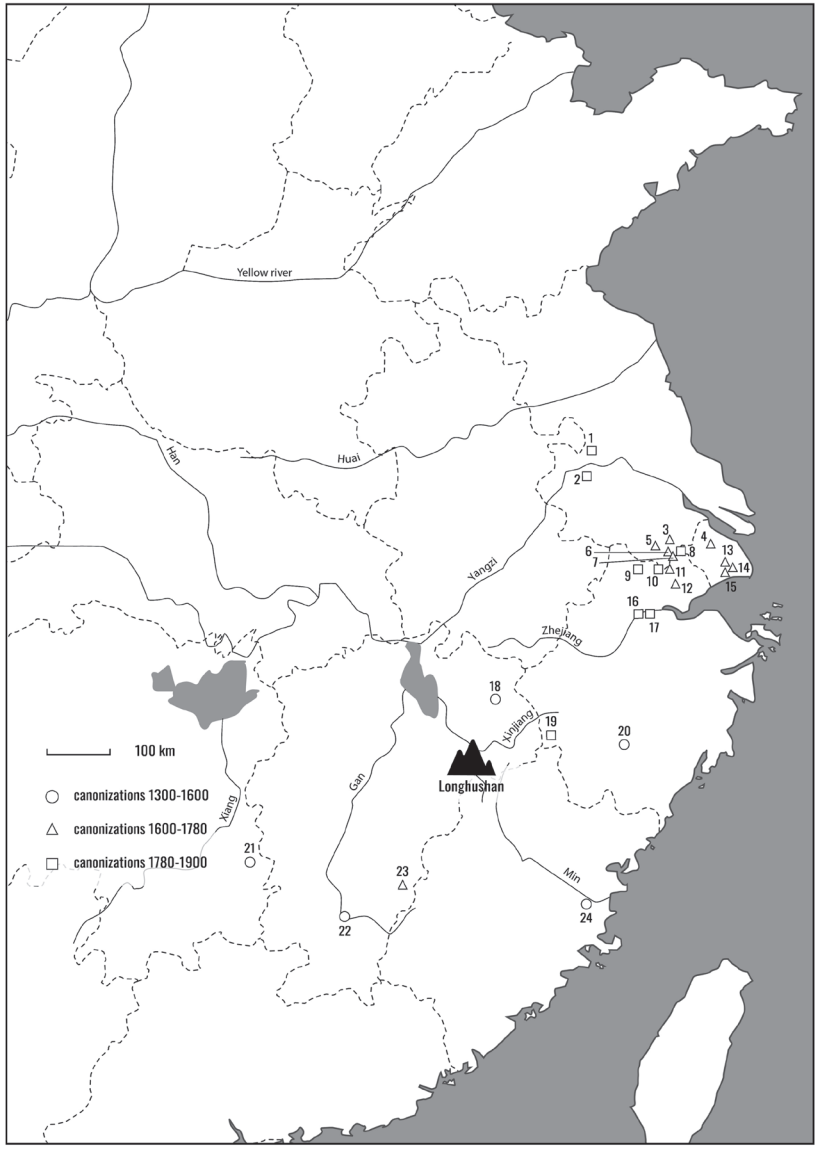
Apparently, most canonizations from the Heavenly Master were not matched by one from the state, which does not mean local officials necessarily accorded Daoist canonization no value. Xu Dishan 許地山 relates

(without a source) that the 62nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxu, was selling promotions to City God positions in Guangzhou in the late 1900s.[99] Hamashima Atsutoshi 濱島敦俊 notes that mentions of such canonizations are found in township gazetteers (鎮志, 鄉志) compiled by members of the lower gentry, but not in the county gazetteers that received more official attention, thus suggesting that local officials and upper gentry disapproved of them. This was not always the case, though; the renowned (and pious) author Liang Gongchen 梁恭辰 (1814–?) relates how an acquaintance of his was named, after his death, City God of Dantu 丹徒 (Jiangsu) by the Heavenly Master.[100] Another writer tells of a local official, wrongfully dismissed, who died of anger. His family learned that he was nominated City God by an order from the Heavenly Master.[101] Yet another nineteenth-century author states firmly that the Heavenly Master, the City Gods he nominates, and the Earth Gods under their authority are the backbone of orthodoxy, in sharp contrast to local immoral cults, *yinsi* 淫祀.[102]

And indeed, the Heavenly Master was disciplining the gods as he did the living; while canonizing a great many, he was occasionally punishing others, and engaging in destroying immoral temples—albeit with less zeal than had the leaders of the early Tianshidao church. As the Heavenly Master was reputedly knowledgeable about all the deities and spirits active in the world, he was consulted about the moral standing of temple cults; a late eighteenth-century anecdote tells of a magistrate planning to destroy an illicit temple checking the Heavenly Master about the identity and status of this temple's god.[103]

Jiangnan local gods and the Daoist bureaucratic framework

Not all cases of canonizations of local gods by the Heavenly Master are from Jiangnan, but the vast majority, after the late Ming, are, as shown in map 3, which documents cases I have been able to identify so far.



Map 3. Localization of well-documented cases of local gods canonized by the Heavenly Master.

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Legend of Map 3 (numbering by geographical distribution)

1. City God of Gantang 甘棠 (part of Yangzhou 揚州), 1790
2. City God of Dantu 丹徒, 1820s
3. The Wutong 五通 at Shangfangshan 上方山, Suzhou, 1666
4. City God of Fahua 法華 (part of Shanghai), Kangxi period
5. City God, Tongli 同里, 1686
6. Zhaoling guangyouwang 昭靈廣佑王, Wujiang 吳江, 1683
7. City God, Wujiang, 1675
8. Weilingwang 威靈王, Wujiang, 1804
9. City God, Changxing 長興, 1871
10. Ningbohou 寧波侯, Shengze 盛澤, 1804
11. Zhaolinghou 昭靈侯, Shengze, 1676
12. Tudi zhenguan 土地真官, Jiashan 嘉善, 1684
13. City God, Fengxian 奉賢, mid-eighteenth century
14. Jiangzhe Qilinggong 江浙戚靈公, Zhangyan 張堰, Kangxi period
15. City God, Zhangyan, early Qing?
16. The three Jiang 蔣 brothers at Guangfumiao 廣福廟, Hangzhou, 1808
17. General Shi 施, Hangzhou, 1829
18. Weilie shenjun 威烈神君, Dexing 德興, early Yuan
19. City God, Jiangshan 江山, before the Tongzhi era
20. Guangfu weiliehou 廣福威烈侯, Lishui 麗水, 1346
21. Lingji guanghui longwang 靈濟廣惠龍王, Chaling 茶陵, 1343
22. Zhang 18 (Xianling jiangjun 顯靈將軍) and Zhang 19 (Weiling jiangjun 威靈將軍), Yudu 雩都, 1314
23. Li Zhong 李忠, Shicheng 石城, 1641
24. Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhie 徐知諤, Fuzhou, 1417

The prevalence of canonizations by the Heavenly Master in Jiangnan can certainly be explained in large part by the dense population in that area of elite Daoists, managing large temples and maintaining permanent contact with both Longhushan and local communities, thus making the ritual services of the Heavenly Master widely accessible. This would, however, not be enough unless it also made sense in the larger framework of how local communities in Jiangnan understood and used Daoist ritual and its bureaucratic framework to integrate with one another and with the imperial state. Gods could have their Buddhist festivals and practitioners, but to become a proper god they needed (at least in the view of many, Daoists and villagers

alike) an appointment from the Jade Emperor, via the Heavenly Master. Daoists provided the overarching ideology and the bureaucratic structure that actualized this ideology.[104]

This interpretation differs significantly from that of other scholars who have argued that by the Song, Daoism and "popular religion" had grown much closer to each other, Daoist canonizations of local gods being one aspect of this process (together with Daoists managing local temples, performing rituals for local gods, and writing scriptures, inscriptions, and hagiographies for them);[105] and that so-called Zhengyi Daoism and the Heavenly Masters were a "popular" form of Daoism at the forefront of this trend, by contrast to more elitist forms of Daoism such as Shangqing or Quanzhen. I am wary of the pitfalls of using the ill-defined categories of "popular religion" and "popular Daoism," as well as one opposing different "schools" of Daoism, and this book demonstrates that labeling the Heavenly Master institution as popular does not do full justice to the evidence. Nonetheless, it remains true that the Heavenly Master institution, through its canonization procedures that matured between the Song and Yuan periods, was at the core of new ways of engaging with and managing local cults. Local temple communities communicated with the highest authorities (the Jade Emperor or the this-worldly emperor) through the Daoist clergy, its central temples, and, above them, the Heavenly Master institution. We will now see two more aspects of the Daoist bureaucratic framework with Longhushan at its center: justice and taxation.

Longhushan as a court of justice

One function of the central temples that served as nodes in the bureaucratic apparatus centered on Longhushan was to perform judicial rituals whereby living or dead people suffering from a miscarriage of justice could appeal to the gods of the Heavenly bureaucracy. Paul Katz, who has studied these rituals in detail, has shown that they covered a wide range, from simple acts necessitating no intermediary (such as making an oath) to more elaborate procedures involving ritual specialists, notably Daoists.[106] In all cases, while

a large array of gods could be involved, City Gods and the Eastern Peak were particularly in charge of instructing otherworldly complaints, and their temples were favored settings for judicial rituals. So City God and Eastern Peak Temple Daoists instructed the lawsuits introduced in the temple by people seeking redress against living or dead parties who had wronged them.

Whereas local elites apparently often wrote and burned by themselves petitions (*shu* 疏, *yinzhuang* 陰狀, *die* 牒) to the City God, most people let Daoists do it for them,[107] based on collections of models for the various types of requests that feature among the handbooks that temple Daoists had at hand. Only a tiny minority of highly literate and self-confident people felt safe dispensing with Daoist mediation in their dealings with the otherworldly bureaucracy.

Most judicial rituals were acted out by local actors (the temple's Daoists, as well as the *yamen* staff and members of the temple associations). But the operation of divine justice in central temples could reach beyond the local context and imply the whole bureaucratic chain up to the Heavenly Master. The stories about lawsuits between the living and the dead filed and acted out in City God and other temples sometimes stage a situation in which the problem cannot be solved locally and higher authorities need to be brought in, either because the plaintiff was not satisfied in the first instance or because the gods themselves need to refer to their higher-ups. It is in such circumstances that Daoist bureaucracy came into full play. In several anecdotes, the local official is involved parallel to the City God, showing how the imperial bureaucracy and the Daoist bureaucracy worked together in certain judicial processes.[108] The role of Daoists in the administration of divine justice did probably not, in most cases, imply recourse to higher authorities and exchanges of documents with Longhushan, if only for reasons of time and cost. But such recourse was always a widely known possibility, offering the option of a neutral, external judgment. Several anecdotes detail such a case when a judicial trial at a City God Temple evolves with a deferral to Longhushan.[109]

The Wushan City God Temple gazetteer (compiled in 1789) provides accounts of several such lawsuits that all took place in 1700. In all cases, a

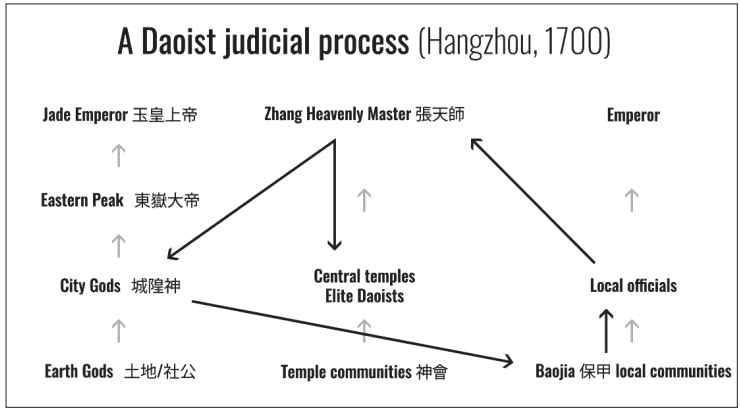


Figure 5. The bureaucratic flow: divine justice.
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local Hangzhou scholar is a victim of demonic attacks, and files a lawsuit with the provincial governor, who himself writes to the Heavenly Master; the latter instructs the Hangzhou City God to punish the demon, which he effectively does.[110] The whole process generates a flow of formal written documents that we can sketch in figure 5, which shows bureaucratic processes similar to those involved in the case of canonization.

To what extent did the local officials actually participate in such lawsuits together with the City God Temple Daoists and the Heavenly Master? An anecdote by the celebrated scholar Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1906) addresses the question:

> In 1872, Feng Zecheng, the younger brother of [my disciple] district examination laureate Feng Mengxiang, was studying in Cixi [near Ningbo]. One day, an official sent by the Heavenly Master's Office in Jiangxi arrived at the City God Temple, and Feng went to see him. This official was carrying on his back, wrapped in yellow cloth, a document that he took out and burned in front of the City God; then he closed the temple for three days, sealing the doors with a paper seal bearing the mark of the Heavenly Master's Office. This soon became the talk of the whole city, even though nobody really understood what was going on. A few days later, a yamen clerk explained that this was a criminal case originating in a county in far-away Manchuria. [A man was assassinated there; the magistrate had

ordered the ground on the scene to be dug up, which had turned up an old coffin.] The magistrate, suspecting (some demonic intervention), wrote to the Heavenly Master's Office. The latter responded, "This demon [the person whose corpse was in the dug-up coffin] is the soul of a man from Cixi County, Zhejiang Province, who lived under the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368); he was trading in Manchuria when he died […] and he murdered the victim. As this demon is from Cixi, I forward the case file to the Cixi City God for judgment." And this was how the Heavenly Master sent an official to Cixi with two writs, one to be burned in the City God Temple, ordering him to adjudicate and close the case within three days (that is why the temple was sealed shut for three days), and the other to inform the Cixi magistrate (that is why the yamen clerk knew of the case's details).

馮夢香孝廉之弟則誠，於同治壬申年讀書慈谿縣城中。一日，忽傳江西張真人府有使者至城隍廟，乃往觀之。果見一使者背負黃袱，中有文書，取出於神前焚之，以真人府封條封廟門三日。於是一縣諠傳，不知何事。數日後，縣中一吏言之曰：「此為遼東某縣事也。」……官疑焉，牒問真人府。真人府覆言：「此鬼為元朝浙江慈谿縣人，以行賈至遼東而死。……是夜殺其夫者，果此鬼也。鬼本慈谿人，宜移文慈谿城隍治之。」故使人齎二文至慈谿，一焚城隍廟，限三日斷此獄，故封廟門三日；一投慈谿縣 ，故縣吏得知其詳。[111]

Yu Yue elsewhere repeatedly expresses his respect for the Heavenly Master, the institution, and its ability to control demons. Commenting on this story (which he considers as solid fact, observed by the brother of one of his closest disciples), he suggests that this particular event was actually staged by the Daoists and that a local official in Manchuria would probably not have participated in such a game. It is nonetheless the case that in Yu's story, nobody is surprised to see an emissary of the Heavenly Master come from far away to supervise a trial in a City God Temple.

The role of the Heavenly Master in judicial rituals was taken for granted; it was also closely related to his role as exorcist. A large number of anecdotes and newspaper reports of the Qing period feature people either writing or traveling in person to Longhushan, or meeting the Heavenly Master during his tours, to request his help in dealing with a demon or a

ghost. The Heavenly Master typically gave them a talisman to be carried to their local City God Temple.[112] While the literary conventions proper to anecdotes typically limit the number of protagonists and stage only the plaintiff, the demon, and the Heavenly Master, it is more than likely that the Daoists of the City God Temples also played a role in the circulation of documents, especially when the Heavenly Master received return correspondence from the City Gods.[113]

There thus existed an intense circulation of administrative documents, personnel, and resources—such as fees for processing documents, and the sale of talismans—between central temples and Longhushan, for the sake of managing both the living and the dead registered in the various local jurisdictions under the authority of these City Gods. In this context, the Heavenly Master residence was treated as a high court of appeal where justice could be obtained when other, more ordinary judicial rituals, such as pleading to local gods or the Chenghuang, had failed.

Taxation

The circulation of resources between local communities and Longhushan takes us to the question of taxes. Indeed, one fundamental aspect of all bureaucracies, religious or not, is taxation as a correlate to registration. The Heavenly Master institution gave itself the right to tax all Daoists. For instance, according to a contemporary local informant, Daoists in Jianning County (in western Fujian) "all depended on the Zhang Heavenly Master," who sent delegates each year to collect a tax.[114] We have seen how, when the Heavenly Master traveled, he summoned all local Daoists and collected dues from them.

Even more important than taxing priests was the practice of registering and taxing the population as a whole. We have seen that the early church ideal of universal ordination, registration, and salvation was adapted by the Heavenly Master institution; the population was now registered through their local temple community, whose god was (in theory, and often in practice) appointed to do this—register, control, and protect local communities—by the Heavenly Master himself. Therefore, while local religious

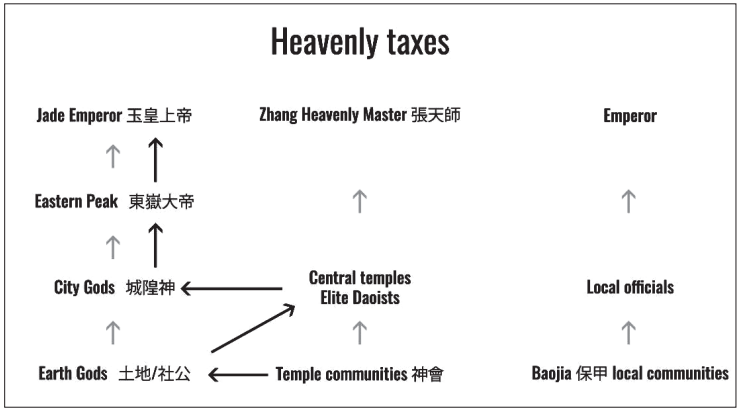


Figure 6. The bureaucratic flow: Heavenly taxes.
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taxation was not intended to channel money to Longhushan, it nonetheless operated the same Daoist bureaucracy that we have already seen at work in ordination, canonization, and justice.

One clear example of the logic of integrating village and neighborhood Earth Gods communities into a larger Daoist bureaucratic framework is the shape it took from the seventeenth century onward in one particular area, extending broadly between Shanghai and Nanjing. There, every year, each local community (village and neighborhood) collected spirit money from each household, in the name of the local Earth God, as a tax to Heaven; leaders of Earth God temples who collected the money issued households with a receipt showing they were registered paid-up subjects of the Heavenly bureaucracy. This is still done in some areas such as Changshu, where the receipts are still visible today on house doors. This "tax" money was then brought together with the statue of the Earth God in procession to the local central temple (usually temples of the City God, the Eastern Peak, or the Jade Emperor, managed by Daoists) to be burned there. This ritual is called "dispatching Heavenly taxes," *jie tianxiang* 解天餉, or *jie qianliang* 解錢糧, or *jie huangqian* 解皇錢. In some places, the City God went in turn to his superior (the Eastern Peak, or the Jade Emperor) to pay homage and remit tax; these hierarchical processes are sketched in figure 6. The hierarchical organization

of temples in the framework of the Heavenly taxes has been studied by a number of scholars.[115] What has not been much commented on, however, is that it is entirely organized around the Daoist bureaucracy.

Each City God Temple thus managed a symbolical taxation system, and administered justice; it thus worked like a *yamen,* with *both* the Daoists and the local officials (depending on the cases) presiding, and most of the clerical work carried out by members of the temple associations as well as *yamen* staff. What is more, one of the earliest sources on the practice of Heavenly taxes, a late seventeenth-century story, claims that it was all organized in the name of the Heavenly Master, in connection with the Xuanmiaoguan in Suzhou, the highest-ranking central temple in the whole area:

> During the late Ming, when crops failed and local communities were starving, people asked the gods to tell them what to do. Some dishonest Daoists started doing the rounds of all the village Earth Gods, saying they were sent by the Heavenly Master, and took over the Xuanmiaoguan [in Suzhou], where they gathered all the [Earth God association] leaders and forged an order [from the Jade Emperor] demanding that people pay fines. A popular song explains it:
>
> Within and without the city, people rush like mad
> Jostling with each other to take part in the spring Yellow Register offering at Xuandu [Xuanmiaoguan]
> They move and bring the statues of all the village Earth Gods
> All receive their sealed certificate as disciples of the Heavenly Master.
>
> 明末年歲不登，社稷將亡，聽命于神，奸道借天師之名，黜陟十鄉土地，盤踞玄妙觀，以收各會首，矯誣上天之貲，有民謠為證：「城中城外走如狂，爭春玄都醮籙黃。鬨動各鄉泥土地，天師門下受封章。」[116]

A similar story, but without the deprecatory vocabulary of the above report, is found in the gazetteer of the Xuanmiaoguan, a document endorsed by both civil and Daoist elites in nineteenth-century Suzhou.[117] This shows how it was widely recognized that village and neighborhood communities—even though they might not all have their own Daoist priest—were tightly embedded in the Daoist bureaucracy headed by the Heavenly Master.

Conclusion

The various practices of exorcism, ordination, canonization, judicial rituals, and Heavenly taxes are logically and practically linked to each other and to central temples and the Heavenly Master. The collection of Heavenly taxes follows the bureaucratic structure of the pantheon and of the clergy that runs parallel to it (both priests and gods being ordained and appointed in the same Heavenly offices). It is also linked to the administration of divine justice, as the largest judicial rituals most often imply collection of spirit money from all those registered in the concerned jurisdiction. Divine justice usually worked locally, with or without the help of Daoists, but the most complex cases imply the intervention of the Heavenly Master and his *faguan,* through the network of central temples.

Therefore, in those places where they had the resources to do so, the Daoist elites of the Jiangnan cities and other parts of the Chinese world have attempted to set up and operate a bureaucratic structure following that of the gods, federating the local temple communities into a hierarchical organization with the Heavenly Master at its top. This structure taxed people and administered justice and proposed to deliver salvation to all. In other words—military order, bureaucracy, taxation, justice, salvation: this structure worked as a religious state.

The existence of this state-like organization and logic raises the question of its relationship with the actual imperial bureaucracy. I do not think that Daoists merely imitated the imperial state to confer some prestige and legitimacy on Daoist rituals and practices. The bureaucratic logic has always been at the core of Daoism from the earliest phases of the Tianshidao, and it seems more fruitful to see the late imperial state and the Heavenly Master institution as two forms of one and the same cultural paradigm. These two forms had much in common, and were sometimes locked in competition with each other, but they also collaborated to a large extent. Its embeddedness in village communities warrants seeing the Daoist bureaucracy headed by the Heavenly Master as a deep state. We have seen cases in which local officials did resort to the help of the Heavenly Master, and City God

Temples, in particular, were places where the imperial bureaucracy and the Daoist bureaucracy merged into one. In the Jiangnan area, where central temples and Daoist elites were numerous, such collaboration was natural: the Daoist elites managing the central temples belonged to the same social class and shared a same culture with local officials, and the two interacted on a continuous basis, for purposes of both ritual and leisure. Yet one should also be attentive to cases of contradiction, such as for the collection of Heavenly taxes, which were often banned by local officials, albeit with limited effect. Daoists and state officials had similar notions about the state, society, laws, and rituals, and applied these concepts in parallel, sometimes collaborative and sometimes competitive ways. In their way, Daoists thus participated in the construction of the imperial state.

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Chapter Nine

The Predicaments of Modernity

The Heavenly Masters since the 1850s

The Daoist bureaucracy managed by the Heavenly Master institution was so embedded in late imperial governance that one could not undergo radical change without the other being equally transformed. This chapter shows that such radical change is what happened from the mid-nineteenth century onward. The modern age created unprecedented challenges for the Heavenly Master institution, both in the form of direct attacks and as radical questioning of the socioreligious order in which it played a central role. The brutal destruction waged by the Taiping armies at Longhushan in 1858–1864 proved to be just a first warning of violence to come.

This chapter first describes Longhushan as it was rebuilt in the aftermath of the Taiping Civil War, and focuses on a new type of visitor, Western missionaries, some of whom eventually built a Catholic church at Shangqingzhen, and lay Chinese who wrote about the Heavenly Master and came in the 1880s to describe him as the "Daoist Pope." In this new world shaped in part by foreigners, and soon by revolutionaries who overthrew the imperial regime in 1911, Heavenly Masters had to reinvent their role. I then explore in detail the life of the 62nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxu (1862–1925), who experienced this time of revolution and reinvention before sketching the bifurcated paths of the Heavenly Master institution through war and beyond.

Longhushan enters a new world

The first close encounter of the Heavenly Master institution with Christianity came in a most violent form. In 1858, the Taiping armies invaded and pillaged Longhushan, destroying several temples and, worst of all, burning the libraries and archives of this highly bureaucratic institution. They would raid again in 1859, 1861, and 1864. The 61st Heavenly Master, Zhang Renzheng 張仁晟 (1840–1902, titled 1862), organized and led a militia to fight them, and received state honors for his efforts.[1]

Shangqingzhen, as it was reconstructed after the Taiping pillaging—the Heavenly Master residence was gradually rebuilt between 1865 and 1881—and where the Westerners would soon come visiting, had become more marginal than it had been in more glorious times. Changes in transportation and trade networks and technologies had not played in its favor—it became again connected with major communication lines when the Nanchang-Xiamen train line was built in the 1950s—but there is no real station at Longhushan. The surrounding Shangqing town was mostly inhabited by other members of the Zhang lineage, in less aristocratic but nonetheless affluent homes, all of which had (and some still have) their front gate decorated by a stone lintel reading "Residence of (the Descendants of) the Marquis of Liu" 留侯邸, that is, Zhang Liang. Most of the Zhangs were not Daoists—as the local proverb goes, "Zhangs work as Heavenly Masters, not as Daoist priests" (張氏作天師，不作道士). Rather, they were merchants, running the profitable trade between the mountainous area upriver producing bamboo, paper, and other commodities, and the city of Nanchang (where they had their own family residence); the Shangqing River flowing just in front of the Heavenly Master residence was lined with piers for light ships. Those visitors who came to visit the Heavenly Master expecting to find the mountaintop hermitage of an ascetic were in for a surprise.

Many Zhangs lived in other counties and provinces. In the early eighteenth century, the 54th Heavenly Master noted that Zhangs lived everywhere, with the lineage counting maybe one hundred male family heads (up to two thousand with their families) at Longhushan, and many more

elsewhere. The lineage accommodated them (when they visited) if they came from outside Jiangxi; for the Jiangxi Zhangs, they paid only for the students.[2] As part of the post-Taiping reconstruction, the 61st Heavenly Master, Zhang Renzheng, not only rebuilt the physical infrastructure but also restored the written records and, most importantly, the Zhang lineage genealogy: in 1890 he compiled and published a new edition (and the only extant one), titled *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu* 留侯天師世家張氏宗譜, with a good many documents in his own honor. By then the lineage was divided into six branches; the senior one, Wenfang 文房, was established by the 51st Heavenly Master in the late Ming and had monopolized the succession of Heavenly Masters since then. The other five had their own residences and land around the Heavenly Master residence and ancestral temple; they had been established by earlier Heavenly Masters at various points from the Song to the early Ming, apparently when the Heavenly Master succession shifted from uncle to nephew, so as to differentiate the blood line and the patriarchal line.

The 1890 genealogy records only the Zhangs living at Longhushan, and not those who had moved elsewhere; we thus know little about the lineage's regional and empire-wide networks. But from the marriage partners listed in its hundreds of pages, we get a sense of its outreach; they include daughters from elite families of middle- to high-ranking officials elsewhere in the empire, most of them from Jiangnan but the majority from gentry families from neighboring counties. Indeed, even though the Heavenly Master was the head of an empire-wide administration, the Zhangs were deeply embedded in local northeastern Jiangxi society. As a consequence, when traveling outside the province, the Heavenly Master, and even his *faguan,* often resided in Jiangxi guild halls (*huiguan* 會館); late Qing press reports suggest that Longhushan Daoists were used to demanding hosting and gifts from Jiangxi merchants wherever they went.[3]

The genealogy also shows that few of the Zhangs were active Daoists—at least this is hardly ever mentioned. Many studied in local schools, and some at the imperial school at the capital; their success rate at the examinations was not particularly impressive, however. The post-Taiping prefectural gazetteer lists seventy-five *jinshi* for the Ming, with just one Zhang (I could not find

his name in the genealogy), and only ten for the Qing, with no Zhang.[4] The genealogy mentions several officials, likely *juren* who were favored for office because of the Zhang's powerful connections. Yet various high officials from the Ming to the late eighteenth century, some of them allied to the Zhangs through marriage, in their prefaces and other pieces found in the genealogy praised the Longhushan Zhangs as exceptional in their longevity and in their being "descendants of a god," 神明胄, but also for their scholarly achievements, with special mention of the 43rd Heavenly Master.

Just across the street from the lineage's ancestral temple, the Heavenly Master residence was still a grand mansion—a place often compared to the residence of the other grand hereditary family 世家 of the Qing Empire, that of the descendants of Confucius in Qufu (the comparison is repeatedly found in the 1890 genealogy). The front part of the vast compound comprised offices where official Daoists, the *faguan,* attended to bureaucratic correspondence and kept the originals of documents used for ordaining the living and canonizing the dead; the main hall was where the Heavenly Master received his numerous guests—visiting officials, Daoists from all over the country, rich devotees, and the occasional curious foreigner. The rear part was devoted to family life, with dozens of large courtyards decorated with plants, paintings, bas-reliefs, and other art objects, and staffed by a large number of servants. The third center of power at Longhushan, the Shangqinggong, was a busy temple, as were the twenty-four residences around it hosting Daoists from all provinces, even though an 1856 description suggests they were in a bad state of repair.[5]

Christian visitors and settlers

The Heavenly Master residence continued, as it had for centuries, to host visiting officials and gentry, but also started to welcome foreign visitors. The 50th Heavenly Master, Zhang Guoxiang, had briefly crossed (but probably not talked with) Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in Beijing around 1601–1610,[6] and his successor Jesuit missionaries provided the first detailed account in Western languages of the Heavenly Master institution. We have seen

above the description published in 1703 by the Jesuit Emeric Langlois de Chavagnac of his encounter with the 54th Heavenly Master, which is typical of many other later reports: it describes the Heavenly Master in his travels in full pomp, the crowds of people that meet him, his role as an exorcist, and the competition with the Christian missionaries.

Western accounts of visiting Longhushan or socializing with the Heavenly Master became rather numerous from the 1880s; however, Benjamin Penny has shown that they are more informative about the exotic fantasies of the visitors than about Longhushan and its Daoists.[7] Indeed, the prestige of the Heavenly Master in Chinese society was not lost on many foreign observers living in China at the time. Some were so intrigued by the awe with which Chinese people talked of the Heavenly Master that they decided to take the trip to Longhushan and see for themselves who he was. Probably the first visitor to leave a published record was the Canadian missionary Virgil C. Hart (1840–1904), who wrote about his visit in 1879; Joseph Edkins (1823–1905) wrote about his own visit in a book published in 1880.[8]

The encounter between the Heavenly Master institution and Christians had already become permanent in 1872, when a Catholic church was built at Longhushan, within the Shangqing Township, hardly a few hundred meters from the Heavenly Master residence. The Lazarists (Vincentians) had been given control over Catholic interests in the whole Jiangxi Province after 1840 and had started to build churches after 1860. It is thus Lazarist missionaries (from France, but also Portugal, Italy, and the Netherlands) who settled there and built and ran the church. The church was destroyed by anti-Christian gentry activists from Guixi in 1900 (apparently the Heavenly Master institution had no part of it) and was rebuilt shortly thereafter. It remained active until 1949 and is now open anew.[9] All this was permitted by the 61st Heavenly Master, Zhang Renzheng, who had been consistently friendly to missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant—but to my knowledge, no Protestant church was ever set up at Longhushan. This cordiality would be continued by his successor, the 62nd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxu, who was likewise friendly with China Inland Mission missionary Carl Frederick Kupfer (1852–1925), based at the William Nast College in Jiujiang (three

hundred kilometers north of Longhushan), telling him of the similarities between their religions, and promising to send a young relative to study at William Nast College.[10]

The making of the Daoist Pope

It is in this context of growing interaction between the Heavenly Master institution and Westerners that some of the latter started to dub the Heavenly Master "the Daoist Pope." Penny, who has explored the making of this loaded comparison, or analogy, points out precise parallels in the writings of several Protestants.[11] In the works of people such as the Dutch interpreter J. J. M. de Groot (1854–1921), writing in the early 1880s,[12] the living Heavenly Master is compared to Pius IX (Pope 1846–1878), who was derided for promulgating the dogma of infallibility and losing his pontifical state to popular insurrection (having to flee in 1848 just like the 60th Heavenly Master had to flee before the Taiping armies in 1858) and then the new Italian state. These authors compare the lingering prestige of Saint Peter and Zhang Daoling, in sad contrast to the degeneracy of the current holder of the throne—a language of decline into superstition and ritualism that was dominating (and long continued to dominate) Western discourses on Daoism.[13] Interestingly, de Groot, who had neither been to Longhushan nor met the Heavenly Master, relied in good part on the writings of the bishop of Jiangxi, François-Xavier-Timothée Danicourt, a French Lazarist who might have met the 60th Heavenly Master (even though he never says so explicitly) and described him as a gambler and opium smoker "despised by all his entourage."[14] Danicourt himself never used the term "Pope" to discuss the Heavenly Master, and the invention of the term "Daoist Pope" must have started in the post-Taiping period in Protestant circles, possibly with de Groot.[15] Writing in 1879, Robert Douglas talks of the hierarch but does not use "Pope."[16]

This invention was an instant success and adopted by a large variety of writers. That the term "Pope" was used so frequently by Western observers is worth discussing. In some cases, it was used by Protestant missionaries with open contempt; for them, the pomp, vanity, and naked self-aggrandizement

of the Pope in Rome and the Heavenly Masters at Longhushan were two aspects of one and the same sinful phenomenon—even though most Westerners apparently failed to understand the nature of the Heavenly Master's religious authority.[17] But other authors used the comparison in a more neutral sense, or even with some respect, such as the Protestant leaders of the International Institute in Shanghai, who invited the 62nd Heavenly Master regularly during the 1911–1915 period and referred to him as the Daoist Pope. If many Catholics unambiguously rejected the very idea of using the term "Pope" in a Daoist context,[18] Camille Imbault-Huart, a French sinologist, published in 1884 (thus about the same time as de Groot) a history of the "legend of the Daoist Pope, and the history of the pontifical family" (based on standard historical accounts, and without having visited Longhushan himself [19]) using the papal comparison as a matter of fact and not as a basis for criticism. Chinese writers themselves eventually took up the analogy and began to write about the Chinese Vatican when describing Longhushan.[20]

The comparison was often expressed in a mix of repulsion and fascination. One informative report was written by Carl Frederick Kupfer, who visited Longhushan on New Year's Eve 1910:

> Wherever in China this mountain [Longhushan] is mentioned, whether in *Kiang-si* or in the most distant province, everyone knows what it stands for. Just as much as Rome is known to all Catholics to be the home of the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church, so all Chinese know that the Pope of the Taoist Religion has his residence here….
>
> Upon my arrival after four days of traveling, on the evening before the last day of the year, I sent my card to the Papal Residence, and asked for an interview the next day…. In due time I made my appearance, when the center doors, dividing the departments, were thrown open wide, the doorkeeper walking ahead holding my card in his outstretched hand. Having passed through four divisions, we reached the official palace. Here we were ushered into a well-furnished reception room where, in a few moments, his Excellency appeared. He is a tall, handsome middle-aged man, was dressed in the ordinary costume of a high-class Chinese scholar, and most pleasant and congenial; well-informed in all things that were of vital interest to the Asiatic people; by no means a recluse. He is the husband

> of two wives, and father of one daughter and three sons. By all the Taoist priests throughout the land he is recognized as the Commander-in-chief of the Taoist religion, wielding an immense spiritual power in the entire Empire. His name is on every lip, and he is believed to be the viregent on earth of the Pearly Emperor in heaven, and as such he has power to expel demons from haunted houses. To accomplish this he wields the sword that is said to have come down to him as a priceless heirloom from his ancestors of the *Han* Dynasty…. The efficacy of a charm is supposed to be greatly increased by the magical gift of the pope from whom it is obtained, hence to secure his service is very expensive…. Being the chief official on earth representing the Pearly Emperor in heaven, he has the privilege to address memorials to him.[21]

Kupfer documents, both in his written description and in the two photographs he appended—one showing Zhang alone, and the other with his wife and children—that Zhang Yuanxu dressed (and presented himself) as a Qing official, not as a Daoist.[22] This alludes to something about the Daoist Pope that Westerners found particularly difficult to understand: he was at the same time a miracle worker whom people worshipped, and a state official, married and with all the gentlemanly manners that went with such a condition.



Figure 7. Photo of Zhang Yuanxu taken in 1910 by Carl Frederick Kupfer, from Kupfer, *Sacred Places in China* (Cincinnati, OH: Western Methodist Press, 1911).

The surprise at the contrast between the Heavenly Master's universal reputation as a "magician" able to control gods and demons, and his appearance as an affable, ordinary-looking gentleman was shared by Chinese visitors. Sun Baoxuan 孫寶瑄 (1874–1924), a middle-ranking official and renowned scholar, who visited him in early December 1902, wrote,

> His temple [the Shangqinggong] is magnificent beyond comparison, and more than ten Daoist officials [*faguan*] live there. The Heavenly Master also has a separate official residence, and yet, he is just an ordinary man, without any divine gift. The reason he can control gods and spirits and expel malevolence is entirely due to the ritual treasures he has inherited from his ancestors.[23]
>
> 其宮殿雄麗無比，有法官十餘人居焉。天師別有治所，亦不過一凡人，並無神通。其所以能役鬼神、除妖邪者，恃其祖傳之法寶耳。

There is every reason to believe that Zhang Yuanxu, like his predecessors, actually cultivated this image of a gentleman, far removed from the allure of the miracle worker. That was part of his official status: a dignified official, a self-composed man carrying forward a precious learned tradition. Some earlier Heavenly Masters had been charismatic, but that was not a necessary part of the function. Yuanxu's own father, the 61st Heavenly Master, had cultivated both images; biographical material he himself included in the 1890 genealogy detail both his status as a statesman—he is described as providing sagely advice to Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811–1872), the general who defeated the Taiping—and performing miracles during his travels around the empire, exorcising Taiping ghosts and expelling epidemic demons.[24] Zhang Yuanxu, for his part, was not credited with any miracle.

The last official Heavenly Master: Zhang Yuanxu

Zhang Yuanxu[25] was nominated by the Guangxu emperor as the 62nd Heavenly Master in 1904, thus succeeding his father, Zhang Renzheng, who had passed away in 1902. He had no idea he would be the last to receive such a nomination. When the empire crumbled and was replaced with the republic, Zhang was stripped of his official titles and subjected to a series of abuse and smear campaigns in the progressive press, which made him out

to be the paragon of the "superstitious" old society. And yet the Heavenly Master institution continued, as it tried to reinvent itself and cope with new ideas of religious leadership and sainthood.

From student to Heavenly Master

When Zhang Yuanxu came into the world, on 31 August 1862, in the official residence of the Heavenly Master, the institution was in crisis, having suffered from several raids by the Taiping armies. In the following years, as his father rebuilt the institution, young Yuanxu lived with his mother, née Yang (1837–?, the daughter of a member of the local upper gentry named Yang Shilin 楊士林), his three brothers and five sisters, and his father's concubine and her son.[26]

As a first son, Yuanxu was destined to become Heavenly Master; he nonetheless followed a classical Confucian training as a student (庠生) at the county government school within the Confucius temple in the Guixi County seat, some forty kilometers from home. He married the daughter of Yang Xiliang 楊熙亮, a fifth-rank (thus rather high-ranking) official, whose family was living in Fengcheng 豐城縣, some 120 kilometers west of Longhushan, thus perpetuating the Zhang lineage habit of contracting marriage alliances with local gentry families. Yang died early, in 1877 at the young age of nineteen, and Yuanxu then married the daughter of Huang Chongren 黃崇仁, Imperial College student. Huang gave birth to six sons, the first of whom, Zhang Enpu 張恩溥 (1904–1969), would eventually succeed his father as 63rd Heavenly Master.[27] Zhang Yuanxu gave his son Enpu an education similar to the one he had himself received: a comprehensive classical training at home, based on both Confucian and Daoist classics. Later Enpu went on to the provincial school for law and administration, where he graduated in 1924.[28]

When Zhang Renzheng passed away on 17 February 1902, the family soon arranged for the Jiangxi governor to send a memorial to the throne, recommending that Yuanxu, listed as a tribute student by purchase 附貢生, be nominated as the next Heavenly Master. A member of the Zhang lineage, himself an Imperial College student, had petitioned the county magistrate,

who had transmitted the document to the provincial government.[29] The petition justified this by describing Yuanxu as "a man of upright conduct, orthodox education, and having since childhood studied the family tradition." This routine procedure was duly approved, albeit slowly, for Yuanxu was proclaimed Zhengyi zhenren—the official title of the Heavenly Masters since the early Ming—only in 1904.

The Heavenly Masters were not treated with excessive respect at court: they had been banned from audiences since 1819, after repeated pleas from hardline-Confucian officials. According to one story, Zhang Yuanxu came to Beijing in 1905 and tried to bribe an official of the Ministry of Rites, to the tune of two thousand taels, to gain an audience with the Empress dowager Cixi on the occasion of her seventieth birthday, but his request was turned down.[30] Yet the line of communication between the imperial center and Longhushan offered by the court chaplains continued to operate until 1912.[31] Maybe with their help, Zhang Yuanxu was later said to have successfully petitioned for the honorary title of Guanglu dafu 光祿大夫 for his deceased father and grandfather[32]—a standard procedure in the history of the institution.

Being nominated as Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxu embarked on fulfilling his mission as head of the Daoist church, *jiaozhu* 教主. Soon after his nomination, Zhang Yuanxu started to undertake tours of various regions to check on local Daoists and propose promotions in this world and the next.[33] When he arrived somewhere, he visited local officials, who usually received him well, as they had to, considering his rank in the imperial bureaucracy. He was in Shanghai, Suzhou, and Hangzhou in 1904, lodging in local temples and visiting officials.[34] During his stay in Shanghai, he was met by crowds of devotees who wanted to buy his talismans.[35] He presided over a large communal *jiao* in Suzhou in 1905,[36] and the next year he was in Nanchang, trying to organize a large exorcistic ritual.[37] Similar trips and activities (organizing rituals, selling talismans) are continually attested throughout his twenty-year tenure as Heavenly Master; some of the new religious groups that developed during the Republican period also treated him with respect, such as a Jigong 濟公 spirit-writing group that invited him to perform a ritual in 1924.[38]

At the same time, however, warnings of coming change were increasingly strident. Press coverage of the institution, which had been by and large positive, even quite often highly deferential, began to turn aggressive around the time of Zhang Yuanxu's enthronement.[39] A long editorial on Zhang in the *Shenbao* 申報 in 1904 was the first ever in that journal to offer a detailed argument against the institution, influenced by the antisuperstition discourse that had just begun to form.[40] Whereas earlier critical writings had focused on the origins of the institution of the Heavenly Master with Zhang Daoling and Zhang Lu, described in classical historiography as rebels and sorcerers, the *Shenbao* editorial dismissed the current beliefs and practices linked to the institution.[41]

Other media chimed in: popular education books and novels took on the task of debunking the notion of a Heavenly Master. Stories about the end of the institution began to circulate. The novel *Saomi zhou* 掃迷帚 (The broom to sweep away superstitions), serialized in 1905, constituted the first comprehensive catalogue and attack on Chinese superstitions in the modern sense, and devoted a whole chapter to denouncing the Heavenly Master's sale of talismans and ritual services.

> Recently, the Zhang Heavenly Master from Jiangxi suddenly decided to a take a trip to Jiangnan, visiting Suzhou and then Hangzhou. The entire trip was marked with extravagance and pomp. In front of his sedan chair marched eight fierce-looking militiamen, wearing black robes sewn with red characters reading "Residence of the Great Transcendent" and, below, "militiaman." The sedan was covered by a large red dais, and the seat was protected by a green plaid cloth; the Heavenly Master wore a blue crown, made with peacock feathers and showing the Gods of the Five Heavenly Peaks in audience in Heaven. Two attendants, called "Daoist officials" [*faguan*], followed on horseback. In front of his residence were hoisted boards reading "Transcendent Man of Correct Unity," "All Gods of the Eight directions are exempted from having to present themselves," and "Dragon Kings are exempted from having to attend the audience."[42] All day long, he paid visits to various local officials, and created much excitement in the city. He sold talismans and registers of the God of Wealth, against fire, to cure diseases, to quell ghosts, to protect oneself, to be immune

> from epidemics, of the Five Thunders, the five generals, and more. Prices varied from twelve dollars to several tens…. Furthermore, people filled in formal requests complaining about spirit disturbances: Zhang then told them that the price for an exorcism started at four thousand dollars…. If people wanted to see him face to face, they had to pay fourteen cash, called a "registration fee," which allowed him to rake in several thousand cash every day…. The Heavenly Master really is a scoundrel. Newspapers have repeatedly exposed him, and they tell the truth. This is a particular shame for China.[43]
>
> 近來江西張天師，忽發南遊之志，由申到蘇，由蘇到杭。據聞每到一處，儀仗喧赫。轎前用民壯八人，狀甚糾糾，皆著青褂，綴以紅字，上曰「大真人府」，下曰「民壯」。用罩頭紅蓋，身坐綠呢大轎，頂用五岳朝天，花翎藍頂。轎後有長隨二人，皆乘馬，或曰「法官」。其公館高懸「正乙真人」、「八台諸神免參」、「龍王免朝」等牌。逐日拜謁當道，招搖過市。出售財神、避火、治病、鎮煞、保身、免疫、五雷、五將等符籙，價目高下互殊，自十二元至數十元不等。……復有具稟呈告被鬼怪所擾者，張均示價四金起碼，為之捉妖。……人欲瞻仰顏面者，須費十四文，為掛號金，每日亦動以數十千文計。……聞天師甚狼狽云。各報載之歷歷，當非子虛。亦中國特別之醜狀也。

While the description is actually well corroborated by other sources and seems reliable, the violence of the language is new. Words soon translated into acts: Zhang Yuanxu was driven out of Fuzhou in 1905 by well-organized groups of progressive students.[44]

Such threats came to full fruition with the end of the imperial regime. In 1912, the new Jiangxi provincial governor, Li Liejun 李烈鈞 (1882–1946), not only abolished his official titles but also confiscated much land and stopped all cash allowances and other privileges.[45] Suddenly deprived of a link with state power and an official status—something the Yanshenggong was spared from—Zhang Yuanxu thus had to seek out new sources of authority and legitimacy. The place to be was Shanghai. He had, like his predecessors, often been in Jiangnan, where he had a dense network of relatives, disciples, and patrons. But from 1912 the Heavenly Master would come to be ever more closely associated with Shanghai.

A new life in Shanghai

Zhang Yuanxu's early contact with missionaries such as Carl Kupfer intensified in Shanghai. From September 1912 onward, Zhang became a regular guest of the International Institute of China, Shangxiantang 尚賢堂, an important institution created and directed by the US Presbyterian missionary Gilbert Reid 李佳白 (1857–1927).[46] The International Institute held public lectures every Sunday, with lecturers and guests selected from among leading religious figures, both Christian and non-Christian, including a number of prominent Buddhists. The first president of the General Buddhist Association of China (Zhonghua fojiao zonghui 中華佛教總會), the celebrated ascetic and abbot Jing'an 敬安 (1852–1912, nicknamed Bazhi 八指 after he burned two fingers as an offering to the Buddha), sat with Zhang Yuanxu, and wrote a poem eulogizing him that seems to evince more than mundane politeness, and maybe mutual respect among "traditional" religious leaders facing a new and uncertain world.[47]

Zhang Yuanxu gave several lectures on the history and basic tenets of Daoism at the International Institute, certainly a new and challenging exercise for a Heavenly Master.[48] The texts of these lectures were unfortunately not published, but a short abstract was included as part of reports published by the institute.[49] This abstract allows us a glimpse of Zhang Yuanxu's vision and the audience's response:

> The Sunday afternoon on which the Taoist pope was expected to speak witnessed one of the largest gatherings that ever took place at the International Institute at Shanghai. The personal name of the eminent visitor of the Chinese International Institute is Chang Yuan Hsü, but he is commonly addressed with his title, The Celestial Master of the Chang Clan, or Chang T'ien She…. Long before the appointed hour crowds began to come, some out of mere curiosity but many from their interest in this particular religion and with a desire to honor its religious head.
>
> … Dr. Reid as the director of the institute introduced the distinguished visitor, who delivered a brief address in clear tones and forcible language, in which he pointed out that Taoism was the teaching of Lao-tze, who lived at the time of Confucius under the Cheu dynasty about 600 BC, that

> the religion flourished under the Tang and Sung dynasties, and continued its peaceful development unmolested down to the present age, that the essential teachings were laid down in the Classic on Virtue and Truth, and that the Chang family had been established at the head of the Taoist church under the Han dynasty.

Yet in spite of Zhang Yuanxu's efforts to speak about doctrine, one journalist commented on one of his lectures in 1915, saying, "He is more the political than the spiritual head of Taoism."[50] Parallel to the institute, Gilbert Reid had established a Society of World Religions, Shijie zongjiaohui 世界宗教會, of which Zhang Yuanxu, as the representative of Daoism, was a leading member. The interreligious dialogue (and the reciprocal legitimating by religious leaders) seemed to work quite well, as we find both Zhang Yuanxu and the Scottish Baptist missionary Timothy Richard (1845–1919) lecturing at the Buddhist Association in 1914.[51] In one instance, in 1912, Timothy Richard is quoted as thanking Zhang Yuanxu for writing a presentation of Daoism that was read at the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, even though the quote is certainly misleading.[52] There is only one known book written and published by Zhang Yuanxu, *Bu Han tianshi shijia* 補漢天師世家 (Hereditary successors of the Heavenly Master of the Han Dynasty, Supplemented), a short work he compiled in 1918 in which he provided a biography of each of the successive Heavenly Masters from the fiftieth to the sixty-first generation.[53]

At the same time, Zhang Yuanxu was also busy setting up the General Daoist Association of the Republic of China (Zhonghua minguo daojiao zonghui 中華民國道教總會), established in Shanghai, through grand meetings in various Daoist temples which he chaired—and where he returned the favor by inviting Christians such as Timothy Richard.[54] Zhang Yuanxu apparently came to appreciate his new role of association president and lecturer: invited by a general to perform a ritual in Anqing in 1915, he seized the occasion to organize a public lecture on Daoist doctrine in which he addressed the local Daoist association and assorted local elites.[55]

The General Daoist Association, however, failed to develop outside of the Shanghai area;[56] although many Daoists were traditionally affiliated with

the Heavenly Master's administration, they declined to translate such an affiliation into membership in an association that vowed to control them. The General Daoist Association was also probably a response to a similar association created a few weeks earlier, in Beijing, by the Quanzhen monastic leaders, who claimed to be the true leaders of Daoism. In any case, neither of these Daoist associations managed to achieved what Buddhists, Christians, and redemptive societies had, that is, create their own media (newspapers and periodicals). As a result, they could never significantly shape their own media image.

Furthermore, while the General Daoist Association, like all national religious associations created in 1912 and thereafter, proclaimed a goal of reforming religion by suppressing superstition and promoting ethics, building hospitals and schools, and sending missionaries throughout the world, Zhang Yuanxu was busy at the same continuing his trade in talismans and ritual services. He certainly saw no contradiction between the two, but reform-minded journalists howled at what they considered to be doublespeak.[57] And yet Zhang Yuanxu did show something of a reformist drive when in 1919 he published a decree putting an end to certain forms of excessive fees in exchange for ritual services.[58]

Failed restoration

In spite of the new opportunities allowed by the Shanghai scene, religious freedom, and the national associations, Zhang Yuanxu was most certainly deeply nostalgic for the imperial era and the honors and privileges granted by the old regime. This explains why he decided to support the aborted Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859–1916) imperial restoration in 1915–1916, an episode now widely derided but which must have made good sense at the time for people like Zhang Yuanxu, who were completely immersed in the values of imperial religiopolitical governance. Yuan Shikai himself cannot be suspected of a particular fondness for Daoism in general, or for the Heavenly Master institution in particular, for he had never shown it any kindness during the first years of his rule as president. When declaring his rule as emperor,

though, he had to muster whatever kind of legitimacy he could think of, and the Heavenly Masters had been providing just that for many centuries, so he invited Zhang Yuanxu to Beijing.[59]

The invitation was proffered through the good offices of a high official, Zhang Xun 張勛 (1854–1923), who had been a provincial governor during the last decade of the empire, had taken sides squarely against the revolution, and had been selected by Yuan Shikai as a top general. Zhang Xun was a native from Fengxin (some 150 kilometers west of Longhushan), and a lifelong Daoist devotee, who had several times organized rituals for the Heavenly Master to perform. In late 1914, he submitted a memorial to the president, arguing that the Heavenly Masters had protected the Chinese state for two thousand years and that a central Daoist authority must be reestablished in order to maintain orthodoxy and check the development of all kinds of sects that thrived on the margins of proper Daoism.[60] Specifically, Zhang Xun asked that the Heavenly Master's titles be restored, and his lands and cash allowances be returned. The response of the minister of the Interior was cold, and President Yuan did not press the matter. But when the president's plans for imperial promotion became clearer, in early 1916, he did invite Zhang Yuanxu to Beijing, where he was reinstated as Zhengyi zhenren and granted the lofty title of Hongtian yingdao zhenjun 洪天應道真君. The seals confiscated in 1912 were returned and he was invited to perform a *jiao* offering ritual.[61] This idyll lasted as long as Yuan's imperial dream, that is, a few months.

The abject failure of the imperial restoration left Zhang Yuanxu in a rather unpleasant position. He was now more than ever considered one of the most visible legacies of the imperial regime and ideology, and was viewed with nostalgia by some, and hostility by others. Prominent historian and folklorist Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980), among others, proposed that all relics of the old imperial state, rather than being destroyed, be turned into a museum at Longhushan.[62]

But new avenues soon opened for cooperation with the emerging figures of the warlord-era political and religious scene. One such avenue was the redemptive societies. Zhang Yuanxu became particularly associated with one

of the largest such societies, the Wanguo daodehui 萬國道德會, which called itself the Worldwide Ethical Society in English.[63] This society was first established in Ji'nan (Shandong) by Jiang Shoufeng 江壽峰 (1875–1926), who had been deeply involved in the Kongjiaohui 孔教會 (Confucian Religious Association) movement, sending frequent petitions to various government departments calling for the establishment of Confucianism as the national religion and for the compulsory teaching of the classics in all schools. Jiang advocated the reinstatement of the official imperial titles of the Heavenly Master. His support for other religions marginalized him among the hardline Confucians, but he attracted public attention after his son, Jiang Xizhang 江希張 (1907–2004), was found to be a child prodigy, able to write commentaries on the classics before the age of ten, as well as a pacifist tract, *Xizhanlun* 息戰論 (1916), which drew on the scriptures of the five main religions, and called for the establishment of a new religion. Father and son sent these commentaries to scholars and political and military notables of the Beiyang regime, earning the enthusiastic support of some, and registered the Wanguo daodehui with the national government in 1921. Jiang Shoufeng argued that without a strong moral foundation, the nation's politics, law, and education systems could not flourish, and that the success of British, French, and Japanese colonialism rested on their policy of destroying the morality of the peoples they conquered.[64] The society, which worshiped the founders of the Five Teachings, was officially inaugurated on the birthday of Confucius at Tai'an, Shandong, on 28 September 1921; its honorary presidents included Zhang Yuanxu, along with the politician Wang Shizhen 王士珍 (1861–1930); Yan Xishan 閻錫山 (1883–1960), the governor and military commander of Shanxi; and Gilbert Reid, while the head of the patriarchal line of the descendants of Confucius, Kong Decheng 孔德成 (1920–2008), seventy-seventh generation descendant of Confucius and the thirty-second Yanshenggong, who was still a child, was appointed as honorary chairman.

Zhang Yuanxu was a willing participant in this movement. In 1917, he wrote a long preface to the *Xizhanlun* as well as to one of the early tracts written by Jiang Xizhang, the *Daqian tushuo* 大千圖說, which, like many other books by redemptive society leaders, attempted to combine Western

scientific language with traditional cosmology. In his preface to the *Daqian tushuo,* Zhang Yuanxu deplores Western materialism's impact on China and the lethal threat it poses to Chinese moral civilization; he claims that without fear and respect for the gods, political and moral order cannot be brought back to China:

> I am the inheritor of the Heavenly Master, I transmit the Dao of Laozi. Since the Han dynasty, there have been sixty-two [Heavenly Masters]. The study of the Jade Emperor, gods, and souls is what my family has been practicing, and that is how all common people have heard and known about it. But in these days of decline of the Dao, I spend my days worrying about this, and cannot think of a solution.
>
> 余統繼天師，道傳老子。自漢迄今，已歷代六十二代。所有帝神魂魄之學，皆歸余家傳習。世人固共聞而共知之也。當此世衰道微之日，正余朝乾夕惕之秋，晝夜憂慮，計無所出。[65]

This text earned Zhang Yuanxu considerable bad press, too, as leftist intellectuals, headed by Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936), derided him for associating himself with superstition.[66]

Connected to his involvement with redemptive societies, Zhang was on close terms with a number of warlords who were themselves active leaders in redemptive societies, chief of which was Wu Peifu 吳佩孚 (1874–1939).[67] Shortly after Yuanxu's death, Wu Peifu would again organize a large-scale ritual for his successor, Zhang Enpu, to preside over. Another friendly warlord was Sun Chuanfang 孫傳芳 (1885–1935), one of the leaders of the Zhili clique, who invited Zhang to perform rituals in Jiangning. In 1926, soon after Yuanxu's death, his son Enpu presided over a large service offering prayers for the health of Li Liejun, the very same warlord who had stripped him of his father's titles and lands in 1912, and who had been defeated by the Nationalist Party and had settled at Longhushan.[68] Surely, this kind of chumminess with warlords did not endear the Heavenly Master institution with Nationalist or Communist revolutionaries.

Not all the attention Zhang Yuanxu attracted was welcome. Like his predecessors, he had to face the less pleasant aspects of being a living saint: his name was used and abused to bolster all kinds of enterprises. Notably,

as had been the case for decades if not centuries, spirit-written or otherwise divinely revealed proclamations in his name flourished, predicting impending disasters and calling for people to repent and be saved.[69] Zhang Yuanxu had to disavow these tracts, which were damaging his reputation among the already unfavorably inclined urban elites.[70] People also traveled the land claiming to be emissaries of the Heavenly Master, selling talismans, and collecting donations.[71]

Zhang Yuanxu was in Shanghai when he fell ill, apparently of a foot infection. He died on 16 February 1925, at the home of a devotee, Guan Zhiqing 管趾卿. Guan, a Suzhou man, was a major comprador, having led several large banks and industrial companies—the Shanghai compradors were active on the religious scene and promoting various religious leaders, Buddhist, Daoist, or otherwise.[72] The funeral was then arranged by Guan and his friend Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867–1938), probably the most prominent lay religious activist in 1920s and 1930s Shanghai and a member of countless religious and charitable institutions.[73] The funerary ritual was a grand affair, attended by three thousand Daoists of the greater Shanghai area; the procession, with all his insignia, was one kilometer long.[74] The coffin was then carried back by boat to Longhushan, and buried there, close to his residence. The tomb was restored in 1994 by a Malaysian Daoist,[75] but has not, as per my visit in 2011, turned into a significant pilgrimage or worship destination.

In the collective biography of the preceding Heavenly Masters written by the 64th Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuanxian 張源先 (1930–2008), Yuanxu obtained his "official" biography, although a short one.[76] Zhang Yuanxian wrote that Zhang Yuanxu was an elegant, good-looking scholar, being both an accomplished man of letters and a Daoist. He also noted that he ordained large numbers of both laypersons and priests. All in all, this gives us little clue as to his personality and seems largely designed to fit an age-old pattern for Heavenly Masters. It is quite typical that a newspaper article published on the occasion of Zhang Yuanxu's death, while being quite respectful, discussed the past glory of the Heavenly Masters rather than Yuanxu's own specific life.[77] All in all, then, we know the outline of the 62nd Heavenly Master's career, but remarkably little about Zhang Yuanxu as a man and about what he thought.

Comments in the press and other media before and around Zhang Yuanxu's death focused on the fact that, when his officially sanctioned status was removed by the state in 1912, he was deprived at the stroke of the brush of his charisma, *ling* 靈, and thus became exactly what he looked like: an ordinary man, *fanren* 凡人. Yet, by playing with these words, Republican-period journalists and essayists were actually continuing to exploit the very ideas that sustained the Heavenly Master's sainthood. Intellectuals perceptively remarked that while the world of humans had switched from empire to republic, the other world continued to operate as a despotic system, and in particular the old officials, the City Gods, were carrying on business as usual.[78] One essayist remarked that since the Heavenly Master was now living in Shanghai and was no longer practicing the rituals of nominating the City Gods, the question remained of who was nominating them.[79] A journalist writing in a Buddhist journal and commenting on Zhang Yuanxu's activities with the Daoist association in Shanghai wrote that the social disorder was partly due to the lost ability of the Heavenly Master to control spirits.[80]

This type of remark evinced a real uncertainty about whether it was really possible to abolish the Heavenly Master's power by decree. The Heavenly Master institution did not fall into irrelevance or oblivion: it continued to be the topic of much discussion in the press, novels, and other media—with ever more irony, but continued fascination. Indeed, a flurry of ironic pieces published in the *Shenbao* and other journals after 1912, such as fake pronouncements whereby the Heavenly Master dismissed all the ghosts, or his letters to gods who ask for his help in finding a role in new China, tells us how the bureaucratic logic of the Heavenly Master institution was still part of common lore.[81]

Zhang Enpu and postmodern chaos

After Zhang Yuanxu's death, his eldest son, Zhang Enpu, succeeded him as 63rd Heavenly Master: he was inaugurated during a large-scale *jiao* offering in Shanghai in 1925,[82] but without any endorsement from the Chinese state, for the first time in over a thousand years. Zhang Enpu was to experience a decline of the institution sharper and more dramatic than anything his father

had experienced: Longhushan was sacked by the Nationalist armies during the Northern Campaign in 1927, after the Jiangxi provincial assemblies had in late 1926 voted to confiscate all his property, including his remaining treasures. He petitioned in 1935 for his seals to be returned, but the government turned down the request. Zhang Enpu was even a prisoner of the Communists for three months in 1927. In 1931 Longhushan was occupied by the First Red Front Army (which had established the Jiangxi Soviet), and the Heavenly Master residence became the headquarters of general Peng Dehuai 彭德懷 (1898–1974); Zhang Enpu had to take refuge in Shanghai, while one of his brothers who had stayed behind was executed. Longhushan was "liberated" in 1934, and Zhang Enpu returned home, staying there during the ensuing Japanese invasion and until 1946. The Heavenly Master institution apparently resumed its operations and ordained people, but in deeply changed conditions. It had no property anymore and struggled to support over twenty remaining *faguan.* According to the oral testimony of a descendant of a family that specialized in the printing of ordination registers, such families had in earlier times merely done salaried work within the Ordinations Bureau (Faluju) of the Heavenly Master residence; they were allowed in the 1930s to set up shop in town and sell the registers directly, or through the intermediary of religious shops in Shanghai and other cities; as a result, some were not even empowered by the Heavenly Master seals.[83]

After the end of the war, Zhang Enpu settled in Shanghai again, ordaining priests and laypeople and trying to revive the Daoist association, but with mixed success. This Daoist association listed him as president, and, as numbers two and three, his top two *faguan* (Zeng Weiyi 曾惟一, abbot of the Shangqinggong, and Zeng Xiqin 曾習勤, abbot of the Zhengyi-guan), who were traveling with him rather than staying at Longhushan. He was back at Longhushan in 1949 and had to flee at short notice before the arrival of the Red Army: he left without family, staff, or library. He had been married twice (his first wife died early); a daughter remained at Longhushan, and what happened to his two surviving sons is unclear, but none survived the early phases of the People's Republic. He traveled first to Macao and Hong Kong, then in December 1949 to Taipei (where he had previously

visited, invited by disciples in 1947 and 1948). In Taipei, he established new headquarters and a reformed Daoist Association (Taiwansheng daojiaohui 台灣省道教會 in 1951, then the Zhonghua minguo daojiaohui 中華民國道教會 in 1966), but with limited support.[84]

When Zhang Enpu passed away in 1969, his nephew, Zhang Yuanxian (1930–2008), took over as 64th Heavenly Master. One of the things Yuanxian did to bolster his own position and that of the Heavenly Master institution in Taiwan was to publish a collective biography of the preceding Heavenly Masters.[85] He was active in performing ritual and ordaining people—but his position was rather weak. After he passed away, the struggle for the mantle of 65th Heavenly Master has included at least three different candidates (including for the first time, a woman), resulting in a confused situation, still unresolved as this book goes to press, in which scholars are often asked to intervene and take sides.[86]

Meanwhile, at Longhushan, Daoist activities stopped in the 1950s but slowly revived after 1979. Several members of the Zhang lineage, with sometimes contentious claims about their respective place in the genealogy, play an active role in the Daoist association, at various levels: Longhushan, Jiangxi Province, and the national level, showing how membership in the Zhang lineage still matters in Socialist China. Longhushan has thrived as a tourist destination but has also revived as an ordination center: the first post-1949 ordination was staged in 1991, and many have been held regularly since then, largely to the benefit of overseas Chinese. The contemporary struggles on both sides of the Taiwan straits are part of a continuing story but do not fall within the scope of the present book.

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Conclusion

The bureaucratic administration of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Longhushan would at first sight seem to have little in common with the early Heavenly Master church (Tianshidao) described in Daoist and official sources. From the earliest sources on the Tianshidao, Zhang Daoling, and all the ordained members of the church, by delegation from him, are described as putting the world back in order and opening a path to salvation for all humans by identifying and separating what is correct (正) from what is devious (邪). Yet the very same aim and distinguishing exercise has been at the core of the Heavenly Master institution from its earliest days in the ninth century: the Heavenly Master and their staffs have worked for over eleven centuries as a licensing agency for local traditions (the *fa*), priests (through ordinations), and gods and their territorial communities, certifying to the state and society at large their status as moral, correct, and registered with Heavenly authorities. But when a god, a priest, or a practice was found to be deviant, rather than punishing it—which could still be done as last resort—the Heavenly Master institution tried to bring it or him / her into the fold of *zheng* by reforming or converting. Deploying an administration headquartered at Longhushan over the whole empire to register and control populations and gods, the Heavenly Master institution thus acted as a deep state, inheritor both in theological principles and in practical methods, of the early church and the religious state it had established in Hanzhong at the turn of the third century. The political and personal ups and downs of individual Heavenly Masters are but a side story to this remarkable institutional history.

This book shows that the Heavenly Master institution at Longhushan was the modern form of the Heavenly Master church, adapted to the social and political context of early modern China. It is no coincidence that the Longhushan Zhangs emerged at the place and time where and when the sociopolitical structures of second-millennium China were developed: in the rich and urbanizing edges of the south-central plains that coped better than other parts of the Chinese world when the Tang medieval order collapsed. This book tells a story of both change and continuity. Its structure was built around a chronological narrative and moments of change; I would like in this conclusion to focus on two aspects that underline *longue durée* continuity: the nature of the Heavenly Master institution as the core of the Daoist bureaucracy, and its articulation with authority and charisma.

The Daoist bureaucracy

The Heavenly Master institution was a religious bureaucratic organization that gradually came to assume many state functions: registration and taxation of the population, licensing of officials (Daoists) and gods, administration of justice, and punishment of evil forces. It relied on a large group of elite, highly literate priests who managed an extensive and expensive flow of documents. In this, it was the operating center of the Daoist bureaucracy that the early Heavenly Master church had invented in the second century AD and that had since then, together with other institutions, managed Chinese society (registering the living and the dead, dictating norms, and maintaining order). We need not distinguish the two—the older Daoist bureaucracy, and the more recent Heavenly Master institution—so much as understand their relationship. The Daoist bureaucracy had existed before the invention of Longhushan, and continued into modern times to an important extent to operate with a high degree of local independence. Priests and temple communities could relate to the Heavenly Master but did not always do so; in some regions—in northern China, notably—the connection was weaker than in others. The role of central temples as intermediaries between Longhushan and local communities knew many local variants. In

many contexts, the authority of the Heavenly Master was purely symbolic; priests took their orders directly from the gods and local leaders with little intervention from nonlocal human authorities. Yet the extent to which the Heavenly Master institution managed to assert at least nominal, and sometimes effective, authority over this bureaucracy is remarkable.

The Heavenly Master institution as a bureaucratic center shared many structural features with the state bureaucracy, including an obsession with its monopoly over the issuing of official documents and constant fear of fake seals and imposters, but was also different in several regards. First, even more than the imperial state's, the institution's authority was symbolic: it lacked any actual physical control of its territory or a credible monopoly of legitimate force to impose its laws—by contrast with local temple communities. Second, this was a bureaucracy located in sacred sites on the edge of society (Longhushan and other sacred mountains) rather than imperial walled cities—even though a good number of central temples were in the center of major cities. For these reasons, the Heavenly Master institution was not a full-fledged state. Yet it acted in many ways like one—whence my qualifying it as a "deep state"—and had much in common with the imperial state.

The Heavenly Master institution shared with the imperial bureaucracy the notion that its legitimacy derived from the Heavenly appointment of its hereditary head. The Heavenly Master's genetically inherited and imperially sanctioned position gave him unique authority, embodied in his seal, to nominate priests and gods in the universe and to discipline demons. Late imperial Chinese were ready to recognize that even though some individual Heavenly Masters might have substandard personal qualities, they were still endowed with awesome powers over humans and deities.[1] This authority was at the same time recognized and curtailed by the state, which tried to harness it to its own ends (the *faguan* serving as court clerics) and yet resented possible competition with its own project of disciplining and ordering the universe under the emperor's authority.

Yet, for the eleven centuries of its existence, the Heavenly Master institution was not in opposition to the state but saw itself as one of its constituent and loyal parts. Indeed, in the Heavenly Masters' vision, Longhushan

and the imperial state were parts of one unique bureaucracy. As a part of imperial governance, the Heavenly Master institution tried, like civil and military officials and with equally limited success, to control popular practice and bring uniformity and the pretense of orthodoxy to it. The idea that gods and Daoist priests are exactly like this-worldly officials, *yangguan* 陽官, was already put forward in Lu Xiujing's (406–477) description of the early Heavenly Master church, and repeated in similar terms by the 53rd Heavenly Master in 1658.[2] This bureaucratic paradigm is not a simple matter of imitating the imperial state and building legitimacy; it is key to Daoist soteriology: appointment in the Heavenly order grants salvation.[3]

That the bureaucratic nature of the Heavenly Master institution was tied to its mission of universal salvation gives salience to the term "Daoist Pope" given by Westerners to the Heavenly Masters from the 1880s onward: both religious institutions were built along bureaucratic models (with their laws, tribunals, and strict procedures of canonization) because they needed such a framework to ensure universal registration and monitoring of those who will be saved. Other comparisons are relevant as well, such as with the Shinto traditions in early modern Japan. Two aristocratic families of Shinto priests, the Yoshida 吉田 and Shirakawa 白川, had by the Edo period (1603–1868) imperially devolved privileges to license priests, grant titles to shrines (an equivalent of the Heavenly Master canonizing gods), and discipline priests and communities; they extracted payments from all members of the networks of shrines and priests they thus managed. They also served as liturgical experts at court, and in some cases developed theological productions to ground their decisions.[4] A notable difference with the Heavenly Master institution is that they themselves held no divine status, contrary to Zhang Daoling, and thus their authority entirely derived from the emperor; when it was withdrawn during the Meiji reform, these two families quickly sank into oblivion, again by contrast with the Zhangs.

The state endorsed the Heavenly Masters' vision of themselves as the spiritual branch of the state apparatus, but only to a limited extent. It co-opted the Heavenly Master institution's best officials for court service but, during the Qing, gradually tried to limit the Longhushan management of Daoist

affairs nationwide, entrusting them instead to a toothless and ineffective parallel bureaucracy (the Daolusi) that it controlled directly—and that was, in contrast with the Heavenly Master institution, totally devoid of any religious legitimacy. The state did not take exception to the Heavenly Masters' vision of spiritual bureaucracy, but it endeavored to put it to the exclusive use of the court. Thus the state bureaucracy limited, but did not eliminate, the Heavenly Master institution's ability to work as China's spiritual bureaucracy.

From the Daoists' perspective, what kind of bureaucracy was the Heavenly Master institution? What kind of control did it exert over clerics? We have seen that through the ordination system, the Heavenly Masters attempted to control practices, but by imposing a symbolical hierarchy of purer and less pure practices instead of banning the latter. In this regard, the term "Daoist Pope" given by nineteenth-century Western observers was partly misleading: the Heavenly Master had no disciplinary power, not did he intervene constantly to arbitrate doctrinal disputes, even though a number of Heavenly Masters (most notably the forty-third and fifty-fourth) wrote catechism-like works to define key aspects of Daoist theology. Heavenly Masters and their *faguan* published rather few treatises or books of any kind with respect to their social standing and religious prestige, nor did they engage in debates with other Daoists. That, apparently, was not what Daoists expected from the Heavenly Master institution.

In exchange for fees and taxes, Daoists obtained from the Heavenly Master institution a priceless commodity: legitimacy. Like all religious specialists, Daoists, in order to be fully recognized and employed, needed to be endorsed by their local community. However, in contrast to many local specialists whose claims of competence were based squarely on their immediate and visible performances (such as cures and miracles), clerical specialists such as Daoists and Buddhists working within literate China-wide traditions also needed to be legitimized by some external authority that guaranteed their proficiency and orthodoxy with regard to this tradition. Within Buddhism and Quanzhen Daoism, this was done by the large, spectacular monastic ordinations; the Heavenly Master institution played a similar role for all Daoists. This is why, in spite of their many differences, the Zhang

Heavenly Masters and the abbots of the greatest Quanzhen monasteries played comparable roles and were similar types of religious leaders—that is, guarantors of the clergy's orthodoxy and efficacy; and indeed, when Daoism was suddenly urged to organize in an all-China association in 1912, the Zhang Heavenly Master and the leading Quanzhen abbots found themselves in competition.[5]

In other words, proof of affiliation with the Heavenly Master institution, whether through ordination of oneself or of an ancestor, payment of taxes, or other bureaucratic processes, allowed Daoists to claim high social status as literate specialists, members of a very old, orthodox, bureaucratic, and imperially connected China-wide religious tradition. But more than simple social legitimacy, priests and laypersons alike acquired through ordination a guarantee of their salvation by their integration in the Heavenly bureaucracy. During medieval times, Daoist ordination and salvation had operated for centuries at the local level without the oversight of the Heavenly Master institution. The latter's gradual process of acquiring control over ordinations between the ninth and the thirteenth century was part of state building and did not radically change practices at the grassroots level. Yet the idea that salvation through ordination implied documents issued by the Heavenly Master became widely accepted. It took the form of personal ordination but also, even more importantly from the Yuan period onward, of registration with a local territorial god himself appointed by the Heavenly Master. For the gods as well, the Heavenly Master institution offered not only legitimacy but also a promise of transcendence.

Authority and charisma

The specificity of the Heavenly Master institution rested in large part on its articulation of a bureaucratic organization and charisma—that supposedly innate but actually socially constructed ability / power (*ling* 靈) to demonstrate efficacy, to make things happen, notably but not solely in ritual context, and thereby to generate leadership and obedience.[6] While the Zhangs and their clerical staff were hardly alone in possessing charisma, they were unique in

the way they framed it in a thoroughly bureaucratic form. This uniqueness was the core of the most important discourse ever produced at Longhushan: its foundation myth, telling the story of Zhang Daoling and his patriarchal succession, that is, how he transmitted his charismatic powers. This myth is one of the earliest stories we have about the Heavenly Master institution, and it remains potent for explaining its operation down to the twentieth century.

For eleven centuries, from the Song to the Qing, officialdom and, more generally, the gentry, did not approve of all aspects of the Heavenly Master institution (such as ordination tours) but nonetheless often cooperated with it. The narrative and polemical material quoted in this book suggests that what the gentry writers found most remarkable or problematic with the Heavenly Master was not the clerical bureaucracy, of which they approved, but the demonstrations of charisma, and notably the crowds greeting the Heavenly Master and rushing to buy his talismans and request his help. If there were many aspects of "popular" forms of Daoism at Longhushan, its patrons as described in narrative sources were most often officials and gentry members, who felt comfortable with the elite, bureaucratic world of the Heavenly Masters.[7] Indeed, in the abundant late imperial narrative material describing the Heavenly Master and his *faguan* in action, the bureaucratic aspects—the Heavenly Master receiving deities in audience, his judicial interventions, his nominating hosts of celestial officials, his sending living or ghostly officials to carry out his orders—are always emphasized and described with awe. Authors reporting on him also systematically mention that his actions were carried out in written, bureaucratic form: one requested his help through a formal memorial, and he answered by petitioning various deities or officials. For his literate constituency, the Heavenly Master was clearly endowed with bureaucratic charisma: he was someone who had the legitimate authority to command through writing and formal orders almost anyone in the universe. This bureaucratic charisma was expressed both in ritual (exorcisms and ordinations) and in ordinary dealings with state and society, such as his relationships with the court and the field administration, and his travels in full official pomp with his "itinerant yamen," *xingtai* 行台, and his receiving written requests for help from people afflicted by spirits.

Like the Catholic Pope (termed Holy Father), the Heavenly Master was saint ex officio, without having to perform miracles, utter new revelations, or otherwise prove his individual charisma. Large sections of the population certainly viewed him as a saint, that is, an exceptional person having privileged access to the gods and uniquely able to bestow blessings, as we have seen through descriptions of the crowds who met him during his travels. As a person who had inherited sainthood, he was often compared with the descendants of Confucius, the Yanshenggong,[8] and with the "living Buddhas,"[9] the Tibetan *tulkus* who, by modern times, were basking in public devotion in the same places where the Heavenly Master was also trying to muster public support.

The Heavenly Master institution was "popular" inasmuch as it engaged with and gave a place to all local, vernacular traditions, but, like the civil bureaucracy, it was at the same time busy defining elites (the *faguan* and more generally the Qingwei Lingbao Daoists), helping such elites emerge and take leadership roles, in the hope that they would then influence local practitioners. The *faguan* elite was in large part chosen among co-opted prominent Daoist families, but the institution had room for talented young clerics to make hugely successful careers they could not otherwise consider. Thus the Heavenly Master institution could also provide legitimacy and career opportunities to individual clerics endowed with charismatic qualities of their own, such as Zhang Liusun, Shao Yizheng, and Lou Jinyuan: it worked at channeling all available sources of charisma into its bureaucratic framework. Of course, even though it attracted gifted individuals, it also failed to attract many more, as most local religious performers and holy men remained aloof from the bureaucratic apparatus of the Heavenly Master institution.

All of this would seem to contradict classical theories in the sociology of religions regarding leadership, authority, and charisma as they have been developed by Max Weber and others. In such theories, the personal charisma of sect leaders is opposed to the rationalistic bureaucracy of churches. Cases in which the position founded by a charismatic leader is transmitted to his heirs are analyzed as "routinization" where latter-day successors enjoy a mere shadow of the founder's charisma. In other words, it is either charisma or

bureaucracy. Weber himself, who had access to no data to speak of regarding the Zhang Heavenly Master, found no such thing as a rational bureaucracy in Daoism, and he described Daoists as a "guild of magicians."[10] That Weber was ill-informed is well-known and calls for no further discussion here. What is really interesting is that the case of the Zhang Heavenly Master institution has the potential of improving on our current understanding of the connection between charismatic leaders and religious bureaucracies in the Chinese context and more generally in any religion.

The missing element that should be added to the classical Weberian model, in order to adapt it to religious bureaucracies such as the Heavenly Master institution, is the patriarchal line—and in some cases, the lineage—as it was practiced in China in both clerical and nonclerical contexts. The late imperial Chinese practices of patriarchal lines and lineages were at the same time charismatic—they guaranteed the proper transmission, and not the Weberian "routinization" or "rationalization," of the founder's unique charisma—and amenable to the construction of large, durable, and elaborate church-like organizations dealing with issues of orthodoxy, country-wide uniformity, and ultimately universal salvation, tasks that were until the early twentieth century the daily business of Daoist bureaucrats at Longhushan.

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Appendix 1. List of the Heavenly Masters

According to *Han tianshi shijia* and later internal sources. The dates for generations 50 through 64 are based on the 1890 genealogy and are also (based on the same source) found in *Longhushan zhi* (2007), 160–177.

1 Zhang Daoling 張道陵
2 Zhang Heng 張衡 (?–179)
3 Zhang Lu 張魯 (?–215 or 216)
4 Zhang Sheng 張盛
5 Zhang Zhaocheng 張昭成
6 Zhang Jiao 張椒
7 Zhang Hui 張回
8 Zhang Jiong 張迥
9 Zhang Fu 張符
10 Zhang Zixiang 張子祥 (fl. ca. 600?)
11 Zhang Tongxuan 張通玄
12 Zhang Heng 張恆
13 Zhang Guang 張光
14 Zhang Cizheng 張慈正
15 Zhang Gao 張高 (fl. ca. 735?)
16 Zhang Yingshao 張應韶
17 Zhang Yi 張頤
18 Zhang Shiyuan 張士元
19 Zhang Xiu 張修
20 Zhang Chen 張諶

21 Zhang Bingyi 張秉一
22 Zhang Shan 張善
23 Zhang Jiwen 張季文
24 Zhang Zhengsui 張正隨 (fl. 1015)
25 Zhang Qianyao 張乾曜
26 Zhang Sizong 張嗣宗
27 Zhang Xiangzhong 張象中
28 Zhang Dunfu 張敦復 (fl. 1077)
29 Zhang Jingduan 張景端 (1049?–1100?)
30 Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126)
31 Zhang Shixiu 張時修
32 Zhang Shouzhen 張守真 (?–1176)
33 Zhang Jingyuan 張景淵
34 Zhang Qingxian 張慶先
35 Zhang Keda 張可大 (1218–1263)
36 Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (1244–1291)
37 Zhang Yudi 張與棣 (?–1294)
38 Zhang Yucai 張與材 (1264–1316)
39 Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (?–1344?)
40 Zhang Side 張嗣德 (1305–1352)
41 Zhang Zhengyan 張正言 (1325–1359)
42 Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (1335–1378, titled 1359)
43 Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410, titled 1380)
44 Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (1364–1427, titled 1410)
45 Zhang Maocheng 張懋丞 (1387–1445, titled 1429)
46 Zhang Yuanji 張元吉 (1435–1475, titled 1445)
47 Zhang Xuanqing 張玄慶 (1463–1509, titled 1478)
48 Zhang Yanpian 張諺翩 (1490–1560, titled 1526)
49 Zhang Yongxu 張永緒 (1539–1565, titled 1550)
50 Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 (1552–1611, titled 1566, and again 1577)
51 Zhang Xianyong 張顯庸 (1582–1661, titled 1626)
52 Zhang Yingjing 張應京 (?–1651, titled 1636)
53 Zhang Hongren 張洪任 (1631–1667, titled 1651)
54 Zhang Jizong 張繼宗 (1666–1715, titled 1679)
55 Zhang Xilin 張錫麟 (1699–1727, titled 1716)
56 Zhang Yulong 張遇隆 (1727–1764, titled 1742)

57 Zhang Cunyi 張存義 (1752–1779, titled 1766)
58 Zhang Qilong 張起隆 (1745–1799, titled 1780)
59 Zhang Yu 張鈺 (1770–1821, titled 1800)
60 Zhang Peiyuan 張培源 (1813–1859, titled 1829)
61 Zhang Renzheng 張仁晟 (1840–1902, titled 1862)
62 Zhang Yuanxu 張元旭 (1862–1925, titled 1904)
63 Zhang Enpu 張恩溥 (1904–1969)
64 Zhang Yuanxian 張源先 (1930–2008)

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Appendix 2. The Different Versions of the *Tiantan yuge*

A. *Taishang Tiantan yuge* 太上天壇玉格, juan 249–250 of the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 (*Daozang* 1220).

B. *Zhengyi tiantan yuge* 正一天壇玉格, originally collated 校集 by the 52nd Heavenly Master Zhang Yingjing 張應京 (?–1651, titled 1636); revised 編正 by his son the 53rd Heavenly Master Zhang Hongren 張洪任 (1631–1667, titled 1651); and finally proofread 參閱 by Shi Daoyuan 施道淵 (1616–1678), who is identified as "from Suzhou Qionglongshan 穹窿山" but also listed as belonging to the Da Zhenrenfu 大真人府 (the Heavenly Master's residence and Office at Longhushan); prefaced in 1658. Copy held at the Beijing University Library.

C. *Tiantan yuge,* early twentieth-century manuscript in the collection of a Suzhou Daoist family. There also exists a basically similar manuscript, C* (notwithstanding variant characters), copied in 1902 by the Shanghai Daoist Zhu Heqing 朱鶴卿, with a colophon added in 1925 when Zhu was nominated by the 63rd Heavenly Master to a position in the Longhushan hierarchy. I shall not separate the two manuscripts for my purpose here, but note that C* has some extra material. See also the edited version in Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 337–369.

D. *Zhengyi tiantan yuge pinmu* 正一天壇玉格品目, being fasc. 冊 13 in *Lidai shenxian tongji* (歷代) 神仙通紀 (late Ming collection, early Qing manuscript). Apparently, an original *Tiantan yuge* was used in this topically arranged Daoist encyclopedia; part of it was copied in the section on bureaucratic ranks 品秩志.

E. *Longhushan xiantian tiantan yuge* 龍虎山先天天壇玉格, manuscript dated 1891 from a Taiwanese Daoist collection.

F. *Tiantan yuge pinshi* 天壇玉格品式, undated manuscript from a Taiwanese Daoist collection. This and the above are part of a recent collection of reprints of Daoist liturgical manuals collected by a Taiwanese Daoist, Wang Mingyang 王明陽.

G. *Tiantan yuge,* manuscript, copied in the year *xinwei* (1931?) in the collection of Chen Hongliang 陳宏良, a Daoist in Nanhui 南匯 (Shanghai), reproduced in Zhu Jianming 朱建明and Tan Jingde 談敬德, *Shanghai Nanhuixian Zhengyi pai daotan yu Dongyuemiao keyiben* 上海南匯縣正一派道壇與東嶽廟科儀本, pp. 671–685.

H. *Tiantan yuge,* manuscript, copied in 1941 by a Daoist from central Hunan in a private collection. A photocopy is in the author's possession.

Notes

Introduction

1 *Tianshi* is commonly translated in English as either "Heavenly Master" or "Celestial Master." Inasmuch as *tian* refers to the divine administration in Heaven, rather than the sky, I consider "Heavenly" the best translation.

2 In the present book "Zhang lineage" refers always and only to the blood lineage of Zhangs recorded in the Zhang genealogy—not to the succession of Heavenly Masters, which is called the "patriarchal line."

3 A discussion of the Daoist bureaucratic "model" is found in Hymes, *Way and Byway.*

4 See, for instance, Zhang Jiyu, *Tianshidao shilüe,* a book written by the most prominent member of the Zhang family in the contemporary People's Republic of China (PRC; he was a long-standing vice president of the Daoist Association), which under the title "history of the Tianshidao" talks of both the early church and the history of the Longhushan Heavenly Masters.

5 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters.*

6 Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu* and "Zhang tianshi yanjiu xushuo."

7 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters.*

8 Zhang Jintao and Gai Jianmin, *Zhongguo lidai Zhang tianshi pingzhuan.*

9 *Longhushan zhi* (2007).

10 Amato, "Rebirth of a Lineage."

Chapter One: Inventing the Founding Ancestor

1 In *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiao jieke jing,* 20b; translation from Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 68. Kleeman dates this text from between 220 and 231; other scholars argue for a later date; see, e.g., Liu Yi, *Jingtian yu chongdao,* and "Myth and History," who claims that the whole myth of the revelation of 142 (and thus the role of Zhang Daoling as the founder of Tianshidao) was a product of the politico-messianic atmosphere of the 410s (with the upcoming Liu Song dynasty claiming to inherit the mandate of the Han dynasty and Daoists portraying Zhang Daoling as a restorer of the Han); I do not find the argument compelling.

2 In *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiao jieke jing*, 14a–b; translation from Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 69. Kleeman dates this text from around 255; other scholars argue for a later date.

3 *Da daojia lingjie*, in *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiao jieke jing*, 14a–b. A few later sources, beginning with the writings of Kou Qianzhi, seem to imply that *tianshi* was Laozi's title, and that his chosen representative was called *xi tianshi* 係天師—a thesis defended by Schipper ("True Form," 95), but I find no early evidence for this interpretation.

4 For a discussion of the origins of the term, see Espesset, "Latter Han Religious Mass Movements," 1090–1094; Russell Kirkland, "Tianshi," in Pregadio, *EOT,* 979–981.

5 The Three Heavens are the abode of the pure gods, who enter into a covenant with humanity through the Heavenly Master, as opposed to the Six Heavens, where the blood-eating demons live. There is also an ongoing scholarly debate on the dating of the notion of Santian, which some historians see as an innovation of the 410s.

6 This term as applied to Zhang Daoling and his descendants appears in *Santian neijie jing,* 1.7a; Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist scriptures,* 218.

7 The term "Way of the Five Pecks of Rice," Wudoumi dao 五斗米道 (referring to the church tithe), was used as a derogatory label by critics in official sources and is thus inappropriate for scholarly use.

8 For a comprehensive treatment of this history, see Kleeman, *Celestial Masters.*

9 The term *daoshi* 道士 would gradually supersede *jijiu* from the fifth century onward.

10 Often translated as "immortal," *xian* is also in many contexts synonymous with *zhen,* "transcendent" (often translated as "perfected," "real," or "true").

11 See, for instance, a passage in a Lingbao scripture, *Taishang ... benxing yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶本行因緣經, 7a–b, that explains Zhang's lofty titles and functions in Heaven by his accumulated merits.

12 The *Xiang'er* 想爾 commentary to the *Daodejing* was later attributed to him, but there is no early evidence for this; Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 79–110, suggests it may be from Zhang Lu's hand, or milieu; other scholars doubt it was originally connected to the Tianshidao at all. The Daoist canon also contains later texts attributed to Zhang Daoling—notably the very popular scriptures of the Northern Dipper and the four other dippers, Daozang 622–627 (see Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon,* 952–954), dating from the Song, but they need not be taken into consideration here.

13 Liu Ts'un-yan, "Han Zhang tianshi shibushi?" Liu, however, does not actually attempt to disprove the existence of a historical Zhang Daoling; rather he argues that he did not found the Tianshidao.

14 Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing,* 72–73.

15 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 74–78.

16 The hagiography is analyzed and translated in Campany, *Heaven and Earth,* 349–356. Some scholars have strong doubts about its authenticity, such as Liu Yi; see his "Myth and History," "Gu Lingbaojing zhong," and *Jingtian yu chongdao.*

17 This story was famously painted by Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (392–467), and became part of common lore, with countless later retellings, including one by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574–1646). Yuntaishan was also the seat of one of the twenty-four original Tianshidao parishes.

18 On Taiqing alchemy, see Pregadio, *Great Clarity.* Campany (*Heaven and Earth,* 354–356) opines that the section on the founding of the Heavenly Master church in his biography of Zhang Ling may be authentic, and not a later interpolation as has been suggested by other scholars.

19 *Lingbao wufu xu,* 3.2a–4b. Zhang Daoling was also attributed a preface to another early Taiqing alchemical text, *Taiqing jinyi shendan jing.*

20 Schipper, "True Form," 94–96. However, his notion that the version of Ge Hong's biography of Zhang Daoling found in *Yunji qiqian* (109.19a–21a) is authentic (because it does not contain the elements on the founding of the

church) and the one found in *Taiping guangji* (which does) is extrapolated does not hold easily; the former relates only the story of the seven tests, and not the rest of Zhang's alchemical experiences.

21 Dudink, "*Laojun Bianhua Wuji Jing,*" 103–104. Dudink comments specifically on the *Laojun bianhua wuji jing* 老君變化無極經, which he dates to about 360, and which narrates among other apparitions of Laozi, his revelation to Zhang Daoling in 142, and discusses the latter's completion of the alchemical elixir.

22 *Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue.*

23 *Dongzhen huangshu;* see also Zhang Chaoran, "Rudao yu xingdao." Similarly, Zhao Sheng and Wang Chang (not Zhang Heng or Zhang Lu) are the transmitters of Zhang Daoling's teachings according to *Nüqing guilü.* See also Amato, "Rebirth of a Lineage," 177–183.

24 *Wushang ... yinyu zhongsheng miaojing.*

25 *(Baoyou) Xianxizhi,* 3.17a.

26 Verellen, "Zhang Ling."

27 *Zhang tianshi ershisi zhi tu* 張天師二十四治圖, in *Sandong zhunang,* 7.6a–7a.

28 Liu Tsun-yuan, "Zhang tianshi de qinümen"; the 54th Heavenly Master devotes much attention to them and to the position of women in the Tianshidao (*Kongtong wenda,* questions 174–175—in this online edition of a manuscript, there are no page numbers, but the questions and answers are numbered).

29 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 367.

30 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 113, 344–347.

31 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 267n52.

32 *Shiji,* 55:2033.

33 Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381) offers an extended discussion of this in his introduction to the *Han tianshi shijia*

34 *Santian neijie jing,* 1.8b.

35 *Kongtong wenda,* question 7. The fact that he was the fifty-fourth holder of both titles is a coincidence, for the two lines are not the same; as we have seen, the lineage counted generations separately from the Heavenly Master patriarchal line.

36 Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 48–50; Wu Zhen, "Zhengyijiao quan xiangzheng" and "Tianshi jian chuanshuo."

37 Qingchengshan was added later to the list, as one of the "itinerant parishes" (*youzhi* 遊治) established in 198.

38 An early source is Zhang Daoling's hagiography in the lost (but quoted in later Song sources) *Gaodaozhuan* 高道傳, composed between 1068 and 1101. It is included in the *Siku quanshu* version of the *Shenxianzhuan* (late eighteenth century), but in no other version of that book, and this cannot be taken as proof of its early existence.

39 *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan,* 4b–5b.

40 "Hushi chengwu 胡十承務," in *Yijianzhi*, 1098–1100.

41 Matsumoto Kōichi, "Daoism," 322–323.

42 Giuffrida, "Transcendence, Thunder, and Exorcism."

43 *Santian neijie jing,* 1.7a; Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist scriptures,* 217. *Da daojia lingjie* and *Yangpingzhi* also seem, albeit less explicitly, to suggest that the position of *tianshi* was either vacant or occupied by Zhang Daoling in Heaven. Kou Qianzhi also claimed that the function of *tianshi* was empty since the departure of Zhang Daoling, but, since he wanted the position for himself, this cannot be taken as representing Tianshidao ideas. Kou also wrote about his willingness to employ Zhang Daoling's descendants.

44 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 344.

45 One exception: in a story about him, Du Guangting calls him "Zhang Heavenly Master Daoyu" 張天師道裕: *Taiping guangji,* 15.105.

46 道士沛郡張君諱道裕，字弘真，即漢朝天師陵十二代孫. *Yushan Zhaozhenzhi bei* 虞山招真治碑, in *Daojia jinshilüe,* 28–29. See also Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 232. This text notes that Zhang Daoyu had a visit and revelation from Zhang Daoling—hence noting direct connection rather than genealogical descent.

47 十三世孫，梁武陵王府參軍張辯. *Tianshi zhi yi* 天師治儀, in *Shoulu cidi faxin yi.* The prince of Wuling was Liang Wudi's eighth son, based in Chengdu.

48 Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 46–50; see also Zhang Zehong, "Zaoqi tianshi shixi." Barrett ("Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 94) and Zhang Zehong ("Zaoqi tianshi shixi," 124) discuss a 522 inscription at Maoshan that seems to list ten names of descendants (天師[n]世孫; eight men, two women; one ninth-generation and nine tenth-generation), but this list of names is found separately from the text of the inscription, so while possibly reliable, it is not unproblematic; *Maoshanzhi,* 15.5a–b (the inscription itself is in *Maoshanzhi,* 20.1a–17a). See also Kirkland, "Chang Kao," on a fifteenth-generation descendant.

49 *Taizhenke* 太真科 (dated ca. 420), quoted in *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao,* 10.1b.

50 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe,* 6a.

51 See chapter 3.

52 *Jia yingdao zunhao dachi wen* 加應道尊號大赦文, in *Quan Tangwen,* 39.428–431. Interestingly, this edict recognizes the status of Tao Hongjing's descendants, but says nothing about Zhang's.

53 This claim is made in *Han tianshi shijia* and numerous other late Daoist and non-Daoist sources, but I have not found supporting evidence in the early sources.

54 Barrett ("Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 96–97) doubts their authenticity.

55 *Daojiao lingyanji,* juan 8. None of these stories mentions Longhushan.

56 *Wushang ... yinyu zhongsheng miaojing.*

57 This Tianshitang is mentioned in the early sixth-century *Shuijing zhu* 水經注, which also discusses a temple dedicated to Zhang Lu's daughter, who had become a local goddess.

58 *Daojiao lingyanji*, 8.10a. On the famous portrait, see Verellen, "Zhang Ling."

59 Verellen, "Twenty-Four Dioceses."

60 *(Chunyou) Lin'anzhi,* 75:4038.

61 *Xuxianzhuan,* 1.15b-17b. On the Ye Fashan cult and lore, see Wu Zhen, *Wei shenxing jiazhu.* Wu Zhen ("Zhengyijiao quan xiangzheng," 34–36) argues that this story reflects a local cult to Ye Fashan led by the Ye family that used Zhang Daoling lore and connections to bolster their position.

62 Bumbacher, *Fragments of the "Daoxue zhuan,"* 143–147. Wang Chien-ch'uan ("Cong jizhong Zhang Daoling zhuan") suggests the lost *benzhuan* was strongly related to Henan connections.

63 Wu Xiaohong ("Song-Yuan shiqi Longhushan daoshi," 52) relates how the 38th Heavenly Master had delegated a Longhushan Daoist to miraculously quell a catastrophic tidal wave near Hangzhou, and then had a Zhang Daoling temple built there to ensure the problem would not recur.

64 Li Liliang (*Yidai tianshi,* 69) discusses a Zhang Daoling temple in Taiwan, reputedly founded in 1789 with incense from Longhushan; the temple leaders visited Longhushan in 1882, bringing back a talisman, and invited the 63rd Heavenly Master to perform a *jiao* offering in 1948.

65 However, the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (18.3b) tells a story of Zhang Daoling normally set at Longhushan in a place it calls Yunjinshan 雲錦山, considered from the Song onward as an earlier name for Longhushan.

66 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 43–47.

67 See my French translation in Goossaert, *Vies des saints exorcistes.*

68 See notably the Yuan-period play *Zhang tianshi duan fenghua xue yue* 張天師斷風花雪月 (Heavenly Master Zhang Judges Wind Flowers Snow and Moon). On Zhang Daoling in vernacular literature, see Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* chaps. 4–5.

69 *Kongtong wenda,* questions 2–6. Zhang Jizong adds that the techniques that allowed Daoling to become immortal were inherited from Zhang Liang.

70 Among the liturgical manuals now used at Longhushan is one *Tianshi baochan* 天師寶懺, a litany of repentance invoking Zhang Daoling to absolve the sins of the petitioners.

71 This identity was already introduced in *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian.* During the Song period, a series of Dipper scriptures were composed, and attributed to a revelation from Laozi to Zhang Daoling back in 155 (see *Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing* and following associated scriptures in the Daoist canon). Some elements of Zhang's life are exactly similar word for word in *Han tianshi shijia* and *Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing,* suggesting how revelations continued to be important in the evolution of the Zhang Daoling myth in early modern times.

72 In his biography in *Han tianshi shijia* (2.10a), Zhang Lu tells his successor that as a Heavenly Master he has to refine himself.

73 An important corpus of local lore on Zhang has been collected in Liu Shouhua, *Zhang Tianshi chuanshuo huikao.*

Chapter Two: The Rise of Longhushan

1 As Barrett ("Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 96) notes, the immortal in charge of Longhushan, Zhang Jujun, is a known earlier deity who is not connected to the patriarchal line of the Heavenly Masters.

2 A poem by Wu Yun 吳筠 (?–778), titled "Longhushan" is often quoted but is not found before the 1314 gazetteer; *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 305; I therefore consider its authenticity too doubtful to serve an argument.

3 As Guixi County was established only thirty years after Sima Chengzhen's death, this precise wording at least has been modified from the original. Kristofer Schipper (personal communication, April 2017) thinks that the many names of local saints present in this list suggest a later date.

4 Schipper, "Les Maîtres Célestes"; Barrett, "Emergence of the Taoist Papacy"; Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu.* For a recent summary of Chinese research, see also Liu Kai, "Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan"; Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 132–139; Kong Linghong and Han Songtao, *Jiangxi daojiao shi,* 95–107. These works quote and discuss a significant amount of earlier research by scholars such as Liu Tsun-yen, Sun Kekuan, Chen Guofu, and others, which I do not quote here.

5 The 54th Heavenly Master defines Longhushan as the whole area extending from the Wuyi Mountains down to Poyang Lake, and claims that its feng shui is the best in the whole empire; *Kongtong wenda,* questions 9 and 12.

6 Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Qingdai Zhang tianshi de zhize," 166. Throughout this book I name Beijing the city now known as such, even though it was often called by other names in different periods.

7 *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 35.

8 The history of Xiongshizhen is known from two Song texts, included in successive Longhushan gazetteers: "Xiongshizhen ji 雄石鎮記," by Zheng Dan 鄭淡, and "Xiongshizhen ba 雄石鎮跋," by Lu Jiuyuan. See also "Shangqing guzhen yange kao 上清古鎮沿革考," in *Longhushan zhi* (2007), 121–124.

9 In contemporary times, the administrative center of the area has moved several kilometers to the west to the new city of Yingtan 鷹潭.

10 See, for instance, the earliest inscription for the Shangqinggong, dated 1235, which mentions the Xianyan; Wang Yuquan 王與權, *Shangqing Zhengyigong bei* 上清正一宮碑, in *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 167–168. See also "Xianyan sanyang 仙巖三羊," in *Yijianzhi,* 508.

11 Jiang Bingzhao, Shi Yilong, and Huang Xiangchun, *Longhushan yazang.*

12 Ziegler, "Entre terre et ciel."

13 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 27; *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 26–27. This story is found in various texts in the Daoist canon, dating from the Song or later.

14 *Xinjian Xinzhou Longhushan Tianshimiao bei* 新建信州龍虎山天師廟碑, in *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 166–170. The date of 950 appears only in modern editions, based on the contents of the inscription. The Longhushan steles were destroyed during the twentieth century, and are mostly known from successive Longhushan gazetteers. I refer to the 1996 modern punctuated edition, *Longhushan zhi* (1740), which contains the largest numbers, but this edition omits a few steles, in which case I refer to another source.

15 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 18.3b.

16 *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi* (47) claims it was first built under the Song. The Yuan gazetteer (*Longhushan zhi* [Zhou Zhao], 37) does not use that name and refers only to the "new home" 天師新宅.

17 This temple, called in the Yuan gazetteer Tianshi jiamiao 天師家廟 and now again called thus, received various official titles between the late Song and the Qing.

18 *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi* (38) claims that the 4th Heavenly Master settled near the Zhang Daoling temple, and his descendants later moved to the township. While this cannot be taken as dated fact, it certainly hints at an evolution in the center of gravity in the area. The Zhenxianguan is named in the ordination tablet (*dugongban*) dated 897 and excavated in 2016 in Yangzhou; Bai Zhaojie, "Yangzhou xin chutu."

19 *Hunyuan shengji* (completed in 1193), 7.22a–b; 遂散其門人，行學長生之道，隱居于雲錦山。今信州龍虎山是也. The *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (18.3b; early Yuan) tells the story of Zhang Daoling cultivating the dragon and tiger elixir by using the name Yunjinshan and never Longhushan. Later Longhushan sources adopted the identification of Yunjinshan with Longhushan.

20 "Tianshi jian yan 天師劍驗," in *Daojiao lingyanji,* 13.9a–10b. Du mentions both Yunjinshan and Longhushan in connection with Zhang Daoling lore, but never in the same passage; this leaves open both interpretations—that they are the same, or different places.

21 Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 44–46.

22 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 38.

23 Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔, *Shangqingguan chongxiu Tianshidian ji* 上清觀重修天師殿記, dated 1087, in *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 196–205.

24 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記, 9b.

25 *Tianshi* as a title during that period refers only (as far as the Zhangs are concerned) to Zhang Daoling. Du Guangting was the first author to use it to refer to a living descendant, but this usage did not become widespread before the late Song.

26 *Dongyuanji*, 4.2b.

27 *Han tianshi shijia,* 2.10b–11a.

28 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 19.3b–4b; in this biography, Zhang Lu's eldest son is called Zhang Ci 滋 instead of Fu.

29 Schipper, "Les Maîtres Célestes," 135. The *Han tianshi shijia* also relates that he was the third son, but does not mention the two elder brothers, and instead claims that his father ordered that he succeed him.

30 孫夫人者，三天法師張道陵之妻也。同隱龍虎山修三元默朝之道，積年累有感降; *Yongcheng jixianlu,* 6.4a; *Taiping guangji,* 60:371–372; Barrett, "Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 100; see also the translation in Cahill, *Divine Traces.* The *Taiping yulan* (compiled in 983) quotes this story (actually concerning his wife!) to say that Zhang Daoling had cultivated at Longhushan; *Taiping yulan*, 664.8b: 《集仙錄》曰：張天師道陵隱龍虎山，修三元默朝之道，得黃帝龍虎中丹之術。丹成，服之，能分形散景。天師自鄱陽入嵩高山，得隱書制命之術. The Longhushan hagiographies call her Ms. Yong 雍; the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (18.23b) notes that both names are attested, in a manner typical of its reluctance to choose between different versions of the Zhang Daoling myth.

31 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 19.3b–4b.

32 *Hunyuan shengji,* 7.22a–b.

33 *Yisheng baodezhuan,* 3.8b; *Sandong xiudaoyi,* 2a.

34 *Taiping huanyuji,* 107:2135; *Taiping yulan,* 48.6a.

35 Barrett, "Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 98–100.

36 *Dongxuan lingbao sanshiji,* 6a; Barrett, "Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 100. Note that the name of this eighteenth-generation descendant, Zhang Shaoren, is not the 18th Heavenly Master in the later official patriarchal line.

37 "Xian Longhushan Zhang tianshi 獻龍虎山張天師," in Li Xiang 李翔, *Shedao shi* 涉道詩 (P3866); Barrett, "Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 101; Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 54; Amato, "Rebirth of a Lineage," 217–221.

38 Zhang Bingyi is mentioned in the 950 stele inscription by Chen Qiao, but he is described there as a twenty-second-generation descendant instead of the twenty-first.

39 Barrett, "Emergence of the Taoist Papacy"; Liu Kai, "Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan"; Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* chap. 2. Maspero (*Le taoïsme,* 432–435) suggested the history began around 800 (with the fifteenth generation), without offering solid evidence.

40 *Shilei beiyao, qianji* 50.15b–16a.

41 Barrett, "Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 105–106.

42 Xu Kai 徐鍇 (920–974), who wrote an inscription on a Maoshan Daoist (see below) that is one of our earliest sources on ordinations at Longhushan, was

also, like Chen Qiao, an important Southern Tang official who committed suicide in 975 rather than submit to the Song.

43 *Jianghuai yirenlu,* 6a.

44 Zhu Huan 朱渙, *Guiyuan sizhen dongtian bei* 貴元思真洞天碑, dated 974, in *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 170–172. Hagiographic sources on Guigu xiansheng usually locate Guigushan elsewhere, in Hubei; but all lists of *dongtian fudi* agree that Guigushan was indeed near Longhushan.

45 The fact that Guigushan came to be considered part of Longhushan is shown by the fact that it is included in the first gazetteers; *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 17, 26 (where we learn that it was the place for tossing dragons when a major *jiao* ritual was performed at Longhushan); *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 14.

46 *Dongyuanji,* 2.5b: 第十五，鬼谷山，洞周迴七千里，名太元思真之天，即正一真人張天師煉丹修道處，在信州貴溪縣。

47 On the religious politics of the southern Tang, see Woolley, "Religion and Politics." Wooley discusses Longhushan on pages 195–196.

48 On the decline of the aristocracy, see Tackett, *Destruction.* For a political history of the Southern Tang, see Kurz, *China's Southern Tang Dynasty.*

49 On the late Tang decline of the official Daoist monasteries, see Li Ping, *Gongguan zhiwai.* On the rise of Chan lineages during the tenth century, especially in the context of the southern states, see Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs.*

50 Andersen, "Tan Zixiao," in Pregadio, *EOT,* 963–964; Davis, *Society and the Supernatural,* 21–24. Chen Shouyuan was favored by the Southern Tang court and given the title of Heavenly Master.

51 Hymes, *Way and Byway,* chap. 2. During the Yuan and early Ming, the Longhushan Zhangs maintained close connections with Huagaishan and its saints, the Three Lords Fuqiu 浮丘, Wang 王, and Guo 郭; see chapter 6.

52 For a discussion of the connection between Longhushan and the Tianxin zhengfa, see also Li Zhihong, *Daojiao Tianxin zhengfa yanjiu,* 82–88.

53 Schipper ("Les Maîtres Célestes") has already drawn attention to the link between economic growth in this area and the wider appeal of the Longhushan Zhangs' ordinations.

54 *Fangyu shenglan,* 11:195. Much later, the mother of the 36th Heavenly Master, Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (1244–1291), was a Ni.

55 Schipper, "Taoist Ritual."

56 Verellen, "Twenty-Four Dioceses," 22.

57 On the rise of Gezaoshan, see Zhu Yiwen, "Gezaoshan Dawanshou chongzhengong," and Chen Wenlong, "Gezaoshan gongguan." Most relevant sources are found in the Ming gazetteer, *Gezaoshan zhi.*

58 *Dongyuanji,* 4.3a.

59 Mao Limei, *Gandong Lingbaojiao … keyiben huibian,* 23–27.

Chapter Three: The Heavenly Masters in the History of Daoist Ordinations

1 Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments."

2 Lü Pengzhi, "Gan xibei faxian de tianshi jinglu." Some of these *lu* are found in the Daoist canon, but in incomplete form.

3 Lagerwey, "Zhengyi Registers." See also Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* chap. 7; and Lü Pengzhi, "Tianshidao shoulu keyi." The only comprehensive study of ordinations and registers throughout history is Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* which I use but often depart from.

4 Schipper, "Taoist Ordination Ranks." In ascending order, these seven sections of the canon are Zhengyi, Taiqing 太清 (alchemy), Taiping 太平 (the *Taipingjing* tradition), Taixuan 太玄 (*Daodejing* and related texts), Dongshen 洞神 (the Sanhuang tradition), Dongxuan 洞玄 (Lingbao), and Dongzhen 洞真 (Shangqing). Lü Pengzhi ("Ordination Ranks in Medieval Daoism") has refined the Schipper model by pointing out that two of the seven sections of the canon (Taiqing and Taiping) were never ordination ranks, and that several ordination ranks that existed in practice were not sections of the canon.

5 For a recent discussion of this rite, see Raz, *Emergence of Daoism,* chap. 4.

6 The *Mengweilu* exists in the Daoist canon in two editions: *Taishang Zhengyi mengwei falu* (dating from the Tang), and the later and more comprehensive (edited during the Song) *Taishang sanwu Zhengyi mengweilu.*

7 *Zhengyi fawen Taishang wailuyi; Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao,* 10.6a. The term *wailu* is not common in the Daoist canon outside of these two texts.

8 For instance, *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* (10.5a), quoting the *Taizhenke* 太真科, explains that as soon as one has received the one-general register, one is already part of the Heavenly administration 係名天曹.

9 In his early eighteenth-century catechism, the 54th Heavenly Master explains that *lu* registers allow one to avoid disasters, to be absolved from previous

sins, and, if one practices properly, to become an immortal: *Kongtong wenda,* question 98.

10 On ordinations as means to salvation, see Goossaert, *Bureaucratie et salut,* 132–137.

11 Strickmann, "Tao among the Yao"; for a recent appraisal of the debate, see Alberts, *History of Daoism.*

12 The open-access database of epitaphs (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘) provides five cases, all from the Tang period, of people who had received the Zhengyi registers, three priests and two lay women; Zhongguo lidai muzhi shujuku 中國歷代墓志數據庫, accessed 11 June 2018, http://csid.zju.edu.cn. Mentions are more numerous in the anecdotes.

13 Schipper, "Taoist Ordination Ranks."

14 This is noteworthy, because the *heqi* rite has been highly controversial since medieval times, and had been already dispensed with in many Daoist traditions by the Tang.

15 *Sandong xiudaoyi,* 2a.

16 Kobayashi Masayoshi, *Tōdai no dōkyō to tenshi dō.*

17 Lü Pengzhi, "Ordination Ranks in Medieval Daoism," 82–84. In this article, Lü shows clearly how by the Tang period, if not before, the various main types of Daoist ritual had developed into shared models, with variants adapted to each ordination rank. In other words, the rituals Zhengyi Daoists could perform were structurally similar to those performed by Daoists with a higher ordination, with variants that marked this hierarchical difference. This further shows that it makes little sense to speak of a "Zhengyi school."

18 On Du Guangting and his miracle tales, see Verellen, *Du Guangting* and "Evidential Miracles."

19 Lagerwey ("Zhengyi Registers," 56) shows that Dunhuang documents also provided for collective ordinations.

20 "Jia Qiong shou *Zhengyilu* yan 賈瓊受正一籙驗," in *Daojiao lingyanji,* 11.8b–9a; Verellen, "Evidential Miracles," 246, 259–260.

21 Bai Zhaojie, *Zhenghe ji zhiduhua.*

22 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao,* 6.17b. We do not know what registers were conferred; elsewhere in this document, when discussing the initiation of Tianxin zhengfa priests, no register is evoked. I am grateful to Sakai Norifumi for pointing this out to me.

23 "Zhao Ye shou *Zhengyi bajielu* yan 趙業授正一八階籙驗," in *Daojiao lingyanji,* 11.12a–b.

24 Boltz, "Seal of Office."

25 *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce,* 2.6b–13b, provides a long list of ordination registers in use in the early Ming.

26 On the rise of the Wenchang cult and its spirit-writing practices during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Kleeman, *God's Own Tale;* and Hsieh Tsung-hui, *Xin tiandi zhi ming.*

27 Lü Pengzhi, "Gan xibei faxian de tianshi jinglu," 93.

28 Liu Kai, "Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan," 28–29; Murong Yanfeng 慕容彦逢 (1066–1117), *Sunshi muzhiming* 孫氏墓志銘, in *Quan Songwen,* 2941:289–290.

29 "Dai Shirong 戴世榮," in *Yijianzhi,* 569.

30 The *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* (16.6b) mentions a *Sanwulu* 三五籙, which I suppose is different from the *Sanwu dugonglu* 三五都功籙. My analysis of the *Dugonglu* is similar to that in Sakai Norifumi, "Nan-Sō jidai no dōshi no shōgō," 118–119.

31 Verellen, "Twenty-Four Dioceses."

32 The promotion to the rank of *dugong* is the topic of a specific liturgical manual; *Zhengyi fawen chuan dugongban yi.*

33 The eminent mid-Tang liturgist Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 mentions the *Yangpingzhi dugong zhilu* 陽平治都功治籙, which I understand to be the "parish register" (*zhilu*), not the same thing as the Longhushan *Dugonglu; Jiao sandong … mengweilu lichengyi,* 17a.

34 *Zhengyi fawen chuan dugongban yi,* 1b; Lagerwey, "Zhengyi Registers," note 18, and 86–87. Bai Zhaojie, "Yangzhou xin chutu," reads 非天師之胤不受 as 不授, which would change things significantly: it would mean non-Zhang Daoists could access this prestigious rank, but that the Zhangs had a monopoly over such ordinations. If substantiated by other evidence (which does not seem to be the case so far), this would push back to the mid-Tang at the latest the key idea of the Zhangs' monopolistic rights to confer ordinations.

35 "Liu Qian Dugonglu yan 劉遷都功籙驗," in *Daojiao lingyanji,* 11.5a–6b. In this story, the Daoist in this group is called Liu Xiaoran 劉翛然; he is most certainly the same as Liu Xiuran 劉修然 (?–874), who was a master at Tiantaishan in the same generation as Ying Yijie, and whom Du Guangting had certainly known (see Verellen, *Du Guangting,* 13–16). This adds concrete connections to the

story's background. Liu Xiuran and the official (without Liu Qian) also appear in another story; *Daojiao lingyanji,* 8.10a–b.

36 This story of the 13th Heavenly Master introducing paper registers is repeated (probably following Du Guangting) in *Han tianshi shijia,* 2.14a.

37 Nanjing daxue lishi xueyuan wenwu kaogu xi and Yangzhoushi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Jiangsu Yangzhoushi"; Bai Zhaojie, "Yangzhou xin chutu."

38 Xu Kai, *Maoshan daomen weiyi Deng xiansheng bei* 茅山道門威儀鄧先生碑, in *Quan Tangwen* 888:9282–9284.

39 The story of the ordination is in *Dongxuan lingbao sanshiji,* 6a; Lagerwey ("Zhengyi Registers," 35–36) interprets this as describing Du's own ordination, but I follow Verellen (*Du Guangting,* 24–25) and Barrett ("Emergence of the Taoist Papacy," 100) in believing it deals with Ying.

40 *Daofa huiyuan,* 252.18a.

41 *Wushang huanglu dazhai lichengyi,* 49.5b–6a. On this text, see Zhu Yiwen, "Juqi huiling, jiuzhuan shengshen."

42 Here the comparison with the institution of the Catholic pope and his monopoly over ordaining bishops becomes germane—a topic I will discuss in later chapters.

43 *Shangqing chuxianggong bei* 上清儲祥宮碑, in *Jingjin Dongpo wenji shilüe,* 55.8a; *Zhuzi yulei,* 126.46a–b. Zhao Chuan ("Daojiao Yangpingzhi dugong yin chutan") has gathered the historical and archeological evidence.

44 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 19.11b–12a. It is also mentioned in both versions of the *Shangqing lingbao dafa.*

45 *Kongtong wenda,* questions 16–23. The 54th Heavenly Master explains the uses of the various seals for different documents and occasions.

46 "Liu Qian Dugonglu yan," in *Daojiao lingyanji,* 11.5a–6b; "Tianshi jian yan 天師劍驗," in *Daojiao lingyanji,* 13.9a–10b.

47 "Tianshi jian yan," in *Daojiao lingyanji,* 13.9b.

48 One of the reasons for the rapid growth of the Quanzhen movement was its accessibility when compared to the controlled and constrained conditions offered by the established Daoist temples to become initiated; Goossaert, "La création du taoïsme moderne."

49 "Xianxian gongzhu zhangbiao 閑閑公主章表," in *Xu Yijianzhi,* 4:84–85.

50 For instance, *Baiheguan ji* 白鶴觀記 (dated 1098), in *Quan Songwen* (2669:377), about a Laozi temple in central Jiangxi, repaired by a Daoist who then "received the Heavenly Master's registers at Longhushan" 授天師之籙於龍虎山.

51 "Kaitan fayu 開壇法語," in *Sanshidai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu,* 4a–5a.

52 "Jiang Anshi 江安世," in *Yijianzhi,* 406. The story relates that he received the registers from Zhang Jingying 靜應, Jingying being part of the canonization title of Zhang Daoling.

53 Zhao Bian 趙抃 (1008–1084); "Qi kanduan daoshi Wang Shouhe shoulu huozhong zhuang 乞勘斷道士王守和授籙惑眾狀," in *Quan Songwen,* 882:151.

54 The story is told in Lin's epitaph; *Zhongsan dafu Lin gong muzhiming* 中散大夫林公墓誌銘, in *Yanshanji* (33.1a–7b), and also in *Nenggaizhai manlu* (13.3a–b; which records that Sizong was the thirty-third heir, not the twenty-sixth—counting from Zhang Liang rather than from Zhang Daoling). These two incidents are discussed by Liu Kai ("Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan," 25–27), who probably exaggerates their impact.

55 *Han tianshi shijia,* 2.11a. The early Ming 43rd Heavenly Master, Zhang Yuchu, wrote about this practice; see chapter 6.

56 "Zan lidai tianshi 贊歷代天師," *Wuyiji* 武夷集, in *Xiuzhen shishu,* 46.1a–5b.

57 Several passages in the Yuan gazetteer of the Dongxiaogong in Hangzhou mention ordinations there on the occasion of the Three Primes already during the Tang, e.g., *Dongxiao tuzhi,* 5.11a. Ordinations at Gezaoshan took place on the Upper Prime; Zhu Yiwen, "Gezaoshan Dawanshou chongzhengong," 2. The early Song *Youlongzhuan* (5.4b–5a) claims the Three Primes are the moment when humans are inspected by the gods and can receive promotion (through ordination).

58 *Yuan dianzhang,* 33.1138–1139. I am grateful to Sakai Norifumi for this reference.

59 *Han tianshi shijia,* 2.11a (4th), 12b (9th), 13a (10th), 14a (13th), 14b (14th), 14b–15a (15th), 15b–16a (18th), 16a (19th), 17a–b (23rd).

60 "Zhang Rong falu yan 張融法籙驗," in *Daojiao lingyanji,* 12.10a–11a.

61 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 19.10a–b, quoting the *Huiyao* 會要. This passage is not found in the extant (and lacunary) edition of the *Song Huiyao.*

62 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 19.16a.

63 I am using the excellent critical edition of the *Maoshanzhi* by Wang Gang, *Maoshanzhi,* 210.

64 *Maoshanzhi,* 259.

65 Zhou Bida, *Linjiangjun Gezaoshan Chongzhengong ji* 臨江軍閣皂山崇真宮記, in *Quan Songwen,* 5151:268–270.

66 信州之龍虎山，正一宗壇也; *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 10.8b.

67 On the history of the Dongshen canon, see Steavu, *Writ of the Three Sovereigns.*

68 On the Shenxiao registers, see Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 120–124.

69 *Gaoshang Shenxiao … zishu dafa,* 5.1a–2b.

70 *Shangqing wuyuan yuce jiuling feibu zhangzou mifa* 上清五元玉冊九靈飛步章奏祕法, in *Daofa huiyuan,* juan 179.

71 *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce,* 2.6b–13b. The *Zhongmenglu* does not seem to exist anymore in the modern period.

72 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 10.8b; *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Ning Quanzhen), 27.4b–8a. On Lingbao ordinations, see also Zhang Chaoran, "Yuanfa rudao."

73 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Ning Quanzhen), 56.11b. Ning goes on to explain that when performing a ritual, one should call on both his ordination masters (from Longhushan, Gezaoshan, or Maoshan) and those who initiated him into the ritual.

74 Zhang Chaoran, "Yuanfa rudao." Davis (*Society and the Supernatural,* 173) claims that Gezaoshan was the place where the modern Huangluzhai 黃籙齋 ritual was developed, but offers no evidence for this. The hagiography of Ge Xuan in juan 23 of *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* relates that Ge entrusted all his ritual methods (for saving the souls of the dead) to the *zongtan* at Gezaoshan, but this is a late justification, and an obvious copy of the Zhang Daoling lore at Longhushan.

75 Sakai Norifumi, "Nan-Sō jidai no dōshi no shōgō." Sakai also notes some cases of titles where the level of the register and that of the office do not seem to match.

76 Liu Zhongyu (*Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 183–184) quotes a testimony from a central Hunan Daoist describing pre-1949 ordination practices there. He writes that those few Daoists who could obtain an actual register from Longhushan were treated with special respect; most were ordained without a *lu,* but still with certificates and titles that conformed entirely with regular ordination practice.

77 For laypeople and clerics ordained at Maoshan, see *Yijianzhi,* 91–92, 565.

78 The reason why evidence on Gezaoshan is scant is to an important extent linked to its decline from the fourteenth century onward; by contrast, most of the documents we have on Longhushan and Maoshan date from later, and were produced by robust institutions in these two centers, supported by ongoing ordinations (Longhushan) and pilgrimage (Maoshan).

79 The biography of Ying Yijie (Du Guangting's master) and Deng Qixia's epitaph, both discussed above.

80 *Wushang huanglu dazhai lichengyi,* 17.7b. Jiang Shuyu also affirms (*Wushang huanglu dazhai lichengyi,* 49.5b–6b) that for a Lingbao ritual, all five main

officiants must have received the Lingbao registers (acolytes may have only Zhengyi-level ordinations).

81 See, for instance, the record of the ordination, performed at Maoshan in 1025, of the empress; *Song Tiansheng huangtaihou shou Shangqinglu ji* 宋天聖皇太后受上清籙記, in *Maoshanzhi,* juan 25.

82 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 19.15b–16b. The later *Han tianshi shijia* dates this decision to 1239. See also Davis, *Society and the Supernatural,* 31–41.

83 Wang Chien-ch'uan (*Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 70–71) shows that while the records on Zhang Keda's interaction with court and state are mostly found in hagiographical sources, the earliest being *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (19.15b–16b), they are largely reliable.

84 Zhu Yiwen, "Gezaoshan Dawanshou chongzhengong," 2. On Maoshan during the Ming, see Wang Gang, "Mingban quanben *Maoshanzhi*."

85 *Kongtong wenda,* question 48 (Zhang Jizong interestingly adds Jingming 淨明 and its center, Xishan, to the list). This text also makes the claim that all ordinations (including Lingbao and Shangqing) started with Zhang Daoling in the first place in any case; for instance, he claims (question 140) that Mao Ying, who established the Maoshan ordinations, was Zhang Daoling's disciple, and so was Ge Xuan (question 277)—this is a late Longhushan invention.

86 A reproduction of such portraits is found appended to Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu.*

87 On this book, see McKnight and Liu, *Enlightened Judgments.*

88 *Minggong shupan Qingmingji,* 11:406–407.

89 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters,* 6, 391.

90 *Chunzhu jiwen,* 4:62.

91 Schipper, "Story of the Way."

Chapter Four: New Rituals and the Longhushan Synthesis of Modern Daoism

1 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural;* Meulenbeld, *Demonic Warfare;* Sakai Norifumi, "Sōdai dōkyō."

2 Schipper, "Vernacular and Classical Ritual in Taoism"; Davis, *Society and the Supernatural.*

3 As we have already seen, from the Southern Song onward, Daoist ordination titles are in two parts, one related to their register (as *daoshi*), the other to their *fa* (as *fashi*); Sakai Norifumi, "Nan-Sō jidai no dōshi no shōgō." As noted in Li Zhihong ("Longhushan Zhang tianshi," 100), by the Southern Song even the elite Shangqing patriarchs performed Thunder rites.

4 There is an important literature on this topic based on fieldwork conducted in various parts of southern China; see, e.g., Wu Nengchang, "Rituels, divinités et société locale."

5 *Sandong xiudaoyi,* 4a. Davis (*Society and the Supernatural,* 39) proposes that the *daofa* are a return to the original spirit of the Heavenly Master church, focused on healing and individual need.

6 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 10.8b.

7 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 10.11a. He also writes, 如天心法用驅邪院印，乃正一之樞要也.

8 Much later, the 54th Heavenly Master, when discussing the various categories of *fa,* identifies the *zhengyifa* as dealing with rain making, exorcism, and healing; *Kongtong wenda,* question 62.

9 On the Northern Emperor, see Mollier, "La méthode."

10 "Zhang yaowu 張妖巫," in *Yijianzhi,* 995. In this case the exorcist is the local official.

11 *Jinsuo liuzhu yin,* juan 3.

12 Andersen, "Tianxin zhengfa," in Pregadio, *EOT,* 991; *Jinsuo liuzhu yin,* 4.5a–7b.

13 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 43.16b.

14 "Tiangong tan 天公壇," *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言, by Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (?–968), quoted in *Taiping guangji,* 395:3157.

15 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural,* 273n33, quoting from Tianxin zhengfa texts.

16 There are several passages in Lin's biography in *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 53.1a–16a. Yet another revelation of a *daofa* by Zhang Daoling is found in *Daofa huiyuan,* juan 195. Note also a commentary revealed by Zhang Daoling to a Shenxiao key scripture, the *Yushujing* 玉樞經, to which the 39th Heavenly Master added a colophon: *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baijing jizhu.*

17 *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa,* 1.7a–8a.

18 Here I complexify the discussion of the relation between Longhushan and the *daofa* offered in Davis, *Society and the supernatural,* 37–39.

19 As Li Zhihong ("Longhushan Zhang tianshi," 101) notes, later (Southern Song) Tianxin zhengfa texts feature the 30th Heavenly Master quite prominently, but this probably reflects a new development.

20 On Zhang Jixian, see Nikaido Yoshihiro, "Youguan tianshi Zhang Xujing de xingxiang"; Gao Zhenhong, "Xujing tianshi chuanshuo yanjiu."

21 On his reign and his Daoist pursuits, see Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong.*

22 Zhang Jixian's collected writings include a few pieces reflecting this interaction; *Sanshidai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu*, 6.1a mentions Wang Wenqing, and 1.6a–7a records a letter to Lin Lingsu.

23 This is sometimes written 虛靜. There is considerable confusion around this name, which may have been first given to or used by the 24th Heavenly Master, and transmitted hereditarily to the 30th Heavenly Master; Liu Kai, "Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan," 30.

24 In chapter 1 of *Shuihuzhuan,* the Song emperor is advised to send for the 30th Heavenly Master as the only person who can solve a major demonic possession; when he arrives at Longhushan, the imperial envoy is told by the Daoists to climb the mountain and find him in his retreat. On the trail, Zhang Jixian appears in the shape of a young boy and the envoy fails to recognize him. This is a development of the well-established theme of Zhang Jixian as a youthful immortal who appears to his adepts, who most often fail to identify him.

25 "Cai Jing sunfu 蔡京孫婦," in *Yijianzhi,* 1120.

26 In spite of his renown in literature and folklore, there is apparently no image of Zhang Jixian before the late Qing period—but his Yuan biographies (*Longhushan zhi* [Zhou Zhao], 56–60; and *Xuanpinlu,* 5.21b–22a) say a portrait of him was made for worship in the Southern Song palace. The closest comparable case of a Daoist patriarchal figure usually (there are a few exceptions) represented as a youth without any facial hair is Bai Yuchan, who may also have died young. Indeed, as we will see below, Bai has been described as an avatar of Zhang Jixian. Three other examples of this phenomenon are the elder of the three Mao brothers 三茅真君 (who practiced the arts of immortality when young, by contrast to his brothers, who married and had long official careers before following their brother's path and who are represented with beard and mustache); Sa Shoujian, Zhang Jixian's legendary disciple (sometimes, but not always, represented without facial hair); and Qiu Changchun 丘長春 (1148–1227), the Quanzhen patriarch often represented without beard or mustache (by contrast to all other Quanzhen patriarchs). A legend current in Beijing from

the Ming at the latest described Qiu as having performed self-castration. For Ming portraits of Bai Yuchan, Qiu Changchun, and other patriarchs, see Wang Yucheng, *Mingdai caihui Quanzhen zongzutu yanjiu.*

27 *Kongtong wenda,* question 81.

28 Gao Zhenhong ("Xujing tianshi chuanshuo yanjiu," 138–139) points outs that the earliest source on Zhang Jixian is a brief account of the Salt Lake exorcism (found in *Daofa huiyuan,* juan 259) by Chen Xiwei 陳希微, a Maoshan Daoist who was his contemporary. This account is a commentary on a rite featuring Guan Yu, the creation of which is attributed to Zhang Jixian. It is discussed in Goossaert, *Vies des saints exorcistes.*

29 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 19.11b–21a (which focuses on official honors and "liberation from the corpse"); the slightly later *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao; 56–60) and the much later *Han tianshi shijia* (3.1b–6b) are much more detailed.

30 Liu Kai ("Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan," 30) discusses how this story may have actually originated with the 24th Heavenly Master and later been reattributed to the 30th. On this story, see also Gao Zhenhong, "Xujing tianshi chuanshuo yanjiu"; ter Haar, "Rise of the Guan Yu Cult," and *Guan Yu,* chap. 3.

31 "Cai Jing sunfu," in *Yijianzhi,* 1120–1121; and "Tongzhou baishe 同州白蛇," in *Yijianzhi,* 1119–1120.

32 On the relations between Huizong and Liu Hunkang, see Gyss-Vermande, "Lettres de Song Huizong."

33 *Kongtong wenda,* questions 80–83. *Han tianshi shijia* actually mentions similar in-the-flesh apotheoses for Zhang Heng, and for two of Zhang Lu's brothers, as well as the entirely mythical 6th Heavenly Master, but these are marginal in Longhushan lore.

34 The *Sanshidai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* does not seem to have circulated widely, but there was a reprint by Lou Jinyuan, in 1739 (held at Fu Ssu-nien Library, Academia Sinica), where Lou added his own *yulu* as an appendix.

35 These two texts are mentioned in Zhang Jixian's biography in the early Yuan compendium *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (19.12b) and quoted at length in his biography in the 1314 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao; 56–60); they are extant in the Yuan anthology *Qunxian yaoyu zuanji,* juan 2.

36 *Sanshidai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu,* 42a; this poem is also included in the Yuan anthology *Minghe yuyin* (1.12a–13a), which includes a large number of revealed poems.

37 See the notice on this text in Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon,* 1087.

38 See his biography in *Dongxiao tuzhi,* 11.28b–30a.

39 Gao Zhenhong, "Xujing tianshi chuanshuo yanjiu." As we have seen above, the term *Tianxin zhengyi fa* was already present in the late-Tang *Jinsuo liuzhu yin,* but whether or not these were essentially the same rites that were later attributed to Zhang Jixian is far from clear. See also Wang Chi, "Tianshi Zhang Jixian."

40 *Daofa huiyuan,* juan 256–258. On the hagiography of Wen's career, see *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan.* Scholars commenting on it include Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats;* and Gao Zhenhong, "Wen Qiong shenhua."

41 *Daofa huiyuan,* 227.1a–2b.

42 "Tang Balang 唐八郎," in *Yijianzhi* (390) relates the story of a young Daoist who goes to Qingchengshan to meet Zhang Daoling and then becomes a psychic. The *Han tianshi shijia* introduces visits (before or after death) to Qingchengshan for various early Heavenly Masters (notably the 7th), which certainly reflects myth making rather than historical fact. A century later, a Longhushan Daoist established a temple at Qingchengshan and became the local Daoist leader there; Chen Lü 陳旅 (1287–1342), *Zhenbaian ji* 貞白庵記, in *Daojia jinshilüe,* 944–945.

43 The stele is transcribed in *Daojia jinshilüe,* 987–988; see Sakai Norifumi, "Song Yuan shiqi jiayi zhuchi," 364–367.

44 He is mentioned in the transmission of various *fa* in *Daofa huiyuan* (juan 109–111), and he is quoted in juan 207. He is also listed (together with the 35th and 42nd Heavenly Master) as a spiritual ancestor in a Ming liturgy; *Fumojing tan xieen jiao yi.*

45 "Xuanhe gongren 宣和宮人," in *Yijianzhi,* 102.

46 "Fangshi nü 方氏女," in *Yijianzhi,* 446–447.

47 On Bai Yuchan, see Berling, "Channels of Connection"; Skar, "Golden Elixir Alchemy"; and Yokote Yutaka, "Haku Gyokusen to Nansō Kōnan dōkyō."

48 "Yunyou ge 雲遊歌," *Shangqingji* 上清集, in *Xiuzhen shishu,* 39.2a.

49 Peng Si, "Haiqiong Yuchan xiansheng shishi 海瓊玉蟾先生事實," in *Bai Yuchan wenji xinbian,* 375–377 (this text, not found in the Daoist canon, is extant in a later collection of Bai's writings). One of Bai's anthologies in the canon contains the revised incantation he used for this rainmaking ritual; *Xiuzhen shishu,* 46.6a–12a.

50 "Zan lidai tianshi," *Wuyiji,* in *Xiuzhen shishu,* 46.1a–5b. On Bai and Longhushan, see also Gai Jianmin, "Daojiao jindanpai Nanzong." Bai's anthologies have various poems written for Longhushan temples and sites.

51 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 17.23b.

52 For instance "Kong Laochong 孔勞蟲," in *Yijianzhi* (647), in which a young man from Hubei who has learned the *fa* rites (*shoufa*) from the Zhang Heavenly Master exorcises the Wutong.

53 "Dongshi zi xuefa 董世子學法," in *Yijianzhi,* 1736–1737. In the story, a lascivious young man goes to Longhushan to learn a magical technique that forces women to undress themselves—unsurprisingly, the story ends tragically. Wu Nengchang ("Rituels, divinités et société locale," 183–185) shows that this story was told about many other *fashi* in southwestern Fujian.

54 *Luyiji,* 2.11a.

55 For the history of the Zhao Bing rites, see Fang Ling, "Zhao Bing xianghuo de lishi kaocha." On their connections with the Meishan rituals, see Wu Nengchang, "Rituels, divinités et société locale," 183.

56 This is said clearly in the *Tiantan yuge* (*Daofa huiyuan,* 250.20a–b), a key document for Longhushan ordinations that we will discuss in detail below.

57 *Xianduzhi,* 1.12a–b.

58 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural,* 150–151.

59 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian,* 4.1a–3a. As shown by Luo Zhengming, "Zhao Daoyi," this major hagiographical compendium was (like many other works) modified to an important extent by the Ming editors of the Canon. The (incomplete) early Yuan editions have thirty-six chapters; the canon editors cut the collection into two parts, a *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* in fifty-three chapters, and a *xubian* in five chapters, adding some extra later hagiographies at the end of the latter; the Sa Shoujian story was part of the original *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian.* I offer a full translation and analysis of the Sa Shoujian hagiographies in Goossaert, *Vies des saints exorcistes.*

60 Li Fengmao, *Xu Xun yu Sa Shoujian.*

61 *Daofa huiyuan,* juan 66–67 and other passages.

62 *Xinbian lianxiang Soushen guangji,* 72–74. This text is carried over in the later expanded editions of this successful collection, including the one in the supplement to the canon; *Soushenji,* 24a–26a.

63 One example in Zheng Canshan, *Daofa haihan,* 42 (undated painted scroll).

64 Wu Xiaohong, "Song-Yuan shiqi Longhushan daoshi," 54, quoting the *(Tongzhi) Yudu xianzhi* 同治雩都縣志.

65 On Zhao, see also Meulenbeld, *Demonic Warfare,* 86–88; Cedzich, "Organon," 71–79; Wu Nengchang, "Rituels, divinités et société locale," 198–200.

66 *Nüqing guilü,* 6.2a–b.

67 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,* 18.8a–9a.

68 *Han tianshi shijia,* 2.2b (this story does not appear in the 1314 *Longhushan zhi*). The 54th Heavenly Master relates an interesting myth about Zhao being one of the nine extra suns shot down by Archer Yi; *Kongtong wenda,* questions 160–161.

69 *Zhengyi xuantan Zhao yuanshuai mifa* 正一玄壇趙元帥祕法, in *Daofa huiyuan,* 232.2a–b.

70 *Han tianshi shijia,* 2.2b.

71 *Zhengyi xuantan Zhao yuanshuai mifa,* in *Daofa huiyuan,* 232.2a–b. There existed by the early Ming an ordination register putting the ordinee in the service of Zhao, called *Shenxiao Zhengyi Longhu xuantan milu* 神霄正一龍虎玄壇秘籙; Lü Pengzhi, "Gan xibei faxian de tianshi jinglu," 99.

72 During modern Quanzhen ordinations, all ordinees swear in front of Wang lingguan's statue that they will uphold the precepts (*jie* 戒) and that Wang should kill them if they fail; Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking,* 150.

73 See, for instance, the story told in the late nineteenth century by Yu Yue regarding the Zhao Gongming temple in Jiading (near Shanghai); *Youtai xianguan biji,* juan 4 (also in *Shiliao huibian,* 249).

74 Gao Zhenhong, "Xujing tianshi chuanshuo yanjiu," 162.

75 Fava (*Aux portes du ciel,* 118) quotes a Hunan myth about Zhang Wulang training at Longhushan.

76 "Xianhai jiuwei 現海救危," in *Xuantian shangdi qishenglu,* 7b–8b.

77 *Taishang xuantian Zhenwu … lu.*

78 Wu Xiaohong, "Song-Yuan shiqi Longhushan *daoshi*."

79 Wu Xiaohong, "Song-Yuan shiqi Longhushan *daoshi*," 50–51; the version of the Salt Lake story is in *Xuanhe yishi* 宣和遺事, a Southern Song collection.

80 Liu Zhongyu (*Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 139) argues that the Wanfa zongtan was a new altar, within the Heavenly Master residence that took over the role of the earlier Zhengyi xuantan, located within the Shangqinggong.

81 Strickmann, "Tao among the Yao," and others have claimed that the *daofa* were a major factor of Sinicization of ethnic groups in the south, such as the She,

the Yao, and the Miao, among others, and that the flip side of this process is that many non-Han elements and deities have been preserved in these localized *daofa*. The presence of ancestors who are also *fashi* in particular is often considered as a non-Han marker. It is certain that many *fashi* who came to ask ordination at Longhushan were non-Han, but any generalization, or blanket use of ethnic labels, would misrepresent complex local situations.

82 *(Guangxu) Jiashan xianzhi* 光緒嘉善縣志, quoted in *Shiliao huibian,* 119.

83 *(Yongzheng) Sichuan tongzhi,* 38/3.18a.

84 Arrault, *Cultic Images;* Meulenbeld, "Dark Emperor's Law"; Fava, *Aux portes du ciel,* 42. In the early eighteenth century, the 54th Heavenly Master listed Meishan as one of the ritual traditions he recognized; *Kongtong wenda,* question 64.

85 Wu Nengchang, "Rituels, divinités et société locale," 29–33, 61.

86 *Daofa huiyuan,* 249.13b.

87 An earlier Chinese version of this section was published as Goossaert, "Jindai Zhongguo." The most comprehensive study of the *Tiantan yuge* is Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 149–165.

88 See the story and poems of Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎 (1186–?), who went to pray at Longhushan and was visited in a dream by a god who first initiated him; he later met a master who taught him self-cultivation techniques; *Penglai guchui,* 5b–6a.

89 "Guanyu dui guowai." What edition is used, and for what, is not entirely clear. Zhang Jintao (*Zhongguo Longhushan Tianshidao,* 170–174) describes the procedure for the 1991 ordination, and mentions the *Tiantan yuge* in connection with the categories 2 and 5 (see below).

90 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 25.6a; 蓋神霄當時以為天壇，萬法俱總; *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Ning Quanzhen), 27.11a; 神霄乃天壇萬法. According to *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (53.2a), Lin Lingsu received a *Shenxiao tiantan yushu* 神霄天壇玉書; this text is not extant, and we do not know whether it was a direct antecedent to our *Tiantan yuge.*

91 *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü,* juan 2 is titled "Yuge zhengtiao 玉格正條." This code belongs to the *tianlü* (Heavenly code) genre; it shares some themes with our *Tiantan yuge* but does not prescribe in detail ordination procedures as the latter does. See Poul Andersen's entry in Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon,* 1062, and his summary of Tianxin zhengfa in Pregadio, *EOT,* 989–993.

92 付以道法，奏准玉格，注授前件差遣: "Chuandu xieen biaowen 傳度謝恩表文," in *Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu,* 1.16a.

93 *Beiyin Fengdu taixuan zhimo heilü lingshu* 北陰酆都太玄制魔黑律靈書, in *Daofa huiyuan,* 265.1a, quotes the *Shangqing tiantiao yuzhen tiantan yuge* 上清天條玉真天壇玉格. *Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu* (2.10b) quotes the *Yuge tiantiao* 玉格天條, and this quote is found in version A; it is not clear whether *Yuge tiantiao* is an alternative title for *Tiantan yuge* (in which case the latter can be dated to the Song), or if it is a separate albeit cognate text.

94 On Ming princes, see Wang, *Ming Prince.* On this important encyclopaedia, see Schachter, "Nanji Chongxu Miaodao Zhenjun."

95 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Ning Quanzhen), 27.5a.

96 Details on the titles granted to lay recipients of these registers are found in versions C* and H. The *Tongzilu* has existed since the foundation of the Tianshidao, but its contents have apparently dramatically changed.

97 *Gaoshang Shenxiao yuqing zhenwang zishu dafa,* juan 5, which Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling date to the early Ming; Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon,* 1094–1095. The earlier Tianxin zhengfa codification *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü* (3.6a–7b) lists ordination titles, but without the presentation in nine ranks.

98 Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling, in Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon,* 1111–1112; Skar, "Administering Thunder," 167–174.

99 The Qingwei patriarchal line (presented with variants in both *Qingwei xianpu* and *Qingwei zhaifa*) starts with Yuanshi tianzun and then diverges into four distinct lines, one of which, established by Zhang Daoling, is called Zhengyi; they are then reunited by the Qingwei mythical matriarch Zu Shu 祖舒. The Qingwei codifiers attempted to subsume the Heavenly Master line; in the end, the opposite happened. The 54th Heavenly Master retells the Qingwei history (*Kongtong wenda,* question 46) while claiming that there is no lineage independent of Longhushan. The *Mingzhen po wangzhang song* 明真破妄章頌 (*Daofa huiyuan,* 71.6b; it also exists as an independent text in the Daoist canon), a text attributed to the 30th Heavenly Master but probably a Yuan-period apocrypha, claims that Zhengyi and Qingwei are the same. The 43rd Heavenly Master said as much; *Xianquanji,* 7.13a–b.

100 The list of Lingbao titles in the Suzhou version is slightly modified from that was already in use in Song times: *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Ning Quanzhen), 27.2a–4a. The list of Qingwei titles differs between the Suzhou and the E and F versions; both are related to, but different from, an earlier list found in *Qingwei yuanjiang dafa,* 25.24a–25a. Neither the Qingwei nor the Lingbao list actually follows the nine-rank pattern.

101 Goossaert, "Counting the Monks."

102 Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma," 139.

103 *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce,* 3.26b–27b.

104 *Kongtong wenda,* question 44; Daode 道德, Xiantian 先天, Lingbao, Qingwei, Zhengyi, Jingming, Yutang, and Tianxin. The reader will be familiar with the last six by now, but the identity of the first two is less clear. In questions 60–64, the 54th Heavenly Master says that some of these have been lost (notably Shenxiao), and that in his days the Shangqinggong Daoists mostly practice Zhengyi Qingwei and Lingbao.

105 Earlier texts, such as the mid-Tang *Shoulu cidi faxin yi,* listed the parish, energy, and star deities according to the birth year (or month), but not the meditation room or altar; these seem to be later developments.

106 A table of the various elements of ritual identity in the various versions of the *Tiantan yuge* is included in Goossaert, "Jindai Zhongguo de tianshi shoulu xitong," 446.

107 The *xinyin* are notably documented in versions C and H. On the *xinyin,* see Mozina, "Summoning the Exorcist."

108 This manuscript is briefly introduced in *Shiliao huibian,* 96–98.

109 See, notably, *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü,* juan 2, "Yuge zhengtiao." On the relationship between these rules, priestly ethics, and morality books, see Goossaert, "Divines Codes."

110 *Qionglongshan zhi,* 3:401–427; Goossaert, "Divine Codes."

111 Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling, in Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon,* 1111–1112.

112 Li Fengmao (oral communication, Leipzig, November 2018) claims to have a 1392 Longhushan edition of the *Tiantan yuge* that explains that the priests ordained at Longhushan also received a copy of divine codes, including the *Taishang hundong chiwen Nüqing zhaoshu tianlü;* he also claims to have a Yuan-period Longhushan copy of this code.

Chapter Five: The Mature Institution

1 "Tianshi jian yan" writes explicitly about the 16th Heavenly Master: 至十六世，天師好以 … ; "Liu Qian Dugonglu yan" writes about the 19th Heavenly Master: 詣十九世天師.

2 There are two exceptions: one is a quotation of Du Guangting, and the other appears at the end of Zhang Jixian's biography (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,*

19.12b–13a). We find the term *tianshi* used to designate the living Heavenly Master in some Southern Song anecdotes: e.g., "Tongzhou baishe," *Yijianzhi,* 1119–1120.

3 *Fozu tongji,* juan 52.

4 It is important to note that not all religious groups adopted the lineage model when that became available; traditions such as the lay Buddhist White Lotus communities or the Daoist Quanzhen movement adopted a horizontal model that did not stress the transmission of special rights.

5 This is found in Shenhui's *Puti Damo Nanzong ding shifei lun* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論, which was discovered among the Dunhuang documents.

6 The literature on the rise of Chan lineages is considerable; I have found particularly useful the recent and clear synthesis by Morrison, *Power of Patriarchs;* and Adamek, *Mystique of Transmission.*

7 Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 48–50; Wu Zhen, "Zhengyijiao quan xiangzheng" and "Tianshi jian chuanshuo."

8 On Heavenly Masters' sword and seals, see Zhang Jintao, *Zhongguo Longhushan Tianshidao,* 162–167; and Zhang Jiyu, *Tianshidao shilüe,* 136–137. "Shichuan guan si yin jian kao 世傳官私印劍考," in *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu,* juan 1, separate pagination, has a detailed description and typology. The most sacred seals were the *fayin* 法印, transmitted since Zhang Daoling; they were distinct from the *guanyin* 官印, given by emperors and carved with the official title of the Heavenly Master as a state official, and from the *ciyin* 賜印, also given by emperors, carved with other phrases (including the same as on the *fayin*). The same typology applied to swords.

9 The classical study is Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments."

10 *Yuanshi,* 220:2567.

11 *Yunji qiqian,* 5.1a–2a.

12 Yoshikawa Tadao ("Dōkyō no dōkei to Zen no hōkei") suggests that the invention of a Shangqing line of descent, which was later formalized in the *Zhenxi,* occurred on mount Song during the late seventh century, in direct contact and interaction with inventions of Chan lines of descent taking place there.

13 In the *Maoshanzhi,* the transmission of sword and seal to the next Shangqing patriarch appears from the twenty-sixth generation (late eleventh century) onward. On Shangqing patriarchs during the Song, see Sakai Norifumi, "Bei

cuanduo de Maoshan zongshi." Sakai shows that the succession of Shangqing patriarchs (sometimes from master to disciple, but sometimes decided by an intervention from high officials or the court) was more open than that of the Longhushan Zhangs, and thus more open to contention; he documents such a case of "usurpation."

14 *Han tianshi shijia,* 2.5b. This sentence in the hagiography is completely unrelated to the previous and following sentences, and is hardly intelligible if one does not know its source in the "Record of succession of Daoism." The disciples of Zhang Daoling named in that genealogy do not appear elsewhere in the Longhushan historiography; but Amato ("Rebirth of a Lineage," 100) notes that one of them, Li Zhong 李忠, is later listed as one of the generals under the orders of Marshal Zhao Gongming.

15 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 10.16b.

16 Several epigraphical and official documents quoted in the *Maoshanzhi* give him this title. By contrast, the *Maoshanzhi* retrospectively calls earlier "patriarchs" by that title, but this is not reflected in other sources. Sakai Norifumi ("Bei cuanduo de Maoshan zongshi") thinks the institution began even later, in the 1090s, with Liu Hunkang.

17 Zhu Yiwen, "Gezaoshan Dawanshou chongzhengong"; Chen Wenlong, "Gezaoshan gongguan"; Zhang Zehong, "Daojiao Lingbaopai shoulu lunlüe."

18 Zhu Yiwen, "Gezaoshan Dawanshou chongzhengong," 2.

19 These sources have been described and discussed by Wang Chien-Ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* chap. 2; and Amato, "Rebirth of a Lineage," 68–77. Liu Tsun-yuan, "Ti Miandekan" also examines the history of the making of the list starting from a late source.

20 "Zan lidai tianshi" in *Wuyiji,* in *Xiuzhen shishu,* 46.1a–5b.

21 Liu Kai ("Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan," 31) shows that in some sources, the counting starts from Zhang Liang rather than Zhang Daoling, adding seven generations.

22 *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Jin Yunzhong), 10.16b.

23 Zeng Longsheng, "Lun Mingdai Zhengyidao."

24 See the discussion in the *Minggong shupan Qingmingji* analyzed in chapter 3.

25 McGee, "Questioning Convergence," 74–75.

26 See Zhang Yuchu's undated preface in *Xianquanji,* 2.8a–11a; *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu.*

27 *Zhang gong muzhi* 張公墓誌, in *Quan Songwen,* 6154:236–237.

28 *Songshi jishi,* 90.22a–b; Liu Kai ("Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan," 28 based on *Han tianshi shijia,* 2.18a–b) also evokes the two sons of the 25th Heavenly Master, the first one having been trained to succeed his father, the second having had a career as an official before retiring into reclusion.

29 *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu.* Because it was difficult to change entrenched habits, however, the compilers decided not to recount the lineage generations 世 from Zhang Liang and continued to count with the first generation being that of Zhang Daoling.

30 The Quanzhen order, however, was organized along an entirely different model, one that denied genealogical succession and monopoly; Goossaert, "Invention of an Order," 129–132.

31 On Song- and Yuan-period Daoist temples that transmitted the position of abbot (and other rights) within lineages based on master to disciple relationships (called *jiayi* 甲乙 succession), see Sakai Norifumi, "Song Yuan shiqi jiayi zhuchi."

32 Goossaert, "Question of Control."

33 This is notably the key theme of the first section of *Daomen shigui.*

34 Zhang Chongfu ("Longhushan fapai kao") examines in detail the history of these residences and their lineages, but tends to take late descriptions and categories (notably the names of the lineages) for early facts. See also Kong Xiangyu, "Longhushan Dashangqinggong de gongzhong daoyuan."

35 *Dongxiao tuzhi,* 5.11b.

36 On musical styles at Longhushan, see Cao Benye and Liu Hong, *Longhushan Tianshidao yinyue yanjiu;* and Wang Zhongren, *Zhongguo Longhushan Tianshidao yinyue.*

37 *Yishanting ji* 詒善亭記, in *Xianquanji,* 2.17a–18b.

38 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao; 34–35) lists the names of the residences but without providing details.

39 *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 63–65. This gazetteer does not provide the generational poems for the three lineages, which the 1740 edition does.

40 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 27–29.

41 A detailed description of the ritual practice and liturgical manuals of Lingbao Daoists in the Shangrao area, east of Longhushan, is found in Mao Limei, *Gandong Lingbaojiao.*

42 A liturgical manuscript of Lingbao Daoists from the Shangrao area for the crucial *qishi* 啟師 rite, when Daoists invite their lineage's patriarchs to come down and assist, lists first Zhang Daoling, then Lingbao patriarchs (including Ge Xuan), then the living Heavenly Master (in the present case, the 63rd); Mao Limei, *Gandong Lingbaojiao,* 561–562.

43 In contrast to Buddhists and Quanzhen Daoists who use their *faming* as their only names, non-Quanzhen Daoists keep their birth name and separately use their ordination name in ritual contexts.

44 Zhang Xuesong, *Fojiao "fayuan zongzu" yanjiu,* 42.

45 The 54th Heavenly Master explains that the Three Mountains here are not the same as the *sanshan* of the Song ordination system: they refer to Wudangshan, Maoshan, and Longhushan, because during the Ming the Daoist dignitaries of the former two all came from Longhushan, and these three major official Daoist centers were managed by the same lineage; *Kongtong wenda,* question 50. This explanation is quite convincing. *Xuanmiaoguan zhi* (12.7b) has yet another explanation and list (Longhushan, Wudangshan, Hemingshan).

46 This lineage is variously known as Sanshan dixue pai, Zhengyi pai, or Sa zhenjun Xihe pai 薩真君西河派; see Lagerwey, "Les lignées taoïstes"; Zhang Jintao, *Zhongguo Longhushan Tianshidao,* 172; Zhang Jiyu, *Tianshidao shilüe,* 178. Version H of *Tiantan yuge* carries the Sanshan dixue lineage poem under an alternative name (天師府上清正一派), but the Taiwanese version E ends with a lineage, simply called 道門派, which is actually a combination of the Longmen 龍門 poem (the dominant Quanzhen lineage, for the first four verses) and the Sanshan dixue lineage poem (for the following four verses), ending with yet another sequence (the same text mentions the Sanshan dixue pai on page 93).

47 This version of the *Tiantan yuge* also provides the poem for another lineage, the Qionglong lineage 穹窿福地字派, proper to the tradition established in Suzhou by Shi Daoyuan. By contrast with the preceding one, the Qionglong lineage is not found in Quanzhen lists. *Xuanmiaoguan zhi* (12.7b) notes that while the abbots at Qionglongshan used this lineage, all other disciples of Shi Daoyuan used the standard Sanshan dixue lineage.

48 On these texts, see Goossaert, "Quanzhen Clergy," 731–732.

49 See the most famous modern lists of recognized lineages, as used in the early twentieth century in Beijing's Baiyunguan and called *Zhuzhen zongpai zongbu* 諸真宗派總簿; Oyanagi Shigeta, *Baiyunguan zhi,* 108 (lineage #37) and 115

(lineage #70). This list has eleven different lineages called Zhengyi (including the one for Longhushan Daoists established by Lou Jinyuan and mentioned above, #32), nine called Qingwei, and more Longhushan-affiliated lineages. It credits the 30th Heavenly Master with the creation of the Sanshan dixue pai.

50 Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 142–149. Yang Lizhi, "Sanshan dixue pai," suggests this lineage originated on Wudangshan during the Yuan period, but his argument is not altogether convincing. He shows that the sequence of characters found in the Sanshan dixue pai generational poem was used then, but this does not amount to proving that the lineage itself (with its self-defined identity, genealogical practices, and ideology) already existed. This methodological issue is also common among authors discussing the formation of Quanzhen lineages during the same period.

51 In version C this is 中.

52 Qing-period editions have 元 because of the taboo on Kangxi's name, but the proper character is 玄.

53 In version C: 愈.

54 This other version contains the two verses 三山愈興振, 福海湧洪波 instead of the last four verses of the poem in the *Tiantan yuge;* see references for the other versions in Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma," 135. Qian Tiemin and Ma Zhenyuan, *Wuxi daojiao keyi yinyue yanjiu,* 4, state that most Daoists in Wuxi were given names in that lineage following the locally used *Tiantan yuge.*

55 Two official documents confirming the tax exemption are included in *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 112–114; they are not found in earlier gazetteers, but I find no reason to doubt their authenticity. It is not entirely clear from the wording whether Liu asked donations from people who had previously been ordained, or pushed people to undergo ordination and pay, or both. Liu also claims that tax exemptions for Shangqinggong lands started in 1105.

56 *Longhushan Shangqinggong xinjian paimen ji* 龍虎山上清宮新建牌門記, by Zhou Yinghe 周應合, in *Quan Songwen,* 8065:87–88.

57 On the history of the Shangqinggong, see Yang Daying ("Longhushan Shangqinggong kao") and Zhou Muzhao ("Longhushan Shangqinggong yan'ge jianzhi chutan"); the report on the excavations has not been published to date.

58 Liu Kai ("Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan," 32) mentions several cases of early Southern Song Longhushan Daoists who built their own temples in Jiangnan. One of them is a Ni (maybe from the family of late Tang potentates at Longhushan).

59 *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.3b.

60 "Yishanting ji," in *Xianquanji,* 3.17a–18b; more details on this residence and its Daoists can be found in *Gu Shangqinggong tidian Liaoan Li gong muzhi* 故上清宮提點了菴李公墓誌, in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.14a–17a.

61 See, for instance, the career of Yi Zhigang 易知剛 from Kunshan, who was sent to Longhushan when young during the late Southern Song; *(Zhizheng) Kunshan junzhi,* 1139.

62 For instance, *Xiangyuanguan ji* 象元觀記, by Chen Zhu 陳著 (1214–1297), tells of a Daoist from Ningbo who had this temple built for him between the Heavenly Master residence and Lu Jiuyuan's school, apparently in the mid- or late thirteenth century (in *Quan Songwen,* 8115:106).

63 *Wushang huanglu dazhai lichengyi,* juan 57. The accounts in the Longhushan gazetteers are congruent with, but shorter than, this account, but they also add an encounter with Zhang Daoling, who initiated Liu into Thunder rites (after testing him, in good hagiographical convention). On Liu Yongguang, see Liang Siyun, "Nansong daoshi Liu Yongguang" and her dissertation, "Nansong huanglu zhaiyi."

64 Jiang is said in his testament to have entrusted all his documents to the Longhushan ancestral altar: 我若死，汝等當歸吾書于宗壇。

65 This phenomenon has been studied by Boltz, "Seal of Office."

66 My argument runs counter to that developed by Hymes, *Way and Byway,* 175–183, who identifies a trend toward a focus on locality and away from the court among Southern Song Daoists; he even provides a map (page 183) suggesting that Southern Song Longhushan Daoists mostly came from adjacent areas. While most of them were from northern Jiangxi and western Jiangnan (still a vast area!), others, not included in his sample, came from further away.

67 Sakai Norifumi ("Bei cuanduo de Maoshan zongshi," 51–53) discusses the elite Daoists selected (in good part based on their literary talents) to reside in the Daoist monasteries in the service of the emperor in Hangzhou during the last decades of the Song; one of them, Yi Rugang 易如剛, was a Longhushan Daoist, and another was from Gezaoshan.

68 Liu Kai ("Wan Tang liang Song Longhushan," 23) provides a detailed analysis of the various sources on this event.

69 *Songshi,* 9:188.

70 *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian,* 176.4271; this text also records that the 26th Heavenly Master was the 漢天師二十六代孫; the same mention is found in *Song huiyao.*

71 Liu Chenweng, *Sihan sanshiliudai tianshi Jianzhai Zhang zhenren muzhiming* 嗣漢三十六代天師簡齋張真人墓誌銘, in *Quan Songwen,* 8275:269–271.

72 Unfortunately, none of the 131 texts in the *Cuishanlu* is dated. A couple of them seem to refer to the Mongol period; it is possible that some of them are earlier.

73 This point is made particularly clearly by Matsumoto Kōichi, *Sōdai no Dōkyō,* 333–353; "Zhang tianshi yu Nansong de daojiao"; and "Daoism."

74 *Yuanshi,* 202.4526; *Han tianshi shijia,* 3.9b–10a.

75 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 131.

76 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 131–132. The 30th Heavenly Master would receive his *zhenjun* title shortly thereafter, in 1308.

77 Liu Chenweng, *Sihan sanshiliudai tianshi Jianzhai Zhang zhenren muzhiming,* in *Quan Songwen,* 8275:269–271.

78 *Zitong dijun huashu,* 4.32a–b; Kleeman, *God's Own Tale,* 75–77.

79 Mizukoshi Tomo, "Yuandai de cimiao jisi."

80 The following paragraphs partly reproduce my entries in Pregadio, *EOT,* 1132–1133, 1231–1232.

81 *Yuanshi,* 202:4527.

82 Schipper, "Note sur l'histoire."

83 Takahashi Bunji, "Chō Ryūson no tōjō zengo"; Wu Xiaohong, "Yuandai Longhushan daoshi"; McGee, "Questioning Convergence." McGee's dissertation provides a useful overview of the Heavenly Master institution during the Mongol period and advances the convincing idea that our understanding of Heavenly Master history is skewed by Zhang Yuchu's own specific vision and historical circumstances. It, however, develops a flawed argument regarding the relationship of the Heavenly Master and its representatives at the Yuan court (the Xuanjiao) inasmuch as it fails to consider the Heavenly Master institution as primarily a religious institution (managing ordinations and canonizations) rather than a purely this-worldly administrative office for appointing abbots and managing temples.

84 McGee ("Questioning Convergence," 53) maps the areas of respective Xuanjiao and Longhushan administrative control.

85 Sakurai Satomi, "Gendai Shūken-en no seiritsu."

86 Yu Ji, *Chici Xuanjiao zongzhuan zhibei* 敕賜玄教宗傳之碑, in *Daojia jinshilüe,* 961–962; McGee, "Questioning Convergence," 66–71. This line was probably

the same thing as the lineage of Longhushan Daoists known in later sources as Lingyangpai.

87 See the remarkable "Fourteen Portraits of Wu Quanjie" in Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China,* cat. 64. These portraits, with inscriptions by several of the most respected scholars, poets, and painters of the time, show Wu in various circumstances dated between the 1290s and 1331, either meditating, playing music, or performing rituals.

88 Several hundred are collected in the famous and important collection *Daojia jinshilüe;* more yet are scattered in literary collections, epigraphical treatises, local gazetteers, and other sources.

89 Amato ("Rebirth of a Lineage," 74–77) discusses theses sources at length.

90 Amato ("Rebirth of a Lineage") has neglected this source and claims that *Han tianshi shijia* is the first extant source.

91 On the history of Longhushan gazetteers, see Kong Xiangyu, "Longhushan lidai shanzhi lüekao"; Luo Qin, "*Longhushan zhi* yuanliu kaolüe"; and Wang Wenzhang, "*Longhushan zhi* de bianzuan." All three have failed to take notice of the fragments of the early Ming gazetteer extant in the *Yongle dadian;* see *Longhushan zhi* (Yongle dadian).

92 Miya Noriko, "*Ryūkokan shi* kara mita."

93 Zhou Zhao himself claimed in his preface that he wanted to transmit the Yuan edition without interpolating more recent material, with the exception of updating data on successive Heavenly Masters down to his day; he added other Mongol-period material in a separate appendix. There is, however, one Ming date in the text; *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 17.

Chapter Six: The Most Powerful Heavenly Master Ever?

1 *Zi:* Zixuan 子璿, Xinfu 信甫; *hao:* Qishan 耆山, Wuwei zi 無為子. This chapter reproduces Goossaert, "The Four Lives," with some corrections.

2 *Han tianshi shijia,* 3.27b–29b.

3 *Mingshi,* 299:7654 (appended to the biography of his father).

4 *Xuanjun Kong shi muzhiming* 玄君孔氏墓誌銘, in *Hu wenmugong wenji,* 13.13b–14b.

5 The standard short biography in Western languages is Boltz, "Zhang Yuchu," in Pregadio, *EOT,* 1239–1240.

6 Ding Changyun, "Ji lingxiu yu xuezhe."

7 Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon,* 32–34.

8 Ding Changyun's "Ji lingxiu yu xuezhe" is built around the first three aspects, albeit from a rather different perspective.

9 These details are provided in Song Lian's long epitaph for Zhang Zhengchang; *Sishierdai tianshi Zhengyi sijiao Huguo chanzu tongcheng chongdao hongde dazhenren Zhang gong shendao beiming* 四十二代天師正一嗣教護國闡祖通誠崇道弘德大真人張公神道碑銘, in *Daojia jinshilüe,* 1240–1242. See also Shiga Takayoshi, "Min no Taiso."

10 The 1890 genealogy of the Zhang lineage provides information on the third brother, Zhang Yucheng 張宇珵, who accompanied Zhang Yuchu in imperial audience in 1398, was given money by the emperor, and married the daughter of a high official; *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu,* 2.50b.

11 McGee, "Questioning Convergence," 170–172 (discussing data from *Han tianshi shijia,* 3.24a–b).

12 *Huang Ming enming shilu,* juan 2, begins with four texts issued by Zhu Yuanzhang to Zhang Zhengchang as King of Wu 吳王, in the years preceding his founding of the Ming.

13 The *Mingshi* (299:7654) provides the famous quote by Taizu: "Heaven cannot have a master 天有師乎!" McGee ("Questioning Convergence," 173) suggests this may have actually taken place later than 1368. Longhushan sources do not mention this fact.

14 Song Lian, *Sishierdai tianshi … muzhiming;* also "Gu Shangqinggong tidian Liaoan Li gong muzhi," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.14a–17a.

15 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao).

16 A fire caused damage at Shangqinggong in 1351; "Ningzhengzhai ji 凝正齋記" (in *Xianquanji,* 3.22b–24b) mentions that the late Yuan wars destroyed some of the Zhang lineage residences.

17 Zhang Yuchu himself raised funds to repair and solidify the streets and embankments of the township; "Benshan Shangqingshi xiulu shu 本山上清市修路疏," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 4.59b.

18 "Qishan'an ji 耆山菴記" (in *Su Pingzhong ji,* 9.224–226) describes the hermitage Zhang Yuchu built for himself in 1379 (aged only eighteen) at Qishan, just two kilometers from his official residence, and where he meditated, read, and played music. I assume this is the same place as the Xianquan jingshe that according to the *Han tianshi shijia* he built after 1391.

19 *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 50. This is not mentioned in the earlier gazetteer *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao).

20 The site, which had had an important Buddhist monastery since the Tang, is now known as Yingtianshan 應天山.

21 Hu Rongming, "Diyu kongjian"; Sun Kekuan, "Mingchu tianshi Zhang Yuchu." There is a substantial recent literature in the PRC on Zhang Yuchu as a Daoist philosopher, which I have not explored.

22 *Daode zhenjing zhangju xunsong.*

23 In his preface to *Xianquanji,* Wang Shen 王紳 (1360–1400) places Zhang Yuchu as an heir to Wu Cheng and Yu Ji.

24 Sun Kekuan, "Mingchu tianshi Zhang Yuchu," 339; "Gu Shangqinggong tidian Liaoan Li gong muzhi," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.14a–17a.

25 "Shushi ming 書室銘," in *Xianquanji,* 5.1a; "Tong Wang boshi shu 通王博士書," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.50b–54b, where he discusses his "literary" period by claiming he was the friend (read: an equal) of the greatest writers of the Hongwu reign. This letter, written when he was forty-two, claims that by then he had refocused on self-cultivation.

26 "Zhang Jiading ji xu 張嘉定集敘," in *Xianquanji,* 2.23a–25a.

27 "Zonglian gao xu 宗濂藁敘," in *Xianquanji,* 2.25a–26b.

28 *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.5b–8b, 12a–14a, 17a–19a, 22a–24b.

29 *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 2.45a–105a.

30 *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.40a–65a.

31 *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 4.1a–15b.

32 "Gu Shaoan Gong xiansheng muzhi 故紹庵龔先生墓誌," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.17a–19a. The friend's great grandfather had worked as an editor of Daoist texts for the then Heavenly Master.

33 While discussing one of the prominent local literati families, Zhang Yuchu mentions that some of its earlier members had studied Daoism; in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 2.48b–50b.

34 "Song qinshi Zhu Zongming xu 送琴士朱宗明序," in *Xianquanji,* 2.33b–35b.

35 "Linggushan Yinzhenguan ji 靈谷山隱真觀記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.21a–22b.

36 He discusses a doctor-cum-friend in in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 2.45a–47a.

37 "Yunxi shiji xu 雲溪詩集敘," in *Xianquanji,* 2.26b–29b; "Jiguzhai ji 稽古齋記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.35a–37b; *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 2.98b–101a. He also wrote prefaces for genealogies of other prominent local families.

38 Song Lian, *Sishierdai tianshi … muzhiming.* The gazetteer of Longhushan compiled by Zhang Yuchu (showing how this story was deemed significant by him) relates a similar story, where it is Zhang Zhenchang's father who is visited by Immortal Fuqiu; *Longhushan zhi (Yongle dadian),* 1833.

39 *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 12.

40 Hymes, *Way and Byway.*

41 Zhang Yuchu, preface to *Huagaishan … shishi.* Later, the 54th Heavenly Master insisted on the high divine position of the triad; *Kongtong wenda,* questions 279–280.

42 Notably in *Xianquanji,* juan 3.

43 The quote comes from an inscription for a Huagaishan Three Lords temple near Fuzhou: "Linggushan Yinzhenguan ji," in *Xianquanji,* 3.21a–22b. See also an inscription for another Three Lords temple: "Chongrenxian Yuqing jingyunguan ji 崇仁縣玉清景雲觀記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.33a–34b.

44 Zhang Yuchu, preface to *Huagaishan … shishi;* "Yuantai choujiao zhaiyi 圓臺酬醮齋意," in *Xianquanji,* 6.6b–7a.

45 "Baiheguan zhi xu 白鶴觀誌序," in *Xianquanji,* 2.21a–23a. For a fine analysis of the presence of the Jingming tradition in the area, see Wang Gang, "Mingdai Jingmingdao."

46 "Jianchangfu Wudang xinggong ji 建昌府武當行宮記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.37b–39a. This temple doubled as a family shrine endowed by Zhang Yuchu's aunt (from the prominent Cheng 程 family).

47 "Shangqingshi Wutongmiao tiyuan shu 上清市五通廟題緣疏," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 4.60a–b.

48 "Miaolingguan ji 妙靈觀記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.5a–9b; "Yidu ji 義渡記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.15a–16b.

49 Song Lian, who declares himself a friend of Zhang Zhengchang, was clearly a key actor in the alliance between the Zhu and the Zhang. He also wrote epitaphs and other texts for various Longhushan dignitaries.

50 Song Lian, *Sishierdai tianshi … muzhiming.* On Fang's life see Neill, "Mountains of the Immortals," and a painting by him in Little and Eichman, *Taoism,* cat. 143, as well as cat. 141, a painting by another contemporary priest at Shangqinggong, Wu Boli 吳伯理, which has a colophon by Zhang Yuchu.

51 *Xianquanji,* juan 10; even more in *Xianquanji* (1631).

52 "Jin Yean zhuan 金野菴傳," in *Xianquanji,* 4.9a–11a. This biography duly notes Fang Congyi among Jin's major disciples. Zhang Yuchu also wrote a fascinating

account of another of Jin's disciples, Wang Daoyi 汪道一, originally from Longhushan, who made a career as an exorcist in central Jiangxi; "Xinchengxian Jinchuanfeng Ganlu leitan ji 新城縣金船峰甘露雷壇記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.29b–33a.

53 *Ming Taizong shilu,* 102.5b, *Mingshi,* 299:7654. Richard Wang, "Liu Yuanran" also quotes later sources to this effect.

54 Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen." Zhang Yuchu's biography is "Zhao Yuanyang zhuan 趙原陽傳," in *Xianquanji,* 4.11a–12b, where he mentions a connection with Jin Zhiyang, and his stay at Longhushan where he befriended Zhang Zhengchang. Zhang Yuchu also mentions that one of his trusted assistants, Cao Ximing 曹希鳴 (1331–1397), studied with Zhao Yizhen; "Gu Daolusi yanfa Chaotiangong tidian Cao gong muzhi 故道錄司演法朝天宮提點曹公墓誌," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.19a–22a.

55 Meulenbeld, *Demonic Warfare,* 154.

56 *Ming taizong shilu,* 102.5b; *Mingshi,* 299:7654. The most comprehensive study of Liu Yuanran is Richard Wang, "Liu Yuanran." I have not found any discussion of Liu Yuanran in Zhang Yuchu's works.

57 Zhou's status as a disciple of Zhang Yuchu is discussed by Ding Huang ("Taibei cang Ming Xuande ben," 259), but based only on later sources.

58 *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.1a–3b, 3b–5b, 9a–12a, 12a–14a.

59 "Gu Shangqinggong tidian Liaoan Li gong muzhi," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.14a–17a.

60 This terse phrase might also be understood to mean the opposite ("you are certainly like your father"), but I prefer this interpretation. One later Ming source (quoted in *Longhushan zhi* [1740], 59) expands on this anecdote and has Taizu commenting on Zhang Yuchu's extraordinary pupils (a hereditary mark of the Heavenly Masters), which implies his father lacked this mark.

61 *Huang Ming enming shilu,* 3.1a–b.

62 The epitaph seems erroneous, as it dates Zhang Yuchu's death to 1406 instead of 1410; it then describes how Ms. Kong was in mourning and died the next year.

63 "Xuanjun Kong shi muzhiming 玄君孔氏墓誌銘," in *Hu wenmugong wenji,* 13.13b–14b.

64 Song Lian, *Sishierdai tianshi … muzhiming,* and Su Boheng's preface to *Han tianshi shijia* make this explicit. For other Ming-period comments on the equal status of the two families, see, e.g., Zhu Guozhen 朱國禎 (1557–1632), "Nishan Longhushan 尼山龍虎山," in *Yongchuang xiaopin,* 25.23b–24a.

65 In contrast to Longhushan, the considerable archives of the Kong family have been kept and partly published. On the late imperial Kong family institution, see Lamberton, "Kongs of Qufu."

66 Such as the family of Cheng Jufu 程钜夫 (1249–1318); see "Qiyunlou ji 企雲樓記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.18b–20b; and that of Wu Cheng: *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.62b–63b.

67 Wang, *Ming Prince.* Ding Changyun ("Ji lingxiu yu xuezhe," 18) contains a story of Zhang Yuchu's influence over the famous Daoist Prince Zhu Quan, but it is uncorroborated.

68 *Han tianshi shijia,* 3.27b. On Zhu Zhi and Daoism, see Wang, *Ming Prince,* 21, 71. Zhu Zhi's preface is unsigned in the Daoist canon edition but appears with his name in the *Siku quanshu* edition.

69 *Han tianshi shijia,* 3.27b–28a; this was already in the preface to *Xianquanji* by Wang Shen. *Xianquanji* (1631) contains several poems reflecting his exchanges with a number of different princes.

70 *Xianquanji* (SKQS; 3.3b–5b, 3.14a–17a) claims that many Daoists then dispersed and returned home.

71 *Chongxiu Shangqinggong beiwen* 重修上清宮碑文, by Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (1329–?), a protégé of Song Lian, dated 1396, in *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 183–195.

72 Su Boheng, *Chongxiu Shangqinggong beiwen.*

73 On the process of Longhushan elites taking over all major temples and monasteries in the Ming Empire, see Ishida Kenji, "Mindai Dōkyō shijō"; Zhuang Hongyi, *Mingdai daojiao zhengyipai.* On elite Daoists at court, see also Liu Yonghua, "Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices."

74 *Gu Shaoan Gong xiansheng muzhi,* in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.17a–19a.

75 *Gu Daolusi yanfa Chaotiangong tidian Cao gong muzhi,* in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.19a–22a.

76 *Mingshi,* 299:7654. Presumably, this information derives from Ming archival records available during the early Qing but now lost. *Ming Taizong shilu* (102.5b; an entry dating from Zhang Yuchu's death), notes that "while in retirement during the Jianwen reign, he had unrestrained behavior; he was denounced several times at court until he was eventually dismissed."

77 Chen Guofu (*Daozang yuanliu kao,* 174) wrote that Zhang Yuchu worked in Beijing for the compilation of the Daoist canon, a claim that is repeated by later scholars, but I do not see any evidence for this.

78 See *Huang Ming enming shilu,* 3.4b–5b, where Taizu makes long comments on how well Zhang Yuchu performed the funeral of the deceased empress.

79 These texts form juan 6 of *Xianquanji.*

80 *Huang Ming enming shilu,* 3.5b–6a.

81 *Huang Ming enming shilu,* 2.4a–b.

82 Meulenbeld, *Demonic Warfare,* chap. 4.

83 Song Lian, *Sishierdai tianshi … muzhiming.*

84 "Ningzhengzhai ji," in *Xianquanji,* 3.22b–24b.

85 An anecdote in *Jiandeng yuhua* (3.3a–b) narrates how a literatus told Zhang Yuchu of his longing for a girl he loved when young and who committed suicide, and Zhang ensures her immediate release from hell and a good reincarnation.

86 *Han tianshi shijia,* 3.29a.

87 De Bruyn, *Le Wudang shan,* 315–322.

88 Sun Kekuan, "Mingchu tianshi Zhang Yuchu," 323.

89 E.g., "Penglai xianyitu 蓬萊仙奕圖," in *Qixiu leigao, Qixiu xugao, bianzhenglei,*13b–15a.

90 "Zoushu shi 奏疏式," in *Chijian Dayue Taiheshan zhi,* 227–228.

91 "Su Wudang biefeng 宿武當別峰," in *Xianquanji,* 11.26b. He wrote a (presumably earlier) text about a Wudangshan Daoist who had spent twenty years at Longhushan; in this text he evinces familiarity with Wudangshan traditions and acknowledges that he has not been there; "Taisu shuo 太素說," in *Xianquanji,* 4.1a–3a.

92 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 58–59. This biography in the Longhushan gazetteer compiled in 1740 summarizes known Ming texts, only adding this one new piece of information.

93 *Zhang shenxian citang ji* 張神仙祠堂記, in *Ba Shu daojiao beiwen jicheng,* 190.

94 *Xianquanji,* 9.8b–9a, 10b. Apparently he was traveling through Hangzhou from Longhushan to Nanjing; preface to *Dadi dongtian ji* 大滌洞天記. More poems on his travels are recorded in *Xianquanji* (1631).

95 "Wuyishan zhi xu 武夷山志序," in *Xianquanji,* 2.19a–21a.

96 Zhang Yuchu's collected writings include ritual memorials and poems inscribed on beams (for beam-raising rituals), *shangliangwen* 上梁文, composed on the occasion of the completion of these repairs.

97 *Xuanjun Kong shi muzhiming,* in *Hu wenmugong wenji,* 13.13b–14b. We do not have the precise date of his death; *Huang Ming enming shilu* (3.6b–7a) records a condolence authored by Chengzu dated 1410.

98 *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu,* 2.43b. Zeng Longsheng, "Lun Mingdai Zhengyidao."

99 That Zhang Yuchu worked on the *Yongle dadian* is claimed by several scholars, but I have not seen any hard evidence. On the Daoist canon, see *Huang Ming enming shilu,* 3.4a–b; *Daomen shigui,* 2a.

100 Wu Na 吳訥, *Daohui Lin jun Gangbo muzhiming* 道會林君剛伯墓誌銘, in *Ming wenheng,* 89.17b–19b.

101 This untitled inscription for the famed Qianyuangong 乾元宮 in Changshu (of which nothing remains) is not found in Zhang Yuchu's writings, but only in a local gazetteer; *(Hongzhi) Changshu xianzhi,* 2.112b–113b. Zhang Yuchu writes that Lin came to visit him at Longhushan and requested this inscription shortly after 1403.

102 The preface is extant in both the Daoist canon edition of the *Han tianshi shijia* and in Song's collected writings.

103 See Zhang Yuchu's preface in *Xianquanji* and *Han tianshi shijia.* Amato, "Rebirth of a Lineage," chap. 1, has discussed this issue at great length.

104 See Zhang Yuchu's preface in *Xianquanji,* 2.3b–6a.

105 Fragments of this gazetteer have been preserved in the *Yongle dadian;* see *Longhushan zhi* (*Yongle dadian*). They are ascribed to Yuan Mingshan (the original compiler of the first *Longhushan zhi* in 1314), but some passages in these fragments clearly date from the early Ming, and thus from Zhang Yuchu's revised edition.

106 See Zhang Yuchu's preface in *Xianquanji,* 2.8a–11a.

107 "*Yinghualu* ba 應化錄跋," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 4.1b–2b. Zhang Yuchu's dedication to the memory of his ancestor also led him to raise funds for restoring his meditation hut, later enlarged into a temple; "Jingtong'an tiyuan shu 靖通庵題緣疏," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 4.58b–59b.

108 See his preface in *Xianquanji,* 2.14b–17a; translated and discussed in Reiter, *Grundelemente und Tendenzen,* 13–21.

109 There is no known text by that title, but it is likely the same as the *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 真, included in the Daoist canon but without any preface. Zhang Yuchu's preface is in *Xianquanji,* 2.1a–3b.

110 The Daoist works include *Huanzhenji* 還真集 by Wang Jie 王玠 (Daozang 1074, preface dated 1392); *Daode zhenjing jiyi* 道德真經集義 (Daozang 712, preface dated 1393); *Dadi dongtian ji* 大滌洞天記 (Daozang 782, preface dated 1398); *Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭鍊內法 (Daozang 548, preface dated 1406); *Shengshenzhang zhu* 生神章註 (Daozang 396); and *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 (Daozang 6).

111 I am grateful to Richard Wang Gang for sharing with me a copy of this reprint. Late Ming and Qing bibliographic catalogues mention this and other editions. The best discussion to date of the *Xianquanji* is Boltz, *Survey of Taoist Literature,* 193–195.

112 Song Lian, *Sishierdai tianshi … muzhiming; Han tianshi shijia* attributes this phrase to a wandering immortal who made the prediction upon seeing the young Yuchu.

113 Buddhism is only mentioned in passing in Zhang Yuchu's work, albeit never negatively. Likewise, he wrote four short pieces for fundraising drives for Buddhist monasteries (in *Xianquanji* [SKQS], 4.60b–61b, 62a–63a), but hardly ever listed monks among his friends.

114 *Yang Wending gong shiji,* 5.513–514.

115 This is mentioned by Ding Changyun ("Ji lingxiu yu xuezhe," 27) and copied by a number of blogs and other web sites, without any further detail. Luk Yu-ping (*Empress,* 55) discusses extant paintings by his successors the 44th and 45th Heavenly Masters.

116 A Weixin blog on Longhushan Daoism, accessed June 12, 2015, http://rufodao.qq.com/a/20150122/066851.htm.

117 Notably in *Xianquanji,* juan 1.

118 Several essays in *Xianquanji,* juan 1 and 4.

119 In his preface to his *Danzuanyao,* he mentions the two northern and southern lineages 南北二派, and in "Yu Ni Mengchong lun huohou shu 與倪孟沖論火候書," in *Xianquanji,* 4.12b–18a, he mentions the "southern and northern lineages 南北宗," as well as "my lineage of *ming* cultivation 吾命宗," apparently a reference to his own preference for the Nanzong.

120 See his preface dated 1392 to the *Huanzhenji* that is itself within this tradition; in *Huanzhenji,* and *Xianquanji,* 2.38a–40a.

121 "Liaohuan ming 了圜銘," in *Song xueshe quanji,* 15:544–545.

122 *Daomen shigui,* 7a–8b. On the enclosure in *huan,* or *huandu* 環堵, see Goossaert, "Invention of an Order" and "Quanzhen dao de huandu kao."

123 "Wenjiewo ji 蚊睫窩記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.1a–3a. Also, he describes the 30th Heavenly Master hermitage as a *huan:* "Jingtong'an tiyuan shu"; this was still standing as a closed *huan* in the late Ming; *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 60. *Huandu* is another word for *huan.*

124 For instance, he writes an eulogy on a portrait of Wang Chongyang; "Wang Chongyang zhenjun xiang zan 王重陽真君像贊," in *Xianquanji,* 5.8a.

125 "Jingfu shanfang ji 靜復山房記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.3a–5a.

126 "Da Cheng xundao shu 答程訓導書," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.47b–49a.

127 *Han tianshi shijia,* 3.29b.

128 "Zhengyi xuantan timing ji 正一玄壇題名記," in *Xianquanji,* 3.9b–11a.

129 Song Lian, *Sishierdai tianshi … muzhiming.*

130 On Zhang Zhengchang selling talismans and ordinations, see *Huang Ming enming shilu,* 2.5b.

131 *Huang Ming enming shilu,* 3.3b–4a.

132 "Tianshi yin 天師印," in *Qixiu leigao,* 11.7a.

133 *Gu Shangqinggong tiju Ju'an Hu gong muzhi* 故上清宮提舉矩菴胡公墓誌, in *Xianquanji* (SKSQ), 3.9a–12a. Ju'an is naturally his *hao;* the inscription does not provide his actual name. Zhang Yuchu again mentions this function of keeping the seal used for ordinations in his sacrificial praise (*jiwen* 祭文) for Hu; *Xianquanji* (SKSQ), 4.20a–b.

134 Li Hongfan 李弘範 (1316–1396): "Gu Shangqinggong tidian Liaoan Li gong muzhi," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.14a–17a; and Fu Ruolin 傅若霖 (1322–1399): "Gu Shenyueguan xianguan Fu gong muzhi 故神樂觀仙官傅公墓誌," in *Xianquanji* (SKQS), 3.24b–28a.

135 The *jingshi* 經師 is the third-generation master (great-grandfather), the *jishi* 籍師 the second-generation master (grandfather), and the *dushi* 度師 is the master (father) himself.

136 Mollier ("La méthode," 379) shows that this register is a modern adaptation of a medieval exorcistic tradition and its ordination register.

137 Lü Pengzhi ("Gan xibei faxian de tianshi jinglu," 98) shows that they are still in use in contemporary Jiangxi.

138 See, for instance, a formal request written by a literatus, dated 1373, and asking Zhang Zhengchang to confer registers; *Yingyang waishi ji,* 97.24a.

139 "Shoulu ganying 授籙感應," in *Huhai xinwen Yijian xuzhi,* 174–175.

140 "Anxutang ji 安序堂記," in *Shifenggao,* 10.25a–27b.

141 *Longhushan zhi* (Zhou Zhao), 37; *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 50. *Kongtong wenda,* question 89, lists the 138 statues within the Wanfa zongtan, an imperial gift from 1526; see also "Lidai gong fu guan jianzhi yange kao 歷代宮府觀建置沿革考," *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu,* juan 1, separate pagination.

142 *Xianquanji* (SKQS), juan 2.

143 "Lingbao liandu pushuo 靈寶鍊度普說," in *Xianquanji,* 7.5b–12a.

144 Wu Dajie 吳大節 (?–1442), a Jiangxi Daoist, had received the Shangqing registers from Zhang Yuchu and Zhang Yuqing; *Daolusi zuozhengyi Wu gong muzhiming* 道錄司左正一吳公墓誌銘, in *Wang wen'angong shiwenji,* 5.1a–2b.

145 "Sanyuan chuandu pushuo 三元傳度普說," in *Xianquanji,* 7.1a–5b. These can be described as lectures as well as sermons, as they are written in a formal written language. The other sermons concern a *liandu* salvation ritual and an initiation into exorcistic *fa* 法 traditions. The 39th Heavenly Master also mentioned his teachings given to people ordained during the thrice-yearly ordinations; preface, *Daode zhenjing zhangju xunsong.*

146 Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon,* 32–34. I am preparing a complete annotated translation of this text in French. For an earlier survey, see Reiter, *Grundelemente und Tendenzen,* 7–41.

147 See Zhang Yanpian's epitaph by Wang Yong 王咏, dated 1562 (recently excavated and published), in Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 280–283.

148 *Daomen shigui,* 9a–11a (section 4 on *zhaifa*), and 11a–12b (section 5 on *daofa*). This opposition, as theorized by Zhang Yuchu, overlaps with but is ideologically quite different from that between *ke* and *fa,* as theorized by Schipper, because these *daofa* all include a *zhaifa* (explicit in *Daomen shigui,* 11a).

149 See also Zhang Yuchu's preface to the *Taiji jilian neifa.* This question of the various *liandu* traditions as ranked by Zhang Yuchu is discussed in detail by Yokote Yutaka, "Chō Usho no saishōkan"; see also Zhu Yueli, "Zhang Yuchu lun daopai."

150 *Xianquanji,* 1.11a–22a. In spite of their different presentations, this text, the *Daomen shigui,* and other texts on Daoist lineages by Zhang Yuchu borrow heavily from each other. Most of them are not dated, thus making it impossible to trace a history of his thinking.

151 "Shoufa pushuo 授法普說," in *Xianquanji,* 7.12a–18a.

152 The Tianxin zhengfa does not appear in Zhang Yuchu's writings, likely superseded then by Qingwei.

153 On the Ming's high goals of ritual standardization *Daomen shigui* (10a) explicitly enjoins Daoists to adhere to the new (simplified) Daoist liturgy promulgated in 1374 by Taizu; *Da Ming … zhaijiao yi.* One should not exaggerate the impact of such a decision on actual practice, but it certainly reinforced the Heavenly Master's power to shape ordinations.

154 *Daomen shigui,* 6b–7a.

Chapter Seven: The Institution under the Ming and the Qing

1 The standard political history of the institution under the Ming is Zhuang Hongyi, *Mingdai daojiao zhengyipai.*

2 Zeng Longsheng, "Lun Mingdai Zhengyidao," 93.

3 On Daoists and rituals at the Jiajing court, see Tao Jin, "Da Gaoxuandian de daoshi." Shao is one rare case of a Longhushan Daoist to have an extant published collection of prose; *Cihao Taihe xiansheng quanji.*

4 Zeng Longsheng, "Lun Mingdai Zhengyidao," 92–93; Wang Xi, "Lun daojiao zhenren Zhang Yuanji"; Luk Yu-ping, *Empress,* 59–64.

5 Miranda, "Zhang Guoxiang." Zhang Guoxiang's birth date is not given in standard hagiographies but can be deduced from the texts dated 1611 celebrating his sixtieth birthday (shortly before his death); *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi, Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* edition, 213–222.

6 Zhuang Hongyi (*Mingdai daojiao zhengyipai,* 14) lists all the relevant official sources.

7 Schachter, "Printing the Dao."

8 Schipper, "Modern Popular Worship." Schipper and Verellen (*Taoist Canon,* 37–39) suggest the supplement represents a "platform for opposition to the Confucian orthodoxy."

9 *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi, Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* edition (last internal date: 1625), 213–222; these texts are also copied in *Lidai shenxian tongji* (ce [fascicle] 38) but are absent from the *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan xubian* edition of *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi.*

10 Amato, "Rebirth of a Lineage," 58–63. The genealogy is not extant, but the other two works are: *Han tianshi shijia* and *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi.*

11 Three prefaces (not included in the Daoist canon edition) have been preserved in Zhang Guoxiang's edition of the Longhushan gazetteer: *(Xuxiu) Longhushan zhi,* 5.98b–99b; anonymous, "*Huang Ming enming shilu* xu sanzhong"; and Goossaert, "*Huang Ming enming shilu.*" Together, these prefaces explain that the compilation was the work of Zhang Guoxiang, who was entrusted by the Wanli emperor to prepare an addition to the Daoist canon. Zhang certainly wanted his *Xu Daozang* to bear the mark of the strong continued support of the Ming regime for his institution, bar a short period between 1567 and 1572.

12 These poems are also found in other sources, including Zhu Yuanzhang's complete works in the *Siku quanshu* edition: *Ming taizu wenji* 明太祖文集, juan 16. One text alludes to the emperor writing and giving these poems as a sign of honor (18a).

13 Altogether, ninety-six texts (edicts, proclamations, and letters) are listed in the table of contents, but actual items are more numerous, since shorter mentions of imperial gifts, grants, requests, and honors are interspersed chronologically in between formal edicts.

14 See the nomination edicts for Zhang Yingjing (dated 1649) and Zhang Hongren (dated 1667) in *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 89; and *Shizu shilu* 世祖實錄 (in *Qing shilu*), 27.7a, 44.16b.

15 The governor of Jiangxi Province memorialized the throne, which nominated his successor after consultation with the Boards of Rites and Personnel. The choice, especially when the deceased Heavenly Master had no son, must have rested primarily with the Zhang family, and it does not seem that officials were actively involved in favoring some eligible candidates over others. See, for instance, documents pertaining to the succession of the 57th Heavenly Master in 1780 in the archives held by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, no. 94418.

16 Hosoya Yoshio ("Kenryū chō no Shōitsukyō," 572–574, 581–584) corrects the dates of these decisions. Zheng Yonghua ("Qingdai Qianlong chunian") further clarifies these events and provides the full texts of original archival documents, notably the memorials by Mei Gucheng 梅穀成 (1681–1763) that led to these decisions.

17 Hosoya Yoshio, "Kenryū chō no Shōitsukyō," 584.

18 Hu Sijing 胡思敬 (1870–1922), "Zhang tianshi shoupian 張天師受騙," in *Guowen beicheng,* 1:141.

19 On the history of relations between the Zhang Heavenly Masters and the Qing state, see Hosoya Yoshio, "Kenryū chō"; and Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo daojiao shi,* 4:214, 329–333; Goossaert, "Taoists, 1644–1850."

20 Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 165–180. Members of the Song imperial family regularly received ordination from the Shangqing patriarchs at Maoshan.

21 Wang, *Ming Prince; Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce.*

22 Luk Yu-ping, *Empress.*

23 Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei,* 295–301; *Shiliao huibian,* 85–94.

24 The various manuscript versions present variants but are still broadly similar. There is no critical edition yet. I have used an online edition that is considered reliable by Daoists I have consulted in Shanghai. See *Kongtong wenda.*

25 On these texts, see Goossaert, "*Daojiao yuanliu*."

26 Zhang Jizong, whose name shared the same first character with the 30th Heavenly Master, explained that his mother had a vision of Zhang Jixian before conceiving him; *Kongtong wenda,* question 301.

27 *Kongtong wenda,* question 75, quoting the prediction that there will only be seventy-two Heavenly Masters.

28 Chen Yaoting, "Shanghai daojiao shi," 413–438.

29 Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* chap. 4.

30 Zhang Jiyu (*Tianshidao shilüe,* 161) discusses Ming sources describing the crowds welcoming the Heavenly Master visiting Beijing. Press articles reporting Zhang Renzheng's visit to Hankou in 1874 mention huge crowds, people buying his talismans, audiences with local Daoists, and visits to temples where the Heavenly Master offered plaques; "Zaiji Zhang zhenren zai Hangao shi 再記張真人在漢皋事," in *Shenbao,* 26 November 1874.

31 "Zhang zhenren 張真人," in *Chunxiang zhuibi,* 3.21a–b (*Shiliao huibian,* 168).

32 De Groot, *Les Fêtes,* 81.

33 "Tcham [Zhang], head of the tao-ssée [*daoshi*], who called himself Tien-ssee [Tianshi] or the Heavenly Doctor, then came to Fou-tcheou [Fuzhou]. This beautiful name is hereditary to his family, so that his son, even if he is the most ignorant and stupid of all men, will have the name of Heavenly Doctor like his father. The one who governs the tao-ssée today is a man of about thirty years of age, very pleasant and handsome; he is superbly dressed, and he is carried on the shoulders of eight men, in a magnificent sedan. Thus he travels from time to time all over China to visit his monks and to make an abundant harvest of money. For, as the tao-ssée depend on him, they are obliged to make considerable gifts to him to receive his approval and to be maintained in their privileges. The tcham-tien-ssée thus came to Fou-tcheou with a large retinue, and in the pomp of which I have just spoken. The tao-ssée, proud of the arrival of their leader, spread the word throughout the city that the preachers of the Christian law did not dare to appear, and that they had fled…. All the sick people of Fou-tcheou, and all those to whom some misfortune had befallen,

came to the Heavenly Doctor, to be relieved of their ills. The doctor gravely pronounced this few words, niamtching hoam tcha pao, which means, 'Raise your eyes to the guardian spirit of your city, so that he may know your ills and report them to me.'" *Lettres* édifiantes *et curieuses,* 60–61. What the Heavenly Master says might be reconstructed as "nian Chenghuang chabao 念城隍查報."

34 "From time immemorial, people have flocked to Long-hou-shan, that is, to the Mountain of Dragons and Tigers, which is the residence of the Heavenly Master, to ask him for help against the vexations of evil spirits, and to offer him considerable sums of money. What he receives in honors, respect, veneration, and tribute is incredible. There is, in Europe, neither prince, nor Pontiff, nor miracle-working saint who is the object of such worship. So much so, that when the Heavenly Master passes through the streets, the people hasten to collect the dust or mud that his feet have trodden, like a sure remedy against all evil spells." Danicourt, "Rapport sur l'origine," 17–18.

35 "Guian yuguai 歸安魚怪," in *Zi buyu,* 13:303–304 (*Shiliao huibian,* 179).

36 Penny, "Meeting the Celestial Master," 53.

37 In 1874, the Hankou magistrate honored him: "Hankou xindao tianshi 漢口新到天師," in *Shenbao,* 6 November 1874. "Tianshi daoyue 天師到粵" (in *Shenbao,* 28 September 1880) describes the great pomp of the Heavenly Master's official boat, in many ways similar to that of a high civil or military official, as well as the crowds of devotees trying to approach him. "Dake wen Zhang zhenren shi 答客問張真人事" (in *Shenbao,* 17 June 1904) records that the Heavenly Master, then living in Shanghai, was on good terms with all local officials, and was held in awe by the local population.

38 *(Tongzhi) Guangxin fuzhi* (12.35b–36a) tells how the 54th Heavenly Master, Zhang Jizong, traveled to the Southern Peak, Nanyue, to celebrate a *jiao* offering there in 1695; on his way, he was invited by local elites and the magistrate to exorcise a sprite who was causing boats to collapse on the river.

39 This section is based on Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma."

40 Marriages with noble families were common during the Ming but apparently less so during the Qing.

41 *Longhushan zhi* (1844), 44a–b. Zhang Daben 張大本 (1767–?), fourth-generation kin and adopted son of the 57th Heavenly Master, also led a distinguished career in the *Siku Quanshu* compilation office and in military positions in the provinces: Guo Shusen, *Tianshidao,* 194. More evidence can be found in the Zhang genealogy, the *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu.*

42 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 108–109; *Da Qing huidian shili,* 501.8a–b.

43 "Zhenrenfu faguan 真人府法官," in *Sanyi bitan,* 4.8a–9a. The first of the anonymous *faguan* exorcising demons in this anecdote is probably Lou Jinyuan, a figure discussed below. Similarly, another early Qing scholar who visited Longhushan commented that the Heavenly Master did not have to really master the liturgy since it was his Daoists who did all the ritual work; *Renshutang biji,* 25.17–18b: I am grateful to Wu Nengchang for this reference.

44 Gao Weitai 高惟泰, a Longhushan Daoist, cured a prince during the Shunzhi reign; *(Tongzhi) Guangxin fuzhi,* 10.59b–60a. The 54th Heavenly Master had already arranged during the Kangxi reign for three of his Daoists (*fayuan* 法員) to stay at the court in the emperor's service; *Bu Han tianshi shijia,* 350–351.

45 Shi Daoyuan, *faming* Daoyuan, *zi* Liangsheng 亮生, *hao* Tiezhu 鐵竹.

46 This short biography is abstracted from *Qionglongshan zhi, Xuanmiaoguan zhi,* and other sources. More on Shi's career in Goossaert, "Daoism and Local Cults."

47 *Lidai shenxian tongji,* ce 冊 17.

48 *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu,* 3.1b.

49 Lou Jinyuan, *zi* Sanchen 三臣, *hao* Langzhai 朗齋, and Shangqing wairen 上清外人. This section on Lou Jinyuan is based on Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma," and *Taoists of Peking,* 199–208.

50 Hosoya Yoshio, "Yōshō chō"; Chen Wenyi, "Tan Miaozheng zhenren"; Luo Wenhua, "Qingdai gaodao Lou Jinyuan"; Kong Linghong and Han Songtao, *Jiangxi daojiao shi,* 340–349. See his epitaph by Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊 (d.u.) in *Shiliao huibian,* 290–292.

51 The comparison with Zhang Liusun and Shao Yuanjie is made explicit in an inscription written for the court-financed rebuilding of the Shangqinggong in 1731–1732; *Chongxiu Longhu guan Da shangqinggong bing xinjian Doudian* 重修龍虎觀大上清宮並新建斗殿, in *Ershuilou wenji,* 8.1a–4a. This text also focuses on Zhang Daoling and his descendants as exorcists. This was a draft for the imperial inscription; the actual imperial stele ended up being much shorter, without this passage.

52 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 64.

53 ter Haar, "Yongzheng and His Buddhist abbots"; Liu Yuhong, *Yongzheng yu Chanzong.*

54 Li Guorong, "Yongzheng yu dandao."

55 Chen Wenyi, "Tan Miaozheng zhenren," 305.

56 Chen Wenyi, "Tan Miaozheng zhenren," 300; *Baiyun xianbiao,* 54a–55a.

57 Li Guorong, "Yongzheng yu dandao."

58 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 160–165.

59 The chronology of Liu's appointments is provided in various sources, but most precisely in *Da Zhenrenfu bei* 大真人府碑 (1740), in *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* (hereafter *Beitu*), 69:64; and in Hosoya Yoshio, "Yōshō chō," 5. The full texts of some of the appointment edicts are included in *Longhushan zhi* (1740).

60 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 4–5.

61 Yongzheng 11/10/7 edict, *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 5.

62 *Miaoyuanguan bei* 妙緣觀碑 (1756), in *Beitu,* 71:74. We do not have any later inscription from this temple and therefore do not know the later history of the temple and residence; see Bujard, "Le Miaoyuan guan."

63 *Da Zhenrenfu bei; Longhushan zhi* (1740), 184–185.

64 *Miaoyuanguan bei.*

65 The 54th Heavenly Master experienced a twelve-year regency.

66 A memorial by the Jiangxi governor (*lufu zouzhe* dated 1776 [Qianlong 41/10/16] in palace archives) describes a confused situation just after Lou's death, when it appeared that a deputy, named by and answering to Lou alone, was running things at Longhushan.

67 See *Longhushan zhi* (1740; 1–3), an early 1731 edict in which the Yongzheng emperor orders a full-scale restoration as a token of his gratitude to Lou Jinyuan, as well as many other documents in the same work (see pages 8–11 on the lavish landed endowments); Hosoya Yoshio, "Yōshō chō," 1–3, 8–13.

68 In a text written for Lou's seventieth birthday, in 1757 (*Longhushan zhi* [1740], 303–304), Zhang Zhaolin expresses his gratitude.

69 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 29; Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo daojiao shi,* 4:184–189. Gao Lijuan ("Qingchao huangjia daoguan") has explored in detail the politics of shifting balance of power at Longhushan during Lou Jinyuan's time, arguing that Lou raised the Shangqinggong above the Zhenrenfu, but only temporarily.

70 An entry in *Gaozong shilu* 高宗實錄 (in *Qing shilu*, juan 1, Yongzheng 13/8/23 names two of them, Zhang Taixu 張太虛 and Wang Dingqian 王定乾, neither of whom is otherwise known.

71 Goossaert, "Counting the Monks," 55–58.

72 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 5–8.

73 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 91–92. On Lou Jinyuan and the Dongyuemiao, see Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking,* 201–202.

74 Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo daojiao shi,* 4:184.

75 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 160–165.

76 *Taiji lingbao jilian keyi,* in Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō,* 1:503–575, and *Zangwai daoshu,* 17:628–698; it includes a 1767 preface by Lou himself.

77 *Dafan xiantian zougao xuanke,* with an undated preface by Lou.

78 Zhaolian 昭槤 (1780–1833), "Lou zhenren" 婁真人, in *Xiaoting zalu,* 9:274; Ji Yun, *Yuewei caotang biji,* 7:124–125 (*Shiliao huibian,* 196). In Yuan Mei, "Zhi gui ermiao 治鬼二妙," in *Zi buyu,* 9:219 (*Shiliao huibian,* 177), Lou provides good sense advice to high officials on dealing with malignant spirits. In Yuan Mei's story "Lou zhenren cuo zhuo yao" 婁真人錯捉妖 (in *Zi buyu,* 17:400–401 [*Shiliao huibian,* 183]), though, Lou is invited to exorcise malignant spirits haunting a high official's home, but he fails to catch all the culprits.

79 Yuan Mei, "Lou Luo er daoren 婁羅二道人," in *Zi buyu,* 21:501–502 (*Shiliao huibian,* 185–186).

80 The theme of Daoism's survival depending on the Heavenly Master's performance for the emperor comes up in another anecdote, set in 1805. The Heavenly Master, when visiting the palace in audience, is requested to make it rain and fails; the emperor threatens to eradicate Daoism, but gods (in the Heavenly Master's service) paste talismans on all the palace buildings (at the time of the Duanwu festival), and the emperor relents; *Chongming manlu,* 1.28b (*Shiliao huibian,* 248).

81 *(Tongzhi) Guangxin fuzhi* (10.27a–31b), average of thirteen indicated lengths of tenure.

82 *Da Zhenrenfu bei.* For more detail on late Qing court Daoists, see Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking,* chap. 7.

83 Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking,* 203.

84 Hosoya Yoshio, "Yōshō chō," 3–4.

85 *(Tongzhi) Guangxin fuzhi,* 10.28a; Hosoya Yoshio, "Kenryū chō no Shōitsukyō," 585.

86 Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking,* 205–207.

87 The Lous were one of these families: a sixth-generation descendant of Lou Jinyuan was abbot of one of Longhushan's *daoyuan* and manager of the Shangqinggong in 1844; *Longhushan zhi* (1844), 45b.

88 Cao Benye and Liu Hong, *Longhushan Tianshidao yinyue yanjiu,* 43.

89 *Da Qing huidian shili,* 1219.1b*xia.*

90 *(Qinding) Zongguan Neiwufu xianxing zeli: Zhangyisi,* 235; and Board of Personnel memorandum (document no. 109101) in Grand Secretariat Archives, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.

91 Neiwufu 內務府 archives at Number One Historical Archives 第一歷史檔案館, Beijing (hereafter NWF), Zhangyisi, file 3791.

92 NWF Zhangyisi, file 3791.

93 Daoguang 19/11/8 edict in *Da Qing huidian shili,* 1217.3a*xia*–3b*shang;* and *(Qinding) Gongzhong xianxing zeli,* 1.101a–102b.

94 They are mentioned in 1910 documents; NWF Zhangyisi, file 3810.

95 Examples include "Jiaguan huayuan 假官化緣," in *Shenbao,* 11 April 1877.

96 "Daoliu budao 道流不道," in *Shenbao,* 23 September 1893.

97 One *daoji* 道紀 in each prefecture 府, one *daozheng* 道正 in each subprefecture 州, and one *daohui* 道會 in each county 縣. On late Qing clerical officials, see Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking,* chap. 3.

98 *Changdao guan shijin bei* 常道觀示禁碑 (1883), in *Ba Shu daojiao beiwen jicheng,* 515–516.

99 This is an underestimate, for several reasons, including incomplete data in the source, and Daoist officials who were actually concurrently responsible for several jurisdictions.

100 Even when the local Daoist official (if the position existed in practice) was not posted at the City God Temple, the latter was still, in most cases, staffed by Daoists.

101 Among these 119, 28 were City God Temples, Eastern Peak Temples, or Xuanmiaoguan.

102 Goossaert, "Qingdai Jiangnan diqu."

103 Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo daojiao shi,* 4:190; *Xuanmiaoguan zhi,* 4.2a. Pan was a disciple of Hu Deguo 胡德果, himself a disciple of Shi Daoyuan.

104 *Xuanmiaoguan zhi,* 4.2b–3b.

105 *Xuanmiaoguan zhi,* 4.3b–4b.

106 *Xuanmiaoguan zhi,* 4.5a.

107 *Wushan Chenghuangmiao zhi,* 5.833–834 (*Shiliao huibian,* 133–135).

108 The key source is the 1789 gazetteer, *Wushan Chenghuangmiao zhi,* a rich source on the life of the temple during the eighteenth century. The temple housed the provincial, prefectural, and county (for the two counties based in Hangzhou) City Gods.

109 *Wushan Chenghuangmiao zhi,* 5:828–830.

110 *Kunshanxian Chenghuangmiao xuzhi,* 28–38.

111 *(Tongzhi) Guangxin fuzhi,* 10.27a–31b. Among these fifty-four Daoists, twenty-two were from Guixi County itself, twenty-four from neighboring counties (all but one within Jiangxi Province), and eight from Jiangnan.

112 The *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu* has little to say on the corporate landholdings of the lineage—it is likely that these had suffered heavily from the Taiping war (see "Cimiao fudi jianzhi kao 祠廟府第建置考," juan 1, separate pagination); some land was rented to the Dai 戴 and Wang 汪, who were the surnames of major *faguan.* By 1890, the lineage had clearly less land than both the Zhenrenfu and the Shangqinggong, but this may have been less true in earlier times.

113 This undated painted scroll (almost 3 meters wide) by Guan Huai 關槐 (1749–1806, a noted Hangzhou painter also noted for his involvement with Lüzu 呂祖 spirit-writing activities) is kept in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; see Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China,* cat. 151. It shows the Shangqinggong and the Zhengyiguan (the township and the residence are not in the picture) as well as major peaks and natural sites (caves, ponds).

114 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), juan 9. It is noteworthy that the donation was a gift to Lou Jinyuan (who was head of one of the Shangqinggong residences) and thus went to the Shangqinggong and not to the Zhenrenfu. The latter is said to hold about nineteen *qing* (ca. 316 acres). The Heavenly Master kept administrative oversight over the accounts of the Shangqinggong, however; he also directly controlled the (much smaller) endowment of the Zhengyiguan.

115 Welch, *Practice of Chinese Buddhism,* appendix 9, discusses the particularly well-endowed Jinshansi 金山寺, which in the early twentieth century held forty-eight *qing* of land and fed 350 clerics.

116 *Kongtong wenda,* questions 146–147.

117 *Longhushan zhi* (1740), 122–124. This document also lists the precise salaries of all the temple's staff.

118 Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Qingdai Zhang tianshi de zhize," 164–165, based on published archival material.

119 Goossaert, "Quanzhen Clergy," 721.

120 Schipper, "Le pacte de pureté."

121 Welch, "Chang T'ien Shih," 192.

122 Zhang Jiyu (*Tianshidao shilüe*, 160–161) discusses pledges (notably gold rings) given during late imperial ordinations at Longhushan that are similar to those discussed in Daoist medieval liturgical manuals. Hsieh Tsung-hui ("Book Review," 401) quotes an 1839 account of an ordination at Longhushan that explains how poor Daoists who could not afford it would try to find a sponsor who would pay and be ordained in their name.

123 Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Qingdai Zhang tianshi de zhize," 168–171, discusses the prices of talismans, ritual services, and canonizations.

Chapter Eight: The Heavenly Masters and Late Imperial Chinese Society

1 "Ji Zhang zhenren shejiao kou keming 記張真人設醮叩科名" (in *Shenbao,* 7 July 1873) provides a description of a rather outlandish ritual in which the Heavenly Master is invited by a group of examination candidates to divine the names of the future laureates. Wang Chien-ch'uan (*Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 166) quotes an early Qing anecdote in a morality book about a man who went to Longhushan to request a funerary ritual for his deceased father.

2 Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 108–113.

3 Matsumoto Kōichi, "Daoism," 323.

4 Zhang Jintao, *Zhongguo Longhushan Tianshidao,* 105–109. In *Chongming manlu,* 2.6b–7a (*Shiliao huibian,* 248–249), a nineteenth-century high official goes all the way to Longhushan to request (and pay dearly) for a talisman made by the Heavenly Master himself; a similar case is found in Yuan Mei, "Baishi jing 白石精," in *Zi buyu,* 19.472–473 (*Shiliao huibian,* 184–185; the price of the talisman is thirty taels). "Zhang zhenren," *Chunxiang zhuibi,* 3.21a–b (*Shiliao huibian,* 168), lists detailed prices for the talismans at the time of the 54th Heavenly Master Zhang Jizong.

5 Fava, *Aux portes du ciel,* 52–55; Zheng Canshan, *Daofa haihan,* 89–92.

6 "Heshang daoshi an leili 和尚道士案類列," in *Shenbao,* 25 May 1877; "Xianzun quzhu yiduan kuangpian 縣尊驅逐異端誑騙," in *Shenbao,* 17 October 1872, and an edict in *Shenbao,* 30 September 1872.

7 See a large collection of records from Qing-period anecdotes in *Shiliao huibian,* 155–269.

8 For instance, *Yuewei caotang biji,* 9:182–183 (*Shiliao huibian,* 196) and 17:421–422 (*Shiliao huibian,* 198–199).

9 For instance, "Hu ru renfu 狐入人腹," in *Dianshizhai huabao,* vol. "Mu 木," 87 (published in 1894); "Tianshi chu yao 天師除妖," in *Dianshizhai huabao,* vol. "Shu 數," 70 (published in 1895). "Tianshi nanwu 天師難侮" (in *Dianshizhai huabao,* vol. "Yue 樂," 51; published in 1894) relates how the Heavenly Master taught several doubters a lesson on his mastery over demons and gods. More cases were reported in the daily *Shenbao.* For instance, "Ji Taojiayan tianshi nayao shi 記陶家堰天師拿妖事" (in *Shenbao,* 23 April 1873) tells (in a highly admiring tone) the story of a peasant in Zhejiang Province suffering from demonic disturbances; an official wrote to Longhushan on his behalf and sent a large amount of money; the Heavenly Master came with four *faguan* and captured the malevolent sprite. "Tianshi jiang xing 天師將行" (in *Shenbao,* 15 June 1877) tells us that while in Shanghai, the Heavenly Master did a brisk trade in talismans, but because of time constraints had to turn down most invitations for exorcisms.

10 "Ji Zhang zhenren zhi yaomiao shi 記張真人治妖廟事" (in *Shenbao,* 5 July 1873) describes a Zhejiang mediumistic temple cult and how the Heavenly Master, called for a case of possession, managed to deprive the temple of efficacy and thereby of patronage.

11 *Kongtong wenda,* question 308.

12 *Yanzui zaji,* 2.4b (*Shiliao huibian,* 264).

13 Li Liliang, *Yidai tianshi,* 37–39.

14 Liu Zhongyu, *Daojiao shoulu zhidu yanjiu,* 185–197.

15 In Goossaert, "Quanzhen, What Quanzhen?," I make the case that Quanzhen and Zhengyi were not two separate schools but two distinct ordination systems and religious styles.

16 See a *zhidie* issued in 1883 by the Heavenly Master in *Shiliao huibian,* 94–96.

17 Saso, *Teachings of Taoist Master Chuang,* 74.

18 *Yunnan … ziliao suobian,* 10, quoting the 1921 *Yiliang xianzhi* 宜良縣志. Li Liliang (*Yidai tianshi,* 46) claims that there were still some thirty Quanzhen Daoists living at Longhushan in the 1930s.

19 Ding Huang, "Zhengyi dahuang yuxiu," discusses in detail the liturgical registers conferred in 1947 by the Heavenly Master to a lay woman.

20 *Wenchang dadong xianjing*, fanli.13a–b; and Kong Yuben's own account on 6.59a–b.

21 Ding Huang, "Tainan shiye daoshi," 295; Li Liliang, *Yidai tianshi,* 3–9.

22 Saso, *Teachings of Taoist Master Chuang,* 68–74; Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Qingmo Riju chu"; Li Liliang, *Yidai tianshi,* 5–9.

23 See Hsieh Tsung-hui, "Quanzhou Nan'an zoulu yishi chutan" and "Zhengyi jinglu xin shiliao"; Lü Pengzhi, "Gan xibei faxian"; and Lü Pengzhi, Dai Lihui, and Lan Songyan, *Jiangxisheng Tongguxian … daojiao keyi,* which provides the original documents. See also Qi Gang, "Zhenan difang daojiao."

24 *Kongtong wenda,* questions 42–43 and, with explanations on the purpose of each register, questions 100–120.

25 1912 manuscript in a private collection; some sections are included in *Shiliao huibian,* 96–98.

26 Lü Pengzhi, "Gan xibei faxian."

27 For the detailed references, see appendix B. The text is edited in *Shiliao huibian,* 98–99.

28 For instance, Song Shiying 宋實穎, the author of the inscription *Zhu tianjun dian beiji* 朱天君殿碑記 (*Qionglongshan zhi,* 2:111–116; also in Wu Yakui, *Jiangnan daojiao beiji ziliaoji,* no. 195), signs as 受高上大洞文昌紫陽寶籙紫霄玉華上令司文昌內院事弟子. The title 紫霄玉華上令 is similar to the title corresponding to rank 7b of the Shangqing sandong jiuhuanei 上清三洞九華內 tradition in the Suzhou version. The register itself (高上大洞文昌紫陽寶籙) is found in the Daoist canon (no. 1214), but it does not include this title; therefore Shi Daoyuan conferred on his disciple the register and separately selected this title from the Shangqing sandong jiuhuanei tradition (why this tradition and not another is unclear to me) in the *Tiantan yuge.*

29 Zhu Jianming and Tan Jingde, *Shanghai Nanhuixian Zhengyi pai,* 73; Chen Yaoting, "Shanghai daojiao shi," 413–415.

30 In *Kongtong wenda,* question 15, the 54th Heavenly Master claims that Pu'an was a disciple of the 30th Heavenly Master.

31 Liu Jinfeng, *Gannan zongzu shehui,* 263.

32 For instances of contemporary Daoists, many of them Hakka, Yao, or She, with ancestors who had been ordained at Longhushan, see Ye Mingsheng, "Min xibei Pu'an Qingwei," 410–411; Zhuang Liwei and Zheng Runzhen, "Nanxiong miaohui daguan," 51; and Nie Deren, "Qiantan Jianning daojiao," 379 (a Hakka Daoist who received a plaque inscribed by the Heavenly Master for his altar in 1910). More cases can be found in the recent outflow of excellent ethnographies of Chinese local religion and religious specialists, notably as

published in the journal *Min-su chü-i,* in the series *Studies in Chinese Ritual, Theatre, and Folklore* edited by Wang Ch'iu-kuei, and *Traditional Hakka Society* edited by John Lagerwey.

33 Chan Wing-Hoi ("Ordination Names in Hakka Genealogies," 79) documents a case of a Hakka priest who, when ordained at Longhushan, swore never to practice again certain "heterodox" rituals.

34 Chan Wing-Hoi, "Ordination Names in Hakka Genealogies," 68.

35 This section is based on Goossaert, "Question of Control."

36 "Tianshi zhi Su yuanyou 天師至蘇緣由" (in *Shenbao,* 5 May 1877) describes such a session of examining Daoist novices by the Heavenly Master in Suzhou.

37 See *Da Qing huidian shili,* 501.8a; *(Qinding) Libu zeli,* 170.3b–4b (mentioning a case in 1815 when the Heavenly Master was punished for having sent his *faguan* on ordination tours); Zheng Yonghua, "Lun Qianlong sinian," Goossaert, "Counting the Monks," 54 (quoting archival material dated 1739); Hosoya Yoshio, "Kenryū chō no Shōitsukyō," 588n12; Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Qingdai Zhang tianshi de zhize," 165–166 and *Shiliao huibian,* 75–76.

38 The documents are published in *Shiliao huibian,* 77–81.

39 This document is edited in Wang and Goossaert, *Jindai Zhang tianshi shiliao xubian.*

40 "Eyuan jinwen 鄂垣近聞," in *Shenbao,* 2 January 1883.

41 "Daoshi qiuguan 道士求官," in *Shenbao,* 4 July 1887.

42 "Chicha daoshi 飭查道士," in *Shenbao,* 21 January 1889.

43 "Shanghai xianshu suoan 上海縣署瑣案," in *Shenbao,* 27 May 1902; and "Shanghai xianshu suoan 上海縣署瑣案," in *Shenbao,* 30 May 1902.

44 "Quzhu daoshi 驅逐道士," in *Shenbao,* 27 October 1880.

45 Lai Chi-tim, "Minguo shiqi Guangzhou" and *Guangdong difang daojiao yanjiu,* chap. 5.

46 "Hulin xiaoxialu 虎林消夏錄," in *Shenbao,* 17 July 1894.

47 This section is based on Goossaert, "Heavenly Master, Canonization."

48 Wang Chien-ch'uan (*Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu,* 167–168) quotes Taiwanese morality books. This belief was common even in Hebei Province, where the direct influence of the Heavenly Master institution was weak; Gamble, *Ting Hsien,* 400.

49 "Kuishen 窺神," in *Liuhu,* 199–200; "Shenchao tianshi 神朝天師," in *Dianshizhai huabao,* vol. "Yu 御," 19 (published in 1895). In "Longjun zhiyi 龍

君執役" (in *Liunan xubi,* 1:143), a (Ming-period) magistrate pays the Zhang Heavenly Master a visit, and the latter introduces his guest to a servant of his who is a dragon king in exile on earth (and duly proves it by performing a rain miracle). See also Ji Yun, *Yuewei caotang biji,* 5:99 and 21:501–502.

50 Cedzich, "Cult of the Wu-t'ung"; von Glahn, "Enchantment of Wealth"; *Sinister Way,* chaps. 6–7; Jiang Zhushan, "Tang Bin jinhui Wutong shen."

51 Edward Davis, oral communication.

52 Von Glahn, *Sinister Way,* 229; Goossaert and Berezkin, "Wutong Cult."

53 *Qionglongshan zhi,* 2:231–233.

54 Meulenbeld, *Demonic Warfare.*

55 Cedzich ("Cult of the Wu-t'ung") quotes liturgical texts, notably in the *Daofa huiyuan.* In mid-Ming gazetteers of the Huizhou area, one of the hotbeds of the Wutong cult, the Heavenly Master is said to have in earlier times canonized as generals (*jiangjun*) several gods under the Wutong; a canonization by the 38th Heavenly Master is also discussed: e.g., *(Hongzhi) Huizhou fuzhi,* 5.44a.

56 "Shangfangshan diyidian Yongfuhou jinjue tianshen shiyan 上方山第一殿永福侯進爵天神實驗," in *Qionglongshan zhi,* 2:243–245.

57 Yongfuhou was indeed one of the titles (granted in 1174, and not the highest one, interestingly) successively granted by the Song state to the first of the five Wutong brothers; *Song huiyao jigao,* li20.157b–158b.

58 The vast amount of bloody offerings 肉山酒海 at Shangfangshan (today, often pig heads) was a point of contention with local authorities: Goossaert and Berezkin, "Wutong Cult"; Von Glahn, *Sinister Way,* 230.

59 Jiang Zhushan, "Tang Bin jinhui Wutong shen," 87.

60 "Tang Wenzheng 湯文正," in *Yeyu qiudeng lu,* 3/1:196.

61 This is discussed in detail in Goossaert, "Daoism and Local Cults."

62 Fan Chunwu ("Ming Qing Jiangnan Dutian xinyang") discusses the case of Zhang Xun 張巡, who developed notably (but not only) in Jiangnan as a subordinate of the Eastern Peak; on Marshal Wen, see Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*.

63 For instance, Saso (*Teachings of Taoist Master Chuang,* 73) mentions a protective talisman given to the Chenghuangmiao in Xinzhu, Taiwan.

64 Lü Pengzhi, "Gan xibei faxian," 93.

65 Little and Eichman, *Taoism,* cat. 82. The illustration in the catalog is incomplete, as the last part of the inscription is missing. I am grateful to Hwai-ling Yeh-

Lewis, collections manager at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for providing me with images of the complete colophon. There now exists a comprehensive analysis of this document; Reich, *Seeing the Sacred.*

66 Li Zhong was possibly not even a major god in local society; I have failed to find any trace of him in the 1824 *Shicheng xianzhi* (the only gazetteer of Shicheng available to me).

67 Wang, "Ming Princes."

68 So far I have not been able to locate these registers in Daoist sources, but they may be alternative titles to known registers.

69 I have not found these precise ranks and titles in the *Tiantan yuge* edited by Shi Daoyuan.

70 This text is edited in *Shiliao huibian*, 96–98.

71 I am aware that the term "feudal" may seem inappropriate for a large number of reasons, but it is useful to distinguish the type of titles usually granted to local gods (and, by Qing times, to them *only*) from other titles such as Daoist titles or those of the civil bureaucracy. Hymes (*Way and Byway*, 181–188) discusses this distinction clearly.

72 *Taishang hundong chiwen nüqing zhaoshu tianlü* 太上混洞赤文女青詔書天律 (*Daofa huiyuan*, 251.4b) 諸土地受敕，位據一方者 (…) 違者徒九年; *Taixuan Fengdu heilü yige* 泰玄酆都黑律儀格 (*Daofa huiyuan*, 267.11a) 諸道觀土地，及法壇、真靖土地，位同城隍，並受上帝律，與城隍同。Idem, 13b: 諸禽獸蛇龍魚蜃，年久歲深，亦能變化人形，興妖作怪者，至大者立廟。無元姓之神，有立功修德，福佑生民，人心歸向者，則城隍社令舉保嶽府進補，充一方本祭香火福神。至於功德重者，可為奏聞帝闕，或加敕封之號。This text goes on to discuss the canonization of the Wutong (14b–15b).

73 Duke of Liu, a variant of the title originally granted to Zhang Liang (Liuhou, marquis of Liu), was given hereditarily to the Heavenly Masters during the Yuan dynasty.

74 *Chongjian Lingyingmiao ji* 重建靈應廟記, in *Guacang jinshizhi*, 11.21a–22b.

75 Xu Mingshan 徐明善 (1250–?), *Weiwu ci ji* 威武祠記, in *Quan Yuanwen*, 17:277–279. Despite the similar title, this refers to an entirely different god from the one in the previous inscription.

76 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, 19.16b; Zhang Keda asks for titles for Zhang Daoling, two local gods of Longhushan (Jade spring 玉泉 and Dragon well 龍井), as well as Ziming shanshen, a local god based a bit further away.

77 See, for instance, a story of the Heavenly Master granting titles to local gods in the late Ming novel *Sanbao taijian Xiyangji* 三寶太監西洋記 (1598), chap. 19. See also the late Qing novels *Baxian dedao* 八仙得道, chap. 79; and *Dangkouzhi* 蕩寇志 (1853), chap. 138; Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu*, 152–154.

78 Wang Chien-ch'uan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu*, 166–168; on the relationships between the Heavenly Masters and the Jiangnan City God Temples, see Goossaert, "Qingdai Jiangnan diqu." For the Heavenly Master's canonization of the Xinzhu (Taiwan) City God in the 1880s, see Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Qingmo Riju chu."

79 *Fahua xiangzhi*, 8:345–346 (*Shiliao huibian*, 112–113).

80 *Changzhouxian Dayunxiang lingjisi tudi fengxian […] fugu yuanguan santu beiji* 長洲縣大雲鄉靈跡司土地奉宪□復古原管三圖碑記, in *Ming Qing yilai … beike ji*, no. 292, 408–410. Also discussed in Wang Jian, *Lihai xiangguan*, 107.

81 Hamashima Atsutoshi, *Sōkan shinkō*, 231–232, 320–322; *(Chongji) Zhangyanzhi*, 2:62.

82 *Gantang xiaozhi*, 4.5a–b.

83 *Huangxizhi*, 8.9a–b.

84 On the history of state canonizations, the classical study is Hansen (*Changing Gods in Medieval China*), who studies the Song procedures that remained largely valid until 1908. For an insightful case study of canonization during the nineteenth century, see Lo Shih-chieh, "Local Politics."

85 On the notion of *daofeng*, see Schipper, "Modern Popular Worship"; and Gao Zhenhong, "Chaofeng, daofeng yu minfeng."

86 Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon*, 1210–1216. See also Davis, "Arms and the Tao, 1" and "Arms and the Tao, 2."

87 *Xuxian hanzao* 徐仙翰藻, juan 9, "啟玄表," "謝恩表," "上天師表," and "謝天師表(真君奏職)," in which the gods thank both the emperor and the Heavenly Master for their canonization.

88 *Xuxian hanzao*, juan 12, "題為真人授仙簡疏." "Lingji zhenren xu 靈濟真人序" (in *Zanling ji* 贊靈集, 1.12b–14a) claims that the gods were canonized by the 38th Heavenly Master, thus during the early fourteenth century.

89 *Dahui … Fude wusheng jing*. This scripture is undated but probably dates from the early Ming.

90 "Zhengyi zhenrenfu pai 正乙真人府牌," "Zhengyi zhenren chengxing chiwen 正乙真人承行敕文," in *Guangfumiao zhi*, 18a–21b.

91 Shi Fenglai 施鳳來 (1563–1642), *Chongxiu Longhushan Shangqinggong ji* 重修龍虎山上清宮記, in *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu*, 1, "Yiwen 藝文," 3a.

92 There is, however, at least one case of a Qing gazetteer that mentions how the Heavenly Master promoted a local god in the administration of the Eastern Peak; *Shenghuzhi*, 6:483.

93 I assume "Jade edicts" here refers to edicts in the name of the Jade Emperor, but it interesting to note that they are enacted "by imperial delegation" 承制.

94 "Chuerri xinta yizhou kan Zhongtianwang hui 初二日莘塔艤舟看中天王會," in *Xiaojuan youge ji*, juan 21 (*Shiliao huibian*, 300).

95 "Miaogui manshen 廟鬼慢神," in *Yongxian zhai biji*, 8:178–179 (*Shiliao huibian*, 237). In 1856, Danicourt ("Rapport sur l'origine," 20) also insists on the hefty prices for canonizations.

96 "Suozai 瑣載," in *Honglan yisheng*, juan 4 (*Shiliao huibian*, 211–212).

97 *Baicheng yanshui*, 345 (*Shiliao huibian*, 115).

98 *Shenghuzhi*, 6:481 (*Shiliao huibian*, 112).

99 Xu Dishan, *Fuji mixin de yanjiu*, 108.

100 "Zhou Cili 周次立," in *Beidongyuan bilu*, xubian, juan 3 (*Shiliao huibian*, 238).

101 "Chen Sima 陳司馬," in *Lisheng*, 4:115. Yet other similar cases can be found in "Jiyi size 記異四則" (in *Shenbao*, 13 May 1873) and "Guacang xiaozhi 括蒼小志" (in *Shenbao*, 5 October 1885), in which a local official receives a notification from the Heavenly Master that he is nominated as City God; he quits his posting, returns home, and prepares for death.

102 *Tuian suibi*, juan 10 (*Shiliao huibian*, 223).

103 "Hui Chen Youliang miao 毀陳友諒廟," in *Zi buyu*, 10:254–255 (*Shiliao huibian*, 178). On the destructive aspects of the management of local cults in late imperial Jiangnan, also implying collaboration between local officials and the Heavenly Master administration, see Goossaert, "Destruction of Immoral Temples."

104 Goossaert, "Bureaucratie, taxation et justice."

105 Wu Xiaohong, "Song-Yuan shiqi Longhushan daoshi."

106 Katz, *Divine Justice*.

107 For instance, *Wushan Chenghuangmiao zhi*, 3:801–802; see Katz, *Divine Justice*, chap. 4.

108 "Zhihu 治狐," in *Zhiwenlu*, juan 2 (*Shiliao huibian*, 231–232).

109 "*Xinjing* zhuhu 心經誅狐," in *Zi buyu*, juan *xu* 3 (*Shiliao huibian*, 188). See also another anecdote in *Yuewei caotang biji*, 24:554–555 (*Shiliao huibian*, 188).

110 "Fangshi lingying ji 方士靈應記"; "Xushi ganshen ji 恤士感神記"; "Shenliao yinsheng ji 神療喑生記"; *Wushan Chenghuangmiao zhi*, 4:805–809 (*Shiliao huibian*, 130–133).

111 *Youtai xianguan biji*, anecdote 271. On Yu Yue's religious culture, see Goossaert, "Yu Yue."

112 "Zhang zhenren," in *Chunxiang zhuibi*, 3.21a–b (*Shiliao huibian*, 168). See also two other similar anecdotes in *Yuewei caotang biji*, juan 1 (*Shiliao huibian*, 194–195) and juan 9 (*Shiliao huibian*, 196).

113 "Xiuji 羞疾," in *Zi buyu*, juan 10 (*Shiliao huibian*, 177–178). A man from Huzhou was possessed and his family requested help from the Heavenly Master who was travelling through Hangzhou. The Heavenly Master referred the case to the local City God and later sent a *faguan* to communicate the response from the City God elucidating the case.

114 Nie Deren, "Qiantan Jianning daojiao," 356.

115 Hamashima Atsutoshi, *Sōkan shinkō*, 205–219; Wu Renshu, "Ming Qing Jiangnan Dongyue"; Goossaert, "Bureaucratie, taxation et justice"; Rong Zhen, *Zhongguo gudai minjian xinyang yanjiu*, 212–227; Wu Tao, "Qingdai Suzhou diqu"; Wang Jian, "Ming Qing yilai Jiangnan" and *Lihai xiangguan*, chap. 2; and von Glahn, "Sociology of Local Religion," 800–801.

116 "Tianxiang 天餉," in *Jianhuji*, buji 補集, 6:1890 (*Shiliao huibian*, 164).

117 *Xuanmiaoguan zhi*, 12.3b–4a.

Chapter Nine: The Predicaments of Modernity

1 Xu Fu 徐郙, "Zhi liushiyidai Qingyan Zhang zhenren xu 致六十一代清巖張真人序," in *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu,* 1, "Yiwen 藝文," 46a–49a.

2 *Kongtong wenda,* questions 84–85.

3 "Zaiji Zhang zhenren zai Hangao shi," in *Shenbao,* 26 November 1874; "Faguan dijie 法官遞解," in *Shenbao,* 2 October 1881; "Shashi jinwen 沙市近聞," in *Shenbao,* 7 March 1883. This situation may bear some comparison with the modern popes who were both heads of a universal church and incarnations of Roman identity and culture.

4 *(Tongzhi) Guangxin fuzhi,* juan 7.

5 Danicourt ("Rapport sur l'origine," 20) adds that the Daoists in these residences were all celibate.

6 Miranda, "Zhang Guoxiang." Ricci, in a brief passage in his journal, was the first to describe the pomp and public adoration of the Heavenly Master.
7 Penny, "Meeting the Celestial Master."
8 Hart, "Heavenly Teachers"; Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism,* 387–389.
9 *Longhushan zhi* (2007), 86. I have searched the archives of the Lazarist headquarters in Paris, with the help of Dr. Liu Qinghua, but did not find substantial information on the history of the Longhushan church and parish, except letters and visit reports of the French priest François Dauverchain, who was the priest at Longhushan from 1885 to his death there in 1916.
10 Kupfer, *Sacred Places in China,* 92–104.
11 Penny, "Celestial Master, Pope Pius IX."
12 De Groot, *Les Fêtes,* section "La papauté taoïque," 73–83.
13 For a detailed analysis of the reception of Daoism in France and Europe, see Lebranchu, "Les fabriques du taoïsme."
14 Danicourt, "Rapport sur l'origine." Gambling and opium smoking were socially accepted pastimes of the Chinese elites at the time; Danicourt's description must be taken with more than a grain of salt.
15 None of the evidence gathered by Penny, "Meeting the Celestial Master" and "Celestial Master, Pope Pius IX," is earlier, and I have found none myself.
16 Douglas, *Confucianism and Taouism,* 285: "The Hierarch of the Faith lives in considerable state in the Lung hu shan or Dragon and Tiger Mountains, in the province of Kiang-se. It is believed that this prelate is the earthly representative of Yuh-hwang Shang-te [玉皇上帝], who is but the ascended form of one of his ancestors. Since the apotheosis of this saint, there has not been wanting a member of his clan to sit upon the priestly throne. As in the case of the Lama of Tibet, the appointment is officially made among the members of the clan by lot."
17 Penny, "Meeting the Celestial Master," 57.
18 A good example is Charles de Harlez (1832–1899), professor at the Catholic University of Louvain, and writing on the topic in 1891; Harlez, "La papauté."
19 Imbault-Huart, "La légende." A review in the *North-China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette,* 28 October 1885, criticizes him for having neglected to discuss the current situation of the Heavenly Master and his talismans.
20 "Zhang tianshi youtu juantu chonglai 張天師又圖捲土重來," in *Shanghai texie* 上海特寫, 21, 1946.

21 Kupfer, *Sacred Places in China,* 92–104.

22 Kupfer's photographs of Zhang Yuanxu and his family have been reproduced numerous times, including by the 64th Heavenly Master. Similar comments on the Zhang Heavenly Master looking surprisingly "ordinary" were made by British consular official E. H. Parker about Zhang Renzheng; Penny, "Meeting the Celestial Master," 53. Henri Maspero (in *Le taoïsme,* 432–435) wrote that he had arranged to visit him in 1914, but the war eventually caused the visit to be canceled; he reports a low opinion of him (and his opium addiction) by Maspero's Daoist acquaintances.

23 *Shiliao huibian,* 305.

24 Xu Fu, "Zhi liushiyidai Qingyan Zhang zhenren xu," in *Liuhou tianshi shijia Zhang shi zongpu,* 1, "Yiwen," 46a–49a.

25 Zhang Yuanxu, *zi* Songsen 松森, *hao* Xiaochu 曉初, Xiaoyan 小岩. This section is based on Goossaert, "Zhang Yuanxu."

26 The second brother, Zhang Yuanchang 張元昶, also inherited a hereditary honorary military position providing a salary, and the two others were also named to military positions.

27 Zhang Enpu, *zi* Daosheng 道生, *hao* Ruiling 瑞齡. Details on family history are provided in the 1890 genealogy; extracts are found in *Shiliao huibian,* 59–61. See Li Liliang, *Yidai tianshi,* chap. 2.

28 Welch, "Chang T'ien Shih," 190.

29 The memorial can be found in *Shiliao huibian,* 68.

30 "Zhang tianshi shoupian," in *Guowen beicheng,* 1:141.

31 Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking,* 199–208.

32 Zhang Yuanxian, *Lidai Zhang tianshi zhuan,* 90.

33 See his *zhawen* administrative letter mentioned above and included in Wang and Goossaert, *Jindai Zhang tianshi shiliao xubian.*

34 "Shanghai guanchang jishi 上海官場紀事," in *Shenbao,* 15 June 1904; "Xixi luxue 西谿蘆雪," in *Shenbao,* 29 October 1904.

35 "Ji Suyuan gouhuo yaodao shi lun yi guangzhi 紀蘇垣拘獲妖道事論以廣之," in *Shenbao,* 10 August 1904.

36 "Bao Xiangsheng xiansheng shu (er) (xu) 報湘省先生書(二)(續)," in *Shenbao,* 16 December 1906.

37 "Yushi zaoyao yizheng 羽士造謠宜懲," in *Shenbao,* 9 July 1906.

38 "Ba Yunshi yizhen jinxun 把雲室義賑近訊," in *Shenbao,* 30 January 1924.

39 A large anthology of newspaper reports on the Heavenly Masters from 1872 to 1949 is included in Fang and Goossaert, *Zhongguo xiandangdai chengshi daojiao ziliaoji.*

40 "Dake wen Zhang zhenren shi," in *Shenbao,* 17 June 1904. For more on early twentieth-century attacks on the Heavenly Masters, see Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Jindai bianju xia."

41 Amato has offered a rapid survey of polemics against the Heavenly Master institution through the ages; Amato, "Rebirth of a Lineage," 282–326.

42 These tablets were actually used and are attested since the Ming period; Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Qingdai Zhang," 167. The 54th Heavenly Master discusses them in *Kongtong wenda,* question 158.

43 *Saomizhou,* 22:437–438; also in *Shiliao huibian,* 269. This novel is both a fiercely critical and quasiethnographic description of modern Chinese religion. On this source and the early anti-superstition literature in general, see Goossaert, "1898."

44 Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Jindai bianju xia," 390.

45 "You youwei Zhang zhenren qingfu daohao zhe 又有為張真人請復道號者," in *Shenbao,* 8 September 1914.

46 Tsou Mingteh, "Christian Missionary as Confucian Intellectual."

47 The poem can be found in *Shiliao huibian,* 303.

48 "Fazujie 法租界," in *Shenbao,* 14 September 1912; "Zhang tianshi mingri yanshuo 張天師明日演說," in *Shenbao,* 26 September 1914; "Shangxiantang zhi xingqi jiaowuhui 尚賢堂之星期教務會," in *Shenbao,* 9 January 1915.

49 "The International Institute of China," undated report printed by the institute, held at Shanghai archives. I am grateful to Paul Katz for sharing these documents with me. The *Shanghai Times* also published several short reports of Zhang Yuanxu's lectures between 1912 and 1915, on peace, morality, the philosophy of Laozi, and "immortality and resurrection."

50 "International Institute Conference," *Shanghai Times,* 9 January 1915, 5.

51 "Fojiao zonghui fenbu kaihui ji 佛教總會分部開會紀," in *Shenbao,* 5 May 1914.

52 "The International Institute: Address by the Taoist Pope," *North-China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette,* 21 September 1912, 805. The text on Daoism read in Chicago in 1893 is likely (according to my own reading of the document) to have been composed by Timothy Richard or another missionary

using translated passages from Chinese submissions, among which it is possible that Zhang Renzheng was one contributor.

53 The *Han tianshi shijia,* updated for inclusion in the 1607 supplement to the Daoist canon, stopped at the 49th Heavenly Master.

54 "Fazujie," in *Shenbao,* 14 September 1912; "Daoshi huanying Zhang tianshi 道士歡迎張天師," in *Shenbao,* 21 September 1912; "Huanying Zhang tianshi 歡迎張天師," in *Shenbao,* 3 October 1912.

55 "Anhui 安徽," in *Shenbao,* 5 December 1915; "Anqing 安慶," in *Shenbao,* 13 December 1915.

56 Goossaert, "Republican Church Engineering"; Chen Yaoting, "Shanghai daojiao shi," 428–434.

57 "Daojiaohui zhi zeren 道教會之責任," in *Shenbao,* 28 February 1913.

58 "Zhang tianshi zhengdun jiaogui 張天師整頓教規," in *Shenbao,* 30 June 1919.

59 "The Taoist Pope: An Interesting Visitor to the Capital," *Peking Gazette,* 28 February 1916, 6.

60 See "You youwei Zhang tianshi qingfu daohao zhe," in *Shenbao,* 8 September 1914; "Neiwubu gaiyi Zhang zhenren fenghao zhi yuancheng 內務部核議張真人封號之原呈," in *Shenbao,* 23 September 1914; also see the abstract of the memorial, the response of the Ministry of the Interior, and the (scathing) comments of the young Hu Shi in *Shiliao huibian,* 307–310.

61 *Shiliao huibian,* 310–311; "Zhuandian 專電," in *Shenbao,* 3 March 1916. When Zhang Enpu applied for formal recognition from the Nationalist government in 1935, the Ministry of the Interior admitted that the Yuan Shikai government had returned the Heavenly Master's seals in 1915 (they were confiscated again in 1926), but denied that it had granted him a valid title; Wang Ch'ien-chuan, "Zhang tianshi yu Zhonghua."

62 Wang Ch'ien-chuan, "Zhang tianshi yu Zhonghua."

63 Lu Zhongwei, *Minguo huidaomen,* 131; Goossaert and Palmer, *Religious Question,* 95–97.

64 Xia Mingyu, "Minguo xinxing zongjiao jieshe," 8–13.

65 *Daqian tushuo,* 6.

66 Luo Zhitian, "Shehui fenye," 57.

67 On Wu Peifu's involvement in redemptive societies, see Goossaert, "Modern Chinese Self-Cultivation Market," 148.

68 Zhang Wanxiang, "Wo de fuqin shi Zhang tianshi," 69.

69 An early nineteenth-century case is discussed in Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Qingdai Zhang," 164.

70 "Xunjingju shijin yaoyan huozhong 巡警局示禁謠言惑衆," in *Shenbao,* 4 September 1906; "Qianzhong shuizai xiangji 黔中水災詳紀," in *Shenbao,* 15 July 1914; "Zhang tianshi buren chuandan 張天師不認傳單," in *Shenbao,* 30 July 1919. The *Shenbao* already carried similar stories during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s.

71 "Ji Suyuan gouhuo yaodao shi lun yi guangzhi," in *Shenbao,* 10 August 1904; "Beifang fangyi huiji 北方防疫彙記," in *Shenbao,* 19 February 1911; "Hangzhou 杭州," in *Shenbao,* 18 April 1913.

72 Wang Chien-ch'uan ("Taiwan Zhang tianshi," 400–403) provides a detailed discussion of Zhang Yuanxu's death.

73 On Wang Yiting's religious world, see Katz, *Religion in China,* chap. 3.

74 "Zhang tianshi chubin 張天師出殯," in *Xinghua* 興華 22, no. 3 (1925); "Zhang tianshi zuori chubin 張天師昨日出殯," in *Shenbao,* 1 May 1925; "Zhang tianshi chubin zhi paijing baohu 張天師出殯之派警保護," in *Shenbao,* 29 April 1925.

75 Shanren, "Longhushan 62dai tianshi."

76 Zhang Yuanxian, *Lidai Zhang tianshi zhuan,* 90–91.

77 "Zhang tianshi chubin 張天師出殯."

78 See the perceptive remarks by Gu Jiegang in *Shiliao huibian,* 313.

79 *Shiliao huibian,* 266.

80 "Ping daojiao suocheng Zhang tianshi lai Hu 評道教所稱張天師來滬," *Haichaoyin* 4, no. 11 (1933): 24–25.

81 See notably "Zhang tianshi qiansan qungui shiwen 張天師遣散羣鬼示文," in *Shenbao,* 7 June 1912; "Zhang tianshi paishi 張天師牌示," in *Shenbao,* 20 September 1912; "Xini Zhang tianshi fu Zhong Kui shu 戲擬張天師覆鍾馗書," in *Shenbao,* 29 April 1915.

82 Li Liliang, *Yidai tianshi,* 33. The following section relies largely on this biography.

83 "Shangqingzhen tianshi jinglu … caifangji."

84 Li Liliang, *Yidai tianshi.*

85 Zhang Yuanxian, *Lidai Zhang tianshi zhuan.*

86 Wang Chien-ch'uan, "Taiwan Zhang," and "Jinxiandai de tianshi chuancheng."

Conclusion

1 Yuan Mei ("Lu furen 陸夫人," in *Zi buyu,* 13:314 [*Shiliao huibian,* 179–180]) tells how the 57th Heavenly Master Zhang Cunyi died in 1779, punished by Heaven for writing memorials full of mistakes (his *faguan*'s fault, actually).

2 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe,* 2a; *Shiliao huibian,* 98–99.

3 Goossaert, *Bureaucratie et salut.*

4 Maeda Hiromi, "Court Rank for Village Shrines."

5 The comparison is developed in Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking,* chap. 6.

6 The most sophisticated study of charisma in a Chinese context to date is Feuchtwang and Wang Mingming, *Grassroots Charisma,* but it focuses on local political (and religiously mediated) processes and does not address clerical charisma. On religious charisma, see Goossaert and Ownby, "Mapping Charisma."

7 The high official Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) reports discussing with the Heavenly Master, who explained that he was just a high official and his *faguan* were his subordinates in their dealings with deities, and Ji Yun (the head of the *Siku quanshu* project!) found this perfectly sensible; *Yuewei caotang biji,* 1:8–9.

8 On the vicissitudes of the Yanshenggong during the Republican period, see Luo Chenglie, "Xinhai geming shiqi de Yanshenggong."

9 "Yu Hualong fandui huanying Banchan zhi yijian 余華龍反對歡迎班禪之意見" (in *Shenbao,* 13 May 1925) compares the popular reception of the Panchen Lama and the 62nd Heavenly Master.

10 Weber, *Religion of China,* 224–225.

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